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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents Barbara and Neville and grandparents Elle, Elsa, Joachim, Ivy and Henry; and to Žanis; and to Helle.

And to my dear Aunty Ira who like my parents always believed in the power and freedom education provides and missed out on such opportunities.

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You are with me every day, Uz redzēšanos.

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The journey was longer than I wanted it to be, but as a friend remarked to me recently, "that is because you have always prioritised family and friends"-no regrets.

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"You can do anything if you try little one!" Mama, I have tried. I hope that it makes you proud.

PREFACE

There is often an attempt to acquit undesirable actions and behaviours in the political realm on the basis that they are just part of the nature of politics, and that the need for their application stems from the unique character of the conditions and undertakings which are associated with performing the political role. Acceding to such a conclusion belies the import of political decision making, on the everyday lives of the citizenry, from which the political candidates themselves derive. The rationale for exoneration also appears to overlook that navigating political intrigue is also part of the organisational life of numbers of Australian employees, without them being able to avail themselves of exercising the same licence or absolution concerning their conduct, such as is applied by their political counterparts.

In 1891 Australia's foundation Prime Minister Sir Edmund Barton expressed of his government:

> "I hope … the result of our labour will be … an example of freedom, political morality, and just action … which will one day be the envy of the world" (Australian Federal Election Speeches, 2017).

The sentiment exemplified by Sir Edmund Barton is that of socially intelligent leadership. It speaks to the setting of an exemplar by our political representatives rather than excusing them from specific standards of behaviour. These thoughts are echoed by a modern-day leader in the Australian complex project development field, who shared his reflections about the nature of socially intelligent leadership and how these ideas influenced his leadership actions:

> "Followers have agency. They do not have to follow, they choose to follow. Followers in effect grant a leader licence to lead … For them to want this they had to believe in the quest, believe it was possible and they had to believe in what I said. For them to believe my words they had to witness my behaviour, correlate it with my words and form the judgement that my words could be trusted" (Mathew Dalmau, 2017).

A picture that expresses the quintessence of social intelligence in action was captured from an incident in Western Australia. In 2014 at approximately 8:50 am at Stirling Station in Western Australia a man was boarding a train destined to Perth when he tripped, and one of his legs became trapped between the train and the platform. Staff organised for other passengers that

were present to join with them to tilt the train to free the man. The train driver was also notified to ensure that the train was not set in motion.

Source:

This thesis intends to evoke consideration of socially intelligent leadership through an assessment of how its application occurs through the actions of our political leaders.

I hope you enjoy the journey.

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GLOSSARY

Co-creation

Employees and clients cooperate to create value in products, processes and services (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004)

Emotional intelligence

Perceptiveness and skill in dealing with emotions and interpersonal relationships (Oxford English Dictionary, 2015). "A type of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others' emotions, to discriminate amongst them and to use the information to guide one's thinking and actions" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p.85)

Emotional Labour

Coined by Hochschild (1983), emotional labour is a concept whereby employees align their feelings and/or any able to be seen emotional expressions to those of the organisation they work for. Furthermore, the notion of emotional labour entails employees being organisationally compelled, to feel and act in a certain way towards clients, in service interactions, through the use of organisationally imposed mandatory rules, e.g. instructions to use expressions such as, "Have a nice day".

More positively, emotional labour is not merely concerned with quashing or conveying emotions to influence upbeat sentiments in others but also entails methods to help staff to manage their own emotions when coping perhaps with irate customers or difficult circumstances (Surman & Sturdy, 2009).

Killing Season

A reference to the last week of Parliament before the winter and summer break, known as the most dangerous time for a vulnerable leader (Knox, 2015).

Organised emotional care

Developed by Lopez (2006) as part of what Lopez describes as the other end of the continuum from emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983). Organisations can create an environment that is not prescriptive in the emotional requirements of staff. Instead, they can construct friendly environs that cultivate an

	opportunity for caring relationships to happen, between those giving service and those receiving it.
Psychopath	A psychopath is a person that is lacking in empathy and remorse. People who are psychopathic prey ruthlessly on others using charm, deceit, violence or other methods that allow them to get with they want. The symptoms of psychopathy include: lack of a conscience or sense of guilt, lack of empathy, egocentricity, pathological lying, repeated violations of social norms, disregard for the law, shallow emotions, and a history of victimizing others (Hare, 2011).
Social Intelligence	"…The ability to understand and manage people and … act wisely in human relations" (Thorndike, 1920, p.228).
	"Social intelligence refers to thought and action directly concerned with actual things and persons in one's hands …" (Thorndike, 1920, p.220).
	"Social intelligence may be defined, as the ability to understand others, manage people, and act wisely in social contexts" (Seal, Scott & Royce-Davis, 2010, p.3).
Narcissism	"Excessive interest in or admiration of oneself and one's physical appearance". "Extreme selfishness, with a grandiose view of one's own talents and a craving for admiration, as characterizing a personality type" (Oxford Dictionary, 2017, 2nd March)
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	"Narcissists have a strong sense of entitlement and a constant need for attention and admiration. They are arrogant and consider themselves to be superior to others" (Academy of Management Insights, 2017)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the dynamics of social intelligence in the practice of political leadership. It offers a mode of analysis that has not been attempted before in Australian prime ministerial studies, to further our understanding of contemporary politics. The intention of this thesis is both normative and empirical. That is, it makes a normative case for the importance of social intelligence in Australia's political leaders, which is based on and combined with an empirical study that explores social intelligence in the leader's actions and outcomes.

The inspiration to attempt a framework to analyse the social intelligence of seven of Australia's prime ministers was derived from Thorndike's focus (Thorndike, 1920). Thorndike (1920) defined social intelligence as: "[t]he ability to understand and manage people and ......act wisely in human relations" (Thorndike, E 1920, p.220). Thorndike also suggested that studying behaviours in a context provided better scope for an analysis of such skills. Despite a significant passage of time Higgs and Dulewicz (2016) wrote that the components that Thorndike "included in his 'social intelligence' bear an uncanny resemblance to current thinking on EI" (Higgs and Dulewicz, 2016, p.15).

In the absence of a methodology or study found through the literature review that could be replicated, variables that were identified as relevant skills in the Australian leadership setting were first extracted (Karpin (1995); IBSA (2011). These abilities aligned to the umbrella framework of analysis of exploring social intelligence in context through the conduct and deeds of Australia's prime ministers. Second, a study undertaken in Canada identified criteria specific to the political context of Prime Ministerial tenures, designating seven aspects as indicative of the measurement of successful governance by Prime Ministers (Hillmer and Azzi, 2011). Despite the geographical distance, it can be argued that these six traits are equally applicable in the Australian political setting given that Australia and Canada have comparable governance systems (Kaiser, 2008). The variables provided by the Hillmer and Azzi (2011) study are: stable wielding of power; well defined and communicated goals; skillful cabinet and party management; capacity to unify rather than create dissent; a firm record of accomplishments; enhanced country after their term. 'Organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) was used as a reference point for internal leadership dimensions and how the available data elucidates the working environments created and espoused by the leaders.

The thesis also includes an exploration of the Prime Minister's life experiences and what the data might elicit in terms of different or shared experiences amongst them or alternately specific life occurrences within individual prime minister's lives that could be explored for its impact.

A qualitative research analysis has been applied using numerous primary and secondary sources of data such as social media, media more generally, speeches, biographies, interviews, and records from archives. To achieve balance in the face of any latent or implicit political bias, multiple data sources are quoted or credited.

The findings indicate that a lack of social intelligence was a factor in ending each of the prime ministerships irrespective of whether overall the prime ministers were deficient or exceptional in their practice of social intelligence.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"Of difficult things: To be yourself when bridges over the river come crashing down and no ferryman is on shore ..." (Cichla-Czarniawska, 2014, p.25)

"What brings down all leaders in the end is hubris. There is no escaping it, whether in a dictatorship or a democracy. Once leaders are sucked into the embrace of the government machine, they are inevitably cut off from the real world" (Powell, 2010, p.309).

"While most who matter develop their minds with the gymnastics of the issues they encounter, and the vagaries of public life in general, they are, in the end, all prisoners of their own DNA: their own prejudices, their own experiences, their upbringing" (Keating, 2012, p. 331)

"Politics is no career for the faint-hearted. It is an exacting, thankless, full-time, and sometimes dangerous occupation" (Calwell, 1972, p.3).

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine *social intelligence* in the practice of political leadership. It offers a mode of analysis that has not before been attempted in Australian prime ministerial studies, to advance a new method for facilitating our understanding of contemporary politics. The research subjects are Australia's Prime Ministers occupying that position in the years from 1972 to 2013 beginning with the tenure of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam (1972-1975) and ending with the second term in office of Prime Minister Kevin Rudd (2007-2010; 2013). All of the prime ministers encompassed in the thesis are identified in Figure 1.1.

A review of all of Australia's Prime Ministers to the present day within a single thesis would have been unrealistic, so a judgement call made the starting point the tenure of Prime Minister Whitlam, who headed the first Labor government in twenty-three years, since that of Prime Minister Ben Chifley (1945-1949). The Whitlam period was

noteworthy for significant social change: mounting bitterness concerning the Vietnam War; as well as disquiet about Australia's standing in the world (Nolan, 2005; whitlamdismissal.com, 2016, 12th December). The sacking of the Whitlam Government shocked the nation and generated immense tensions in the country (Howard, 2014, Interview). Given the place of the 'Dismissal' in Australian history and the changes it effected on Australian politics, it seemed fitting to start the analysis of Australian Prime Ministers at this point and continue it until the more recent era of Rudd-Gillard-Rudd, which was also marked by significant controversy. The latter period of this study includes Australia's first female Prime Minister.

Social intelligence by itself is a challenging topic. Blending a study in politics with an analysis in social intelligence makes for an even more intricate navigation, as here too, there are very divergent assessments and embedded perspectives. It is acknowledged that "political neutrality is a myth" (Wilson, 1990, p.183). Politics is polarizing, partialities permeate conversations, interactions and the data landscape. The cynic might say that aligning politics and social intelligence poses an inherent conflict, as the two are the antithesis of each other; the socially intelligent, might proffer, to the contrary, that the two operating in tandem is a requisite.

The thesis does not attempt a phenomenological methodology, nor is there a claim to complete objectivity, which would be impossible. The evidence is analysed and presented in the spirit of Husserl (1996), meaning that it proceeds on the basis of responsible subjectivism. To achieve balance in the face of political predilections, with the primary data, multiple sources are quoted or credited. The intention of this thesis is both normative and empirical. That is, a normative case is made for the importance of social intelligence in Australia's political leaders based on and in combination with research that explores social intelligence in the leader's actions and through outcomes. Social intelligence is an aptitude particularly pertinent for the span of control of the Prime Ministerial role and its duty of care, one indebted to and expected by the Australian people. There is also an expectation that there is a level of selflessness exercised by the prime ministers for socially intelligent leadership to be articulated in their political actions. The author is not suggesting that socially intelligent deeds and behaviours are able to be present in every context that the prime ministers face, all the time but that, on the whole, social intelligence should prevail. Most prime ministerships have been marked by controversy at some point

throughout their terms, so there is an acknowledgement of the human condition of fallibility.

The thesis explores some of the unique and significant elements entailed within the sphere of high-level political leadership that prime ministers have to navigate. Also outlined is the rationale for giving attribution preference to the concept of social intelligence as it was first coined by psychologist Edward Thorndike in 1920. It is important to note that whilst the definition of social intelligence that is applied here is drawn from the work of Thorndike,[1] this is not intended as a psychological study.[2] Lastly, the motivations for the focus of the research are detailed.

The problem in writing a thesis about the social intelligence of some of those that have occupied the highest political post in the land became how the social intelligence of these leaders was to be gauged, beyond the more typical options that have been employed to measure social intelligence, such as interviews and self-reporting surveys, in order to elicit an analysis of deficient or exceptional leadership. In spite of an abundance of studies, there is still more to be learned about the essential qualities of capable leadership (Dulewicz.C, Young and Dulewicz, V, 2005). The need for a blending of emotional intelligence and IQ for effective governance was identified by Goleman, Boyatzis, and McKee (2002) although Dulewicz et al. (2005) subsequently concluded that there was a scarcity of evidence to support the connection between emotional intelligence, leadership and the functional components of governance roles. Dulewicz et al. (2005), observed the

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[1] As well as being considered one of the founders of modern psychological investigation, Edward Thorndike has also been criticised for his connection with the Eugenics movement. Advocates supported improving populations through controlled reproduction to improve the incidence of advantageous genetic traits. The Eugenics movement is in no way a part of this thesis nor should controversy in one element preclude the use of social intelligence in the way that Edward Thorndike articulated it. It is important to note that a reading of Edward Thorndike's *Human Nature and the Social Order* does not convey him as a racist or predisposed to ill intent. "Some of the hopes of the devotees of eugenics, on the other hand, seem to assume a simplicity in the gene determination of human qualities which is quite out of harmony with the evidence" (Thorndike, 1942, p.442). Thorndike was merely a representative intellectual of his time in regard to the influence of eugenics thought. In her criticism of Edward Thorndike, Winfield (2012) cites the following quote from Thorndike "Men are born unequal in intellect, character, and skill. It is impossible and undesirable to make them equal by education. The proper work of men is to improve all men according to their several possibilities, in ways consistent with the welfare of all" (Winfield, 2012, p.147). Thorndike appears to be concluding that we all are imbued with a mix of different skills that can be built on through the application of education. Yet a non- mathematician for example will not become a mathematician by virtue of forced education.

[2] While I have formally studied psychology, this is not my area of expertise or emphasis for this study.

significant import of emotional intelligence abilities, but the authors acknowledged that the testing that they used was standardized and not specific to individual contexts. Thorndike (1942) wrote about the fallibility of tests due to their incapacity to represent all of the abilities that might be present.

> "In some cases, there are tests which give definite intelligible information about the ability to do said tests, but knowledge is lacking or imperfect concerning what they imply about the ability in an adequate sampling of all the tasks which they are supposed to represent" (Thorndike, 1942, p.53)

Social intelligence was popularised by Goleman (2007) and Goleman and Boyatzis (2008) wrote about the need for leaders to possess social intelligence while they noted that Thorndike had identified the same imperative in 1920. Ybarra, Rees, Kross & Sanchez-Burks (2012) put forward that their

> "approach is to take seriously the notion that EI (emotional intelligence) involves a set of mental processes, not just a score a person is given on an EI test" (Ybarra et al, 2012, p.204).

These authors expanded their interpretation of emotional intelligence to include deliberative (conscious) and intuitive applications of emotional intelligence used by individuals to assess and consider social and emotive situations (Ybarra et al, 2012). Individuals display emotions through various forms of signification, the most important of which for a political leaders, is their use of language. The power of language in expressing thoughts and actions (Weimer, 2015) is important to the decision to apply the term social intelligence in this thesis. The benefit of using the term as opposed to emotional intelligence is that it draws the focus away from a perception that is largely focused on sentiments and feelings and non-intellective abilities. Thorndike's emphasis was on accomplishments, not on distinguishing between the nature of different intelligence. Thorndike reasoned against viewing different capabilities as separate entities as if "each of which is a unitary force, a sort of machine or fairy that sits in the person's brain (Thorndike, 1942, p.51).

In 1920 and 1942 Thorndike suggested an emphasis on behaviour in context and more recent analyses have also written about the import of settings (Ybarra et al, 2012). Yet,

despite references to the social dimensions of emotional intelligence, most existing treatments of emotional intelligence "pay scant attention to the nature of the social world" (Ybarra et al, 2012, p.204). These authors suggested that "a useful model of EI needs to carefully, deliberately, and explicitly consider the social world that people navigate" (ibid). Such an exploration is the intended focus of this thesis, to provide an in-depth understanding (Yin, 2009) of the everyday actions of the respective prime ministers, within their roles. To understand the 'why' of a lack of socially intelligent leadership and the reason for persistent examples of leadership failure, conceivably there needs to be a clearer understanding of the 'who' in leadership.

Further, recognizing the significance of the concept of social intelligence introduces the need for any global leader, be they corporate or political, to have a focus on emotional sincerity. Such a quality may be reflected as encompassing thoughtfulness towards others; in-depth comprehension of circumstances relating to all stakeholders; emotional genuineness as a requisite in diverse communication contexts as well as in managing disagreements and various situations where negotiations are required (Rego, Clegg & Pina e Cunha, 2012). Social intelligence "affects how we manage behaviour, navigate social complexities, and make personal decisions to achieve positive results" (Bradberry, 2016).

The fundamental research objective pursued here is to identify the dimensions of social intelligence displayed by Australian Prime Ministers as high-level leaders in their behaviours, actions and decisions, in the context of their tenure in office. Given that Thorndike (1920) had coined the term social intelligence and suggested that the best mode of assessment was through the observation of behaviours in context (Thorndike, 1942) it seemed appropriate to adopt a research framework that related to its initial authorship. Thorndike described social intelligence in the following terms:

> "the ability to understand and manage people and … act wisely in human relations … Social intelligence refers to thought and action directly concerned with actual things and persons in one's hands." (Thorndike, 1920, p.228; 220)

The definition was further elaborated by Seal, Scott & Royce-Davis (2010, p.3):

"Social intelligence may be defined as the ability to understand others, manage people, and act wisely in social contexts".

The emphasis on social intelligence stands in contrast to historic notions of the separation of cerebral or non-cerebral skills. As far back as 350 BCE, Aristotle, among a broad canvas of interests, examined the areas of politics, governments, logic and emotions. Aristotle (2012) separated logic and emotions as independent entities. Subsequently, Western thinking and practice, fashioned by influences from Descartes' (2006) rationalism (Perlman & McCann, 1998), has continued to foster a tradition of separating emotion and logic, as the opposite of each other, rather than seeing these as complementary cerebral skills. In the 1940s, Wechsler (1950) recorded these binaries, respectively, as intellective and non-intellective skills, based on a presumption of a ranking, in which the mind dominates the body and in which there is an inherent detachment between rationality and emotionality.

Work on emotions more generally, as well as the concept of emotional intelligence, in particular, makes up a sizeable body of contemporary intellectual work, including, as mentioned above, origins traceable in early history (Adler, Fadiman & Goetz, 1992). Nonetheless, in the context of the contemporary workplace, it is the intensely rational elements, the bureaucratic structures, administrative practices, processes, operational planning and strategic plans, that have seen the notion of reason dominate as the judicious component of intelligence. "The spirit of the economic machine seems to be alive and well and thriving in organisations" (Kets de Vries & Engellau, 2008, p.4), despite the repertoire of ideas stemming from traditional 'rational' mores repeatedly demonstrating their deficits (Kets de Vries, 1993; Kets de Vries, 1994). Proficient and effective work environments, considered dependent upon emotion-free, sensible thinking, have been seen as being distinct from illogical personal and private sentiments, traditionally aligned with feminine wiles and traits (Surman & Sturdy, 2009). Concomitantly, rationality has been equated with a masculine ethos.

By contrast, in Eastern philosophies such as may be found in China, aspects of emotions have been engrained in social institutions and praxis (Renjun & Zigang, 2005) and are reflected more subtly. "Reciprocity is as much a factor in interpersonal relationships as it is in business dealings, and what it means ultimately, is that the economy of favours

between two individuals or units is expected to remain in rough balance over time" (Renjun & Zigang, 2005, p.75). Despite negative notions in the Western ethos concerning the appropriateness of feelings in vocational areas, the linking of emotion to the workplace has been pioneeered (Albrow, 1997). Emotions, as they pertain to focussing incentive and drive, have been recognised as worthy topics (Seo, Barrett & Bartunek, 2004); while coping strategies and the need to quell annoyance, or expressions of irritation ("emotional labour") have also been addressed (Hochschild,1983). Human relations studies have noted the need to appreciate workers as more than just instruments of outputs (Rose, 2005). Gradually, the established separation of feeling from the context of employment has altered to the extent that the inclusion of sentiments within theoretical discussions and a view of emotion as a resource to be managed (Surman & Sturdy, 2009) has become almost mainstream. This recognition has been expanded to the suggestion of a conjoined linking of positive and negative emotions with work results (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Foo, Elfenbein, Tan & Aik, 2004; Barsade & Gibson, 2007). The extent to which genuine progress has been made is a moot point. Despite being seeming opposites, scientific management, in its bid to circumvent personal relationships, contrasted with human relations theory, with its focus on the inclusiveness of human relationships, are not entirely dissimilar: each in their turn uses the variable of relationships as a means of control over people, to achieve organisational ends (Rose, 2005). Controlling individuals and how they work endures as a pervasive norm within organisations (Adonis, 2012). In assessing political leadership, assessments that preclude a holistic social intelligence approach often predominate but it is hard to find a questioning of political leadership that does not draw on discussions of aspects of these capabilities. Political analyst Richard Wolffe (2009), for example, accompanied America's President Obama from the outset of his presidential campaign. In writing his story of how President Obama won political office, he recounted that Obama functioned with extreme discipline, drive, absolute self-confidence and the capacity to operate simultaneously as a team member and a celebrity athlete. In private work settings, his temperament variations were marked, ranging from brashness, bad-temperedness, impatience to introversion. "Yet he struck a rare emotional connection with those around him, no matter the size of the crowd or the ego of the person he was wooing" (Wolffe, 2009, p.5). Similarly, Greenstein (2009) and others pursued studies that focussed on

distinguishing between emotional intelligence and political ability "rather than clarifying the relationship between the two variables" (Maisler, 2014, p.280).

As the literature review chapter will indicate, there are numerous perspectives on the measurement of social and emotional intelligence. Much of the existing research focusses on quantitative testing instruments and self-reported measurements of an individual's social intelligence. These have included tools to assess what training might be applied to remedy social intelligence deficits. The propensity to to be able to do so, Morgan (1997) suggested, entails a combined process of practice and inborn ability. The scope to instruct people to exercise social intelligence is further explored in the literature review chapter. To date the literature suggests that there is no conclusive framework or model, on its own, that can be applied to determine the level of social intelligence in political leaders nor is this the emphasis of this thesis. The interest of this thesis is not measurement, as such. Instead, the emphasis here is on a qualitative analysis of the prime ministers as they served their prime ministerial term, with an exploratory and illustrative focus, using "naturally occurring data" (Silverman, 2013, p.205).

This approach is consistent with studies that move beyond rationally defined models of leadership (Morgan, 1997) and scientific management measurement tools to using an interpretive approach instead, as espoused by Lincoln and Guba (1985). From the literature, several critical perspectives have been identified to aid in the creation of a social intelligence leadership profile of political leaders. Other options within the literature might have facilitated an analysis, but the following have been preferences because of their focus on the practice of social intelligence.

A first component was identifying what specific leader and political qualities could be used to code the behaviours and outcomes of the prime ministers. The leadership variables used were derived from the key findings of a task force that was established to address leadership deficits and the development of an affirmative enterprise culture, through the revitalisation of Australia's managers (Karpin, 1995). In 1991, the Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, headed by David Karpin was commissioned by the Cabinet of Prime Minister Bob Hawke (1983-1991). The recommendations were published in 1995. The Karpin Report (1995) identified eight categories where it was essential that Australian leaders and managers should enhance their skills. These included

the ability to communicate, negotiate, a capacity to inspire, provide guidance, motivate, lead and delegate as well as the need to possess self-knowledge, self-discipline and self-management. The findings also recommended that addressing family responsibilities be added into training and instruction schemes (Karpin, 1995, p.82).

In revisiting the Karpin Report, Innovation and Business Skills Australia (IBSA) (IBSA, 2011, p.8) acknowledged that over time, there had been a change in focus in the ideas surrounding the individual and emotional qualities pertaining to leadership and categorised additional emotional qualities required by leaders. These are detailed in Chapter 3, the methodological chapter. In the Karpin Report Revisited it was concluded that a "national focus on a leadership culture" (IBSA, 2011, p.13) had not eventuated in Australia". Circumstances suggest, perchance, that the leadership lens on managers might have been better served had it been trained on political leaders, in a top down, exemplar model. As Dickinson (2013) observed, there is a need for politicians to set "a better example for all Australians with new, higher standards of behaviour" (Dickinson, 2013, p.258). While the author recognises that there are imperatives that must be satisfied by political leaders that do not apply in other contexts of institutional/organisational leadership the factors identified in Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011) are suited to political governance.

Having extracted the leadership skills identified from within Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011) these were then organised in the thesis under seven political qualities that stemmed from a Canadian study by Associate Professor Stephen Azzi and historian and teacher Norman Hillmer (Hillmer & Azzi, 2011). Prime ministers in that study were ascribed distinction on the basis of longevity of tenure (four years or more); stable wielding of power; well defined and well communicated goals; skilful management of their Cabinet and Party; a capacity to unify rather than create dissent; the amassing of a firm record of accomplishments in domestic and international affairs as well as leaving an enhanced legacy for the country as a result of their term. As Australia and Canada have comparable political systems (Kaiser, 2008) it was considered appropriate to apply the same criterion in the Australian context.

The prime ministerial analysis proceeds on the following basis. First, social intelligence (Thorndike, 1920) provides the overarching framework that is joined to the political

attributes distinguished by Hillmer and Azzi (2011). Second, 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) is used as a focus for exploring the data related to the internal leadership traits of the prime ministers and the operational and office environs fashioned and adopted by the leaders. This concept is also elaborated on within the literature review. Lastly, an exploration is undertaken of the Prime Ministers' life experiences in terms of distinctive or similar experiences, as well as specific occurrences, within individual prime minister's lives.

Political dissatisfaction

Viewpoints and actions involving politics and politicians encompass many characteristics: derision, disinterest, concern, engagement, disenchantment, sycophancy and scheming. Some voters are loyal ideologues, while others are swinging voters and inevitably, an individual's political leanings may influence their judgements as to whether successes have been realised or whether idleness has prevailed on the part of those who represent them politically. Dissatisfaction with those at the leadership helm has been registered as a pervasive theme throughout history; it is not just a modern condition. Echoing long-standing criticisms former Prime Minister Paul Keating (1991-1996) observed in 1990 that public perceptions of politicians are less than positive and Keating noted that this negative feeling is exacerbated with every pay increase that politicians receive (Keating in Ryan, 1995). Diminished confidence in political leadership does exist: "mediocrity, fanaticism and moral cowardice abound" (Carlin 2013, p. xi) but this does not preclude aspirations of humanity and competencies in political leaders. "Nelson Mandela, who remained as generous as he was shrewd, despite spending twenty-seven years in jail, stands as a timely reminder and a timeless inspiration" (ibid). Monbiot (2019) wrote about the invective that is directed towards prime ministers and consequently queried why anyone would want the job. Keating's counter claim to negative perspectives of those who hold public office is that "politicians change the world, and politics and politicians are about leadership" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.5). Keating also wrote that politicians need to leave a positive legacy for the future. "Governments must provide for this generation and the next" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.33)

Keating's truism that politicians alter the realms of their citizens, and that there is a need for leaders to steer societies, is a double-edged sword. The private and publicly articulated objectives, motivations and ambitions of people entering politics and aspiring to the Prime Ministerial role are not always complemented by possession of the necessary talents and social intelligence. Although some leaders can be hailed for exercising leadership that is in the in the best interests of those on the receiving end of their decision making, there is no guarantee that this is the overriding motive, despite the litany of promises that are made to secure electoral wins. Others who covet the role of leader do so in the pursuit of power and reverence rather than affecting a collective social benefit (Sander, 2012).

In order to achieve socially intelligent leadership the incumbents holding these roles need to put the interests of the society they serve foremost above their own gains or advantages; not be motivated primarily by the celebrity and power of their roles; they need to be truthful and not make promises that are unfeasible and they must be fair-minded and impartial (Monbiot, 2019). Nonetheless, those with propensities towards the exploitation of others also gravitate to a leadership position; Machiavellian rationalisations, in which the means justify the end for devious acts; a lack of thoughtfulness and a yearning for the status and power connected with their roles rather than an emphasis on public good are evident motivations (Monbiot, 2019: Sander, 2012). Duffers (2019) offers by way of explanation that the world stage of leaders reflects a cohort of people who are compensating for private stresses, derived from their personal lives, by gravitating to leadership roles. Rather than the specific traumas being directly treated or addressed, these individuals incline to governance positions where they can exercise control over others as a compensatory behaviour for their own instabilities (Duffell, 2019).

Unforeseen world and local events play their role in influencing the successful tenure of an incumbent government. Attribution of thwarted political goals has also been ascribed to the systemic flaws or complexities of the political systems within which the participants have to operate. Undoubtedly, there has to be an allowance for the influence of embedded structures, as Weller (1989) suggests when he asks: "Do the structures of government and the federal system prevent the fulfillment of the public's expectations?" (Weller, 1989, p.xii). Duffell (2019) submits that the toxicity of the political environment matches the harmful dispositions of these insecure persons rather than providing the environs for

thoughtful and concerned leaders (Duffell, 2019). Sander (2012) wrote that those with higher levels of emotional intelligence are less likely to aspire to leadership roles, as they are more focussed on leading balanced lives, without the imperative to attain social stature as the high point of their careers (Sander, 2012).

The motivation for this thesis

The daily significance and bearing of politics and politicians on the livelihood of a country's citizenry and potentially beyond provides a compelling rationale for an exploration of prime ministerial social intelligence. As expressed by John C. Maxwell: "Leadership is not about titles, positions, or flow charts. It is about one life influencing another" (Hyatt, 2015). In the context of the prime ministerial role, this impact has a broad and powerful reach that has lasting ramifications. Everything from welfare, pensions, poverty, utility bills, housing, educational opportunities, infrastructure spending, work prospects, health care, cost of living, quality of life and financial industry regulation are all affected by political governance. A person's inclination to fill the role of being prime minister needs to be matched with the capacity to undertake such a responsibility. Some inadequately socially intelligent acts by prime ministers might be dubbed misdemeanours but others cannot. For example, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's (2007-2010; 27 June, 2013-7 September 2013) rudeness to a flight attendant (Coorey, 2009) worked to reinforce a negative image of the Prime Minister rather than having a broad impact on the citizenry, whereas the consequences of socially deficient decision making can be dire, as was evidenced by the rollout of the ceiling insulation scheme under the Rudd government. The poor framing of the programme resulted in the deaths of four installers and the destruction of more than several hundred homes due to a clash between political electoral imperatives, economic stimulus intentions, extreme deadlines and poor risk management (Australian Government Service. AGS.002.039.1203). If a prime minister can demonstrate social intelligence it could be considered the major mediating factor in decision making that supports better policy or political outcomes.

The realm of political leadership has its distinctive components. "The prime ministership is a position that affords both the luxury of helping shape the nation's future and the pressure of intense days and audacious scrutiny" (Gillard, 2014, p.2). Most notably, the role involves balancing between policy making to benefit the citizenry and political

leaders maintaining their own political position. The role encompasses political, social, cultural and economic dimensions that traverse both local and global considerations. Governmentally, leadership is challenged almost daily by contingencies such as, in recent times, the Global Financial Crisis, which had an impact on all political leaders; European Union (EU) member debt, which affected European political leaders. A wide range of factors impinge in varying degrees, on the domain of all political leaders: for instance, environmental concerns; trade agreement compliance; broad social agendas and accountabilities as well as security and terrorism (Bassanese, 2012; Duncan, 2012; Du Plessis, 2012; Rego et al.; 2012; Crone, 2016).

Leadership is a vital and requisite element of the political role for decision-making, enlisting support, clarifying policy communications, bearing decision accountabilities and ensuring commitments are met (Walter & Strangio, 2007). There can be a divergence between the expectations of the citizenry and the prime ministers themselves. Voter hopes may have stemmed from policy pronouncements made as part of electoral campaigns; long held policy beliefs or objectives or public perceptions. In reality, beneficial strategic and economic deeds for Australia can vie with tactics and politicking by incumbent prime ministers to render their occupancy of the Prime Ministerial role as secure as possible. There are other factors relevant to the Australian context that have a bearing on the leader position. These include non-fixed tenure, the role of the media, political systems, prime ministerial responsibilities, the influence of economic rationalist perspectives, public policy, populism and trust and government accountability (Harris, 2009).

In the period of this study, 1972-2013, five of the Prime Ministers analysed were from the Australian Labor Party [3] and two from the Liberal Party of Australia[4]. The method of selection to nominate a leader in the Liberal Party of Australia is through a vote by the parliamentary party[5]. Up until 2013, the same applied to the Australian Labor Party. Then,

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[3] The Australian Labour Party is a democratic socialist party and has the objective of the democratic socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange, to the extent necessary to eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features in these fields: https://cdn.australianlabour.com.au/documents/ALP_National_Constitution.pdf.

[4] We Believe: In the inalienable rights and freedoms of all peoples; and we work towards a lean government that minimises interference in our daily lives; and maximises individual and private sector initiative: https://www.liberal.org.au/our-beliefs.

[5] In 2017 changes were being sought to the voting processes in the Liberal Party. 'The Waringah motion', proposed by Former Prime Minister Tony Abbott, passed by 748 votes to 476 at a party convention in Sydney. The motion allows for plebiscites to select candidates for

in 2013 Prime Minister Rudd, on being reinstated as Prime Minister (having been deposed in 2010), introduced a fifty per cent split of the decision choice, between the parliamentary party and party members. Prime Minister Rudd also attempted to effect structural protections for the benefit of serving Labor Prime Ministers to prevent them from being overthrown by the parliamentary party (Bourke, 2015; Cullen, S. 2013).

This introductory chapter has attempted to emphasise the relevance of social intelligence as a valid area of research in Australian political leadership. Frequently, social intelligence measures have concentrated on identification of the presence of social skills rather than having a combined focus on how these competencies are applied in reality to actions and practices within authentic contexts. This thesis seeks to vary this through an assessment of the social intelligence 'in action' of the seven Prime Ministers' covered by this study and whether the outcomes and legacy of their tenures could be deemed socially intelligent. The thesis proceed as follows:

The next chapter provides a review of the literature. Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach that has been used. Chapter 5 explores the social intelligence of Prime Ministers Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser. Chapter 6 investigates Prime Ministers Julia Gillard and Kevin Rudd. Chapter 7 covers Prime Minister Paul Keating. Chapter 8 examines Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and John Howard. Chapter 9 provides a summary of the findings, conclusion, and theoretical contribution of the thesis.

Consideration was given to outlining the social intelligence of each of the prime ministers in individual chapters. Throughout the collection of the data, natural alignments between the prime ministers began to surface, which are reflected in the organisation of the chapters.

state and federal seats in New South Wales. The changes are not yet binding (Conifer & Kennedy, 2017).

Figure 1.1: Australian Prime Ministers studied in this thesis

Kevin Rudd 2013-2013 | Julia Gillard 2010-2013 | John Howard 1996-2007 | Paul Keating 1991-1996 | Bob Hawke 1983-1991 | Malcolm Fraser 1975-1983 | Gough Whitlam 1972-1975

Source: National Archives of Australia viewed 9th March, 2015.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Intelligence

Mintzberg (1973) wrote about explicit interpersonal skills that were essential to effective management, including demonstrating empathy with an organisation's hierarchy, interacting with employees and preserving social networks. Riggio and Reichard (2008) proposed a framework for developing awareness of the emotional and social skills that underpinned the interpersonal expertise necessary for leadership and management areas. They suggested that emotional skills, including competence in the expression, sensing and perception of emotions, were expanded by consideration of emotional intelligence because emotions inform cerebral activity. Social skills were identified as constructs of social intelligence. Political social intelligence is commonly referenced in the psychology field as it relates to 'political skill' in the workplace (Mintzberg, 1973). High political intelligence, in the context of office politics, has been described as having five components: integrity, self-awareness, emotional intelligence regarding others, strategy and execution (Vrana, 2014). Banister and Meriac (2015, p.792) argue that "political skill is distinct from other social effectiveness variables" such as social intelligence, emotional intelligence, amicability, and diligence. They conclude, however, that, "social effectiveness is fundamental for any valuable interpersonal exchange between people, more importantly, within any work-related environment" (2015, p.776).

A study by Greenstein (2009) explored presidential leadership in the United States of America, beginning with President Roosevelt and extending to Bill Clinton. Greenstein (2009) chose to separate 'emotional intelligence' components of the presidents as distinct from their 'cognitive styles'. Under the heading of 'emotional intelligence' Greenstein (2009) wrote that Roosevelt had a "leadership style that was manipulative and inscrutable" (Greenstein, 2009, p.25) and under the title of 'cognitive style' referred to an "exceptional memory" … "almost clairvoyant insights" and … "an inability to identify the contradictions in his policies" (Greenstein, 2009, p.24). This approach suggests that it is possible to subdivide a person's brain into the respective components neatly and appears not to recognise the interconnectedness between these abilities.

The present chapter will outline the empirical development of emotions-based research, more generally and specifically in the province of work and leadership, starting with Thorndike in the 1920s, to more recent studies of social intelligence. In the literature there is extensive dialogue pertaining to social intelligence, as well as a tendency to argue about methodologies; nonetheless significant issues remain (Kets de Vries, 1993; Dulewicz, Young & Dulewicz, 2005). At various intervals writers have signified the value of emotions, in the exercise of intelligent decision-making (Dulewicz et al; 2005). Instruments have been developed and utilised to quantify socially intelligent leadership traits or specific components thereof (Ybarra et al; 2012). Self-measurement tools have been applied to individuals and groups and claims made about their potential to train leaders in emotional proficiencies (Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2003). Other studies have argued that successful improvements in emotional skills can be created after participants have attended single day courses (Re, 2010). Consultants who, it might be reasoned, have a vested interest in such conclusions, often hail such achievements. Cavanagh (2011), proposed a new model of short course work, supplemented by a twelve-month mentoring programme, which may perhaps produce more tangible results. Increased acuity in emotional intelligence, through continual feedback and on-going advice, is supported by the work of Berman and West (2008). The counterpoint is that rather than change a person's social intelligence, the focussed training works as a social model of the suitable actions deemed appropriate in a set of circumstances. "A person who does not have good emotional intelligence is only capable of learning the appropriate responses as skills, but is incapable of applying these taught abilities appropriately or by truly and spontaneously engaging emotional intelligence" (Sander, 2012, p.4).

Moreover, training courses do not take into account the import of life experiences and innate leader traits as they occur in natural settings. Often, completing emotional inventories are a compulsory component of such courses, but as has been acknowledged in the past the respondents may modify their responses to the circumstances as they see fit (Boyatzis & Goleman, 2007). An added drawback in many studies is that with rare exceptions, leadership is still framed, within traditional organisational models, of rationalist decision-making. Organisations are portrayed as reasonable establishments, engaged in objectives that seek to secure benefits for all. Morgan (1997) suggests that is an idealised interpretation rather than the actuality. The self-seeking gains of a few are often imposed to the broader detriment of others. In concert, with this is that the methods

of analysis of emotional elements are often informed by the same overly rationalist traditions of measurement and thus are considered exclusive of social intelligence.

An individual's frame of reference will vary in its exposure to specific emotions and the level of experience attached to each or any of these emotions may differ. Emotions include sentiments such as empathy, sadness, happiness, jealousy, love, anger, indifference, regret or being afraid. In Latin emotion or emovere means motus anima "the spirit that moves us" (Corporate XL, 9th August,2011). Originally, the word emotion denoted: "an agitation of mind; an excited mental state" and subsequently: any strong mental or instinctive feeling…deriving esp. from one's circumstances, mood, or relationship with others … instinctive feeling as distinguished from reasoning or knowledge" (Oxford English Dictionary 2011). The embedded quality of our emotions has also been summarised as follows: "Our emotions contain our histories … every chapter and verse of every experience, deep understanding, and relationship in our lives. Emotions make up who we are, and they enter our human system as a source of energy that radiates and resonates" (Cooper, 1997, p.35). As such, emotions are a driver for individuals' interpretations of the behaviour of others, relationship interactions and actions. The channelling of these forms the basis for social intelligence.

Sources of social intelligence: biological, cognitive, psychoanalytic, social constructionist perspectives.

The meanings we derive from our experiences and the contexts in which events occur will be influenced by the emotions we feel and our sentiments will compel or restrain our actions as a consequence (Fineman, 2008). The corollary of this is that emotional learning is also varied as a result of what we have and will live through. The presence of emotions is not an issue that requires debate. Where there is significant discussion however, is on how emotions are produced in the context of social intelligence. In this discussion, advocacy for one viewpoint over another, tends to be promoted rather than recognising that a combination of these stances better reflects the reality of social intelligence in action. The range of positions is worth exploring.

One perspective is that social intelligence is an inherent part of who we are through our biological inheritance, stemming from our ancestors' genetic inheritance, which favoured

the survival of those possessing such reactive base instincts. The universality of the same types of emotions builds on this idea. Work by Ekman (1993) suggests, for example, that fundamental emotional facial expressions, such as delight or fright, are emulated in a variety of cultures. Organisational psychologists maintain that these historical behaviours are still manifest in today's vocational areas, evident, for instance, through masculine control in organisations and the use of aggressive behaviours. Furthermore, they argue that these traits naturally prohibit the implementation of effective processes, in organisations (Fineman, 2008).

The cognitive slant on our emotional conduct is that we evaluate happenings, which determines our sentiments and how we articulate them to others. Lazarus and Cohen-Charash (2001) refer to a two-pronged assessment with our initial judgement focussed on the impact of a situation on us followed by consideration about what we can do about it. In the Freudian (1966) approach, work environments are a mixed bag of emotions, emanating, from people's hopes, fears, and needs. Individuals, attempt to keep these compulsions in check, because they recognise that they would be deemed improper within society. There is also a need for these persons to suppress their emotions in order to prevent their own disquiet. In its extreme forms, this is manifest in what observers would judge to be bureaucratic and unfeeling behaviours, as perhaps discernible, in some patient and doctor relations or in a range of service-oriented encounters (Samuel, 2010). The burden of experience is influential in both affirmative and destructive ways.

Lugo (2007, p.20) states that "emotional intelligence competencies are learned abilities". It is likewise argued that unknowingly people carry baggage from their lives with them into organisations, the consequences of which become apparent in working relationships. These set the personal agenda for practices, such as an individual's political manoeuvrings and how they play the overall work games. Kets de Vries (1993) refers to neurotic leadership manifesting itself in despotic, conflicting, and precipitate conduct in management roles. Some of these behaviours have been described in the context of the behaviours of Australia's Prime Ministers (Stuart, 2010). At the extreme end, the psychoanalytic focus is on the experience and expression of negative emotions, articulated at their worst through psychoses, and criminal activity. The social constructionist view underscores the importance of cultural, societal and interpersonal influences on people's emotions.

Behaviours are determined by relevant social customs and so public emotional expressions are adjusted accordingly. Arlie Hochschild (1983) extrapolated and developed the concept of emotional labour in work environments. Employees are expected to align feelings and/or emotional expressions to those of the organisation for which they work. Further, the notion of emotional labour entails employees being organisationally compelled to feel and act in a certain way towards clients in service interactions through the use of mandatory rules.

Lopez's (2006) work is distinguished from that of Hochschild (1983) in addressing whether emotionally gratifying reciprocal relationships between employees and clients, are necessarily linked to forced organisational inducements to carry out emotional labour. Instead, he asks, whether it is feasible for organisations, to sustain positive employee client relations, without instructing employees on what they need to feel. He is critical of the ongoing supposition that imposing sentiment regulation is the only way for work organisations to administer emotional contexts. The different approach by Lopez (2006) is valuable because as Riggio and Reichard (2008, p.174) convey "the most commonly researched construct related to emotional regulation and impression management is emotional labour". Through a series of cases, Lopez illustrates how views might be altered.

He uses three nursing home case studies as a learning device to illustrate that organisational procedure operates inherently differently, depending on the application of 'emotional labour' or 'organised emotional care'. Put simply, such care involves the conscious creation of a work environment, which facilitates socially intelligent nurturing of service providers and recipients. Hochschild expressed emotional labour as being emotional exertion carried out for a wage (Lopez, 2006) and as any perceived authentic interactions between worker and client which she took to be a hallmark of the level of manipulation by the organisation. There is no view of worker independence or self-rule in this perspective. Employees are viewed as perpetually alienated from their own emotions in any work location. Lopez (2006) believes that Hochschild has overrated the capacity of employers to hold sway over employee's emotional lives.

Lopez makes reference to studies undertaken by Tolich in 1993 of supermarket cashiers. The cashiers regarded themselves as self-governing in their application of emotions and not regulated by organisation rules so that they could experience real and congenial relations with customers. In reality, this discussion leads to an observation that

compulsion can be applied only to attempts by an employee to control public displays of emotion so that they are positive. "Clearly the distinction is not so clear cut, as we can bring into being feelings through displaying them as much as we can by suppressing their display (e.g. anger)" (Surman & Sturdy, 2009, p.168). At a more constructive level, emotional labour is not merely concerned, with quashing or conveying emotions, to influence upbeat sentiments in others but also entails methods to help staff manage their own emotions when coping with difficult situations, such as irate customers. In the same vein, an organisation cannot compel genuineness in the expression of civilities, exercised by an employee, towards those being assisted. Each of these outlooks reinforces the complexity, of the discussion of emotions. Karpin (1995) identified, that even the so-called 'soft skills' pertain to meaningful and complex capabilities, in the context of leadership. Problems are inherent in completely dissociating the diverse perspectives on emotion.

To focus on only one point of view eclipses what can be gleaned from the other standpoints. Over-zealous biological viewpoints ignore the importance of social influences; similarly, social constructionist views ignore an individual's capacity not just to adhere to established social practices but to act with free will. It is also clear that to ignore the hereditary biological component is naïve in the face of evidence to the contrary. Popular culture has made this the subject of movies such as Bad Seed (Mahin, 1956) and We Need to Talk about Kevin (Ramsay & Kinnear, 2011) where children are accepted as having been 'born evil'. In real life, the research work of Professor Dadds, focused on parenting, shows how what he describes as 'cold children', those lacking emotion, evolve. Dadds has proposed, in publications in the British Journal of Psychiatry (Dadds, 2012) and the Journal of Child Psychiatry and Psychology (Pasalich, Dadds, Hawes, & Brennan, 2011), that the ability to make eye contact is vital in learning how to love other people (Griffin, 2011). Harvard experimental psychologist, Steven Pinker, refers to the concept of 'the moral instinct' and explores the neurological signals that control empathy. In 2002 Pinker published a book called The Blank Slate. The title is intentionally ironic because as Pinker articulates, children with "a heart of darkness" (Pinker, 2002, p.51) are not necessarily a product of environs but instead their dispositions can be attributed to genetic and neuroscience factors. By extension, such work might suggest that there is also scope to think that other children are born predisposed to more positive emotional traits.

Bruner (1990) proposes that, rather than there being diverse intelligences, there is a dispositional tendency to use either a logico-mathematical or narrative strategy to perceive the world. It has also been shown that people who suffer damage to the emotional components of the brain exhibit high-level indecisiveness (Lehrer, 2009). Goleman and Boyatzis (2008) also explored the application of mirror neurons that are present throughout the brain. In socially intelligent leaders, these mirror neurons allow them automatically to experience shared emotions with those they interact with. "We believe that great leaders are those whose behaviour powerfully leverages the system of brain interconnectedness" (Goleman and Boyatzis, 2008, p.76). This interrelation aligns with what Thorndike (1942) proposed. Goleman and Boyatzis (2008) conceded that they knew of "no clear-cut methods to strengthen mirror neurons" … and that "self-conscious attempts to display social intelligence can often backfire" (Goleman and Boyatzis, 2008, p.78).

Similarly, work on (MNS) mirror neuron systems by Molnar-Szakacs (2011) indicates that the mirror neurons in one individual code the reactions and actions of another person, as if the two people were interchangeable. An example is cited of viewing a friend who after being kicked in the shins, fell down hurt during a soccer match. By witnessing this injury, the friend of the soccer player experiences a neural reaction, akin to their being injured, which generates understanding and potentially acts as an empathetic prompt for the friend to rush to the player's aid:

> "Thus, our capacity for empathy - the ability to share another's emotions and feelings-is based in a simple 'mirroring' mechanism implemented by the human MNS that allows us to use the same neural resources to represent states of the self and others in an overlapping way" (Molnar-Szakacs, 2011, p.2)

Molnar-Szakacs (2011), replicating the work of Lipps (1903), further identified that through observing the facial expressions of others one resonates to the point where the observer is emulating the person being observed. Molnar-Szakacs (2011, p.8) refers to "higher level cognitive empathy" which supplements, the automated response with information about the other person's perception and state of mind. Higher level cognitive empathy results in an assessment that may instigate a help or harm response, qualified by what is considered fair in the context. Empathy for other people is deemed as indispensable to moral conduct (Molnar-Szakacs 2011). Immediate emotional responses

have an instantaneous personal implication whereas moral emotions are said to have a bearing on an individual's interest in pursuing the wellbeing of societies, or people, in their social surrounds. Eisenberg et al. (2004) and Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Sadovsky (2006) posit that empathy is pivotal to an individual's ethical emotional schema, for key reasons. These include the capacity for a compassionate reaction to another's distress; an assessment of the fairness of what happened to the person and an inducement to assist as well as acting to prevent hostile or injurious behaviours, towards others. What this work does not explore is the contribution an individual's personal and work experiences make to a person's empathetic skills. Rather, the chronicle of social intelligence research is dominated by discussion determined to separate the cognitive and rational forms of intelligence from the emotional. Doing this has historic underpinnings: philosophers such as Aristotle referred to the brain as the astute controller and to emotions as impulsive and imprudent (Haidt, 2003). It is this perspective on intelligence that has permeated intelligence measures.

While the role of intellect is seen as pivotal to our humanity (Kass, 1995) and to our social intelligence, the presence of intelligence does not guarantee empathy. Investigative journalist Jon Ronson utilised the work of psychologist Robert Hare to write a book called the Psychopath Test (Business Week, 2011). Investigations by Hare indicate that numerous company chiefs tally much higher than usual on psychopath assessment scales (Ronson, 2011). Indeed, Hare's conviction is that approximately four percent of individuals, with sizeable managerial authority and immense power could be labelled psychopathic. While Hare's work concentrated on serial killers with psychopathic disorders, his chief regret was not translating these studies on a larger scale to the business and organisational arena. Hare's disquiet stemmed from his observation that whilst a criminal's actions have a devastating impact on families, company political and religious psychopaths have a much broader impact on market economies and societies (Ronson, 2011). Certainly, the capacity for successful treatment of psychopathy is subject to much discussion and research (Salekin, 2002). Psychopaths are readily able to imitate emotion to influence targets as they seek to control them as they wish. Other traits include superficial charm, pathological lying and a lack of empathy (Arkancide.com, 2011, 20th August). Where psychopathy does exist in individuals, the ramifications are quite profound. Those with lesser social intelligence enact poor or unwarranted conduct

towards others (Sandler, 2012) but the quest for power by these individuals unsurprisingly puts them in overseeing roles.

Emerging research on leaders with psychopathic tendencies suggests that psychopaths strive for power positions, and are easily able to emulate emotional responses as a means of controlling whoever is in their sights (Arkancide, 2011, 20th August; Patty, 2016). Equally, such ruthless natures find a natural calling in organisations where hard-line approaches are required in circumstances such as sackings and restructures. The appeal of such people to organisations is that they have no hardship in executing tasks such as firing people. Studies also intimate that such people climb the ladder in significant organisations, such that their effects are far reaching (Ronson, 2011). "There are several professions which seem to attract more than their fair share of those high on the psychopathic scale, among them business, surgery, the law, military and … politics" (Oxford University, 2016, 23rd August). Estimates, of the number of psychopaths in the American population are set at one per cent, but the figure is suspected to exceed the ten per cent mark in some professional areas (Hare, 2011, 29th Oct) even where the guises are more sophisticated. Leaders' psychological frameworks are an important consideration in the political sphere as well.

A senior public servant referred to being summoned to the Lodge one weekend to meet with Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, only to sit and listen to Kevin Rudd talk about things that had already been decided. "He simply seemed to want us around; as if we were the courtiers that the King had summoned because he could, and to show that he was important" (Stuart, 2010, p.10). Another of Kevin Rudd's colleagues conveyed a similar story during the time when Kevin Rudd was Opposition Leader (Anonymous Conversation One, 2014). Kevin Rudd would call up public servants at 2 am in the morning and summon them to his office or alternately call them as they were relaxing after dinner and arrange for them to meet him later at his office only to leave them waiting hours for his subsequent arrival or worse opting instead not to meet them at all. The consequences of Prime Minister Rudd's style was said to have generated an immense amount of hatred towards him, as relayed by former Labor Party Senator Graham Richardson (1983-1994): "Hate, by the way, was the right description. From lowly backbenchers to cabinet ministers, I have never come across such loathing towards a leader before, let alone a leader who achieved the biggest swing to Labor since World War II at the 2007 election" (Richardson, 2010, 29th June).

It is not uncommon for organisational leaders to enact reprisals towards those staff perceived as threats or seen to be countermanding their leader. Whistleblowers that raise valid reasons for concern about an organization or its processes may find themselves in this position (Bowers, Mitchell, & Lewis, 1999). Constructive dismissal is one means by which employees are persuaded to leave an organisation through unwarranted actions by the employer that makes the employee feel compelled to resign, albeit that they can counter with a constructive dismissal claim (Newman, 2010). In the political arena, existing cabinet members may be relegated to the backbenches as an outcome of expressions of loyalty to the loser of a leadership ballot (AAP, 2012). Aberrant, and manipulative leader activities also exist in the workforce (Graham, 2006). A familiar trait amongst leaders identified by Kets de Vries (2004) is a tendency to narcissism. Supervisors with these leanings are driven by insecurities to become overachievers, who are never quite satisfied with the work of other colleagues.

Intelligence: Cognitive/Rational and Emotional

Rego et al, (2012) hold that non-virtuous behaviour, attached to specific instances, does not necessarily signify that a leader is without virtue. They do, however, contend that many modern day corporate scandals may have been circumvented if leaders had acted with integrity, genuineness and courage. The application of context is important here. Nelson Mandela today is hailed as a leader who is looked on honourably and as an authentic leader (Rego et al; 2012). Mandela's capacity to have operated with his level of social intelligence appears to link directly to both his inherent abilities and the cumulative effect of his life experiences, including his incarceration for twenty-seven years. Rather than focus his attention on his imprisonment, Mandela set about reconciling, the disparate groups in South Africa. The Brand South Africa (2011, p.1) website described Mandela as carrying with him "an indubitable moral authority and gentle but firm sense of fairness". As unpalatable as the thought is, it is likely that Mandela may never have achieved such a capacity for leadership, if his terrorist activities as a young man had run full course. It would make an interesting study to analyse how social intelligence frames related to Mandela's operation as a leader during his Presidency of South Africa, particularly in the context of his staff but such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Formerly, rather than emotions being seen as a positive component of making the best judgements in work contexts, they were seen as the antithesis of logic and reasoning.

Much of this perspective is inherited from the classical theories of organisations. Theorists in this vein considered rationality the necessary preeminent principle to guide management and saw the removal of a human focus as fundamental (Taylor, 1998). Researchers in the disciplines of neuroscience, psychology, and sociology now argue against this point of view, although it is still widespread (Seal et al; 2008). There have been positive discussions of the worthiness of social intelligence in organisations. Social intelligence is seen to mediate organisational political dynamics and staff commitment and absenteeism rates (Vigoda-Gadot & Meisler, 2010). It has also been deemed positive for encouraging delegation of tasks, amicable communications, and working proactively (Sunindijo, Hadikusumo & Ogunlana, 2007). From diverse perspectives, detaching thinking and feeling as cognitive processes is an out-of-date notion of how our emotional and cognitive systems interrelate.

In more formal settings organisation studies has also now recognised the application of emotion in decision-making. In his book, The Decisive Moment, Lehrer (2009) outlines an array of persuasive instances of intuitive behaviours. A radar operator in the first Gulf War followed his intuition and correctly determined that a radar blip was an enemy missile even though it was consistent with the customary return flights of United States fighter jets. Lehrer (2009) expands this discussion and advises that use of emotions can be applied in situations where people have large levels of experience because neurons in the anterior cingulate cortex will discern a variation, and hence facilitate the feeling of a hunch.

The application and presence of emotions in organisations are complex. One key topic is that of toxic emotions in work environs and the intricacies that result. Frost (2003) identified that in dysfunctional leader environments, organisations depend on 'toxic handlers'. These are individuals who act as a foil for other colleagues, against managers who do not care about employees, or who demonstrate, aggressive behaviours towards them. The repercussions for the handler can be a level of toxic absorption that is detrimental to their own health (Frost, 2003).

Critical theorists consider it crucial to reflect on both positive and negative emotions as complementary concerns, because reactions to a single event can elicit positive and negative response simultaneously. In contrast, positive organisational scholarship concentrates on positive emotions – the converse of traditional considerations – that dwelt on the negative emotional elements of organisations and how these related to

malfunctions in organisational processes and individual behaviours. Employee wellbeing and a humanitarian and honest work environment is what positive scholars wish to pursue. These scholars suggest that a concentration on positive emotions, such as being happy or hopeful, is necessary because fostering such feelings results in unified employees and dynamics such as even-handedness, good judgement and self-respect (Fineman, 2006). It is also suggested that positive and negative emotions can be disengaged from each other and be comprehended as separate entities. Fineman (2006) offers a more realistic observation in recognising that the two are intertwined. Negative experiences give us leeway to reflect on positives; conversely, positive encounters or events give scope to reflect on harmful occurrences and so the import of these events is assessed. "They are in a continual, dialectical relationship. In these terms, emotions can be subtle mixes of positive and negative experiences and lead to differently valued outcomes" (Fineman, 2006, p.274).

Addressing disheartening or traumatic events is central to character shaping. They are necessary for the development of a principled nature, and strength of character (Fineman, 2006). Further analysis might also suggest that positive organisational scholarship presupposes that the intent of all employees is good. The positive standpoint has been reproached for what some see as its failure to account for cultural and gender differences (Fineman, 2008). Where the dialogue becomes even more complex is in the discourse pertaining to the nature of intelligence itself. Emotions research extends the concept of intelligence beyond its traditional boundaries.

Social Intelligence

The topic of social intelligence is a controversial one. The notion of social intelligence has emanated from research looking at emotional as distinct from rational intelligence. A blunt criticism has hinged on the notion of it being described as 'intelligence'. Goleman (1986), who coined the term 'emotional intelligence', has been criticised for writing that emotional intelligence is more imperative for leadership than are intelligence quotients or technical skills. Antonakis (2004, p. 172) stated that Goleman's assertions are a "nebulous claim that has never been peer–reviewed and published in a credible, empirical scientific journal". Foo et al (2004, p.4) counter: "In spite of its popularization, at its core the emotional intelligence literature draws from rigorous psychological research concerning

intelligence and social skills (e.g., Law et al., 2004; Matthews, Zeidner, & Roberts, 2002; Rosenthal, Hall, DiMatteo, Rogers, & Archer, 1979; Thorndike, 1966)".

Protests concerning the validity of different techniques also warrant the counter claim that "no methodology is an infallible oracle" (Midgley, 2008, p.51). Perhaps, in defence of Goleman (1986), it is fair to remark that the scientific world is not renowned for its tolerance of new ideas, even amongst its peers and that Goleman's (1986) claims form an important area for ongoing research. Particularly in light of Goleman's (1996) observation that the emotional lessons learnt in childhood, in home and school environments, contribute to cultivating "the emotional circuits, making us more adept – or inept – at the basics of emotional intelligence" (Goleman, 1996, p.xiii). These views lend further support to the inclusion of the biographies of our Prime Ministers involved in this study as a valuable data source contributing to an assessment of their social intelligence. The annals of history also record the admonishment by contemporaries of now revered scientists in the early stages of their research. Alejandro Zaffaroni, for example, developed controlled release drug dispensing, as a treatment method in the 1960s and faced opposition, from both the medical and pharmaceutical industries (MIT, 2012). Conceivably, Goleman's (1996) ideas struck a chord with those seeking answers, to key leadership problems. Yet even here, there needs to be clarity on what is designated as leadership. If this role is seen as one of providing vision for others to follow and benefit from, then perhaps Goleman's claim may prove to be viable. What is counter intuitive to Goleman's (1986; 1996) assertion is the recognition that intelligences work in tandem rather than the old notion of the cognitive and rational versus the emotional brain.

Ybarra, Rees, Kross and Sanchez-Burks (2012) indicate that emotional intelligence involves a relationship between instinctive emotions and reflectively managed emotions, imitating the way the mind works. It would be fair to affirm, as Anotonakis (2004) declares, that, to date, reliability and validity measures as recognised scientifically have, in general, not been applied to measures of social intelligence. The question remains whether such measures are indeed appropriate when context plays such a significant part in emotional experiences. Similarly, it could be argued that measures such as Bar-On's (1997) Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i), the Self-Report Emotional Intelligence Test (SREIT) (Schutte, Malouff, Hall, Haggerty, Cooper, Golden, Dornheim, 1998) and the Multidimensional Emotional Intelligence Assessment (MEIA) (Tett, Fox and Wang, 2005) rely too heavily on self-assessment and give scope for skilful participants to invent

appropriate profiles for themselves (Day & Carroll, 2008; Ybarra, 2012). Is it to be expected that a respondent will address questions in a negative way when they are asked, for example, whether they admit to their limitations or if they endeavour to make the most of any situation (Lugo, 2007)? The possibility is that they will not answer honestly to any questions posed by the Emotional and Social Competency Inventory (Boyatzis & Goleman, 2007). Other criticisms posited against these measures include issues with distinguishing measures of emotional intelligence traits against other personality traits and a concentration on evaluating, decisiveness and malleability (Ybarra et al, 2012).

Measurement of intelligence?

The determination to measure intelligences is understandable but the efficacy of the measurements is questionable. For example, Farrelly and Austin (2007) reasoned that, if social intelligence were an actual intelligence, then intellectual processing speeds for those with advanced levels would be obtainable. The time limitation on these tests is significant, as exceedingly intelligent people may take longer to ponder the questions and as a result, score poorly. Meaningful appraisal of problems to find solutions reflective of a higher intelligence cannot be revealed through tests that have, as an exigency, hasty resolution (Sander, 2012). The impression is that the import of considering situation specifics also seems to be entirely neglected. Furthermore, IQ tests have been criticised for not taking into account contexts, and for their overall inadequacy as a measure of the entirety of intelligence (Gardner, 1983).

Methods of investigation of social intelligence and specific emotion areas, such as compassion and toxic emotions include quantitative and qualitative analysis and range in scope from positivist to social constructionist perspectives. The adequacy of existing devices such as surveys or psychometric methods to quantify and evaluate emotional intelligence is being questioned. For example, disassociating emotion from contexts is seen as problematic if organisational processes are really to be understood. Self-assessment devices have also been the hallmark of determining the presence and type of emotions connected with situations and these have both positive and negative implications (Eisenberg, Valiente & Champion, 2004). There is also the issue of the capacity of the survey respondent to discern the most 'appropriate' responses and select them accordingly. The disparate views of the presence, application and worthiness of

social intelligence seem to highlight the need for alternative ways, for social intelligence to be conceptualised and investigated.

Riggio and Reichard (2008) expressed a preference for the abilities model put forward by Salovey, Mayer, and Caruso from 2002 to 2004, as an emotional intelligence measure that specified four common emotional intelligence abilities. These comprise, firstly, a capacity to recognise and identify emotions, both personally and in others, and the aptitude to express them. Another is the ability to apply emotions, to assist in improving thinking and exercising positive thoughts. The third measure is having an insight into the complex and subtle nature of emotions and how they interact while the fourth gauges the competence to manage emotions in a positive way. Evaluation of these emotional intelligences is done using the Mayer Salovey Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT). Salovey et al then outlined how an expansion of their earlier model developed from 1986 to 2008, was a more prudent and economical measure, of emotional and social intelligence. The model was inspired from research in the interpersonal communications area and how it applied to the leadership effectiveness domain. Riggio and Reichard (2008 p.171) claimed that the model provided an accessible and compelling means of quantifying emotional and social intelligence, together with the capacity to pinpoint skills that can be developed. They reduce emotional and social communication competencies to three key skill sets. One set is 'emotional and social expressiveness' or respectively non-verbal and verbal abilities. Another is 'emotional and social sensitivity'. In this case, emotional sensitivity is skill in the receipt and interpretation of, non-verbal emotions. Social sensitivity pertains to verbal listening skills and the ability to interpret social circumstances, combined with a familiarity of the requisite social conventions and customs. The final skill set is 'emotional and social control'. Emotional control is the ability to control both nonverbal and demonstrative displays of emotions. Social control refers to an individual's capacity for highly developed societal role-playing and discretion in social arenas. It is surmised that the overall outcome of possession of these skill sets, will result in motivational leaders, and contribute to their leadership practice in the contexts of speech, listening, giving instruction and managing impressions. The authors argue various propositions. Charisma in a leader is positively correlated with the capacity of the person in charge to be emotionally expressive. The ability of a leader to articulate translates to a positive emotional climate for those that they lead, together with high-level quality relationships. It is further proposed that, if a leader's emotional skills are well

attuned, they will be able to ascertain negative feelings amongst cohorts, manage impressions and apply effective leadership, even when the leaders themselves feel strained. Furthermore, a leader's career progression is linked to their capacity for self-expression and to displaying sensitivity in a social context. Finally, a leader's ability to exercise emotional control reinforces their status as a leader. Emotional sharing was found to be instrumental also, in aligning employees' work and in making an organisation the chosen space for career development (Ozcelik, Hakan, Langton, & Aldrich, 2008).

The methodology applied by Riggio & Reichard (2008), is a descriptive one and takes a broad two-part view of a communications framework to account for the processes entailed in emotional and social interactions between leaders and staff in organisations. A comparison is made between the constructs of 'skill level' approaches derived from the interpersonal communication arena and 'intelligences', seen in terms of their evolution in the management sphere. They note that emotional intelligence is broader than "an emotional skills approach" (Riggio & Reichard, 2008, p.170), since it informs intellectual processing. The article's findings and discussion centre on the authors' assessment of research they have been doing behind the scenes. They write that they have been engaged in conducting workshops and other training programmes to "assess and develop individual's emotional and social skills" (Riggio & Reichard, 2008, p.178). Providing a primary framework for analysis has been commended for recognising, that people exercise a selection, of emotional intelligence tools (Ybarra et al, 2012). Perhaps one of the more contestable areas is the notion of training people to be emotionally intelligent, through workshops and courses. The capacity to train individuals in social intelligence, beyond providing models or exemplars to apply in certain circumstances, is refuted by Sander (2012). It would appear that the capacity for 'instruction' in emotional intelligence is not harmonised with other areas, such as accountability for inherent traits of leaders. In discussing the interpretation of their existing data, Riggio and Reichard (2008) highlight that there has been no agreed upon framework "outlining the specific dimensions of social intelligence or ways to measure it" (Riggio & Reichard, 2008, p.171.) Their work also emphasises that there is room to explore and reflect on a leader's capacity to convey negative emotions.

At the time the authors acknowledged, that thorough evaluations of their work were unpublished. Despite this, they were still prepared to present conclusions, declaring positive feedback by managers about the training programmes undertaken. The authors

also maintained that it is possible to improve emotional and social intelligence through training. The prerequisite for such training programmes involved a combination of 'performance based assessments' and 'self-report measures' to assess existing skill levels (Riggio & Reichman, 2008 p.179). The authors, rather than being deterministic, reinforce the notion that whilst writing on the area of emotional and social intelligence is prolific, gaps exist in its application to the leadership role. In essence, much of what the authors cover is the application of social and emotional intelligence skills to levels of empathy and skilled appearances by leaders rather than the extension of these skills in exercising decision-making for the social good.

The historical evolution of the field of emotions through the literature is extensive. It ranges from Thorndike in the 1920s and 1940s and his view of social intelligence, through studies focusing on non-verbal communication and interpersonal skills, to psychosocial skills and skill deficits, in psychopathological contexts. Further evolution in the field is evident in research on skill sets to cope with life's stresses, to research on impression management and on the need for social skill sets in leaders. The issues that have been raised include the extent to which such intelligences can be taught beyond base level skills of teaching people to practice smiling, as at the Smile Amenity Institute in Japan (Kakuchi, 2000). Conclusions based on a single variable, oversimplify this sphere of knowledge.

Some writers in this discipline maintain that emotional competencies can be learned and continually improved (Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2003). These authors identify that for work environments, the potential benefits of good emotional intelligence might include professional functionality; an affirming work attitude; the capacity to lead and also facilitation of change management processes (Dulewicz et al, 2005). Writers such as Antonakis (2004) contest, in a divergent perspective, the potential accomplishments of emotional intelligence. Instead of leaders being assisted by a capacity to comprehend the emotions of others, this is seen as a disrupting influence. Concentration on their work undertakings would be undermined by the expression of negative emotions and having to account and be amenable to others. In the same vein, research on organisational creativity indicates that employee perceptions, of work settings influence their creative abilities (Amabile, 1996).

