

The Swinburne Leadership Survey

Index of Leadership
for the Greater Good

© 2015 Swinburne Leadership Institute, Hawthorn, Melbourne
ISBN 978-0-9943040-0-1

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS

Dr Samuel Wilson
Prof John Fien

SURVEY MANAGEMENT

Swinburne Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) Facility

PRODUCTION

Hugo Armstrong
Ashlin Raymond

DESIGN

Jenine Davidson

LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD



The Swinburne Leadership Institute promotes Leadership for the Greater Good across government, the private sector and civil society. Our research and engagement activities aim to bring clarity and richness to the term 'leadership for the greater good' and to promote public dialogue on the important issues of ethics and the public interest in the actions of leaders.

Leadership for the Greater Good seeks to maximise the interests of all members of the community. Although it can take many forms, Leadership for the Greater Good is characterised by a balance between competing interests: private and public interests; immediate and longer-term interests; and the interests of present and future generations.

Our mission is to promote a renewal of leadership in Australia through research and advocacy about authentic, ethical and sustainable forms of leadership that advance the greater good.

Join us on our journey



Professor John Fien
Executive Director, Swinburne Leadership Institute

The Swinburne Leadership Survey

Index of Leadership for the Greater Good 2014–2015

CONTENTS

1. Snapshot of results	1
2. Major findings.....	5
3. Technical reports.....	33
Endnotes and References	62

ABOUT THIS REPORT

The Swinburne Leadership Survey is the flagship research program of the Swinburne Leadership Institute. It is a benchmark study and underpins our goal of contributing to the renewal of Leadership for the Greater Good in Australia.

The Swinburne Leadership Survey is a social science research program that examines Australian's beliefs about the nation's leaders and citizens and includes the Swinburne Leadership Index 2014.

AIM

The aim of the Swinburne Leadership Survey is to benchmark public opinion about:

The trustworthiness and competence of leaders across different social and economic sectors

The responsibilities of leaders in contributing to the Greater Good

How well national political leaders are delivering on these responsibilities

How they would like national political leaders to address our major challenges

The roles ordinary citizens can play as change agents or local leaders of change for the Greater Good.

METHOD

In 2014 two surveys were conducted.

A national survey of 800 Australian adults was conducted by telephone and employed a dual-frame sample methodology, comprising both randomly generated mobile phone and landline telephones.

The survey data were weighted to bring the achieved respondent profile into line with the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2011 Census demographic indicators. Rim weighting developed by The Social Research Centre was used to weight the national survey. This procedure enabled the weighting of data by the following variables: geographic location, gender and age by education. The following variables were weighted: state, gender and age (18-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55+) by education (university degree, no university degree).

In addition to the national survey, an online study was conducted to examine the relationships between beliefs about the nature of complex problems and how leaders ought to address them. The results of this study illuminate the relationships between our beliefs about complex problems and our expectations of leaders.

READING THE REPORT

The report is presented in three sections:

1. Snapshot of results
2. Major findings
3. Technical reports

The first section is a general overview and summary of the key findings and conclusion of the study.

The second section is a discussion of the results and their implications. The material in Section 2 is drawn from Section 3 which sets out the detailed analyses of the research.

Thus, the report may be read at three levels, each one in increasing order of detail.



SWINBURNE LEADERSHIP SURVEY

SNAPSHOT OF RESULTS

MAJOR FINDING #1: AUSTRALIANS HAVE A SOPHISTICATED AND NUANCED VIEW OF LEADERSHIP

Political leaders were the least trusted of the five sectors of leaders assessed. Nearly two-thirds of respondents (59%) reported political leaders were **not very trustworthy or not trustworthy at all**. Community leaders were judged as the most trustworthy of the five sectors of leaders we examined: 81% thought community leaders were **somewhat** or **very trustworthy**.

Political leaders were regarded as the least competent of the five sectors of leaders and community leaders the most competent. Generally, however, leaders of all sectors were seen as more competent than incompetent. This pattern was most pronounced for community leaders and business leaders, who were judged as **somewhat** or **very competent** by 84% and 80% of respondents, respectively.

Australian leaders were thought to care more for their own self-interest and those of their close supporters than the wider public interest. Business leaders were seen as least concerned: three-quarters of respondents (75%) thought business leaders were **somewhat** or **much more concerned** with their self-interest. By contrast, community leaders were perceived by over two-thirds (70%) of respondents as **somewhat more** or **much more concerned** with the public interest than self-interest.

Australian leaders were regarded as less concerned about the interests of **future generations** than they are with people alive in the here and now. This is not to be unexpected as there are many immediate problems that need attention. However, respondents were looking for more balance in the concern leaders displayed for present versus future generations. This imbalance was most pronounced when trade union and political leaders were assessed.

LEADERS ARE TRUSTWORTHY (%)



LEADERS ARE UNTRUSTWORTHY (%)

POLITICAL LEADERS BUSINESS LEADERS TRADE UNION LEADERS RELIGIOUS LEADERS COMMUNITY LEADERS

LEADERS ARE COMPETENT (%)



LEADERS ARE INCOMPETENT (%)

POLITICAL LEADERS BUSINESS LEADERS TRADE UNION LEADERS RELIGIOUS LEADERS COMMUNITY LEADERS

LEADERS CARE MORE ABOUT THE PUBLIC INTEREST (%)



LEADERS CARE MORE ABOUT THEIR SELF-INTEREST (%)

POLITICAL LEADERS BUSINESS LEADERS TRADE UNION LEADERS RELIGIOUS LEADERS COMMUNITY LEADERS