The frameworks for understanding emotional processes can be borrowed from psychology, biology and the cognitive, social and neuropsychology arenas. At a basic

level, applying the term emotionally intelligent is said to make reference to someone with the capacity to comprehend and control their emotions and influence those of others. In an organisational framework, emotional intelligence has been acknowledged, as part of a set of skills facilitating the best approaches to achieving required outcomes in various contexts. Work by Underwood and Moore (1982) intimated that, despite views to the contrary, evidence of a relationship between empathy and behaviours in favour of a common social good, had not been made. It is not always the case that intelligence is applied beneficially, by its holders. Through the use of Thorndike's (1920) philosophical stance and Lopez's (2006) study more practical applications of emotional decision-making can be viewed.

Thorndike (1920) described intelligence as having three elements but not an independent application as discrete forms (Thorndike, 1942). The features he identified included:

- Abstract or scholastic intelligence-the ability to understand and manage ideas.

- Mechanical or visual-spatial intelligence-the ability to understand and manipulate concrete objects.

- Social or practical intelligence-the ability to understand others, manage people and act wisely in human relations (Thorndike, 1920).

A case study by Lopez (2006) underscores how acting wisely is translated into the context of nursing homes structures. His study used nursing homes comparable in structure to the bulk of nursing homes in the United States. These nursing homes had hierarchical leadership and work operations divided across horizontal departments. Each was state owned, similar in facilities, staffing and layout, equally limited in its exercise of medical care. The bulk of the physical work was completed by nurse's aides, involving everyday activities such as bathing and dressing. Where the homes did diverge substantially was in connection to an initiative called the Eden Alternative, established in 1991 by a nursing home doctor, Dr Bill Thomas, which built on the nursing home culture change models proposed by Weiner and Ronach (Lopez, 2006). Philosophically, the Eden style of care held that the majority of suffering of nursing home residents pertained to being bored, lonely, and vulnerable rather than being in physical pain. Hence the Eden care model required an organisation and its leaders to self-reflect on how it could address residents'

needs in the context of this view. Of the three nursing homes that Lopez (2006) studied, the Pines had registered with the Eden scheme three years before; the Lakes had been registered on an experimental level for the previous 18 months while the Meadows nursing home had no such connection.

In Lopez's (2006) study, two preliminary visits were made to the homes for meetings and interviews with management and staff. The difference in approach to the introductory interview by the Meadows nursing home proved to be significant. Management members of staff at the Meadows establishment dressed in business apparel and regarded themselves as a quality management group. At this home Lopez was also required to give a formal presentation, to staff and heads of departments, where he was grilled with questions concerning the purpose and methods he would apply, together with the ethical considerations. The culture at the Meadows home was one of formal professionalism. According to management perceptions, this necessitated staff not engaging in idle conversations with residents and definitely not discussing staff members' personal problems with residents, nor reacting to negative behaviours committed by residents. An example of the second element is where a cogent and continent resident, confined to a wheel chair and wholly dependent, deliberately defecated to soil herself so that the whole process just completed by a nursing aide of washing, dressing and other requisite preparations, had to be repeated. Just prior to that, the resident had sweetly assured the nursing aide that she did not require the toilet; the resident's act was intentional. Behind the scenes, the nursing aide expressed her frustrations, at the calculated behaviour of the resident, acknowledging that it drove her crazy but in line with her interpretation of the professional ethos of the organisation, the aide surmised "You just have to do your job and move on" (Lopez, 2006, p. 142). This reflects the feeling rules application. This is akin to Goffman (1959) suggesting that harmonious interactions are an "optimistic ideal and in any case not necessary for the smooth working of society" (Goffman, 1959, p.9).

Hochschild's (1983, p.3) theory asserts that in an emotional labour context, organisations present workers with 'feeling rules', with which workers are compelled to align inner emotions and outward displays. The consequence of such an approach is a separation of an employee from their real feelings. This is equated, to production workers being separated from their own labour. In practice, this rift between the employee's expressions and real feelings can take two forms (Hochschild, 1983). One is referred to as surface acting, where the worker simply goes through the motions, without sincerity and with no

personal satisfaction. The second form is where the worker goes through deep acting, and their feelings are submerged to a presentation of those prescribed by the organisation. In practice, this translates to a method of manipulation, because the employee's uniqueness and welfare are subjugated to that of the organisation. In the deep acting form of emotional labour, the impact can be quite damaging to the employees (Riggio & Reichard, 2008). The use of the word 'feeling' is ill advised. In either 'emotional labour' or 'organised emotional care', it is not reasonable to say that rules can compel an affiliation between a worker's real feelings and their outward displays. "Workers decisions about whether to offer emotional gift exchanges are always their own" (Lopez, 2006, p.136). The socially intelligent alternative would be to provide a workplace culture conducive for such feelings to be genuinely generated. The following section details the distinction in approaches between 'emotional labour' and 'organised emotional care' beginning with 'emotional labour'.

Emotional Labour

At the Meadows home, two forms of emotional labour were expected of the workers. Workers had to resign themselves to mistreatment by patients and in the same vein, the workers had to accept that standard processes that they had to comply with were meting out attendant torments to patients. An example of patient suffering was the story of a frail completely cognizant, ninety-three-year-old man, with acute back pain, forced to sit up for two hours per day who went around in his electric wheelchair, begging staff to let him lie down. The emphasis here was on compulsory routines of care, rather than a more holistic dialogue with a human being. The Lakes nursing home gravitated between the emotional labour method and the 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006, p.1) approach. An illustration of the latter included placing a large photo of all the residents, when they were young on the door of their rooms. Diverging from the Meadows policy, the Lakes also allowed residents, to determine how and where, they spent time. A case in point was a resident who was paralysed in the lower part of her body. Even though she was relatively healthy, her preference was to stay in bed, and this is what she was allowed to do.

The Meadow's nursing home approach aligned with Hochschild's (1983) characterisation of emotional labour. Irrespective of the behaviour of the client or resident, the workers' emotional pose needed to accord with explicitly defined requirements, from the organisation's management (Lopez, 2006). The consequence was that, rather than the

receiver benefiting in the form of improved care, the relationship was sabotaged. Defiant retaliation, in the form of personal soiling, to combat a seeming lack of care due to a facade of professional detachment is certainly an extreme form. It conveys a complete disregard for oneself and others. A hallmark of good relationships, including those in a carer context, is reciprocal respect (Lopez, 2006). The patient who deliberately defecated was also not having her underlying needs met. As suggested by Lopez (2006), genuine reasons exist for patients to be angry and sad, such as losing their independence, their way of life and their homes. They too are masking feelings and the residents' actions were a pointer to her discontent and anguish. The professionalism that the Meadow's nursing home was so fond of did not tackle the actual emotional needs of the carer or cared for and instead these were undermined.

Organised Emotional Care

The third nursing home in the study provided a practical example of how 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006, p.1) can be applied in context. The case is a convincing one, in its differentiation of workers applying public displays of required emotions to genuine emotional engagement by a care worker. Five female residents in a regional nursing home called the Pines, situated in Michigan USA, designated as remote and non-responding to anyone were targeted for 'organised emotional care'. The care worker read a passage from a book to the women which was about farm life and then chatted and posed questions to them, about the content, while caressing or running through their hair with a comb. Lopez's (2006) initial perception as an observer to this process was somewhat sceptical until the second resident that the care worker directed her attention to slowly became animated, and began to talk about her own life on her farm. Having returned to her office the care worker was elated by this exchange, to the point of tears. It was a breakthrough for her in the relationship communication, between her role as carer and those for whom she cared.

The Pines nursing home as a workplace was not free of force or disparate power relationships. More accurately "organisation power and coercion were not applied to workers inner emotions and displays of feeling via the imposition of organisation feeling rules for the performance of emotional Labor" (Lopez, 2006, p.138). Compassion was espoused through the fabric of the organisational structure in preference to imposing regulations on how employees need feel. What Lopez also conceded was that the Pines

nursing home was a unique case in its application of 'organised emotional care' and was not representative of nursing home tending.

Lopez concludes that the application of 'organised emotional care' is more readily appropriate to carer services than to interactive service work generically, such as, for example a supermarket franchise. This conclusion is disappointing. The concept of deliberate facilitation of 'organised emotional care', fashioning organisational conventions, processes and document maintenance to creating spaces within organisations, which allow for caring interactions and promotion of carer and cared affiliations, plus candour in emotions, is worth development. The context for Lopez's (2006) explorations was nursing home environs, but there is leeway to deem them valuable across other organisations, not least of all political ones where tensions often run high. In essence, it is about the framing of organisational spaces by leaders, where employees can engage in honest encounters, expressing both positive and negative emotions, to facilitate genuine customer care, worthwhile employee exchanges and in the milieu of the political arena, good social policy.

Lopez's (2006) conclusion that the transactional nature of businesses, such as supermarkets or other organisations, would not benefit from a re-evaluation of how clients and employees interact, on an emotional level, leaves a valuable idea underdeveloped. This notion also discounts the reality of repeat visits and hence repeat interactions with the same organisations. Certainly, in a service industry, a company would like its staff to welcome clients and give the appearance of being interested in meeting client needs. Forging relationships with customers has been a focus of business for some time, adding value, achieving retention and establishing differentiation (Wells, 2007). Forcing client/employee interactions, with imposed emotional controls, in an emotional labour sense is highly unlikely, to result in genuine and compassionate emotional interactions. To illustrate the concept of 'organised emotional care' in this context, the provision of seating for cashiers whilst they are working, which the ALDI supermarket chain in Australia has implemented, might be seen as a simplistic example of the practice, in a service arena outside the carer milieu (Jobitorial, 2010). Thus while 'organised emotional care' may have more scope in carer contexts, its import is not lost in any client and employee relationship, or in the political arena where ultimate care and social intelligence, arguably, is required towards the polity. "Real human relationships are composed of meandering conversations, non-purposive interactions, and time spent

together, that is of sociability" (Lopez, 2006, p.145) which means that it is not be deemed contrary or out of place with professional behaviour but as complementary to it. Coercing customer and employee interaction with imposed emotional controls provides a superficial approach that is difficult to sustain. An employee, exercising emotional labour in a context in which they are not genuinely engaged will ultimately unravel in their behaviours and not be able to sustain the façade, without detriment to them and to those they serve. It is difficult to agree with Hochschild (1983) that workers' feelings towards clients can be consistently manipulated. At best, the public visage of such feelings can be forced through rules, which specify conversation texts and physical displays such as forced or fake smiles. However, 'organised emotional care', would be ideal in its application in carer contexts, but elements of its approach, also have a place in all organisations. Ultimately, Lopez's (2006) research reinforces the need to reflect on emotions with positive connotations in a work context.

A business advantage is that satisfied employees make for contented customers and vice versa (Wells, 2007). Correspondingly, leaders have a role in facilitating creative co-creation amongst employees (Ladkin, 2008). It has been demonstrated that there is a relationship, between on the one hand, organisational creativity and innovation and, on the other hand, the psychological wellbeing of employees (Razulzada & Dackert 2009). The impact of office emotions is further extended by studies examining the crossover effects of workplace stresses and positivities from employees to their spouses (Westman, Brough, & Kalliath, 2009).

Leaders, through their moral and emotional behaviours, have a weighty effect on the climate within an organisation (Momeni, 2009) and in a political context these extend to broader societies. These themes indicate the significant function a leadership role has both internally and externally. Former Australian Prime Minister Hawke said: "Well, the essence of power is the knowledge that what you do is going to have an effect not just an immediate but perhaps a lifelong effect on the happiness and wellbeing of millions of people and so I think the essence of power is to be conscious of what it can mean for others" (Hawke, 2008, 14th July). The assessment of political leadership lies in its successful execution, in multiple contexts. It is also embedded in understanding what a leadership role entails.

BigCommerce, established since 2003 with offices in Texas and Sydney, runs its enterprise appreciably differently from the standard leadership approach. It is in the

vanguard of newer socially intelligent organisational models that have been emerging, which still remain the exception. A excerpt from a sample job advertisement from the company underscores the newer approach. The job descriptor included a list of reasons why potential sales manager applicants might like to work with the company. These embraced the following precepts:

- "Flexible working hours that can be changed as needed. Got kids, a soccer league, or have to be at the gym by 5pm? That's cool, we do too.
- All-day access to our kitchen and fridge, stocked full of good stuff. Don't like free food? No problem, we're walking distance to a bunch of great options.
- The ability to work with a team yet takes control of your own project. Micro-management is a drag, we don't do that here (austin.craigslist.org, 2012)".

In other uncharacteristic features of a workplace, BigCommerce did not track the sick leave of its employees; lunch hours were as long or as short as the staff wished and the start and finishing times were open, (Adonis, 2012), although staff members were not to work beyond 6:30 pm. The entire team was able to participate, in the interview process for new employees, and any colleague could exercise a veto of the candidate. Probation periods did not apply, and a new staff member was provided with an associate to help with acclimatising (White, 2012). Co-founder and co-CEO Eddie Machaalani described the rationale for the firms' flexibility as stemming from a goal to design an exceptional business culture, to entice staff with the finest aptitudes, and to nurture staff contentment (Adonis, 2012).

It has been claimed that changes in organisational modes and hence leadership, will occur as a result of generational change and a valuing of flexibility by Generation Y, an argument offset by the following observation "I'm just not sure whether when these people get into management positions, they won't suddenly see the world differently. This has been a generation that has been indulged. What happens when an indulged person gets into a management position and they have employees making demands on them? Are they understanding and giving and generous, or does the indulged person say, 'Hang on, this is making my life harder, I want you to do this, this and this'" (Gettler, 2012, p.10).

Another area of the social intelligence literature that has a useful bearing on leader assessments, is what Eisenberg et al, (2004) dubbed 'empathy-related responding', which

links to leader personality dimensions and the juxtaposition of self-interest and caring about others (Haidt, 2007). Spontaneous sharing, observed as occurring naturally in children, has been found to be a predictor of positive social behaviour in adulthood.

Evolution of Social Intelligence

This chapter presenting a review of the literature suggests that the disparate knowledge frames for understanding social intelligence and related areas are still in the process of development. Table 2.1 (derived from the literature review) is a basic summary of those theorists relevant to the present research in the broadly based social and emotional intelligence field. It also highlights the theoretical components that will be applied to the research in this thesis. Thorndike (1920; 1942) suggested that alternative methods of enquiry might be more appropriate, to understand the workings of social intelligence. "Social intelligence shows itself abundantly in the nursery, on the playground, in barracks and factories and salesroom, but it eludes the formal standardized conditions of the testing Laboratory. It requires human beings to respond to, time to adapt its responses, and face, voice, gesture, and mien as tools" (Thorndike, 1920, p. 231). Hence, following Thorndike, alternative methods have been used in this thesis.

Table 2.1: The Evolution of Social Intelligence in Organisations

Date	Theorist	Concept	Key Themes	Components
1920	Thorndike	Social intelligence.	Assessment of social intelligence in context and through actions is a critical theme.	Three elements to intelligence Abstract/scholastic Mechanical or visual Social or practical.
1942	Thorndike	Argues against the notion of intellect, will, and emotion operating as unitary forces.		
1959 1967	Goffman	Presentation of self.	Information that can be used to glean information about an individual.	Intentional and unintentional cues.
1973	Ekman	Cross cultural facial Expressions.	Similarities across cultures.	Facial expression and emotion.
1973	Mintzberg	Managerial skills.	Specific interpersonal skills.	e.g. maintenance of social networks; working with employees to manage effectively

Date	Theorist	Concept	Key Themes	Components
1983	Hochschild	Emotional labour	Identifies that 'feeling' rules have been imposed on workers in organisations to dictate their public displays of emotion with clients.	Articulated for example through the use of policies in airlines where air hostesses had to ignore aberrant behaviour by clients and display positive emotions.
1983 1993 1995	Gardner	Intra and interpersonal intelligence	Intra-capacity to understand oneself. Inter-capacity to understand other	Distinction made between emotional and intellectual capacities.

Year	Author	Concept	Focus	Description
1985	Bar-On	Emotional quotient inventory133 items	Emotional/Social and Personal Competencies	An array of non-cognitive competencies.
1986 1987 2003	Goleman	Emotional intelligence populist	EQ versus IQ	EI represents all the positive qualities that are not IQ.
1990	Salovey & Mayer	Emotional intelligence abilities model 4 categories	Ability to use Emotions. Ability to recognise emotions. Ability to understand emotions. Ability to manage emotions.	EI-the capacity to reason about emotions.
1993	Kets deVries	Neurotic leadership	Projections of fantasies by others on the role of the leader and leaders attempts to fulfil them.	3 types of female leaders e.g. Margaret Thatcher employing 'abrasive characteristics'
1995	Karpin Report	Leadership Traits	Australian Leadership Study Commissioned by the Hawke Government.	Skills identified as requiring enhancement by managers within Australia.
2000	Fineman	Emotion in organisations	Experiences, contexts and negative or positive emotions.	The influence of emotions in the context of experiences and events.

Date	Theorist	Concept	Key Themes	Components
2001	Lazarus; Cohen-Charash		Evaluation of the significance of a stressor or threatening event.	Coping processes that induce positive emotion.
2002	Jordan, Ashkanasy & Hartel	Emotional Intelligence	Evaluation of stress responses.	Low levels of emotional intelligence are linked to deleterious emotion and negative management of stress.
2004	Greenstein	Emotional Intelligence	Emotional Intelligence versus Cognitive Style.	Focuses on differentiating between cognitive style as opposed to identifying potential relations between them.
2004	Eisenberg, Valiente, Champion	Moral Empathy, 'empathy-related responding'.	Study of children using self-report, facial and physiological markers 25+ years of study.	Spontaneous sharing assessed naturalistically found to predict prosocial behaviour and values and beliefs across childhood into early adulthood.

Year	Author	Concept	Focus	Significance
2004	Foo, Elfenbein, Tan, & Eik	Conjoined linking between emotions and work results.	The influence of emotions and work outcomes.	Positive emotion influences on work with the need for further studies on negative emotion influences.
2006	Lopez	Organised emotional care	Create positive environments for a carer and the recipients of care.	On a continuum, emotional labour would be at the other end.
2006	Goleman	Social Intelligence	Inventory model	Specific traits. Distinction made between awareness and handling of emotions with regard to oneself and others.
2007	Barsade & Gibson	Emotional Intelligence	Effective management of emotions.	Significant implications for organisations, their managers and employees.
2011	Hare/Ronson	Psychopathic Behaviours	Study of criminal psychopaths and corporate psychopaths.	Development of a psychopath test instrument.
2011	IBSA (Karpin Report Revisited	Traits needed for effective leadership	Builds on Karpin Report and the skills identified in it.	Provides an outline of additional skills required by leaders
2012	Rego, Clegg, Pina e Cunha	Social Intelligence- understanding and interpretation	Applied in a global leadership context	The need for emotional sincerity to be applied

| 2003 2007 | Haidt /Tangney et al. | Moral emotions-social relevance to the interest or welfare of others | Harm/care-kindness, gentleness and Nurturing.

Fairness/ Reciprocity-reciprocal altruism.

Ingroup/loyalty- | Moral emotions are the emotions that respond to moral violations, or that motivate moral Behaviour. |
| | | | shifting coalitions but based on the all for one idea.

Authority/respect-long primate history of hierarchies-deference to authority and respect for traditions.

Purity/Sanctity-disgust and contamination. | |

The research works that have been applied to develop the research framework for this study are as follows:

1920	Thorndike	Social Intelligence	Social intelligence in action/context	Social intelligence as it articulates through behaviours
2011	Azzi/Hillmer	Effective Prime Ministerial Traits. Study of Canada's Prime Ministers	Defining traits.	Ascribes success to the tenures of prime ministers based on six variables
2006	Lopez	Organised emotional care	Create positive environments for a carer and the recipients of care.	The opposite to the theory of emotional labour
Biographical Data on each of the Prime Ministers				

In addition, two other components from the broad social intelligence and related literatures beyond Thorndike as part of the critical choice of theories are relevant to this thesis. Thus, three components from the social intelligence literature are used as the conceptual framework for this study of leadership. As indicated in the above discussion the first component is Thorndike's idea of social intelligence (1920) which is applied in particular as it is a foundation concept in the literature and has not necessarily been improved upon theoretically and conceptually in the intervening years. Nevertheless, secondly, a more contemporary concept of social intelligence under the frame of 'organised emotional care' Lopez (2006), supports Thorndike's work.

Analysis of primary source data will be aligned to these three social intelligence themes, to investigate high-level political leadership of the nominated Australian Prime Ministers. In addition these components have been selected because they most closely support addressing the research questions. Social intelligence will be applied to distinguish leader character and conduct, to assess the outcomes of decision-making and behaviours. 'Organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) will be used to study the organisational

environments that these leaders create and the influences that they have on their tenure and leadership. In addition, the traits identified in the Karpin (1995) Report and the IBSA (2011) – Karpin Revisited – and the variables outlined by Azzi and Hillmer (2012) to qualify social intelligence attributes further, will be applied. The construction of such an analytical framework is derived from the disparate literature outlined in this chapter and in the absence of a single cohesive theoretical and conceptual framework that could be applied to the present research.

Furthermore, leadership proficiencies and inadequacies have generated many research studies and assessments in both popular and academic accounts. "In 110 years, the role of the Prime Minister has become vastly more complex; technology, globalisation and the demands of the better educated, more ambitious and less forgiving electorate have combined to make the position one requiring a range of skills unimaginable to Edmond Barton and his fellow federationists" (MacCallum, 2012, p.212). For leadership actions to be satisfactorily appreciated, a greater understanding of the social intelligence that frames the decisions leading to those behaviours provides a useful starting point. The critical gap in the existing social intelligence literature is a research focus that allows for a description and interpretation of acts of social intelligence, as they occur in context. This thesis will present an attempt to do so.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical development of emotions-based research and some of the critical testing instruments, e.g., self-measurement tools that have been used to-date. Nature and nurture elements of social intelligence development have also been discussed, as have the varying arguments pertaining to the efficacy of courses in developing leader social intelligence. Negative leader behaviours in the application of social intelligence within organisations have been highlighted, balanced against some examples of attitudinal and executional changes suggestive of more socially intelligent approaches. The relevance of this research to the role of Prime Ministers of Australia, is also it is intended more evident. The following chapter outlines the methodology for this research.

CHAPTER THREE: QUALITATIVELY RESEARCHING SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

"We do need to know the truth about intelligence, its heritability and malleability and its relation to our social dilemmas" (Kass, 1995, p. 66).

Introduction

This chapter details the research design that has been used and the reasoning that determined the methodological choices that were made and why, plus a description of the form of the analysis and the ethical issues associated with this study that arose in its course. Also included is a discussion of the risks the procedural decision choices may have invoked. The purpose of this research was to investigate, portray and elucidate (Ronson, 2011) the concept of social intelligence in the context of high-level leadership, through comparative analysis of the Prime Ministers that are the subject of this study. The focus has concentrated on describing social intelligence as it was enacted in the political undertakings and general behaviours of these Prime Ministers during their tenures. As Thorndike wrote: "People should learn to judge rulers by their rule, not by their appearance" (Thorndike, 1942 p.789) and by façade Thorndike meant for example outward displays such as the leader's capacity for oratory or their apparent frankness. In that vein the writer suggests it is also important that those who ultimately read this thesis allow themselves, as much as it is possible, to be unfettered by their political partialities.

Methodological Approach

In the preliminary stages of developing the thesis the intention was to gather data using 'the open-ended interview' to be conducted with each of the subjects of this study. As Silverman (2017) observes, the 'open ended interview' is automatically hallmarked as the "gold standard of qualitative research" (Silverman, 2017, p.421). I too was determined that the interview was the best method to pursue for my research and was comfortable about undertaking the quest, having completed a range of interviews with high profile people in a former media role. The only hesitation was in ensuring that my preliminary research had encompassed a considerable amalgam of diverse resources in order to feel

comfortable about posing informed and insightful questions concerning the Prime Ministers' actions during their tenures.

Consideration was given to how I might evoke responses from the interviewees that could be applied to determining their social intelligence without mimicking the self-reporting paradigm of survey instruments. As Silverman (2017) identifies, the quest for exploring the experiences of an interviewee does not automatically provide a reason for the use of an 'open ended interview' because reflections by interviewees in this context do not necessarily mimic their naturally occurring behaviours. The self-reporting aspect of interviews could be akin to the flaw present in quantitative surveys, where self-reporting and self-assessment on social intelligence traits are applied by the respondents., to allow them to portray themselves more positively (Day & Carroll, 2008; Ybarra, 2012). Respondents are quite competent of being able to deduce the preferred responses that are sought through the survey instrument, just as a skilled interviewee might attempt to present more positively in an interview.

Additionally, the interviewees' answers may suffer from a partiality or selectiveness in the recall of memories. Just as leading questions posed by interviewers can induce skewed responses (Verheij, Curcin, Delaney, & McGilchrist, 2018). A further risk is that the nature of a specific person might be such that, despite available evidence to the contrary, they will attempt to promote their own blamelessness or claim 'alternative facts' in regard to past actions (Knight & Tsoukas, 2019.) These assertions are known as the "false self, syndrome" (Kets de Vries, 2004, p.5). As a counter measure this researcher contemplated including the 'laddering interview' technique (Bourne & Jenkins, 2005) to avoid the pitfalls of the interviewees laying claim to their own qualities of social intelligence. The laddering procedure suggests, for instance, that if a Prime Minister described a 'people orientation' as a priority for them, they would then be asked to identify the opposite of it and why they thought so, with the process continuing until the individual Prime Minister's higher-level values were identified. Apart from the likely levels of frustration this technique might evoke for my interview subjects, the question of how this data would lend itself to analysis on my topic was also going to be complicated. The most immediate task was to achieve familiarity with the available data in order to pursue the interviews.

Once the initial research on each prime minister was accomplished, the process of negotiating research access began. To that end correspondence and approaches were made to the various office contacts for the individual Prime Ministers and a conversation

held directly with former Prime Minister Bob Hawke. The two exceptions were former Prime Ministers Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser. Gough Whitlam was already in a frail state and did not meet the University ethics clearance of not interviewing people in a vulnerable state, and shortly afterwards both he and Malcolm Fraser died. The requests for interviews with the other Prime Ministers were met with mixed reactions. No responses were received from the offices of former Prime Ministers Rudd and Gillard, not even a redirect to an email address; which was in complete contrast with the responses from the offices of former Prime Ministers Paul Keating and John Howard. The request for an interview with Prime Minister Keating was politely declined, but the reply at least offered a 'Thank you' note for the enquiry and well wishes for the pursuit of my studies, shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Response to Request for Interview with Paul Keating

Prime Minister Howard's office reply was even more positive, indicating that the designated time frame that I had nominated for the interview would not work but offering an alternative time frame, as shown in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Response to Request for Interview with John Howard

As fate would have it, I also had a chance encounter with former Prime Minister Bob Hawke. I had attended a public speaking event being presented by Bob Hawke's wife, Blanche d'Alpuget. I was leaving the venue and met Prime Minister Hawke in the corridor. He had come to collect his wife. His casual, "Where is she?" presented an opportunity. I quickly mentioned my PhD, and in reply to an interview request, the response was "Righto".

The replies, or lack thereof, from the Prime Ministers offices, of themselves, became a data source for reflection on the social intelligence of the subjects of this study, or at the very least, the workings of their post-tenure offices. The question arose as to whether the compensatory data collection model might be to conduct interviews with people who had worked in the offices of the different prime ministers; however, given a potentially adverse data collection position an epiphany in my thinking occurred.

In hindsight, the resolve to conduct interviews was contradictory to the very premise that had initiated my research with regard to Thorndike's (1920) proposition of exploring social intelligence in action. As an alternative to using interview data generated through interviews by this researcher it was critical to focus on data that resulted from the normal contexts in which the Prime Ministers went about their Prime Ministerial duties, including public engagements and interviews with various media avenues. Moving away from the

idea of "research provoked data" (interviews) (Silverman, 2012, p.318) I gravitated towards "naturally occurring data" (Silverman, 2012, p.205). As Silverman (2017) further elaborates

> "… since so much data occurs 'naturally' (i.e. without the intervention of the researcher), why not study this data and, thereby, access what people are routinely up to without, say, being asked by a researcher?" (Silverman, 2017, p.202)

The additional benefit of the public domain is that it provides the reader with comparative evidence for the interpretations made (Silverman, 2011) as well as providing scope to contest the writer's conclusions (Cunha, Cardona, Clegg, Gomes, Matallana, Rego & Sanchez, 2018). Undeniably, using publicly available data as a primary source of evidence also raises the concomitant issue of potentially politically biased perspectives, especially from those in political alignment with the relevant Prime Minister. Equally it became evident that membership of the same party does not ensure that members of the cohort will give impartial or approving judgments concerning their incumbent Prime Minister. Political participants can also display one-sidedness in their writing, a factor acknowledged by former Minister Gareth Evans (2014) (1978-1999) in his foreword to his Cabinet Diary on the Hawke and Keating governments. In hindsight Evans (2014) concedes that his Cabinet Diary entries covering the period 1984-1986 included comments that were "just too harsh" (Evans, 2014, p. xv) and "too negative" (ibid), especially as a critique of Bob Hawke "who was on any view an out-standing Prime Minister" (Evans, 2014, p.xv).

In spite of potential biases in data sources, by choosing a selection of primary and secondary sources, some balance can be achieved, anomalies or inconsistencies identified and reported. Other authors' interviews with the prime ministers can still be used as primary evidence and it is not the intention to interrogate individual research rigour but rather to consider the descriptions, analyses and conclusions relative to the context of a wider data set. As Weller (1989) writes, interviews help to fill in the gaps and, in the case of his analysis of Malcolm Fraser's government, were beneficial in capturing "an impression of life in the Fraser government" (Weller, 1989, p. xvi). The interview is a data gathering exercise, in search of rich and meaningful information, which ideally precludes predetermined assumptions or theories prior to undertaking the interview/s and developing the research profile (Opoku, 2006). All of the prime ministers contained in

this thesis were exposed to a broad range of interviewers (and this thesis was able to capitalise on the richness of this data as it was encompassed through multiple sources such as the National Archives, television broadcasts, biographies and more formal political studies). These historical sources provide the basis for much of the thesis. Through the use of these diverse sources of freely available information, this thesis has sought to construct a theoretical framework that would provide an analytical framework with which to analyse the political social intelligence in 'action' of the Prime Ministers in question. The question remaining to be addressed was what factors could be applied to assess the data that was collected.

Precursor research existed. For example, a study by Greenstein (2009) explored the presidential style of leadership in the United States of America beginning with President Roosevelt and extending to Bill Clinton. Greenstein (2009) chose to separate out 'emotional intelligence' components of the presidents as distinct from their 'cognitive styles'. This approach suggests that it is possible to neatly subdivide a person's brain into the respective components and appears not to recognise the interconnectedness between these abilities. Under the heading of 'emotional intelligence' Greenstein (2009) wrote that Roosevelt had a "leadership style that was manipulative and inscrutable" (Greenstein, 2009, p.25) and under the title of 'cognitive style' referred to an "exceptional memory" … "almost clairvoyant insights" and "an inability to identify the contradictions in his policies" (Greenstein, 2009, p.24). Against this neat parcelling up, Thorndike (1942) provided a counterpoint to such an approach in thinking as being:

> "misled by the utterly false notion that a person is a trinity of intellect, will and emotion, comprising a small group of faculties or powers of perception, attention, memory, imagination, abstraction, judgement, reasoning, desire, choice, decision action, sympathy, selfishness, courage, strength, skill, coordination etc., each of which is a unitary force, a sort of machine or fairy that sits in the person's brain. A word like imagination or leadership or coordination is used vaguely but helpfully to name certain facts in human behavior. Then it is misused as a name for the unknown cause or causes of behaviour … human genes and brains … are not departmentalized in abilities for mathematics, music, art, business, trading, politics, law and the like" (Thorndike, 1942, p.51; p 52).

First, in the absence of finding any replicable methodology in the literature review, variables identified as pertinent skills in the Australian leadership setting through the Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011) reports were extracted. These abilities aligned to the umbrella framework of social intelligence analysed in this thesis through conduct and deeds (Thorndike, 1920). Second, a study undertaken in Canada identified criteria specific to the political context of Prime Ministerial tenures, designating six aspects as indicative of the measurement of successful governance by Prime Ministers (Hillmer and Azzi, 2011). Despite the geographical distance it can be argued that these six traits are equally applicable in the Australian political setting as Australia and Canada, both members of the British Commonwealth, are "Westminster democracies" (Kaiser, 2008, p.20) and have comparable governance systems. At a country level, likenesses can be drawn between Canada and Australia in the context of social, institutional variables and the interplay between social and economic factors (Kaiser, 2008). In combination, these three works provided a substantive basis from which to investigate the practice of socially intelligent leadership. The literatures of Karpin (1995), IBSA (2011) and Hillmer and Azzi (2011) have been united herein for application within the broad framework of Thorndike's (1920) view of social intelligence, complemented by reference to 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) and an investigation of the life experiences of each of the prime ministers.. Although alternative theoretical possibilities could have been extracted from the literature a choice needed to be made. Thus, the theoretical components that have been applied in this thesis have been carefully considered for their appropriateness to this study, as articulated through the literature review in Chapter 2

The nature of this thesis topic, with rich sources of primary and secondary data to select from, suggested a qualitative approach where the analysis is grounded in the data rather than using quantitative methods to explore explicit hypotheses. Such an approach has provided the scope to address how, why and why not questions pertaining to these Australian Prime Ministers, inquiring into the extent to which, in the author's judgement of the available evidence they operated in a socially intelligent manner, on behalf of the Australian public. How they applied social intelligence to their decision-making in a range of policy and political contexts will be under review.

A qualitative approach facilitates broader latitude to address contexts in which there is limited prior research (Clegg, 2016). Through an iterative process of comparison, the data from multiple sources have proffered evidence of similarities and differences, such as

shared character attributes or aspects of similarity in the life experiences between the Prime Ministers, including variations in estimation of the levels and application of social intelligence as derived from analysis of the data. To make this assessment, analytic memos were used by the writer throughout the course of the data collection to highlight standout features of the data, comparative similarities or to signpost noteworthy divergences (Gibbs, 2007) amongst the information that was being gathered on the Prime Ministers. For example, of all of the Prime Ministers researched within this thesis, one interesting finding was that former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd is the only one of these Prime Ministers whose mother appears not to have supported his leadership ambitions (Macklin, 2007).

The unique contribution of the thesis is its comparative aspect in studying Australian Prime Ministers as well as the focus on 'social intelligence' applied by them in their political practices. It is this unique contribution that provides an innovative framework with which to explore socially intelligent traits within Australian prime ministerial practice. The pragmatics of how this analytical undertaking was pursued will be detailed below.

The Process of Analysis

Specific leadership skills aligned to social intelligence were presented in the Karpin Report (1995) and its legatee IBSA (2011); these have been organised under the categories singled out by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) to differentiate these Prime Ministers. The elements identified by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) for the political context align with Thorndike's (1920) premise of social intelligence in action. These include stable wielding of power (length of tenure 4+ years[6]); well defined and communicated goals; skilful cabinet and party management; a capacity to unify rather than create dissent; a firm record of accomplishments and an enhanced country post their term (Hillmer and Azzi 2011).

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[6] It should be noted, however, that in Australia the normal term of government is three rather than four years.

Table 3.1: Hillmer and Azzi's (2011) variables combined with Karpin (2005) and IBSA (2011) variables

Stable Wielding of Power Length of tenure (4+ years)	Well defined and communicated goals	Skilful cabinet and party management
• Self-constraint • Ability to lead • Fitness to change • Resilience or robustness • Leading under pressure • Acknowledgment of the gap between the leadership needs and an individual leader's style and capability. Bridging the gap with advice, analysis and action • Courage	• Vision and priorities • Interpersonal skills • Staying true to yourself	• Ability to negotiate • Principled compromise • Time management • Ability to lead • Ability to delegate • Ability to motivate • Self-constraint
Creation of unity versus dissent	**A firm record of accomplishments achieved with the espoused policies**	**Enhanced country after their term in which the Prime Ministers' tenure and government produced positive long-term outcomes for Australia**
• Ability to communicate • Self-reflection • Self-knowledge • Self-management • Negotiation • Interpersonal skills	No applicable variables from Karpin (1995) or IBSA (2011)	No applicable variables from Karpin (1995) or IBSA (2011)

(Karpin Report, 1995; IBSA, 2011; Hillmer and Azzi, 2011).

Plausibly, some of the leadership skills derived from both the Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011) reports connect to more than one of the indicators applied by Hillmer and Azzi (2011), in some instances being duplicated in the table above where it was judged appropriate. The data in each of the Prime Ministerial chapters are arranged under the headings of the six markers identified by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) and the analysis and discussion centres on these measures together with reference to the skills flagged by the Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011) reports. As the discussion will clarify, use of the categorisations from Hillmer and Azzi (2011) was not always a clear-cut process. For example, the government of former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam enjoyed only a brief

tenure, despite being popularly elected twice, and so falls short in the context of Hillmer and Azzi's (2011) designation of stable wielding of power as equating to four years or more of governance. However, as well as the special circumstances of 'the Dismissal' effecting a briefer tenure, the extensive forward planning undertaken by Whitlam prior to taking office allowed him to put into effect many actions in a much shorter-term frame, as will be outlined in Chapter 4. The specific context of Whitlam's tenure provides a contradiction to the observation by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) that "longevity is crucial" (Hillmer and Azzi, 10th June 2011).

An important proviso is that in the context of the six variables used by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) the assessment of higher or lower levels of socially intelligent actions has been based on an amalgam of the variables. For instance, the study by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) identified that Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King (1921-1930;1935-1948) had a very long tenure but that in public he displayed the "charisma of a black hole" (Hillmer & Azzi, 10th June 2011), never married and didn't have close relations with anyone, although he was quite spiritual. While these observations might infer that King lacked social intelligence his actions throughout his governance suggested otherwise. Writing of Canadian Prime Ministers John A. Macdonald, and Mackenize King, in office for 15 years or more, they noted their "solid records of achievement and reputations as superb political managers, and with the capacity to see the country as a whole, to maintain its unity, and to change it in positive ways" (Azzi & Hillmer, 2013, p.11). In their view, the better prime ministers "wield their power steadily, have clear goals and communicate them well, and manage their cabinets and their parties skilfully. They unite us rather than divide us" (Hillmer & Azzi, 10th June 2011).

Triangulation

A triangulation approach, "to reveal multiple aspects of a single empirical reality", has been applied (Miller & Fox, 2004, p.35), including the use of a wide-ranging assortment of publicly available primary and secondary data in order to endeavour cross verification of the information content from diverse sources, including government records, media reports, interviews, social media and biographies. Biographies have been especially useful, focusing as they do on the "selection of significant detail" (Walter, 1980, p.7) by their authors in the profiling of their Prime Ministerial subjects. The proviso that Walter (1980) applies is that, in order to provide value, biographical writers should vet the

information they use by fashioning it through a methodical framework; thus, providing sufficient clarity to be either respected or rebutted by the reader (Walter, 1980). The biographical information relating to the Prime Ministers studied here has also been compared across sources for corroboration of significant assertions by the writers, most particularly to account for any political biases. Multiple examples provide a more extensive insight into the contentions that are made (Kirkwood & Campbell-Hunt, 2007).

The aim of triangulation within a qualitative method is to use information collated from multiple resources to substantiate the same conclusions about phenomena (Yin, 2009). The many existing sources of information relating to Australian Prime Ministers provide a richness of data that facilitated a high capacity for comparison in the absence of equal opportunities to conduct interviews. In reality, the Prime Ministerial interviews already available on the public record provided more than sufficient scope for analysis to address the research questions. As part of the inquiry, there was, however, a need to attend to the issue of whether the existing public interviews had invited, without deliberate intent, a "retrospective rewriting of history" (Silverman, 2011, p.12) such that the interviewees focused on particular facets of their leadership and moderated other aspects. In other words, did the interview responses provide direct access to "experience" or "actively constructed narratives" (Silverman, 2017, p.100)? During the process of writing Gough Whitlam's biography, Walter came to a conclusion that people in the public eye adapted their answers in an interview "in accordance with the imperative of image maintenance" (Walter, 1980, p. xiv), which supports some of Silverman's concerns about the recasting of history within the interview context (Silverman, 2011). By using multiple sources of data on each prime minister, potential bias or presentation of a person in a particularly favourable or critical light by specific writers can be identified.

Limitations of the Research

Walter was concerned about the limitations that might be applied if the subject played a part in the analysis (Walter, 1980). He did, however, conduct interviews with those who had worked with Gough Whitlam. The present research has gained from the depth of data Walter (1980) collected, as well as from the information gathered by other scholars and journalists about the other Prime Ministers within this study. The capacity of past interviewers to remove their own biases and presumptions in the conduct of the interview and post interview, when developing the theoretical constructs from the data collected (Cope, 2005), is something that the user of historical source material cannot directly

control. Nor can the researcher frame the specific objectives or questions used, something that has to be offset against the interviewee being able to speak comfortably on their own terms, to address the content of the questions with balanced interventions by the interviewer (Cope, 2005). Relations between the interviewee and the interviewer will not always be amicable (Knowles, 2006) and degrees of mutuality and hostility have to be interpretively understood by subsequent researchers. For instance, in a letter dated the 30 October 1992, five years after completing an interview in 1987, Malcolm Fraser requested that the following statement be read in conjunction with his interview:

> "Over a period I was interviewed by Clyde Cameron, former Member for Hindmarsh and former Member of the Whitlam Government, for the Oral History project. In my opinion, this history will give an inaccurate view of a number of things that happened, especially during the period of the Whitlam Government. On many occasions Mr. Cameron seemed to be using me as a sounding board for his views, with which I often disagreed. He seemed to be especially putting views that were detrimental to Mr. Whitlam. As a participant in this oral history, I want readers to know that many parts of the oral history are inaccurate. It was not, however, for me to start to debate with Mr. Cameron, who had been employed in the Oral History Programme to interview me [signed] Malcolm Fraser." (Fraser, 1987)

The addendum requested by Malcolm Fraser again highlights why the use of other sources of information is completely necessary; in this instance, to judge the partiality exercised by Clyde Cameron. The statement by Malcolm Fraser does little to elucidate the specific concerns, which would have been useful from a historical perspective. Nor does it explain why Malcolm Fraser felt compelled to defend Gough Whitlam. Other data sources indicate, however, that relations between Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser had started to thaw somewhat in 1987, such that by 1999 the two former Prime Ministers had found joint causes to pursue (Edwards, 2011).

The Focus of the Research

Methodologically, the focus is qualitative. The approach used is quite distinct from that applied in experimental settings, where events are dissociated from real-life contexts and, in actuality, only some variables are accounted for, in which the underlying presumption

is "that the laboratory environment can 'control' for all the remaining variables beyond the scope of interest" (Yin, 2009, pp.11-12). Qualitative studies provide an opportunity to draw out the qualities of meanings and the processes without resorting only to quantifying the amounts, levels of intensity or regularity of occurrence (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The trustworthiness of qualitative studies is based on credibility, dependability, a capacity to be reconfirmed, and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The fundamental research question addressed interpretively to the diverse documentary and historical materials consulted is to enquire into the dimensions of social intelligence displayed by Australian Prime Ministers as high-level leaders in their behaviours, actions and decisions? As the previous literature review chapter indicated, there are numerous perspectives on social intelligence. In this thesis the data will be explored from a qualitative, exploratory and illustrative focus, using an interpretive approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). From the literature, three critical perspectives have been identified to facilitate the creation of a social intelligence leadership profile for political leaders. The elements have been selected to complement the focus of the research questions. To elucidate the constituent parts of social intelligence that are displayed by the leaders, three factors will be explored. First, social intelligence (Thorndike, 1920), applied as a framework linked to the variables identified by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) as an interpretive variable of successful leadership. Second, 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) is used as a reference point for internal leadership dimensions and how the available data elucidates the working environments created and espoused by the leaders. Third, an exploration of the Prime Ministers' life experiences in terms of different or shared experiences as well as specific occurrences within individual prime minister's lives.

The intent is to interpret the data to elicit examples of the practical day-to-day application of social intelligence traits within the political context. The express rationale has been "to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context especially when the boundaries between boundaries and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p.18). The case studies "explain … presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies" (Yin, 2009, p.19). A unique strength of the case study method is its "ability to deal with a full variety of evidence-documents, artefacts, interviews, and observations" (Yin, 2009, p.9) in a "real-life context" (Yin, 2009, p.20).

Methodologically, I have used analytic memos to capture themes interpreted from the literature during the case studies. Concepts have been identified for their reoccurrence, interrelatedness and their disparity. Qualitative research allows for more descriptive and expressive interpretations. Ultimately, the hope is that the methodology employed here will provide illumination and clarification of the Prime Ministerial tenures under evaluation, because in reality, no clear cut or "single set of outcomes" (Yin, 2009, p.20) could capture the diversity of these experiences. Context and settings have to be considered as significant variables (Yin, 2009) to derive a comprehensive assessment of actual practice of socially intelligent leadership; nonetheless, it is impossible to account for everything.

Cassell, Bishop, Symon, Johnson and Buehring (2009) argue for the importance of "reflection, reflexivity and phronesis" (Cassell, et al., 2009, p.1,) as qualitative research skills, in developing interpretation. Hence, the study draws on the broader benefits of qualitative methods. These include being descriptive illustrative and interpretative rather than predictive; using an inductive approach has been applied as opposed to deductive reasoning. The focus will be on generating theory rather than verifying it and on a broader embodiment of the issues rather than limited predetermined variables (Cohen & Manion & Morrison, 2007). The fact that publicly recorded documents are relied on within the thesis means that other scholars can also asses the analysis independently.

Risks

Prejudices that may exist within the primary and secondary data may also be reflected by the researcher. The lens through which interpretations are made can be value laden. The comparative method applied here, however, allows for the data to be subject to sufficient independent scrutiny to address this concern, should it arise. The many thousands of interviews already recorded with these leaders are free of any research bias on the part of this investigator in the construction of those interviews. The approach adopted allows leaders' actions to be observed and analysed through interpretation of the vast array of available data. Data mining of official records, prime ministerial archives, parliamentary debates, newswires, interviews, documentaries, films, biographical and autobiographical material and media accounts has been undertaken. Three public service staff who have worked within the respective governments have been another source of information. Two of these worked during the Rudd government and one in the Whitlam government. These

were serendipitous encounters providing notes and information used in conjunction with other source information, respecting the anonymity of the individuals concerned. Additionally, perspectives and assessments from other high-profile business and social leaders, as well as journalists, provide valuable sources of information about the political leaders and have also been referenced. Consistent with the approach applied in the thesis the use of discrete data has been judged alongside other data to assess sources of potential bias in its interpretative account.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research methodology used and the reasoning behind it. The research is qualitative; it uses historical and documentary sources, which are interpreted using a framework of social intelligence. The sources of data used are many and varied and care will be taken to balance biases inherent in the data through using triangulation of sources wherever possible. As a researcher, doing qualitative research, my personal biases, that might otherwise frame interpretations, will be minimized by phenomenologically bracketing my attitude towards the various prime ministers discussed. Bracketing any symbolic meanings that one might attach to the subjects allows one to grasp the essence of their historical being in terms of the framework of analysis. Thus, one's subjective intending of the bracketed phenomenon is examined and analysed in phenomenological purity. Through the use of multiple examples, balance will be achieved sufficient to justify any claims being made.

The following chapter begins the case study analysis of the prime ministers. It commences with a combined analysis of Prime Ministers Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser and surveys a specific element in the social intelligence of these Prime Ministers: the communication of well-defined goals and Prime Ministerial interactions with the media and the Australian public.

CHAPTER 4: PRIME MINISTERS GOUGH WHITLAM AND MALCOLM FRASER

Gough Edward Whitlam. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, Australia's 21st Prime Minister. Term as PM: 5th December 1972 – 11th November 1975. Born 11th July, 1916. Died 21st October, 2014

Shyness, Aggrandisement, Arrogance, Vision, Spirit and Inspiration, Quick Temper and Lethal Tongue

"His weaknesses, even in 1960 were also on display for everyone to observe: his pedantry, his impatience, his lack of character judgement and his inability to restrain his tendency to show how clever and erudite he was. His sense of humour is very dry, usually dripping with irony or self-mockery. Even today when he sets off the security alarms at airports he proclaims, 'I think you will find that's my aura'" (John Menadue Prime Minister Whitlam's Private Secretary, Mitchell, 2006, p.145).

"The famous lapses into arrogance do not disguise the essentially public nature of Whitlam's personality. He is prepared to compete in the marketplace of ideas, one voice among many, although an exceptionally gifted and powerful one - no longer

the voice of a man of power and not yet that of a prophet, but the voiced of a far-sighted, generous-minded protagonist" (Grant, 1986, p.7).

Malcolm Fraser. Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, Australia's 22nd Prime Minister. Term as PM: 11th November 1975- 11th March 1983. Born 21st May, 1930. Died 20th March, 2015.

"Life was not meant to be easy" (Fraser, 1971. Speech, 20th July)

"Active, dedicated, determined, unrelenting, often tense and aggressive - these are the best descriptions of Fraser's personal style" (Professor Weller, 1989, p.18).

"There's one thing that I will say on Malcolm Fraser's behalf. He is absolutely impeccable, absolutely impeccable, always has been, on the issues of race and colour. And he should always be remembered gratefully for that"

(Prime Minister Hawke on Malcolm Fraser, in Lane, 2015, 7:30 Report ABC)[7].

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[7] https://www.1millionwomen.com.au/blog/rip-malcolm-fraser-former-prime-minister-australia-and-latter-years-great-progressive-figure/.

Introduction

This first empirical chapter explores the social intelligence of Prime Minister's Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser as it was demonstrated during their tenures. In determining how socially intelligent these two Prime Ministers were throughout and to some degree after their terms, reference is made to what are considered the most revealing and pertinent events, actions, issues and influences, including relevant biographical details.

Chronicling these two leaders in tandem is a deliberate choice based on the evidence revealing analogous connections in terms of their personas and how this influenced their actions in the political setting, notwithstanding that doing this runs contrary to a conclusion written by Professors Strangio, Hart and Walter (2017). These authors contend that, despite Prime Ministers Whitlam and Fraser aligning on national independence for Australia and the need for post-war development, they were completely disparate in other aspects (Strangio, et al., 2017). Some evidence points to the contrary. Whitlam and Fraser aligned on economic nationalism and their views on anti-discrimination (Fraser, 2002). Both were supportive of the alliance with the United States but were similarly circumspect with regard to the protection that would be afforded to Australia from the relationship, should the circumstances warrant it. The two were also unified on the need to develop closer relations with countries in Australia's more immediate geographic location, as well as agreeing fundamentally on race relations, indigenous rights and decreased sectarianism in Australian public life, with major inroads on the latter being made by Whitlam's policy provision for state aid for Catholic and other private schools (Menadue, 2011).

Evidentially, there are major differences as well as similarities. Former Treasurer and Leader of the Labor Party, Bill Hayden[8] (22 December, 1977 to 3 February, 1983), described both Fraser and Whitlam as follows: "Very obstinate, determined, they had ambitious designs for the future, Fraser's were about his own destiny, Gough's were about his destiny certainly, anyone who's a politician who says they're not interested in their destiny is not being candid with you" (Hayden, 2005, 5th November). The difference, in Hayden's opinion, was that Whitlam had an inspired vision for the future of Australia that had been decades in the making, "the refinement of a lifetime of thinking" (ibid). Bramston (2015) suggests that hints of Whitlam's aspirations of being "a fearless change agent" (Bramston, 2015, p.xviii) were manifest even in Whitlam's teenage years. Another fundamental difference between them was that their basic political stances were fixed in two distinct ideologies. The idea that Fraser's stances progressively altered later in life have been dispelled as he remained consistently conservative on economics and reformist in areas of social issues (Mathewson, 2015). Fraser's premise was one of individuals solving their own problems, where governments "create the climate in which that can happen" (Fraser in White & Kemp, 1986, p.113) as opposed to Whitlam's advocacy for government-grounded and funded solutions (Whitlam, 1985).

Despite these divergences, this chapter will argue that the dispositional elements Fraser and Whitlam shared, in combination with similar features of their life experiences, translated to similarities in their behaviours and a comparable dysfunctionality in their application of social intelligence. The strengths and failings of each of them were exposed by way of their political actions and through their dealings with each other, their families, colleagues, staff and the Australian public. Their behaviours incited descriptions of arrogance and egotism being directed towards them, as each could be standoffish, tactless and undiplomatic (Mitchell, 2006; Ayres, 1987). Former Prime Minister Bob Hawke, in acknowledging that neither he nor Whitlam were short on egos (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2018, 11th February), had commented previously to US Embassy Officers that Gough Whitlam was "… difficult and very egocentric ('even for me')" (Hawke in Dorling, 2013, 9th April). Nevertheless, Hawke's appraisal of Whitlam on his passing was

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[8] Bill Hayden worked as a policeman prior to entering politics. He was the member for Oxley from 1961-1988; Bill Hayden also became Foreign Minister (11th March, 1983-17th August, 1988) under the tenures of Prime Ministers' Bob Hawke and Paul Keating, and then Governor General from 1989-1996 (Gould, 2013).

that: "No star has shone brighter in the Australian political firmament" than Gough Whitlam's (Youtube, ABC News, 2014, 20th October).

Fraser and Whitlam were resolute in their meritorious opinion of themselves (Edwards, 1977). However, rather than ascribing Fraser's conviction in his own correctness as indicative of his arrogance, his biographer Ayres (1987) claimed, instead, that it was a sign of his integrity. To consider otherwise, Ayres (1987) averred, was an indication of small-mindedness on the part of the observer. Fraser's substantial failing, he said, was his lack of and impatience with diplomacy, combined with a lack of grace, which translated to "political gaucherie" (Ayres, 1987, p.84). In 1975, Prime Minister Whitlam also dubbed Fraser as arrogant, declaring that the divergence between them was: "He is lofty, and I am eminent" (Whitlam, 2015, 7th July). Ayres concluded that, in combination, Fraser's tactlessness and inelegance created the difficult dilemma of his being a lonely leader and an "impolitic politician" (Ayres, 1987, p.85), whose character contained the "aggressiveness and dominance to take him to the top, but not the charm and cordiality that would ease his passage" (Edwards, 1977, p.42). In summary, Ayres (1987) deemed Fraser to be undiplomatic, ungraceful and unwise but upright in his motives. The attribution of integrity to Fraser is worthy of exploration. A definition of integrity is "the quality of being honest and having strong moral principles that you refuse to change" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2017, 27th September). Dealing with the latter aspect first, Fraser personally asserted the high moral ground with regard to his political acts, including: first, ending Prime Minister John Gorton's (1968-1971) career through the censure he delivered against Gorton, in his resignation speech as Defence Minister; second, in his part in the overthrow of Billy Snedden as Liberal Leader (1972-1975; third, the part he played in the 'Dismissal' of the Whitlam government. Fraser had described the Whitlam government as "a government out of Alice in Wonderland or something worse. It was a parody of a government" (Fraser in Hughes, 1994, 13th April).

Fraser's attack on Prime Minister Gorton, delivered through a speech, was labelled a "methodical and public exercise in destruction" (Rattenbury, 2015, Hansard 24th March), with the content of his tirade going beyond his characterisation of Gorton's disloyalty towards him to an overall attack on Gorton's style of governance (Howard, 2010). Others saw things differently. Former Prime Minister John Howard described Gorton as "an appealing personality, a direct style and … extremely intelligent" (Howard, 2010, p.46). Strangio et al. (2017) also suggest that Gorton was the most gifted, inventive and inspired

of the three political leaders who followed Prime Minister Robert Menzies. Where Gorton was said to have missed the mark was in regard to the absence of overall discipline in connection with factors such as punctuality: "that did him damage" (Howard, 2010, p.46). Other identified shortcomings were that Gorton failed to take into consideration the egos of his colleagues and was insufficiently tactical regarding the battles to avoid rather than confront, plus poor handling of his internal opponents (Strangio et al, 2017). Gorton's focus was on achieving his ideals and in this context he was prepared to take risks, break with tradition and accept any consequences that ensued. He was also determined to act as his 'natural self' (Hancock, 2002), and applied a strong leadership approach that, in terms of decision making, meant that the Prime Minister made the final call regarding any decisions (Strangio et al., 2017).

Gorton's more maverick and individualistic style, similarly to Whitlam's, was in conflict with Fraser's need for conventional actions by others, strict timings, and the imperative to be controlling and in control. A further fundamental point of disagreement for Fraser with both Gorton and Whitlam was that Fraser deemed state powers as an essential safeguard against federal powers (National Archives, Malcolm Fraser, 2016). Edwards proposed that Fraser was capable enough of managing relations with people who were more senior, who had "less force of character" (Edwards, 1977, p.15), and who were not in competition with him, such as elder statesman, including former Prime Minister Menzies. In addition, he was "… quite happy dealing with people who have less social distinction", which was a reference by Edwards (1977) to Fraser's electors in Wannon. Edwards (1977) concluded that, where Fraser had difficulties was in relation to interactions with "people of similar talent or importance" (Edwards, 1977, p.15), a précis suggestive of a person focused more on dominating rather than exercising socially intelligent leadership. In his speech to the House of Representatives on the 9th March, 1971, Fraser accused Prime Minister Gorton of an "unreasoned drive to get his own way", declaring that "his obstinacy, impetuous and emotional reactions" had forced stresses upon the Liberal Party in addition to the government and the public service. Fraser declared: "I do not believe he is fit to hold the great office of Prime Minister, and I cannot serve in his Government" (Parliament of Australia, 1971).

Somewhat ironically, some of the criticisms levelled at Gorton by Fraser were later ascribed to Fraser, most especially the will to get his own way, and ten years later the same censures he had expressed were "thrown back at him" (Weller, 1989, p.10). It has

been suggested that Fraser's destabilising of Gorton also turned out to be contrary to the interests of the Liberal Party as it resulted in Billy McMahon's prime ministership. "At best, McMahon was a plodder – at worst, hopeless" (Henderson, 2015, p.84). The tendencies by Fraser to seek the removal of people he did not agree with and to apportion blame on them rather than himself point to a pattern of behaviour lacking in social intelligence. This was reflected through his lack of self-reflection and the rigidity of his belief that only he could offer better leadership, rather than circumstances being mitigated through compromise or negotiation. A day after Fraser's resignation speech to Parliament in 1971, Prime Minister John Gorton called a Liberal Party meeting and a motion of confidence in his leadership was posed. The vote was not conclusive, with the result a tie, 33-33; so Gorton, unconventionally and uniquely for a politician, applied a casting vote to vote himself out of the Prime Ministerial role (Howard, 2010). Later, it was found that, within the party rules, Gorton had no such voting option to exercise (Hancock, 2002). The enmity that resulted between Fraser and Gorton was, according to Former Prime Minister John Howard, "the most intense that I have ever seen in politics" (Howard, 2010, p.51). Gorton never forgave Fraser for what he perceived as his betrayal, and the acrimony continued some thirty years after the initial events (Howard, 2010).

This situation provides an interesting contrast to the tolerance that Whitlam exercised towards Fraser in their later years, despite evidence of Whitlam still being hurt and sensitive about the circumstances of the 'Dismissal'. When his biographer Jenny Hocking revealed that Sir Anthony Mason had also been involved in his dismissal, his reaction was one of shock. Hocking wrote: "He went unusually silent. He changed the subject and seemed not to respond. Then suddenly, and to nobody in particular, he said; "What can you do? What can you bloody well do?" I saw there were tears in his eyes" (Hocking, 2014, 22nd October).

Fraser's general political approach was analogous to his parliamentary and cabinet presentations where he repeated his "position doggedly" achieving "persuasion … by repetition" (Weller, 1989, p.178). Fraser's single-minded actions ran contrary to the exercise of socially intelligent leadership which would seek to negotiate a position. Fraser's decisions in cabinet tended not to be challenged (Weller, 1989), a situation assisted by Fraser continuously being the best informed on the topics to be covered in those meetings (Howard, 2010). Fraser's preparedness for meetings compared with that of his colleagues was facilitated through his control of when cabinet meetings were

convened. Howard identified that the calling of cabinet meetings by Fraser was done without advance warning, with no consideration of his colleagues' prior engagements (Howard, 2010). Apparently, the emphasis by Fraser was on compliance, as opposed to the adoption of policy options as a result of collegial support achieved through healthy debates whose outcome judged them the best possible policy results for Australia.

Saint Augustine characterised actions as not being dishonest where the end justified the means (Frankfurt, 2005) and Fraser's 'Dismissal' of the Whitlam government might be seen in this light. Nonetheless, Fraser's deception by omission and scheming aligns more to the definition of lying articulated by Frankfurt (2005), as a premeditated and conscious intent to deceive, rather than the righteousness stressed by Ayres (1987). Both Whitlam's and Fraser's observance of their strong political doctrines and personal certitude went further than abiding by individual conviction and a necessary level of self-confidence to undertake the position of Prime Minister. Mutually, from a socially intelligent perspective, they were insufficiently reflexive about their individual shortcomings and the need to meet gaps in their decision making through not just seeking but applying the advice of others (IBSA, 2011). For example, in the case of Whitlam, he failed to consult with his colleagues or people close to him about his appointment of Sir John Kerr as Governor-General, or to confer with his Senate colleagues immediately upon his government being dismissed (Mitchell, 2006). Willis (2016) labels the promotion of Kerr as "Whitlam's biggest mistake" (Willis, 2016, p.124). Similarly, Fraser did not entertain any contrary opinions with regard to the deferral of supply to the Labor government and used threats to deter colleagues that were faltering from 'his' resolve (Fraser, 1987). Fraser and Whitlam sent the Australian people to the polls three times across a four-year period, in 1972, 1973 and 1975, a decision that was decidedly not socially intelligent in terms of risk, given that one element of social intelligence is a person's competence in understanding the environment for their actions. Elections are the riskiest events politicians can institute.

Both Whitlam and Fraser were at ease with themselves and their own counsel. Edwards (1977) surmised that this was in part a result of the constancy both experienced in their early life course. Whilst in office, these two leaders stances showed consistency with their childhoods. This point is important, as "early relationship history is seen as the context for the emergence of the social self" (Elicker, Englund & Sroufe, 1992, p.99) and the fostering of future competencies in social interactions (Elicker et al, 1992). Fraser and

Whitlam were both devoted to their parents (Ayres, 1987; Mitchell, 1986) and both Fraser and Whitlam enjoyed secure early years and safe and stable family lives (Edwards, 1977), unlike Prime Ministers Harold Holt (1966-1967), John Gorton (1968-1971) and Liberal Party Leader Billy Snedden (1972-1975), who had minimal interactions with their fathers, or Prime Minster Billy McMahon (1971-1972) who had been orphaned.

The conclusion that Edwards (1977) reached, ascribing inherent contentment to Fraser and Whitlam as a consequence of childhood stability, precluded the modifying influences of the lengthy periods they spent alone as children, combined with their minimal or even fraught interactions with childhood peers. Both leaders were also fashioned by these elements, and whilst a positive aspect of the experience of seclusion was the development of their independence, conversely, isolation did not offer the tempering balance of peer relations to offset their self-focus, balance their ego's or help the development of being at ease in interpersonal communications. These are facets that are particularly important in the context of the capacity to exercise socially intelligent leadership. Strangio et al. (2017) held that Fraser "emerged as a frugal incommunicative loner" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.125) while Oakes (1973) referred to Whitlam's lack of ability for small-talk and his deep dependence on his wife Margaret's capacity to make people feel comfortable in social contexts. "Before a public performance he steels himself, and gets through on bravado" (Oakes, 1973, p.166). These observations were echoed by John Menadue, who also indicated that Whitlam's public presentations contradicted the shy and private persona of Whitlam (Menadue, 1999).

Offsetting Edwards' (1977) view, there needs to be an acknowledgment of the difference between home environments that theoretically contributed to the cultivation of assuredness, as against environs that lent to self-centredness, aloofness, insecurity and daring that was assumed to mask anxiety. Whitlam's veneer of boldness concealed his private persona. "Through his bravado he made it harder for people to get near the private person" (Menadue, 1999, pp.46-47). As Menadue (1999) maintains, every individual places somewhat of a distance between their public and private façades but he suggested that for politicians there is greater imperative to do so. Yet this premise is inconsistent with the authenticity that politicians need to convey in order to engage in socially intelligent communications, both collegially and symbolically to the Australian people. Focus group research by the Labor Party for the 1972 Federal election campaign

reinforced the view that Whitlam's inscrutability in some of his communications had an impact on potential voter receptivity to his political messages (Strangio et al., 2017).

Fraser exhibited some similar traits to Whitlam. Edwards (1977) contended, with regard to Fraser, that it "is not psychoanalysis but simply commonsense to think that a lonely child, encouraged to consider himself as in some way superior, could grow up to be an aloof, ambitious and uncommunicative politician" (Edwards, 1977, p.15). Isolation had imbued both Whitlam and Fraser with a level of shyness which, in both their situations, was often interpreted as aloofness (Grant 1986: Cadzow, 2015), even in circumstances where such an appraisal may have been mistaken. An intrinsic acceptance of personal solitude as children was also reflected in their adult lives in an element of impatience when their individual endeavours were interrupted or not matched by the same zeal in others (Oakes, 1973; Ayres, 1987). Ayres (1987) concluded that Fraser's childhood environment nurtured principles of independence rather than sharing (Ayres, 1987); similarly, Edwards (1977) also linked Fraser's capacity to work by himself and his troubled relations with peers to his early years. by Strangio et al., (2017) reinforced this sentiment that the facts of Fraser's childhood resulted in an "extraordinary self-sufficiency, extraordinary shyness and, paradoxically, a strong desire to be heard" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.125).

Fraser's parents' believed in the adage that children should be seen and not heard. When he was eight years old, his governess Nancy MacPherson had instructed Fraser to come down from a tree stump after her initial attempts to persuade him to do so failed. Fraser replied that he would comply with her directive but that, when he was Prime Minister, she would have to submit to his bidding (Fraser & Simons, 2015), which links to a point made earlier by Edwards (1977). He characterised Malcolm Fraser's aspirations towards politics as him being enticed by its hierarchical power connections and the prospect to "defer and be deferred to" (Edwards, 1977, p.23). Kelly (2015) describes Fraser as "a man of vaulting ambition" (Kelly, 2015, 21st March), a "ruthless politician" (SBS, 2015, 20th March). In contrast, in the case of Whitlam, John Menadue[9] who worked with both leaders, holds that Whitlam was never seduced by power but saw its attainment as critical to achieving Labor's policy aspirations (Menadue, 1999). Whitlam declared: "There is

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[9] John Menadue was private secretary to Gough Whitlam 1960–67, secretary to Prime Minister and Cabinet 1974–76 under Whitlam and Fraser, and secretary of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1980–83 (Menadue, 2011, 12th December).

nothing more disloyal to the traditions of Labor than the new heresy that power is not important or that the attainment of political power is not fundamental to our purposes" (Whitlam in Menadue, 1999, p.83).

The combined aspects of parental indulgence and childhood loneliness, Edwards (1977) suggests, provide a "useful clue to Fraser's well-guarded personality" (Edwards, 1977, p.14). Balpool-Nyang, the sheep station property on which Fraser was raised and home-schooled until he was ten years old, encompassed 15,000 hectares and was isolated. In the wet season, flooding would make it inaccessible, and in the dry season the remoteness continued because of the dual effect of the property's distance from neighbouring farms and poor road conditions. From an early age Fraser would amble alone around the property. As well as hunting for crows and rabbits, Fraser would go for lengthy solo pony rides, extending to up to forty kilometres at a time. In the early years the only enduring contact with the outside world came in the form of radio programmes from the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC). Visitors were rare and, other than the family, the only other regular occupants included the property manager and his wife, a jackaroo and governess. Additional companions to Fraser included a succession of nurses, station hands, a pet dog, pet galah, and Girlie Brown, the rabbiter's daughter, who was four years older and a sometime play companion. Chaka the galah [named after a Zulu warrior] would perch on Fraser's shoulder and accompany him on his solo boating trips up the river on the family property. Fraser's own reflections about his life at Balpool were that it personified a "sense of freedom, and lack of constraints" (Fraser in Edwards, 1977, p.15), which Ayres (1987) concludes was the starting point and mould that imprinted individual freedom as essential to Fraser. If any strangers came, Fraser would disappear, with aspects of this shyness continuing into later life. Fraser would later muse: "People often confuse aloofness and shyness, I think" (Fraser in Cadzow, 2015, 20th March). In school, Gough Whitlam spent the majority of his free time reading rather than socialising with his peers and the teasing he was exposed helped him develop the use of "his tongue like a whip" (Mitchell, 2006, p.57). Of Fraser it was said he had "an unfortunate awkwardness in handling peer relationships" (Ayres, 1987, p.15). As a consequence of his lack of socialising, Fraser was not made a prefect, as he was considered "rather aloof and the loner type" (Sutcliffe in Edwards, 1977, p.16), but his headmaster John Sutcliffe also deemed him "an awfully nice boy" (ibid), expressing a wish that he could have been "able to get under his guard a little" (Sutcliffe in Edwards, 1977, p.16).

Fraser was not popular at school and was nicknamed 'Freezer' by his school peers, both as a reflection of his conduct, as well as his pronunciation, which bypassed the extended 'a' in the Australian dialect. Whitlam's mothers' deafness led to Whitlam's unique style of speaking and accounted for his pronounced articulation, together with his practice of ensuring that he faced people directly when he was speaking to them. The latter was interpreted by some as a method employed by Whitlam to intimidate, rather than understanding that it was a corollary of his mother's deafness. Another consequence of Martha Whitlam's lack of hearing was that the family used gestures to communicate, and Whitlam's trademark raised eyebrow was another legacy (Oakes, 1973). Gough is said to have inherited his mother's "wit and sense of humour … but his attitudes, social concern, thirst for knowledge, cleverness with words, and application to work came from his dour, scholarly father" (Frost, 1974, p.10). Whitlam's father had critical impacts on Whitlam's ideas in connection with the function and complexion of governance by the Federal government and the public service, together with experience of the difficulties of urban life in new suburbs (Bramston, 2015).

Fraser occupied his evenings at Balpool-Nyang reading adventure stories such as those that inspired the naming of his pet galah. Otherwise, he would try and coax others into playing cards or Monopoly with him (Ayres, 1987). Idle chatter was not encouraged in the Whitlam household, and the family tradition after dinner was for everyone to sit at the table and read encyclopaedias. The Whitlam domestic ritual was extended to Gough Whitlam's RAAF colleagues when he invited them to join him at his parent's home for dinner. Gough had no conception of "how eccentric it appeared to the RAAF men, because to him it was entirely natural" (Mitchell, 2006, p.95). Thus, while this family tradition and his education overall contributed to Whitlam's amazing knowledge bank, it also created deficiency in his social skills. A précis of Whitlam by his peers at St Paul's college had flagged the problems with the relational aspects of Whitlam's character, identifying that he had a talent for describing people and world events which was "singularly free from dogma and partisanship" (Frost, 1974, p.13) and informed by his classical education, "which regrettably did not translate to his interpersonal relationships" (ibid). "Most of his university acquaintances remember him either as good-humoured, witty and smiling, or an aloof, smart alecky kind of bastard" (Mitchell, 2006, p.61). That Whitlam was well educated, energetic, brilliant, creative, bold and a thinker is undeniable, which facilitated his capacity to develop a socially intelligent vision for Australia's future

and advance strong and innovative policy ideas. Where factors became complex for Whitlam was in the implementation and funding of his policy pursuits: as acknowledged by John Menadue, for Whitlam "the means to execute policy were often an afterthought" (Menadue, 1999, p.125). Policy realisation was also impeded by the overall gaps in Whitlam's interpersonal skills, including his indifference towards others, especially those less nonchalant (Little, 1986). Whitlam needed more socially intelligent people skills to sustain support, to assure more people with regard to his objectives, to demonstrate leadership, to engender ongoing trust, loyalty and collective collegiate ownership of policy, and to engage effectively with his colleagues to formulate the best and most practical means to achieve their end goals. Cass (2015) describes Whitlam's leadership style as domineering causing frequent clashes between them.

In contrast to the discomfort in interpersonal communications with outsiders, Fraser's and Whitlam's exchanges within the intimate connections of their close family circle and small network of friends were different (Schneider, 1980; Menadue, 1999). Ayres writes of Fraser's letters to his mother and father containing "unreserved warmth" (Ayres, 1987, p.25), and Ireland (2015) reports on the fun exchange between Fraser and his granddaughter on how many Twitter followers she had compared to his 20,000. During the war, Whitlam worked as an aircrew navigator with his RAAF squadron patrolling the Arafura and Timor Seas, providing protection to convoys over large expanses of sea and executing strikes on Japanese ships, their barges and seaports. Whitlam wrote to his wife Margaret every second day. He would end the letters with one word 'all'. This was their code for "all my love" (Mitchell, 2006, p.102) or he would sign off using borrowed lines. For example, he replicated Noel Coward's message to Gertrude Lawrence on the occasion of her wedding: "On this, as every other day, I love you" (Mitchell, 2006, p.102). However, Menadue, Prime Minister Whitlam's Private Secretary, indicated that Whitlam's temper was something that Margaret Whitlam also had to contend with throughout her life, which would flare up very quickly and then be gone (Mitchell, 2006). During their courtship Margaret Whitlam had written of her future husband in her journal: "He is being very difficult – at times so marvellous and others a beast" (Margaret Whitlam in Mitchell, 2006, p.75). Despite the negative components of his character, Margaret Whitlam's overall conclusion about her husband was that he was a good man and that, despite the propensity of the press worldwide to portray him as "a viper-tongued, belligerent, unkind man", she described him as "fairly soft and kind. I think it's because

he's shy. I only say people are shy if I know they are, and I know he is – basically, he's a shy man" (Margaret Whitlam, Mitchell, 2006, p.208).

Another shared attribute between Whitlam and Fraser was their diligent application to their work, seeking to be informed as possible about the issues they had to deal with and expecting the same attentiveness from work colleagues (Howard, 2010; Mitchell, 2006). Whitlam and Fraser also spent extended time on the backbench of their respective parties where, despite their deficiencies in relational communications, both had collegial advocates supportive of their careers (Oakes, 1973; Ayres, 1987). As sitting members of Parliament both were proactive in their electorates (Oakes, 1973; Weller, 1989), often to the disadvantage of their families. Whitlam caught the 7:30 train to the city each day, including Saturdays, leaving his wife to deal with the household chores and their children, at a stage when two of their boys frequently fought (Mitchell, 2006). Fraser was similarly conscientious towards his constituency. "So far as my political life was concerned, the electorate came first. In those days there were many issues of significant concern. If people had problems, they seemed to find a way to my door" (Fraser, 2002, p.xxiv). Peter Baume said of Fraser that "he had an inner value system that required him to work seventeen hours a day as a sign of toughness, commitment and determination which would eventually be rewarded in heaven" (Baume in Weller, 1989, p.18). For Tamie Fraser, Canberra life in the early years was frequently lonely, and in February 1957 on her 21st birthday she roamed alone around the Australian War Memorial crying (National Archives, of Australia, 2017, Chapter 5: Tamie Fraser). However attentive Fraser was to his work, this anecdote is quite revealing of Fraser not extending a degree of empathy to his wife on what is usually considered quite a significant day in a person's life. By contrast, in 1951, in his twenty-first year, Fraser had taken his parents travelling through the UK and Europe using a car that his father had financed for him at Oxford. "Well my father provided the money as my father provided money for everything in those days" (Fraser in Hughes, 1994, 13th April). Whitlam was forty-six before he had the opportunity to travel to Europe and see all of the countries that he had studied throughout his life. The first working tour of Europe he undertook came about as a result of an invitation by Prime Minister Robert Menzies to assist with planning for the entry of Britain into the European Common Market (Hocking, 2008). He was accompanied by his wife Margaret and private secretary John Menadue, who, similarly to the gallery guides they encountered, was astonished by the level of specific detail Whitlam knew of the places they visited,

including the precise locations of the paintings in the galleries (Hocking, 2008; Mitchell, 2006). This expertise was testimony to Gough Whitlam's appetite for knowledge, his education, and to his "phenomenal" (Beazley Snr in Bramston, 2015, p. 1) memory capabilities.

Both Fraser and Whitlam grew up in affluent families, but the Whitlam's choice was to live quite frugally, although they were generous in the context of their community. Whitlam's parents had fostered the importance of sympathy and prosocial behaviour (Eisenberg et al, 2004) in the form of "liberalist humanist values" and a "devout Christianity and a strong service ethic" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.95), an ethos imparted to their children by example through the Whitlam's own civic participation (Oakes, 1973). For local fetes, Martha Whitlam would make huge quantities of cakes and pastries; new neighbours were welcomed with fresh baked cakes and biscuits; Fred Whitlam made generous contributions to the Church; during the Depression, Martha would make six extra lunches to give to the unemployed men who would knock on their door, in addition to those prepared for the family. Gough Whitlam's father created and maintained an abundant garden for the household, which utilised any food scraps so there was no need for a bin in the household. The family did not own a car or purchase a radio until Whitlam was nineteen. This was the Whitlam parents' way of preventing their children from being distracted from their studies. The only spending exception was books, with Whitlam and his sister Freda being allowed as many as they desired, and every room with the exclusion of the bathroom was filled with books. In the dining room, Whitlam's chair backed onto shelves filled with encyclopaedia's that he would consult when he was not sure of some facts (Mitchell, 2006). Fraser, on the other hand, was pampered extravagantly by his parents to the point where his older sister Lorrain felt left out: "Where Malcolm grew up gratifying in the idea of himself his parents created, his sister rebelled early and permanently" (Edwards, 1977, p.13). Fraser's sister Lorraine was born three years before him in 1927, and was sent off to boarding school when she was six and a half, as she was deemed too set in her ways and prone to arguing about ordinary life matters, as a result of her rebelliousness against authority. In effect, Fraser was raised as an only child (Edwards, 1977). In the Whitlam household, Oakes (1977) suggests, Martha's focus, rather than being on both her children, was on Gough, and in his case she was "more over-protective than most parents" (Oakes, 1973, p.3). As Fraser's sister Lorraine hated school

and did not work at her studies, "no high hopes were entertained for Malcolm" (Una Fraser in Ayres, 1987, p.11).

In contrast, Whitlam's parents did have high expectations of both Whitlam and his sister Freda Whitlam. The feeling of mutual devotion between Whitlam and his parents was strong, and it continued throughout his lifetime. In his eightieth year, Gough became emotional and teary when he was asked about his mother and father: "My parents meant a great deal to me … and their memory still does", he said (Whitlam in Mitchell, 2006, p.146). A distinguishing feature of Whitlam's upbringing was the extent of direction his parents exercised over their children, which was articulated to Professor Hocking when Gough Whitlam was 89 years old: "When he unexpectedly and vehemently expressed his view about his parents control over him and his sister Freda, he was at time emotional" (Hocking, et al, 2005, 22nd October). For example, Whitlam had been made to undertake his last school year at Canberra Grammar three times. In 1934 at the age of seventeen, he had won a £120 a year scholarship for his university fees but instead he stayed in school. His father Frederick was of the opinion that people under the age of eighteen were not mature enough to attend university. As a consequence, Whitlam successfully completed the New South Wales Leaving Certificate three times, prior to going to St Paul's College in 1935 (Frost, 1974). As always, he applied himself to his studies and used his remaining duplicated year to study Greek. The repetition of his last year also demonstrates a respect and acquiescence to the rules set by his parents, together with a level of self-restraint and courage to have handled the taunts from his school peers that redoing his last year might well have generated. Gough Whitlam's reigning in by his parents could also explain some of his actions shortly thereafter and during his political life. Laurie Oakes, for example, describes Whitlam as "something of a dilettante" (Oakes in Frost, 1974, p.12) in his initial years at university, for not being earnest about his lectures and exams. Aside from the potential distraction of his physical stature and good looks attracting attention, Whitlam's lack of attention to his studies was also a consequence of his uncertainty as to his future career, despite his father's expectation that he would also study law. As well as being undecided with regard to his future, Whitlam's relaxed approach to his studies might also be considered in terms of his having just completed his leaving certificate three times. In tandem with the extensive period Labor had been without political power and Whitlam's drive to get things done, in an inverse effect the controlling elements of his parents may also have lent to the fervent drive that compelled Whitlam in matters of policy. For

example, upon his election in December 1972 he promised the electorate he would deliver some policy reforms before Christmas. To that end he unconventionally but legally formed a Duumvirate with his Deputy Leader to run the government between the two of them, as electoral counting was not yet finalised and formal cabinet meetings could not take place until the 18th December. On the 5th December 1972 at 12:15pm, Gough accepted his commission to form the new Labor Government. At 3:15pm Whitlam was sworn in as Prime Minister and as the Minister for thirteen other portfolios, and his Deputy Lance Barnard assumed the fourteen other portfolios (Oakes, 1977; Strangio et al, 2017). Prime Minister Billy McMahon (1971-1972) was astonished as he had anticipated that he would continue as interim Prime Minister until the full membership of the ministry was confirmed (Bramston, 2015). Bilney (1986) counters the hastiness argument posed by Whitlam's critics in the context of the Duumvirate period and beyond, presenting that it was entirely possible to complete the implementation of these objectives as the policies did not require any accompanying legislation. Gough Whitlam was inventive in his methods but did adhere to the rules.

Whitlam's acquiescence to the authority of his parents was also isomorphic with his not railing against the Governor-General Sir John Kerr when he was handed his government's dismissal notice. On meeting with the Governor-General on the 11th November 1975, Whitlam was in the process of delivering his letter detailing his request for a half-Senate election as previously discussed with the Governor-General. He was interrupted by Sir John Kerr, who turned away from Whitlam's extended hand and instead retrieved a letter from his desk and advised Whitlam: "I want to withdraw your commission … I propose to send for the Leader of the Opposition and to commission him to form a new caretaker Government" (Hocking, 2015, p.4). Mitchell (2006) suggests that, to state that "Whitlam was shocked would be a monumental understatement. Whitlam didn't argue; he didn't refuse the document; he did not buy any time. He simply took the piece of paper, they shook hands and he walked out" (Mitchell, 2006, p.265).

Whitlam's restraint, despite the devastation he must have felt, runs contrary to how others suggested they would have reacted in the same circumstances. His wife's response was that he should have torn the document up, as only he and the Governor-General were present in the room, despite her husband's protestations that this was not feasible, as the letter was a legal document. Margaret Whitlam's more extreme option was that he "should have slapped his [the Governor-General's] face and told him to pull himself

together" (Mitchell, 2006, p.267). Former Prime Minister Keating observed that the Governor-General was lucky that he was not Prime Minister at the time. His response "wouldn't have been to take it lightly" (Keating in Obrien, 2013). The present writer also suggests that Fraser himself would not have acceded as easily as Whitlam. In each contest he undertook, whether it was as the political combatant or the supporter of human rights, Fraser was described as being "driven by a steely determination" irrespective of the cost (Stewart, 2015, 28th March). The opportunity to salvage the situation, formulate a plan or at least inform his Senate colleagues did not take place. "Gough was sitting in the sunroom [at the Lodge] eating a steak for lunch …" (Hayden in Mitchell, 2006, p.268): his Treasurer Bill Hayden amongst others later queried: "How could he just sit there, eating a steak?" (Hayden in Mitchell, 2006, p.268).

In the interim, Labor Senators unknowingly were passing a budget that was in support of the Fraser government rather than their own (Hayden, 2005). Ironically, that same day, Bob Hawke, then leader of the ACTU, was also sitting down to a T-bone steak lunch in the restaurant of the Cecil Hotel in Melbourne with his private secretary Jean Sinclair and his friend Jack Kornhauser. After receiving a phone call, Jack Kornhauser relayed the news of the 'Dismissal' to Hawke. Hawke and his private secretary immediately dispensed with their lunch and "were off like a shot to the ACTU office where she immediately booked me on a plane. Within a few hours I was in Canberra" (Hawke, 2005, p.66). Whitlam's account was that he had asked the staff to have a steak prepared for him when he returned from Government House and so thought he should eat it. An alternative explanation, as Mitchell (2006) alludes, is that it was comfort food. As a child, whenever he was upset, his mother would cook him something special. "In a state of extreme shock, it would therefore seem only natural for him to attempt to calm down and think while eating" (Mitchell, 2006, p.268). The critical point here is that Whitlam's actions were not illustrative of a socially intelligent leader because Whitlam was still relying solely on his own counsel rather than informing and rallying his Cabinet team and Party to attempt counter measures, despite distress and shock.

The call to join forces in the pending election campaign as expressed in the last line of his reply to the proclamation that announced the 'Dismissal' of his government: "Maintain your rage and enthusiasm through the campaign for the election now to be held and until polling day" (Whitlam in Freudenberg, 2014, 22nd October) was insufficient, even for his former supporters to unite behind him. It also placed the onus on the voting

public to redress his government's dismissal without sufficient explanation as to why they should do so. Margaret Whitlam had also hoped that there would be a return to the Lodge: "I do hope to go back. It would be very nice as a vindication" (Mitchell, 2006, p.295). Margaret wished that the Australian public would corroborate that what had happened to her husband had been unfair and she placed a caveat on her role if there was the opportunity to resume it: "this time…she would be much more her own person" (Mitchell, 2006, p.295). Whitlam's lack of social intelligence with regard to interpersonal relations had also disaffected key players such as Hawke, who, according to Bill Kelty (Secretary of the Australian Council of Trade Unions from 1983 to 2000), was focussed on his own political aspirations. As a result, he chose not to rally unionists in support of reinstating the Whitlam Government (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2018). Likewise, Whitlam was spurned by media owner Rupert Murdoch, who formerly had been an active advocate for the election of the Whitlam government, in what he considered a necessary stance against the "increasingly weak intellectually" Coalition government (Murdoch in Dorling, 2013, 20th May). Murdoch had been heavily involved in and supportive of the 1972 campaign, but his patronage was, according to Menadue, "partisan and highly interventionist" (Menadue, 1999, p.112) and did not come without concomitant costs or consequences (Menadue, 1999). Menadue also suggested that Murdoch overestimated his influence in the securing of power for the Whitlam campaign, indicating that his strength was adeptness at accurately discerning the mood of the public. However, unlike Whitlam, Menadue was at least attempting to nurture the relationship with Murdoch, to capitalise on any help that might be forthcoming, particularly as Murdoch had expressed interest in how the Labor party could exhibit its economic credentials. Murdoch later declared that Gough Whitlam had been a letdown as Prime Minister "primarily because of his arrogance and lack of human skills as a politician" (Murdoch in Dorling, 2013, 20th May), judging his social intelligence as lacking.

According to his private secretary, Whitlam was indifferent towards Murdoch, as he was "uneasy and sceptical of people with power and money" (Menadue, 1999, p.108). "Murdoch wanted to be the political confidant and Whitlam didn't want it; it was as basic as that" (Menadue, 1999, p.109). Murdoch also had aspirations to be appointed as Australia's High Commissioner to London, and was interested in the pursuit of a policy that facilitated tax deductions for interest payments on mortgages (Menadue, 1999). Walsh (2016) also suggests that while Whitlam acted with propriety in rejecting

Murdochs' idea of becoming High Commissioner he was not prudent in exercising "tactless bluntness with no attempt at all to offer to his keen supporter some explanation" (Walsh, 2016, pp. 153-154). It also did not help that on two occasions Whitlam failed to attend meal meetings that Eric Walsh organised between Whitlam and Murdoch (Walsh, 2016).

Murdoch had known Fraser since they were eight or nine years old and they studied at Oxford at the same time (Fraser, 1987) and these connections became important in the plans to oust the Whitlam government. It is likely that Murdoch anticipated that, unlike Gough Whitlam, he may have held more sway with Fraser in a quid pro quo arrangement. Journalists engaged by News Limited, owned by Murdoch, undertook a twenty-four-hour strike to protest against the "very deliberate and blatant bias" in news reporting after the dismissal of the Whitlam government (Kirkpatrick, 2017, 15th June). Records in the National Archives now detail that Murdoch and Fraser were united in seeking to end the Whitlam government (Dorling, 2011). Despite his best policy intentions, Whitlam's flawed social intelligence in his judgements and actions also contributed to his government's demise.

Critically, Fraser's and Whitlam's personalities and deeds had a negative impact on their best intentions to traverse and negotiate issues on behalf of the Australian polity as well as economic issues influencing the tenures of both leaders and obstructing Whitlam's reform goals (Strangio et al., 2017). For Fraser, the economy was marked by high inflation, unemployment, industrial action and drought (Kerin, 2017). For Whitlam, global oil prices quadrupled (Howard, 2010) and unemployment levels increased beyond those experienced in 1961. "The oil shock and the global economic downturn were unsuited to an expansive policy agenda" (Bramston, 2015, p.13). The combined effects of Whitlam's expansive fiscal program and the inflationary influences deriving from the USA as a consequence of the budget and balance of payments deficits incurred "for the prosecution of the Vietnam War" (Mathews & Grewal, 1997, p.31) also had an effect on inflation. Strangio et al. (2017) tend to argue that historical environments and economic variables underpinned the problems of government for these two leaders; however, things may have been otherwise if there had been, instead, a greater level of cooperation and exercising of social intelligence between the two leaders during their political terms, as occurred in their later years.

Waterford (2015, 20th March) suggests that this political period marked the commencement of an era continuing to the present, "with either side almost pathologically unable to accord the other any credit for sincerity, honesty and simple, but honourable, difference of approach or philosophy". Victims of historical circumstances can still make socially intelligent choices, as Nelson Mandela (President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999). displayed with his engagement with his political enemies (Reuters, 2013). In 2011, Fraser himself observed that, if the world contained six Nelson Mandela's spread across Europe, America and other places in the world, "there wouldn't be any wars" (Malcolm Fraser in Eckersley, 2011, 10th October), yet the discernment regarding the value of Nelson Mandela's social intelligence on behalf of the people of South Africa was not emulated in Fraser's practice of social intelligence during his 'battle' with Whitlam. Kerin[10] (2017) assesses the Parliament in this period of Whitlam and Fraser as "extraordinarily partisan and negative" (Kerin, 2017, p.102). Part of the cause of the friction between them Edwards (1977) ascribes to Whitlam's competencies. "Whitlam would always be cleverer and quicker than Fraser and Fraser would in turn despise him for what he thought was a glib ability to suit the facts to the argument" (Edwards, 1977, p.4).

The partisanship that Fraser adhered to in office contrasted with the notion he had put forward in an essay at University of a "no party participatory democracy" (Ayres, 1987, p.37). The paper had articulated a system that replaced parties with a focus on priority legislation determined by a public vote. For Kerin (2017), a socially intelligent government would apply its focus to good government for all irrespective of political leanings. Prime Minister Whitlam twice secured a legitimate electoral mandate, in 1972 and 1974 (Bilney, 1986; Menadue, 1999; Hocking, 2015). While a majority vote should not prevent any counter opinions to those articulated by the winning party for potential improvements, policy prioritisations or modification of the policy platform, the focus of the opposition Coalition and Fraser was concentrated on frustrating the Whitlam government's program (Hocking, 2005). It should have been considered beholden on Prime Minister Fraser and his parliamentary team to acknowledge the validity of the Whitlam Government's electoral mandates and navigate, through negotiation, the concerns of those whom he and the Coalition represented; in particular, in light of Fraser's

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[10] Australian Government Minister for Primary Industry and then Minister for Primary Industries and Energy 1983-1991 (Kerin, 2017, p.1).

retrospections in later years stating that he and Ian Macphee were in agreement at the time of about the value of Whitlam's policy ideas (Fraser & Simons, 2015). However, in his election speech in 1975, Fraser declared: "This election is about the way Labor has been destroying our way of life" (Whitlamdissmissal.com, 2016, 27th November). Fraser maintained that the Whitlam government's plans were undermined by an absence of discipline, poor economic management, and a propensity towards socialism (Fraser & Simons, 2015). What Fraser did not attribute as a factor was his own contribution, in regard to the Coalition's disengagement with the political negotiation process combined with their ongoing pursuit of the destabilisation of the Whitlam government. Despite the potential validity of Fraser's assertions regarding the deficiencies of the Whitlam government, comparably he did not collaborate to achieve those policies he later attested as so worthwhile. From the beginning, there was a level of accord between Fraser and Whitlam regarding certain issues: both leaders were at fault in strict adherence to their standpoints.

Fraser courted a relationship with Whitlam after politics, as previously he had done with Menzies. Edwards describes the outcome of Fraser's closeness with Menzies as "Fraser gently drawing from the old man the mantle of legitimacy, the founder's gift that he had never handed on" (Edwards, 1977, p.2): in effect, through this relationship, Fraser assumed the imprimatur to take on the role of leader, Similarly, Fraser elicited a level of acceptability through his latter day connections with Whitlam. However sincere the expressions embracing the value of Whitlam's policies made by Fraser after his Prime Ministerial tenure, these pronouncements were also inclusive of an attempt to refocus historical remembrances and to present himself in a better light. Fraser's Machiavellian approach throughout his political career to some degree belies any other conclusion. In addition, assertions he made in 2014 of prior references about him by Whitlam as only politics (Wright, 2014) suggest that, notionally, Fraser still had a view of politics that took as convention that the expression of political hostilities was the prevailing norm to be adhered to. Both leaders used their knowledge concerning issues and their strong characters to persuade colleagues to agree with their views (Weller, 1989; Oakes, 1973), capitalising on the loyalty gained from their electoral wins (Menadue, 1999; Weller, 1989). Notwithstanding that, at some point in the political process, decisions have to be made, there is also need for rigorous exploration of issues. Where there is room for accord

with Strangio et al. (2017) is in relation to the different manner in which Fraser and Whitlam strategized politically.

The significant divergence in approaches to the use of the Australian Constitution to achieve their ends was the contrast between frankness on the part of Whitlam and a Machiavellian method by Fraser. Whitlam did not have the guile to undertake such manoeuvres, which was proven when Whitlam had attempted a secret plan to try and increase the potential for the election of three Labor candidates for the half-Senate election that had been scheduled for the 18th May 1974. Senator Vincent Clair Gair, former Leader of the Democratic Labor Party, was out of favour with his colleagues, having been removed from the leadership in 1973. He indicated that he would be interested in accepting an overseas diplomatic role from the Labor Party. Despite their political animosities, Whitlam agreed to appoint Vincent Gair as the Australian Ambassador to Ireland. The Senate vacancy created by the appointment would, through proportional representation, offer Labor the opportunity to get three seats in Queensland rather than two and therefore assist with gaining a Labor majority in the half-Senate election. On the day before the scheduled announcement, a junior colleague, John Lombard, gave a scoop to the political journalist Laurie Oakes, which then appeared in the Melbourne Sun News. The early release of the news provided sufficient time for the Coalition to thwart the plan. As Vincent Gair had not yet submitted his Senate resignation in writing, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, who hated Whitlam viscerally, immediately organised for writs to be proclaimed for five of the Queensland senators rather than six, thereby excluding Vincent Gair, and thus eliminating the possibility of three Labor senators being elected. Debate concerning the appropriateness of Joh Bjelke-Petersen's actions became negligible because the "Opposition had decided to force an election for the whole Parliament" (Freudenberg, 1977, p.291). Freudenberg, who was Whitlam's speechwriter, indicated that the core of Whitlam's style was openness and that he lacked the guile needed to engage in political back room intrigue, concluding that "he is not a good politician at all" (Freudenberg, 1977, p.291).

Whitlam, although not deemed positive in the context of what is often recognised and applauded as 'political savvy', was able to leave a lasting legacy because he was not focussed on scheming or power for power's sake but instead on a complete program of services, including health, education and urban development, which would be delivered through State governments (Edwards, 1977). "As a politician he seemed, in retrospect,

insufficiently practical, but his actual political record is remarkable" (Grant, 1986, pp.2-3). Whitlam's short tenure had clearly delineated and communicated policy goals which continued to make a contribution to an improved nation after his term but not only had Whitlam's election already raised the ire of his opponents but also his unusual style of implementation met with further disapproval not just from the Opposition but from within his own party. Despite a propensity towards unconventional actions, Whitlam's activities were not done with malicious intent and were still framed within the parameters of the Australian Constitution (Hocking, 2015); whereas, in the words of former Prime Minister Paul Keating, the Dismissal collusions enacted by Fraser and his fellow conspirers were "a coup – it was clear as day illegal – a coup" (Keating in O'Brien, 2013), a sentiment echoed by John Kerin (Former Federal Minister and Treasurer 1983-1991) (Kerin, 2017, p.103). For Freudenberg (1978), the fact that Whitlam, of all people, was targeted for political removal, when viewed in tandem with the nature and force of the measures that were applied in that pursuit, despite Whitlam's government securing a majority in the House of Representatives on two occasions, the prevailing counterpoint was that "it would never be allowed to govern and be destroyed by any means" (Freudenberg, 1978, p.xi). Twenty-three years in government had resulted in an embedded expectation of continued power on behalf of the conservatives, or as Ian Macphee[11] (2005) describes it, the Whitlam Government was seen as "a diversion from the natural order" (Macphee, 2005, p.49) by most Coalition members, with the exception of its new member parliamentarians (Macphee, 2005). Hence, it was deemed almost illegitimate despite electoral victory. Moreover, Margaret and Gough Whitlam were regarded as class traitors (Michell, 2006). Although the Whitlam government had legitimately won office and therefore power, "it was not in power but only ever in office" (Kerin, 2017, p.101). This issue will be explored in more detail throughout the chapter. Next, the social intelligence (Thorndike, 1920) of these two Prime Ministers in action is addressed, within the framework of the six factors identified by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) as hallmarks of successful Prime Ministers.

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[11] Ian Macphee was a Coalition backbencher and then promoted to the Junior Ministry in 1976 as Minister for Productivity, and after three years became the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (18th May, 1974-1st December, 1984).

Stable wielding of power

In defining a socially intelligent secure tenure, Hillmer and Azzi (2011) nominate a period of four years and above. In the context of these two Prime Ministers, this measure of socially intelligent leadership was influenced by a series of distinctive features, including the installation of a Labor Government after twenty-three years of opposition and misgivings about its mandate, factional issues within the Labor Party, poor relations between Whitlam and the Governor-General, the expansiveness of the Labor government's policy program, the deferral of supply by the Coalition, and post-'Dismissal' after effects on the term of Malcolm Fraser.

Fraser's stint of seven years, four months and nine days as Prime Minister substantially exceeded Whitlam's term of two years, eleven months and six days. Applying the measures of success identified by Hillmer and Azzi (2011), a duration falling below four years indicates a failure in the stable wielding of power by Whitlam; a condition in this instance brought about by the extraordinary situation of his government being dismissed by the Governor-General, with the complicity of other parties including Fraser. Despite its shorter tenure and the nature of the circumstances of his term, "it was remarkable how much was achieved" during Whitlam's government (Strangio et al, 2017, p.108). The condition that allowed the Whitlam government to contradict the salient measure of length of tenure as a marker of merit of social intelligence in action was the significant amount of preparation that had gone into policy development prior to his government being elected. By contrast, Fraser, despite his extended term in office, was deemed to have left a negligible legacy (Abjorensen, 2012) due to the lack of policy formulation (Menadue, 1999). The attempt at securing and then maintaining a stable wielding of power by Whitlam was influenced by many factors including his personality, the breadth and extent of his policy goals for Australia, and the persistent view by the Coalition that they, rather than the Labor party, should still be in power. The other critical components in a social intelligence context that influenced his length of tenure included Whitlam's imprudent choice of Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, combined with poor interpersonal relations with his chosen nominee and his second wife Nancy Kerr. Margaret Whitlam, upon realising whom her husband had appointed, said, "Oh dear, you could have done better than that"; and he responded, "Oh no, he'll be good. He was Chief Justice of New South Wales so he'll know all the duties" (Mitchell, 2006, p229). Similarly in response to Keating's observation of Kerr: "Well he seems all right Gough" (Keating in O'Brien,

2015, p.91) Whitlam replied "Oh, he'll be okay, he's completely proper" (Whitlam in O'Brien, 2015, p.91).

Whitlam had described his relationship with John Kerr's predecessor Sir Paul Hasluck (1969-1974) as founded "on openness, frankness, mutual goodwill and mutual respect" (Whitlam, 1983, p.18). Sir Hasluck had also indicated in a speech that, from a Governor-General's perspective, the commitment to the Prime Minister was to "talk with frankness and friendliness, to question, discuss, suggest and counsel" (Whitlam, 1983, p.33). By comparison, Sir John Kerr indicated in several speeches that, beyond discussion and making suggestions, the Governor-General could "advise and warn", "give advice", and "even to utter a warning" (ibid). Margaret Whitlam was a friend of the Governor-General's first wife, as they had studied social work together and it is tempting to muse whether circumstances may have played out differently politically had the Governor-General's first wife lived. In order to accept the position of Governor-General, John Kerr had requested a pension and an increase in salary, which required a legislative amendment (Fraser, 1987), an entreaty fulfilled. The Kerrs insisted on pomp and ceremony being applied with regard to functions, through which Nancy Kerr made great efforts to validate her status and infer her personal refinement. Gough Whitlam referred to her as 'fancy Nancy' because he claimed that, as well as being Sir John Kerr's former mistress, she had been appointed by the Department of Foreign Affairs to take care of French Officials from the both the South Pacific Commission and School of Public Administration based in French Polynesia, Tahiti and New Caledonia. One of the affectations that Margaret Whitlam noted concerning Nancy Kerr was her insistence that all of the dinner menus at Government House had to be printed in French. On the occasion of a formal dinner and in front of the other visitors, Whitlam pointed to a mistake in the menu "in his usual blunt school-teacherly manner", saying, "Nancy, I'm surprised. You've made a mistake in your French" (Mitchell, 2006, p.256). Hackles raised, Nancy Kerr responded: "Oh Prime Minister, you can't mean that" but he continued to stress the point. When they were alone, Margaret Whitlam cautioned: "That was not a clever thing to do and won't stand you in good stead. She doesn't like being corrected. You could have done that more diplomatically" (Mitchell, 2006, p.256). Relations would not have been helped either by a further comment made by Gough Whitlam at another dinner apropos Sir John Kerr at Government House on the 16th October, 1975, that was held for the Prime Minister of Malaysia: "It could be a race between me getting to the Queen to get you dismissed and

you terminating my commission as Prime Minister" (Mitchell, 2006, p.258). Interpretively, Whitlam intended this comment as a witticism, not appreciating the seriousness of the Governor's General's anxiety about a cessation of his tenure or how he would be viewed historically. Nor did Gough Whitlam contemplate the consequential actions that would ensue; whereas Fraser tactically capitalised on the Governor-General's fears (SBS News, 2015). This can be likened somewhat to the train of events that ensued after the roasting of Donald Trump by former President Barack Obama (2009-2017) at the White House Correspondents' Dinner in 2011 (Cillizza, 2017). President Obama publicly humiliated Donald Trump in response to Donald Trump's accusations that President Obama was not an American citizen and therefore unqualified to be President (Obama, 2016) just as Margaret Whitlam observed to Whitlam that "it was foolish to embarrass those who were vain or pretentious, even if you were right in your assertions. Such public humiliations are rarely forgiven" (Mitchell, 2006, p.258). More significantly, they can be catalytic in the courses of action that are then pursued by those that have been so openly chastened. Whitlam did not exercise social intelligence in these contexts and was not sufficiently circumspect. Seemingly, he felt the need to reinforce his own worth by belittling others. As well as having to circumnavigate his relational deficiencies, Whitlam faced problems with the pragmatics of putting in place his expansive policy program and what was economically viable.

The lack of stability of the Whitlam Government was also linked to the breadth and rapidity of its policy pursuits in combination with sourcing funding. It is logical to concur with Strangio et al. (2017) that the commitment by Whitlam to achieving his policy promises and traversing any potential barriers created the dual effect of inspiring some and worrying others. However, these authors also argue that "such leaders struggle to unify an electorate" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.103); and where some will respond positively to the solutions that are posited by 'such leaders', others will be wary, reasoning that, thus far, answers to such problems have been elusive. Strangio et al. (2017) do not clarify whom the collective of 'such leaders' encompasses, which is significant in light of the unique elements of Whitlam's character and leadership. Similarly, Barnes (2015) asserts that, despite the folklore of Whitlam's government having a progressive impact on Australia, from the outset "the chaotic and ideological Whitlam Prime Ministership caused deep disquiet and consternation in the wider Australian electorate" (Barnes, 2015, 12th November). On the contrary, as Liberal Party member Ian Macphee acknowledged,

the "majority of the electorate had shown its continued support for Labor's general sense of direction" (Macphee, 2005, p.49). As well, despite the existence of disparate viewpoints, the Whitlam government achieved a majority vote in two successive elections (Hocking, 2005; Bramston, 2014). The electoral result achieved in 1972 was also reconfirmed in 1974, albeit with a reduced margin of 0.03 per cent in which the Whitlam government gained three extra members in the Senate, giving it a cohort of twenty nine out of sixty (Hocking, 2005).

The electoral support base for the Labor Party was diverse in scope, including many refugees who had escaped to Australia after the Second World War. Very early marketing theory might also be applied here. Innovators and early adopters precede the early majority, late majority and laggards in embracing innovation (Rogers, 1962). The appointment of a Labor government was a substantial deviation from the past twenty-three years of governance, and a "novel experience for a large proportion of the population" (Patience & Head, 1979, preface). The policy focus by Menzies had been for "the individual to help himself" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.17) and to facilitate economic growth by allowing business to lead. Freudenberg (1978) suggests that the ongoing costs of Australia's participation in the Vietnam War, in combination with the nature of the policies being applied in the spheres of education, immigration and housing, drove people into suburban areas and created the social circumstances of environments "where the reality was often costly, bleak and lonely" (Freudenberg, 1978, p.5).

The program of change, or as Grant (1986) describes, the "lyrical quality of the Whitlam ascendancy" (Grant, 1986, pp.2-3) which Whitlam was evoking, was not just encompassing change management but change leadership. "By 1969, the Party had, for the first time, a platform of contemporary relevance" (Whitlam, 1985, p.9), and the job ahead was to withdraw from the policies of the last twenty years and to alter viewpoints that had been engrained over that time (Whitlam, 1985). It was not about restraint, but about putting into effect concepts and courses of action that would propel both wide-ranging and far-reaching social transformation (Kotter, 2011; Sawer, 1976), changing the "tautologies of the Cold War" (Grant, 1986, pp.2-3). Whitlam wanted to raise the bar in the context of the Australian people's prospects and hopes (Freudenberg, 1978) and a majority of the electorate responded to that optimism. Positivity extended to public servants at this time. Richard Woolcott indicated that it was an inspiring period to be a senior administrator in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Woolcott, 2014).

The new focus was a contrast with that of one of Whitlam's predecessors, Menzies, who, Freudenberg suggests, "never made the mistake of raising Australian expectations" (Freudenberg, 1978, p.3). In 2014, Fraser said: "In his [Gough Whitlam's] time there was a much more vigorous debate about ideas about the future, about the direction of policy, about new thought, opening up possibilities" (Fraser in SBS News, 21st October 2014). Such reflections reinforce the perspective of the wasted opportunities that occurred rather than availing of the opportunities for socially intelligent leadership considerations about Australia's future.

The presence of a mandate for the Whitlam government was immediately flagged as contentious by the Coalition at the time of its electoral win, as was the extent of the Labor Party's victory. Again, the focus deviated from working with the prevailing circumstances in a socially intelligent way. Commentary has been written with regard to the winning margin of the Whitlam Government being less significant than ensuing Federal electoral successes by political parties. Rather than opposition victory, the maxim of an incumbent government losing an election has instead been cited as a sounder description (Howard, 2010). Similar sentiments were expressed from the Labor side, with Clyde Cameron also deeming that "Whitlam had won the election largely because McMahon had lost it" (Strangio et al., p.106). The slimness of the win was, according to former Prime Minister John Howard, because the Liberal National Coalition underestimated the need for fundamental policy changes, such as deregulation, taxation and tariff reform (Howard, 2010). That incumbent governments lose elections is a legitimate contention but this does not negate that, whatever the margin, the Whitlam government achieved a mandate from the Australian public in the Federal elections of 1972 and 1974. Furthermore, it had made its policy intentions very clear and, concomitantly, potentially made itself more vulnerable politically in terms of the opposition being aware of the strategic counterpoints to tackle. As well as navigating a plethora of policy ambitions, a further impediment for Whitlam in the context of stable power were enemies within and outside the party, path further complicated by Whitlam's methods of interacting, which mixed coaxing and conflict strategies (Strangio et al., 2017). Bramston (2015) suggests that Whitlam had no option other than to adopt a "crash through or crash" (Bramston, 2015, p.xxxi) style of leadership as a consequence of the internal and external opposition his agenda faced. Bramston (2015) argues that without Whitlam the Labor Party would not have persisted as a political entity or its vast legacies

ensued. For Kim Beazley Senior the negative component of Whitlam's approach was the alienation of potential allies (Beazley Snr in Bramston, 2015).

In 1985, Whitlam included a quote in his book from Machiavelli's The Prince, which articulated the invidious position he found himself in politically (Whitlam, 1985). It also underpins why a 'stable wielding of power' (Hillmer & Azzi, 2011) during his tenure entailed considerable hurdles. The quote describes that there is nothing more difficult, fraught with danger, or unlikely to succeed than making oneself a leader who initiates a new order of things, as Gough Whitlam was doing. Those who favour how matters have been done in the past will confront the half-hearted supporters of the new. The reluctance on behalf of the supporters, despite the likelihood of gains, stems from a fear of the old guard, who have rules and regulations on their side and also because of an inherent scepticism, fuelled by a lack of belief in changes, until 'supporters' can actually see them in practice. The consequence is a half-hearted defence in the face of the enemies of change. In Whitlam's circumstances he was also facing the dual condition of external resistance plus the 'enemy within'. Whitlam faced internal opposition from the Labor left, who translated their hatred of the existing system to Whitlam because of his advocacy of Constitutional means to realise social good through Federal politics.

Whitlam argued that there was a tendency to be fixated with Section 92 of the Constitution as an impediment to the Federal Government setting a progressive agenda in social policy terms. An absence of reform reflections within the Labor Party had been exacerbated by recurring electoral defeats which, in Whitlam's opinion, had created a "political and intellectual wasteland at all levels of the party" (Whitlam, 1985, p.2), which was partially concealed as a consequence of the "rigor and virulence with which its factions pursued their obsessive vendettas" (Whitlam, 1985, p.2). Unlike others, Whitlam did not anticipate that power would be delivered into Labor's hands just as the result of the political pendulum turning. He believed that it required "contemporary ideas, a modern party machinery and hard work" (Whitlam in Menadue, 1999, p.50), as well as a refocusing on the means by which change could be achieved.

To that end, Whitlam pursued the powers afforded by Section 96 of the Constitution, which empowered the Commonwealth to extend grants to the States for express purposes. He was proposing a departure from a social services policy focussed on paying cash to those in need, to a complete program of services including health, education and urban development, which would be delivered through the state governments (Edwards, 1977).

The policies did not require recourse to nationalisation or the implementation of government controls but the delivery of better government services coined by Whitlam as a "positive equality" (Johnson, 2015, p.358) that could be achieved to accompany private sector offerings. Ironically, Whitlam's exploration of Section 96 had been facilitated by the formation of an all-Party Constitutional Review Committee, of which Whitlam was a member, established by Liberal Leader Robert Menzies in 1955. Menzies had become uneasy about the survival of his government because the Senate numbers between the Government and the Opposition were equally split. At this stage Menzies was in his second tenure and approaching the five-year mark in his current term. Somewhat fatefully, Edwards (1977) suggests that Whitlam's interest within the Committee did not pertain to the briefing statement or to the terms outlined by the Governor-General Sir William Slim. Sir William announced the need to review relations between the House of Representatives and the Senate, focussing in particular on the powers of the Senate and the measures to be pursued should a disagreement ensue between the Senate and House of Representatives. Citing the government as his "advisers" (Edwards, 1977, p.5), Sir William Slim articulated that, in order for a government to give effect to its plans for Australia, it needed to be tenured for a sensible interval. The length of the 'sufficiency' was not quantified, but the statement by Sir William Slim was significant on several counts. It referenced the Government of the day as advisers to the Governor-General, as indicated by the Constitution, in direct contrast to Sir John Kerr as Governor-General taking advice from the Opposition Party when he dismissed the Whitlam Government (Hocking, 2015). The announcement focused on the interests of the Australian polity and the need for a government's term to be lengthy enough to give effect to its intended policies; albeit that the motivations for establishing the review were not necessarily focussed on the articulation of strategies but on retention of tenure.

Whilst it is easy with the benefit of hindsight to reflect, as Edwards (1977) does, on Whitlam's apparent lack of attention to the specifications of the brief of the review committee or potentially the inherent warnings, to be fair it was twenty years prior to the events of 1975. Nonetheless, it may also point to Whitlam's propensity to become so focussed on the Constitution's facilitation of social policy reform, combined with his apparent lack of pragmatism and naiveté (Freudenberg, 1978), that he did not contemplate circumstances where dispute between the two Houses might prefigure what occurred in

1975. Johnson in (Bramston, 2015) suggested that Whitlam too conceded that his early political strategy had not foreseen the necessity of having to handle an international recession and inflation and a hostile Senate. For any reasonable person, the level of rancour and political contrivance that was to be attached to the 'Dismissal' and events leading up to it could hardly have been anticipated, given the extremely clandestine nature exemplified in the modifications undertaken in Sir John Kerr's study, at Government House. On Friday the 6th November 1975, the room was made the subject of a two-and-a-half-hour sound proofing check, as the senior mechanical engineer and officers had been advised that talks in the study could be overheard in the adjacent room where secretarial staff worked. Work to correct this began the next day and was completed on Saturday the 8th November 1975. On Sunday the 9th November 1975, painters completed their work. The Governor-General Sir John Kerr then sought the advice of the Chief Justice of Australia Sir Garfield Barwick regarding the Whitlam Government on the 10th November, and invited him to Admiralty House (Whitlam, 1983). On the 11th November 1975, the Whitlam Government was dismissed. "What ensued delivered power to Malcolm Fraser and his Coalition colleagues but brought glory to none" (Mitchell, 2006, p.14). John Button reflected that the happenings of November 1975 marked the closing stages of the era of the Liberal Party stamped by Prime Minister's Deakin, Menzies and Gorton, and hailed the ascent of a party in which, in "the pursuit of power, anything goes" (Button, 2005, p.19). The observation by Button (2005), however, has validity in the context of all Australian political parties. The profound effect of politics winning over the interests of the polity provides a significant impetus for considering the social intelligence of those who pursue the role of Prime Minister and indeed political careers.

Fraser spoke on the 27th September 1976 at the Royal Milne Memorial Lecture in Sydney about the need for balance between secrecy and the public's entitlement to information in the context of foreign policy. He posed that: "Secrecy is only warranted or justified where its absence would compromise what is basically the outcome of an inherently democratic process" (White & Kemp, 1986, p.33). This reasoning appears to be contradictory to the decision by Malcolm Fraser to proceed with concealment in his manoeuvres to oust Gough Whitlam, who had been elected as a result of the democratic process of voting. When a Coalition victory did not happen in 1972, many became determined that the aberration of the Whitlam government being elected, or as the Senate Opposition Leader Reg Withers dubbed it, "the temporary electoral insanity" (Withers in Freudenberg, 1977,

p.266), was to be countered as quickly as possible, with plans outlined to Billy Snedden by Senator Withers to effect a change in government within two years, through deferral of approval of Appropriation Bills. It was anticipated that this would then act as a catalyst for the Governor-General to dismiss the Whitlam Government (Hocking, 2005). The articulation of this goal in 1975, with the 'Dismissal' of the Whitlam government, was realised through the collective conspiring between Chief Justice Sir Anthony Mason (1987-1995), Chief Justice Sir Garfield Barwick (1964-1981), Sir John Kerr and then Opposition Leader Malcolm Fraser MP, with the compliance of others. Reg Withers also confirmed that the Governor-General and Fraser had been in covert telephone contact in November 1975, via their secure private numbers, because he had been witness to it in Malcolm Fraser's office. The only other person who called that private number was Tamie Fraser (Murphy, 2015, 26th October). The Coalition did not deviate from seeing themselves as the sole custodians of intellectual capital for the governance of Australia. Appreciably, this also reveals a lack of social intelligence expressed through rigidity and lack of 'fitness to change' (IBSA, 2011) which continued with Fraser's prime ministerial tenure.

Previously, on becoming the Coalition Leader, Fraser had stated that the Whitlam Government should be given the appropriate opportunity to govern and that the Coalition's course of deferral of supply would not continue, precluding any special circumstances (Howard, 2010). He stated: "if a government has the numbers and can maintain the numbers in the lower house, it is entitled to expect that it will govern for the three year term unless quite extraordinary events occur" (Fraser in Whitlam, 1983, p.42, & Weller, 1989, p.12). Again, this was reminiscent of a Machiavellian rhetoric that was conciliatory at face value but belied the true intent of continuing the same Coalition strategy of deferring supply. Even though it was one of the stipulations set by the Governor-General to allow Fraser to assume the role of 'caretaker' Prime Minister (Hocking, 2005), the fact that Labor Treasurer Bill Hayden's budget was passed by the Coalition immediately upon Fraser securing the role of caretaker Prime Minister is indicative that a double standard was applied. Fraser had condemned Whitlam for his efforts to circumnavigate the Coalition's tactics. "To try to govern without appropriation of money by Parliament is the first significant step on the path to an Australian dictatorship" (Fraser in Mitchell, 2006, p.264), said Fraser. "The Leader of the Opposition is seeking to reduce the powers of the House of Representatives in a way never before

attempted in Australia" (Fraser in Michell, 2006, p.265). To this, Whitlam replied that the behaviour of the Senate was unconstitutional. Tellingly, as Whitlam subsequently wrote, despite the accusations of impropriety towards the Whitlam Government by the Coalition: "No part of the program was ever invalidated by the High Court. No appeals against our legislation were ever upheld" (Whitlam, 1985, p.9). Whitlam asserted that the single goal he and his colleagues intended between October and November 1975 was to compel the Senate to do its duty constitutionally and unambiguously identify a yes or no vote in terms of letting the Government's proposed budget pass. In his memoir, The Truth of the Matter (1983), Prime Minister Whitlam argued that the numbers to pass the budget were obtainable with only one defection necessary and refers to an anecdote and comment from Senator Margaret Guilfoyle indicating the veracity of this claim: "There were several Liberal Senators, as was well known at the time, who had made quite plain their discontent with the tactics of Senate obstructionism" (Hayden, 1978, 2nd December). Other sources confirm that not all members of the Coalition were in support of the party line of deferral of supply. When Fraser became aware of this, Senator Withers was commissioned to approach them and ask them to come and speak to Fraser (Ayres, 1987). Three such Coalition members, who were named by Clyde Cameron (Australian Member of Parliament 1949-1980) in his 1987 interview with Fraser, were Missen, Jessup and Bonnett. Fraser acknowledged that he was contacted by Jessup, who had advised Fraser that, on his arrival in Adelaide, he had met many respectable Liberal Party members who indicated that they would not stay with the Liberals if supply continued to be deferred. As a consequence, Fraser then outlined the course of action he embarked on:

> " …Well anyway, I placed a couple of phone calls into Adelaide and no more than two and then John Jessop to came [sic] back to Canberra on the Sunday night or the Tuesday morning. He said: 'You know Malcolm, a strange thing happened because the people who rang me up when I first got to Adelaide, they were all against the deferral of supply. But then all of Saturday afternoon and Sunday I've been rung by a huge number of people who were all in favour of deferring supply. And um they've said that they'll work against my preselection if I change my view" (Fraser, 1987, nla.gov.au/nla.obj-215829183/listen/31-639~31-647).

When Cameron asked Fraser whether this had been a Machiavellian ploy conceived by either him or the Federal Director of the Liberal Party, Anthony (Tony) Eggleton (1975-1990), Fraser denied his actions were Machiavellian. Instead, he labelled them as follows:

"…just an essential little ah ploy needed to counter ah the attacks that were being ah, being—and only in his case incidentally—ah needed to keep ah, ah the ah campaign that two or three people had made themselves vulnerable to by publically indicating doubts with the opposition's decision" (Fraser, 1987, nla.gov.au/nla.obj-215829183/listen/31-639~31-647).

Despite divergent voices and contemplation of how else the political situation might be mitigated through further analysis, negotiation and changed actions on behalf of the Australian public, Fraser demonstrated little social intelligence and chose instead to offer retribution to colleagues that did not comply, in the form of non-support of their pre-selection. Fraser's real-world political practice indicates that no middle ground or negotiation was entertained and that the only resolution he sought was resumption of power by the Coalition, with himself as leader.

The concern by the Coalition about the tenancy of the Whitlam Government in the House of Representatives had been further compounded by anxiety with regard to Whitlam's scheme to counter the Coalition's continued tactic of deferral of supply. Whitlam's solution was to hold a half-Senate election to secure more favourable representation for the Labor Party, because they had inherited a Senate hostile to their policies. Hocking (2005) wrote that the presence of an inimical Senate had been a consistent feature of the Australian political landscape: "It was scarcely unusual for an Australian government to have to work with a Senate it did not control. This had been the case for twenty years between 1913 and 1975, and between 1949 and 1975 the government commanded a majority in the Senate for only eight years" (Hocking, 2005, p.4). Based on these figures, out of the sixty-two years between 1913 and 1975, a Senate majority was enjoyed by Australian incumbent governments for only thirty-four years, or just over 56% of the time period. The further point made by Hocking (2005) was that, despite the lack of government-controlled Senates in the past, budget Appropriation Bills had not been blocked by the Senate even where there had been a capacity to do so. Billy Snedden, the then-Coalition Leader (1972-1975), was asked why the blocking of supply had been used to force the election of 1974 rather than waiting for an election that they would win. He told Gough Whitlam's Press Secretary: "The pressure was on me from Anthony[12]. We thought you had a chance of getting control of the Senate at the half-Senate election or at

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[12] Doug Anthony was the Leader of the National Party and Deputy Leader of the Coalition.

least enough to get a redistribution through. With a gerrymander, you'd be in forever" (Snedden in Freudenberg, 1977, p.92). The comment from Snedden again highlights the focus on length of tenure as opposed to political duration complemented by achievements or a socially intelligent consideration of the Australian polity.

While the Labor Party grappled with trying to recover from the 'Dismissal' and to determine the main whys and wherefores for its defeat, the way in which Fraser came to power most certainly framed his governance (Gratten, 2005), despite his government's extended and 'stable' tenure. Gratten (2005) suggests that the extent to which that occurred is more difficult to quantify: "Fraser was more cautious than one would have expected, given his majority, and a reason was because of the legitimacy issue" (Gratten, 2005, p.162). Similarly, Menadue (1999) also depicts that Fraser's tenure remained tarnished by the way he had achieved power and the acrimony that ensued throughout Australia. "Prime Minister Fraser was perceived as exceptionally divisive" (Kerin, 2017, p.122) and the infamy he gained from the Dismissal lingered permanently (Kerin, 2017). Menadue (1999) suggests that this division was mirrored within Fraser himself. On the one side, there was Malcolm Fraser being "soft" on matters such as "welfare" (Menadue, 1999, p.175) and his advocacy against racial discrimination; juxtaposed against these was the tough way in which he seized power. A deficit of his tenure was also an absence of precise policy goals that were to be pursued.

Whitlam's policy goals had been inspired long before his entry into politics and were linked to his interest in two Australian referenda that took place in 1937 and 1944, with the latter prompting Whitlam's commitment to politics. Whitlam had supported Prime Minister Curtin's (1941-1945) seeking of augmented powers for a period of five years to facilitate Australia's reconstruction in a post-war environment. Whitlam had championed John Curtin's cause from his RAAF air force base, having become angry at what he saw as a distortion of the issues by Prime Minister Menzies. He had set up his campaign in the mess hut at Gove in the Northern Territory and canvassed very strongly for a 'yes' vote (Frost, 1974): "I don't think I thought I'd be in parliament. I just wanted to be, you know, a supporter…not necessarily a back-bencher. I wanted to be working for it. For what it stood for. I was so disillusioned or alienated by what the non-Labor interests were doing-you know, I thought, shallow cynical – and so I decided to help to give things a move along" (Whitlam in Walter, 1980, p.21). The referendum was defeated and Whitlam stated: "It was the referendum that determined me to support Labor's objectives and resist

the Liberal obstruction" (Frost, 1974, p. 15). Subsequently, whilst still in uniform, he became a member of the Darlinghurst Branch of the Labor Party on the 8th August 1945 (Frost, 1974). Whitlam's political trajectory had begun.

Fraser was born into a political background through his grandfather. Although Fraser did not attribute his school, Melbourne Grammar, as having offered much influence in terms of politics, an emphasis of the school was to impart to its pupils that they were duty bound as a consequence of their "membership of the ruling class" (Edwards, 1977, p.17) to undertake responsibilities in public affairs and in the leadership of Australia. Edwards (1977) identified that the motivation for Fraser to pursue a career in politics stemmed from his not having training in anything else bar farming. Fraser's entry in the National Archives record says that Fraser "returned to Australia in 1952 determined to do more than succeed his father as the owner and manager of Nareen" (Simons, Masters & Wood, 2017, 20th June). Fraser had gone to Oxford University when he was nineteen and gained a degree in politics, economics and philosophy. A family friend, R. J (Bob) Southey, who had completed the same subjects at Oxford, influenced his study choices. Schneider (1980, p.7) describes it as an "undistinguished period" (Ayres, 1987; Renouf, 1986) for Fraser and it appears he was unhappy and keen to get home (Edwards, 1977). Fraser had written a letter to his parents from Oxford indicating that he wished to pursue a career in politics and that "now Dan McKinnon[13] was not member for Wannon he would like to stand for that" (Edwards, 1977, p.23). In later interviews Fraser intimated that his interest in politics came after he returned from Oxford, and then he was reminded of his correspondence and his mother's recollections (Weller, 1989). No specific policy motivations are attributed to Malcolm Fraser's foray into politics.

Not surprisingly then, Whitlam surpassed Fraser in articulating well-defined and conveyed policy goals, exhibiting a more socially intelligent approach to the polity. The policies espoused by the Whitlam Government had been framed over many years and were not intended as rhetoric to secure electoral victory but as deliverables (Bilney, 1986; Hocking, 2015). Whitlam was also resourceful in extracting government information for his speeches expounding policy. Early on he recognised that if he put comprehensive and precise questions on the Hansard notice paper he could obtain precisely the same information drawn on by the government to make its decisions. It had the added benefit

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[13] Dan McKinnon belonged to one of the rural families with large land holdings, who lost the seat of Wannon to a Labor candidate in 1951 (Edwards, 1977).

of negating any counter arguments by the incumbent government as to the veracity of the information Whitlam was using given that it had come from the government itself. It has been said that sometimes the level of detail in Whitlam's speeches did mask specific points (Carr, in Bramston, 2015).Yet each policy speech was for Whitlam "a series of promises to be kept" (Farmer, 2015, p.62).

Insights for Whitlam's policy formation, vision and priorities were also spurred on by his work as the local member for Cabramatta where he lived. Whitlam's national agenda was informed by the struggles he observed in his own electorate in relation to housing, transportation, schooling, community facilities and health and welfare services and he transposed those findings to what should be implemented by the government (Strangio et al., 2017), seeing "federal government as the engine of national renewal" (McKenna, 2005, p.148). Similarly, his policies were also aimed at alleviating "decades of neglect in the public sector" (Mathews & Grewal, 1997, p.41).

Comparably, where the Whitlam government was over-prepared, the Fraser government was the reverse. In its opposition period, it made little alteration to its policies, with its focus centred on "reclaiming its rightful position in government and performing competently" (Menadue, 1999, p.175). The lack of groundwork for government and the absence of any clear direction was illustrated in Malcolm Fraser's 1975 policy speech, which lacked detail and espoused broad stroke aspirations to "give Australian industry the protection it needs" and to "make Australia competitive again" (Menadue, 1999, p.175). The political rhetoric was present, but what was absent was a core philosophy driving its goals.

In support of Fraser, Menadue (1999) remarks that no one else was proposing any "credible alternatives" on the policy level, including party members, business or the media (Menadue, 1999, p.176). On the economic front, Fraser was a "conservative – a protectionist" (Mathewson, 2015, 20th March), who refused to contemplate his colleagues' calls for the Australian economy to be opened up to international markets and was very much against the union movement. His tenure was marked by both high unemployment and inflation combined with a decrease in the actual value of welfare benefits (Matheson, 2015). In spite of these factors, Fraser was proficient in his duties pertaining to his electorate.

During recess periods, Fraser would travel around his electorate of Wannon and work on local matters, with his majority in the seat gradually increasing. "In Canberra the interests of Wannon dictated many of my own interests: anything to do with agriculture or farm organisation, anything to do with trade" (Fraser, 2002, p.xxiv). "Fraser travelled round its towns and hamlets constantly, shouting rounds in the pubs, opening fetes and exhibits, answering thousands of letters and attending to hundreds of requests. He was able to pay for extra secretarial staff and his attention was reflected in steadily increasing majorities" (Edwards, 1977, p.30). When Parliament was sitting, Fraser had a regular column in the Hamilton Spectator and other newspapers in the district, which he combined with a weekly five-minute session on radio stations 3HA and 3WB. Advertisements were also regularly placed in newspapers detailing times that members of his electorate could come to Fraser with their troubles (Ayres, 1987). Fraser explained that the problems might relate to State or Federal government matters or at times were non-government related. "I can remember one occasion when I accompanied somebody for a discussion with his lawyer about his own family problems. He wanted moral reinforcement. In the Australia of the times, none of this was strange" (Fraser, 2002, p.xxiv). Interestingly, both Fraser and Whitlam worked well in their constituencies in terms of their interactions but, more broadly, public perceptions varied.

Whitlam's parents had fostered the importance of sympathy and prosocial behaviour (Eisenberg et al, 2004), both in discussions with their children but also exemplified through the Whitlams' actions in their own community (Oakes, 1973). Whitlam "was nurtured in a family with liberalist humanist values, a concentration on education and literacy, devout Christianity and a strong service ethic" (Strangio, et al, 2017, p.95), tenets he embraced in public service. As his electoral office was only open from Monday to Friday, constituents from Whitlam's electorate were welcomed into the family home in Cabramatta on Saturdays. Whitlam's son Stephen Whitlam recalled how citizens would consult with his father in the family living room, which prompted the installation of a folding door between the living and dining rooms to afford the rest of the family some privacy. The electorate had a strong working class and migrant population of Italian, Maltese, Greek and Lebanese extraction who would come bearing gifts from their market gardens (Mitchell, 2006).

Many of the long-term Labor policy aspirations did not take place during Whitlam's tenure. However, despite the efforts made by the Opposition to thwart the Whitlam

government's policy intentions or ensure that they remained unfinished, this did not avert an enduring change in the Australian political context (Strangio et al., 2017). That some policies were aired on the national agenda opened the door to their pursuit in the future while other policies had both short- and long-term effects (Hughes, 1994, 13th April). Whitlam's chief policy goal was to achieve a standard of living independent of wages, linked to services that were derived from the combined resources of the community, with the intention of improved circumstances for everybody. While the idealism is commendable, it is somewhat of a circular argument. The capacity to avail of communal reserves is dependent upon sufficient government revenues being available, to be sourced either from taxes and or government assets that generate the necessary level of income to accommodate the planned amount of expenditure. Thus, the policies that Whitlam was pursuing needed to be tempered with social intelligence pertaining to the implementation and the costs of such aspirations. Kerin (2017) argued that the absence of ample consultation, clarification and policy adjustments, together with the costs of the transition to the new policy program, contributed the dramatic policy changes that were envisioned being complicated. He argued that such changes "will always be difficult and potentially disastrous politically" (Kerin, 2017, p.102). That there is a significant political cost to any government is not necessarily the imperative that should drive political tenures and their policy engagement. The more important deliberations, from a socially intelligent focussed perspective, are the actual time that is required to articulate policies properly, which plans should be considered the lessor or more substantial ones to pursue, and the staging of their implementation relative to available resourcing.

In the Australian political context, Fraser's policy refrain to the Australian public appeared to be predicated on an acceptance of your lot in life which led to the infamous use of the "Life was not meant to be easy" phrase by Fraser. Determined to distinguish himself from the Whitlam Government, Fraser was committed above all else to managing his ministers, the Public Service and the economy, and to removing from government all waste and extravagance, although Edwards (1977) suggested that Fraser did not exercise the same self-restraint.

In a lecture on the 20th July, 1971, entitled, 'Towards 2000; Challenge to Australia', Fraser summarised the crux of twelve volumes of Arnold Toynbee's A Study of History into one sentence, concluding "that through history nations are confronted by a series of challenges and whether they survive or whether they fall by the wayside depends on the

manner and character of their response" (Fraser in Ayres, 1987, p.193). Stating the obvious, Fraser's conjecture was that an enduring aspect to the future would be the persistence of testing times for either people or countries. Fraser then continued by saying: "There is within me some part of the metaphysic, and thus I would add that life is not meant to be easy" (Fraser in Ayres, 1987, p.193). For clarification purposes, Ayres (1987) felt the need to explain that the reference to 'easy' did not "equate with affluent" (Fraser in Ayres, 1987, p.193), and that Fraser was referencing individuals as well as collectives of people. Subsequently, the phrase 'Life is not meant to be Easy' became a catch phrase identified with Fraser. In Fraser's defence, Schneider (1980) expressed that Fraser had "been far more radical and innovative than his supporters proclaim or his opponents admit" (1980, p.1), and that, despite Fraser being an exponent of the notion of 'Life Wasn't Meant to be Easy', that he remained committed to welfare. When quizzed about his philosophy that 'Life Wasn't Meant to be Easy' by Australian journalist George Negus, Fraser replied, "Well it isn't, is it"? George Negus responded: "What about being born rich that does help". "Does it?" countered Fraser (Edwards, 1977, unnumbered page). The original quote by George Bernard Shaw offered a more positive premise: "Life is not meant to be easy, my child but take courage: it can be delightful" (Hughes, 1994, 13th April). Further queries in 1994 by Hughes about Fraser using the phrase resulted in Fraser applying the whole quote and suggesting that it did resonate with people and their circumstances (Hughes, 1994). Hughes response was: "but you didn't say life isn't easy, you said life wasn't meant to be easy", and Fraser responded:

> "Well I know, but people relate to their own circumstances and they say it's not, well maybe it's not meant to be, and they wouldn't know how they could make it easy for themselves. And so it was, in a sense uttering a thought and so the more my enemies said it, I thought the more they won me some brownie points instead of lost me some" (Hughes, 1994, 13th April).

When Fraser was asked about the underlying philosophy that he was trying to convey in the speech, he replied: "Look I haven't read that speech for an awful long while and I sometimes forget what I put in one speech as opposed to another" (ibid). A failure to recall the content of one speech amongst many is indeed plausible but this should not have precluded the ability to give an explanation as to the fundamental philosophy that lay behind phrase. The original saying by George Bernard Shaw was one of expressing optimism, despite hardships, whereas the component used by Fraser cast a gloomy

vindication towards life's problems; as Australia's future leader, it offered no socially intelligent vision for Australia's prospects.

Fraser's philosophy of Liberalism was aligned to that of his predecessor Menzies: the resolution of social problems resided within the private sphere. "We have always believed that government actions and intrusions should only be sought and can only be justified where private solutions cannot operate effectively with a sense of fairness and of justice" (Fraser, 2002, pp.5-6). As Bagchi and Donnelly (2008) counter, even-handedness can only ensue if businesses, as well as being mindful of shareholder interests, acts for the broader community, for example as custodians of the environment and natural resources. Anti-monopoly legislation was the only government intervention deemed necessary by Malcolm Fraser for the protection of Australian consumers. Edwards (1977) wrote that three things underpinned Fraser's thinking: unions, government expenditure and inflation. Fraser's perspective was that governments that sought to curry favour with the polity became compliant with unions and acquiesced to pleas for government spending (Edwards, 1977). However, Fraser continually espoused the view that government spending in tandem with a focus on full employment, otherwise dubbed as "our modern social conscience" (Fraser in Edwards, 1977, p.34), and the presence of unions, was a perfect formula for inflation. Later he modified this stance and said he believed that the pursuits of national development and full employment should be favoured over concerns regarding prices.

Malcolm Fraser also believed that it was a false premise of globalisation to not be concerned about who owned former Australian companies, Australian farmland, utilities or water supplies in Australia. This policy area of economic nationalism was one with which both Fraser and Whitlam concurred. In 1994, Fraser said of Whitlam: "Yes, he's an economic nationalist. He would not sell newspapers, he would not sell things important to Australia's identity as a nation to the highest bidder worldwide just because he could get a bigger dollar" (Hughes, 1994, 13th April). Fraser was, however, disappointed that Whitlam had not continued his advocacy for the Labor Party to adhere to this policy stance; in particular as Fraser assessed, given the lessor size of Australia's population comparative to other nations and despite its relative wealth, there would always be the potential for wealthier individuals or nations to buy everything in Australia. Certainly, there is a significant difference between the encouragement of international investment in Australia, as opposed to direct ownership of Australian assets by foreign companies

and governments; especially as Fraser had expressed that overseas governments do not countenance such reciprocal ownership rights of their countries' assets: "if you wanted to buy Le Monde you couldn't do it. If you wanted to buy a major German newspaper, if you wanted to buy the Wall Street Journal you wouldn't be allowed to do it" (Hughes, 1994, 13th April). Fraser argued that the concept of globalisation should be expanded from one which took "such a global view of money" to "a global view of people" (Fraser, 2002, p.6). There is, however, a dichotomy in the application of Fraser's empathy-related responding. The positive aspects were evident in his Prime Ministerial role through his advocacy on behalf of Indo-China refugees and stances against Apartheid in South Africa (Moore, 2015) and his after political career work with the Care Organisation; the other side of the coin was a commitment to protectionism.

Labor party research using focus groups reported reactions to Whitlam ranging from "at best neutral and at worst extremely negative (Strangio et al., 2017). He was evasive, lacked warmth, and argued at such length that people began to doubt him and judged him 'not a Labor man'" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.104). "He was cold, distant, not human, an intellectual loner who gave impotent answers to potent questions (Cater, in Bramston, 2015, p.53). The Labor Party campaign for the 1972 election, "It's Time", led by Mick Young as National Campaign Director and invented by Paul Jones, was intended to focus on the Leader to dispel the negative viewpoints concerning Whitlam. It was the first occasion when a leader pursued support not just as the leader of a party but as representative of a brand (Cater, 2015). In fact " Gough Whitlam's pitch for government was work-shopped, focus grouped and test-marketed for 18 months before it went to air" (Cater, in Bramston,2015, p.51) The campaign presented a more softened perspective by including pictures of Whitlam during his childhood, his legal career, and his wedding day (Strangio et al., 2017). "Furthermore, it spoke to the heart, not the head: it was a message of hope and trust, not policy costings or policy detail". This later assertion by Strangio et al. (2017, p.105) cuts to the core of the emphasis of the present thesis and the notion that the so-called 'emotive' elements, such as hope and trust, are not as much a part of the intellectual quotient as the 'rational' specifications of policy. The best presentation of policy is of little value if the authenticity of the messenger is questioned. Otherwise, a possible conclusion might be that, in a Machiavellian way, what is being said is mere lip service and not likely to be delivered. Critically, the negative elements of Whitlam's character that had been recognised by the focus groups were ultimately to contribute

significantly to his poor interactions with colleagues and the choice of strategies he employed when his government was dismissed. Fraser's interpersonal skills were also found to be wanting, beginning with his taking office after his involvement in the 'Dismissal' of Whitlam: "he was seen as cold, hard and remote. Even from his admirers, he won less affection than respect" (Cadzow, 2015, 20th March).

Vision and Priorities

Ian Macphee (Australian Member of Parliament 1974-1990) records that it "was not that Whitlam's vision was flawed but that efforts to achieve it were" (Macphee, 2005, p.49). The critical component was that too many policies were pursued concurrently and too quickly. As a consequence, the rollout of programs led to an excessive amount of simultaneous demands on finite administrative and economic resources. In addition, there was a lack of co-ordination with the states (Mathews & Grewal, 1997). "There is a crude truth in the charge that Whitlam tried to do too much too quickly, although he is angry now with the suggestion" (Grant, 1986, p.3). Grant (1986) also highlighted other plausible reasons for negative viewpoints concerning the speed of policy implementation. He observed that the rapidity "frightened the conservatives by achievement" and "… frightened ordinary, non-partisan members of the public by setting such an agenda and such a pace", which combined "to produce a feeling that Whitlam had become irrationally committed to change" (Grant, 1986, pp.3-4). In contrast, Bilney (1986) refuted the assertion that things were done rashly, explaining that the rapidity of executing policy in some areas was possible due to no legislative adjustments being required, particularly with regard to foreign affair matters. He also highlighted that the reforms pertaining to the health system and the introduction of Medibank were attended to very thoroughly "against a background of immense obstruction, both legislative and otherwise" (Bilney, 1986, p.29). There was a diligence in preparation pertaining to Medibank that, despite encountering seven attempts by Fraser to dismantle the system, did not preclude its rebirth as Medicare in the Hawke government (Freudenberg, 2015).

Skilful cabinet and party management

Adeptness within Cabinet is predicated on possessing good leadership skills, diligence, prudence, and the capacity to sense the mood of the electorate, plus a considered view and vision for Australia's future (Menadue, 1999; Singleton, Aitken, Jinks & Warhurst,

2013). Menadue observed that "the early Hawke governments had more of these qualities than the Whitlam governments" (Menadue, 1999, p.119). Menadue (1999) likened the role played by the Cabinet during Whitlam's tenure as akin to a post office sorting and posting mail between departments. The Cabinet's function was limited to the provision of the Cabinet Secretariat with responsibility for the organisation of meetings and the writing and distribution of Cabinet minutes and decisions. According to Hawke the "actual running of the cabinet caucus relationship was a disaster" (Hawke in Bramston, 2015, p.xx) within the Whitlam government. Bramston (2014) also suggested that "cabinet and caucus management was defective" (Bramston, 2014, p.10). A critical counterpoint is that the Whitlam Cabinet consisted of twenty-seven ministers and this altered the dynamics of decision-making. Significantly, the Cabinet played only a partial role in the provision of advice to Whitlam, in the determination of policy priorities, and in giving assistance to him in relation to the performance management of his twenty-seven ministers and their associated departments (Menadue, 1999).

The abilities that had held Whitlam in good stead in his Opposition Leader role, such as his capacity to inspire (Karpin, 1995), his abilities in campaigning, together with his impressive parliamentary performances, needed to be supplemented by another distinct skill set in the role of Prime Minister. Interpersonal communication skills were also required for dealing with his ministers and colleagues in terms of oversight of their work, driving ongoing enthusiasm and ensuring good team dynamics in the process of attending to policy implementation and administrative duties (Strangio et al., 2017).

Whitlam had been a proficient and dedicated political campaigner. In the early stages of his political career he had fought unsuccessfully for the seat of Sutherland and he made a concerted effort to assure his ALP colleagues of his honesty and genuineness. At this stage, as he didn't own a car, he undertook all of his door-knocking by travelling on public transport and walking. The majority of the local roads were unmade, sans gutters and characterised by scant street lighting, so Whitlam would be attired in his raincoat and gumboots as he pursued his campaign door knocking: "He would chat to families about their children and their dogs, give out lots of free legal advice and drink hundreds of cups of tea" (Mitchell, 2006, p.218). In addition, both he and his wife attended the abundance of social events to which they were invited and, in spite of Whitlam rarely drinking, he drank copious amounts of beer to fit in as "a regular Aussie bloke. To have admitted to being practically a non-drinker would have been political suicide in the Local ALP"

(Mitchell, 2006, p.115). In later campaigning, Whitlam benefited from the addition of a new pale blue Holden car which he used to navigate greater distances to secure votes. The Whitlam children preferred it when their mother drove because, as Nick Whitlam relayed, his father was a bad driver who crunched the gears and posed a risk to himself and other drivers. The flawed nature of Whitlam's driving was highlighted further by an anecdote conveyed by his wife. Whitlam was driving the family to the Blue Mountains, and two of the boys were asleep in the back seat. "Margaret turned around to see young Stephen sitting firmly upright with his eyes wide open. 'Why aren't you asleep like your brothers? She asked. 'Because I want to be awake when I die,' was his reply" (Mitchell, 2006, p.118).

The energy that Whitlam employed in campaigning was not matched with regard to socially intelligent leadership of his Cabinet team. Whitlam lacked the requisite proficiencies for skilled running of his Cabinet and the Party (IBSA, 2011). Former Prime Minister Keating commented that, especially in the later stages, there was a lack of discipline in the Cabinet (Keating in Obrien, 2017, Interview), although this observation must be countered by the fact that Whitlam's role was made more complex in this context because his cabinet consisted of all twenty seven ministers. Of the twenty-seven ministers, a large percentage were focused on acting at the behest of their departments or navigating their own course. Rather than the work of a collective, there was an interplay of competing interests and allegiances which indicated that the team was not well governed. "Whitlam was brilliant as Prime Minister but not so much at ease leading a team. In three years he had three Treasurers and three Deputy Leaders and reshuffled his Cabinet four times" (Menadue, 1999, p.125).

In the context of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) and creating environments that were mindful of their staff in order to facilitate their work, both Whitlam and Fraser were hard task masters and anticipated that their staff would replicate their intense approach to work (Howard, 2010; Oakes, 1977). Whitlam benefited from lucky staff choices in his periods as Deputy Opposition leader and Opposition Leader, and from minimal staff turnover and the practice of a staff member selecting their own replacement if they did leave (Oakes, 1973). On his first meeting with Whitlam, John Menadue, who became Whitlam's private secretary, described Gough as "very alert, bright-eyed, angular well-groomed and dressed, friendly but not at ease socially. He never was. He was very precise" (Menadue, 1999 Check page). The recommendation to hire John Menadue had

been given by Clyde Cameron. Whitlam was demanding of some of his staff and, in consequence, tears in the office were frequent. The intense drive that he applied to himself was also anticipated of others, often with the expectations set too high: "Sloppiness in anyone's work was unacceptable" to Whitlam (Menadue, 1999, p.45). Instructions were invariably in his handwriting to prevent misunderstanding. "We were 'admonished to 'write it down' to avoid mistakes" (Menadue, 1999, p.45). "Detail never slipped Whitlam's notice. He was particular, sometimes pedantic", and correspondence "was checked carefully" (Menadue, 1999, p.45). Fraser was similarly fastidious and abrasive. In his Army portfolio, Fraser asked to see the correspondence that was sent on his behalf. He deemed most of the responses tokenistic and insufficient. Fraser advised his department: "I am serious and you better take all letters written to me as a matter of seriousness, requiring a serious, considered, factual, thoughtful answer – and we'll get on a lot better" (Fraser, 1994, Tape 5[14]). Later, he advised Phillip Lynch, who took over the portfolio, to reject twenty-five percent of draft letters prepared by the Minister's department, based on the rationale that this would keep the Army in check. Fraser often also rebuffed Ministerial proposals or insisted that they be enhanced (Edwards, 1977).

In Whitam's office there was, however, "old world courtesy. He never forgot a birthday" (Menadue, 1999, p.48). On his fiftieth birthday, Fraser's staff had organised an informal party, and David Barnett, one of Fraser's staff, remarked in his speech: "You're not the easiest person to work for". Fraser's rejoinder was: "It's all voluntary, I am not here to make you people feel good" (Weller, 1989, p.16). In essence the sentiment and focus by Fraser was not on cultivating a positive work environment and the 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) of his staff. They were paid to be there and if they were not content, they had the option to leave. An additional observation regarding Fraser's interactions with his co-workers was that, although none would concede to being frightened by Fraser, they all had memories that "'several' of their colleagues were!" (Weller, 1989, p.xv). "There was "an air of a bully about Fraser – so much so that most of his staff, and many of his parliamentary colleagues, were literally scared of him" (Henderson, in Bramston, 2015, p.90). Julia Newton-Howes recalled: "My staff who worked with him remember him as someone who was quite difficult to work with because he was very demanding. He never wanted to hear why something couldn't be done, he wanted to know how we were going to do it" (Lane, 2015, 7:30 Report). Sir James (Jim) Killen (Australian

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[14] http://www.australianbiography.gov.au/subjects/fraser/interview5.html.

Member of Parliament 1955-1983), who had shared an office with Fraser in 1956, as well as indicating that he was a lonely person who was not comfortable with socialising, observed that he had "a mind that could display a bravura of intellect, a hopeless sense of obstinacy, a grasping, almost obsessive sense of detail, and a capacity to wield the skills of politics with singular ruthlessness" (Killen in Ayres, 1987, p.80). Another colleague, Peter Howson, summarised his encounter with Fraser in 1963 as follows: "Malcolm sat next to me at lunch, and was just as rude and difficult as always" (Howson in Ayres, 1987, p.80). In 2014, Evan Williams detailed what working life was like in Whitlam's office: "And yet we loved him. The Whitlam office is perhaps the best example of how a close-knit staff, under resourced and working under extreme pressure in difficult surroundings, can function with harmony, discipline and a shared sense of purpose" (Williams, 2014, 21st October). From Menadue, when Whitlam was Deputy Leader, comes the following: "The office was too small and work pressures too great to indulge ourselves in office politics" (Menadue, 1999, p.41). Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003; 2005) have highlighted that interpersonal relations between colleagues, including listening and casual bantering, are more indicative of socially intelligent leadership than just focussing on the plans that you wish to articulate. Habits inculcated in both Fraser and Whitlam from childhood had put more emphasis on the end goal than the journey.

Strangio et al. (2017) describe Whitlam's leadership approach within Caucus as controlling, with a preference to "crash through rather than to negotiate" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.103), demonstrating another shortfall in Whitlam's social intelligence and an alignment with Fraser's approach within his Cabinet meetings. Strangio et al. (2017) identified that Whitlam lacked conciliatory skills, clever usage of the party machinery, and "Chifley's instinctive gift for human relations" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.116). Fraser was interviewed by Hughes (1994) and was asked: "So when you were prime minister yourself, did you ever concede to the rest of Cabinet something that you felt passionately was wrong?" His reply was: "But, if I couldn't persuade them that I was right, there was something wrong in my case. If I felt that passionately about something I was probably able to persuade them (Hughes, 1994, Tape 5).

Just like Fraser, Whitlam found it difficult to concede his advocacy role or to campaign patiently for support from his colleagues. In 1972, the Caucus rules were adjusted so that Whitlam would not be compelled to take the role of Caucus chair. Aside from his dependence on backing by his loyal supporters, he also relied on his power of benefaction

in, for example, the allocation of portfolios. In addition, Whitlam capitalised on the disinclination of colleagues to restrain the leader who had secured them government (Strangio et al., 2017). From a socially intelligent perspective, the lack of true consultation was a major flaw in Gough Whitlam's and Malcolm Fraser's governance. In the context of Whitlam this counteracted the value of all of the policy work that Whitlam and the Labor Party had completed prior to assuming office. Whitlam's Treasurer Bill Hayden was also of the view that Whitlam should have consulted more broadly and more circumspectly. He cited the poor advice given to Whitlam regarding the Khemlani loan affair as the final catalyst for the events of the 'Dismissal' and suggested that the manoeuvre of seeking a half-Senate election forced the Governor-General's decision to withdraw Whitlam's commission (Hayden, 2005).

Fraser was also deficient in his social intelligence with regard to his Cabinet colleagues, and has already been identified, in the introduction to this chapter, as having held an excess of lengthy meetings that were convened haphazardly (Howard, 2010), demonstrating little social intelligence towards his colleagues. The practice employed by Fraser had a domino effect on Cabinet members' other commitments, especially those entailing speaking engagements to audiences across Australia. Howard advised that, "on several occasions, I had to pull out of speeches or events to which several hundred people had committed themselves, in order to attend a Fraser meeting" (Howard, 2010, p. 113).

In a similar vein, Prime Minister Fraser marked many of his requests to his department as requiring urgent attention, to such an extent that one of the permanent staff requested that he apply the demand for urgency more judiciously. While recognising that, as Prime Minister, Fraser was entitled to make such requests, former Prime Minister John Howard also judged Fraser's abundant demands on the public service as lacking discretion:

> "It is the worst possible administrative style to treat every request made of the public service as urgent. It is not the case. Nothing saps the willingness of public servants more than having to work over a weekend preparing a paper for ministers, only to have ministerial consideration delayed or, at the best, consisting of a cursory glance and a scrawled 'noted' on the paper" (Howard, 2010, p.113).

Another example of Fraser's lack of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) to his colleagues revealed itself in his role as Opposition leader and management of his party. Fraser had insisted that his shadow ministers were not allowed to pursue their professional

careers and had to confine themselves to only undertaking their governmental work. Bob Ellicott was not content to forego small amounts of legal work at the Bar, and so refused the role of Shadow Minister for Consumer Affairs and Commerce. As a result, John Howard was offered the role. Howard commented on the double standard that was applied by Fraser. Ostensibly, it was alright for Fraser, Tony Street (Foreign Minister 1980-1983) and other colleagues to own farms or, in the case of another associate, manage a chain of stores selling sports equipment in Queensland, but not for Bob Ellicott to continue undertaking some professional legal work. In defence of his policy, Fraser maintained that an exception could be applied in these instances as there were managers in charge of those businesses. As a consequence, Howard wryly observed: "Of course, the principal had no contact with the manager, nor did he take any interest in what happened to the asset!" (2010, p.79). The dissenters had good precedent upon which to argue their case, as Prime Minister Menzies had taken legal briefs when he was in opposition which permitted him to keep him up to date with changes in the law but, even more pertinently, also provided him with an essential income. In the meantime, having made his point, Bob Elicott returned to the ministry after he and Fraser came to an arrangement (Howard, 2010).

Where Whitlam failed to alert his Senate colleagues concerning the 'Dismissal', Fraser chose not to convey to his Coalition colleagues at their meeting on the morning of the Dismissal (the 11th November 1975) that Whitlam was intending to call a half-Senate election. Hocking (2015) suggests that this would have convinced wavering Coalition members that passing supply was a better option than the potential for the Labor government to achieve control of the Senate. In respect of interactions with others, Renouf describes Fraser as "domineering and suspected of political deviousness" (1986, p.73). Ayres (1987), in his biography of Fraser, makes a point to highlight that the way that Fraser learnt the material in his textbooks was by making detailed notes, for example, the content of Theory and Practice of Modern Government by Finer was described in a "120 closely written pages" (Ayres, 1987, p.41); amongst the works he studied was Machiavelli's The Prince, which also had copious notes accompanying it. At Oxford, Fraser wrote an essay on the connection between politics and faith, citing that a belief in God had consequences for how different individuals might articulate their actions. The example cited to illustrate this again reflects a Machiavellian slant. Where one "might live in remorse for a year over a particular act when another person, having accomplished

exactly the same act, would not give it more than a moment's thought", the next sentence seems prophetic: "and why one politician will act out of pursuit of power and another because he believes in ideas and policies essential to the well-being of men and women" (Ayres, 1987, p.53).

Creation of unity versus dissent

The creation of unity is addressed in the context of the enmity between the two parties, as the internal components of dissent were covered in the Cabinet and office environments of Fraser and Whitlam. The partisanship that was exercised during this period deprived the Australian public of stable socially intelligent governance, as the dominant political focus was not on the creation of accord but on political gamesmanship. Having succeeded to the leadership after deposing Snedden, Fraser immediately announced his intention to dispense with the continued threat articulated towards the Labor Government of deferring supply. He then declared that he wished to remove talk about an election so that the Whitlam government could get on with the job of governing. He said that the Whitlam government "should not be forced to an early election unless there were 'extraordinary and reprehensible' circumstances" (Fraser in Howard, 2010, p.81). Tactically, the pronouncement by Malcolm Fraser was an astute Machiavellian stroke of seeming to be "merciful and sincere" (Machiavelli, 1950, p.65). It presented the Opposition as being fair-minded towards the Whitlam government; instead, however, it was intended to place more of an acute focus on the Whitlam government. Weller (1989, p.12) also observed that, prior to deposing Snedden, "Fraser's statements of support for Snedden were carefully conditional".

Later, Fraser emulated the Machiavellian tactic of "when it is needful" (Machiavelli, 1950, p.65) to change to the opposite qualities and resorted to a continuation of deferring supply. That same speech illustrated the destructive intentions Fraser held towards Whitlam. Fraser described that, if an election was required, due to the inexcusable actions by the Whitlam government, the manner in which it would be orchestrated would entail catching Whitlam unawares so that he would have woken up "one morning finding the decision had been made and finding that he been caught with his pants well and truly down" (Fraser in Whitlam, 1983, p.42). This attitude was illustrative of Weller's (1989) observation of Fraser: "He certainly had the killer instinct. And when he killed he stood on the carcass" (Malcolm Fraser towards Labor, Weller, 1989, p.178). This sentiment

would suggest that the means to implement such an action were already in play, and that the focus by Fraser was on causing humiliation to Whitlam rather than socially intelligent leadership in terms of the best interests of the Australian public. As events ensued this is precisely what was enacted. The particular analogy used, however, proved to be a somewhat fateful comment for Malcolm Fraser. In October 1986, Fraser was found in a confused state dressed only a towel, shirt and tie in a hotel called the Admiral Benbow Inn in Memphis which was renowned for drug dealers and prostitutes. Malcolm Fraser declined to comment on what had transpired that night, but his wife Tame Fraser was quoted conveying her views on what had occurred:

> "Mrs Fraser told Susan Mitchell that she did not believe her husband had spent the night with a prostitute, but she would not have particularly minded if he had. He might have gone off with someone here or there at some time but he wouldn't go to a bar to meet someone on the off chance – they were setting him up, she said Poor old boy. It's really horrible. He was so embarrassed. And still is" (Tamie Fraser in Crane, 2015).

A firm record of accomplishments

The benevolent empathy-related responding side of Fraser was evident in his humane response to the refugee crisis after the Indo-China conflicts. He was lauded for his opposition to white supremacy in the former Rhodesia [now Zimbabwe] (Woodford, 2015), but also condemned for his misjudgement with regard to the settlement of the liberation struggle and the installation of the Dictator Robert Mugabe, whom Malcolm Fraser had told: "I am confident that under your leadership Zimbabwe will make great progress in achieving your goals of peace, prosperity and unity" (Loudon, 2015, 21st March). Although it might be argued in Malcolm Fraser's defence that he could not anticipate how Robert Mugabe would conduct his leadership there was already evidence of Mugabe's propensity to violent acts as he encouraged black Zimbabweans to seize farms owned by white land owners through aggressive means. These seizures are the subject of contemporary compensation claims (Reuters, 8th April, 2019). More positively, Fraser was praised for his stance against the apartheid regime in South Africa, including advocacy of sanctions to effect political change there. "He was socially privileged but believed passionately in racial equality" (Menadue, 1999, p.175). As Fraser expressed it, the "premise of one race's superiority over another" (Fraser in White & Kemp, 1986,

p.57) or the opinion that one race had the right to supress another fall into the category of the "most flagrant violations of fundamental human decency" (ibid). Fraser's advocacy and work against racial discrimination proved to be his most significant socially intelligent legacy. "In relation to human rights, my government's record was strong and effective. We opposed white supremacy in Rhodesia, and we opposed apartheid. We passed and proclaimed land rights legislation in the Northern Territory in 1976" (Fraser, 2002, p.xxvii).

Fraser also took credit for the successful passing of legislation regarding the Administrative Appeals Tribunal, which was passed on the 1st July 1976, the Commonwealth Ombudsman in 1976, and the Freedom of Information Legislation introduced in 1982 (Fraser, 2002). The Fraser government also established an Aboriginal Development Commission in 1980 and a Human Rights Commission in 1981. What Fraser does not acknowledge is the role the Whitlam government and the Attorney-General Lionel Murphy played in outlining the major reforms pertaining to the Freedom of Information Act, a review of the judiciary, legislation in relation to Administrative Appeals, the creation of a Commonwealth Ombudsman and Federal Court, plus reforms in the context of family law (Waterford, 2014). Under Fraser's tenure, the Galbally Enquiry into Post-Arrival Services for Migrants in 1977 was set-up, and all elements of that report were adopted in 1978 inclusive of the establishment of the Special Broadcasting Service, which Broadcasts television and radio programs across a broad array of languages. Of this Fraser said: "This was the formal acceptance and introduction of multiculturalism in Australia" (Fraser, 2002, p.xxvii). Malcolm Fraser also prevented Fraser Island from being sand mined, ended whaling in Australia, and established the first segment of the Marine Park in the Great Barrier Reef (Woodford, 2015).

"Whitlam initiated a policy explosion", and the accomplishments in each area were sizeable (Strangio et al., 2017, p.101). Collectively, the programs introduced by Whitlam had a substantive impact on the quality of life for the Australian people. Elevated standards and renewed focus were achieved in the areas of arts and cultural activities, environmental protection, and in services provision in education, health, housing, social welfare, migrant and urban services, transport and in assistance to Aborigines. "Despite erosion by later governments, they remained as lasting if fading legacies of the Government's reforming zeal" (Mathews & Grewal, 1997, p.41). "In each of these, there were to be substantial achievements" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.108), thus aligning the

Whitlam government with a firm record of accomplishments and an enhanced Australia subsequent to the government's tenure.

One of the many beneficiaries of Whitlam's policy regarding government-funded university education was Prime Minister Julia Gillard:

> "Our parents wanted both of us to receive a university education, a dream brought within reach as a result of Gough Whitlam's Labor Government abolishing fees. In this environment, I thrived. The combination of parental aspiration for me, good schools and access to university equipped me to realise my potential and made the rest of my life possible (Gillard, 2014, pp.138-139).

In 1980, Walter deemed it insufficient to attribute the defeat and defects of the Whitlam government to contextual elements and the 'myopia' of the Australian polity. Instead, he cited mismanagement and "failure on an interpersonal level that were so undeniably a part of his government" (Walter, 1980, p.4). Extending this, it would be fair to say that relational components influenced the mishandling of management factors both internally and externally to the Whitlam government. Thus, rather than the idea of the Australian polity being short-sighted, the onus lay, as former Prime Minister John Howard suggested, with Whitlam and his government to appropriately inform the Australian public. In Howard's opinion, Whitlam should have apprised the polity that modifications needed to be made to the policy program as a consequence of the economic circumstances that the Whitlam government faced (Howard, 2010). Former Western Australian Senator Peter Walsh (1974-1983) suggested that Whitlam acted as though the economy "was a low order priority" (Walsh in The Biographical Dictionary, 2015; in Bramston, 2015 p.88). Applying the same rationale after the Dismissal, Whitlam should have ensured that the polity were conversant with all aspects of the surrounding events, so that they could make informed voting judgments. This was important, particularly as Fraser was contending in the public arena that Whitlam was setting up a dictatorship (Mitchell, 2006), which would have resonated particularly badly with immigrant groups who had escaped totalitarian rule, especially after Gough had erred in relation to foreign policy by endorsing the inclusion of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as part of the Soviet Union (Woolcott, 2014, 28th October). While acting As Foreign Minister in 1974 Whitlam, on the advice of the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Alan Renouf, decided to give de jure rather than de facto sovereignty acknowledgement to the Soviet Union

over the Baltic States. Until Whitlam's decision Australia had replicated the majority of other Western countries and had not recognised this political power by the USSR in legal terms. The Foreign Affairs Liaison Officer Gordon Bilney (1972) advised Senator Don Willesee[15] that this judgement by Whitlam would not progress any benefits to Australia. Instead it would "infuriate the virulently anti-communist Baltic communities in Australia" (Bilney, in Bramston,2015, p.279). Bilney was at a loss to understand the stance that Whitlam took on this matter. He was advised later that Whitlam's animosity towards the Baltic peoples had stemmed from his teenage daughter being on the receiving end of taunts concerning her "Commo-loving father" (Bilney, 2015, p.279).

Enhanced country after their prime ministerial term

Fraser expressed the view that Australia had grown up under the influence of Whitlam and that he was a very important person in the life of Australia and described Whitlam as far-sighted and of facilitating Australia's cultural maturation through the identification of what it entailed to be an Australian. Malcolm Fraser said of his former political foe: "We were ourselves. We were Australia. We weren't Britain, we weren't America" (SBS, 2014, 21st October). Fraser identified further aspects of Whitlam's legacy as including the funding of an inquiry that instigated the way to land rights; creation of a new vigour in the arts domain of Australia; leading the way for others in the context of Western leaders making visits to China (SBS, 2014, 21st October). For John Kerin, qualities which hallmarked Whitlam's governments legacy in the context of Australia's future included the founding of Medibank and the Schools Commission, which focussed funding of schools on a needs basis, plus the controversial purchase of the Jackson Pollock painting, Blue Poles, for $1.3 million dollars for the National Gallery of Australia (Barrett, 2001), which is "said to be worth about $200 million dollars today" (Kerin, 2017, p 102). In addition, key cabinet decision were accompanied by environmental impact statements and women were given equal employment opportunity status in the federal government (Bramston, 2015). These achievements demonstrated Gough Whitlam's fulfilment of a government enriching a country in the longer term (Hillmer and Azzie, 2011).

Former Prime Minister Paul Keating said of Fraser: "He had a controversial entry into the prime ministership. Ah, but there were certain things that remained consistent, solid and

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[15] Minister for Foreign Affairs 6th November 1973 to the 11th November, 1975;Senator for Western Australia 22nd February 1950 to the 11th November, 1975.

good about him. That was his attitude to multiculturalism" (Keating in Percy, 2015, 7:30 Report). The establishment of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) by Malcolm Fraser was a very positive legacy for Australia's immigrants (Percy, 2015, 7:30 Report). The service has, for example, provided language programs in seventy-four languages across its radio channels (SBS Radio, 2017) and television programs in multiple languages. At the launch of the service, Fraser said:

> "Hundreds of thousands of migrants have enriched Australia, both culturally and materially. They've changed Australia for the better, to a society which has, as its citizens, people from all over the world, representatives of many different cultures. This experiment in ethnic television will bring together these cultures for all Australians to share" (Lane, 2015, 7:30 Report).

The service continues as a legacy of Malcolm Fraser's tenure for a culturally enriched Australia.

Conclusion

The evidence suggests that, despite variances in their political strategizing, there was considerable alignment in the actions and behaviours of Fraser and Whitlam that found them wanting in the context of socially intelligent leadership. Each was focussed on their individual pursuits and their own ego's. The consequences were twofold: the substantial preparatory policy work undertaken by Whitlam was undermined and Fraser's Machiavellian ploys, which secured him tenure, also divested his term of opportunities for more effective and socially intelligent leadership. The chance to further enrich Australia and secure needed policy options into the fabric of Australia rather than policy reinventions based on who is in power was substantially lost. No single person suffices as the brains trust for the needs of the Australian nation and Prime Ministerial candidates need to reflect this in their behaviours and actions.

The next chapter explores the Prime Ministerial terms of Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard and affiliations between identified in exercising socially intelligent leadership. A comparative analysis of all the Prime Ministers is provided in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5 Prime Ministers Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd Australia's 26th Prime Minister. Terms as PM: 3 December 2007 – 24 June 2010; 27 June, 2013-7 September, 2013. Born 21st September, 1957.

Ambition, Temper, Controlling

"Politics is about power. It is about the power of the state. It is about the power of the state as applied to individuals, the society in which they live and the economy in which they work. Most critically, our responsibility in this parliament is how that power is used: whether it is used for the benefit of the few or the many" (Maiden speech, Rudd, 1998, p.162)

"Kevin Rudd is a psychopathic narcissist. That's just not my opinion, that's the opinion of a whole range of people who are currently sitting in the parliament"
(Keneally, Sky News, 2016). (Kristina Keneally Former Australian Politician, 42nd
Premier of NSW, 2009-2011, Australian Labor Party)

Prime Minister Julia Gillard Australia's 27th Prime Minister. Term as PM: 24 June 2010 – 27 June 2013. Born 29th September, 1961.

Resilience, Ambition and The Killing Season (The last week of the Parliamentary sitting)

"For three years and three days I was Prime Minister. Three years and three days of resilience. Three years and three days of changing the nation. Three years and three days to give me a unique perspective of our future. Three years and three days for you to judge" (Gillard, 2014, p. 24).

"She walked in ice cold … It was a complete transformation in five or ten minutes. There's something pretty gut-wrenching about all that, something which tears open your heart (Kevin Rudd in the Courier Mail, 2015, 18th June)

Introduction

This second empirical chapter provides an analysis of the social intelligence of Prime Ministers Julia Gillard and Kevin Rudd. Just as the previous chapter demonstrated shared attributes between Fraser and Whitlam, this chapter intends to bring to light the comparisons between these two leaders. The appraisal includes their similarly ambitious natures, together with shared elements of their life experiences that could be argued to have influenced their actions during their prime ministerial tenures. Labor Party Leader and Leader of the Opposition (2019+) Anthony Albanese observed that Gillard had always wanted to be the leader of the Labor Party (Albanese in Ferguson, 2015) and Maxine McKew (2013) the member for Bennelong (2007-2010) in New South Wales, recognized that Gillard's office operated like an efficient machine that flawlessly advanced her ambitions. Similarly, Macklin (2007) noted that from the start of his political career, "Rudd's leadership ambitions were unapologetically on show" … (Macklin, 2007, p.112). Assessments of Rudd include descriptors such as "straight-laced and fastidious" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.238) and both Rudd and Gillard were deemed almost scientific in planning their career moves (Macklin, 2007: McKew, 2013).

Equally, as well as similarities there were differences: Gillard was always on time for commitments, well-organised, specific, private and transactional in her approach whereas Rudd was typically late, lacking in efficiency, more inclined to engagement and exposing how he felt (Ferguson, 2016). Gillard and Rudd were dubbed the most ambitious Labor politicians of their generation, a description articulated in an ABC documentary called the 'Killing Season'. The title of the documentary used the term that is applied in politics

to refer to the last week of the parliamentary sitting, one that marked the period when the incumbent Labor leader Kim Beazley was deposed by Gillard and Rudd in 2006 (Ferguson, 2015). What followed was Gillard subsequently deposing Rudd as Prime Minister, then Rudd seeking his revenge and "Team Rudd's slow-death destabilisation campaign against Gillard" (Walsh, 2013, p.xi), pressure that was applied until Rudd was reinstated.

The aftermath of this extended killing season had consequences for Australia's governance and the political sphere. The "government never recovered. After the coup came minority government, division, and constant internecine warfare" (Weller, 2014, p.viii). Gillard was not the pioneer in ousting an incumbent prime minister as this precedent had been set by Keating when he overthrew Hawke in 1991 (Johnson, 2013). Johnson (2013) wrote that, unlike Gillard, Keating was not subject to public censure as a consequence of his actions, arguing that this was the result of a gender construct whereby male ambition is explicable but for a woman it is "constructed as ruthless and devious" (Johnson, 2013, p.140). Summers (2013) suggests two reasons Australian's experienced a problem with Gillard as Prime Minister. First, because historically men have been the Prime Ministers and second, as a consequence of deliberate sabotage by Gillard's political enemies. The potential for policy dissatisfaction by the electorate was not explored by Summers (2013). The introduction of a carbon tax, for example, was "a public relations disaster of spectacular proportions" (Johnson, 2013, p.146) especially when Gillard admitted that it was a tax, having promised formerly, that a government led by her would not introduce a carbon tax (Ninemsn. 2010). More ominously, the carbon tax caused significant and unmanageable increases in energy costs for Australian households, industry, and small business given that in the context of businesses, allegedly "up to 30 percent of small and medium-sized enterprises' electricity bills stemmed from carbon pricing" (Irigoyen, 2017), with factory closures and loss of employment resulting (Irigoyen, 2017). In actuality "the overwhelming majority of day-to day criticism of Gillard arose from her policies and political actions, not because of her gender" (Kelly, 2014, p.x).

Johnson (2013) drew attention to the critical votes of Gillard supporters, in initially securing Rudd the Labor leadership role but fails to mention that Rudd's involvement also ensured Gillard the role of Deputy Leader (Gillard, 2010). Johnson (2013) wrote that Gillard's actions are inaccurately described as a knifing in the back because Rudd

forfeited the prime ministership to Gillard by declining to contest the leadership. According to Johnson (2013, p.140) it was unclear as to whether Gillard had been "involved in any long-term destabilisation of Rudd" (prior to her being contacted by central Labor people). Kelly (2014) presents a different story on the circumstances of Rudd's removal from the leadership. Several months before Rudd was deposed he and Gillard held a meeting with John Faulkner as an independent witness, to discuss issues with Rudd's governance. The outcome of the meeting was that Rudd should continue in the leadership and then resign before the election if Faulkner, as the independent referee, determined that Rudd was a hindrance to Labor being re-elected. According to Rudd's account, Gillard then re-entered the room and announced she had "changed her mind and said she wanted a leadership ballot" (Kelly, 2014, p.xviii). Rudd's removal as Prime Minister was a consequence of allegations about the impaired functioning of his government, in because of his poor conduct towards colleagues (Johnson, 2013). Strangio et al. (2017) saw environmental aspects as undermining these two leaders stable wielding of power (Hillmer and Azzi, 2011) but also acknowledged social intelligence deficiencies, described in terms of the "individual fallibility", (Strangio et al., 2017, p.237) of Prime Ministers Rudd and Gillard.

The environmental variables that Strangio et al. (2017) underscored in the context of these two leaders were the inherent risks associated with the management of the machinery of prime ministerial governance and "larger destabilising forces increasing the difficulties and onerousness of office" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.237). Gillard stressed the import of situational aspects on her prime ministership. The factors that she thought significant in the case of her difficult tenure included the instability of the Labor Party, the circumstances of leading a minority Federal government and "the ways in which gender plays into perceptions of leadership" (Gillard, 2014, p.2). Gillard's critical flaw has been seen as "her inability to recognise she is the architect of her own problems", according to Kelly (2014, p.xiii). Gillard's leadership role was achieved through deposing Rudd, something that she discounted in her accounts. The change of leadership intensified the internal volatilities of the Labor Party and in part led to a minority government. The reception in the broader Australian community about how Rudd was deposed as Prime Minister and the assumptions the public might make concerning such manoeuvrings were not addressed appropriately. That this is so is particularly evident in light of the oblique and inadequate explanation (Strangio et al., 2017) proffered by Gillard for Rudd's

removal as Prime Minister, as addressed in the statement that it was "because I believed that a good government was losing its way" (AAP, 2010, 24th June). The fact remained that "the three previous times they'd had a choice, the people had preferred Rudd" (Weller, 2014, p.ix). Counterfactually, it is plausible that had Gillard been forthcoming with the Australian public as to the rationale for the actions by her and the Labor Party against Rudd, albeit a step fraught with complications, the ensuing election result may have differed.

Applying the 'excuse', as Gillard did, that party leaders have been deposed before, does not attend to the fundamental issue of the electorate assessing the deficits of a party based on the casual way it dispenses with leaders, more particularly in this instance, the Prime Minister. It equates to an employment situation where a person is hired and then is not trusted to do the role. In such circumstances, the analysis would then apply considerations as to who was at fault? Was it the person who was selected for the role or did the burden lie with those who made the initial appointment? Gillard attested that she had made an error of judgement supporting Rudd for the leadership position as against Beazley (Gillard, 2014) despite knowing that based on his past performance Rudd lacked what this thesis has termed socially intelligent leadership traits.

Rather than vindications for Gillard attributed to environmental considerations, McKew (2013) credited the creation of governance problems, to the actions by the political players. McKew a former Member of Parliament within the Rudd and Gillard governments, ascribed the removal of Rudd from the prime ministership to the acts of self-interested opportunists and the "ambition of an impatient deputy" (McKew, 2013, p.3) who, combined with her supporters, made a "massive miscalculation" (ibid) that left the opposition Liberal-National Coalition in an almost invincible position. John Black, former demographer and Labor Senator (1984-1990), contended that Gillard cost the Labor Party two million votes when she toppled Rudd from the leadership. In 2007 Rudd had won 5.4 million of the primary votes, with the electorate voting for a change from the Howard government to such an extent that Prime Minister John Howard's seat was also won for the Labor Party (McKew, 2013).

McKew (2013) said that voters who had formerly supported the Labor Party were no longer prepared to do so based on the deposing of Rudd as Prime Minister. "'We left countries where this sort of thing happens in the middle of the night'. When it happened

in Australia, most people thought there was something crook about it. They still do" (McKew, 2013, p.200). In the context of only a minority government being achieved McKew (2013) still held to her perspective that "you cannot have the removal of a Labor leader and a Prime Minister and then two months later have an election and not let that play into the outcome" (McKew, 2013, p.202). The subsequent election had been intended as an acquittal of Gillard in the context of the coup against Rudd and the election results indicated that no such exoneration was achieved McKew (2013). Similarly, McKew (2013) said that photos of Gillard's swearing-in as Australia's first female Prime Minister, by Australia's female Governor-General Quentin Bryce (2008-2014) was not as, it might have been, a celebration of "girl power" (McKew, 2013, p.169), a brand new start. "It was a deceptive image" (ibid).

Those who had schemed in deposing the leadership somehow never considered that there might be a hostile response from the Australian public, even from those who may not have supported Rudd. One Member of Parliament remarked that "The night of the long knives would be forgotten. Julia will be PM, and it will seem that it was always so. The dogs may bark, but the caravan moves on" (Cassidy, 2010, p.102). However, there were obstacles to the caravan, notably that Rudd remained in the parliament and impatient to right what he saw as a wrong.

According to McKew (2013) when Gillard tackled her first 'Question Time' in parliament, the approach she used marked the start of a new kind of politics, and while her "combative taunt to Tony Abbott-Game on!" (McKew, 2013, p.169), elated her devotees it was a superficial jibe, that was more suited to the realms of a soccer field than the parliament. More importantly, it did not create a launching platform for the new Prime Minister to operate with any "moral authority" (ibid). Instead, it set the tone for the obtuse 2010 election battle where the protagonists "buried once and for all the idea of politics as a contest of ideas. It would be replaced by a contest of fears" (McKew, 2013, p.169). Although, the notion by McKew (2013) that "the contest of ideas" (Keating in McKew, 2013, p.6) operated under the leadership of Rudd belies his use of the "kitchen cabinet"[16] (Hawke, 2014, 5th June), rather than the formal Cabinet, to test ideas for the governance of Australia.

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[16] A small unofficial group of people who give advice to a political leader (Cambridge Dictionary Online, 2014).

Further observations made by Gillard regarding the nature of the prime ministership drew contrasts between modern politics and the context of enjoyed by former Prime Minister Robert Menzies (1939-1941; 1949-1966). "The last easy days of prime ministership were probably lived by Robert Menzies during his long sojourn to the United Kingdom" (Gillard, 2014, p.2). Gillard contended that for modern-day political leaders in the prime ministership the requirements entail the capacity to display staying power in light of the overwhelming workload, battling with adverse media reports and overcoming policy barriers (Gillard, 2014).

Complexities of the prime ministerial role have increased, but it is also useful to note that Menzies was quite prudent. Despite his conservative political predilections, Menzies encouraged bipartisan inclusion of political adversaries, including Whitlam, in areas of policy examination. Menzies asked Whitlam to be a member of the all Party Constitutional Review (Edwards, 1977) and also sought Whitlam's assistance with the planned entry of Britain into the European Common Market (Hocking, 2008). It may also be salient to add, that encompassed within Menzies' period of government were a generation of people that had contended with a Depression and the after-effects of World War II and thus had already navigated environmental complexities.

Collaborative efforts between political adversaries and collective workings within individual parties might assist in lessening the amount of work that has to be navigated and potentially proffer more robust solutions. Gillard chose to hold onto two portfolios, plus the Deputy Prime Minister role (Gillard, 2014). Her responsibilities encompassed the "super-portfolio of Education Employment and Workplace Relations and Social Inclusion" (McKew, 2013, p.80). From Gillard: "I took on the equivalent of double the usual cabinet minister's workload" (Gillard, 2007, p.7). It was at once an onerous load and the exciting opportunity of a lifetime" (Gillard, 2014, p.8).

An essential aspect of leadership is the capacity to delegate responsibilities which acts also as a demonstration of trust towards colleagues (Karpin 1995; IBSA 2011) as well as ensuring that all elements within the purview of a governance role receive attention, not just the favourite components. In her role, McKew reported to both Rudd and Gillard. Gillard's approach to McKew displayed a "pattern of condescension"(McKew, 2013, p.164), although McKew had specific charge of childcare and early childhood education. Her exclusion from significant educational policy development led McKew (2013) to

observe: "Gillard may have had the words 'social inclusion' in her title, but the concept never seemed to extend to me" (McKew, 2013, p.165). In a similar vein, other members of the Labor team, such as Greg Combet (2007-2013), held the view that the Rudd and Gillard governments had attempted to implement too many measures. By itself, the $14.7 billion school building programme 'Building the Education Revolution' entailed nine and a half thousand projects (Ferguson, 2015). The package attracted severe criticisms for the number of works that had their expenditures inflated for small projects, as a result of contractors 'milking the system'. "More than $1.5 billion has been wasted in the eastern states under the Federal Government's Building the Education Revolution schools stimulus program, with the nation's two biggest states failing to provide value for money under the program" (Klan, 2011, 8 July). In addition to extensive policy pursuits causing overloads, Gillard and her office also played a role in courting negative media results.

At the National Press Club in July 2011, Gillard had conveyed a message to the media: "Don't write crap. It can't be that hard. And, when you have written complete crap … I think you should correct it …" (Trenoweth, 2013, p. xi). However, both Gillard and Rudd also contributed to the generation of harmful media reporting by exercising poor judgement in aspects of their communication strategies.

> "For years, the ALP, a party to which many of us once spoke directly, has seemed unable to talk in anything but the lingua franca of spin. Julia and Kevin each had their different approaches, their different advisers. But each of them played-and perhaps over played-the characters that had been written for them" (Razer, 2013, p.39).

An illustration of carrying things too far was evident in the communication style opted for by Rudd. On the 10th July 2013 at 9:40 am Rudd chose to share a photo of a cut on his face, as a result of shaving, including the bloodied tissue he had used to stem the bleeding and decided to post it on both his Instagram and Twitter accounts, distributing the photograph to more than 1.2 million followers. The posting was accompanied by the following statement: "Note to self: when rushing out the door in the morning, make sure you take care with the razor. It is sharp" (instagram.com/p/bkF99-MBVj/).

Two practical examples of overplayed spin that resulted in negative consequences, stemmed from the media office of Gillard. In 2012 the then Opposition Leader Tony Abbott (2009-2015) had commented that the forty-year-old Aboriginal tent embassy at Old Parliament House in Canberra should be disassembled, which resulted in a protest rally at the embassy. Aboriginal activists at the tent embassy were alerted to the presence of Abbott at a nearby function, also being attended by Gillard. This information had been conveyed to a key Aboriginal activist by Tony Hughes a media advisor in Gillard's office; as a result, the protestors moved their rally to the event venue where Abbott and Gillard were present (Willesee, 2012). A spokesperson for Gillard's office maintained that her office had not encouraged any violent behaviour but conceded that the "tip-off was an error of judgment" (Pearlman, 2012, 27th January). Tony Hughes was dismissed from his role in Gillard's office as a consequence of the events that ensued and confronting images of what occurred to Gillard and Opposition Leader Tony Abbott were beamed around the world. Pearlman (2012) indicated that despite the mayhem in which she found herself Gillard had the presence of mind to ask the security detail if Abbott had been taken care of. It is not clear whether Gillard had any inkling of her office's intentions in terms of the tip regarding Abbott's presence near the tent embassy.

Julia Gillard is dragged to a car by her security team amid clashes between police and protesters.

Photo: Alex Ellinghausen

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Media fallout also occurred as a consequence of Gillard's decision to be involved in a story in the Australian Women's Weekly which resulted in Australia's first female Prime Minister glamorously portrayed on the front cover of the magazine sitting in a chair knitting (Baker, 2011). This image was juxtaposed against what Gillard maintained throughout her tenure were poor and sexist perceptions of women in leadership roles (Gillard, 2014). In reference to the story in the Australian Women's Weekly Gillard commented that the Liberal Party had made lengthy and vocal complaints about its occurrence. In March 2013 Gillard's office had been approached to have another story about Gillard in the magazine. After discussions the story was to be focused on a "benign human-interest angle about me knitting a toy kangaroo for the baby the British royals William and Kate were expecting" (Gillard, 2014, p.221) in the company of Gillard's dog Reuben. At the interview Gillard was accompanied by a cohort from her office as they

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[17] https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/australiaandthepacific/australia/9043781/Julia-Gillards-shoe-held-to-ransom-by-Aborigine-protesters.html.

wished to see the glitz associated with such a production and according to Gillard the nature of the event resulted in an enjoyable day for them all. After the pictures for the magazine story had been completed Gillard asked if some additional photos could be taken with the people accompanying her as a memento of the occasion. These extra photos were intended to be used for private purposes only. As events transpired the magazine chose to use the 'private' pictures rather than those initially taken for the story. Gillard wrote a "stiffly worded" (Gillard, 2014, p.223) letter of complaint to the editor Helen McCabe as this was "such an egregious breach of trust" (ibid) that McCabe had "treated me 'disrespectfully as a prime minister and shabbily as a human being" (Gillard, 2014, p.223). McCabe did issue Gillard with an apology but Gillard queried its authenticity. Gillard suggested that the tenor of the editor's response indicated the approach taken to the published story had been focused on circumventing censure from the Liberal Party, as a consequence of the magazine initiating the story with Gillard's office. Gillard did finally concede that errors of judgement were made by her office staff: "My media team made an error in going for such a cutesy angle" (Gillard, 2014, p.223). Gillard did not assign any blame to herself but McKew (2013) highlighted that, in general terms, nothing occurred in the Prime Minister's office without her say so. Alternatively rather than the blunder being apportioned to the intended slant of the story, a review of the situation might suggest that the decision to participate at all, was flawed. Particularly in light of Gillard's expressed concerns as to the perceptions of women in the circumstance of leadership. Gillard's approach to gender appeared to have a level of dichotomous expediency attached to it. In the context of the story in the Women's Weekly Gillard made a sardonic aside towards the Coalition that conveyed that there should have been recognition that her installation as the first female Prime Minister was important. "The advent of Australia's first female prime minister obviously passed them by" (Gillard, 2014, p.221). The statement was a sentiment contradicted by other remarks made by Gillard that expressed the importance of setting aside the issue of her gender in her prime ministerial role (Delahunty, 2014). This aspect is explored in more depth later in the chapter.

Gillard and Rudd shared some similarities in their life experiences. Both came from modest family circumstances where money was scarce. At the age of fourteen Gillard's dad was advised by his father that he had no money for his schooling to be continued. This had been a cruel disappointment for John Gillard as he enjoyed studying and kept

up to date with events by reading newspapers. He had also ranked as one of the top three students in his last year at primary school and was the first in his family to achieve a scholarship to attend grammar school (Kent, 2009). Gillard's father then set about supporting himself "by taking on a string of jobs, including working in a grocery shop, as a coal inspector and as a policeman" (Delahunty, 2014, p.6). He had joined the police force in his twenties, subsequently this led to his move to Barry where he met and later married Moira Gillard nee Mackenzie (Kent, 2009). John and Moira Gillard made the decision to leave Barry in the Vale of Glamorgan, South Wales in the United Kingdom in the hope of finding better prospects for their family. Almost four and a half, Gillard travelled with her sister Alison Gillard [three years her senior] and her parents from Southampton on the 7th February 1965, under the auspices of Australia's assisted passage migration scheme (Kent, 2009). The signing officer had written on the 4th May, 1965 that the Gillard's are a "good family" who are "well presented" "quite realistic in their outlook" and "should have no trouble in settling" (National Archives of Australia, 2017, 2nd February).

Both Gillard and Rudd had parents who were fervent advocates of the benefits of education that they themselves had not been able to attain. As a result they ardently encouraged their children's dedication to their studies and the pursuit of a university education. Rudd and Gillard were both excellent at their schoolwork. Rudd became Dux of his school and reflected: "I was good at things I worked hard at" (Macklin, 2007, p.42). Similarly Gillard said that she "enjoyed school and was good at it" (Gillard, 2014, p.239). Mutually they had mothers who had additional employment outside of the family home and Gillard and Rudd shared the circumstance of a parent who had pursued nursing as a career (Macklin, 2007; Gillard, 2014). Gillard's father was employed as a psychiatric nurse for twenty years (Gillard, 2014) and Rudd's mother reverted back to her nursing career after the death of her husband.

Tragically in December 1968 Kevin's father Bert fell asleep at the wheel of his car and crashed over an embankment into a small tree, while returning from a trip to Brisbane. Little damage was done to the car, but the crash resulted in Bert suffering a burst spleen and punctured stomach. Bert had travelled to Brisbane the same day to play in an indoor bowls event, which was a beloved past-time of his and his wife, Margaret. In all, Bert completed a round trip of two hundred and eight kilometres that day which would have also started with a milking session at daybreak. Bert's fellow travel companions had opted to stay the night in Brisbane rather than return home the same day, but Bert had the job of milking a herd of cows at dawn. He had asked his son Greg if he could handle the milking on his own. Greg had thought that this request had posed too much on him and said no, particularly as he would have to stand on something to do so. Peter Cole, who also normally helped Bert with milking was on holidays. Bert decided to travel and the consequences of his being tired and having an accident caused his son Greg to feel guilty for years after the crash happened. A successful first operation was conducted on Bert by the Chief surgeon who then went on Christmas leave. Bert required a second operation after vomiting blood during his recovery in the ward. Six weeks later he was dead as the subsequent surgery, conducted by an alternative surgeon resulted in Bert contracting septicaemia.

At the age of forty seven Margaret Rudd decided to go back to the Mater hospital, complete refresher training and support her family through resuming a nursing role (Macklin, 2007). For the eleven-year-old Rudd his family circumstances changed quite substantially after his father's death. His parents had been managing a farm on behalf of a property owner named Aubrey Low. There are conflicting versions of what occurred subsequent to Bert Rudd's death. According to Rudd (Macklin, 2007), some days after the funeral, Margaret Rudd returned to Nambour and was told by the owner that she had to leave the property. Aubrey Low's five children disputed this version of events and were so stressed by this account of what had happened that they contemplated legal action. A long-term resident of the community also concurred with the Low family's statement. Daphne Greer who mixed with the Rudd's and Low said: "The Aubrey Low I knew – and the Aubrey Low everyone else around here knew - would never have evicted Margaret Rudd," "He was a decent man. The whole tale is bizarre, to say the least" (Duff & Walsh, 2007, 11th March). The Low family maintained that Aubrey Low went out of his way to accommodate Margaret and her children. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere in

between. Given the era and perspectives on women it appears that Aubrey Low surmised that Margaret Rudd would not be able to run the farm without Bert Rudd despite her long experience with farming and so Aubrey Low hired a new farmer who was scheduled to start about six months after Bert Rudd's death. Rudd and his siblings certainly believed that Margaret Rudd had the necessary skills to run the farm (Macklin, 2007). Aubrey Low apparently advised Margaret Rudd that she could remain on the farm in the interim without having to pay (Duff & Walsh, 2007). The evidence suggests that Margaret was a strong and independent person and is very likely to have found Aubrey Low's terms unacceptable, particularly as the Rudd family had invested their own money into improving the farm. The family had nowhere to go and at first Margaret Rudd rented a small apartment. When the lease ended Margaret Rudd organised for the family to stay at the home of relations. On at least one occasion Margaret Rudd was unable to make advance contact by phone and did not want to impose on her relatives without any warning. The end result was that the family had to sleep in the family Volkswagen. Rudd said he was not sure whether this occurred one or more times (Marriner, 2006) but never revealed details of these events until his mother had died in 2004. The itinerant lifestyle for Rudd and his family continued for two years.

Some of Gillard's earliest recollections after immigrating to Australia relate to an unhappy period of living in the Pennington Migrant Hostel. Gillard refused to eat as a consequence of feeling overawed by the engulfing sound and crowds of people in the dining space. An anecdote that their father liked to relate was connected to their residence in the hostel. Upon arrival at the hostel, the family was issued with a bath plug, with instructions for it to be returned at the end of their stay.. The hostel had communal bathrooms and there was a propensity for the bath plugs to be stolen if they were left in the bathrooms. As soon as they were able John and Moira Gillard moved their family to a leased apartment and began the process of seeking employment and a house (Gillard, 2014).The early years of Rudd and Gillard also entailed some health concerns. Rudd was born bow-legged, and corrective surgery was required. Consequently, at the age of three, Rudd needed to relearn how to walk, and he achieved this by the time he was five (Macklin, 2007). Gillard benefitted from the family's relocation from Wales to South Australia; the warmer climes prevented the severe reoccurrence of her respiratory problems (Gillard, 2014). Gillard had continually suffered from chest infections and doctors had warned that if the family remained in Wales these would escalate to

pneumonia and bronchitis (Delahunty, 2014). Gillard had suggested that perhaps as a consequence of the hardships that Rudd experienced in his early years a void was created within Rudd that, as a result, might need be satisfied through the admiration of others. Rudd's pointed response was that as yet he had not been privy to Gillard's qualifications as a psychoanalyst (Ferguson, 2015). It is clear, however, that significant strain was placed on the Rudd family after the death of Rudd's father (Macklin, 2007).

Initially whilst she resumed her nursing training Margaret Rudd lived at the hospital and Greg and Kevin Rudd lived in at Marist Brother's school. The oldest child Mathew Rudd was in Vietnam and Loree Rudd who was in a convent left it one month after her father's death having felt that it was no longer the right option for her. To facilitate the family spending Christmas together, Margaret Rudd had rented a tiny apartment at the bottom of a house. Rudd labelled their temporary home as demeaning and expressed that the family suffered a "bleak charity" at this time (Macklin, 2007, p.35). Things had been further complicated by the fact that Bert Rudd had missed his last life insurance payment whilst in hospital (Weller, 2014) and so the insurance company sought to dub the policy as void. Marist Brothers had waived the boarding fees for the two brothers on compassionate grounds (Marriner, 2007). While Greg Rudd enjoyed life at the school, Rudd did not like sharing a dormitory with close to fifty other boys and he begged his mother to allow him to come home. Duffell (2019) explores the impact on the exercise of governance by what he describes as 'wounded' leaders (Duffel, 2019). Those parted from their families and sent to boarding schools subsequently develop a survival disposition that involves detaching their feelings and casting a false public image of themselves as competent and self-sufficient, masking a profound lack of self-confidence. An impression of proficiency is created that in reality is not the case.

Margaret Rudd's focus was on purchasing a home in Nambour but she did not have the money to do so. After the lease on the apartment finished, the family became nomadic visitors to the homes of family and, as mentioned earlier, on at least one occasion had to sleep in the family car. Reflecting on his earlier life, Rudd said: "I think what it did for me was it made me feel this thing very deeply and very emotionally: that this sort of thing should not happen to anybody. It shouldn't happen to anybody" (Macklin, 2007, p.37). Loree Rudd also suggested that the circumstances of their early life propelled Kevin Rudd's resolve to advance the situation of the family (Macklin, 2007). When Bert Rudd's insurance finally came through, supplemented by Margaret's savings, she was able to

secure a house in Nambour that remained in the family's ownership beyond her death (Macklin, 2007). "The house was very Spartan, and there was lino on the floor and one TV in the corner. There was very, very little furniture. In Kevin's room, there was a single bed, a single desk, which was Greg's desk, a tiny little desk, and a bookcase" (Weller, 2014, p.12).In the earlier years of Rudd's childhood there had been bike riding, on occasions horse riding, card games, draughts, ping pong on the dinner table, cricket, tree climbing and long walks around the farm (Weller, 2014).

Gillard's early years were what Gillard described as a "very Australian childhood" (Gillard, 2014, p.216). It involved lengthy summer holidays spent swimming, time with good friends, Sunday driving trips to the Adelaide Hills, playing catch with their father in the family backyard or ball games with the local children on the road in front of their home. The other regular pastime was reading. Each week both she and her sister would get through five or six books borrowed from the local public library.

Another crossover between the life experiences of Gillard and Rudd related to their opportunity to access university education. Rudd expressed:

> "To think that the son of a dairy farmer, whose family had little money, could secure a place at university through the Whitlam reforms, and upon graduation become a diplomat, then serve as the chief of staff to a Premier, be elected to the parliament to represent the Australian Labor Party, and ultimately be elected as Leader of the Opposition, and then Prime Minister, says everything about this extraordinary country Australia" (Rudd, 2013, p.22).

This was the second direct influence on Rudd's life by Gough Whitlam. In his role as Opposition Leader Whitlam received a letter from the then fifteen-year-old Rudd. The correspondence noted Rudd's attendance at Nambour High School and outlined his aspiration to become an Australian diplomat. Rudd asked Whitlam how he should go about achieving that goal. Whitlam responded that he should attend university and learn a foreign language (Macklin, 2007).

As with Rudd, Gillard's access to university education was facilitated by Whitlam's abolition of university fees. Her parents had wanted both of their daughters to obtain degrees and this dream was realised as a direct result of Whitlam's education policy. Gillard flourished in the university setting and attributed her access to university

education in combination with the influence of her parents and her good schooling as stepping stones to the attainment of her potential and life's possibilities (Gillard, 2014). The hardships experienced by Gillard's and Rudd's parents compelled their ambitions for their children, imbued into the very fabric of Rudd and Gillard, who with like-mindedness propelled the pursuit of their careers. Both became legatees of the upward social mobility that education provides.

Comparably Rudd and Gillard referenced a similar lesson they learned from their mothers. Rudd said his mother would 'feel' but not absorb rebuffs from other individuals and the family assigned the term "forgettery" (Macklin, 2007, p.38) to represent this approach. "It's one of those things that shapes the way you are and the way you think" (Macklin, 2007, p.39). Rudd also professed to have inherited his determination from his mother. The robustness of Rudd's resolve was described another way by Nicholas Stuart in his biography of Rudd. "But anyone who seriously tries to tell you Rudd will buckle to anyone else's instructions has obviously never met the man" (Stuart, 2007). It would appear that the comparable willpower to that of his mother's fuelled Kevin Rudd's tenacity to recover his position as Prime Minister.

In answer to a question about the best advice that had been provided by her mother Gillard relayed that her mother did not allow the opinions expressed by other people to take hold. She described her mother as possessing "a very strong sense of self and doesn't let other people's opinions of her enter her head in a bad way" (Delahunty, 2014, p.49). A trait that Gillard said she emulated. Delahunty (2014) described Gillard as: "one of the most controlled human beings on the planet. She didn't give away pieces of herself, she guarded her essence out of habit and, as prime minister, out of necessity. There was a quality of self-defence about the emotional carapace she carried, like layers of clothing to protect against the chills of office" (Delahunty, 2014, p.49).

Former Prime Minister Hawke communicated that the most critical capacity of a leader centres on their ability to connect with people (Hawke & Rielly, 2017). The establishment of relations between people requires a preparedness to share aspects of the essence of your character. The forensically crafted discipline of emotions exercised by Gillard as Prime Minister in the formal components of the public domain did not imbue people with a sense of trust or connection towards here; as Weller (2014) concluded, Gillard "never connected with the public" (Weller, 2014, p.336).Weller (2014) wrote that Rudd's

leadership style encompassed "persistence, resilience, faith, self-belief, a tough core and a political ruthlessness" (Weller, 2014, p.335). Except for faith, the same descriptors have been applied to Gillard: "Gillard is a ruthless, tough and pragmatic political operative" (Kelly, 2014, p.xii). Rudd wanted to effect change quickly. Moreover, he was not concerned with continually currying favour with those who had selected him as the leader. Weller (2014) contended that Gillard contrasted and complemented Rudd by being "an instinctive retail politician" (Weller, 2014, p.336), able to navigate in the backrooms of parliament in small groups, while Rudd was the public performer. McKew (2013) countered this perspective and emphasised that Rudd "is not a natural politician" (McKew, 2013, p.53). Weller's (2014) reference to resilience is interesting in light of the discussion undertaken by Delahunty (2014) who proffered a definition for the characteristic of resilience. She said that according to psychologists, resilience is made up of three components, including a positive attitude, an optimistic approach and, finally, a capacity to regulate one's own emotions.

The Oxford dictionary cites resilience as: "the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness" (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017). Both Rudd and Gillard demonstrated the social intelligence variable of resilience but the capacity not to be perturbed or dissuaded from completing their work as a consequence of others' opinions is useful, provided the validity of the contrary opinions are considered. A socially intelligent leader also needs to self-reflect and recognise potential areas that are wanting in their competences. Gillard exhibited that she was not prudent in her judgements of people, that weakness worked to the detriment of Beazley and proved fatal to both Rudd and herself. It also had long term effects for the Labor Party and the governance of Australia. Before addressing the social intelligence exercised by Rudd and Gillard through the measures applied to all of the other Prime Ministers in this thesis, this next section also provides a preliminary discussion of the topic of gender in the framework of social intelligence. As Australia's only female prime minister thus far the uniqueness of Prime Minister Gillard's term has generated scrutiny and commentary on gender and so within the framework of an assessment of social intelligence some reflections are included on the topic.

Extensive reference has been made to the biases extended towards Gillard as the first woman Prime Minister. "Gillard as the first woman to win the office, drew a deep seam of personal viciousness not seen before in public life" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xi). Gillard

had to "stumble through the thickets of gender unease in Australia" (Delahunty, 2014, p.55). Strangio et al. (2017) maintained that there was a gender-based reaction to Gillard's leadership. Delahunty (2014) extrapolated further: "Julia Gillard lived her Prime Ministership menaced by threat of eviction. They said she must go. They said she stole the power of men and they must steal hers" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xviii). Caro (2013) wrote: "To be the first of any marginalised group to reach the top job in the land is both a triumph and a tragedy" (Caro, 2013, p.19). It will go down in history, "but the scrutiny you will have to endure will test you in ways that leaders from more conventional backgrounds (generally white and male) never experience" (ibid). It is not judicious to preclude the impact of how Gillard obtained the leadership role as a genuine consideration, as these authors have done. Delahunty (2014) maintained that the very fact that Gillard was female automatically meant that she would have a "hard time" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xix) in the prime ministership and yet Delahunty (2014) also made the observation, as did Summers (2013), that Gillard was popular in her role as Deputy Prime Minister. The latter reflection might suggest that it was not the circumstance of Gillard's gender but the conditions surrounding how she obtained the prime ministerial role that came into play. How Gillard entered the prime ministership complicated and compounded the state of affairs.

A reverse bias, in the analysis of a female prime minister does little to advance the cause of women, if it seeks to attribute purely favourable reviews based on gender. Sarah Ferguson who wrote the television series the 'Killing Season' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015) expressed a partiality towards Gillard citing that no male counterparts have acknowledged their mistakes "Gillard does something that I've never seen a male political leader do from the UK, the US, Europe to Australian history. She utters the immortal phrase, 'Yes it was a mistake'. Have we ever heard Howard, Keating, Hawke say 'Yes it was a mistake' or anything so substantial? I don't think so. I think that's because she's a woman, she's capable of admitting mistakes" (Knox, 2015, May). Against this, Hawke expressed very sincere regret concerning his promise that no Australian child will live in poverty by 1990 (Age, 2007).

The specifics of Gillard's circumstances do not, however, preclude the reality of persistent and odious (Kelly, 2014) sexist behaviour being applied towards Gillard as is exercised towards many women daily; "for which there is no excuse and no equivalent experience for a man" (Kelly, 2014, p.x). Activists anticipated that other feminists would rally in support of Gillard in the face of sexist attacks and while some did, others thought

it was not to the extent or the speed required (Maguire, 2013). An example of remarks given about Gillard included a comment by Cattle Company Chief Executive David Farley. David Farley likened Gillard's choice not to have children to the fateful demise of non-producing livestock. "It's designed for non-productive old cows. Julia Gillard's got to watch out" (Willingham, 2012, 4th August). Whilst in her prime ministership Gillard had observed that: "Even if you are the single most powerful person in your country, if you are a woman, the images that are shadowed around you are of sex and rape" (Kelly, 2014, 22nd November). Although Maguire (2013) said Gillard had effected a societal change through persisting with what she had to do in her prime ministerial role rather than yielding to the "deep, hateful unfairness of it all" (Maguire, 2013, p.17; p.18) the extent to which that is true is debatable ,even given the renowned 'Misogyny Speech' (Gillard. 2012). More attention to the import of the misogyny speech and its value for the causes of women will be given later in the chapter.

An example of sexist a reference being extended towards Gillard was when she was described as "another man's bitch" (Delahunty, 2014, p.10). Sexism is deep rooted and habitual, even in Parliament. Summers (2013) revealed that Sophie Mirabella Member for Indi Victoria (2001-2013) also engaged in sexist behaviour towards Kate Ellis Minister for Employment Participation and Early Childhood and Childcare (2007-2010; 2013) When Ellis came to answer a question Mirabella called out "Here comes the weather girl" (Summers, 2013, p.204). These examples highlight an ongoing level of sexism, degradation, harm, and disparity exercised towards women. Reflecting on the position of women in the twenty-first century, Professor Barbara Czarniawska (2015) wryly observed that progress in this regard may have advanced in time to the 18th Century (leaving us lagging behind by only three centuries]. Observations of sexism are not limited to attitudes and behaviours; they are reflected in key areas such as employment. Gender pay gap figures in Australia released by the Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA) indicated that despite a downward trend "women on average still earn more than $26,000 a year less than men, and hold just 16.5 percent of CEO roles" (Michael, 2017, 17th November). The gap is calculated as the difference between average full-time earnings between males and females and not "like-for-like roles" (Michael, 2017, 17th November). Not unexpectedly but disappointingly the broader political arena is also not exempt from prejudicial behaviours. "Sexism exerts its pull on our politics and society

every day, in ways both subtle and crystal clear" (Clinton, 2017, p.114). In the context of politics Hilary Clinton stated:

> "It's not easy to be a woman in politics. That's an understatement. It can be excruciating, humiliating. The moment a woman steps forward and says, "I am running for office," it begins: the analysis of her face, her body, her voice, her demeanour; the diminishment of her stature, her ideas, her accomplishments, her integrity. It can be unbelievably cruel" (Clinton, 2017, p.116).

In addition, the emphasis on appearance is also fervent:

> "But I've never gotten used to how much effort it takes just to be a woman in the public eye. I once calculated how many hours I spent having my hair and makeup done during the campaign. It came to about six hundred hours or twenty-five days! I was so shocked" (Clinton, 2017, pp.87-88).

Germaine Greer [a feminist icon] also saw fit to comment publicly on Gillard's wardrobe, declaring that she should dispense with the style of jackets that she had chosen to wear, because: "You've got a big arse, Julia" (Ireland, 2012, 29th March). Sande (2013) suggested that the chauvinism that Gillard experienced combined with the explicit objectification and degradation of her articulated through all media forms made her position as Prime Minister untenable. Sande (2013) also raised the perspective of most people, one that linked masculinity with the concept of leadership together with the vocabulary applied to governance. Sande (2013) reasoned therefore that the irresolvable quandary for Gillard as a consequence was that notions of toughness and ambitious drive were juxtaposed uncomfortably with her womanhood and in some way were deemed to have compromised her femaleness. Gillard's summation of the gender issue was: "The reaction to being the first female prime minister does not explain everything about my prime ministership, nor does it explain nothing about my prime ministership … It doesn't explain everything; it doesn't explain nothing – it explains some things" (Gillard, 2013 Speech 27th June). There is a level of inconsistency in the referencing of gender as exercised by Gillard as to whether and when it was important or not. Gillard became Prime Minister on the 24th June 2010, after what she described as a "fitful sleep" (Gillard, 2014, p.3) of only two hours. In an understated way, seemingly to support that there was no planning for the specific event of her ousting of Rudd, she wrote: "As if it was just another parliamentary day, I showered and put on the suit I had always intended to wear"

(ibid). A further reinforcement pertaining to her swearing in ceremony in the afternoon: "The necklace I am wearing is an afterthought, borrowed straight from the neck of staff member Sally Tindall" (Gillard, 2014, p.3). Additionally, there was a somewhat contradictory emphasis by Gillard on clothes and jewellery despite an earlier paragraph in her book that underscored how her not crying when she was voted out of the prime ministership, was to preclude any hint of weakness that would be apportioned, because of her womanhood "But I was not going to stand before the nation as its prime minister and cry for myself. I was not going to let anyone conclude that a woman could not take it. I was not going to give any bastard the satisfaction. I was going to be resilient one more time" (Gillard, 2014, p.1).

Despite Gillard's assertions, the reaction by Gillard to her dismissal by caucus is not necessarily a gender-specific one but perhaps related more to the nature of the circumstances that had occurred. Menadue (1999), for example, had written of Gough Whitlam: He was too dignified to cry on television …" (Menadue, 1999, pp.46-47). Like Gillard, Hilary Clinton alluded to emotive pressures applying in the context of American politics. As a result of Presidential candidate Congresswoman Pat Schroeder having cried at the press conference that announced her withdrawal from her Presidential candidature, she continued to experience fallout for twenty years after the event (Clinton, 2017). A week after the episode The Chicago Tribune published: "Women across the country reacted with embarrassment, sympathy and disgust" (Hu, 2011, 25th November). If that was the case the story demonstrated a lack of social intelligence on the part of the women that reacted that way and identified that other women can also not be guaranteed to be supportive of one of their gender. Nor does it necessarily follow that support must happen as a natural consequence of shared gender but instead in circumstances where socially intelligent discernments would indicate that it was necessary. Such as in the context of sexism exercised towards Gillard. In 2008 while campaigning against Barack Obama for the Presidential nomination, Hilary Clinton became teary at a local diner in New Hampshire having been asked about the private strains of running a national campaign. On a prior occasion Hilary Clinton had said, "If you get too emotional, that undercuts you. A man can cry — but a woman, that's a different kind of dynamic". Although some of Hilary Clinton's critics judged the crying in New Hampshire as a tactical ploy, it was deemed a "humanizing moment by many female voters" (Hu, 2011, 25th November) and

whether there was any correlation or not Hilary Clinton won the next primary in New Hampshire.

In a similar vein, people can be criticised for not crying where others would see it as a natural occurrence in the prevailing circumstances. For example, in Japan, there is an expectation that a person should cry because it is seen to represent genuineness (Kamata, 2010). In the past, it was deemed inappropriate for men to cry because it was seen as a sign of their weakness and now the reverse position presented by Gillard and Hilary Clinton is that for a woman to cry is also seen as frailty in a political context (Gillard, 2014; Clinton, 2017). The discourse ought not to be prescriptive as to whether someone should or shouldn't cry nor whether or not it is appropriate, but to accept that when it does occur, it is a natural outcome and because it is the overriding emotion that is happening for the person at that time. Crying happens because our body's parasympathetic nervous system activates crying, to relieve emotional stress, reduce the build-up of toxins in the body (Zoellner, 2017) and provides a self-soothing effect (Gračanin, Bylsma, & Vingerhoets, 2014). Prime Minister's Hawke, Howard, Fraser, Whitlam and Rudd all became naturally teary at varying times in the context of their political careers. Gillard could not maintain her steely resolve nor stop the tears when she addressed the Australian parliament and spoke about her father. "The last thing my father taught me was in the life of a man there is a moment to go gentle into that good night, and so it was" (Gillard in Delahunty, 2014, p.11).

The socially intelligent conclusion should not have to be that a woman prime minister must not cry as proof of her strength just as the former fallacy that men should not cry is more dispelled. A counterpoint is that allowing oneself to cry in the view of others also takes strength because of that very public expression of vulnerability. Perhaps in the moment of her concession speech, the most pervasive emotion for Gillard was anger that the same colleagues that had encouraged and anointed her as leader had now reversed that position. Conceivably the following observation by Hilary Clinton of herself is also illuminative of Gillard, particularly in the light of their shared legal training. "People say I'm guarded, and they have a point". I think before I speak. I don't just blurt out whatever comes to mind. It's a combination of my natural inclination, plus my training as a lawyer, plus decades in the public eye where every word I say is scrutinized" (Clinton, 2017, p.122).

Like Hilary Clinton, Gillard's restrained public façades were dubbed as giving the impression of her being impassive and uncaring, even if that was not the case, as Ross Fitzgerald discussed in the context of a comparison between Gillard's and Queensland Premier Anna Bligh's (2007-2012) expressions of empathy, after the Brisbane floods in 2011 (Davies, 2011). In direct contrast with her emotionless projection in the circumstances of the Queensland floods, Gillard was described as being "visibly affected" (Australianpolitics.com, 2009, 9th February) as she spoke to the parliament in February 2009 concerning the Black Saturday Fires in Victoria. In her Prime Ministerial role, there was a different projection. "During these three years, Julia Gillard PM always seemed slightly veiled, opaque behind her own restraint and the roar of the critics" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xxv). Gillard had declared during the course of her election campaign "It's time to make sure the real Julia is well and truly on display" (Gillard, 2010). How was that statement to be interpreted? Was the Gillard that was popular as Deputy not the 'real Julia?' On the day after being deposed, she was asked by Mary Delahunty whether she really could be herself in the role of Prime Minister? Her reply: "You can be yourself, but always with a bit of padding on" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xi). The journalist Laura Tingle said: 'she struggled with a different prime ministerial persona, the funny confident person disappeared" (Tingle in Delahunty, 2014, p.47). However, in a one to one context and with her staff, Delahunty (2014) described warmth in Gillard's interactions with people. Kent (2009) referenced Gillard's personal staff in her Deputy Leader role as being pleasant and not inclined towards the pretentiousness that is at times present with the office staff of parliamentarians.

The broader discussion needs to be centred on whether socially intelligent leader role models, should mimic the worst hard-nosed business practitioners or the harmful combative confrontational scheming ones in politics, as they conduct their professional roles. The answer has to be surely an emphatic no, irrespective of gender. As Delahunty (2014) observed "women leaders have shown they are just as vain, venal or virtuous as men in power" (Delahunty, 2014, p.29). Delahunty acknowledged Gillard's "leadership flaws" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xviii). as did Gillard documenting that her strategic manoeuvres in the removal of Beazley as Opposition Leader were not entirely principled (Gillard, 2014).It might be true that from a public perspective some anticipations might have existed about Gillard setting the bar higher, to offer the best 'different' gender traits that she could have brought to the mostly male-dominated arena of politics, or at least

more representation of women in politics. Kent (2009) argued that Gillard did not "display the vulnerability that people think they expect from women politicians" (Kent, 2009, p.283). Refutation of such an assertion is that, instead people conceivably anticipated some of the strengths that women might afford in the realm of politics. Gillard had reflected "I've always said that I didn't see myself as a woman doing this job, didn't aspire to be the first female prime minister. I always thought it was in my interests to park it [gender] and keep doing the job" (Gillard in Delahunty, 2014, p.26). In 2009 however Gillard stated: "It's only natural that women want to see one of their own in the top job" (Kent, 2009, p.283). When Gillard was asked how she felt being the first female Prime Minister she reaffirmed that it was not done for the purposes of establishing the record of being the first woman. "I did it because I thought I could offer the nation leadership on things that matter to me and matter to our nation's future" (Hooper, 2013, p.160).

Irrespective of Gillard's intent, a woman cast in the role of prime minister is an exemplar to all women, a point acknowledged in Gillard's concession speech. "Her prime ministership is remarkable in nearly every sense and is enshrined in her standing as the nation's first female prime minister" (Kelly, 2014, p.ix), just as President Barrack Obama (2009-2017) becoming the first black President of the United States of America established a benchmark for Black and African Americans. However, Gillard had no time for the viewpoint that more women in politics would make for a more compassionate environment. Gillard expressed, "I've always thought that was bloody nonsense. One of the things I have always wanted to show is that it doesn't matter whether you are a man or a woman, you can thrive in an adversarial environment" (Kent, 2009, p.7). The aspect that Gillard missed in her analysis and retrospections is that the expectations and benchmarks of politicians and their behaviours actually need to be set higher irrespective of gender. As Summers (2013) wrote, "we are experiencing an era in politics where there is very little civility" (Summers, 2013, p.202) and that our politicians should be setting higher standards to effect a positive "influence on the national conversation" (Summers, 2013, p.204).

Active debate to produce the best policy outcomes is significantly different to confrontational, aggressive, vindictive, oppositional and antagonistic behaviours for those who seem to be similarly attracted to "war without blood" (Schneider, 1980, p.ix) irrespective of their gender. The last element in this discussion of gender relates to the

famous 'Misogyny Speech' made by Gillard in the House of Representatives in the Parliament of Australia on the 9th October 2012 (Gillard, 2012). Rather than the 'real' Gillard, Razer (2013) contended that the speech may have identified more about the probable co-author of the address, John McTernan, and that Gillard "said some disastrously untrue things about how the fact of her gender weighed on her mind" (Razer, 2013, p.49) because Gillard had issued public statements to the contrary.

The speech criticised the Opposition Leader Tony Abbott for his misogyny and sexism. It identified that over the years Abbott had articulated ridiculous and sexist comments about women [despite having a female Chief of Staff, Peta Credlin]. For example, in 1998, in a discussion surrounding equal opportunities for sons and daughters, he concurred with the person who said that they wanted their daughter to have access to as many prospects as their son. Abbott however then proceeded to say: "Yes I completely agree but what if men are by physiology or temperament more adapted to exercise authority or to issue command" (Gillard, 2012, 9th October).

Predominantly, the impetus for the speech by Gillard had been accusations from the Opposition Leader about Gillard's on-going support for the Speaker of the House, Peter Slipper, despite his having sent text messages to one of his staff about a female member of parliament, Sophie Mirabella and having made grubby remarks about female genitalia (Cram & AAP, 2012). Gillard had responded to criticisms about her lack of action by saying that although she was offended by Slipper's texts and at all times by sexism, the parliament was obliged to hear the outcome of court proceedings before taking any action.

Slipper was accused of employing a staffer called James Ashby without checking his credentials for the role, favouring him as the candidate because he was gay. Ashby had taken Slipper to court, on a sexual harassment claim, concerning text messages sent to him by Slipper. Ashby subsequently withdrew the claims against Slipper but Slipper was later convicted over the misuse of cab charge dockets. Sophie Mirabella had sought a public statement from the Prime Minister outlining whether or not she thought that Slipper's remarks were tolerable and whether Gillard retained confidence in the capacity of Slipper to undertake his role (Hoffman, 2012).

As Speaker of the House Peter Slipper was the adjudicator of parliamentarian's behaviour and as such the Speaker's actions needed to be an exemplar of good conduct. The topic

of sex was evident in a large quantity of the emails exchanged between Slipper and his staff member James Ashby and, independent of any claims concerning harassment issues, indicated that Slipper had not behaved in a professional manner. Gillard then maintained that her delivery of the 'Misogyny Speech' had resulted because of the sum and total of her experiences combined with being lectured by Abbott about the topic of sexism (Chan, 2013).

Hilary Clinton defined misogyny as much darker than sexism:

> "It's rage. Disgust. Hatred. It's what happens when a woman turns down a guy at a bar and when he switches from charming to scary. Or when a woman gets a job that a man wanted and instead of shaking her hand and wishing her well, he calls her a bitch and vows to do everything he can to make sure she fails" (Clinton, 2017, p.115)

> "Sexism is all the big and little ways that society draws a box around women and says, 'You stay in there'. Don't complain because nice girls don't do that. Don't try to be something women shouldn't be. Don't wear that, don't go there, don't think that, don't earn too much. It's not right somehow, we can't explain why, stop asking" (Clinton, 2017, p.115).

As Australia's first female Prime Minister, the 'Misogyny Speech' was an opportunity to deal with a fraught topic in a socially intelligent way. By all means, call the Opposition Leader to account for sexist remarks but the label of misogynist was overstated. The 'Misogyny Speech' was lauded by women across the world but it had the opportunity to be so much more. Whitlam set such an exemplar in the election campaign of 1972 in response to the McMahon government's proposal to set up a royal commission into the status of women. Whitlam bellowed his response:

> "You don't need a royal commission into the status of women to know about the costs of childcare. You don't need a royal commission into the status of women to see whether they should get equal pay. You don't need a royal commission into

the status of women to see whether they should get equal employment opportunities for promotion and position."

The speech continued:

"I have in mind that there should be a woman appointed to a top diplomatic post overseas … There should be a woman appointed to the Arbitration Commission. There should be women appointed to those bodies which are concerned with the areas where women are among the major employees, such as the Schools Commission and a Hospitals Commission" (Whitlam in Hocking et al, 2014, 22nd October).

Even more broadly Whitlam declared that the Labor Party could not lay claim to be a Labor Party until the Labor Party was one equally for men and women. Bill Kelty related the impact that Whitlam's sentiments had on his mother when he told her what Whitlam had said: "I knew what it meant for women when I saw the tears trickle slowly down her cheek. It choked off her cynicism and gladdened her heart" (Kelty in Hocking et al., 2014, October 22nd). The stance that Whitlam took was akin to those who sought to support Gillard and like Whitlam's sentiments offered more than vitriol towards a political opponent. Indeed Razer (2013) suggested that a speech made by Gillard at the Per Capita Reform Agenda Series in Canberra on the 29th April 2013 would have been a much better speech for Gillard to be identified with: "This is the oration for which Gillard should be known. Instead, the legacy of this hard-working and even-tempered economist will be one of virtuosic rage" (Razer, 2013, p.49).

Replicating the previous chapter, the following discourse now focusses on the variables pinpointed by Hillmer and Azzi (2011), as qualities indicative of effective Prime Ministers to analyse the socially intelligent leadership (Thorndike, 1920) approaches of Prime Ministers Julia Gillard and Kevin Rudd.

Stable wielding of power

The concept of a stable wielding of power was taken to a different dimension in the context of these two leaders. Aptly dubbed "The Killing Season" (Ferguson, 2015) a documentary portrayal of these former Prime Ministers showed how their policy failures were interlocked with the political system failures that allowed them both to set in train the demolition of each other's careers and at the same time make a mockery of the Australian citizenry's participation in the political process. Neither leader achieved a stable wielding of power as defined by Hillmer & Azzi (2011) of four years and above. Gillard's term extended for three years and three days. Rudd's first period as Prime Minister endured for under three and a half years and his second term lasted less than two months. The tenures of both leaders gained notoriety as an outcome of their political manoeuvrings. Gillard became Prime Minister by deposing Rudd from that role and from that point on Rudd strategized until he could achieve retaliation and reclaim his place as Prime Minister. The unprecedented circumstance of Australia's first female Prime Minister was marred by the brutality of politics undertaken to achieve the role and then these same ruthless machinations were similarly applied in the repossession of the helm by Rudd. In the meantime, scant regard was applied towards the Australian public. Former Prime Minister John Howard observed that the intrigues entailed in the change of leader from Rudd, raised the spectre of the power of the faceless men in the Labor Party, controlling things externally from the parliamentary party (Howard, 2014) and the same analysis is equally relevant in the removal of Gillard. Had Gillard been more informative and direct with the Australian public as to the rationale for toppling Rudd, she may have achieved a more stable wielding of power. The sticking point remains that Gillard knew about the existence of the fundamental leadership flaws and lack of social intelligence of Rudd but chose to ignore this in favour of her own political ambitions. Just as the Labor Party caucus chose to reinstate Rudd to the Prime Ministerial role, as another political expediency because of what they hoped would still be his public popularity. This was even though members of caucus, could not bear him (Delahunty, 2014). Others expressed concern about the media's failure and apparent unwillingness to give an accurate appraisal "of Rudd the man and Rudd the politician, and of his motives, and the

devastating impact he was having on the government" (Walsh, 2013, xii)[18]. Latham (2005) wrote it was astonishing that journalists couldn't read Rudd "the pretender" (Latham 2005, p.249). He attributed this deficit to two factors: "they are dumb and lazy" (ibid), and more saliently that "Rudd is a fanatical media networker" (Latham, 2005, p.249). There is validity to the claim that the media might have played a more significant part in outlining some of the problems associated with Rudd's leadership but that does not absolve the rest of his parliamentary colleagues from not exercising some boldness and confronting Rudd earlier about the escalating issues with the flow of governance in the parliament, or indeed revealing them to the public, apart from sporadic leaks.

It is also interesting to note that former Prime Minister Bob Hawke countenanced reservations about Rudd as leader when Rudd was first elected in 2007 (Hawke & Rielly, 2017). Where political party allegiances are so robust, there must be a stronger imperative on political parties to be more cautious in their selection of leaders. From the beginning, Rudd's political ambitions towards undertaking the leadership of the Labor Party lacked the requisite Caucus support to achieve this goal. Instead, he used his detachment from the various factions within the Labor Party, similarly his lack of union support, to side-step the party and court advantage with the Australian public via the arena of the media. Rudd observed later: "The ultimate audience is the great Australian public. You go straight to them rather than through some perverse intermediary called a faction or a caucus committee" (Jackman, 2008, p.92). The emphasis became Rudd as the winning attribute rather than the Labor Party. The feedback from focus group research indicated that it was Rudd's personal popularity that would be the determinant of votes, not Rudd's affiliation with the Labor Party. Indeed, that people were inclined to vote for Rudd, in spite of his being from the Labor Party (Strangio et al., 2017). Rudd realised however, that public popularity was insufficient to achieve his leadership goals, he began a process of networking with the power brokers of the Labor party, in tandem with courting his colleagues in parliament. Former Premier of New South Wales Bob Carr observed that it was impossible to ignore Rudd as he was ever-present through appointments or random visits at the offices of those he was wooing. Similarly, his ever-growing public profile was unable to be ignored by the people that Rudd was targeting and he was afforded the

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[18] Former Press Secretary in the Hawke government and journalist and political commentator.

political backing of the right faction of the New South Wales Branch of the Labor Party and the State Branch Secretary Mark Arbib (Strangio et al., 2017). The final component to Rudd achieving the leadership role he coveted was an allegiance with Gillard who also shared Rudd's ambitions but calculated that Rudd had to be in the top role "because I understood that that I was not what Labor needed at that point: a woman, not married, an atheist. I would not be perceived as the embodiment of safe change" (Gillard, 2014, p.5).

The teaming up of Rudd and Gillard in favour of Beazley to lead the Labor Party to the 2007 election was likened to a "marriage of convenience" and deemed a "smart marriage for the party" (Ferguson, 2015, 9th, 18th, 27th June). Kent (2009) suggested that Beazley had triple leadership chances but that he was holding the party back: "Gillard's political instincts told her it was time for a change, and her ambition told her she could help bring it about. Under these circumstances sentimentality about the party's leader ran a very poor third" (Kent, 2009, p.237). As a rationale for initiating deliberations with Rudd to form an agreement to become the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Party Gillard cited Beazley's lack of preparation for 'Question Time' or what she dubbed the "lifeblood of Opposition" (Gillard, 2014, p.5). Gillard labelled the preparations for 'Question Time' as "making the day's most important tactical judgements". Her assessment of Beazley was that he did not meet this requisite:

> "Yet I never saw him grab the work of preparing for it, shape it, demand his way about it. Watching this, I worried that the fire to succeed was not burning strongly enough in him. My fear was that in the final ballot box judgement of Australians Kim would not be chosen" (Gillard, 2014, p.5).

In other words that Beazley needed to emulate the characteristics of Gillard herself. In her autobiography, Gillard posed a rhetorical question: "Was I wrong in my judgement of Kim Beazley in 2006? I fear I may have been, that what I inferred as his lack of interest in the work of Opposition was really a more nuanced understanding of electoral politics than I then possessed" (Gillard, 2014, p.6).

Gillard also acknowledged that the onus for establishing Rudd's leadership rested with her and that her "judgement of his campaign capability and likely acceptance by the electorate was right" (Gillard, 2014, p.7). What proved to be "dreadfully wrong" was her

discernment of how he would perform as leader (Gillard, 2014, p.7). It is impossible to believe that within the small confines of parliament that Gillard and others who facilitated the deposing of Beazley were not already aware of Rudd's style of working and that this style was not composed of random acts. Indeed Gillard wrote "I was painfully aware of his propensity for anger: when I annoyed him in a parliamentary tactics discussion one day, as the meeting broke up he had stepped into my space to spit menacing, bullying words at me". Gillard attests that her long time staffer's inclination to step between herself and Rudd would not have been necessary as Rudd would never have gone beyond irate words. As a person with an industrial legal background Gillard would have been fully cognisant that physical abuse does not have to be present for behaviours to be considered bullying and unacceptable. In a representation of a client Gillard would have argued exactly this.

Having successfully navigated the leadership challenge and the 2007 election Rudd stated publicly that Gillard had been "fantastic as Deputy Leader" (Ferguson, 2015, 9th, 18th, 27th June) and that this would continue in her new role as Deputy Prime Minister. In his retrospections, Rudd also declared that his longer-term intention was to have handed the mantle of the prime ministership to Gillard and for her to become the first woman prime minister (ibid). Irrespective of Rudd's plans, suggestions were made that Gillard fully intended to assume the leadership mantle in Kevin Rudd's second term (McKew, 2013). A future option might be that both the Leader and the Deputy Leader are put forward to the electorate as the Prime Minister and their eventual successor, should the party win successive elections.

Strangio et al. (2017) raise the contradiction of the Labor Party's collectivist values balanced against the circumstances of adapting to "domineering' leaders" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.237). However, in the case of Rudd, it was suggested that he took "leadership centralism to a higher plane" (Strangio et al., 2017), forced the party towards an additional precipice and further that his Prime Ministership influenced the conditions of the subsequent prime ministerships of Gillard and Tony Abbott. These authors describe Rudd's leadership profile as representative of a "textbook case study of personalisation" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.237) that concomitantly provided prospects and perils for Rudd as the "autonomous" leader (ibid). Personalisation is defined as "the process of making something suitable for the needs of a particular person" (Cambridge English Dictionary,

2017). In a general sense, personalisation is intended as a positive way of attending customised service on an individual to enhance their service experience or facilitate their capacity to achieve something and not as the means of a leader to affect authoritarian rule. Former Prime Minister Bob Hawke expressed a hope that Rudd would "say on reflection … I hope he would … that the problem was out of his own making" (Hawke, 2014, 5th June). Especially as Rudd had abandoned the cabinet system of government in favour of the 'kitchen cabinet' ruling out of his office (Hawke, 2014, 5th June), in effect Rudd had retained the modus operandi of the election campaign with its centralised decision making (Ferguson, 2015, 9th, 18th, 27th June). He didn't use the talents of his ministers to have wide ranging cabinet discussions to guide the debate or execution of policies. Decisions were presented from the four- member Special Priorities and Budget Committee as a fait accompli. As an outcome of Rudd's lack of socially intelligent leadership, the work of the government became impeded.

> "Meetings supposedly called to make decisions would turn into rolling seminars because it was obvious that Kevin had not read any of the papers and he needed to be taken verbally through what was contained in them. At the end of the explanation, he would frequently ask for more papers to be prepared, which also did not get read" (Gillard, 2014, p.9).

In a Four Corners[19] (2012) report Gillard maintained that she had made a decision to run for the prime ministerial role on the day that she had entered Rudd's office to ask him for a ballot. McKew (2013) responded to this avowal: "Come again? Gillard exercises top-down control over her office. Her forensic attention to detail sets her apart and her careful planning of every career move is legendary" (McKew, 2013, p.170) and Albanese had warned Rudd in May that undercurrents were at play. These were visible through Gillard's intervention in the pre-selection processes in New South Wales because boundary changes had left one of her key supporters Laurie Ferguson without a seat and Gillard was said to have made it plain that she wanted Ferguson to be looked after. Such a view is a contrast with Walsh's (2013) assertion that according to "impeccable sources who were at the centre of the action on the night of 23rd June that Gillard was deeply reluctant to take the job" (Walsh 2013, p.5). The declaration of unwillingness to take on

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[19] A television programme on Australian Television aired on the Australian National Broadcaster which applies investigative journalism to key topics.

the leadership role also appears to be contradicted by Gillard's earlier reports. When Mark Latham resigned as Labor Leader on the 18th January, 2005, Crabb (2005) indicated that both Rudd and Gillard earnestly contemplated contending against Beazley who had revealed that he would nominate again for the Labor Party leadership. They did not proceed with an attempt but a year later Gillard combined with Rudd to depose Beazley as head of the Labor Party. "But in 2006, my motivations were not all altruistic: in the next Labor government, I wanted to be a key player. I felt frustrated by the tight and seemingly exclusive circle around Kim and thought I could and should do more than I was ever going to be asked to do with him as leader" (Gillard, 2014, p.6). "Every day, I feared that while the political winds were finally favourable for Labor, our leader Kim Beazley, was not the one to get us there, to give Australians the political permission they needed to change the government" (Gillard, 2014, pp.4-5). Somewhat ironically, also in 2006, Gillard's sympathies were with her friend Simon Crean and what had seemed a broadside at his leadership by Beazley who was interviewed for The Bulletin magazine and the article was published under the headline "If I Were PM: Kim Beazley Finally Takes a Stand and Ignites the ALP Leadership Debate" (Kent, 2009, p.159). Gillard reflected at the time that for Simon Crean to be blindsided by Beazley when Crean had been his loyal Deputy for three years was an appalling act. "There's a lot about being involved in politics that does have the capacity to turn your stomach. There's just no doubt about it" (Gillard in Kent, 2009, p.159). The sentiment expressed by Gillard involving Crean is notable on two fronts. At once it suggests some vindication for Beazley's later removal and second, the incongruity of Gillard's consternation neglects the subsequent action exercised towards Rudd. Gillard's actions negated Kent's (2009) assertions that Gillard would not be motivated to act on her own ambitions and vie for the job of Prime Minister: "There is no evidence that for the sake of her own ambition she would be willing to destabilise the party or be prepared to move to the backbench, as he did (Kent, 2009, p.284). Lewis (2013) points to the removal of Beazley as the first critical mistake by the same people who effected the subsequent removal of Rudd. More than just producing a change in leadership, Lewis (2013) raises the broader issue of a change in the style of leader. Beazley was targeting the traditional values of the Labor Party and focused on reinstating worker's rights. By contrast, Rudd was occupied with dissociating himself from the unions and aligning himself to fiscal liberalism. Lewis (2013) also

contended that the team that subsequently came into play also had no real governmental experience.

Further indications that Gillard's career planning had taken place in advance stemmed from observations by Former Labor Leader Mark Latham. He wrote that he also talked about succession planning with Gillard should his leadership be challenged.

> "Gillard was reluctant. She's never seen herself as a parliamentary Leader, but I convinced her to go through her numbers (in a notional contest against Beazley, the strongest of the possible machine candidates. The numbers were against her: "she would lose 39-49. Albanese is the key, and a big disappointment. On current form he would support Beazley and do in his Left 'comrade' Gillard. That would cost her the leadership: another sign of the madness of the Left. I advised Julia to see if she could butter up Albo for the next six months" (Latham, 2005, p.391).

When Mark Latham resigned, Gillard did nominate for the leadership but asserted that this was based on a desire to compel the Labor Party to consider its culture and value systems and not with any prospect of her being successful (Gillard, 2014). Gillard was, however, successful in securing the leadership from Rudd on the 24th June 2010 but not in acquiring the confidence of the Australian public.

Two months after the change of leadership Gillard called a Federal election for the21[st] August 2010. Under the circumstances, it may also have been prudent for Gillard to defer going to an election until she had established more traction and therefore a track record in the role. Not explaining the change of leadership was "unwise, possibly fatal" (Delahunty, 2014, p.33) because, as Delahunty (2014) also asserted, trust "is crucial currency for any politician" (Delahunty, 2017, p.36). McKew (2013) also queried why a cohort of senior cabinet ministers within the government failed to approach Rudd and articulate their concerns in 2010. "They had all taken an oath of office and had a responsibility to speak up. If there were concerns about access, the directions of the government, process and the like, why was this not confronted by a group of senior Cabinet ministers?" (McKew, 2013, p.193). This is a valid criticism because there was also an import on Rudd's parliamentary colleagues to exercise a socially intelligent focus in their actions towards the Australian public.

Rather than winning office Gillard secured office. As a consequence of a hung parliament with neither the Labor Party nor the Coalition securing a majority of the electoral vote, negotiations were required with other elected members of parliament. Gillard successfully navigated and "out negotiated the leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott" (Delahunty, 2014, p.xx) and formed a minority government with the fragile support of a mixed group of parliamentarians. The assemblage included independent candidates from country areas and city-based Greens plus a former intelligence employee turned whistle blower from the State of Tasmania (Delahunty, 2014). Gillard had made a deal with the Tasmanian Independent Member of Parliament Andrew Wilkie (2010 +) by promising him that 'pre-commitment' technology would be installed on every poker machine in Australia by the year 2014 (Dickinson, 2013). The intention to introduce restrictions against poker machines was met by a campaign from the clubs and "intimidated MP's from across the political divide" (Howard, 2014, p. 375). Howard's view was a supportive one; he argued that governments need to employ interventionist strategies for gambling addicts and resolutely resist the expansion of new forms of mass gambling including those online. He reasoned that once gambling avenues were entrenched, they were challenging to retract (Howard, 2014).

The successful discussions that resulted in Gillard being able to secure a minority government were reflective of Gillard's capabilities of negotiation and compromise. Skills Gillard had honed from her early childhood debating days and then later her legal and union work came into play. In her work as an industrial lawyer Gillard was "single-minded but reserved, a relentless negotiator" (Delahunty, 2014, p.51). Comparably as Deputy Prime Minister and Prime Minister Gillard "earned a reputation from allies and enemies as a dogged and skilled negotiator" (Delahunty, 2014, p.52). These were the same competencies that facilitated Gillard navigating her way into the leadership pairing with Rudd.

In ousting Prime Minister Rudd from the leadership, the critical point was that the Australian electorate was unaware of the internal governmental dissatisfaction Gillard subsequently claimed towards her predecessor. In a counterpoint, McKew (2013) wrote that the leaked stories about Rudd, his "dysfunctionality, of profanity and temper tantrums" (McKew, 2013, p.147) had been orchestrated from those campaigning to change the leadership. Further, no such accusations were made in the period when Rudd

and the government made decisive moves in response to the spending programme to counter the 'Global Financial Crisis'. Given that multiple sources (Allsop, 2007; Tiernan, 2008; Weller, 2014; Strangio et al., 2017) have replicated the same stories about Rudd's working style during his work in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the office of Premier of Queensland, Wayne Goss (1989-1996): this would suggest that McKew's loyalty towards Rudd skewed her perspective somewhat. Beazley, in a conversation, advised Latham that he should not demote Rudd as he was "the best Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs in the history of this parliament" (Latham, 2005, p.304). McKew (2013) did concede that the planning of the Special Priorities and Budget Committee that worked well in committing to the spending programme during the 'Global Financial Crisis' was deficient in the operational phases of these spending policy initiatives (McKew, 2013) even though matters might have come before the group three or four times (Weller, 2014). The members of the Special Priorities and Budget Committee included Rudd, Gillard, the Treasurer Wayne Swan and Finance Minister Lindsay Tanner.

Showing very little 'empathy related responding' (Eisenberg et al, 2004) after overthrowing Rudd, Gillard said that she hoped that after Rudd's more immediate reactions of shock and hurt that on some level that there would be some sense of relief at having been released from the burden of office (Gillard, 2014). Instead, Rudd focussed his attention on recovering the prime ministership, a goal that he achieved. Weller (2014) said how it was a much altered Rudd who resumed his office in June 2013. The image of him in 2007 had been of a genial, fresh faced, somewhat geek like Mandarin speaker who was not cast in the same mould of past leaders (Weller, 2014). In 2013 the freshness and innovation were no longer present, albeit that Rudd still enjoyed a level of popular support. "If the parliamentary caucus had preferred Gillard the three previous times they'd had a choice, the people had preferred Rudd" (Weller, 2014, p.ix). Again, this was because Rudd's projected public image was not always congruent with his private interactions. Latham (2005) included an anecdote concerning Rudd who wanted his title in the Shadow ministry expanded to Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Security and Latham was happy to acquiesce. Then Rudd rang him objecting to Member of Parliament Robert McClelland (1996-2013) also having the term security in his job title. At first Latham thought that Rudd was joking "but the crazy bastard was serious: he had a long and absurd argument about the alleged overlap between the two

jobs" (Latham, 2005, p.256). Latham suggested that Rudd talk to McClelland hoping that the matter would be resolved between the two of them. By the end of that Sunday Rudd was threatening to go back to the backbench "over a question of semantics" (ibid). Latham advised Rudd that he was prepared to accept his resignation. After reflection, Rudd rang Mark Latham at 11pm that same day and accepted the cross over in titles and the public announcement regarding the Shadow Ministry was made the next day. On a later occasion, Rudd began lobbying for the position of Shadow Treasurer while Latham recalled events of the previous December and Rudd's "tantrum over his title. He's such a prima donna" (Latham, 2005, p.364). One morning he was visited by Rudd: "He went into a long explanation of why he's so wonderful. When he finished I put my cards on the table: that I regard him as disloyal and unreliable, and he only holds the frontbench position because of his media profile and public standing among people who have never actually met him" (ibid). An Australian Story broadcast had indicated that Rudd was vying for the leadership against Latham and this had been reported in a newspaper. Latham advised Rudd that if the newspaper report was accurate, then Rudd should prepare himself for the backbench. "He appeared surprised, protested his innocence and then broke down badly, sobbing over the recent death of his mother, just before polling day. Rudd was in a very fragile position" (Latham, 2005, p.365). Latham suggested Rudd return home to his family but despite the tears and the denial to Latham behind the scenes Rudd continued to petition for Latham's role. According to Latham it "was becoming quite sad" (Latham, 2005, p.365) and then Rudd said: "I swear on my mother's grave that the Australian story is wrong, totally wrong, and that I've been loyal to you and will continue to be loyal to your leadership" (ibid). Latham's analysis of the situation was that he didn't mind baloney in politics but not in this form. According to Latham Rudd had rung "around Caucus to gauge the mood after our loss, and told Trish Crossin that my leadership was on notice" (Latham, 2005, p.365).

Well defined and communicated goals

In the campaign phase of the 2007 election both Gillard and Rudd exercised socially intelligent communication strategies to deliver their policy proposals to the Australian public. Their policy intentions were well expressed and widely distributed under centralised control to ensure the campaign brief was met. The same concentrated media approach was maintained when the Labor Party achieved government and in this context

the strategy was ineffective and no longer appropriate. Rather than ministers being able to convey communications concerning their specific portfolios they had to comply with dictates issued from above.

Of the campaign Rudd maintained that he had "worked his guts out" (Ferguson, 2015, 9th, 18th, 27th June). In the early stages of his political campaigning, it was suggested that Rudd appeared to lack a depth of experience and also the "common touch" (Macklin, 2007, p.viii) similar to that linked with former Labor leaders ranging from Chifley to Hawke. Others lauded Rudd's marketing adeptness at varying his speeches to suit the nature of the audiences he was addressing (Strangio et al., 2017, p.239). "Above all Rudd got the tone right. When voters tuned into Rudd they heard and sensed someone who was reasonable sensible and sincere-a safe reassuring alternative to Howard who by mid-year, along with the rest of his team, was sounding more and more desperate, even hysterical at times" (McKew, 2013, p.58). However, there was an acknowledgement that at other times Rudd "was a puzzle. In private or small gatherings he could be persuasive and sophisticated, but on other occasions, he seemed to struggle with deciding which Kevin the public should see" (McKew, 2013, p, 153). As part of imparting his goals as potential Prime Minister Rudd also began regular appearances on a morning breakfast program on the Channel 7 network. Gillard described Rudd's navigation of the 2007 election strategy as "awe inspiring. He showed constant tactical agility" (Gillard, 2014, p.7). "Rudd was out there, day after day, urging, nudging, persuading Australians to take this step, and in the process, to engineer a major historic shift by putting an end to the Howard years" (McKew, 2013, p.61). Previously Rudd had demonstrated his prodigious energy with regard to election campaigning when he electioneered for his first attempt at gaining a seat in parliament for the marginal seat of Griffith in Queensland Australia. "He door-knocked thirty-two thousand houses" (Macklin, 2007, p.98) but did not succeed in winning the seat as an anti-Labor swing had taken effect across the country.

Until the defeat in Griffith Rudd had experienced an uninterrupted realisation of his career goals. The impact of the loss in Griffith resulted in the "the fortress of emotional security he had built around himself with such singled minded intensity [having] simply melted away" (Macklin, 2007, p.100). Rudd then formed his own company called Australia China Consultancies that targeted businesses wanting to export or seek investment opportunities in China, with KPMG as his biggest client. Rudd also contemplated a return to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade but thought it unlikely that Alexander

Downer the then Foreign Minister (1996-2007) and a former rival of Rudd's within the Department, would approve. In 1998 Rudd sought once again to enter politics and was successful in defeating Graeme McDougall 52.4 per cent to 47.6 percent in preselection, becoming the serving member for the Federal Division of Griffith (Macklin, 2007, p.104). Having achieved his goal of securing a parliamentary seat, Rudd then embarked on a persistent course to advance his career (Strangio et al., 2017) as he had done in the Department of Foreign Affairs (Macklin, 2007). This same resolve was applied to the electioneering in the 2007 election.

The issue with the marketing campaign that surrounded the election strategy of 2007 was that it was based on a 'smoke and mirrors' effect, according to Gillard. However, the electioneering was "masterful" bringing with it "the vibe and energy for our victory" (Gillard, 2014, p.7). Concomitantly it also raised the spectre of public expectations to such an extent that they never could be fulfilled: "Kevin was human, Kevin 07 was hype. For everyone who becomes a brand, there is a dangerous space between reality and image" (Gillard, 2014, p.7). In essence, from a social intelligence perspective the quintessence of the campaign was a lie, but the election was won. Gillard wrote later that Rudd was unable to evolve from electioneering mode to strategic governance, which "has different imperatives and requires different skills. Transitions offer important lessons for governing" (Gillard in Tiernan, 2008, p.2).

Rudd promoted climate change as the significant point of difference between himself and Prime Minister John Howard (Ferguson, 2015). He was also keen to see the establishment of an emissions trading scheme but Gillard was not an advocate as she saw it as electorally toxic. Gillard's critical focus was on addressing the Coalition's Policy of 'Work Choices'. Beazley had concentrated his commitment on winding back the policy and dispensing with Australian Workplace Agreements that were part of the Work Choices proposal and other Labor Party members thought that this would be sufficient. Gillard took a broader strategic focus mediating between the rights of employees and curbed union and corporate power. "The flashpoint was that the average Australian believes in employee rights. But they don't believe in vested interests and they don't believe in union power" (Kent, 2009, p.241).

Once they were in parliament, Rudd continued to exercise media messaging but rather than well-communicated policy goals from all of the parliamentarians concerning their

specific policy, briefs, communiqués, were controlled centrally. Daily missives were issued to Members of Parliament by the Rudd government on the topics scripted for that day that had to be rote learnt and replicated in any media interactions. This prevented members of parliament appearing to connect with any real-world issues that constituents were facing and, worse still, from a social intelligence perspective, presented a "dumbing down of democracy" (McKew, 2013, p.109). In her communications with the media, Kent (2009) observed that Gillard was adept at ensuring that she controlled the agenda in interviews rather than the journalists. "She is expert at switching topics and following interviewers' leads. She says what she wants and nothing more" (Kent, 2009, p.281). As a consequence, Kent (2009) perceived that Gillard had a propensity to sound somewhat robotic in her responses when staying on point regarding her intended messages. One of Gillard's media specialists also advised McKew that she needed to make a faster exit from press conferences held in situ at childcare centres or schools rather than linger and expand on any explanations pertaining to policy. Her office staff was advised that she needed to forego her journalist perspective.

Negative press towards Gillard began as a consequence of her being one of several Labor politicians to query increases to the age pension, which was leaked to the media. Gillard said that in spite of wanting to endorse the policy, she expressed her unease because of the concerns of the Treasury about the projected costs of the scheme twenty years into the future. However, when Gillard was assured that the $50 billion cost could be afforded, she supported the increase (ABC News Australia, 2010). The pension increases entailed raising of the pension base rate and gave single pensioners an additional $207 per fortnight and couples $236.

Gillard had been less cautious about the spending program attached to the Building the Education Revolution program (BER) because that was the key focus of her policy agenda. Prudence in this policy field may have offered greater support to other areas in need. The 2009 Federal Budget committed $47.4 billion dollars to school funding and at the end $16 billion was allocated to infrastructure projects for schools over three years. Primary schools could seek up to $3 million in funding for school halls or libraries. Despite support from Gillard's specialist advisor, McKew's suggestion that the guidelines be broadened to incorporate early learning centres as an option, Gillard elected not to include it. More positively Gillard did give a level of autonomy to McKew, especially in

the design of new national standards for the operation of childcare centres and the design of the Early Years Learning Framework (McKew, 2013).

Rudd was still sensitive about not achieving his aspirations with regard to global emissions targets at the Climate Change Summit in Copenhagen in 2009 and then Gillard advised him that she would not support an election based on the necessity of action on climate change. Despite attempts by Rudd to change Gillard's mind, he was unsuccessful, and observers suggest that this became a linchpin of where the tone of the relationship between Rudd and Gillard changed (McKew, 2013). In abandoning his pursuit of this policy, "Rudd was repudiating a key part of his political persona" (McKew, 2013, p.176). More broadly it was perceived that the ideals professed so easily by Rudd had been just another political expediency. Additionally, it had ramifications for the long term standing of the government and perceptions of its pursuits. "Gillard was the architect of her own demise…In forcing a policy backflip on a cause she herself had advocated during the 2007 campaign, she defined herself forever as just another political operator and forfeited any claim to be seen as a leader of conviction" (McKew, 2013, p.197).

Vision and priorities

Both Gillard's and Rudd's political policy intentions were influenced by their formative years and augmented by their work experiences prior to entering politics. After seven years with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), Rudd had become dissatisfied with the lack of power attached to the role of a bureaucrat. Rudd said: "In bureaucracy, you can write policy, but it's the politicians who actually implement policy. I've got to be in the political game to make a difference" (Rudd in Marriner, 2006). To that end he applied to become Chief of Staff to Queensland's opposition leader Wayne Goss in 1988, having declined a posting in London with the Office of National Assessments, an Australian Intelligence Agency (Marriner, 2006). He became Chief of Staff without resigning his position with DFAT by making use of a precedent that previously had only been applied to young department members participating in secondments to the offices of state premiers. Rudd argued that the same leeway should be applied to him, albeit that he was going to work for an opposition leader. His stated motive for working with Goss was that he wanted to contribute to the removal of any vestiges of the conservative Joh Bjelke-Petersen government and he believed that Goss

had the skill base to undertake this task (Macklin, 2007). Wayne Goss won the election in 1989 and held the position of Premier of Queensland until the 19th February 1996. Therese Rein [Rudd's wife] described her husband's career move at that stage as "gestalt" (Macklin, 2007, p.82). She believed it was the right thing to do, at the right time, for the right cause. His leave from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade had been extended for a second period and, in the meantime, he was promoted to the Senior Executive Service in DFAT.

According to Joan Kirner[20] Gillard had a long term aspiration to be either the minister or shadow minister for education and that a foremost consideration that had prevailed since her student days was the notion of equal access to educational opportunities linked to the broader economic benefits for Australia in terms of an educated population (Kent, 2009). "Policy makers now accept that investing wisely in knowledge, skills, and innovation is one of the best means available to ensure long term prosperity, leading to both overall economic growth and to better education and work opportunities" (Gillard in Kent, 2009, p.264). Gillard's philosophy on educational practices was influenced by Joel Klein who had been a prominent lawyer and then moved on to the position of Chancellor of the Department of Education of New York City. Klein subscribed to the view that systems needed to be in place to track performance-based assessments of teachers and their impact on their student's results (Kent, 2009). Gillard focussed her prime ministerial portfolio on early childhood through to tertiary studies.

The choice to study law had been influenced by the mother of twin girls who were Gillard's friends since primary school. Gillard had conveyed to Marlene Pilowksy that she was contemplating becoming a school teacher and Marlene Pilowsky, aware of Gillard's excellent debating skills, logical thinking and excellent memory, encouraged Gillard to align her career choice with these skills and become a lawyer (Kent, 2009) and so Gillard began to give this some thought. Despite most in her circle opting for science or medicine, Gillard did choose law combined with the arts, including economics and English. Mandy Cornwall, a friend she met at University was very active in student politics and encouraged Gillard to join the Labor Club of the university. At the same time,

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[20] Joan Kirner was the 42nd Premier of Victoria and served from 1990-1992 http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-01/former-victorian-premier-joan-kirner-dies/6513086.

Gillard also joined the Australian Labor Party. Mandy Cornwall's father was a well-known figure in the Australian Labor Party and subsequently a state member of parliament.

Gillard graduated with a BA, LLB from Melbourne University and began working as a solicitor at Slater and Gordon, an industrial law firm in 1987 progressing to the role of partner in 1990 where she stayed until 1995. Gillard's work at the firm focused primarily on employee rights after unfair dismissals and workplace disputes. While still employed with the firm, Gillard altered her career aspirations towards Federal politics. In 1996, Gillard entered the political world by becoming John Brumby's (the then Opposition Leader of the State of Victoria) Chief-of-Staff; another shared career experience with Rudd. She served as Brumby's Chief-of-Staff until 1998, when she ran for the Federal seat of Lalor for the Australian Labor Party and was subsequently elected.

In one of his first acts on entering the role of Prime Minister Rudd called the 2020 Summit in Canberra for the 19th April 2008, emulating Hayden and Hawke's strategy. One thousand and two delegates had been hand-picked and invited from across Australia to participate in the two-day forum which, through a free expression of ideas was to steer Australia's development into the future. The banner that welcomed participants was "Australia 2020-Thinking Big". In his address to the summit, Rudd articulated that Australia had two options. The choice was either, for Australia to take charge of its future, or for the future to dictate Australia's path. "I don't want to have to explain to my kids, and perhaps their kids, too, that we failed to act: that we avoided the tough decisions; that we failed to prepare Australia for its future challenges" (Rudd in Stuart, 2010, p1). Ten areas had been identified for specific attention: the economy; productivity; governance; rural industry and communities; supporting families; the creative arts; health; indigenous Australia; international security; and population, sustainability, climate change and water (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008). Notionally the summit offered optimism in terms of the generation of ideas despite it traversing across only two days. Controversy surfaced due to the absence of a broader mix of people in the invitee list which, it was argued, precluded frank discussions and challenges to the status quo. This aspect, melded with the lack of strategies and support systems after the summit to follow-up on the ideas generation to an implementation stage made the endeavour "rather like some kind of very big PR stunt" (Stuart, 2010, p.6). The summit could quintessentially model a characteristic of Prime Minister Rudd's tenure. "The PM articulated many people's needs

and ideas with crystalline specificity". He stirred excitement and a belief in possibilities. "And yet…and yet…nothing happened" (Stuart, 2010, p.9). A senior public servant summed it up this way. "I'd give him a distinction for visions and a fail for execution" (Stuart, 2010, p.10). Rudd would work night and day but the effectiveness of this method was queried. In one example Prime Minister Rudd had convened a weekend meeting with senior public servants but rather than engaging in some worthwhile activity it was deemed akin to 'King' Rudd holding court on items previously decided (Stuart, 2010). Public servants also "want to feel their work is at least considered and appreciated too" (Weller, 2014, p.159).

Gillard's first message to the Australian people as Prime Minister was, according to McKew (2013), not that of a socially inspired vision by a socially intelligent leader but almost disciplinary, telling the Australian people they should set their alarm clocks to an early time:

> "And we have always acknowledged that access to opportunity comes with obligations to seize that opportunity. To work hard, to set your alarm clocks early, to ensure your children are in school. We are the party of work not welfare, that's why we respect the efforts of the brickie and look with a jaundiced eye at the lifestyle of the socialite" (Gillard, 2011, March 21st).

The missive did lack a broad based socially intelligent message of governance by the new Prime Minister. In combination with the failure to explain the change in leadership to the bulk of Australia's citizens, the message only reaffirmed an activity they already engaged in each day. It offered no inspiration or expressions of hope for the future.

Skilful cabinet and party management

On the eve of becoming Opposition Leader, Rudd had expressed publicly how he intended to operate in the Prime Ministerial role. He advised that the one-hundred-year-old tenet of the Caucus determining the ministry would be abandoned. "I'll be leading this show, and when it comes to the outcomes that I want, I intend to get them. I don't particularly care if anyone has opposing views; that's what's going to happen" (Jackman, 2008, p.92). However, despite his original assertions in the process of establishing the Caucus, Rudd consulted with Gillard and two faction members to put in place a representative Ministry (Strangio et al., 2017). The leadership style that Rudd was to

apply in his Prime Ministerial role had already revealed itself in his work with Premier Wayne Goss. He demonstrated immense drive, an intense work ethic and displayed an insatiable inclination for data to be supplied to him. Concomitantly, he was exceedingly dictatorial, inclined to bullying behaviours, narcissistic in his thinking, inconsiderate with regard to adhering to agreed meeting times and fixated with the finer points of policy details. "Narcissists have a strong sense of entitlement and a constant need for attention and admiration. They are arrogant and consider themselves to be superior to others" (Academy of Management Insights, 2017)

An observation was also made that under his leadership, Rudd singularly halted the organisational administration of the government (Strangio et al., 2017). "His office was nicknamed the 'black hole' because briefs would vanish and nothing would emerge. The government's agenda appeared to swing suddenly and wildly. One moment there would be frenzied progress on an issue until it seemed intractable; it would simply be left in limbo" (Stuart, 2010, viii). It had been the same story in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Rudd was likened to a spider as a result of proposals that he didn't like becoming entangled in a web of bureaucracy. Unless Rudd was convinced regarding the merits of what was proposed, the suggestions would sit inactive (Stuart, 2010). For Rudd the composition of any advice "had to be linear and logical: if A, then B and so C. Yet his advisers say that he could think laterally in a way that often surprised them, pulling in information from other fields and applying them to the topic of discussion" (Weller, 2014, p.304). Rudd's preferred option of an "exhaustive, rational data-based approach, a determination to get the right answer, had its problems. If the answer was not clear, then it needed more analysis, more study more data. That search for an answer could lead to paralysis: wanting everything precluded interim, incremental steps on the way to that target" (Weller, 2014, p.307). His briefings were to be supplied on paper and written with Arial typeface, to be double spaced and to be presented in the following way. "What is the issue at hand? What is the context for it? What's our position? What's the other side's position? What's your recommendation?" (Weller, 2014, p.314) He wanted statistics, numbers, costings and supportive detail. Indeed, he had a seven question matrix. The critical deficit was that the same attention to detail had not applied in the implementation stages of policy, with unsatisfactory consequences.

Rudd was not mindful of others and was often late to meetings, causing a domino effect with other meetings having to be cancelled. He would arrive for his meetings when he

was prepared rather than when they were scheduled. Public servants might be waiting for ninety minutes before Rudd arrived for their meeting. Weller (2014) wrote in Rudd's favour that this was not the result of Rudd wanting to exert power but a consequence of his not wanting to leave a meeting until he was satisfied with what he needed to know. Weller (2014) contended that "Rudd's schedule ran to his own demands and priorities. This is a defensible proposition, but it can be frustrating for those sitting and waiting" (Weller, 2014, p.313). Weller (2014) then conceded that over time such an approach mattered.

Rudd was clearly not engaged in any 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) about the workloads that were imposed on public servants and his staff. Making people wait for hours beyond the scheduled time for meetings as well as being disrespectful, also evokes a level of humiliation towards the recipients. In sheer economic terms, it is also a significant waste of people's work time, and given Rudd's demands on public servants' workloads, such an approach was counterproductive. To conclude as Weller (2014) did that there was some vindication for Rudd's schedule only to address his own significances and requirements is anathema to socially intelligent leadership. He wrote: "This was not simply a characteristic of being Prime Minister and keeping people waiting to show who was boss" (Weller 2014, p.313). Whatever the intent the perception of those on the receiving end of such behaviour would have been precisely that they were low in the pecking order of Rudd's priorities.

The less agreeable side of Rudd's character was reflected in an early childhood anecdote told by his brother Greg Rudd that happened when Prime Minister Rudd was eight years old. After their older brother Malcolm Rudd had left to join the army, the two younger brothers moved into his room. The brothers also shared a chest of drawers, but Rudd liked to organise his clothes and kept them neatly while his brother Greg Rudd was the complete opposite. One day Greg Rudd came home to find his brother extremely uptight and irritated. "I have this perfect picture of him. I walked in one night and he was standing at the chest of drawers very tense and annoyed, so tense he was almost shaking, and he said, "Is it so hard to pick up those socks and put them in the drawer?" Whilst laughing Greg Rudd says he will never forget the incident (Macklin, 2007, pp. 20-21). Such deep anger at his brother Greg Rudd anticipates the intensely angry responses Rudd displayed in the course of his Prime Ministership when confronted by situations where he was not able to craft total control. On a flight from Port Moresby to Canberra in 2009 Prime

Minister Rudd requested a specific meal without meat. When he was advised that his request could not be met, he shouted at the RAAF cabin stewardess and reduced her to tears resulting in the incident being reported to the senior attendant and an official incident report being filed by the flight crew. "All of us are human, I'm human, and I'm not perfect. If I upset anybody on that particular flight, I'm sorry, I apologise for it. We all make mistakes, your Prime Minister included" (Coorey, 2009, 3rd April; Szmolnik, 2012). A similar occurrence was cited as taking place on a flight in 2008 when Prime Minister Rudd wanted to have a hot meal as opposed to gourmet sandwiches (ibid).

A destabilising element of Gillard's leadership was linked to the ongoing departmental and portfolio changes she made. As a consequence, public servants were in the position of coming into work with no awareness of who their new minister might be together with ongoing departmental name changes (Ferguson, 2015). Gillard implemented measures without prior discussions with relevant parties or due process. The incumbent member for the Northern Territory, Trish Crossin was told by Gillard the night before a public announcement, that Gillard would be seeking the National Executive's support for Nova Peris, former Olympian Gold Medallist and Aboriginal activist to be accepted as a member of the Labor Party and then endorsement as the candidate for Trish Crossin's seat (Packham, 2013). However, Gillard was deemed far more attentive and accessible to her colleagues. "In return, she enjoyed a rapport with, and the respect of most colleagues" (Strangio et al., 2014, p.267). "Great leaders have great self-awareness and social awareness; they also know how to manage themselves and relationships to get the most out of others" (Gillard in Martin, 2014). Underscoring self-awareness is a clear understanding of your own strengths and weaknesses, which lends itself to being more perceptive about other people and having a favourable influence on them and so goes to the core of leadership capabilities. Social awareness entails sympathy at both individual and group level circumstances and attached to these two social intelligence strengths are the exercising of self- control and relationship management with others. These are strengths which have been referenced about Nelson Mandela and his endurance through twenty-seven years in captivity and in his leadership role thereafter (Samson, 1999; Martin, 2013). "Rudd denied himself the one thing that might have made a difference: a robust contest of ideas across the ministry and across the caucus" (McKew, 2013, p.156). Similarly, Gillard expressed: "It is a regret that I did not reach out much more often, to seek out other perspectives" (Gillard, 2014, p.357).

As with Gillard's office nothing of substance was determined without Rudd's awareness or his inherent consent (McKew, 2013; Weller, 2014). In the Rudd government, insufficient information was communicated across the ministry and caucus and the real decision making became centralised under the 'Strategic Priorities and Budget Committee'. Once the committee had made its decisions, they were brought forward to the Cabinet for endorsement and discussion rather than the opportunity to influence the decision that had already been made (McKew, 2013). While one minister was prepared to say that Rudd chaired Cabinet meetings well and conferred with his colleagues the additional reflection was: "It's inarguable that the 'gang of four' decided too much in advance" (McKew, 2013, p.115). Working with Rudd was not comfortable; he focused on the results, not the people. Consequently, neither the staff nor the policies prospered. No 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) operated in the confines of Rudd's office. A socially intelligent leader would appreciate that outcomes are connected with the way people are treated. "He joked that working in his office was a dog's life: one year there was the equivalent of seven years in a normal job" (Weller, 2014, p.320). The work and health pressures that were placed on the public service regarding policy rollouts such as the Home Insulation Scheme and flaws in the implementation process were high (Anonymous, Conversation Two, 2017). The act of leading becomes a compulsion in itself; as with all addictions the act is subject to misuse as well as being difficult to surrender. "There was never enough applause, approval, love. He always craved the next hit of a good poll and the hit after that" (Gillard, 2014, p.6), was Gillard's appraisal of Rudd's tenure. Public profiling of political leaders highlights the social intelligence dichotomies present in individual leaders. Abjorensen (2012) suggests that Rudd was capable of macro-level empathy but deficient at the interpersonal level and in connecting with others. In the same vein, Queensland Premier Anna Bligh (2007-2012) was praised for her leadership in keeping Australians up to date with the flood crisis in Queensland in 2011. In contrast, she was criticised at different times for other areas of her leadership (Marszalek, 2011; Moore & Hurst, 2010). Bligh empathetically observed of the experience of those in the floods: "I imagine being on the rooftop in the dark, in the pouring rain, and no one knows I'm there, and the water's rising and you're just so terrified. Some people were elderly. I was trying to imagine my mother sitting on a rooftop in the dark at three o'clock in the morning." As it transpired, when the floods arrived in Brisbane, Bligh's mother was evacuated. "It made it very real. I wasn't

imagining this – I was evacuating my mum" (Baker, 2011, p.38). "An accident of weather gave her the opportunity to be her state's nurturing mother, soothing and comforting her wounded constituents" (Caro, 2013, p.28). The significance of the praise for Bligh was that her compassionate approach contrasted with that of the then incumbent Prime Minister Julia Gillard's remoteness. Emeritus Professor Ross Fitzgerald said of Bligh: "She has done extremely well with a combination of appearing to be in control but of caring deeply". By comparison he described Gillard as follows: "… Prime Minister Gillard has seemed wooden and not caring. I am not saying that she doesn't care; it's just she doesn't appear to care" (Fitzgerald, in Davies, 2011, p.4).

Creation of unity versus dissent:

McKew (2013) did attribute culpability for disunity to Rudd: "Where he needed to charm, he scolded. Instead of cultivating loyalists among back benchers, too often he ignored them. He is a leader who makes few allowances for people who don't share his own obsessions or can't work to his timetable" (McKew, 2013, p.193). Rudd's propensity to slow down the processing of necessary documentation prompted some staff to apply alternative strategies in order to get things done. "Rudd appeared unable to delegate decision-making and, as a result, his time was always overstretched. Public servants became frustrated and confused" (Stuart, 2010, p.10). Their solution was to propose things when Gillard was in the acting Prime Minister role as she was renowned for her efficiency. Others were also progressively more and more irritated by the work practices that Rudd employed. A colleague, the Member for the seat of Gellibrand in Victoria, Nicola Roxon (1998-2013), intimated that although Rudd was difficult he was always amiable with her but that she disapproved of the way he abused other staff. Not only was he rude to them, he trivialised their work and tore it up (Ferguson, 2015). Gillard's amiability could also not to be taken for granted especially when she deemed someone idle or inept. There would be no uncertainty concerning her anger: "There is a view in the bureaucracy that she has a tongue that could etch glass, and it is not a good idea to get on the wrong side of her" (Kent, 2009, p.277). Kent (2009) also hints at the "touch of the bully" (Kent, 2009, p.235) in Gillard's character having emerged through the course of a debate in 2007 on ABC television in Australia between Gillard and the Coalition's Parliamentary Secretary Christopher Pyne. "It's as if she has sized Pyne up and knows she can pick him off as if he were the weak kid in the playground" (ibid). Gillard's

colleagues too frequently labelled Gillard as "tough as nails, strong and unflinching" (Delahunty, 2014, p.9).

Rudd was also said to operate sans sleep and on a twenty-four hour a day basis. He placed outlandish demands on both staff and bureaucrats that included an insistence on briefing papers on everything. The same level of preciseness was not applied in the policy execution stages. Weller (2014) attributed Rudd's information seeking to his propensity to find the penultimate solution to any policy issues and his analytic rather than intuitive approach with Rudd only sometimes acting on his instincts. The end result was that Rudd's leadership approach was running contrary to the effective running of the government. Decision-making was in a continuous loop of being thwarted because it was dependent on Rudd's decree of approval and he was either too busy to do so, or he placed additional demands for information rather than reaching a judgement based on the information that had already been provided (Strangio et al., 2017). "With Rudd it can be a question of: Who told you about B? Why did you not decide on A? He's got to know where everything comes from. He has to know everything, and it can take a long time to get things through" (Kent, 2009, p.277). Matters were made more complicated because of Rudd's frantic flitting between different policy matters that all had to be confronted at once, albeit that realistically their resolution timelines might range in scope from weeks to years. The challenge was the need to set priorities and manage the different policy areas and to continue to keep the electorate apprised (Weller, 2014), but control of the messages to the public became more important than the achievement and major policy announcements were made in succession. In his oratory, Rudd was prone to exaggerating the hurdles that needed to be surmounted with regard to the articulation of policies and similarly he inflated the pledges with respect to policy delivery. Strangio et al. (2017) highlighted the notion of the "education revolution" as an example (Strangio et al., 2017, p.242). Rudd's micromanagement revealed significant deficits in his leadership and demonstrated "an inherent lack of capacity of other people-with the exception of a small inner circle-as well as an inability to delegate. In his own mind, everything depended on him" (Strangio et al, 2017, p.241).

Terry Moran, Secretary to the Prime Minister and Cabinet (2008 to 2011), argued that there were other ministers in Cabinet that usurped Rudd with their discourteousness towards public servants (Ferguson, 2015).. The reasoning presented by Moran suggests

that because others were worse than Rudd that somehow by default this in some way absolved Kevin Rudd from his abhorrent behaviour because it was the norm.

First, it might reasonably be expected that a Prime Minister set an exemplar for other staff and that from a professional and occupational health and safety perspective employees are entitled to complete their work without being subjected to such bullying behaviours. There was no notion of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) of the staff under Rudd's leadership auspices. Treasury Secretary Ken Henry (2001-2011) wrote that Rudd took on a lot of work and by default, this placed significant pressure on public servants to the point where it became analogous to a train wreck. Rudd's response to the volume of work that public servants had to contend with was that this could have been mitigated by them being assertive and advising him that they already had too much work on (Ferguson, 2015). This avenue might have been more successful had Rudd's colleagues intervened and lent their support to the public servants' concerns.

"Institutions have an independent existence too, with their own interests and futures to preserve" (Weller, 1989, p.4). The public service, for example, can proffer major support to the prime ministerial candidate, through the provision of sound advice, solid research and immediacy of services. However, it is also essential to recognise that the public service has its own expectations as to the appropriateness of the demands made upon it and the right way of doing things (ibid). For example, the relationship with the Public Service became a significant issue for Rudd during his tenure. Of Rudd it has been said: "It is doubtful if a more toxic relationship between a prime minister and his senior ministers and officials has ever existed" (Abjorensen, 2012).

A firm record of accomplishments

As Strangio et al. (2017) suggested that akin to any job, successful attainments are dependent on the capabilities of the incumbent. Gillard and Rudd were well educated intelligent people who had complementary skills but individual deficiencies. The most dominant being a failure to exercise delegation in responsibilities which is a critical component in socially intelligent leadership. Entrusting others facilitates a focus on the broader picture, provides developmental opportunities, spreads workloads and allows divergent opinions and solutions into decision making. Hawke suggested that history will treat Gillard relatively kindly due to the circumstances of the minority government and

internal problems with Rudd and others. Although it was not a resounding endorsement, Hawke specified that Gillard "did some good things in education, the environment" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.101). Hawke was reluctant to articulate his views concerning Rudd, because he didn't want to "hurt the man" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.101) and because any commentary that he would proffer would have to be honest and, in that case, it would not be to Rudd's liking. Nonetheless, Hawke did suggest that Rudd's apology to the Aboriginal people would always evoke positive memories towards Rudd (Hawke, 2014). On the 13th February 2008, Rudd had issued a National Apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples and more specifically to the Stolen Generations.

> "We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians. We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities, and their country" (Parliament of Australia, 2008).

The National Apology was one of fifty-four recommendations from the Bringing Them Home Report that was tabled in Parliament in 1997. It was the final publication pertaining to the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (O'Brien, 2018). Latham (2005) indicated that the apology was part of Latham's political agenda to counter Howard (Latham, 2005)

Rudd cited his own achievements as being leader of a team that allowed Australia to get through the recession without mass unemployment, the securing of a seat for Australia within the G20 and the United Nations Security Council, the establishment of the National Broadband Network, paid parental leave, the Education Revolution and the delivery of the biggest pension rise in Australia's history (Jones, 2013).

The Rudd Government's policy of Building the Education Revolution entailed a school upgrading programme, that resulted in considerable critical commentary from the media and Coalition Party and the government failed to counter this (Althaus, Bridgman & Davis, 2013). While reputable firms delivered significant infrastructure upgrades to schools, other projects suffered from price gouging because there was insufficient oversight of the programme and measures had not been in place to prevent this from happening (Klan, 2011).

Similarly, the rapid roll-out of the Home Insulation Scheme together with the expanse of the programme resulted in a failed implementation process. More significantly, lives were lost, and as a result the programme was shut down (Ferguson, 2015). Senior Environmental Department Bureaucrat Malcolm Forbes outlined a causal connection between Prime Minister Rudd and the time and workload stresses encountered by public servants to achieve delivery of the home insulation program. The $2.8 billion programme was announced on the 2nd February 2009 and the specified roll out date was the 1st July 2009, only five months later (Hawke, A. 2010). In addressing the Commission of Inquiry. Malcolm Forbes advised that in his thirty-three years as a public servant he had never confronted such an onerous task. When he was asked by the Commissioner Ian Hanger QC what was so all-important about the 1st July Forbes replied that this had been the edict from the Prime Minister. The character of the public service meant that an instruction from the Prime Minister needed to be articulated: "Once a decision is made, the public service has to get on and deliver it for the government" (Madigan, 2014, p.23). The intention of the programme had been to stimulate the local market economy in the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis. Without regulation the programme became overrun by installers with inadequate qualifications. The consequence was four deaths and over a hundred house fires and the scheme was terminated in early 2010 (Madigan, 2014). In addition, a public servant reported that employees within the department charged with the roll-out of the programme suffered long term psychological impacts as a consequence of the pressures that were placed on them to articulate the programme (Anonymous, Conversation Two, 2017). Keating's response to the Royal Commission and the insulation scheme was the "Libs always fight dirty" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.613). Rudd's response to leaked reproaches by public servants about their hours of work was not the hallmark of a socially intelligent leader:

> "I understand that there has been some criticism around the edges that that some public servants are finding the hours a bit much. Well, I suppose I've simply got news for the public service – there'll be more. The work ethic of this government will not decrease. It will increase" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.244).

Additional policy failures included web-based programmes that were intended to assist consumers with identifying better pricing options through grocery choice and fuel watch. A seventy per cent tax was also introduced on alcopops [soft drinks or fruit juice combined with alcohol] to combat underage drinking, especially in younger women. The

result of the tax was an increase in the purchase of cheaper spirits and drinkers concocting their own drink combinations. Similarly, the institution of plain packaging legislation for cigarettes that was intended to reduce smoking levels had a limited impact. Figures circulated in 2014 signalled that in fact an increase of 0.3 increase had ensued with an extra 59 million cigarettes being purchased (Devine, 2014).

A successful policy outcome by the Gillard government was the use of the APEC summit to secure support for a regional deal to open up the market in the higher education sphere and the achievement of an agreement between APEC's twenty one countries to participate in a five per cent limit to tariffs applied to environmental products (Delahunty, 2014).

The broader track record of the Gillard government is varied. Despite the circumstance of a minority government 561 bills were steered through the parliament and achieved Royal Assent. Funding for the initiatives remains an ongoing concern. One of the most socially intelligent policy discernments of the Gillard government was the introduction of a National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS). The program was implemented as DisabilityCare Australia with a 0.5 percent increase in the Medicare levy to be assigned to a dedicated fund. Gillard also established the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (Johnson, 2013). The other significant policy legacy was the repeal of the Howard governments 'Work Choices' legislation with the newly dubbed 'Fair Work Laws'. The Work Choice Act of 2006 had erred too strongly in favour of employers over employees and was predicated on an assumption that employers would do the right thing by their workers and that the power differentials could be reconciled (Gillard, 2014). Johnson (2013) lists Gillard's accomplishments as: reforms in secondary education and increased accessibility to tertiary education, despite associated funding cuts to the tertiary sector; improved salaries in areas such as child-care; the introduction of paid parental leave; increased safeguards against prejudicial behaviours in the context of gender identity; a continuation of the implementation of the National Broadband Network and the introduction of a carbon price (Johnson, 2013). The latter is more accurately described as a carbon tax and was repealed in July 2014. The mining tax did not gain the anticipated revenue streams and the carbon tax generated adverse community reaction due to severe increases in utility costs for consumers.

Enhanced country after their prime ministerial term

The global financial crisis (GFC) became the Rudd government's most pressing challenge (National Museum of Australia, 2018). Rudd was acclaimed for the navigation of the 'Global Financial Crisis' (McKew, 2013). Keating criticised Labor, and the Rudd government for not using the traction of the achievement to promote the Labor Party. "We got through the GFC, but we treated it as a cameo event. We missed the opportunity to capitalise on the achievement by contextualising it (Keating in McKew, 2013, p.18). Australia's navigation of the Global Financial Crisis has to be contextualised. It is important to note that the Labor Party had inherited a $20 billion surplus on securing government in 2007 and after the prime ministerial terms of Rudd and Gillard, Australia's debt was the highest it had been since World War II (Ferguson, 2015, 9th, 18th, 27th June). As Gowdie (2017) has signalled, the typecasting of banks as felons and the Australian government as a hero denies a more socially intelligent perspective that indicates that the positives of stimulus packages need to be offset by the reduction of a reliance on excessive government credit. The Rudd stimulus package cost $42 billion. Australian workers earning $80,000 dollars or less received a one-off payment of $950. Those earning between $80,000 and $90,000 $650 and employees on wages between $90,000 and $100,000 received $300. Also, $26 billion was targeted towards roads, school infrastructure, and homes. Sy (2019) contends that rather than the stimulus package, other factors were in play that prevented Australia from entering into a recession. He attributes both the increase in net immigration at this time and the impact of this population growth on Australia's gross domestic product (GDP) together with the mineral boom and the net effects of exports made to China. In reality, the stimulus package addressed short-term needs, did not mitigate financial hardship considerations of Australians in the longer term and has caused enduring intergenerational debt (Sy, 2019).

The spectre of another critical leadership position for Rudd began after his Australian political career with his attempts to secure the role of Secretary-General of the United Nations. An application for this role required the endorsement of Australia's incumbent government headed by Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull (2015-2018) (Borello & Anderson, 2016). Turnbull announced publicly that in the context of the position, the first step had to be a determination of whether the person would be suitable for the job. Turnbull resolved that Rudd would not be appropriate (Kelly, 2016; News.com.au. 2016)

as he lacked the requisite relational and dispositional skills. Turnbull indicated that he was also aware that some of Rudd's former centre-left Labor Party government colleagues had described their former leader as a "control freak" and a "narcissistic psychopath" (Kelly, 2016, 8th August). Rudd stuck by his assertions that Turnbull had initially supported his bid and it was on this basis that he had spent two years unofficially lobbying governments around the world to support his campaign. A day after Turnbull's statement, Rudd gave an address to Young Labor members at a branch meeting in Brisbane. Rudd conveyed to them that he had a "dark secret" (ibid) to share with them concerning their future interactions with formal political processes.

"Sometimes it will turn to s...t and sometimes it won't work out perfectly. I have had a modest experience in this, just a little bit around the edges, including yesterday. It's part of the collective scar tissue of life. Unless you are confident about the values that you stand for ... you've got to have that to hang on to when you get thrown into one of the brick walls of life. Otherwise, you're just cut to bits" (Kelly, 2016, 8th August).

Today Show Image Channel Nine Sydney 5th August 2016.

Conclusion

Both Gillard and Rudd lacked the capacity for introspection and apportioned blame to others rather than themselves, for the events that occurred. It was Gillard's poor

judgements that set in motion the significant political upheaval that was experienced in Australian politics. "It was Gillard who made Rudd the leader of the Labor Party in 2006; it was Gillard who destroyed Rudd as prime minister in 2010; and it was Gillard's political ineptitude in 2013 that made possible Rudd's recall" (Kelly, 2014, p.xiv). Assessments of Gillard as a leader range from a level of disagreement with her actions (Hessey, 2013, p.132) to the more explicit. "Gillard was not a great leader. She made many mistakes, often appearing to have a tin ear for communicating to the public, an inability to stand by her convictions or even convince us she really had any" (Caro, 2013, p.29). Caro does go on to say that despite this Gillard was more effective in the role than she is credited with and given the circumstances of the hung parliament and the attendant challenges for a woman, a case can be made that she has been one of our better leaders. The latter observation ignores that the hung parliament was a direct consequence of the Labor Party and Gillard choosing to swap the leadership from Rudd and not articulating why this was done to the electorate, causing traditional voters of the Labor party to cast their votes elsewhere. Gillard's tenure is unique, not only because of her gender but also "its indelible association with political violence, by her own hand and then against her by her enemies. She became prime minister because of her political assassination of Kevin Rudd and she was deposed when Rudd retaliated in kind" (Kelly, 20114, p.xi).

The reflections after this analysis of Rudd and Gillard would indicate affiliations between the ambitious natures of Gillard and Rudd meant that they both overreached and impaired their perspicacity in the context of socially intelligent leadership. Both felt the need to exercise a level of control over others in order for their policies to be achieved rather than employing a mode of governance that dispersed responsibilities across the broader political team and reflected trust in their colleagues' capacity to play their part. In the case of Rudd this became overstated to the point of dysfunctionality. During this period the level of upheaval that was caused as a consequence of the switching of leaders had major ramifications for the Labor Party and more particularly the Australian public. On the political front, Hawke indicated that years later, the Labor Party was still in recovery mode as an after-effect of the leadership swapping that ensued between Rudd and Gillard. Further, Hawke observed that an ongoing issue is that the Labor Party has an absence of the calibre of people that Hawke had in his Cabinet (Hawke & Rielly, 2017). Representative leadership was replaced by a mire of politically ambitious competitiveness and poorly enacted policies. The chapter also illustrates that an individual's aspirations

towards prime ministerial leadership are not necessarily reflective of their capacity to fulfil such a role. As Sander (2012) signalled the striving for social prominence and power can be overcompensated for by excessive drive and inflated self-confidence that are variables that do not reflect the requisites for socially intelligent leadership. It must also be said that psychological fitness for a leadership role should also be an important consideration in light of the purview of such leadership roles. The mishandling of the implementation of schemes such as the home insulation program and education revolution had high social and economic costs. The introduction of the National Disability Insurance Scheme, albeit unfunded; the establishment of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (Johnson, 2013); and the repeal of Work Choices were positive contributions by the Gillard government.

The next chapter explores the prime ministerial term of Paul Keating and an analysis of the social intelligence exercised by him during his tenure as Prime Minister.

Chapter 6 **Prime Minister Paul Keating**. Australia's 23rd Prime Minister. Term as PM: 20 December 1991 - 11 March 1996. Born 18th January, 1944.

Globalisation. We are a part of Asia. Politics is about Ideas

"What they do not expect in a political personality is someone at the apex of international scholarship, in a particular movement or style….Appreciation of the subtleties of art, of the calibrations to greatness, of true subliminal talent can rarely be learned. There has to be a concomitant artistic impulse to see in a work all that its creator hoped could be represented."

(Keating, writing about himself. Keating, 2012, p.95).

"Paul Keating was always far more popular with the parliamentary press gallery than he was with the Australian Public"…. "His rhetorical performances at question time, involving fierce invective and heavy attacks on leading members of the opposition, commanded rave reviews from the gallery, but they left the average citizen, worried about his job or mortgage, cold and uninterested (Howard, 2010, pp189-190).

Introduction

This chapter analyses the socially intelligent leadership exercised by Prime Minister Paul Keating throughout his prime ministerial tenure. The decision to present Keating separately was done purposefully. Natural groupings of the Prime Ministers have been evoked from the information gathered throughout the research. These codifications have been made independent of the Prime Minister's political persuasions, with the pairing of Prime Minister's Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard in Chapter 5 being coincidental in the circumstance of their political affiliation but not in the context of the unit of analysis. In the assessment of Keating, there are greater contradictions to be accounted for in the appraisal of his social intelligence which precluded a combined chapter with one or more of the other Prime Ministers covered in this thesis. There was a volatility to Keating's practice of social intelligence, vacillating between extreme deficiencies in his attitudes, behaviours and actions, to notable exceptions. The discussion here begins with an overview of some of the contexts and influences that surrounded Keating's governance and behaviours, including relations between Keating and Hawke who had worked together from 1983-1991. Keating had served as Treasurer during Hawke's Prime Ministership, subsequently taking the leadership from Hawke on the 19th December 1991. The chapter then proceeds to address the research variables applied in the previous chapters.

Keating operated differently from his prime ministerial peers but quite frequently the data revealed that this distinction was not necessarily positive. Keating's speechwriter wrote that Keating was always inconsistent. He was temperate in one setting, vicious in another; he would gravitate between days when he was full of energy and concentration to days where inertia and detachment prevailed; he would be persistently obstinate when acquiescing was the more prudent option and mollifying where without difficulty or justifiably, he might have been irritated. He would be belligerent without cause, beyond the fact that his behaviour was not being witnessed or conversely because others were insistent that he not misbehave. Keating would fixate between perfection and order and creating turmoil and would pursue matters that would either hurt him, or regularly harm other people. Figuratively he would create disarray and anticipate that it would be remedied by others. Conversely, he would go to extreme lengths to prevent a person from being

hurt, utilise the almost unnatural good judgement to the most troublesome problems, perform with immense effectiveness and be a delight to be around (Watson, 2002). Watson (2002) concludes that something in Keating's life "had created these contradictory impulses" (Watson, 2002, p.62). He suggests that it might have been caused through the juxtaposition of a gentle father and an aspiring albeit loving mother.

His mother, and more particularly his grandmother, invested a lot of love in the young Keating. If he was admonished by his father, his grandmother would protest, refuse to eat, walking away from the table (O'Brien, 2015). In contrast with Min Keating's account in Watson (2002), Min said that Matt Keating never got cross with his eldest boy. Keating said, "I walked around with grandmotherly and motherly love, and I think it radiates for you and gives you that kind of inner confidence" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.10). Watson (2002) writes about how Min Keating's love for her son showed in practice. When Keating was in his teenage years, he was given a room in the bottom area of the family home in Condell Park. That is where Keating kept his lovebirds and developed his photo's. As his interest in music grew, the room was soundproofed. Keating played records on the equipment his mother had given him when he was ten. Later, a phone was installed, so he could engage in his outside interests. He started managing a band called the Ramrods and set them up with a record deal.

Min Keating was strong minded, candid, sociable and unreserved, her manner likened to that of a fox terrier, insistently pressuring her viewpoints on others, in stark contrast to the personality of her husband. Former New South Wales Premier Bob Carr (1995-2005) described her as exceedingly strong willed. Min was very engaged with the local church, the local branch of the Labor Party and had a strong focus on community. She had a low tolerance for pretence, valued the truth and preferred an argument and giving offence rather than accepting someone's insincerity (Bramston, 2016). Keating dubbed her as "strong as an ox" and "in terms of the behavioural things and value things, and truth things, she was the major inculcator in the family" (Keating in Bramston, 2016, p.16). Keating's father thought that his wife was too uncompromising in some areas. Keating described Matt Keating as a very kind natured man, at all times mindful of other's perspectives, modest, quiet, considerate, who had a significant influence on

Keating (O'Brien, 2015). "He always wanted a non-conflict model for everything" (Keating in Edwards, 1996, p.38). Matt Keating had been the motivating force behind Keating's decision to become a member of the Labor Party and take up a political career. "He transferred his ambitions to his son" … "Matt quite deliberately prepared Paul for political life and then helped him to get into it" (Edwards, 1996, p.36). Keating's maternal grandmother Beatrice Chapman (nee Storey), who lived with the family, died when he was twelve years old, and Keating described it as "the most harrowing thing that had happened to me. She thought I was the most special person on the face of the earth" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.10). Bramston (2016) suggested that Keating's spirit and strength were from his mother, confidence from his grandmother and his astuteness from his father "while mirroring a thoughtfulness with a touch of shyness" (Bramston, 2016, p. 4).

The limitless love from his mother and grandmother buffered Keating against the opinion of those opposed to him to the extent that usual standards of behaviour were waived. There was an "assumption that his charm will forgive him his discourtesies, the conviction that what he does is always right or at least justifiable. He was sometimes a bit of a skite" (Edwards, 1996, p.53). Keating was also often melancholic, which stripped him of energy and drive (Watson, 2002). Whilst Keating liked to contemplate that he was a humble person with "an imperturbably enduring plainness and sincerity of manner" he had "aspirations to various kinds of exclusive and select knowledge that set him apart from others" (Edwards, 1996, p.38). Burchell suggests people like Keating have "a sense of themselves as one of the most able people that they know, and on the other hand that they were missing something" (Burchell in Crabb, 2005, p.207). Bramston (2016) distinguished Keating from other political leaders stating: "Keating pursued his ambition like a hungry dog chasing a bone" (Bramston, 2016, p.4), and he wanted to be a prime minister since childhood (Bramston, 2016). His sister does not recall Keating stating he wanted to be prime minister but once he went into parliament the family's expectation was that he would take on that role. Keating says that his interest in people's behaviours when he was in school might have been preparations for his future, but "I didn't know what that was" (O'Brien, 2015, p.8).

As he started working, he found that his skill in assessing people was better than that of his colleagues (Edwards, 1996).

Keating started work at the age of fourteen in a clerical role at the Sydney County Council. Despite having to wear a dustcoat at work, nevertheless, his mother would insist that he be dressed up. Min Keating bought material off-cuts from a tailor to make Keating's clothes, Watson (2002) emphasises that they were better than the clothes worn by the 'Establishment'. When Keating was fifteen, he became enamoured by an antique watch. His father was not impressed, as Keating had paid three month's salary for the watch (O'Brien, 2015). After his first pay Keating bought his mother a small Beethoven bust accompanied by the words "Here Mum, put some class in your life" (Keating in Watson, 2002, p.4). Keating did part-time photography of diners at the Metropole Hotel and was employed as a sales assistant at David Jones in Bankstown. He would work for three hours every Saturday morning. An article in a Sydney newspaper in 1994, reported that Keating's staff file at David Jones noted that he had the "wrong attitude and should not be rehired" (Edwards, 1996, p.46). Prior to leaving school Keating attended a school careers night with his mother. The advisor suggested possible career options could be panel-beating or architecture. Keating says that his mother replied, "Oh well, you know, he does have an interest in public life and I think if he's thinking about anything in his life, it's the prime ministership of Australia rather than doing other sorts of work" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.9). It may be important to note here that no other biography on Keating makes reference to this occurrence, which is not to say that this circumstance did not occur. Keating's mother certainly encouraged her husband's aspirations beyond working in the railways. Initially, Matt Keating worked as a tradesman, then studied a diploma in engineering and secured work as an inspector on the railways. Min Keating wanted her husband to start his own business. Later he started a business with two of his mates, making ready-mix concrete machines. In order to do so he took out a loan against the family home and sold his car. The company traded as Marlak Engineering and in 1973 the business was sold for approximately one million dollars to Australian National Industries. The cash and shares were divided equally between the three partners and the family was elevated from working class to the more affluent middle class (Watson, 2002).

In comparing himself with his father, Keating said that he was the wilder of the two and that his father would not have been good at the game of politics because he lacked the craziness and the leadership gene's that politics demanded (O'Brien, 2015). Edwards (1996) writes that Keating and his father's personalities did not match on most counts. Keating can listen intently but would not be categorised as being quiet, is sporadically good at organising but takes no pleasure in routine (Edwards, 1996).

> "Paul when inspired is a relentless worker, but he is not consistently careful, diligent and methodical. He is charming rather than kind, generous rather than charitable. He is sometimes secretive but not reserved" (Edwards, 1996, p.38).

Matt Keating died when he was only 60 years old. He was going to the local TAB[21] to place a bet. Keating was washing his car in the driveway when a stranger (Edwards, 1996, indicates neighbours) approached and asked where house number eight was. Keating replied that it was his parent's home, and the man suggested that it was probably his father that was ill and sitting by the roadside (O'Brien, 2015) just a little further up the hill (Watson, 2002). When Keating went to look for his dad, he found that his father had died and was stretched across the footpath (O'Brien, 2015). Just a few minutes earlier, Matt Keating had walked by Keating's and wife Annita's home and had said 'hello' to Keating, and they exchanged a few words (O'Brien, 2015; Edwards, 1996). Matt Keating had a heart condition and before his death his doctor had altered his Warfarin dosage. Regardless, he and his wife, Min, were about to embark on a trip to England (Watson, 2002). The death of his father took Keating ten years to even talk about and the circumstances under which it occurred would have compounded the hurt. Keating said the pain was there all the time:

> "Losing a parent is a hell of a loss, and if the parents are close to you, you never get over it. But you don't want to get over it, you know? There is a place for sadness and melancholy. There is a place. You don't want to be

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[21] TAB in Australia is The Totalisator Agency Board a betting agency.

sparkling and happy all the time. You need the inner life, the inner sadness. It's what rounds you out". (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.13)

The way Keating expressed his reactions to his father's death and the need for people to accept the place for grief in the human experience is persuasive as an example of Keating conveying his insight regarding social intelligence.

Keating's trajectory through his political career was quick. One of his mentors, Former New South Wales Premier Jack Lang (1925-1927; 1930-1932), had also focussed Keating on not wasting any time in pursuing his goals. Keating compared politics to a Grand Slam in tennis. A loss of points in one area could prove to be catalytic to what happened next (O'Brien, 2015). Keating entered parliament when he was twenty-five, had achieved a ministership by the age of thirty-one (one year after he had married and left the family home to set up home two doors up from his parents), secured the role of treasurer when he was thirty-nine, and became prime minister at the age of forty-seven (Bramston, 2016). Bramston (2016) wrote that Keating's soul had been nurtured by the Catholic nuns and brothers and his political instruction had been fostered by Lang.

Bramston (2016), one of Keating's biographers, takes the distinction between Keating and other politicians almost to a level of being smitten. He writes that the majority of politicians are cast in the same mould, follow the same career route, have dull personalities, operate with premeditated actions, talk from basic scripts, and are cautious rather than courageous and vacuous instead of visionary. Whereas "when Keating was dominant, was like watching a surfer catching the swell and riding it confidently to shore" (Bramston, 2016, p.6), who left a "remarkable legacy" … "to inspire others to follow in the path he blazed" (Bramston, 2016, p.8). Bramston (2016) does not indicate who the other exceptions to the stereotype might be. Similarly, Edwards (1996) suggested that in spite of a "quite sensitive and emotional personality" (Edwards, 1996, p.53) Keating was consistently temperate and prudent in his assessments of people and circumstances.

Keating labelled himself the equivalent of a political "Placido Domingo" deeming that he had elevated politics and economics to a form of art (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.7). Keating claimed "he could play the economy like a violin" (Museum of Australian Democracy, 12th December, 2018). He also negated the capacity of

the Liberal Opposition Shadow Treasurer Peter Reith to emulate his 'performance' as Treasurer. "I walk around with the world financial markets as much in my pocket as any finance minister in the world. I walk around with organised labour, I walk around with the central bank and the most committed bureaucracy in the history of the country, an interested press and a conscientious electorate" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.7).

A distinction Keating made between himself and all of the other Australian Prime Ministers since the 1940s is that he is the only Australian Prime Minister without a university education (omitting John McEwen, who held the Prime Ministership from 19 December 1967 to 10 January 1968 when Prime Minister Harold Holt went missing). The only commonality Keating did share was a birthdate with Australia's first Prime Minister Edmund Barton who was born on the 18th January 1849, albeit with a ninety-five year difference (Bramston, 2016). Keating suggests that he gained the equivalent of several degrees in economics and a Ph.D. in "Varieties of Human Behaviour" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.81[22]) through his experiences in the Australian Labor Party. Later Keating expressed his one regret was not to study music at university after he had left politics. Keating would have enjoyed the opportunity to develop the expertise of conducting an orchestra in note-perfect form rather than in the more informal way that he was able to recall the great symphonies (O'Brien, 2015). Keating ended his formal academic education when he was seventeen (Ryan, 1995). For two years, Keating had gone to evening classes at Belmore Technical College to complete his high school studies but he did not attend the exams (National Archives of Australia, 2018). In his speech to the Australian National Training Authority Conference in 1995 Keating said that he had "picked up a formal qualification at Belmore Technical College" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.91[23]). Irrespective, Keating did pursue learning in other ways. As well as professionally, he engaged in numerous hobbies: "car engines; budgerigars; the life of Winston Churchill; rock music and, as his taste matured classical music and its visible sister architecture. He loved clocks and the decorative arts of the Second Empire in France" (d'Alpuget, 2010,

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[22] Perth, 8th March, 1994 Believe in Yourselves Speech, University of Notre Dame Graduation Ceremony.
[23] Brisbane 10th February, A Bridge to the Future Speech Australian National Training Authority Conference.

pp.112-113). Keating's office, after he left politics, was also designed with an emphasis on the aesthetic, a space uncharacteristic of an office and more reminiscent of a large and subtly lit, elegant salon. The room was decorated in a neoclassical style of the post-revolutionary period in France (McKew, 2013). "It was like being transported back to the classical-revival era of pre-and post-revolutionary France, surrounded by dark-red walls, Greco-Roman columns, collectable French Directoire clocks, candelabra, and Egyptian statues" (Bramston, 2016, p. xi). Connection with the arts is what Keating said helped to sustain him. Keating also loved model powerboats and to his wife's surprise retained a collection at the age of thirty, when he and Annita married (Edwards, 1996). Keating also used to watch each of the key heavyweight boxing matches and Wimbledon from start to finish (O'Brien, 2015).

For the young Keating, swimming was a favourite pastime and when he was thirteen he had a crush on the Latvian swimmer Ilsa Konrads. He wrote a number of letters to her but did not receive any reply (Bramston, 2016). Keating's mother Min Keating said Keating was a lovely child who spent his time doing normal childhood things like playing football at school and engaging in fights with his siblings (Bramston, 2016). In a two hour interview Min Keating could not think of a single example of something that Keating had done wrong as a child: "It is true, she said that one day he snatched a hat from a Protestant boy's head and threw it into a tree, but that was all and it was soon forgiven" (Watson, 2002, p.3). Keating told O'Brien (2015) that in school, he was impatient when it came to learning and if a subject lacked interest, he "dropped off" (O'Brien, 2015, p.8). He did not excel in school and in adulthood, his preference over reading and writing rested with speaking and listening (Edwards, 1996). A public servant, observing that Keating read virtually naught, was perplexed at how Keating was able to obtain the information needed for his role. Keating intuitively gained data through conversations or observation, the disadvantage was that Keating's information was inexact and deficient in breadth (d'Alpuget, 2010).

From his perspective, Keating identified the two integral components to successful leadership as imagination and courage, asserting that the value of these elements could only be realised when they were both present within an individual. This was the assessment Keating made of himself, a person of vision and bravery, never any

flaws, except in the appraisal itself and the absence of socially intelligent self-reflections. Bramston (2016) writes that Keating's courage manifested itself from childhood and applied two examples as evidence. When Keating was seven years old, with an old tea towel as his Superman cape he leapt off the front veranda and promptly broke two of his teeth. In a fight with another boy when he was ten, Keating let down the air in the boy's bike and hid the boy's tyre pump. Rather than Edwards' (1996) bravery label, perhaps the examples also exemplify that Keating could be strategic and determined, irrespective of the cost.

It is Bramston's (2016) contention that comprehending Keating's notion of political influence and leadership is central to understanding Keating. Ryan (1995) outlines that at the heart of Keating's political philosophy is that politicians are elected by the voting public to lead, are paid to do so and must bear any attendant consequences. His twenty-five years in parliament had made him eager and impatient for reforms to be enacted. In 1994 he wrote "I cannot think of a single item of reforming legislation – not even the most flawed – which has damaged the fabric and the future of Australia in a dimension comparable to that caused by inaction or regression" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.31). "The lesson is: power is for using. It is not to be wasted or feared or despised" (Keating In Ryan, 1995, p.83) and "leadership is not about being popular. It is about being right and about being strong" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.6) an observation made to distinguish himself from his predecessor Prime Minister Hawke. As his mentor Lang had emphasised to Keating: "you'll never be anyone until you have a reasonable stock of enemies" (O'Brien, 2015, p.25) Keating said having adversaries was not something he was perturbed by, it was a mark of honour (O'Brien, 2015). Despite contending that leadership necessarily concerns having a dialogue with the nation, Keating's focus was on what the leader thinks the nation needs and subsequently making tough decisions about deep issues. Hawke was popular but it was his consensus model that had appealed to voters and interested parties on both sides of the political spectrum "Hawke's speciality was the achievement of compromises, where each interest gained some but not all of its demands" (Strangio et al; 2015, p.171). Criticisms of Hawke being preoccupied with a focus on procedures rather than significant ideas are misconceived. Hawke was creating the environment for an ideas-based approach to thrive (Strangio et al; 2015). Keating's view was that the

first step was to take risks at genuine change and then "you can educate the consensus back to you" (Keating in Strangio et al., 2015, p.175). This approach had its limitations, voters were concerned about the everyday issues they were facing. By November 1990 over 250,000 jobs were lost (O'Brien, 2015) and within two years a million people were unemployed (Edwards, (1996). "The voters, tired of so much change and still resentful of the recession, struggled to see how they fitted into 'the big picture' Keating was portraying. It was deemed an agenda for the elites and symbolised a government out of touch …" (Bramston, 2016, p.8). "Hawke earned the capital with voters, and Keating spent it" (Bramston, 2016, p.6).

Bramston (2016) wrote that Keating's only motivation in pursuing a political career was to bring about change rather than being lured by the trappings of office, that Keating was not concerned with approbation from either the public or journalists. Keating worked prodigiously at wooing the media (Hewett, 1999), an anecdote in Blewett's (1999) cabinet diary suggests that Keating was also sensitive to how he was portrayed by the media. In 1992 having been persuaded by Kardimitsis the Labor candidate in Wills, to accompany him through the Edna Everage supermarket in Moonee Ponds, Keating was keen to avoid any more interceptions by Liberal voters. In response to a suggestion by Kardimitsis that they traverse another aisle Keating proposed, instead, ramming his colleague into a nearby compacting machine but then became anxious that the accompanying media would use his threat of harm as further evidence of the Opposition Leader John Hewson's claim. Hewson likened NSW right wing members of the Labor party, plus the Speaker of the House Leo McLeay and Keating, to a kind of Mafia (Blewett, 1999). Blewett (1999) commented further that Keating loved the non-parliamentary weeks in Canberra where he could spend time framing policy, courting members of the press gallery and, even more, spending time with his family. Hewett (1999) told Keating that it would be necessary for Keating to forego these activities in favour of pre-election trips to South Australia and Western Australia. When Keating was quizzed in a radio interview about his dislike for travelling "No, no. I like travelling I like getting about. I was in South Australia the day before yesterday, and Melbourne yesterday and today" (Keating, in Banks & Stevenson, 3AW, 1995). In a speech at the Australian Walkley awards

for excellence in journalism Keating conveyed that he liked discoursing with journalists because of the importance of such communications for the democratic process and that Australia's journalists had been an instrumental component of making Australia one of the more robust democracies.

> "And it is literally true and patently true every day of the political year, that the democracy which is practised in Canberra would be impossible without the free press which operates there" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.17). He also observed to the audience of journalists: "I don't think I am wrong. I think it must be a kind of cultural attraction that you have for me" (Keating in Ryan, p.13)

The unique value proposition of Australia's democracy is that it is driven from "the bottom up – it is not imposed from the top" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.15) but Keating neglected this approach in practice.

In 1992 Keating rejected the notion that political standards would be raised if non-politicians were brought into the mix. He suggested that instead, the focus should be on having improved politicians. "Tough ones. Passionate ones. Ones who understand politics and power" (Keating in Ryan 1995, p.15). Keating asserted that as well as agility, political life entails "professionalism" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.26) but by this he meant competence in the political game. By the time Keating was fifty he already had thirty years of experience in politics (Edwards, 1996).

Keating expressed no inspirational connection with his prime ministerial peers, nor was he stirred by any of Australia's former leaders. The only contenders that provided him leadership inspiration were Prime Minister Winston Churchill from the United Kingdom (1940-1945; 1951-1955) and Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945), George Washington (1789-1797), and Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865), from the United States. Keating dubbed Washington, Lincoln and Roosevelt notable because they impelled change for their country beyond any transformation achieved in Australia (Keating in Ryan, 1995; Bramston, 2016). Churchill motivated Keating to pursue a career in politics. Churchill, of the protestant faith, from the English upper-class, the one who denounced Hitler, and labelled him a criminal, the "saviour of Britain, rather than the 'radical nationalist anti-hero who had 'betrayed' Australia, in the abject disaster of Singapore and

Malaya" (Curran, 2004, p.260), was the person that Keating esteemed. Although recognising the import of Churchill as providing inspiration to Keating, Curran (2004) points to the sway on Keating of New South Wales Premier Jack Lang[24]. Keating's father had been a strong supporter of Lang (Watson, 2002). When Keating was pre-selected as the Labor candidate for Blaxland, he sought to use his connection with Lang as an indication that he was not too young or inexperienced for the role. Whereas at the beginning of his prime ministership Keating had sought to distance the influence from Lang, suggesting it was overstated, only revealing the importance of Lang to him when he tried to get Lang re-admitted (and was successful) to the Labor Party, after Lang's death (Curran, 2004). Watson (2002) wrote that Keating asserted Lang did not sway his thoughts on politics or his assessments of political persons such as Curtin. Keating revealed that he had asked Lang's opinion on whether he should pursue university studies and Lang advised Keating that what he needed to learn about politics and acquiring power could not be taught in a degree (O'Brien, 2015). Keating's father did not favour university education whereas Keating's mother thought it was useful. Keating's brother, Greg, compromised and completed the Solicitors Admission Board (Edwards, 1996). Edwards (1996) suggests Keating's assertion that he was not interested in university was for a reason. He offers Keating's difficulty with reading as a possible explanation for his avoidance of formal studies; irrespective, Keating had a hunger to learn. Keating says that he and Lang diverged on a range of policy issues and Lang's policy "was not useful" (Keating in Edwards, 1996, p.61), Lang supported industry protection and tariffs (O'Brien, 2015). Keating visited with Lang for an hour twice a week on Mondays and Thursdays, for about seven years (O'Brien, 2015), from when Keating was eighteen and then made frequent visits in the twelve years before Lang died (Watson, 2002). Lang impressed him with his quotes from literature, including Aristotle, the Gospel of St Paul and Demosthenes. His interest in meeting with Lang related to Lang's memories and knowledge of Australian political history. The biggest inspiration that Lang impressed upon Keating was radical nationalism, his "Aggressive Australianism" (Curran, 2004, p.267). Lang was deemed a conflict-ridden and contentious individual; he had an argumentative and stirring style that provoked

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[24] Jack Lang was also a Federal Parliamentarian 1946-1949 (Curran, 2004).

either intense loyalty or resentment (Edwards, 1996; O'Brien, 2015), traits akin to Keating. Lang caused controversy due to his description of the immigration program after WWII as an attack on White Australia, for his continuing and ferocious attacks on Prime Minister Curtin (1941-1945) regarding the introduction of conscription (Curran, 2004) and condemnation of others he regarded as enemies, including, Prime Minister Ben Chifley (1945-1949), Premier of Queensland (1919-1995) Ted Theodore and Premier of New South Wales William Holman (1913-1920) (Edwards, 1996). As Premier of New South Wales, however Lang had introduced reforms such as workers compensation, the abolition of high-school fees, the introduction of widows' pensions, laws for fairer rents, system reforms in arbitration and the establishment of a government insurance office (O'Brien, 2015). Lang was dismissed from office by the State Governor for his refusal to pay debt payments to British bond holders before cheques for the dole were issued to the unemployed "Not a penny to the British bond holders while there is an empty belly in Balmain" (Lang in Curran, 2004, p.261).

Keating's actions during his Prime Ministerial term cannot be acclaimed as principally socially intelligent, but there are significant components to the discourse he has expressed throughout his public life that reflect principles of socially intelligent judgements. Indeed, Prime Minister Keating acknowledged the value of a social intelligence perspective in the necessity of an amalgam between the so-called rational and emotional elements of our thinking:

> "When passion and reason vie with each other, the emerging inspiration is invariably deeper and of an altogether higher form. One is able to knit between them, bringing into existence an overarching unity - a coherence - which fidelity to the individual strands cannot provide" (Keating, 2012, p.x).

Thorndike (1920) stressed not just socially intelligent vision but also thoughtful and well thought out deeds and Keating's practice often belied the social intelligence contained in his discourse. One description of the paradoxes of Keating's persona were summarised in this way:

> "A statesman and a brawler: a political animal and an aesthete; a factional numbers-man and a policy intellect: a crude debater and a supreme orator;

and a man in private who is unlike his public stereotype" (Bramston, 2016, xiii)

Intensely tribal, Keating's behaviour alternated between belligerence and coarseness, to formality and deference (Bramston, 2016). "Graham Little once described Keating's qualities as the expression of a particular sort of narcissism. His ambition was matched by a pride that denied his need for anyone else" (Walter & Strangio, 2007, p.39). Historian Don Watson (Maley, 2014), Keating's speech writer, referred to Keating's "self- destructive rages, his intemperate speech, his radical vision, his Irish loathing of the Establishment and his odd-old world honour, Paul Keating was like Ned Kelly" … "I often used to think the psychopathology was alarmingly similar" (Watson 2002, p.577).

To date, much of the public analysis of Keating has centred on the combined economic efforts undertaken by himself and Hawke during Hawke's Prime Ministership. Indeed, their joint labours have resulted in them being lauded and ranked as the second-most talented leadership team that Australia has experienced, after John Curtin and Ben Chifley. However, after their political careers, Keating and Hawke's record of collaboration has been tarnished, as a result of their quarrelling over which of them was responsible for the economic reform agenda that they embarked on (Strangio et al., 2017).

In the early stages of Hawke and Keating working together, there had been a genuine affection and friendship and the bond of their working relationship continued for many years, although from the beginning, there was a supressed undercurrent of rivalry between the two men (d'Alpuget, 2010). Keating likened their working relationship to a corporate one. Hawke was the Chairman of the Board and Managing Director and Keating the Chief Financial Officer. Hawke would contact Keating via the office intercom and say:

> "What are you doing mate? I'd come up and have a coffee or tea, and he'd offer me a cigar … We were on such a roll in the first year and the economic changes we wanted were coming through. Bob luxuriated in all that and so did I. It was a genuine friendship, not just one born out of pragmatism" (O'Brien, 2015, p.140)

Despite observations that Keating was a more proficient treasurer than prime minister, Bramston (2016) suggests that this view needs to be revisited, he dubbed Keating's areas of strength as foreign policy, indigenous issues, Australia's national identity and the focus on social and cultural issues. Bramston (2016) also lists the Keating government's achievements as including enterprise bargaining, universal superannuation and the freeing of trade and policy reforms in national competition. With reference to the latter this is in direct contrast to others who attribute the free market reform achievements to Hawke or at least as a consequence of the partnership between Hawke and Keating (Strangio et al. 2015). For example, before becoming Shadow Treasurer Keating was against the entry of foreign banks into Australia and since he was a child had been distrustful of large commercial banks (Edwards, 1996). Keating's lack of experience also mitigated against sole ownership of the market initiatives as Keating had only been in the Shadow Treasurer portfolio for just over two weeks, prior to Prime Minister Fraser calling an election and Labor securing government. Howard (2010) wrote that even though Keating was repeatedly given credit for floating of the Australian dollar his reticence was overruled by Hawke, supported by the Reserve Bank Governor, Bob Johnston (1982-1989). In Keating's back bencher days, he was in favour of tariffs to protect local industries and Australian-only ownership of energy and mineral enterprise (Edwards, 1996).

When prompted for his assessment as to who was the better Prime Minister, Richard (Dick) Woolcott Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs (1988-1992) responded: "Well, Keating was a very good treasurer and Hawke was a very good prime minister" (Woolcott in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.49), and he concluded that "Bob was a better prime minister" (ibid). Kim Beazley, an admirer and friend to both Hawke and Keating, acknowledged that Keating made a substantial contribution. However, he reacted to suggestions that Keating rather than Hawke was the architect of the major reforms completed in the Hawke government, and said: "It's bull-crap…it's such a million miles from the truth" … "Paul tends to forget quite a bit" (Beazley in Hawke & Reilly, 2017, p.88). Hawke was somewhat more pointed in his assessment: "Paul is a revisionist, applying to his recollection of events and conversations the same loving care with which he seeks to restore his French Empire clocks to what he hopes was an original beauty of form and

style" (Hawke, 1994, p.448). Reinterpretations of events by Keating were also linked to Keating's former speech writer. Watson wrote that he had written the Redfern Park Speech delivered by Keating on the 10th December 1992, to mark the Australian Launch of International Year for the World's Indigenous People (Watson, 2002). Over breakfast Keating read the speech that Watson had written and left to deliver the speech with "every word intact" (Watson, 2002, p.290). Keating was livid because he felt that in his biography of Keating, Watson had overstated his role at the expense of Keating's contribution to the speech (Maley, 2014). It is the same criticism that former colleagues of Keating levelled towards him as a consequence of his attempt to undermine the central role that Hawke played in the reform agenda's that were pursued under the Hawke government (Maley, 2014)

In light of independent accolades for the joint work of Hawke and Keating, perhaps the most significant counter to a positive assessment of Keating's social intelligence is his continued diminution of former Prime Minister Bob Hawke, indeed, a reluctance to even acknowledge the benefits attained for Australia being achieved only through their joint ideas for innovation and efforts in government, as Treasurer and Prime Minister. Strangio et al. (2017) suggest that Keating ardently held to the view that he had been the dynamo of the Hawke government and that Hawke was merely its nominal head. "Bob Hawke possessed considerable reserves of what today is called emotional intelligence" (Strangio et al., 2015, p.161). Socially intelligent individuals have an accurate sense of themselves. In other words, they have self-awareness and a truthful capacity to self–reflect (Karpin, 2005; IBSA, 2011). To a large extent the data indicates that Keating was unable accurately to deliberate on his actions. "Hawke brought personal popularity, deft chairmanship of cabinet and political cunning; Keating brought policy bravado, dominance in the party room and parliament, and a captive press gallery" (Strangio et al; 2015), the gallery "fell in love with him" (Watson, 2002, p.37). Keating's summary of Hawke: "In brutal intellectual terms Bob could only have got a Ph.D. in ordinariness" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.417). The need to denigrate another's positive influence in order to assert your own achievements, or personal value, runs contrary to the tenets of social intelligence. Keating sought to take the bulk of the credit for actions that were undertaken in the context of

Hawke's tenure as Prime Minister and accused Hawke of sleepwalking in his work. Keating was intensely dissatisfied at the lack of recognition afforded to him, for the economic reforms that took place in the Hawke government (Strangio et al., 2017).

As former Prime Minister, Howard identified Keating taking a direct swipe at Hawke before manoeuvring to replace the latter as Prime Minister. In his Placido Domingo Speech given to the Canberra Press Gallery on the 7th December 1990, Keating contended that Australia had never produced a true leader (Howard, 2014). In Hawke's eyes, this was not only a denunciation of him but of Prime Ministers Ben Chifley (1945-1949) and John Curtin (1941-1945), leaders that Hawke greatly admired (Hawke, 1994) and by default a further criticism of Hawke. Watson (2002) wrote that Hawke would have been clear about Keating's meaning. The speech by Keating suggested that he had brought a fine arts quality to his role of Treasurer. By implication this might lend itself to his being considered in the realms of the world leaders he so admired although Keating did state in his speech that "I don't think any of us think that we're up to the Lincolns or the Roosevelts or the Washington's" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.6) and, later, that it was for history to decide his legacy (O'Brien, 2015). The oration also prompted Hawke to reconsider their earlier discussions in 1988 about the handing over of the leadership from Hawke to Keating after the expected election in 1990. Hawke thought that Keating was not ready for the leadership, and he resolved to "repudiate the Kirribilli agreement"[25] (Hawke, 1994, p.501; Blewett, 2016). A lone voice that didn't believe that Hawke would ever hand over the leadership was Annita Keating (Edwards, 1996). Watson (2002) wrote that, more than a vexation about disloyalty and his political ambitions being impeded, Keating saw Hawke's decision "as a violation of the natural order, a defiance of the Gods" (Watson, 2002, p.27). Keating who retained "self-confidence to the point of infinity, was convinced of his entitlement" (Strangio et al., 2015). d'Alpuget (2010) refers to another complication that occurred for Hawke. The government

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[25] On the 25th November 1988, Bill Kelty Secretary of the ACTU (witness for Keating) and Sir Peter Abeles (witness for Hawke) witnessed a deal between Keating and Hawke. The pact was that the two work together until the 1990 election, expecting that Hawke would win. Then after an appropriate period but prior to 1991 Hawke would step down as Prime Minister and Keating would take his place (O'Brien, 2015; d'Apulget, 2010).

was in the midst of a battle with Australia's domestic pilots, seeking a thirty percent increase in their wages. Campaigns by the pilots promoted that a vote for Hawke was a vote for the Chairman of Ansett Sir Peter Abeles, the Opposition began airing television commercials showing an image of Hawke being interposed with one of Keating, and the Opposition began chanting: "A Vote for Hawke is a vote for Keating" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.266). d'Alpuget says that Hawke had no option but to commit to running for another term and fighting the election in 1993.

Howard's (2010) different and justifiable perspective was that the original decision to go to the election in 1990 without revealing this agreement to the Australian public was a "monstrous fraud on the Australian people" (Howard, 2010, p.186). Hawke had stipulated that the pact with Keating would be annulled if the agreement was leaked (d'Alpuget, 2010).Perhaps the reasons for Keating's resentment went deeper because Edwards (1996) wrote that Keating never supported Hawke's leadership of the party. Hawke (1994) also judged Keating's resentments towards him stemmed from the fact that Keating had anticipated that he would be the heir apparent to Bill Hayden but his ambitions had to "yield to Hawke's belief in his own manifest destiny" (Bramston, 2016, p.6).[26] From the start, Keating lent his support to Hayden, and in discussions with Member for Reid (1984-1990) Tom Uren in 1981, they agreed that if Hayden did not lead the party, the role should go to Keating. Members of Keating's own faction were supportive of Hawke, and Keating was left isolated from them. Ironically, in light of his upbringing, Keating criticised Prime Minister Hawke for thinking he was special, nurtured by the way Hawke's parents thought of him. But it could be argued with merit as Keating did, that Hawke's 'foreordained' destiny did not give him licence to sweep aside the careers of others (O'Brien, 2015). Unlike Bob Hawke, Keating had been in the parliament for thirteen years. "It rankled with Paul that I had just arrived in the parliamentary party and was going to get an armchair ride to the leadership and the prime ministership" (Hawke, 1994, p.113). d'Alpuget (2010) wrote that Keating "had failed to bully or bluff his way into the Lodge" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.231). At this stage, Keating, was thirty-seven, in

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When Hawke's mother Ellie was pregnant her bible serendipitously opened to the verse in Isaiah – 'and the government shall be upon his shoulder'. Ellie took this as an omen that she was pregnant with a boy and that God had ordained this child for leadership (d'Alpuget, 2010).

Hawke's view neither seasoned nor experienced enough to take on the leadership. In any case, the NSW Right of the Labor Party conveyed their feelings to Keating and lent their support to Hawke (Hawke, 1994). Hayden won the first challenge from Hawke and then opted to appoint Keating as Shadow Treasurer. Hayden wanted to bolster the Labor team against Prime Minister Fraser and to have someone strong enough to deal with the Treasury Secretary John Stone (1979-1984). Keating's appointment to Shadow Treasurer paved the way "to give Keating his place in history" (Edwards, 1996, p.159). Edwards (1996) wrote that Keating went to particular effort to display his unwillingness to take up the portfolio. Keating had no instruction in economics, and he would now have to counterattack Prime Minister Fraser and Treasurer John Howard. Keating discussed the planned role with a range of people: colleagues, Bill Bradshaw the antique dealer, and with the speechwriter Graham Freudenberg, coincidentally walking past Bradshaw's antique shop, at the same time with his dog. Edwards (1996) suggests that Keating's hesitancy was more contrived than real. He had asked Hayden for the job of Treasurer on an earlier occasion and Hayden had refused. Keating's primary assistant in the Treasury work was a trained economist Barbara Ward, and collectively they could navigate what was required in the role (Edwards, 1996). d'Alpuget (2010) says that political commentator Paul Kelly revealed that there were discussions in Hawke's office concerning whether Keating could cope with the role of Treasurer. Keating had acknowledged to Hawke that he was scared during Question Time in parliament, in the event that the Opposition would ask him specifics about the economy. Hawke's preference had been for Ralph Willis as Treasurer but the Right faction of the Party that had supported Hawke, lent their backing to Keating. Treasury Official Don Russell helped to broaden Keating's knowledge of economics and "honed his mastery of economic language" (Watson, 2002, p.215), one of many who helped Keating develop his skills.

When Keating retired from the Cabinet after the Kirribilli pact was retracted Keating was able to pursue his goal to overthrow Hawke and destabilise his government or as Blewett (2016) describes it "discreetly kick things along" (Blewett, 2016, p.10) to secure the Prime Ministership. Keating's response to Hawke was "I am coming after you" (Keating in Bramston, 2016, p.6) and

following two leadership challenges Keating succeeded in deposing Hawke. Keating indicated that he was sad about having to defeat Hawke for the leadership but was also irritated by the length of time Hawke had spent in the role. O'Brien (2015) agreed that Keating did regret how he came to the prime ministership but rationalised that Keating had to be mindful of the talent pool that was available. Consequently, he needed to avail himself of the opportunity as quickly as possible. Keating was also apprehensive that his belated taking up of the position had to be managed against the health issues he was experiencing. Bramston (2016) cites Keating's back pain, sore eyes, predisposition to contracting colds and his ongoing tinnitus. Keating was seldom without a constant ringing in his ears and as an after-effect of a childhood ailment Keating's tear ducts did not work, causing his eyes to become red and painful after short periods of reading. Sometimes he would apply his saliva to his eyelids. At school, Keating had carbuncles on his body and boils near his eyes, that later robbed him of lower eyelashes (Edwards, 1996). Keating would also complain about the angle of lighting in the Cabinet room and air conditioning levels. The staff was aware that only speedy and supportive consensus would eliminate further discussion on his comfort and welfare so that Keating's attention could be brought back to matters that needed his input or signature, as well as safeguarding the happiness of the staff for the week. Keating was petrified of disease where others with less courage than him would barely recoil. Keating's back would give way abruptly without forewarning and was then attended to by the acupuncturist who consequently became close with the Keating family. Keating "drank strange potions to escape the flu" (Bramston, 2016, p.6) or as Edwards (1996) depicts he would have a "glass of dark and strange Chinese herbal medicine served to him in the early evening by Guy, the Butler and Jimmy's friend" (Edwards, 1996, p.9). As well, Keating had invested in a trampoline for his daughters plus himself. He earnestly thought that the momentary suspension at the top of a jump would eliminate cancer cells in the body. Watson (2002) wrote that Keating was wary of standard medical practice and inclined to improbable cures. Keating said he was tired and had wanted the job of Prime Minister three years before. Watson's (2002) alternative interpretation was that most of the things that Keating had sought to achieve had already been completed. Watson (2002) also suggests that Keating was grappling

with: "the other, singular, private Keating drama that you couldn't get at, and that he struggled to control" (Watson, 2002, p.30). Watson (2002) believed that Keating was often depressed, that even though he was present in the moment, he was simultaneously contending with his own personal crises and that Keating's "true life existed only for himself" (Watson, 2002, p.30). Keating also had to cope with the animosity that was directed towards him as a consequence of removing Hawke as the Prime Minister (Watson, 2002).

A noticeable aspect of Keating's character that is almost dichotomous with the Prime Ministerial role is his nature as a very private person. The contrast Beazley drew between Prime Ministers Hawke and Keating was as follows: "Hawke, quintessentially the public man living in the glaring daylight. Paul quintessentially the private man picking his moments" (Beazley in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.87). One of these moments occurred on the Kokoda Track in 1995. The nature of the terrain worked against the idea of having a memorial on the track such as those honouring the Anzacs but on a visit to the track, Keating helped to raise its profile by 'spontaneously' kissing the ground (Macklin, 2007). When he was asked whether the kiss was 'spontaneous', Keating replied yes, but then proceeded to convey that he did have a greater goal and that was to shift Australians' attention away from celebrating the Anzac legend. He reasoned that the commemorations of Anzac Day and Gallipoli made Australia look backwards to Britain whereas Kokoda looked to Australia's independence. The visit to the Kokoda Track had a special significance for Keating, because his Uncle Bill was one of the men that died in the Sandakan Marches (Keating, 2013). His Uncle had been killed in the last few months of WWII, and this had a considerable impact on the family as they had anticipated that he would come home (Bramston, 2016). In the period after the war, the Keating family like others suffered through food and petrol rationing. Building materials were in short supply for constructing homes and recurrent blackouts took place because of power shortages. One of Keating's neighbours had the experience of fighting at Kokoda and he told Keating about the way they killed the Japanese soldiers when they were sleeping. Keating was also gleaning information from reading about leaders like Churchill and Roosevelt. Bramston (2016) concludes that the "seeds of his own courage, confidence, and curiosity were being sown from these earliest days" (Bramston,

2016, p.12). Keating spoke about how his Irish ancestry influenced his political philosophy and reflected on how when he was a young man Irish Catholics had been marginalised in Sydney's sectarian society, evidenced through job advertisements in the Sydney Morning Herald that specified that people of a Catholic persuasion need not apply. "Keating had plenty of rough edges, for in his bones he had the Irish Catholic anger of how it hurt to be pushed to the margins of society for generations, to be humiliated inti second class lives" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.65).

When Keating lost the prime ministership to John Howard, Premier Bob Carr (1995-2005), a good friend of Keating's, suggested to Keating that his conduct in the prime ministerial role over the last three years played a part in the resounding election defeat. The election failure hurt Keating profoundly and the loss to Howard gnawed at him for decades. He had wanted a different ending compared to all of the other leaders since Menzies. Keating was the "political fighter who seldom lost a battle" (Bramston, 2016, p.1) and he had hoped to leave politics a year after having secured a win in the 1996 election (Watson, 2002). Carr diarised that Keating "was desolate at the extent of the swing" (Carr in Bramston, 2016, p.1) and the revelations divulged the private side of Keating that was rarely exposed (Bramston, 2016). Keating had intimated to his friend Carr that he had cost him votes in the electorates of Lindsay, Macquarie and Parramatta in New South Wales due to the implementation of tollways. Carr had been tempted to respond that Keating had chosen to go to an election with an Australian Republic as part of the policy platform (Bramston, 2016).

Keating averred that he did not have any personal objections to Howard, only to his policies but did feel that Howard "had debased the prime ministership, and rejoiced when voters drove a stake through the dark heart of his [Howard's] government in 2007" (Bramston, 2016, p.3). Keating expressed that unequivocally, he acknowledged Howard's sincere commitment to public service (O'Brien, 2015). Keating's words often disconnected with his actions. The nature of Keating's hostility towards Howard was exemplified in Keating's refusal in 1995 to let the then Opposition Party Leader travel on the Australian VIP flight organised for Australian representatives to attend the funeral of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1974-1977; 1992-1995). For a long time, Rabin had been

working towards securing a peace settlement in the Middle East; he was assassinated in 1995 and Howard (2010) suggested that a nonpartisan approach by Keating would have been appropriate under the circumstances. A seat on the VIP flight was the only means Howard could avail of to get to Rabin's funeral. Previously, he and Keating had a comfortable relationship. In 1985 Keating had sought Howard's advice about relocating his family to Canberra (Howard, 2010), but Howard was now the enemy. As it transpired, when Keating was Treasurer, the Keating's moved every few years while they were in Canberra. The owners of the rental properties that they were staying in returned. Keating saw this predicament as an indictment of how senior political officials in Australia were treated (O'Brien, 2015). Even though Keating and Howard shared similar modest backgrounds, had both been stirred by Churchill, Keating said that Menzies would have renounced Howard as lacking adventure, too benign and too faint-hearted (O'Brien, 2015). Keating dismissed Howard's exposure to the issues of small business, obtained through knowledge of his fathers' petrol station in the suburb of Earlwood as insignificant compared to Keating's, derived from the Keating family business, that employed over a hundred employees (O'Brien, 2015). Watson (2002) wrote that Marlak Engineering, owned by Matt Keating and his partners, employed fifty people. Perhaps Keating's other issue with Howard was his awareness, like Howard's colleagues, that Howard could equal Keating in a political battle (Howard, 2010). Indeed, Keating acknowledged that Howard was a combatant (O'Brien, 2015).

The purpose of this introduction has been to identify some of the most critical factors that influenced the actions and discernments of Prime Minister Keating in his tenure as Prime Minister. The analysis continues, as with the preceding chapters, addressing the variables that Hillmer and Azzi (2011), applied as measures of political success.

Stable wielding of power

Keating's prime ministerial term extended to five years and three months, meeting the criteria set by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) of a stable wielding of power as one exceeding four years, although some provisos apply in this context. The Labor Party under Hawke's Prime Ministership had secured another election win on the

24th March 1990. Keating took over the leadership on the 20th December 1991 after deposing Hawke, undertaking an election for the first time in his own right on the 13th March 1993. Strangio et al. (2015) argue that Keating's win in the 1993 election went his way because he managed to portray the Opposition Leader John Hewson (1990-1994) "as even more unreliable, uncaring and arrogant than the Australian public saw Keating himself as being" (Strangio et al., 2015, p.180).

Whereas Hawke had apologised for the onset of the recession, that both he and Keating had said would not occur, Keating refused. Labor polling indicated "that while brilliant and exciting, he [Keating] was considered arrogant and nasty" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.300). d'Alpuget (2010) says that this was in contrast to the warm and loving Keating that those close to him experienced. Keating denied that the win to Labor in the 1993 election had anything to do with Hewson's proposal to introduce a fifteen per cent goods and services tax. "It was symbolic. We didn't win the election on that" (Keating in Edwards, 1996, p.21) but in fact the proposed tax did generate widespread concerns. Paradoxically, Keating had wanted to introduce a twelve and half per cent goods and services tax as part of his reform objectives, but Left-wing members of the party opposed it (Edwards, 1996; Howard, 2010). In a televised debate Keating focussed on making Hewson the issue rather than the economic capabilities of his government; he described the proposed goods and services tax as a "monster new tax" (Keating in Howard, 2010, p.193), utilising his deftness at simplification. An unexpected element assisted the Keating government in retaining office, ending Hewson's bid for the Prime Ministership, through an encapsulation of the fears associated with the introduction of the goods and services tax (GST). It came in the form of a television interview conducted by the journalist Mike Willesee on a program called A Current Affair on Australia's Nine Network that then snowballed to other media outlets. Willesee asked Hewson: "If I buy a birthday cake from a cake shop and GST is in place do I pay more or less for that birthday cake?" Hewson's answer was convoluted focussing on contingencies rather than offering a straightforward response. It depended on whether currently the cake attracted sales tax, the type of cake, whether it had candles, had icing or ice-cream or was a plain cake. Willesee suggested in response "If the answer to such a simple example was

so complicated, the goods and services tax was problematic" (Willesee in Sakzewski, 2019).

Just over two months into his Prime Ministership, on the 26 February 1992 Keating read a statement in the House of Representatives, relating to measures to achieve economic recovery. He stated that the benefits of the free-market reform measures that had been undertaken in the eighties would be coming to fruition, resulting in improvements to employment levels and increased demand for Australian products. To progress matters, the government would give an injection to spending delivered through a one-off payment totalling more than $300 million, to families with children. Additional incentives for private investment would be provided through courageous reforms, and the government would embark on significant capital works programs. These included building "railways, roads, ports, electricity grids, air terminals, waste-management plants, colleges, schools" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.110) amounting to over a billion dollars in construction expenditure. Keating announced that the government would construct a standard-gauge railway line linking Brisbane to Perth via Melbourne and Adelaide, opening up ports across Australia for exporting goods. Standard gauge lines were opened in 1995 (Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Cities and Regional Development, 2019). Keating stated that Australia's airline Qantas would embark on domestic flights within Australia and other domestic-based airlines would also conduct international flights. The aim was to increase efficiencies and reduce air travel costs. The government would seek the establishment of a National Grid Corporation in collaboration with State Premiers to connect customers and producers in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania. Keating said Australia had a high capacity to supply electricity but that it needed to be delivered more cheaply. The contention was that competition amongst the power companies would improve service delivery and reduce costs.

Keating sought re-election on the 2 March 1996. By this time, mounting foreign debt, high unemployment and high interest rates were causing widespread concern, and the ALP's ability to manage the economy was increasingly in question. Keating's "recession that we had to have" (O'Brien, 2015, p.366) had hit Australia very severely in the early 1990s countermanding Keating's assertions of his economic prowess. The recession was also the root cause of the decline of

the Hawke government (Blewett, 2016). The slump negated "much of Keating's political capital by exposing the limit to his self-professed mastery of the national economy's levers" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.148) as home-loan interest rates reached seventeen per cent. The Labor Party suffered a resounding defeat, Labor representation in the House of Representatives was reduced to forty nine; Keating immediately resigned as the Labor leader and from parliament, and leadership of the party went to Keating's deputy Kim Beazley (National Museum of Australia, 2018). Kim Beazley worked hard to distance the Labor Party from Keating's legacy of ignoring the distress that middle Australia was experiencing, admitting that Keating had disregarded their concerns (Crabb, 2005). There was a broader attempt by the Labor Party to remove Keating from the history of modern Labor (Crabb, 2005), an endeavour labelled by former New South Wales Senator John Faulkner as a mammoth mistake (McKew, 2013). Beazley apologised for Keating's perfunctory manner and assured the Australian constituency that the Keating government's economic reforms would be revised in light of the "ten billion dollar black hole left in the budget by the departing Keating" (Crabb, 2005, p.32). Beazley indicated that he would keep tariffs in the car and textile industries, restore workplace regulations to safeguard workers incomes and increase assistance measures for uncompetitive sectors.

Keating was not popular amongst grass roots Labor Party supporters. Keating's estrangement from traditional Labor was an interesting dichotomy, as the Labor heartland was from where he hailed and his Labor training began. Keating had lived in the suburb of Bankstown in Sydney. According to Keating, there was a "great clannishness" about the suburb as if it had a border around it. It had "a sodality" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.7) or a tribal feel. The residents' incomes were modest but not poor, the homes were made of fibro and everyone fixed their cars and people used to swap their spare parts. Kelly (2014) wrote that the Hawke-Keating period had initiated an "identity crisis" (Kelly, 2014, p.49) for the Labor Party. Protection and state controls and been replaced by deregulation of the economy and that Labor had to make a choice between reforms or stagnation (Johnson, 2013). Had Keating made the effort genuinely to engage with voters concerns the outcome might have differed.

Keating had failed in his storyline. He believed that in order for politicians to express what they stood for it was necessary for them to communicate it as a narrative. "When a government cannot convey a story, a consistent story, the people lose faith in the government" (Keating in Curran, 2004, p.20). ALP National Secretary Gary Gray commented: "Howard didn't steal the Labor base vote. Paul Keating drove people away because of his style, outlook and language" (Gray in Kelly, 2014, p.44). "Where Keating wanted to shape Australia and pummel out the ugliness that offended his moral and cultural aesthetic Howard offered to love Australia just the way it was" (Crabb, 2005, p.8). Research conducted by the Liberal Party indicated that Keating's policy pursuits, including a push for an Australian republic, Mabo and other minority interests, went against the conservative elements of Labor and were not popular with the electorate, more generally (Kelly, 2014). The voting public were facing more basic concerns. The New York stock market crash of October 1987 had a major impact on the Australian economy, plus the speculative economic growth that followed the government's moves to deregulate the economy was not sustained. In 1990-1991, the Australian economy slid into recession. Australian exports were unable to compete to the extent required in world markets. Rural and manufacturing industries were in crisis, jobs were lost, and unemployment escalated. Keating's observation that the recession had the required corrective effect on the Australian economy – 'This is the recession we had to have" – was widely condemned for the insensitivity it displayed (National Museum Australia, 2019) and public antipathy towards Keating was strong. Australians who had experienced long-term unemployment and financial hardship as a consequence of the recession in the 1990s attributed their privations to Keating. One in ten Australians did not have a job (O'Brien, 2013).

The problem, according to the Governor of the Reserve Bank Ian Macfarlane (1996-2006) was not de-regulation but a lack of understanding of the consequences of the transition phase between an unregulated economic system, initiated by Hawke and Keating and a regulated one. Macfarlane had warned that the economy would slow down for a lengthier and in a more profound way than Treasury was anticipating (O'Brien, 2015). The unemployment figures were escalating, extending to a million people unemployed within two years (Edwards,

(1996). Edwards (1996) says that the forecast models from Treasury were inaccurate and posed the question as to whether this had resulted in bad policy decisions. Even when it became clear that a major recession was evident, the Treasury had advised the Treasurer "of a soft landing" (Edwards, 1996, p.394; Strangio et al, 2015). The important deficiency was not in the quality of his advisor's projections but their assessments. They neglected the import of the boom in property prices and its connection to monetary policy. "Having said all that, Keating cannot, as Treasurer, escape responsibility for the quality of analysis or the errors of policy" (Edwards, 1996, p.394). He had disagreed with very little of the advice and could have insisted that a rate cut be applied between May and August of 1990 (Edwards, 1996). In February 1992, Keating had released the One Nation economic plan that included income tax cuts and the promise to create 800,000 new jobs to combat rising unemployment. The tax reductions did not materialise; the intended lessening of government debt was neglected in favour of a social and cultural agenda. Keating's confidence that the tax cuts would ensue prompted him to describe them as 'L.A.W. Law' (Gillard, 2014).

Keating also sought to apportion blame for the election loss to others. He remained angry for years over the divide that occurred between the Prime Minister's Office and the Labor Party Campaign offices during the 1996 election campaign. "He will never accept that party officials might be smarter on campaign strategy than a leader who had been making sharp political judgements for thirteen years, and is particularly angry that they didn't give him even a sliver of a chance of beating John Howard" (O'Brien, 2015, p.ix). The journalist Kerry O'Brien commented that the intensity of Keating's feelings so many years after these events took place, is a reflection of the "intensity and complexity of the man" (ibid). It might also signal that Keating was unwilling to accept, irrespective of the campaign strategies, that the Australian public surmised that they needed a more socially intelligent perspective on their most immediate interests, together with grander visions.

On reflecting on his election loss in 1996 in a conversation to Premier Bob Carr of New South Wales Keating bemoaned the extent of what was anticipated by Australian's from their politicians. "I don't know what you are supposed to do for them" … "Give them a Porsche, a house?" (Bramston, 2016, p.2). Although

Hewett deemed the concerns of the electorate excessively exaggerated, Minister John Button had also flagged worries amongst the electorate regarding a seeming non-awareness of the direction in which the country was going, "national identity, the flag, the push into Asia and so on" (Button in Hewett, 1999, p.123). Bramston (2016) suggests that voters' perceptions of Keating as arrogant were misguided. "In truth he was driven by pride rather than by vanity" (Bramston, 2016, p.3). It might be argued that the distinction between these two traits is potentially slight, particularly in light of Bramston's further comment that Keating was relentless in his ambition. "His ambition would steamroll anybody in his path" (Bramston, 2016, p.6).Mark Latham's assessment was that it was not Keating's approach that was the impediment but instead the perception by the electorate of his government's lack of attention to the "bread-and butter-issues-living standards, basic services, supporting the majority instead of minority interest groups" (Latham, 2005, p.31).

Well defined and communicated goals

Keating gave preference to speeches as a tool to communicate his goals considering them unparalleled as the noblest aspect of public life, providing a forum for reasoning, explanation and the articulation of future propositions (Keating, 2012). Superficially it might be argued that the need for speedy and succinct media sound bites has rendered the political speech as an archaism of another era; nonetheless, the value of a speech is its relationship with the truth. The inherent nature of speeches is that for any kind of authority they compel a level of argument that is reasoned, based on evidence or at least must traverse some of the more complex components of the issue at hand (Watson, 2002). Shortly after becoming Prime Minister, Keating delivered a speech to welcome President George Bush to Kirribilli, unseen by Watson but witnessed by Watson's father. He dubbed the speech "pathetic" and "embarrassing" (Watson, 2002, p.71). Subsequently, Keating was encouraged by his advisors to hire a speechwriter.

Some of Keating's best legacy lies in the expression of his objectives through the speeches he gave. Watson (2002) wrote that "Speechwriters write speeches but politicians own them. If a speech sinks, the politician sinks with it" … "A political leader chooses from the words the speechwriter has chosen: if he chooses all or

half of them, it doesn't matter, the speech is his and never the writer's. This is as it should be" (Watson, 2002, p.57).

A selection from one of Keating's speeches provides a clear message on Keating's approach to leadership and encompasses the leader as coach and Keating's wilfulness was in part a corollary of his determination to remake the world, a partner to his heroic impulse" (Watson, 2002, p.217), Keating was governed by his vision for Australia (Watson, 2002). "I take the view – and the longer I am in politics the more [Keating's emphasis] I take it-that the minimum responsibility of government is to at least have the courage of the people. I mean the courage of a person who starts a business or a farm, or the person who migrates and makes a home here, or the people who have gone to war for us or in peace laboured to create the wealth we now enjoy. The ultimate responsibility of government, I think, boils down to this: to live up to the same faith, to invest in the future with the same courage" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.155).

Keating was neither trained nor had he practiced as a professional economist: he learned economics as he proceeded in his role as Treasurer in the Hawke government. Initially, Keating resonated with the electorate because of his capacity to explain economic matters simply, but during his Prime Ministerial term Keating's expressions of economic clarity turned to contemptuous dismissal and impatience when public opinions ran contrary to his own (Crabb, 2005). Protesting university students were told to "Go and get a job" (Keating in Crabb, 2005, p.8), and there was insensitivity to the Australian economic concerns: "I mean, what are people going on about?" (Keating in Crabb, 2005, p.7). To be of merit to the populace, Keating asserted that political individuals must of necessity be decisive in their decision making (Keating, 2012). In Keating's terms, this meant that Australians had to abide by his decisions for them. "He had to be right" (O'Brien, 2013). Although Keating did not enjoy engaging with the Australian public there was an aspect to his character that worked in his favour. According to James (Jim) McClelland, the factor that Keating had in his favour was his "ability to build around himself an aura of infallibility and to portray those who disagree with him as sentimental backward-looking fossils" (McClelland in Maddox, 1989, p.92). This tactic proved to have limitations in the longer term. Beazley's reflection was that, as a representative of the Australian people, it was incumbent upon Keating

to accept their views. He also reinforced Hawke's earlier message to Keating that it was necessary to engage with the public: "… and part of the prime ministerial job is politics. Bob [Hawke] loved the politics, Bob really enjoyed meeting people and being popular and the rest of it, while Keating despised it" (Strangio et al., 179).

"Keating played a hard game, a ferocious game, and suffered significant payback" (McKew, 2013, p.16). Former Labor Party Leader Mark Latham (2003-2005), said that Keating also seemed to be irritated by the censure applied to his style of presentation in parliament; Keating's response in the House of Representatives was, "You either run over them or they run over you" (Keating in Latham, 2005, p.31). He did more than crush the Opposition with his invective, and despite touting himself as someone of refined taste, the behaviour he exercised in parliament belied such a description. In the political domain, Keating was reminiscent of the schoolyard bully releasing his loud, flamboyant and rough tirades against his enemies in parliament, a persona juxtaposed against the aesthetic style of Keating, with his Italian suits, preference for wine, the collecting of antiques and listening to classical music (Strangio et al., 2017). Keating's speeches alternated between exemplars of political oratory or lacerating attacks on his opponents, likened to cropping a hedge (Bramston, 2016, p.5).

Keating would release ongoing tirades against the Opposition. On a regular basis they were referred to as: "gargoyles, perfumed gigolos, mangy maggots, fish that jump on the hook for you, bunyip aristocrats, gutless spivs, scumbags, pissants, intellectual hoboes, resident nutters, little desiccated coconuts and pansies, who are going troppo, are all tip and no iceberg, need a Valium, and who will be squashed like rats or done slowly" (Strangio et al., 2017, pp.176-177). One of Keating's colleagues reflected "I think one of Paul's problems was he had perhaps a bit too much Irish in him, he'd not only fight, but he wouldn't stop fighting sometimes, and it's what made me rather deeply attracted to him. But it's not always the best quality" (Hayden on Radio National, 2005). Hayden, like Hawke, was another of Keating's colleagues who fell out of favour with Keating, although Bramston maintains that the affection Keating felt remained (Bramston, 2016). The Senate was called "unrepresentative swill" (Keating in Watson & Phillips, 10th May, 2019). Journalist Alan Ramsay from the Sydney Morning Herald said

that as well as seducing the media on occasions Keating was, in other instances, a thug (Watson, 2002). Keating compared "Malcolm Fraser to an Easter Island statue with an arse full of razor blades" (Bramston, 2016, p.8). The Opposition Leader John Hewson (1990-1994) to a "shiver looking for a spine to run up" (ibid) and in response to Hewson's question as to why Keating wouldn't call an early election Keating said "The answer is mate, because I want to do you slowly" (Bramston, 2016, p.8), The parliament is intended as a forum for debate and Keating had long expressed his advocacy of politics as a "contest of ideas and for ideas" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.30) amid the competing parties; amongst those with or deprived of ideas; and the pragmatic doers rather than the talking posturers. Except that for Keating the capacity for the highest levels of debate resided within the Labor Party. Keating had objected when Hawke introduced televised broadcasts of parliament's proceedings, as it would reduce the function of the parliament and focus attention on performances (Watson, 2002). Yet Keating did nothing to ameliorate the degradation he so feared; he utilised it. To Keating parliament was the vehicle for psychological combat. "Politics was power, it was the hunt, the game, a way to the unrivalled pleasure of destroying his enemies-but it was, as well, always an act of creation" (Watson, 2002, p.xi). Keating derived much entertainment value from his own parliamentary performances, with the derogatory comments he sprouted. Keating argued that the words he used were not "…profane words. They're just plain words, arranged properly" (Keating in Strangio et al., 2017, p.176). This was a significant difference between Hawke and Keating: Hawke was not enthused about parliament but Keating was. Keating enjoyed the attention he got in this arena and confessed that he did prepare the insults before using them in the parliament: "It takes a lot of years to make hammers out of words" (Keating in Strangio et al., 2018).

Keating maintained that his proficiency in parliament was his "forensic analysis of an issue" (Keating in Strangio et al., 2017, p.176). However, Keating devised and implemented a ministerial roster system for Question Time in parliament which it was argued reduced the level of accountability of government ministers and exposure to interrogations concerning policy. Ministers were only required to attend the parliament every second day. The system was promoted by Labor as allowing Ministers to attend events outside of Canberra but although Ministers did

not attend question time they did appear for the vote and debates that followed Question Time. The number of questions posed was also reduced but the length of Question Time increased (Parliament of Australia, 173/1998).

Vision and priorities

Keating's central pursuits as Prime Minister included attention to Aboriginal Land Rights and an Australian Republic. On assuming the role of Prime Minister, Keating began his advocacy not only for the republic but a change in Australia's flag (Keating, 2013). His vision for Australia was predicated on Australia revising its view of itself; breaking free from its British past and reconciling with Aboriginal Australians. If that took place Australia could be a great country. Keating leaned towards a radical change of Australia's nationalism that in Keating's view could only be achieved through the establishment of an Australian Republic (Curran, 2004). Curran (2004) suggests that Keating's vision on occasion lacked maturity and inclusivity. Keating had said "Australia should have the complexion of an Asian country and not a European country" (Keating in Curran, 2004, p.271). In his early days as Treasurer Hawke invited Keating to accompany him on the first section of his overseas trip, starting in Asia. Keating advised Graham Evans who ran Hawke's Office, he would not be travelling to Asia, "because Asia was somewhere you flew over on your way to Europe" (Keating in d'Alpuget, p.65). Keating wanted Australia, to be efficient, competitive, cosmopolitan and integrated with the Asian region. "We're not going to be making Canon cameras out in Parramatta because we're not going to be able to make a camera competitively with lots of other countries. But we can put telephone technology into Indonesia and Thailand" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.5). Keating maintained that Australia's prosperity and security lay with large-scale engagement with Asia. Keating rejected claims that the government was trying to convert Australia into an Asian country and that this had been "a misinterpretation of the policy course that the government was pursuing and his approach" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.69).

Keating's emphasis overall was that Australia's future lay with a new type of Australian who could expend capital and hire people. Principal growth in the economy would be generated from the private economy rather than the public

economy (O'Brien, 2015). Keating had been influenced by his father's perspectives and business interests that supporting the Labor Party and trade unions did not preclude a focus on business and the economic and financial marketplace. His father's view was that a Labor government could combine an emphasis on managing economies and deliver improved circumstances for employees, employers and the market overall (Edwards, 1996).

Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was not impressed by Keating's vision for Australia. He thought it was hypocritical of Keating to suggest that he was more concerned about Australia's interests than any other Australian Prime Minister:

> "Well it is an irony. The loans affair to buy back Australia and Keating's 1980 economics to sell off every last vestige of Australia's dignity and self-esteem to somebody else, and then to pretend that he's the only prime minister who's prepared to stand for Australian dignity and independence".

With some prescience, Malcolm Fraser criticised the extent of Keating's preparedness to allow the financial markets to operate unsupervised, rightly arguing that this was not in the interests of Australia:

> "… where there are no government rules for fair play is saying to those with the most dollars, you can buy anything you like, and in the last ten years they've demonstrated that. They'll be selling the ABC next. And it'll only be a foreigner who'll buy it" (Fraser in Hughes, 1994, 13th April, Tape 6).

As the recent Royal Commission into Misconduct in the Banking, Superannuation and Financial Services Industry (Hayne, 2019) has demonstrated, Fraser's early reservations regarding unfettered markets were warranted. Others such as Partnoy (2004:2012) have concurred with such assessments. Such was the extent of the problems identified by the Royal Commission, the Commissioner had to preface his final report, that not all cases could be investigated or heard because to do so would have taken years and those that "were chosen were selected as reasonably illustrative of the kinds of conduct about which members of the public had complained" (Hayne, 2019, p.xxxv).

Ironically the Labour movement that had forged Keating's political development was weakened as a consequence of the economic reforms that he pursued. The industries that had been mainstay employers of Labor members had collapsed. The impact was affecting donations and union fees to support Labor campaigns. In the context of globalisation, the opportunity for industry regulation and protection of local markets from cheaply made foreign goods was dissipated. Consequently, the Labor Party was unable to extend the same safeguards to workers, making it easier for their members to be swayed in their political allegiances (Crabb, 2005). Hawke and Keating both challenged the view that they had "forged a political culture utterly divorced from Labor's traditional beliefs" (Strangio et al; 2017). Keating said, "Australia has rejected the socially regressive forms of economic rationalism in favour of structural reform allied to inclusive social policies" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, pp.125-126).

Keating's exposure to politics began very early. When he was ten years old, he would help his father deliver Labor Party campaign material to letterboxes in the streets. Each member was allocated a grid of streets that they had to canvass. The "obsession" in the Keating household was the removal of Menzies, Keating's focus became learning about power. His visits to Lang as the "indefatigable warrior" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.27) included what Lang could convey in this regard "but it wasn't that I wanted power for power's sake" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.28). When he was twenty-one, Keating was elected President of the New South Wales Branch of the ALP Youth Council; from this point on, Keating began to engage with the Labor Party hierarchy (O'Brien, 2015). Making use of his extensive contacts, Keating sought endorsement for the seat of Blaxland. In an interview with his biographer, Keating displayed a map he had made of his electorate detailing the branch boundaries. Bramston (2016) drew an analogy comparing Keating to Napoléon surveying the scope of his battlefield. In 1969 Keating was elected to the House of Representatives at the age of twenty-five. During the Whitlam government he served on the back bench until October 1975 when he was appointed Minister for Northern Australia. The role was short lived as a consequence of the dismissal of the Whitlam government. Keating did not admire Whitlam's political acumen or Whitlam's understanding of economic policy. He believed that Whitlam had underrated Keating because he did not hold

a university degree, although Edwards (1996) wrote that Keating was more alike to Whitlam than Hawke. In 1981 Keating was appointed as President of the New South Wales Labor Party and consequentially was the leader of the right-wing faction.

Skilful cabinet and party management

After his win in the 1993 election, the Caucus allowed Keating substantial freedom in selecting members for the ministry. In the nine months that followed, the results indicated that this had not been a prudent decision. In December that year, a major reshuffle was undertaken, and the liberty of personal selection was not repeated (Hawke, 1994, p.156). "Robert Haupt described Keating as a faction on his own" (Maddox, 1989, p.93). This was because there was such a great divide between what Keating wanted Labor to do and everything the Labor Party represented. Keating said that his message to Cabinet was "We do not cut corners. We're always going to try to get the best we can. Keep the logic with us" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.40). Latham conveyed a story about the way Keating interacted with his colleagues in Cabinet. At a private lunch, Keating was celebrating the fact that he had driven a new deregulatory policy through Cabinet. "Yeah, I got them to agree to it, but they don't really believe in it" (Keating in Kelly, 2014, p.55). The assessment of Latham was that this was the perfect anecdote to describe disconnects between Keating and the conservatism in the Labor Party.

Keating was habitually late for Cabinet meetings, and as he chaired them, it meant that they couldn't start until he arrived. Cabinet meeting times would frequently be changed. "In his mind, he was putting substance before procedure. In the minds of his ministers, he was simply disorganised" (Edwards, 1996, p.466). As well as criticising the Opposition, Keating also censured his own Labor party colleagues, members of the left wing. Labor colleagues who supported the Government exercising higher levels of control over the economy, rather than just a free-market form, were labelled by Keating as "Neanderthal leftists" (Lohr, 1995).

Keating was less disciplined than Hawke in the position of Prime Minister. Keating's conviction of his talent and intelligence in the advocacy of his ideas, shaped his approach to both the Cabinet and Caucus, each dominated by Keating.

The cabinet team was submissive to Keating as a consequence of his "personal force" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.183). At the outset, Neil Blewett, Minister for Social Security (1991-1993), considered that under Keating, Cabinet collegiality had been enhanced compared to that of Hawke's in the latter years (Blewett, 1999) but the procedure he outlines suggest limitations to open discussion. Ministers each in their turn, had one opportunity to comment on a submission. After that, only Keating, his Treasurer, and the minister responsible for the proposal would comment, with rare exception (Blewett, 1999). Moreover, the number of formal Cabinet meetings diminished. Under Keating, the Cabinet would be consulted only if Keating wanted to confer with its members (Strangio et al., 2017). Concerns were expressed about Keating relying on a very narrow circle of advice (Watson, 2002). The Cabinet was sidestepped for executive decision making by a select group of advisors in Keating's Office. Keating had chosen ministers who were prepared to accept his intermittent practice of publicising government initiatives without first taking them to the Cabinet. (Strangio et al., 2017). On the 30th May 1992 Keating revealed that Australian Airlines, owned by the government, would be sold to Qantas and seventy-five per cent of the airline would then be privatised. The policy had stalled in Caucus; strategically, Keating decided to bypass Cabinet and announce the plan in an interview with Journalist Laurie Oakes on Channel Nine in Australia (Watson, 2002; O'Brien, 2015). The sale of more than forty-nine percent of the airline breached Labor Party policy. Keating also disclosed to Oakes that pay television was to be introduced and that forty-five per cent ownership could be spread across current television networks, limited to twenty per cent each. In addition, a Commonwealth Vocational Educational System was to be established to mitigate inflexibility by the States. Keating had made this calculated move with the policy announcements "to seize back the initiative" (Watson, 2002, p.198). Keating was confident he could then persuade Cabinet to side-step Labor Party Policy on the ownership rule of Qantas. Watson (2002) wrote that the ramifications of the pay-tv policy, in different quarters, were thought to be increased wealth and power to those already in that position, job opportunities, the potential for increased American content over Australian shows and the possibility that Australians might have to pay to watch sport. It appears that no-one considered the other ramification that occurred, that for people unable to pay for

subscription services and thus limited to viewing free to air television, programming quality has been eroded. The number of repeats is excessive and a cheap entertainment and educational option for those who can least afford it has been removed.

Watson (2002) wrote that the overall character of operations in the Keating office reflected the character of one of Keating's adviser's, former Treasury official Don Russell. Russell was described as a "sophist who handled people and affairs with that mixture of cold-calculation and serene ineptness" (Watson, 2002, p.31). The new Parliament House was built in 1988, and under his tenure Keating made a change. He had a door added in the changing room behind his desk. This door linked directly to his Chief of Staff's office. It gave Keating the option to depart unseen, bypass the foyer and potentially anyone who was waiting there (Weller, 2014). At other times Keating would hide in his dressing room and advise his staff to say that he was not in (Edwards, 1996). Watson (2002) says that on occasion, Keating looked and felt like a rat in a cage as monitors at desks at separate ends of the space would indicate his movements. "There were occasions when it was necessary to lie in wait for him with all three exits blocked" (Watson, 2002, p.150). If Keating was seen via the monitors donning his coat, this was quickly communicated, and the staff would dash to all of the exits to prevent his departure. When he wasn't spotted on the monitors a screech of tyres would reveal that Keating's driver, Jimmy Warner, had picked Keating up and they were on route to the Prime Minister's residence. Warner was always at Parliament House and on standby (Watson, 2002). Keating's driver had been with the Keating family since Keating was Treasurer. Warner was also an ever present and steady feature of the Keating children's lives, to the extent that he would sometimes be on hairbrush duty for their daughter Katherine or signing their other daughter into camp at Brownies. Every night Warner would sit around in the cramped surrounds of the Treasurer's office, firstly in the old Parliament House and then later in a more salubrious setting in the new Parliament House. When Budgets were being drafted, he was sent out to collect pizza and chicken curry then Warner would watch television and study the racing guides until two or three am. As they would drive home, Keating and Warner would discuss the upcoming commitments of the family, and then Keating would offer advice on the fastest way to go home. Warner

in non-polite terms would tell Keating that as he was driving, he would determine the navigation. Keating would then commence an outpouring of his woes of the day, with Warner tuning out but responding with an intermittent acknowledgment of "yes … yes, mate … yes" (Edwards, 1996, p.4).

Keating always tried to come home for dinner with the family at seven pm and then at eight pm his six-year-old daughter Alexandra would ask him to lie down with her as she felt lonely going to sleep on her own. Occasionally he would, and then he too would fall asleep. At about nine pm or nine-fifteen, Warner would pick him up, and they would return to Parliament House (O'Brien, 2015). Hawke said that Keating was one of the most committed politicians to family that he knew (d'Alpuget, 2010). During the six months when Keating was on the backbench and plotting to usurp Hawke, Warner worked for Keating differently. As he drove around other Labor politicians, Warner would quiz them in a jovial way about how they would vote regarding the leadership and then would report to Keating, at this stage living with the family in a rental home in Beagle Street, Red Hill. Aware of the direct reporting line, Keating's colleagues would respond equally breezily with the response they thought Keating would prefer to hear (Edwards, 1996).

In addition to returning home to the Lodge Keating liked to escape and go and visit the Abels music store in Manuka; he would do so surreptitiously and would be away for hours. In 1996, together with the owner of Abels, Keating had wrestled with what music ought to accompany the launch for his re-election campaign (Crabb, 2005). Keating's interest in classical music started when he was twelve years old. He had been out bike riding with a friend and went back to his house. His friend's father was sitting on the veranda listening to the Warsaw Concerto. The flipside of the album had Rachmaninoff's second piano concerto and a life-long love of classical music was born. "It'd become one of the most important things in my life" (O'Brien, 2015, p.31). "All our minds are wired; the DNA is wired for music" (ibid). Neither Keating's father nor mother listened to music or went to see art galleries or read books (Edwards, 1996).

As well as escaping for hours to browse through a music store, Keating adopted a working pattern substantially different from what might have been anticipated, given the nature of his Treasurer role. With little reference to the 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) of his colleagues or other confidantes, such as

Warner, Keating operated on his own schedule and was not concerned about detaining people, including while he returned to the Lodge to have dinner (Weller, 2014). In this, he seems to have resembled Rudd's behaviours towards his colleagues.

"Everybody who knows Paul knows that working long hours for weeks at a stretch does not come easily to him" (Hawke, 1994, p.448). In general terms, Keating "was a late arriver and an early leaver. He had come to accommodate the job of Treasurer within a congenial time-frame" (ibid). Hawke had emphasised this habit when Keating had stated that, upon becoming Prime Minister, he would retain the role of Treasurer. Hawke conveyed to Keating that he really had no concept of what was entailed in the role of Prime Minister. Hawke indicated that it was rare for him not to work sixteen-hour days or more (Hawke, 1994). Keating's advisor Don Russell persuaded Keating against keeping the Treasury portfolio; Keating said that if had retained it "he would have calibrated things more closely" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.469).

Hawke had been prescient in his comments about Keating's stamina. Keating was described as "playing brinkmanship with his health all the time" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.177) before the Prime Ministership. When he achieved this goal, there was a problem with marrying his energy levels with what he had to do. It was observed that he had "become more erratic – puzzling, infuriating and at times worrying his closest advisers" (ibid).

Only exceptionally, for a foreign delegation, would Keating's driver arrive between eight or nine am, usually he was requested between ten, and eleven am. Somewhat ironically, in 1990, Keating had suggested that the former national ethos in the 1980s embracing the thirty-five hour week as an adequate way of achieving the aspiration of a home, a car and a weekender, of necessity had to change. "Well it wasn't enough" Keating declared (Keating, in Ryan, 1995, p.6). In the context of hours Keating lauded Whitlam for passing the eleven o'clock rule which improved the hours within parliament but the sitting lengths extended. In the era of Keating's first parliament members would go back to the Kurrajong Hotel, shower and change and return to parliament. Supper of sausage rolls, sausages, mashed potato and a range of other foods was served at 3am. Members

would find anywhere they could to sleep including the corridors as many offices were shared (Keating in Ryan, 1995).

Keating worked on a centralist rather than consensus style of decision making. His preference was to develop decisions as a result of conferring with a small inner circle of colleagues, and then he applied the decisions through the various party and government routes. He did not employ an open-door policy for colleagues to raise their concerns or brainstorm ideas. Instead, Keating's office staff were instructed to filter his visitors to avoid what he deemed as time wasters (Strangio et al., 2017). Commonplace activities, such as listening and informal chatting to staff, perhaps reflect a greater relationship to leadership than do grandiose plans (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003, 2005). Burchell suggested that intransigence and overconfidence was not uncommon amongst the self-educated. As Keating had worked hard to educate himself and form his opinions he was inclined to annoyance with people or circumstances he perceived to be undeserving of his attention (Crabb, 2005).Keating's approach contrasted to the period of Hawke's Prime Ministership when, on many occasions, Keating together with his staff, would come up to Hawke's office to discuss whatever was pressing for him. Although the same option was also available to all of the government ministers, Hawke admitted to indulging Keating in this regard (Hawke, 1994).

The key area where unity existed was in Keating's personal office. The staff who worked there were all handpicked and the culture was one of a family working together or an elite club. All were regarded as friends, and it was a "protective arrangement" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.184). Strangio et al.; (2015) indicate that with his advisors and several Treasury and Reserve Bank Officials, there was mutual devotion and fondness between them and Keating. Keating acknowledged the long hours that all the staff who supported the political process expended, as well as the Hansard staff (Ryan, 1995). Edwards (1996) refers to Keating's "most cheerful relationships" … "not friendships" (Edwards, 1996, p.237) beyond his family included his office staff. His principal private secretary Tony Cole, his tax advisor Greg Smith, Barbara Ward and Barry Hughes. Edwards (1996) suggests that these relationships were uncomplicated because the people involved were not rivals. Staff operated on a first name basis, their views were requested and listened to, birthdays were celebrated, Keating expressed his gratitude to them and within

the press gallery and other offices the staff were "reputed" …"to be extremely loyal" (Edwards, 1996, p.237), speaking freely within the office and not gossiping about the Treasurer or office outside its confines. By contrast to the portrayal by Strangio et al (2017) Watson (2002) detailed that Keating was

> "like a prima donna who never goes on stage without a tantrum, or a brawl or some mysterious illness, or with anything resembling mastery of her lines, and then after a peerless performance has to be dragged from it while a team of lackeys gather up the flowers" (Watson, 2002, p.151).

d'Alpuget (2010) wrote that Hawke's staff believed that the revelations made by two of Keating's biographers about Keating's behaviours demonstrated disloyalty to Keating and that Keating, "like Hawke, was considerate and affectionate with his office staff" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.156). Strangely, d'Alpuget does not name the biographers within the text of the book but it is immediately clear that the reference is to the biographies completed by Watson (2002) and Edwards (1996), with the authors being referenced in the notes section of the book. d'Alpuget (2010) concludes "that while not intentionally derogatory, [they] were not helpful to his reputation" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.156). Detailing their experiences does not constitute a betrayal, as with the Cabinet diaries completed by Ministers Hewett (1999) and Evans (2014). John Edwards was the senior economic advisor to Keating from 1991-1994 (to Keating as Treasurer and then as Prime Minister) and Don Watson was Keating's speechwriter from 1992. These individuals were immersed in the workings of Keating's office, with both biographies offering thoughtful appraisals that are extensive in their detail.

Watson (20020 says that Keating's staff bore the brunt of his mood swings as with them Keating felt less inclined to disguise his frame of mind. While they could contend with the less frequent fits of Keating's rage and irritation, as opposed to his spells of enthusiasm, they had to work hard at not being consumed by his black moods (Watson, 2002, p.151). Keating's depression was linked to family stresses. As Hawke had intimated the pressures of the Prime Ministership were more intense than that of Treasurer. Keating was not comfortable with the amount of engagements that his wife Annita had to absorb, that kept her away from their

children. Interestingly Keating's Maiden Speech to the House of Representatives raised the ire of feminists, he had encouraged policies for women to return home from the workforce to nurture their families. Annita undertook work connected to campaigning in the fight against breast cancer; the Olympics in Sydney; Australian fashion and the arts. Keating's firm belief was that the public had no claim to either his wife or children's time (Watson, 2002). Keating's marriage to Annita came under stresses as soon as Keating assumed the role of Prime Minister and they moved into the Lodge; his office staff were conscious that things were amiss but were never aware of any details (d'Alpuget, 2010). "It seemed to him that life had not been the same since Annita began to fulfil her duties so conscientiously" (Watson, 2002, p.334). There also appears to have been an iciness in relations between Annita and Keating's mother. Edwards (1996) wrote that at Keating's wedding to Annita Min Keating's "expression was one of cheerless desolation" (Edwards, 1996, p.39). In 1998 Keating announced to Annita, at a dinner party with friends that their marriage was over. In an interview Annita revealed that she had been afraid of Keating during their marriage, "he can't control me anymore" (Sydney Morning Herald, 2004, 20th April).

Six months prior to meeting Annita, Keating had been engaged to a woman from the neighbouring suburb of Kingsgrove. Keating was on a work trip to Europe with a colleague with a stopover in Bangkok for the connecting flight. Annita Van Iersal was working as a hostess, in the first-class cabin of the Alitalia plane on the Bangkok section of the journey. When he and his colleague left the plane Keating pretended that he had forgotten something but he had returned to give Annita his business card. Keating and Annita met up for dinner a short time later, Keating broke off his engagement and his former fiancée sued Keating for breach of promise. The courtship with Annita spanned three and a half years, Annita was based in Rome and Keating travelled the world trailing her. The pair married in 1975 and over ten years later Wilson Tuckey raised the topic of Keating's former fiancée in parliament and Edwards (1996) says that Keating went "white with anger and distress" (Edwards, 1996, p.117).

The appraisal by Edwards (1996) of the Prime Minister's Office went from a positive assessment in the first week to highlighting the need for urgent changes by the third week. For instance, it was revealed that Keating's office had not issued

replies to letters, numbering in the hundreds that had been sent to the Prime Minister's wife Annita. Both Ministers and Senior Public Servants criticised the Prime Minsters Office for acting as a very restricted funnel. Frequently Keating would arrive late and then depart before critical tasks were completed. Keating would not be persuaded to sign correspondence until he was prepared to do so and cumulatively given other competing tasks, which might be six months after the correspondence had been drafted. Nor would Keating promise to attend engagements unless all possibilities of evading them had been effected. To that end responses to invitations were delayed until several months after they were received. Alternatively, Keating would commit to attendance and then ask a staff member Peter Robinson to cancel. Watson (2002) wrote that Keating cancelled speeches that had been formally organised through his office, without telling anyone, with excuses that were vague. Attempts to improve the way the Prime Minister's Office worked were only partially successful. Some staff absorbed the work of three staff whereas others spent fifty percent of their time in the parliament house pool (Watson, 2002). Keating's response to assertions that his Cabinet colleagues were increasingly frustrated by the level of disorder in his office, lateness to meetings, early departures and still being at the Prime Ministers' residence at midday in pyjamas: "That is just nonsense. No one in the Prime Ministership had ever worked at my level" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.737).

Creation of unity versus dissent

In a special caucus meeting Keating advised his Caucus colleagues, taking a Machiavellian approach, that the "conservatives are bad people and have always been bad people. It is the task of Labor to attack them constantly …; indeed we all have to become villains in the cause" (Keating in Blewett, 199, p.139). Keating described the Liberal Party "at best reactive and at worst prey to fashion and extremism" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.154). The problem with such a simplistic approach is the negation of benefits that might be derived from collaborations between political parties. Indeed, many of the policies introduced by the Hawke government had been subject to bipartisan support (Howard, 2010) despite Keating's assertion that conservatives "want the world to stand still" (Keating in

Ryan, 1995, p.13[27]). Keating was adamant that only the Labor Party could act as a conduit of the vision and means for Australia to navigate change as circumstances demanded it (Ryan, 1995[28]). In the combative system of politics Keating was the most antagonistic. "He refused to give his opponent anything ever" (Watson, 2002, p.446).

Keating's parents' contempt of Menzies repeated re-election influenced the undertone of Keating's memories, demarcating the Menzies era as devoid of a unique Australian nationalism. He had resolved that in the future he would "make life miserable for the Liberal Party" (Keating in Watson, 2002, p. 5). Keating considered that Australia had missed opportunities for good ideas to be articulated and acted on during the fifties through to the seventies, reflecting on these lost chances provided Keating with the motivation for action.

Keating believed he had more of a grass roots perspective than Hawke ever could have. He was not impressed at Hawke's suggestion that he should go out and meet the Australian public. Keating's contention was that Hawke was far more removed from the Australian public than he was:

> "Bob went from university to Oxford and then was shoehorned into the ACTU. And I'm down here, starting at fifteen, as raw as it can possibly be, and spending a very large part of my time there, and then later as a trade union official to my mid-twenties. I had the whole mindset of working Australia pretty much off pat. Once you are inoculated with the real world there is no antidote. It's always in your bloodstream." (O'Brien, 2015, p.41)

"Hawke and Keating were very different personalities, with dissimilar temperaments and unlike interests" (Bramston, 2016, p.6) but aligned on their policy perspectives. There was mutual respect and affection combined with disdain and enmity.

As is well documented, Hawke's work in the ACTU had all been about advocacy for Australian Workers. Keating's further comment about being inherently connected to working Australians as a consequence of a job he held in his twenties

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[27] Sydney, 27 November, 1992 Political Life Speech at the Walkley Awards.
[28] Canberra, 13 August, 1993 The Story of Australia Speech, National Library twenty-fifth anniversary,

is problematic on two fronts. It implies, firstly, that nothing had changed for working Australians in the twenty years since he had held the role as a trade union official; secondly, that one engagement with the Australian people in one set of contexts would suffice for evermore, because the experience was inculcated within him.

A firm record of accomplishments

Keating outlined his successes as including: "the best conjunction of economic circumstances in memory" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.32[29]), the competitiveness of the Australian economy and external focus, the sophistication of social programmes and policies and achieving an attitudinal and cultural shift in Australia combined with the capacity to initiate change. Keating described it as a "Jackson Pollock and Picasso all mixed into one potent policy pot" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.757). As has already been identified in the chapter Keating's sole ownership claim to economic reforms is overstated and strategic errors were made with regard to Australia's transition period from a regulated to an unregulated marketplace.

Achievements that were enacted during Keating's tenure included: the passing of the Australian National Training Act to provide for a youth training wage, further superannuation measures were introduced, including increased contributions by employers. Keating maintained that retirement savings from superannuation would create a substantial investment fund to enhance Australia. Keating had advocated that fifteen per cent of salaries should be allocated to super and by the time he left office the allocation was at nine per cent. Love (2008) suggests that had it reached fifteen percent Australia may have been protected from future credit squeezes.

In June 1993, the Native Title Bill aimed to balance the rights of Indigenous Australians to native title with protection of pastoral and mining operations. Keating introduced the Native Title Act in 1993 (16 November) and the Land Fund Bill 1994 (30 August). The Native Title Act set standards for any dealings

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Brisbane 16th May 1994, Greek Club Cracker Night Speech, Address to Labor Party Dinner

pertaining to native title. It also provided a mechanism for determining native title claims, having the capacity to retrospectively redress past acts.

Keating played a major role in pushing for the expansion of the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum. In December 1995, the Keating government signed a bilateral security agreement with Indonesia, subsequent to months of secret negotiations.

In 1995, Prime Minister Keating initiated the 'National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families' by his Attorney-General Michael Lavarch, children also referenced as the Stolen Generations. Children were compulsorily removed from their families from 1910-1970, as a consequence of different government policies. The investigation closed one year after Labor lost the election in 1996, but the end result in 1997 was the Bringing Them Home Report produced by Sir Ronald Wilson and Mick Dodson (McKew, 2013).

In line with his free-market philosophy, Keating initiated a major sell-off of government-owned assets. These included the Commonwealth Bank and Qantas. His biggest economic policy initiative was the removal of centralised wage-setting by the Industrial Relations Commission. Keating deemed that this system was incompatible with a free market economy. Instead, in 1993 Keating introduced the Industrial Relations Reform Act. This legislation dispensed with centralised wage fixing, because it was said to be contrary to Australia being able to achieve competitiveness in a global market "in which high levels of productivity and competitive advantage were the keys to survival and growth" (Kent, 2009, p.219). The intention of the Act was to increase the role of enterprise bargaining based on the premise that specific minimum employment standards linked to awards were met. A 'no-disadvantage rule' was established with the goal of preventing employees covered by an award being subjected to detrimental employment conditions as a consequence. Keating wanted the policy introduced so that skilled people would not be held back with the average worker. A key issue with enterprise bargaining is the assumption that employees and employers can negotiate on equal terms with no power discrepancies, as was elaborated in Chapter 5. Keating also introduced contract appointments with limited tenure for senior members of the Public Service.

With the cooperation of the State Governments Keating commissioned a Committee of Inquiry in October 1992 led by Prof Frederick C Hilmer to investigate competition policy in Australia, and the committee recommended that a national policy be adopted. In theory Australia is deemed a single unified market but reform suggestions had to be implemented across nine governments within Australia (National Competition Policy, 1993).

Enhanced country after their prime ministerial term

Directly after his government was defeated and thereafter Keating has sought acknowledgement for sole ownership for the reform agenda that took place during close to nine years of the Hawke government, whereas consensually others give dual attribution to Hawke and Keating and independent provenance to each of them for aspects of the measures they introduced (Strangio et al, 2015; Kelly, 2014). "Together with Bob Hawke he had transformed Australia and remade the Labor Party" (Bramston, 2016, p.2). The essence of which was a dynamic, competitive, and outward-facing Australia that fostered aspiration and according to Bramston (2016) safeguarded the underprivileged. Although Keating argued that appropriate social policies had been introduced to balance the issues of free market reforms (Ryan, 1995) this was an area that required more attention. Free market reforms do not remove the obligation of governments to ensure that the marketplace is operating with integrity and honesty. If we travel forward to 2019, as just one example, competition in the energy industry has not lowered costs for Australians, and high utility prices and guaranteed supply remain a significant concern. In South Australia, Hong Kong Listed Company Cheung Kong Infrastructure/Power Assets has a 200-year lease and a 51-per-cent share, in South Australia's Electricity Distribution network and Victoria's system. In New South Wales in 2015 the Government awarded a 99-year lease of electricity transmitter TransGrid to a consortium comprising Canadian, Middle Eastern and local investors for $10.258 billion, a bid by Cheung Kong Infrastructure for Ausgrid, the New South Wales electricity distributor was blocked by then Treasurer Scott Morrison (2015-2018) (Ulhman, 2016). In 2019 the Federal Government introduced the Competition and Consumer (Industry Code- Electricity Retail) Regulations 2019 (the Code) under the Competition and Consumer Act 2010. The

code is mandatory and establishes a Default Market Offer (DMO) price cap and a reference bill on retail electricity prices. The Code took effect from the 1st July 2019. The code applies in states where price de-regulation applies: South Australia, New South Wales, the Australian Capital Territory and South East Queensland (Department of the Environment and Energy, 5th April 2019). Data in the Australian Energy Regulator report for the second quarter of 2018/2019 revealed that 80,437 households requested assistance in paying their electricity bills, an increase of seventeen percent in the previous year (Australian Energy Regulator, 2018).

After his tenure as Prime Minister Paul Keating introduced another substantial legacy for the Australian people. His efforts as chairman of the design excellence review panel resulted in the recreation of the original native topology of the Barangaroo Headland in Sydney Australia, to create a twenty-two hectare waterfront precinct, converted from a derelict container terminal (Davies, 2015).

Conclusion

Keating's eventual political demise can be attributed to the absence of social intelligence in the attitude he expressed towards the Australian public. Theirs was not an unconditional regard, in line with the usual tolerance Keating anticipated would be exercised towards him, as the grand visionary. Keating's over-stated confidence in his ability to lead, displaced a socially intelligent approach in his practice. Keating had expressed that as a nation Australia had never prospered as well in the past as it was doing under his leadership (Ryan, 1995), while a million Australians were unemployed. Watson (2002) wrote: "Of all our political expectations none is more remarkable or unfair than our insistence that our prime minister govern for all of us" (Watson, 2002, p.58). It is an honest and salient point. Perhaps the answer lies in what Watson (2002) attributes to the role of the speechwriter and the mission that they undertake, on behalf of a prime minister. Watson (2002) presents that the language of "national leadership, like the concept of the nation itself, asks us to make a huge empirical leap" (Watson, 2002, p.58). Speech writers, must set aside what they have learnt throughout their lives; dispense with their prejudices; abandon their truths about human nature and societies; not heed the evident social and political restrictions; and communicate

as if words can disregard the past; resist differences in culture and judgements; to convince the audience that we are one nation (Watson, 2002). Crucially: "At the core of a speech is an embrace" (Watson, 2002, p.56). In essence, however successful or unsuccessful the attempt might be, the critical component that Watson (2002) has identified is the factor of engagement by its messenger. Not all words will resonate, or be universally accepted, but the very nature of them being attempted will at least be acknowledged. Sometimes 'the story' does not have a fairy tale ending and the consequences need to be owned. At the core of enterprise bargaining, lauded by Keating as one of his key successes, is the need for workers to demonstrate their proficiency against set performance measures and to acknowledge when elements need improvement. The same measures should necessarily apply to our prime ministers.

The next chapter proceeds with an analysis of Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and John Howard.

CHAPTER 7 Prime Ministers Robert [Bob] James Lee Hawke and John Winston Howard

CHAPTER 7 Robert James Lee Hawke Prime Minister Bob Hawke Australia's 23rd Prime Minister. Term as PM: 11 March 1983- 20 December 1991. Born: 9th December, 1929.

The Creation of Happiness, Social Morale, Love of the Australian People

 "What life and the conduct of an economy is about, after all, is how do you best organise your affairs and your activities in a way which are going to give the greatest degree of satisfaction to people in that society. That is what economics, politics, is about, the creation of happiness" (Hawke, Speech, 2014).

"Bob Hawke had been a good Labor Prime Minister. His early years had been committed and reformist and at that time he established a real bond with the Australian public, which impressed me (Howard, 2010, p.188).

CHAPTER 7 John Winston Howard Prime Minister John Howard Australia's 25th Prime Minister. Term as PM: 11 March 1996 – 3 December 2007. Born 26th July, 1939.

Humility, Commitment to Ideology, Love of Australia, Common Touch, Tenacity Persistence and Courage

"Finally, my friends, it means more than that. It means that public life once again represents a covenant or an understanding between the people and those whom they elect. It's an old truism but it's still very relevant that governments are the servants of people. Political parties don't exist, my party wasn't created more than fifty years ago, and the National Party more than seventy-five years ago, to provide perks of office for its members" (Howard, 1996, Election Speech).

"But in giving birth to Work Choices, the Liberals triggered the eventual death of the Howard Government because it offended long-held Australian values" (Gillard, 2014, p.305).

Introduction

The following chapter gives consideration to the social intelligence in action of Prime Ministers John Howard and Bob Hawke. It tenders an analysis in support of a conclusion that both leaders revealed similarly effective socially intelligent leadership skills in their prime ministerships. The chapter explores the commonalities between the two leaders, including their joint love of Australia and shared respect for the intelligence of Australia's citizens. In 1994 Hawke conveyed in his memoir: "Unashamedly, I love Australia with a passionate intensity" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.56) attributing the depth of his feelings most especially to the concept of a fair go that Hawke ascribed as being embedded into the fabric of the Australian ethos. As evidence Hawke pointed to Australia being one of the first countries to establish the right for women to vote and set up the institution of welfare endowments. Howard also said that the foundation values of Australia were: "self- reliance, a fair go, pulling together and having a go" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.209).

Both leaders were said to have resonated with the Australian public as mutually they are considered "blokes who look as if they are up for a beer and a yarn" (Kent, 2009, p.4). In fact Hawke developed a skill from his beer drinking that got put to good use at his days at Oxford University, if he wanted to win some beers. He would remove the label from

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[30]http://www.afr.com/brand/rear-window/john-howard-bob-hawke-front-sports-australia-hall-of-fame-20170601-gwik4v . Financial Review Website. 1st June, 2017

the outside of a beer bottle and then manoeuvre it to the inside. The end result would be that the label would be facing outwards from inside the bottle (Hawke, 2017 Sixty Minutes).

In their political years Hawke and Howard proved for the most part to be quite discerning with regard to the prevailing mood of public opinion. Prime Ministers Hawke and Howard also shared the capacity to readily engage with people from all walks of life (Strangio et al, 2017). John Kerin shared an anecdote from when he was the Minister for Primary Industry (1983-1987) in the Hawke government. He was not a member of the Cabinet despite strong lobbying by the National Farmers Federation (NFF) for him to be included. Hawke had finally been swayed to incorporate him as part of the Cabinet team by "… an elderly lady, with tears in her eyes, from somewhere in the backblocks of Victoria …" (Kerin 2017, p. 138). Howard wrote of Hawke: "he would demonstrate a connection with the Australian electorate stronger than any Labor leader, before or since" (Howard, 2010, p.115).

Both leaders saw the need to present cogent arguments to the Australian public regarding policy agenda that were not popularly accepted. Former Labor Party Leader and Governor of Western Australia (2018+) Kim Beazley described Hawke as "the quintessential democrat as a political figure" (Beazley in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.84). Both were pragmatic, exceptional political operators and patient negotiators. Equally, as was attributed to Hawke the same can be said of Howard: "Hawke possessed considerable reserves of what today is called emotional intelligence" (Strangio et al., 2017, p,161) Strangio et al. (2017) identify emotional intelligence as the capacity "to smooth feathers that otherwise would be ruffled and genuinely won over people" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.161). As this thesis has continually tried to demonstrate the example provided by Strangio et al. (2017) embraces a limited perspective compared to the scope of skills encompassed in the thesis' preferred term of social intelligence.

Both Prime Ministers eschewed short term political objectives that were motivated only by opinion polls, were clear in their goals and worked to persuade the Australian public to accept potentially unpopular economic policy changes that each of them advocated. Hawke swayed the Australian public towards his policy of opening up Australia to the global market place on the basis that otherwise the Australian economy would not survive

and Howard persuaded people to accept the introduction of an unpopular goods and services tax (Hawke, 1994; Howard, 2014).

The motivation for these two leaders to secure the leadership was not just based on ambition alone but accompanied by a focus on achieving a programme of goals for Australia (Hawke, 1994; Howard, 2014). Hawke stated that one of the immense enjoyments of the role of Prime Minister was the:

> "fact that every day you can do something that's going to help some people or a lot of people. You're given an enormous opportunity there to make your country and the world a better place" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, pp. 95-96).

Significantly both leaders saw the necessity for collaborative governance and discourse with their parliamentary colleagues (Strangio et al., 2017). Beazley also conveyed that Hawke understood that the democratic process extended beyond parliament and one-off soundings with the Australian electorate at the time of an election. He engaged with the public and worked to persuade public opinion where he thought it necessary (Hawke & Reilly, 2017).

Hawke and Howard also displayed the calibre of their social intelligence in their joint post-political career observations about each other, the state of politics in the modern era and their ongoing concern for Australia (Howard, 2014: Hawke, 2014). Howard was also commended for his integrity and grace in being present at the formal declaration of the poll results for his lost seat of Bennelong in New South Wales, on the 12th December, 2007. He had been defeated by Maxine McKew by only 143 votes, and she was impressed that he had made the effort to attend, rather than shunning the occasion. "It says much about Howard that he didn't absent himself from this, the formal final moment that marked the end of his parliamentary career and the defining period of his life's work" (McKew, 2013, p.85). Hawke, along with Helena Carr[31], had also assisted McKew with her campaigning for Howard's seat (McKew, 2013).

Both Howard and Hawke enjoyed extended tenures as Prime Ministers of Australia. Each achieved long term support from Australian voters and consequentially their parties. Hawke and Howard came from a background of studying law, with each having

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[31] Helena Carr a businesswoman in her own right and the wife of former Premier of New South Wales Bob Carr.

undertaken working roles outside the purview of politics. Their respective jobs required skills that involved adeptness in communications and negotiation. Hawke was said to have lectured the judges in the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission for days in succession, in both his addresses to the Commission, as well as responses to questions, to the point where he could no longer stand unaided. The presiding judge Sir John Moore observed: "He physically couldn't stand, except by hanging onto the lectern" (Moore in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.25). Proceedings also had to be repeatedly stopped as Hawke kept losing his voice.

Hawke graduated with a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws from the University of Western Australia in 1952 (d'Alpuget, 1982) and nine years later in 1961 Howard graduated from the University of Sydney with a Bachelor of Laws. In hindsight Howard regretted not having studied the arts or economics prior to embarking on his law degree: "Amongst other benefits it would have allowed me to further indulge my passion for history" (Howard, 2010, p.18). Howard had been influenced to study law because his brother Stan Howard was a lawyer. He arranged for Howard to work as an assistant to a barrister's clerk in Denham Chambers in Phillip St Sydney. Howard's ongoing deafness however made it difficult for him to hear the content of his law classes. Even though he sat as close as possible to the lecturers with the volume on his hearing aid turned up, he still missed much of the subject matter. Howard acknowledged that he owed a lot to some of his law friends, who were generous in sharing their notes. Howard had been diagnosed with a hearing problem at the age of nine as part of a standard health check at his Primary School in Earlwood. In his adolescent years his hearing deteriorated even further and by the age of nineteen he had to wear an old style hearing aid, that had cords and batteries that would rustle, as he carried the aid around in his pocket. Although Howard indicated that he did not consider his hearing loss as a disability, it did have a significant impact on his career choice. Howard judged that he could never progress from being a lawyer to taking the bar, as it would been impractical for him to constantly ask for the verbal content of court cases, to be repeated. As a result he discounted a career as a Barrister (Howard, 2010). Howard's hearing was about forty per cent capacity and after subsequent operations his hearing increased to sixty per cent. In the face of ongoing deterioration more modern technologies have given Howard a level of serviceable hearing.

Comparably, Hawke and Howard were raised in home environments that offered an ethos of social intelligence. Their parents extended it towards them, advocating social

intelligence as a necessary part of their behaviours, with respect to other people. They were taught by their parents to offer compassion and kindness towards others and similarly to have a focus on helping people. Analogously both felt close to their fathers. However, Howard lost his father when he was sixteen.

Lyall Howard had been gassed during his service in Belgium. Although he recovered, exposure to the mustard gas had permanently weakened his lungs and throughout his life caused a recurring dermatitis. His lung condition was not helped by the fact that for all of his life he was also a heavy smoker. However, Howard accepted that the smoking may have at least served to calm his father's nerves, in light of all the horrors he had seen in war (Howard, 2010). Lyall Howard suffered from chronic bronchitis and in combination with the stresses about his business placed on him by Marrickville Council, they exacted their toll so that he then developed pleurisy and double pneumonia. For most of 1955 Lyall spent much time resting at home and he would be there when Howard came home. Howard and his father would talk about politics or play chess. In this short space of time, Howard and his father developed a more profound closeness. In November 1955 his father Lyall died suddenly of a stroke just as he was due to lease his garage business to an associate.

As a child Hawke was "surrounded by love" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.32) Clem Hawke[32] Hawke's father was a Congregational Minister and had an intense impact on Hawke. He described his father as the "best man I ever knew" (ibid). Clem Hawke espoused the "Fatherhood of God … and the … Brotherhood of Man" to his son. You are brothers and sisters and you should live that way. You should try your best to improve the lives of others" (Clem Hawke in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.32). This philosophy was evidenced in the Hawke childhood household in the Great Depression period. His parents gave generously to long queues of destitute homeless people who came to their door, providing food, refuge, or any aid they could. Despite the fact that from the end of 1952, Hawke chose not to engage formally with religion, the authenticity of his father's words and his parents' actions resonated to such an extent that Hawke felt bound to act on them, throughout his life. His upbringing had cultivated an appreciation that "love and a sense of bonding with others were something which went beyond the bounds of immediate

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[32] Arthur Clarence 'Clem' Hawke celebrated his eighty fifth birthday on the 11th March 1983. This was the day that Hawke became Prime Minister. Hawke's mother Ellie Hawke died four year before (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

family, everyone, all humans, were kin" (Hawke in Curran, 2004, p.200). An example of where Hawke demonstrated this consideration was relayed in an anecdote by his Professor of Classics and Ancient History Professor M N Austin. One of the university's gardening staff was a classical scholar of some renown who migrated to Australia. Hawke brought his predicament to the attention of the professor with the hope that he might be able to assist. "This apparently trifling act of disinterested kindness made no small impression on me" (Austin in Curran, 2004, p. 205). d'Alpuget (2010) wrote that Hawke's Christian attitude, imbued from his father's instruction, clouded his capacity to "distinguish friend from foe" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.266), to the dismay of his political advisors. "He trusted people to a degree that would have been stupidity in others and was for himself sometimes" (ibid).

From his mother Ellie Hawke he was made aware of the significance of education and observed "that no human being had influenced his destiny more" (Hawke, 1994, p.3). In July 1979, in the months leading up to her death, Hawke's mother had been in a coma. Convinced that he would not be able to communicate with her ever again, he lifted her hand and whispered his appreciation, for all that she had done for him. To Hawke's astonishment there was a faint movement of one of his mother's eyelids and she uttered her last words "It was a pleasure, son" (Ellie Hawke in Hawke, 1994, p.3).

During World War II when Clem Hawke was appointed as a Chaplain in the AIF Hawke farewelled his father with a "big kiss and a hug" accompanied by a request for him to come back soon. Then when his Dad was due to return Hawke would stand on the front fence of the family home in Tate Street West Leederville in Western Australia waiting for his father and when he saw him coming he would rush to greet him. "I just couldn't wait to hug him and have his arms around me. … We had a lovely, natural relationship … I just spent most of my time at home. "The purposeful love of my mother was supplemented by what was nothing less than a mutual adoration between my father and me" (Hawke, 1994, p.4). I had a lot of friends but it was such a place of love and happiness. I didn't really want to be anywhere else really" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.33). The joy that Hawke experienced, made him sad to think about children who aren't able to have such happy experiences in their homes "because it makes a difference to the whole of your rest of your life" (Hawke in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.33). This is a somewhat antithetical observation in light of the fact that for the most part Hazel Hawke, Hawke's first wife, operated as a single parent in raising their children, due to his work

commitments. Hazel Hawke gave an explanation as to why she had not divorced Hawke, despite his affairs, she shared his dream of living in the Lodge: "When you're on a good thing, stick to it" (Hazel Hawke in d'Alpuget, 2010, p.84), although neither was happy in the marriage (d'Alpuget, 2010). In 1984 Hawke was made aware that his twenty-four-year-old daughter Rosslyn Hawke, was in the late stages of a heroin addiction. Rosslyn Hawke's husband was also a heroin addict. Hazel Hawke had decided that Hawke was no longer to be spared, from knowing the full extent of Rosslyn Hawke's illness. Hawke felt guilty and deficient in his role as a father most especially during Rosslyn Hawke's teenage years. He reflected on his contribution to the state of his daughter: "… the entries on the liability side of the ledger: the relative lack of time with Hazel and the children compared with the generous giving of myself to the public and pursuit of career, and my infidelities" (Hawke, 1994, p.263). Where Hawke exercised 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) towards his colleagues and constituents it was compromised towards his family. Rosslyn's weight had reduced to thirty eight kilograms and continued heroin use would have caused her death. Her second child Paul had to be delivered by Caesarean section. His daughter's vulnerability and circumstances produced Hawke's "lowest period in office. I was just distraught, but I had to get on and I did" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.96). This was the only time that Hawke queried whether his work was worth it and he seriously contemplated quitting as Prime Minister (Hawke, 1994; Hawke, 2013). Hawke's already despondent state was compounded by an injury he had suffered in the Prime Minister's XI cricket match, in the traditional battle undertaken against the Canberra Press Gallery. Hawke failed to hit a ball and the ball propelled into his face and as a result the glass in his spectacles shattered. His right eye was filled with fragments of glass causing him severe pain.

According to Hawke the fundamental thing that children require is demonstrable love from their parents and it must be "real love" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.33). Hawke's observation was that children also need to know that their parents will do anything to assist them in cultivating their talents. Both of the Hawke's eldest children opted to pursue passionate causes rather than high profile careers. Susan Hawke had intended to do law but gave up on the idea to assist prisoners. Hawke suggested that this was now a matter of regret for his daughter even though the subject was no longer discussed between them. Stephen Hawke had devoted his life to assisting Aborigines. The relationship between Stephen Hawke and his father came under severe strain, due to Hawke's advocacy for the

export and mining of uranium. The difference of opinion resulted in Stephen Hawke taking the extreme option of changing his children's surnames, to that of their mother's (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

Crabb (1983) unflatteringly suggested that emulating the trend since World War II, Hawke won the election in 1983 simply because the government of Fraser was unsuccessful and that Howard's attempts as Treasurer to deregulate the Australian economy, in the government of Malcolm Fraser, had been foiled by members of the National Party. Inefficient manufacturing enterprises were being guarded, nonflexible working provisions were being maintained and high wages were in place (Crabb, 1983). To hold to a maxim that political candidates simply win elections because the former incumbent was unsuccessful, would appear to disregard the capacity for some candidates to resonate more with the Australian public. Alternatively, in the case of an extended incumbency, it might merely indicate the absence of a credible alternative as leader. McKew (2013) on the other hand suggested that Hawke's victory arose due to his wide-ranging appeal to voters, the development of substantive policies and organisational reform. In his 1983 election speech Hawke began with a message of caution, pragmatism and inclusive leadership. In particular this was evident in the nature of his election speech which had an absence of political spin, was minus unfettered promises and included the presence of a plan for proceeding in his governance as Prime Minister:

> "… We offer no miracles. We offer no overnight solutions for the immediate problems we face or the deep-seated problems we must face together.
>
> I believe the Australian people have had enough of election promises made only to be broken. I offer no fistful of dollars to be snatched back after the election.
>
> What I do offer is a program to produce growth and expansion in the economy, achievable goals for the rebuilding and reconstruction of this nation" (Hawke, Election Speech, 1983).

A key early strategy that Hawke wanted to pursue was the implementation of the Accord. Edwards (1996) says that the Accord was an idea that had stemmed from Hayden. It facilitated the involvement of unions in the Hawke government with the trade-off being that wages would be contained. "The Accord dramatically reduced industrial disputation, held wages to competitive levels, made a major contribution to reducing inflation to a rate

among the lowest in the OECD, and sponsored a creative and co-operative culture in the workplace which is radically increasing levels of productivity" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.61[33]). The Hawke government opened up the Australian economy to the global marketplace through setting in train a float of the Australian dollar, bank deregulation, privatisation and the need to engage with Asia (Edwards, 1996). These policies succeeded in mitigating the effect of the decline in the terms-of-trade (Howard, 2014) and Howard said he "loudly supported the Hawke Government when the dollar was floated and exchange controls abolished in December, 1983" (Howard, 2010, p.143). Less socially minded it might be argued was the reversal of Whitlam's policy of no university fees, particularly as a cornerstone of competing in the global marketplace requires as educated a population as is possible. Education is also the great leveller when it comes to social mobility. Prime Minister Whitlam had wryly observed "The media give the impression that Hawke and his ministers take great satisfaction in correcting the mistakes of their predecessors, such as the establishment of the Commonwealth Bank by the Fisher Government, Australian Airlines by the Curtin Government, Qantas by the Chifley Government and free tertiary education by the Whitlam Government" (Australian Labor Party, 1988, p.3). Hawke's counter-argument was that education was never free. Instead, a small portion of the population was able to attend, and those who might never have the opportunity to avail of a university education paid for this privilege through their taxes (Hawke, ABC, 2018). Free tuition had not altered the middle class demographics of university enrollments so the system was effectively seen by progressive ALP policy makers as welfare for middle classes that were quite prepared to pay fees for their children's secondary education.

The introduction of flexibility to the Australian Marketplace ensured security for the Hawke governments in the short term but the long-term effects produced a more fundamental problem. Manufacturing employees, were the traditional support base for the Labor Party, working in industries that were sacrificed, due to the inefficiencies that tariff protection had produced in the context of an increasingly open global marketplace. Economic restructuring opened up domestic markets to competition and if businesses could not match their rivals the companies either closed down or moved overseas to countries like China. Globalisation also removed some of the government's capacity to

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[33] Canberra, 13th August, 1993. The Story of Australia Speech. National Library Twenty-Fifth Anniversary.

regulate the workings of industry and deal with the consequences of low-cost foreign goods and labour. Sackings and retrenchments led to a decline in union membership in tandem with a decline in campaign funds and workers, who would fight for the union cause. After the 1990s the unionized pool of the workforce reduced from forty two per cent to twenty four per cent. The further consequence lamented by Simon Crean[34] was the condemnation of "organised labour to a political irrelevance" (Crabb, 2005, p.5). On the other side, those that benefited from the restructuring, such as contractors, electricians and plumbers, could operate as self-employed and as small businesses and charge prices that suited them. This created a new market for the Liberal Party to target. The freeing up of the economy also led to the growth of the finance industry and its less than circumspect loans that prompted a flourishing of corporate takeovers. When these corporations failed, bankruptcies ensued, as did substantial job losses (McKew, 2013). The presence of free-market forces also produced additional opportunities for exploitation of the system. The climate in the 1980s prompted the Hawke government to redress aspects of poor corporate behaviour in the area of family trusts.

In the 1980s one of the large players in the corporate world included Alan Bond. During the years 1983-1991 Alan Bond and his family spent over a million dollars every seven weeks. By contrast the declared assets of Bond in bankruptcy in 1992 consisted of: an eight thousand dollar Hyundai car, an incomplete ocean racer, three paintings by a 'minor' artist Stawb O'Brien, approximately two thousand six hundred dollars in cash and shares and two loans inclusive of one payable to a trust company that had purchased a home for Bond's girlfriend. Beyond the declared assets there were still substantial holdings by the Bond family. These included a diverse range of properties such as: bowling alleys, rural land, waterfront homes, suburban shopping centres, cars, boats, horses, jewellery, paintings and considerable bank funds. These had been secured into family trusts and Bonds personal super account of $2.7 million had a specific clause inserted to protect it, in the event of a bankruptcy. Similarly the Costigan Inquiry into the Painters and Dockers Union exposed many bankrupts who retained their assets through the use of trusts and deals with friends. The purportedly bankrupt individuals were still living in big homes and driving expensive cars and boats (Barry, 2000). In 1988 the Hawke government

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[34] Simon Crean is a former Australian Labor politician and trade unionist. He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1990 to 2013. He served as a minister in the Hawke, Keating, Rudd and Gillard Governments. He was the leader of the Labor Party from November 2001 to December 2003.

passed strict legislation to enable bankruptcy trustees to investigate who actually owned the assets. The legislation did not have much impact in the context of trusts because it did not tackle central components of trust law dating back to the eleventh century. It did not allow creditors to have access to 'lawfully' situated wealth stores. The point made by Barry (2000) was that many Australian politicians had benefited from trusts themselves and that worked as a disincentive to alter the laws to the full extent.

Both Hawke and Howard were supportive of the free-market but each was influenced by different perspectives according to the political leanings that arose from their family environments. Howard's interest in politics stemmed from a number of sources. Politics was an ongoing topic of discussion at home with an emphasis on the interests of small business. Both of Howard's parents "had a well-developed interest in politics" (Howard, 2010, p.22), "… were fierce believers in private enterprise" (Howard, 2010, p.19) and "united in their commitment to the Liberal Party" (Howard, 2010, p.21). Both parents were "…politically and socially conservative, but that was the result of their separate convictions" (Howard, 2010, p.22). "My parents often disagreed with actions of governments but were not cynical about them and always encouraged in their children respect for society's institutions. I was brought up to believe that governments could do good things, if only they were comprised of the right people" (Howard, 2010, p.24). Howard's further perspective was that

> "there must be a practical balance between the limits of government and the limits of markets, between laissez-faire economics on the one side and a suffocating centralism by government and bureaucracy on the other" (Howard in Strangio et al., 2017, p.207).

Like his parent's Howard was later to be dubbed by McKew as "being a great warrior for his beliefs" (McKew, 2013, p.86). Learning and reading were encouraged in the Howard household and history and biographical books rated as favourites for Howard. In his last year of school at Earlwood Howard related that he had a wonderful teacher, Jack Doherty, who continually nurtured his interest in current affairs. Lyall and Mona Howard also imbued their children with an ethos of active engagement and involvement with life rather than operating as just observers. Howard's participation in politics aligned with this philosophy. Furthermore, diagonally across from their home at 25 William St Earlwood, a temporary nerve centre for the Labor Party campaign for the Federal seat of Lang had

been erected. Efforts were focussed on the re-election of Daniel Mulcahy as the Labor member for Lang. Mulcahy apparently resided in Darling Point in the wealthy eastern suburbs of Sydney and as well owning a number of hotels he had a reputation for being one of the most affluent members of parliament. Howard used to observe the men in hats coming and going from the Centre. They carried little shoe boxes filled with campaign leaflets which were for mailbox drops and distribution at the local shopping centre. This was Howard's first contact with electoral campaigning at the grass roots and the Labor shed piqued his interest. "They gave the impression of doing something important" (Howard, 2010, p.4). Howard joined the Liberal Party at the age of eighteen and only one of his four brothers Bob Howard deviated from the family tradition, by being a supporter of the Labor Party. Combined with the family influences the observations Howard made of the Labor campaign hub in his street triggered a lifelong allure to politics. "The influence of parents on their children's political views is a fascinating study. I embraced most of my parents' political attitudes, particularly their support for private enterprise and especially of the small-business variety" (Howard, 2014, Interview)

> "These were all influences which meant that I saw politics as good public service, as a way in which change could be achieved. That was important but not as crucial as my seeing politics as an arena in which ideas and values could be debated, contested and adopted. That was the foundation of my lifelong view that politics is more than anything else, a battle of ideas. Not only did I enthuse about the contest of ideas, I revelled in the experience of the contest itself. Debating, arguing, testing ideas about how society could be improved energised me" (Howard, 2010, p.24).

Hawke was the younger of Clem and Ellie Hawke's two children. His brother Neil Hawke was nine years older. The two did not have an opportunity to form a close bond as his brother was sent to King's College in Adelaide, when he was four years old. This was part of Ellie Hawke's plan to provide her children with the best education possible. Neil Hawke excelled at his studies and sports and was made Dux at the college. In 1939 Ellie Hawke's mother was killed in a bushfire and nine days later Clem and Ellie Hawke lost their son Neil to meningitis. Subsequently, all of Ellie Hawke's aspirations became focussed on her younger son. She established a strict study routine so that Hawke could secure one of fifty available scholarships to attend Perth's Modern School, when her wish for Hawke to attend private school, was negated by both Hawke and his father. After

leaving school Hawke decided to study law but never with the intention of practicing. He did not like the idea of potentially having to defend cases he did not believe in.

In the latter part of his first year at University Hawke persuaded his parents to buy him a motorbike, to avoid the long trip to get to campus via public transport. One day during the vacation period he left the Law Library after he started to feel ill. He swallowed some aspirin, waited for a while and then proceeded to ride home. Hawke says he is not sure whether he blacked out while riding but the net effect was that he had an accident and was thrown a distance from the bike. He had only limited movement and was in extreme pain. He was discovered by a motorist and taken to hospital. His spleen had been ruptured by the metal motorbike stand he had been carrying in his jacket and for a period of days it was not clear whether he was going to survive. Despite being a professed atheist Hawke believed that God had saved his life and the experience of the accident impelled him towards a change in his approach to living. "I was determined to live life to the full extent of my abilities, to push myself to the limit" (Hawke, 1994, p.14). Subsequently he felt more energised and discovered that he could continue without sleep for one and a half days at a time.

Hawke's affiliation for the Labor Party stemmed from his family. Clem Hawke had been involved in activism with the Labor Party but his younger brother Albert Hawke was elected to Parliament and served as the Premier of Western Australia from 1953-1959. Albert Hawke had a close relationship with Hawke and his parents. He would come to their home once a week and politics was always discussed. In 1947 Hawke set up the first ALP club at the University and he became its inaugural president. After finishing his law degree Hawke began a brief sojourn working as a trainee executive with the Vacuum Oil Company. He then returned to full time study in 1951 to complete an art degree with a major in economics. His other goal was to become more engaged with student politics. Hawke conveyed that he had "absorbed at an early age my mother's premonitions about a career of influence and power that would lead to the prime ministership" (Hawke, 1994, p.95). In his teenage years there was a sense of excitement at the prospect and he thought about how he might actually make the dream a reality, and do what his Uncle had done but at a national level. His perspectives on the Parliament were less enthusiastic:

> "Parliament itself never excited me. I had seen it close-up over many years and
> could never quite understand why so many people fought so hard to have a career

in that frenzied, artificial environment. The only point of standing for Parliament was to play a part in getting Labor into government and I believed I was most likely to do that as Leader" (Hawke, 1994, p.97).

At this stage, Hazel Masterton was part of his life but only through association as a consequence of their engagement in joint activities. Then when Hawke felt he needed a companion in his life he told his mother that he planned to invite Hazel Hawke (nee Masterton) on a trip to the hills on his motorbike. His mother approved as she knew and liked her. He found Hazel Masterton's enthusiastic acceptance gratifying and their relationship bloomed from there. "My passion for her was enhanced by the knowledge that I had acquired a remarkably talented partner" (Hawke, 1994, p.17). Every year at school Hazel Masterton had been dux. However on completing her third year of secondary school she was directed to a position as a secretary and book keeper with an engineering firm. They became engaged in the early part of 1951. In the interim Hawke hoped to secure a Rhodes scholarship. Applicants had to be single so their marriage had to be deferred. Hawke's first attempt to secure the Rhodes scholarship in 1951 was unsuccessful, but he secured it in 1952. He and Hazel married in 1956. Hawke delighted in his studies at Oxford and described them as "pure joy, free of drudgery and duty" (Curran, 2004, p.208).

Evans (1999) and Blewett (2014) criticised Hawke for his lack of intellect. Hawke's Professor of Classic's expressed it differently in providing a reference for Hawke's Rhodes scholarship. Hawke was not an intellectual in the most stringent sense and exceptional academic work might not be achieved but "it would give the needed intellectual stiffening to a mind and character already considerably exercised on more practical affairs" (Curran, 2004, p.206). Curran (2004) wrote these views were in accord with Hawke's. The "carrying out of good deeds took precedence over lofty intellectual pursuits" (Hawke in Curran, 2004, p.206). Blewett suggested that the studies at Oxford had been a wasted opportunity because Hawke chose to do his thesis on the Australian Arbitration System[35] whereas Curran (2004) suggests that this omits the import of

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[35] Hawke's thesis was entitled 'An appraisal of the role of the Australian Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. The thesis paid specific attention to the development of a Basic Wage. The thesis covered the progression of the courts powers from an industrial tribunal to one that exercised legislative controls and functions (Curran, 2004, p.210).

Hawke's thesis in influencing his world-view and his growing staunchness to consensus as a principled approach

Notwithstanding their strong and different political allegiances, there is a harmony to the socially intelligent actions of Hawke and Howard as will be articulated throughout the remainder of this chapter. These behaviours have extended beyond their tenures. A pervading theme of Howard's publicly conveyed thoughts after politics have highlighted his extensive contemplations on leadership more generally. He has been open in his musings on his political self and his actions, including those acts that were seemingly influenced by childhood and life's experiences. "Look anyone who ends up becoming Prime Minister or senior minister who pretends that experiences of life, years earlier do not influence you is being completely dishonest" (Howard, 2014, Interview) The one area where Howard seemingly made less impartial observations about his actions are those that he has made that are aligned to the ideological and economic leanings of the Liberal Party. The same musings might also be applied to Hawke in the context of the Labor Party. Their loyalties to their political parties remain strong and aspects of the corollaries that ensue as a result will be covered throughout the chapter. The overall manner in which Howard and Hawke operated in their Prime Ministerial roles reflects a more consistent application of socially intelligent practice than some of their peers.

As per the protocol of the preceding chapters the variables identified by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) will be applied to assess the nature of Howard and Hawke's political practice in action.

Stable wielding of power

Prime Ministers Hawke and Howard stand as exemplars of a stable wielding of power through the confidence that was extended by a majority of Australian voters in successive elections. Hawke sustained his role as Prime Minister for eight years, nine months and nine days, securing four election victories. Howard served for twelve years eight months and three days and contested his own electoral seat fourteen times between 1974 and 2007 before he lost both his Seat of Bennelong and the prime ministership (National Archives, 2017, Elections).

Prior to achieving the role of Prime Minister, Howard had spent twenty two years as a parliamentarian and twelve years engaged in work for the Liberal Party (Strangio et al.,

2017). By comparison Hawke served a short apprenticeship within parliament before he attained the role of Prime Minister, but like Howard he had served many years in training for his political role through his work with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). "I was very fortunate in the timing I entered Parliament, at the end of 1980, had the ideal period of time three weeks, the worst position in politics, as leader of the opposition, all through to the election. Only way to be the bloody opposition I tell you" (Hawke, 2014, 4th June). Hawke's time as Opposition Leader was from the 8th February 1983-11th March, 1983. He served as the Federal member for Wills from the 25th November 1980 to the 20 February, 1992, inclusive of his prime ministerial portfolio. After his electoral defeat in 1974 Whitlam had been the person who suggested that Hawke should come into parliament and take on the leadership of the party (Hawke, 1994). Whitlam had invited Hawke to the Lodge and told him that he had to come into parliament and assume the leadership of the party. Whitlam told Hawke that his first choice had been Hayden who had performed ably as treasurer but that Hayden had declined (Hawke, 2005).Hawke's leadership was not to occur until much later.

Continuing in his Machiavellian style Fraser contrived to set an election date before the Labor Party could effect a change in leadership. However in this instance Fraser was out manoeuvred by the Labor Party. Fraser went to see the Governor General to set an election date and arrived at Government House at 12:20. Twenty minutes later it transpired that instead of Hayden, Fraser would be contesting Hawke as the Labor Leader. In the election campaign Fraser was "outmanoeuvred and out campaigned" (Weller, 1989, pp. xi-xii; Summers, 1983). Howard had three attempts at realising his aim of attaining a seat in parliament before he achieved this goal countering Keating's dismissal of Howard as someone Menzies would have repudiated as too cowardly and benevolent (O'Brien, 2015).

Having gone through previous unsuccessful pre-selections, he reasoned that it would be a long time before another opportunity would present itself, and then the seat of Bennelong became available, for which Howard won the pre-selection. Subsequently, Howard's first leadership attempt failed. He agreed with Janet Albrechtsen's description of this being a kick in the guts and acknowledged that he felt terrible as a consequence. His perception at that time was that the party would never again have him in that role and that he had "dropped the ball", and had "failed" (Howard, 2014, Interview). "I thought it was unfair of the Liberal Party to throw me out of the leadership in 1989 after all that I

had been through in fighting both the ALP and the madness of Bjelke-Peterson in 1987. Fairness didn't come into it" (Howard, 2010, p.601). After the loss at the 1990 election Howard also felt that this was evidence that the party had made a mistake in relieving him of the leadership in 1989 but the party determined that its future was with someone new. The same scenario was replicated in 1993 as the party remained unwilling to extend the leadership role back to Howard. "Again in 1993, issues of entitlement and fairness did not enter the equation" (Howard, 2010, p.601). Strangio et al. (2017) describe the career fluctuations that Howard bore on the way to his prime ministership "almost amounted to a civil war" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.198). Howard's navigation of the fluctuations of his career also point to social intelligence in the form of courage and resilience in the continued pursuit of his goals. It also demonstrated his fitness to change and to maintain a focus on the vision and aspirations that he wanted to achieve (Karpin, 1995; IBSA, 2011). Howard asserts that he wasn't a member of a faction, something he shared with former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd (Macklin, 2007), although it must be noted that unlike the Labor Party there is no formalised system of factions within the Liberal Party. Kehoe (2018) notes, however, that Howard was closely associated with the free-market dries. Howard was vice president of the party but as he was situated in the head office he had central access to anything that was taking place. His viewpoint concerning factions was that formerly factions were about ideas. Today, factions are "best referred to as preferment cooperatives rather than groupings around individual views" (Howard, 2014, Interview). In his opinion this was a bad development. It is one of the reasons why Howard has expressed a preference for plebiscites to select candidates and inject more democracy into the process. Howard's rationale was not based on any objection to the formation of groups to assist in advocacy of specific ideas but their potential to institute group-think and develop shallow ways of thinking. Howard attributed the critical issue of the limitation of ideas as entwined with the presence of career politicians, as opposed to others who have career experience in other professions such as teaching, or the public service.

Strangio et al. (2017) attest that aside from Howard's political and communication acumen his key strength was in the execution of centralised prime ministerial leadership that had been forged by former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser. "Howard would prove, in office to be as preoccupied with control as Fraser had been, and as committed to the centralisation of power" (Strangio et al., 2017, p204). Both leaders managed their cabinets

well but Hawke did it through delegation and trust; Howard was much more controlling. The disclaimer that Strangio et al. extend towards Howard was that unlike Fraser, Howard grasped that the exercise of control did not simultaneously equate to the need to take it upon himself to complete tasks; in other words a level of trust was extended. Howard's approach centred on the regulation of aspirations, deeds, and resources within the limits he had imposed. Strangio et al. (2017) argue further that this form of controlled governance had been put in abeyance by the Hawke and Keating governments through their exercising of dispersed leadership, after the government of Fraser. This author would suggest that the actions of Howard differed substantially from those of Fraser. Fraser exercised a predominantly Machiavellian approach throughout his tenure as Prime Minister. He was not consultative, nor pleasant to deal with, lacked interpersonal skills and was a micro manager of his ministers and staff (Cadzow, 2015; Henderson, 2015). Keating was preferential in his consultation; Cabinet was circumvented, supplanted by an inner circle of advisors and matters were allocated to committees rather than Cabinet (Strangio et al., 2017). Strangio et al. (2017) concede that during the majority of his tenure as a consequence of his astuteness, self-knowledge, political judgement, and common sense, Howard restrained the complications of centralised leadership. Whereas in the later stages of his term as Prime Minister, he overextended the reach of centralised leadership and therefore was no longer able to mitigate against poor decision making, and poor perceptions of his leadership. According to Strangio et al. (2017) the significance of Howard's "dominance of the party, acquisition of authority, command of communication and control of the public service" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.200) was such that it required their particular focus to the exclusion of other important aspects to his governance.

Hawke had only worked in the parliament for two years before being elected as Prime Minister in 1983. In 1982 he had challenged Hayden but was not supported by the Caucus. His growing public popularity later prompted the party to support his candidacy for the Party Leadership. Hayden acquiesced to the will of the Party and stepped down from the leadership on the 3rd February, 1983. Despite his joy at securing the leadership, Hawke subsequently conveyed that he also felt genuine sadness for Hayden: "I was the immediate cause of his pain. In the world of politics, at least, I hurt him more than anyone else had ever done" (Hawke, 1994, p.125). For Hayden, his defeat acted as a catalyst to remember the stresses he had experienced in childhood. He was frequently thrashed with a rubber hose by his drunken father. These aspects came to light when Hawke and Hayden met to

discuss Hayden's appointment to the role of Governor-General (Hawke, 1994, p.125). Hayden, although permanently scarred by what had happened with regards to the leadership indicated to Hawke that he had learned to accept it and that it was not a problem. From the perspective of his family, there was a sense that he "had been adjudged as not fit for the highest office" (Hawke, 1994, p.405). He indicated that there was one thing that would dispel this perception on the part of his family, and that was if he could take on the role of Governor-General. Hawke appreciated that Hayden had the necessary skills, and Hawke could rely on the fact that the same precedent had been set by the Coalition, in the appointment of former Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck to the role of Governor General. Hawke advised Hayden that he would be happy to fulfill his request.

> " … We both had tears in our eyes – something unusual for Bill – but through those tears we saw each other more clearly than ever before. He had steeled himself not to expect compassion and warmth in political life but he saw me extending these qualities to him. And I saw a man courageous enough to expose the most sensitive nerve-ends of his personal life and seek solace, not simply for himself, but for the family he loved" (Hawke, 1994, p.406).

Hawke's stable wielding of power was attributed to several factors not least to the attitude of trust he exercised towards the Australian public service. He thought that the public service was there to serve irrespective of the politics of the incumbent government. To that end a week after the election of the Hawke government, and much to the surprise of his ministerial colleagues, all were instructed to demote their existing chiefs of staff and replace them with a bureaucrat from the current public service. In effect, this meant that there was an expression of confidence in the bureaucrats that had served under Prime Minister Fraser's government, over eight years. The purpose of the exercise was to ensure that the Hawke government benefited from the experience and expertise of the public servants already in place. Kim Beazley conveyed that Hawke had told his ministers: "We need to have a government that is an orderly, disciplined process of getting policy to the cabinet and policy to the public. You're not going to do that off the back of people with no experience in doing it" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.85).

Well defined and communicated goals

The campaign strategy devised by Howard for the 1996 election focussed on values, not the particulars of policy (Strangio et al., 2017). Another key feature of Howard's electioneering included a series of speeches referred to as the Headland Speeches. In his Headland Speech on National Identity Howard (www.Australian Politics.com, 2019) focussed on the comparison between his and Prime Minister Keating's view of Australia. Howard's response to Keating's contention that Australia lacked a national identity was to liken Keating's strategy to an Orwellian one where those who wish to exercise control over the future do so through a distortion of the past. Strangio et al. (2017) present Howard as managing to regulate communications to effect an emphasis on the government's missives and curtail debate which they described as "the permanent campaign (incessant, advertorial leader promotion)" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.297). Howard's preferred method of media campaigning was done via radio which Strangio et al., (2017) hold was because it suited Howard's preference to position his line of reasoning without having it interfered with, and that it was mainly the only means by which members of the press, could acquire versions of what the Prime Minister had said. Howard did not like news conferences because there was scope for the gatekeepers to determine what was reported rather than the full message. The holding of press conferences was also rare. Aside from the issues of communication of content, it might also be feasible, that given his hearing problem radio presented a less complicated and confronting option to handle, in a necessary communication aspect of Howard's role. There were, however, broader aspects to the control of media messages. All public servants were advised to keep the Prime Minister's Office apprised concerning any calls from journalists. The Howard government also took an unconventional and hard-line approach to leaks of information and office raids and investigations were undertaken when leaks occurred (Strangio et al., 2017).

Little (1986) encapsulated the essence of social intelligence that Hawke ascribed to in the articulation of his prime ministership and the communication of his goals for Australia. It encompassed not only empathy- related responding (Lopez, 2006) to the potential fears associated with change but working to reconcile the anxieties.

> "Moreover as Hawke believes (perhaps to a fault) fear of change cannot just be
> dismissed. A leader must know the people he is trying to lead, and know them

warmly and in a way that has emotional depth as well as intellectual understanding. Fear needs to be put squarely on the political agenda and a leader must be resourceful in mediating change to the great number of citizens who are neither his enthusiastic supporters nor his bitter enemies. These are not, as legend would have it, merely reactionary. They combine hopes for the future with loyalties to the past and attachments to where they feel at home in the present" (Little, 1986, p.73).

Inspired by his mother's focus on the value of education Hawke was determined to remove inequality concerning the educational prospects of children. To increase high school retention rates his government initiated means tests for education and education-related grants. As part of his election campaign launch in 1987 Hawke declared that "By 1990 no Australian child would be living in poverty. This proclamation was combined with a budget projection of over one billion dollars allocated to welfare. Hawke had chosen to deviate from the written speech scripted as "By 1990 no Australian child need live in poverty" (Age, 2007, 23rd June; Hawke, 1994, p.403). In 2007 Prime Minister Hawke expressed genuine regret at having made the variation in his oration describing it as a "silly shorthand thing" (ibid) which was an unattainable goal and one of his biggest regrets. In 1987 the number of Australian children living in poverty was 570 000. As at October, 2018 this figure has increased to 17.3% or 739 00 children (Homelessness Australia. 2017; ACOSS, 2018), meaning one in six children were living in poverty. The faux pas made by Hawke detracted from what he later described as the "genesis of the greatest social reform of my government" (Hawke, 1994, p.403). Existing social security child payments were supplemented to the tune of $400 million per annum.

Vision and priorities

Hawke's vision for Australia was conveyed in the campaign slogan "Reconciliation, Recovery, Reconstruction" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.6). Before he entered parliament, Hawke had expressed that within a democracy the parliamentary arena was the only avenue through which options could be crafted to deliver openings for the Australian people to apply their aptitudes in the contexts of both work and leisure.

"I have become increasingly conscious that in such a democracy ultimately it is only in and through the parliament that the decisions can be made which will

fashion for all our people the opportunities to release their talents in work and in leisure, the opportunities to be well-rounded constructive human beings, the opportunities for happiness for themselves and in relation to others-which seems to me to what good government should be about" (Hawke, 1980, p,1)

One of the first acts Hawke undertook once he had determined that he was going to pursue a parliamentary career and the prime ministerial role was to stop drinking alcohol, and he continued his sobriety for thirteen years. A choice Hawke made due to his commitment to the task and his love of Australia. He was not prepared to go into the prime ministerial role risking offensive behaviour and jeopardising his and Australia's reputation. (Hawke, 2013).

d'Alpuget (1982) summarised the transition that occurred within Hawke: "… the process of struggle and suffering which leads to wisdom and which began in Hawke in the late 1970s has produced a man at peace with himself, prepared finally for the task to which he was trained. Or as it may appear now, was destined" (d'Alpuget, 1982, p.xiii). In this act of abstention, Hawke emulated Prime Minister John Curtin who also chose to be a strict teetotaller from 1932 until his death in 1945. In 1944 when Curtin declined some hard liquor that Winston Churchill had offered him Churchill commented: "You're a better man than I am, Gunga Din" (Calwell, 1972, p.45). President Bush of the United States (2001-2009) also quit drinking after turning forty which he described as "… one of the toughest decisions I have ever made" (Bush, 2010, p.3). Lapses into repugnant conduct as a consequence of being drunk had been a continued feature of Hawke's behaviour, an aspect of Hawke's character revealed in a biography written by Hawke's second wife Blanche d'Alpuget. The biographical portrait "played a significant role in educating the broader public that Hawke had indeed had a problem with alcohol" (Allsop, 2007, p.13). In the 1970s Hawke benefited from the benevolence of television reporters. They assisted Hawke by disposing of film that had been recorded of him when he was drunk. Latham (2005) wrote that the Labor Party had venerated Hawke's drinking and womanising, noting how horrific it must have been for his family. After being named Father of the Year Hawke went to a pub to party with his mates. Ralph Willis, then a research officer with the ACTU had the task of getting Hawke home, and he was on the "doorstep as Hazel came out the front and gave him both barrels, calling him every name under the sun" (Latham, 2005, p.273).

Hawke also made another refrain in his life to give effect to the pursuit of his political ambitions, his extra- marital relationship with Blanche d'Alpuget. Hawke said he did not regret deciding to break-up with Blanche d'Alpuget but on a personal level suffered from an "underlying unhappiness" (Rimington, 2013). Hawke's choice made towards both significant women in his life might be considered the opposite of social intelligence, his preparedness to be judged openly on all counts, provides a counterpoint.

He pursued the Prime Ministerial role with the more socially acceptable option, of his wife Hazel Hawke by his side: "divorce from the marriage would not have been an optimal sort of thing to be doing at that point" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.60). In her book A Little Bit of Magic Hazel Hawke had written "Though I write and think more about women, I do really like men. I love 'em. Especially one, in a special way" (Hawke, H. 1994). Gillard commented that Hawke's achievements in both the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and in politics would have been inconceivable without Hazel Hawke's dedicated support, likening Hazel Hawke to the Eleanor Roosevelt of Australian Politics. People were fond of and esteemed Hazel Hawke and saw the best components of themselves reflected in her. Hazel Hawke had earnt her right to share in the experiences that the prime ministerial role afforded, given the level of support that she had given Hawke and in the nurturing of their family. Her capacities gave much to the Australian community. We are left to wonder what route her life might have taken had the same opportunities for education been hers. Hazel Hawke also set a socially intelligent exemplar by being the first known figure in Australia to reveal publicly and candidly about her experience of having to confront Alzheimer's disease (Carmen, 2013). Her courage in the face of the diagnosis only enhanced the public's sense of warmth towards her.

When Hawke lost the Prime Ministership, he reconnected with Blanche d'Alpuget. The break-up of the Hawke's marriage in 1994 polarized public opinion towards Hawke and also caused extreme ructions within the family. Hawke's daughter Ros Dillon said that it took her about ten years to accept Blanche d'Alpuget. The Hawkes' grandson, Bob Dillon, conveyed that the aspect he found the hardest to contend with concerning the relationship breakdown was the prospect of his grandmother spending her later years on her own without the support of Hawke. Most especially because she had dedicated her life to him (Australian Story, Writers, 2014). His opinion changed when he saw an interview with his grandfather and saw Hawke's patent love for Blanche d'Alpuget. "It

was at that time that I realised that he had made the right decision, a decision from his heart and ultimately he was truly happy" (Australian Story, Writers, 2014, 17th November).

In 2013 during the final days of her life, at the suggestion of their daughter, Ros Dillon, Hawke visited Hazel Hawke in the nursing home. "One of her favourite songs was Danny Boy, so I just quietly held her hand and sang Danny Boy to her. I think it helped a bit" (Australian Story, Writers, 2014, 17th November). Their grandson Bob Dillon said: "It was extremely powerful to see them reconnected again, he looked at her with so much love. As Bob knelt down and grabbed her hand, her energy lifted (Dillon in Australian Story, Writers, 2014, 17th November).

After the era of Prime Minister Menzies, Howard has been acknowledged as the utmost innovative leader of the conservatives. Howard's focus for government was on economic improvements, the diminution of union influence and deregulation of the Australian workforce. The objective was to accelerate productivity to facilitate employment growth and an increase in Australia's capital assets. A reduction of Australia's budget deficit was also on the agenda, this was to be achieved through the sale of public assets and decreased government spending. Howard also pursued the introduction of an unpopular ten per cent Goods and Services Tax (GST). Services undertaken by the public sector were transferred to the private sphere on the basis that market forces would engender more efficiencies. The argument extended was that there needed to be a pragmatic balance between confines applied to the marketplace and government. "A dogged commitment to his objectives was paired with a politically astute ability to draw back, regroup and seek alternative options when impediments loomed" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.206). National security also became a significant policy imperative for the Howard government as a consequence of the 11th September 2001 terror attacks in the United States of America.

Howard's commitment to the Iraq war was considered disastrous by some who would argue, it contributed to the rolling sequence of problems in the Middle East, consequently making the world and Australia more insecure. Both the Labor Party and the Liberal Party agreed to Australia's participation on the war in Iraq following the events of September 11th in the United States. Ron Bonighton, Deputy Director, Intelligence and Security in the Department of Defence, explained to Mark Latham, then Leader of the Labor Party

(2003-2005), in a briefing how the intelligence agencies had erred in their advice. Saddam Hussein was "sending out money and directives for the development of WMD [Weapons of Mass Destruction], but the Iraqi scientists spent it on fast cars and fast women. The usual practice of third world countries applied: corruption and chaos" (Latham, 2005, p.279). Howard was in the United States when the terror attack occurred. Howard had walked back to his hotel, to address a news conference at 9 am. His Communications Director Tony O'Leary came to his room to for a discussion and somewhat casually said that a plane had struck one of the World Trade Centre towers. Some minutes later he advised Howard that another tower had been struck. Having completed his commitment, Howard returned to his hotel room, only to be advised by his principal private secretary Tony Nutt that the Secret Service requested he leave the hotel straight away. Under a blaze of sirens Howard was escorted to a bunker under the Australian embassy. He was concerned about his wife Janette and son Tim who had gone out sightseeing. He was advised that they were also being brought to the embassy. "Being in Washington meant that I absorbed, immediately, the shocked disbelief, anger and all of the other emotions experienced by the American people" (Howard, 2010, p.382). The events of September 11th have been handled here with brevity. The intricacies of this issue are too complex to address here and are beyond the scope of this thesis.

On the 26th August 2001, a Norwegian vessel, the Tampa, was asked by Australian Search and Rescue to respond to a boat in difficulty. It was a fishing boat from Indonesia run by an Indonesian crew. The vessel was carrying 434 people who were then rescued from the sinking boat. Following international protocols, the Tampa proceeded towards Indonesia, the country of origin, having been granted approval to dock at the Indonesian port of Merak. Permission had also been granted for the people to disembark. After becoming aware that they were being returned to Indonesia, the Captain of the Tampa was pressured to take them to Christmas Island. The Captain of the Tampa was advised he was not permitted to enter Australian Waters. Alexander Downer advised the Norwegian Foreign Minister, that military action would be taken if the Tampa passed into Australian waters. Similarly, Howard had placed a call to the Norwegian Prime Minister, who placed the onus on the Australian Government to handle the matter. Meanwhile the Captain of the Tampa advised that he would not trespass provided that Australia provided medical assistance. On the 29th August the Tampa Captain declared he would come into Australian waters unless medical assistance was supplied by 1500 hours Eastern Standard Time.

Shortly afterwards the Tampa entered Australian Territory and so the ship was secured by Australian Special Air Service. The Tampa Captain had been persuaded by passengers threatening to jump overboard so in response he opted to enter Australian waters. People on the ship had been medically assessed and no-one required urgent care. Meanwhile the Indonesian Government had a change of heart and were no longer willing to accept the people being returned to Indonesia.

Howard was advised by his Attorney General that the government should put a Border Protection Bill through the parliament. Having given a copy to Beazley prior to dinner where he agreed to lend his support, at the second reading speech of the bill, Beazley's support was retracted, Beazley accused the government of using the issue as a "political wedge" (Howard, 2010, p.400). "I repeatedly said that for every asylum-seeker who had their refugee claim accepted, one less person who had waited patiently in a refugee camp could be admitted to Australia" (Howard, 2010, p.403). The Australian Red Cross site says: "The UN resettlement system does not operate in this way. A queue implies that resettlement is an orderly process and by waiting for a period of time, a person will reach the front of the queue. The UN resettlement system prioritises asylum seekers for resettlement according to considered needs, rather than waiting time" (Australian Red Cross, 2019). From 1999- "unauthorized" (Howard, 2010, p.394) arrivals increased from 3721 in 199 to 5516 in 2001.

Another controversial matter relating to Howard became known as the Children Overboard Affair. Howard had been advised by the Immigration Minister that the HMAS Adelaide had intercepted the SIEV IV and to prevent the boat being returned to Indonesia asylum seekers had thrown their children overboard. Howard was advised by the Defence Minister Peter Reith of the existence of a grainy film verifying the circumstances. Howard instigated an inquiry which found that the original advice was wrong but the correct information was not conveyed; as a consequence, it was said, of a breakdown in communication amongst Department of Defence, its Minister Peter Reith and the Chief of the Defence Force, Admiral Chris Barrie. Howard said "At no time before the election did receive advice from Reith, my department or anyone else that the original information alleging the children had been thrown overboard was wrong" (Howard, 2010, p.406).

The year 2001 began positively for Labor as the Goods and Services Tax (GST) had been in place for six months and its impact combined with an increase in international oil prices

and in turn local petrol costs, was causing electoral concern. Although the government did not have control over the global increase in petrol it initially declined to act where it had the opportunity. Instead of forsaking the scheduled government petrol excise in February 2001 to reduce petrol prices Howard and Peter Costello did not take this option. This decision proved to be deficient in social intelligence. Fuel costs plus the goods and services tax were compounding the costs of everyday items. A subsequent election in Western Australia on the 10th February went in Labor's favour and a further by-election caused by the resignation of the defence minister John Moore, fuelled a view by the public that the government was out of touch. A memo from the Liberal Party President Shane Stone to the Prime Minister was leaked to political journalist Laurie Oakes. It indicated that the government and specifically the treasurer Peter Costello were regarded by Queensland voters as "mean and tricky" (Crabb, 2005, p.63).

Howard also made a case for immigration to be concentrated on "assimilationist rather than multicultural approaches" linked to the upholding of values within the Australian community. Keating expressed an imperative along the same lines as Howard's. He said "I believe the Oath of Allegiance sworn by new citizens at naturalization ceremonies should proclaim unequivocally their loyalty to Australia and the things we believe Australia stands for – including liberty, tolerance, social justice – those very beliefs which underpin multiculturalism" (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p. 43). Strangio et al.'s (2017) perception of Howard's premise seemed to be skewed to imply that this suggested a form of racism on Howard's part. Possibly linking this to events in the 1980s where Howard and the historian Geoffrey Blainey were criticized for commenting that the proportion of immigrants coming from Asia was too high in the context of what the majority of Australians preferred (Betts, 2003). Howard (2010) denied the claim made in Fraser's memoirs, co-written by Margaret Simons that in a conversation with Fraser in a corridor Howard had said "that we should not take too many Vietnamese refugees. (Howard, 2010, p.135). However Howard's counterpoint centres on semantics. He preferences the term multiracialism rather than multiculturalism because otherwise it "denies the obvious fact that every nation has a mainstream culture, defined more than anything else by its common language" (Howard, 2014, p.453). In any case any contentions concerning racism are countermanded by the fact that immigration numbers under Howard's tenure were both increased and diversified (Strangio et al., 2017). Howard's immigration reform agenda also introduced a humanitarian program with a greater emphasis on immigrants

facing discrimination or maltreatment as opposed to hardship (Betts, 2003). Howard wrote that in government he had only differed with Prime Minister Fraser regarding economic strategies, but that when he became Prime Minister "they really parted company" (Howard, 2010, p.135).

In 1996, Howard's election speech communicated the Liberal Party's policy with regard to industrial relations clearly; however, prior to the election, Kent (2009) suggests, not the extent of his intentions:

> "But we also stand, my friends, for an industrial relations system where you encourage a sense of common purpose at the workplace. We are opposed to compulsory unionism. Our industrial relations reform, which will be the cornerstone of our policy to reduce the operating costs of business, the cornerstone of our policy to improve the productivity of enterprises –- our industrial relations policy will lead to an improvement in the chronic situation on Australia's ports and wharves" (Howard, 1996)

Howard wanted to seize the opportunity to maximise his government's Senate majority and introduce a Federal level industrial relations system that would supersede individual state systems. "By nature and ideological bent Howard was deeply suspicious of the role of unions in bargaining on behalf of workers, favouring closer and more direct relationships between employers and employees" (Kent, 2009, p.219). Two experiential aspects of Howard's life came into play here. Howard's father was a small business owner and as a consequence Howard felt a great 'empathy related responding' (Eisenberg, 2004) to the concerns of small business owners, as a consequence. Howard also had an ideological bias, stemming from his political affiliation and the anti-union stance by the Liberal Party. In combination these two variables seemingly overruled Howard's usually quite measured approach to public opinion.

For small businesses two important considerations include the costs of staff and the capacity of the business to dispense with non-performing employees. In larger organisations the ability to absorb the consequences of failing staff is less of an issue because it is more probable that other staff will compensate for the inefficiencies of a single staff member. In small business contexts this circumstance is unlikely to apply. To redress these and other issues Howard's goal was to take the negotiating capacity away

from the purview of unions and the Australian Industrial Relations Commission and, instead, for it to emanate from employers and for the open market to dictate everyday conditions, with the final goal being deregulation of the employment marketplace.

The Work Choice Act of 2006 introduced the establishment of Australian Workplace Agreements (AWA's). This provided for an employer and an employee to directly negotiate with each other, the terms of an individual employment contract. The problem with the legislation was that it was predicated on an assumption that employers would do the right thing by their workers and that power differentials could be mediated through the no-disadvantage test. In other words, that the parties to individual agreements would be on an equal footing, with respect to negotiating the terms of their new contracts. The no-disadvantage test stated that the benefits and pay allocated could not be below those specified in the relevant award. Howard underestimated the extent to which large businesses would capitalise on the opportunity to implement individual workplace contracts. This was done to reduce their employee costs in favour of those that just met the base criteria of the industrial awards. Howard would be fully cognisant that the reasons unions emerged in the history of work was due to exploitative employer practices. The eras change but where money is involved, not the foibles of human beings. As former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's attitude to his staff and the public service demonstrated, inappropriate behaviours and unhealthy work practices can be applied in any spheres, even those where traditionally more worker protections are afforded. The legislation gave too much licence to employers and Howard's normally socially intelligent 'pub test' (Strangio et al., 2017) would have indicated this, if he had not been swayed too much by his political ideology.

Public pressure eventually resulted in an alteration to the terms of the no-disadvantage test but the political damage to Howard had already been done. Work Choices had become a universal issue of concern that cut across the spectrum of disparate political ideologies. Politically the considered opinion was that Howard had overextended his championing of Work Choices and its iteration through the implementation of the Workplace Relations Act of 1996. From a policy perspective this was not Howard's view (Howard, 2014, Interview) "Almost all of the attacks came from people who said that the legislation had gone too far" (Howard, 2014 p.578). Keating dubbed Howard's industrial relations policies "the most vicious ever on the battlers" (Keating in O'Brien, 2015, p.721). The

implementation of the new industrial relations law by the Liberal Party was also deemed "a major, if not the major, reason why we lost in 2007" (Howard, 2010, p.565). In his autobiography and subsequent interviews Howard still expressed some doubt pertaining to this viewpoint but conceded that if this was the case, then as party leader he took primary responsibility, for the error of judgement. However Howard did point out that: "It was nonetheless a mistake embraced with eyes wide open by the entire party room" (Howard, 2010, p.565). By contrast Julia Gillard stipulated that the Coalition's introduction of Work Choices in 2005 confirmed how disparate the Coalition Party's viewpoints were from mainstream community opinion and appropriate conduct towards working people. Julia Gillard reiterated that as a consequence of winning a majority of Senate seats in the 2004 election, the Coalition saw this as the perfect opportunity to implement its vision of industrial relations.

> "Work Choices incited genuine fear; it effectively abolished the safety net and, for the vast majority of employees, any ability to mount an unfair dismissal claim. Employees could go to work and be presented with an Australian Workplace Agreement (AWA) that cut their pay and conditions. Should their employer cobble together some reason to sack them if they did not sign the AWA, no redress was available. Work Choices was also littered with provisions to stymie the work of trade unions" (Gillard, 2014, p.305).

Julia Gillard was also resolute in her opinion that the Coalition government was defeated as a consequence of the 'Work Choices' legislation. "The two things people hated most were the AWAs and the loss of their unfair dismissal rights" (Gillard in Kent, 2009, pp. 245-246), demonstrated through repeated polling by the Labor Party. The policy had also induced members of the clergy to extend criticism towards 'Work Choices', prompting Howard to counter that theological qualifications were not sufficient to comment on such complex economic matters (Kent, 2009). The Act itself constituted six hundred and eighty seven pages with an additional five hundred and sixty five pages of explanatory memoranda. "Work Choices was widely regarded as nasty, brutish and long" (Kent, 2009, p.222). It was a major lapse in Howard's exercising of social intelligence.

At an individual level it would be fair to say that in respect of Work Choices Howard had been very much influenced by his personal life experiences in the context of his father being a small business owner. He was very cognisant of the long hours, including

weekends, that small business owners expend on their businesses, the absence of penalty rates for the owners and the level of hard work required. In the case of his father there was an additional pressure placed on him by the local council. The local council wanted to install traffic lights at the point on the curb where his father's petrol bowsers were positioned. "Now there was a legitimate public interest but telling someone who owns a garage that they need to remove their petrol bowsers is tantamount to selling their business" (Howard, 2014, Interview). In Howard's mind it was a reflection of how indifferent governments could be. In particular because there was no offer of compensation for his father. The battle with Marrickville Council left his father quite depressed. When people observed to Howard about how benign governments could be he offered a viewpoint that governments could also be part of the problem rather than the solution. Howard admitted to being conditioned by the experiences of his father and that it left an imprint on him. He always emphasised the common interests of both big and small business. Mark Latham, former Labor leader, claimed that Howard was "guilty of serial favouritism towards sections of the Australian business community" (Latham in Crabb, 2005, p.205), a trait that Howard himself acknowledged:

> "Yet, when on-balance judgements were called for, I confess to usually siding with the small operator, even if some violation of free-market principles might be involved; my support for newsagents and pharmacies comes readily to mind" (Howard, 2014, p.20).

Ultimately it was Howard's deviation from his more usual socially intelligent approach that effected his political demise. "Uncharacteristically Howard overrode the electorate's wishes on both industrial relations and environmental issues because his Senate majority allowed him to do so. He had warned his government members against hubris when they discovered they could do more or less as they liked, yet here he was, succumbing to it himself" (Kent, 2009, p.222). Julia Gillard observed:

> "If Labor could not unseat Howard after 11 years, and when he had so badly over-reached with his hated industrial relations policy, Work Choices, when would it ever happen? Australians did want change, I believed, but safe change. Their prevailing mood towards Howard was not one of anger but they were ready to move on from him" (Gillard, 2014, p.4)

Interpersonal skills

Neither of Howard's parents were pompous nor had a notion of their own self-importance. Indeed they actively discouraged such approaches in their children. The children were also taught to be polite to people carrying out menial jobs. This was an attitude that was conveyed in a lesson to Howard as a little boy that, ever since, had resonated with him. During the interval of a movie he and his mother were attending, a cleaning lady was collecting rubbish. Rather than hand the Jaffa box that was on the floor to her he used his foot to push it towards her. This earned Howard a rebuke from his mother. Being respectful and polite were part of the lessons conveyed by his parents. Instilling an empathy with others reflects a socially intelligent approach and the resonance of these teachings carried forward into Howard's approaches in his Prime Ministerial role and in his relations with his parliamentary colleagues. An example of that was Howard's policy of facilitating access by any of his backbench colleagues to have discussions with him (Savva, 2016). Howard's parents also taught him the socially intelligent values of working hard, stoicism, self-reliance, humility and the importance of family solidarity (Savva, 2016; Karpin, 1995; IBSA 2011).

Strangio et al. (2017) wrote that Howard, rather than 'exercised' instead "devised a communication style" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.205) "determinedly committed to plain speaking" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.206) that without much in the way of performative qualities proved to be particularly effective. "He disarmed by appearing to be an 'ordinary bloke'" (ibid). He stood by his values, exercised discipline and relentlessness, in his parliamentary undertakings. After this summary there was finally a recognition by these authors of Howard's key strength: "an acute sense both of what would reassure his party base and what would satisfy the 'pub test' in what he called 'the mainstream'" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.205). The essence of the comments written by Strangio et al. (2017) are that Howard contrived and concocted the way he spoke to the Australian people, rather than it being a natural outcome of his practice at presenting cogent arguments. He had honed his presentation skills through his participation in debating competitions, across nine selective schools. He was third speaker in his school's debating team and as such had to learn to condense and prioritise the contents of spontaneous rebuttals. A further contribution to Howard's capacity to present cogent arguments would most certainly relate to his legal training and career (Howard, 2010).

Like Howard, Hawke had also been instructed by his parents of the importance of 'empathy related responding' (Eisenberg et al, 2004) and mindfulness towards other people. Hawke disclosed that the character failing that he abhorred the most "is a lack of compassion" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.31) and that he is tolerant of shortcomings in people and will work with them provided he is convinced "that their heart is in the right place" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.34). Hawke said of himself: "My personality, experience, and style of leadership leaned always towards unity and consensus" (Hawke, 1994, p.162). Hawke's father had likened Hawke to the character in Rudyard Kipling's poem 'If'

> "If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
> Or walk with Kings-nor lose the common touch" (Kipling in poets.org, 2019; Curran, 2004).

He was a politician who was just as comfortable in the public bar as he was navigating forums of world diplomacy (Curran, 2004) and unlike his prime ministerial peers, Whitlam, Fraser and Keating, "Placed more emphasis on his genuine affection for Australians and his bonding with ordinary people" (Curran, 2004, p.196).

Skilful cabinet and party management

Howard exercised social intelligence towards his party colleagues and as well as this being motivated to ensure the retention of collegial support, it was also reflective of Howard's character and perception of the right thing to do.

> "Howard also knows better than anyone that all leaders serve at the pleasure of their party rooms, and that his or her security of tenure depends on the support of their MP's. That was but one reason why he made sure his colleagues were always well-looked after by himself as well as his staff" (Savva, 2016, p.293).

As Prime Minister Howard had a system in place which allowed backbenchers to speak directly to him on any issue, ranging from personal matters to funding support for their electorates. His executive assistant Suzanne Kasprzak would allocate ten minutes or more in Howard's diary, contingent upon the circumstances. This system kept his colleagues happy and demonstrated Prime Minister Howard's socially intelligent approach of keeping connected to the concerns of his parliamentary colleagues and their electorates. By contrast, in Prime Minister Abbott's (2013-2015) office Peta Credlin determined that

this practice of engagement with party members was unnecessary. Consequently she effected an office restructure. On the same day as firing Howard's executive assistant, Suzanne Kasprzak, Tony Abbott advised her that he had never been attended to so well by an executive assistant and presented her with flowers. Suzanne Kasprzak threw the flowers in a bin as she left the office. Later, Suzanne Kasprzaak was re-appointed by Tony Nutt to handle Prime Minister Turnbull's diary (Savva, 2016).

Howard also exercised a level of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) to his colleagues. He would for the most part endeavour to keep meetings to time but where this did not happen he would leave the meeting and extend his apologies to whomever was waiting, indicating that there were topics that had to be resolved before the meeting could conclude (Weller, 2014).

Howard also kept open the lines of communication between the Prime Minister's office and the federal secretariat of the Liberal Party. He engaged the secretariat in the development of strategy and heeded their advice and Strangio et al. (2017) assert that the Federal Directors of the secretariat also taught Howard how to win with the electorate. Howard was proactive in ensuring that he engaged with both the Federal and State level conferences. He would link up with backbenchers over a meal in the members' dining room in Parliament and linger after party meetings so that colleagues could make contact in an informal way. Colleagues were also invited for drinks at the Prime Minister's residence. Government ministers were reminded of keeping in touch with constituents in order to keep up to date with public opinion and concerns and Howard set an example by doing it himself. "He is the most domestically travelled Prime Minister in the nation's history, in the regions and in the cities, and is proud of his local knowledge" (Kelly in Strangio et al., 2017, p.214).

In the Hawke government, substantive matters before Cabinet would frequently be carried over until there was general agreement from Cabinet members about the approach. On these occasions Hawke would come back to his office and say to his staff "We need to do more work" (Hawke in McKew, 2013, p.114) reflecting a socially intelligent approach to policy development and decision making. The trust exercised by Hawke towards the public service was emulated in his approach to his cabinet colleagues. He was comfortable in delegating and leaving the development of numerous initiatives to his skilled ministers (Weller, 2014). He had individual discussions with each of his ministers,

confirming that he was aware that they knew the party policy that applied to their portfolios, what was needed to give effect to those goals. Hawke advised his colleagues that he would only get involved with their work on two counts. First, if they asked him, or if they needed help, and second, if there was a clash between portfolios that required him to mediate. It was also rare for Hawke to react with stormy put downs towards his colleagues. Barry Jones, the Minister for Science, was on the receiving end of one of Hawke's admonishments. This was because Barry Jones's advocacy concerning the significance of science was not matched by an articulation of the policy requirements in relation to the specific matter at hand. The other noteworthy difference in the cabinet of Prime Minister Hawke was a rule that had been implemented at the start of the Hawke Labor government's tenure and, more importantly, not at his behest. The directive was that if the prime minister held the minority view on a matter the prime minister's decision was upheld. The prohibition of mining of the 14 million square kilometres of Antarctica was an example of where this tenet of Cabinet governance came into play (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

Richard 'Dick' Woolcott who served under seven prime ministers including Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and Keating, maintained that when he was Secretary of Foreign Affairs during the tenure of Hawke that Hawke was open to "sound advice" (Woolcott in Hawke & Rielly, 2017, p.47) but would be vehement in his objections if he considered the other opinions completely wrong. He remained adamant concerning the preservation of Antarctica and countered Dick Woolcott's claim that Paul Keating was the first to raise the issue with the French Government (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

Creation of unity versus dissent

Hawke's approach was to endeavour to achieve consensus. "My cabinet responded marvellously to my leadership. We strove for, and nearly always got consensus" (Hawke & Rielly, 2017). Curran (2004) labelled Hawke's philosophical pledge to a consensus as a quality that distinguished him from Whitlam, Fraser, and Keating. "Hawke was the charismatic, consensus-driven leader who set a strategic direction for the nation" (Bramston, 2016, p.6). There was an exception that Hawke identified as potentially the catalyst that marked the beginning of the end of his tenure. In support of the Jawoyn people who sought to prevent mining in the vicinity of Coronation Hill in Kakadu National Park, Hawke castigated his Cabinet colleagues in a way that he had never done

before. He accused them of hypocrisy in the face of their criticisms about how the spirit of a serpent could not stand in the way of development, as against their own spiritual beliefs about the Holy Trinity. The minority rule applied and Hawke's position prevailed. However advocates of the 38 billion dollar mining deal, including the Australian Industry Mining Council, began applying pressure through a public advertising campaign to have the decision revoked. Later in the year followers of Paul Keating garnered additional supporters, by promising to rescind the decision. In advocating against this mining venture the motivation for Hawke was one of environmentalism and the obligation to subsequent generations (Hawke & Reilly, 2017). It might also be fair to suggest Hawke's strong activism in this instance may also have been influenced by his son Stephen Hawke's lifetime devotion to working with Aboriginal communities.

According to Blewett (2016), the authority of the Hawke government was perishing in the last five months of 1991. "Ironically it was the 'recession we had to have' (an unwise piece of Keating hyperbole) that lay at the root of the decline" (Blewett, 2016, p.10). The government wasn't able to advance a solution to the economic issues it was facing that would appease their supporters and negate waning electoral support (Blewett, 2016). "Businesses were going bankrupt; families were losing their houses" (d'Alpuget, 2010, p.306) Political journalist Laurie Oakes had a story in the Bulletin magazine headlined "Wanted: a new tenor" (Oakes in d'Alpuget, p.306), alluding to Keating who had professed to be the Placido Domingo of Australian politics (Keating in Ryan, 1995, p.7). Blewett (2016) suggested that Hawke needed to deviate from his managerial mode of leadership and focus his efforts on driving things as he had done throughout his prime ministership and his trade union leadership but it did not happen in the last five months of 1991, when it was required. The reprimand of employment minister John Dawkins for showing disloyalty to Hawke and allegiance with Keating was illustrative of the some of the problems that were occurring. Another key error was the appointment of John Kerin as Treasurer (June –December, 1991). Despite Kerin's exceptional record as Primary Industries minister he had not been part of the government's inner circle of economic ministers and did not have the requisite firmness with respect to his colleagues that the role of Treasurer required. Nor did he have any experience in handling the demands of this type of portfolio, including dealing with the media and the relentless mediations with colleagues (Blewett, 2016).

Howard was also steadfast in his commitment to cabinet government and exercised an environment of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) towards his colleagues in that space. Cabinet Secretary Paul McClintock who attended cabinet for two and a half years described that Howard's behaviour set the tone: "… it was a very controlled, gentle, and respectful environment" (McClintock in Strangio et al., 2017, p.215). After a decision was made however, Ministers were expected to adhere to it. The same principle applied in the Hawke government. Collectively reached cabinet decisions were to be adhered to (Strangio et al., 2017).

More contentious was Howard's exercising of executive control towards the public service. Strangio et al. (2017) present the view that Howard was less convinced about the capacity of the civil service to offer neutral advice and substantially reduced public service staff to the tune of 60,000 fewer personnel through outsourcing to the private sector. Instead, staff numbers in the Prime Minister's office were increased from seventeen under Prime Minister Hawke to over forty in Howard's office. Through the implementation of the Public Service Act of 1999, Howard was given the authority to engage and dismiss departmental secretaries. The appointment of Max Moore-Wilton [dubbed Max the Axe] as Secretary of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in 1996, contributed to further unease in the public service. He had an aggressive, confrontational style and espoused the view that it was in the interests of public servants to align themselves with the government. Allying with the government was viewed as countermanding the role of the public service to give impartial advice.

Paul Barratt, departmental secretary for the Minister for Defence, was fired by Max-Moore-Wilton under the auspices of the legislation, it being said that he had lost the confidence of the Minister. Paul Barratt took legal action based on unfair dismissal, achieving a temporary stay but in the subsequent appeal ruling by the Federal Court it was found that the Prime Minister did not have to provide a reason to dismiss a departmental secretary (Strangio et al., 2017). To be fired without being given an explanation is unreasonable and accountability and justifications for such decisions are important.

A firm record of accomplishments

Hawke labelled his greatest single achievement in government that of bringing Australia together again after the discord that had prevailed since 'the Dismissal' of the Whitlam government. This was achieved through the holding of a National Economic Summit in April 1983. The Summit included representatives from Federal, State and Local governments. It involved large and small employer groups, trade unions, church representatives, and welfare organisations. With the exception of Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen (1966–1987), the Summit generated a unanimous communique whereby all of the attendees agreed with the analysis that had been put forward and how to proceed. Howard cited his successes as leaving Australia markedly financially stronger and prouder. Additionally, the liberation of East Timor, gun laws, and stronger relations with the USA and China (Martin, 2012, 20th November).

Australia's capacity to participate in the global marketplace was attributed to the work undertaken in the Hawke government (Edwards, 1996). Hawke cites the widening of free trade agreements as having a dual benefit. An improved economy and the creation of a climate where there is less likelihood of war. "A world sunk in protectionism and economic autarky is a world much closer to war" (Hawke, 1994, p.233). Floating of the Australian dollar and freeing up of the exchange controls gave greater flexibility to a range of investment options. Up to this point, Australian companies could buy overseas companies but could not purchase overseas shares. Permission was required to deposit money into an overseas bank and Australian investment companies were not able to deposit their monies overseas.

Medibank, the Australian universal health scheme devised by the Whitlam government and then disbanded by the Fraser government, was also reintroduced and adapted into Medicare by the Hawke government. It was supported by a levy on taxpayers. Gough Whitlam had endeavoured to get Senate approval for a 1.35 per cent levy but, it was rejected (Kent, 2009). Another significant policy achievement under the tenure of Hawke concerned Antarctica. After eighteen months of rigorous lobbying in tandem with the French government and with the assistance of the scientist and conservationist Jacques Cousteau, the Madrid Protocol was implemented. It put into place the prohibition of mining in Antarctica for fifty years. The policy pursued by Hawke replaced the original

policy submissions by Attorney General Gareth Evans (1983-1984) and the Minister for the Environment Graham Richardson. Both had proposed that Australia accede and sign the Convention for the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resources that had been prepared over six years and had been supported by the United States of America and Great Britain. Ignoring the representations by his Cabinet colleagues that nothing else could be done Hawke travelled without delay to France to begin negotiations on an alternative proposal (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

The introduction of compulsory superannuation payments by employers and the indexation of unemployment benefits to the inflation rate were policies launched by the Hawke government. The only flaw with the latter, is the question to how reflective the inflation rate is of actual cost of living expenses (Boring, 2014). Under the tenure of Prime Minister Hawke high school student retention rates increased from 30 to 70 per cent. Australia, under the leadership of the Hawke government, was also influential in the abolition of apartheid and the freeing of Nelson Mandela. Hawke and Nelson Mandela became friends as a consequence (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

The Hawke government also was at the helm through Australia's worst recession after the Great Depression. Hawke was aware that the benefits from the free-market reforms implemented in 1983-1984, would take close to a decade to come to fruition. Home loan mortgage rates rose to seventeen per cent and the government responded belatedly to redress inflated house prices. A beneficiary of the subsequent drop in housing prices caused by the recession was Hawke; the downturn facilitated the purchase of his waterfront property (Hawke & Rielly, 2017).

Robert Macklin (2007), not very complimentarily, said of Prime Minister Howard's entry into office that he thought it would provide a "restorative mediocrity" after the "moody truculence" of Prime Minister Keating yet "applauded with the rest of the nation" (2007, p.vii) the reforms implemented by Prime Minister Howard regarding gun laws after the Port Arthur massacre in Tasmania. The killer had shot dead thirty-five people and wounded another twenty-three. Howard introduced stringent gun control laws in Australia and was instrumental in the establishment of the National Firearms Programme Implementation Act 1996. Howard was described as having less of an appetite for protecting the environment than Hawke and he decelerated the advocacy by Keating for indigenous reconciliation and an Australian Republic (Strangio et al., 2017).

The stances of both the Hawke and Howard government's towards university education were controversial. The Hawke government reintroduced university fees, albeit somewhat ironically, given that Hawke had been able to avail himself of 'free' university education. Hawke's counter-argument was that education was never free. Instead, a small portion of the population was able to attend, with those who might never have the opportunity of a university education paying for this privilege through their taxes (Hawke ABC). Hawke's alma mater, The University of Western Australia, had been built as a result of an endowment by the newspaper magnate, Sir Winthrop Hackett (Hawke, 1994). Under the Howard government support for universities was decreased and consequentially universities transitioned to self-funding models. Full-fee paying international students were courted and reliance on this revenue stream left universities' fortunes subject to the volatilities of the Australian and global economies. The Howard government also introduced university places for full-fee paying Australian students and caps were set on the number of university places (Gillard, 2014). Labor and Coalition governments alike have steered away from Whitlam's visionary stance of free university education and moved to market models. For example, Germany and the Nordic countries Finland, Denmark, Iceland, and Sweden have free or only nominal fees-based tuition payable for university education (Top Universities, 2018). As education offers social mobility to individuals, it also offers economic mobility for a country.

The topic of Indigenous reconciliation polarized public opinion towards Howard. The 'Bringing Them Home' Report was an initiative that stemmed from Keating. The Report was completed by Sir Ronald Wilson and Mick Dodson in 1997. The conclusion from the review was that the laws and procedural systems that advocated the removal of Aboriginal children from their families was both a flagrant violation of human rights and breached international conventions banning genocide. Howard refused to issue a national apology to members of the 'Stolen Generations' and instead released a statement on behalf of the Parliament expressing: "It's sincere and deep regret" (Howard, 1999). McKew (2013) argued that Howard did not accept the findings of the report and as a consequence was the only Prime Minister who was not present when Rudd issued a formal apology on behalf of the parliament and the Australian people. Prime Ministers Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and Keating were present in the parliament.

Having the courage of your convictions can be a lonely place. It was not that Howard did not accept the conclusions of the 'Bringing Them Home' Report. Instead the stance that he took was that it didn't fit that present-day generations of Australians should make an apology for the wrongs perpetrated by past generations. There is validity to that perspective just as there is to recognize that for many Aboriginal families the formal 'Apology' provided a salve for past harms enacted towards their kinfolk (7:30 Report, 2000). In 1999 as part of a referendum, Howard had sought to include specific recognition of Australia's Aborigines in the preamble to the Australian Constitution. This was rejected by the electorate (Gillard, 2014).

Enhanced country after their prime ministerial term

In the context of Howard and Hawke there are two socially intelligent aspects to the enrichments they extended to Australia. There are the enhancements that were legacies of their prime ministerial terms but also both leaders, in their elder statesmen roles, continued to enrich Australia through their contemplations and observations about the modern political environment. These are augmented by reflections on the lessons that they learned as part of their leadership responsibilities. Some of these musings were captured at a joint appearance by Howard and Hawke at the 50th Anniversary of the National Press Club Address on the 4th June 2014. This was the first time that the two leaders had appeared together at the National Press Club after fifty-three individual attendances.

Of itself, the shared presentation at the National Press Club by these former prime ministers with their fixed loyalties to their parties shows a degree of collaboration that is more absent than present in Australia's parliament. The warm engagement by both leaders on stage demonstrated why, individually, they could resonate with the Australian public and underscored the genuine concern each expressed for Australia as a nation. In this particular forum Hawke and Howard articulated their views on the current state of politics in Australia.

Hawke observed:

> "I am very disturbed and I think John [Howard] would share this about the current state of the, the attitude of the Australian people to the parliament and democratic process I think the parliament is held if not in contempt, in disdain, and I do think

that something ought to be done to lift the quality of performance in the parliament" (Hawke, 2014, 4th June).

Howard followed:

> "I think we have sometimes lost the capacity to respect the ability of the Australian people to absorb a detailed argument. I think the Australian people normally get their politics right. I would say that. I suppose both of us would say that. We would think on some occasions that they got it spectacularly right. They would say that between 1983 and 1996 and I would say in the subsequent period. But they do have a great capacity the Australian people to absorb the argument. They will respond to an argument for change and reform. They want two requirements. They want to be satisfied that it is in Australia's interest, in the national interest because they have a deep sense of nationalism and patriotism. They also want to be satisfied that it is fundamentally fair. The Australian people won't support over a long period of time something that they don't think is fundamentally fair. Dialogue with the public is just fundamentally important and also respecting the fact that the Australian people are well motivated, have a lot of common sense and will always respond to something that they believe is in the interests of their country. And they are fundamentally decent patriotic people. And no political leader should ever forget that. And he or she does so at his peril" (Howard, 2014, 4th June).

These cautions combined with the political acts of Howard and Hawke represent an ethos of social intelligence in action (Thorndike, 1920). Both left a substantial behest as a consequence of their tenures. The Howard government had left an unprecedented legacy of a $20 billion surplus in the budget of Australia and had secured a strong economy with a view to the future (Ferguson, 2015, 9th, 18th, 27th June). This monetary buffer provided the means for Australia to be protected during the Global Financial Crisis. The legacy of the Hawke government was the opening up of the Australian economy to the global marketplace and the importance of the need to achieve a level of consensus from all levels of the Australian community.

After his prime ministership Howard has tried to give serving politicians the benefit of his experience. On party political lines Howard attempted to advise Prime Minister Tony Abbott (2013-2015) concerning his decisions in government. He expressed these views

in private as a courtesy to the new Prime Minister. Tony Abbott had regularly contacted him for advice in the past and to canvass ideas. Howard always told Abbott exactly how he felt about the ideas that Abbott proposed. "Sometimes, he takes my advice, and sometimes he does not. That is his prerogative because sometimes I am right, and sometimes I am wrong. He has different priorities and challenges and the idea that his government should be a continuation of what mine was is ludicrous" (Howard, 2014, Interview).

He advised Abbott not to continue with his plan to reintroduce the British titles of knights and dames; advised against his predisposition to give too much power to his chief of staff and suggested that he should not change his treasurer from Joe Hockey to Malcolm Turnbull. To his discredit, Abbott chose to ignore every serious piece of advice that Mr Howard gave him (Savva, 2016) relying instead on his 'Captain's call'.

After his tenure, Hawke continued his observations of the political world. He had not believed that President Donald Trump would be elected over Hilary Clinton. As this did come to fruition Hawke's response was that as a result, it was essential to accept the facts of the electoral outcome and recognise that the world needs to hold out its hands and engage agreeably with Donald Trump. Not to do so and to exclude him would have a negative impact worldwide because it would force a reliance on his own ways of thinking (Hawke, 2013).

When asked how he would like Australians to remember him Hawke replied:

> "I guess as a bloke who loved his country, and still does, and loves Australians, and who was not essentially changed by high office. I hope they will still think of me as the Hawke they got to know, the larrikin trade union leader who perhaps had sufficient common sense and intelligence to tone down his larrikinism to some extent and behave in a way that a Prime Minister should if he's going to be a proper representative of his people, but who in the end is essentially a dinky-di Australian. I hope that's the way they'll think of me" (Hawke, 1991, pp.559-560).

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the influence of systems in the Australian context, a pertinent counterpoint was articulated in 2014 by the then Prime Minister Tony Abbott (2013-2015). At the launch of Australian journalist Paul Kelly's book Triumph and Demise, a

study of the downfall of the prime ministerships of Julia Gillard (2010–2013) and Kevin Rudd (2007–2010, 2013), Tony Abbott declared: "The system that produced the Rudd/Gillard government is the same system that produced the Hawke government, the same system that produced the Howard government. The Hawke government was undoubtedly the best Labor government in our history and along with the Menzies government, the Howard government can lay claim to being the best conservative government in our history" (Savva, 2016, p.294). Fatefully, Mr. Abbott's further comment, "It's not the system which is the problem; it is the people who, from time to time, inhabit it" (ibid), was to become the epitaph used by his opponents in forcing the end of his tenure as Prime Minister, in September, 2015, although the details of this are beyond the scope of this thesis.

The leadership actions and behaviours of Hawke and Howard, while certainly not perfect, lent more towards the spirit and execution of socially intelligent leadership than the bulk of their peers encompassed by this thesis. As a whole, they demonstrated empathy towards the Australian public and similarly 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) towards their staff and colleagues. The marked exception would in the case of the Howard government and the stresses placed on the public service to achieve "integrated governance" (Strangio et al., 2017, p.219). Max Moore-Wilton's aggressiveness in stressing the loyalty of the public service to the Prime Minister's office was in direct counterpoint to Howard's style of leadership but it happened under Howard's watch as Prime Minister. Dr Peter Shergold, who replaced Max Moore-Wilton, was not so heavy handed. He applied the same executive brief to the public service combined with an emphasis on evidence-based policy advice. On a more positive note public servants did indicate that Howard was an agreeable person to work with, made his information needs clear and readily absorbed information (Strangio et al., 1994).

Hawke and Howard had ambitions for themselves but these were surpassed by the aspirations for Australia that as a consequence led to them achieving both of these aims. They utilised the Cabinet to work through policy decisions even though they did not always abide by the majority view. Most of all their intentions were good.

> "I have become increasingly conscious that in such a democracy ultimately it is
> only in and through the parliament that the decisions can be made which will

fashion for all our people the opportunities to release their talents in work and in leisure, the opportunities to be well-rounded constructive human beings, the opportunities for happiness for themselves and in relation to others-which seems to me to what good government should be about" (Hawke, 1980, p.1 Prior to being elected).

This completes the chapters on the individual prime ministers. Chapter 8 comprises a collective analysis of the data gathered throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This research began with a question as to what facets of social intelligence could be seen to be applicable in analysis of the behaviours, deeds and judgements of seven recent Australian prime ministers and how adequately they were displayed in practice. To answer this question a structural grid was devised, based on prior research that could be applied consistently to the vast range of documentary material that was available in the political sphere. The structural grid provided a consistent comparative method for cross-coding data on the various prime minister's political practices. The grid was designed using prior contributions by Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011), which provided the traits necessary for distinguishing degrees of socially intelligent practice in leadership roles as well as Hillmer and Azzi (2011), who also provided seven distinct political considerations and Lopez (1996), enabling assessment of how these prime ministers treated their staff and colleagues in making their working environments conducive and effective. A summary overview of the findings is identified below in Figure 8.1

Prime Minister	Tenure Length 4+years	Stable Power	Well Defined and Conveyed Goals	Skilful Management of Cabinet and Party	Creating Unity Versus Dissent	Firm Record of Accomplishments	Enhanced Country After their Term
WHITLAM	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗ ✓	✗ ✓	✗ ✓
FRASER	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
HAWKE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗ ✓	✓
KEATING	✓	✓	✗ ✓	✗	✗	✗ ✓	✗ ✓
HOWARD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗ ✓	✓
RUDD	✗	✗	✗ ✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
GILLARD	✗	✗	✓	✗ ✓	✗	✗	✗

Figure 8.1 Graphical representation of the findings in simple form.

In Figure 8.1 Hawke and Howard most consistently matched in practice the majority of the attributes outlined by Hillmer and Azzi (2011) in tandem with the variables identified in the Karpin (1995) and IBSA (2011) reports.

It became clear through the analysis, that achieving a length of tenure was, by itself, insufficient as a measure of social intelligence. For example, Gough Whitlam's term did not achieve the four plus years that Hillmer and Azzi (2011) identified as a benchmark of exemplary leadership but well-defined and communicated goals in tandem with a firm record of accomplishments meant that he left an enhanced Australia after his prime ministerial term. By contrast, Fraser's extended tenure as a whole, did not translate to an enhanced country after his term in the prime ministerial role.

Overwhelmingly, the study revealed that what was often conceived by the prime ministers as their key strength was concomitantly a failing. Gillard, for example, focused on her capacity for resilience: "For three years and three days I was prime minister. Three years and three days of resilience" (Gillard, 2014, p.24). In Gillard's autobiography her chapter on resilience begins with the following definition: "Resilience is the presence, at any given moment, of emotional maturity or emotional intelligence, characterised by self-esteem and self-confidence, the capacity to create and maintain friendships with peers … a well-founded sense of trust; a sense of purpose; a set of values and beliefs that guide responses to the world; and a feeling of having some locus of control" (Raynor & Montague in Gillard, 2014, p.115). The first paragraph opens with the following observation by Gillard: "I am not given to self-analysis, to trying inner voyages of discovery" (Gillard, 2014, p.115) and further on: "I also gained experience in not viewing myself through the eyes of others" (Gillard, 2014, p.121). These two sentences condense in miniature the schism in Gillard's approach to her social intelligence, in as far as they reflect a disinclination to self-reflection. Gillard did not accept responsibility for losing the Prime Ministership and the ensuing destabilization of the Labor Party, weak policy measures or the reaction by the electorate. Keating objected to Hawke becoming Prime Minister because he had interfered with Keating's career trajectory (Edwards, 1996) and the implementation of his vision for Australia but Keating lacked the economic knowledge, as well as the experience, to execute the reforms he wanted to implement after assuming the leadership mantle.

Prime Minister	Area of Social Intelligence Failure
WHITLAM	Poor assessment of Kerr.
FRASER	Misread the electorate.
HAWKE	Lost touch with his Party.
KEATING	Disengaged with the Australian Public.
HOWARD	Ideological view of Unions so entrenched misread the electorates response to Work Choices.
RUDD	Excessive ambition. Poor self-reflection. Poor self-management. Poor time-management.
GILLARD	Excessive ambition. Poor self-reflection.

Figure 8.2. Prime Ministers and the failure of social intelligence

The example of the prime ministers gives pause for thought because in each case the end of their tenures transpired as a consequence of failed execution of social intelligence. Whitlam undermined himself by his inadequate assessment of Kerr. Fraser misread the electorate and the grimness of the electorates' experiences of his policies. Hawke lost touch with his party. Keating disengaged from public concerns by concentrating on big picture visions for Australia that he failed to sell successfully to the electorate. Howard, influenced by the pressures his father had experienced as a small business owner, was so focussed on his ideological view of unions that he misread the response of the electorate to Work Choices. Gillard and Rudd's tenures suffered from their excess of ambition and incapacity for self-reflection. Gillard and Rudd also underestimated the public's reaction to their leadership challenges and the subsequent simmering engagement of attrition between them.
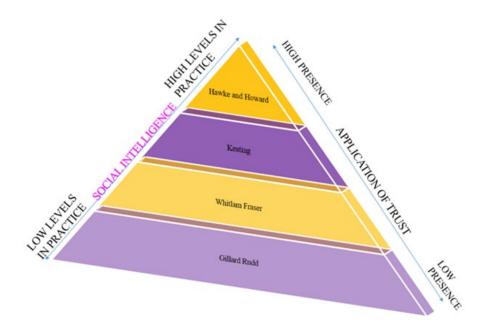
Figure 8.3. Social Intelligence –A graphical representation of the seven prime ministers.

Ambition, unsurprisingly, is a characteristic shared by all of these Prime Ministers. Where this trait is mitigated by trust in others to complete tasks complemented by a range of social intelligence skills it works to positive effect. When it is combined with unfettered egotism the result is poor or socially deficient leadership.

Comparing the similarities and differences between the Prime Ministers

- All of the Prime Ministers could be regarded as ambitious. The ways in which this ambition was accomplished had a determining influence on the application of the other social intelligence capabilities. For instance, the pervasiveness of Rudd and Gillard's ambition overwhelmed a balanced social intelligence.

- All of the prime ministers were encouraged by their parents to pursue formal education, except Keating, whose parents had different views.

- Parental love was a pervasive theme in the data relating to Hawke, Keating and Howard. It was not so evident in the cases of Gillard, Rudd, Whitlam and Fraser. That is, not to say that it wasn't present but that it wasn't a focus.

- In the context of Keating, the revelation that his grandmother rebelled against Keating's father, if he reprimanded Keating stood out as an important detail, explaining his desire to achieve what he sought, despite immediate opposition.

- The Prime Ministers with a propensity to take risks in pursuit of unpopular policies included Howard, Hawke, Whitlam and Keating. Hawke, Howard and Whitlam however engaged with the public so that the Labor policy ideas would be understood and embraced. Rudd, Fraser and Gillard were less inclined to do so.

- The need to have a social and community focus was impressed upon Hawke, Howard, Whitlam and Fraser from an early age. Fraser displayed this focus in his electoral seat. Whitlam welcomed members of his electorate into his lounge room to assist them with their problems. However, an emphasis on community engagement was not a pervasive theme with either Gillard or Rudd, although Gillard was active at university in campaigning for student rights.

- Hawke and Howard exercised 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) towards their colleagues and staff. Whitlam did this to his inner circle of office staff celebrating birthdays and farewells. Gillard had close relations with her office staff, the cleaners and her security detail. Keating had some closeness with a small inner circle that did not include his parliamentary colleagues in a broader sense. Fraser and Rudd did not create an atmosphere of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006) with their staff or colleagues.

- Howard, Whitlam, Hawke and Gillard had careers beforehand outside of politics, while Fraser also managed a property. Rudd and Gillard had the shared experience of public service roles prior to becoming members of parliament. Keating was very largely a career politician.

Contributions

The first contribution has been the development of a means of exploring the manifestation of social intelligence in practice, without recourse to self-reporting mechanisms that are completed by the subjects of a study, the filling out of a survey or responding to interview questions. Given the problems of access, with some subjects deceased, others very guarded in their dealings with researchers, these methods were not available. Consequently, the thesis has made extensive use of ample documentary and biographical data to explore the social intelligence of these prime ministers. The aim was to complete an in-depth exploration of the use of social intelligence, within the real-life context of these Australian prime ministers. There were benefits in conducting these prime ministerial case studies thus in order to "explain the presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies" (Yin, 2009, p.19). Using case studies that could use so much publicly available data also renders the research open to full disclosure and analysis and facilitates independent assessments by others.

The theoretical construct of social intelligence has been subject to considerable contention. In the 1980s, when Goleman (1986) conceived the term 'emotional intelligence' and determined that it was significantly more important for leadership than intelligence quotients, the protests were rigorous, with Goleman (1986) being accused of making assertions without any scientific support (Antonakis, 2004). Subsequently, inventories were developed to measure a person's emotional intelligence, including Bar-On's (1997) Emotional Quotient Inventory (EQ-i), the Self-Report Emotional Intelligence Test (SREIT) (Schutte, Malouff, Hall, Haggerty, Cooper, Golden, Dornheim, 1998), the Multidimensional Emotional Intelligence Assessment (MEIA) (Tett, Fox and Wang, 2005) and many more. Many of the testing instruments rely on the honesty that is applied by the person completing the test measures. As Hare & Ronson (2011) revealed, psychopathic personalities can be adept at assessing the responses to select to make them appear as 'emotionally intelligent'. All of these are methodologically individualistic. By contrast, this thesis has attempted to construct a theoretical framework that is context-based and incorporates diverse elements of social interaction.

Limitations of the Research

Despite its contributions and relevant implications, this thesis has several limitations. Throughout the study, there has been a concerted attempt to use multiple data sources for verification purposes. However, some of the data, outside of official transcripts or archive materials, delivered descriptions or information that were evidently subject to various kind of bias, either personal or political. At times, it seemed that the author/s had deliberately excluded pieces of information; sometimes, this appeared to link to the political persuasion of the authors. The volume of available data precludes an assurance that all biases are addressed but a sincere attempt has been made to do so and achieve balance in the use of materials. The ready availability of the information used in this thesis will allow scrutiny of my interpretations and data inclusions or exclusions.

Future Research

The measures applied in this study have wider applicability in leadership contexts. The measures could easily be extended to study socially intelligent leadership in a range of organisational contexts or work environments. The data from the Karpin (1995) and the IBSA (2011) reports does not need any modification. Nor, notionally, does the use of 'organised emotional care' (Lopez, 2006). However, some adjustments would be required to the Hillmer and Azzi (2011) measures. Length of service could be substituted for the length of tenure. The time frame would need to reflect sufficient length in the work role to be able to accomplish equivalent roles to those of prime ministerial leaders, such as, for example, finalising projects, implementing change processes or transforming components of organisational culture. Skilful management of cabinet and party might be matched by skilful management of staff and organisation. Enhanced country after their term could be converted to enhanced company, after the tenure of the individual's employment and be linked to the outcomes that were achieved by the end of the employment period, using the usual indicators of enhanced value such as return on investment, stock indices and so on. Alternatively, the latter could be phrased as an enhanced social environment, depending on the size, nature or impact of the workplace, using measures of social capital. For the future, it would be useful to apply the measures

employed in this study to subsequent Australian prime ministers to broaden the empirical reach and richness of the data and to build a panel of longitudinally comparative date. Finally, should future aspirants to the office of Prime Minister perchance become familiar with the results of this research, the broader public and national interest might be better served in the future than it has been, on occasion, in the past.

APPENDIX 1

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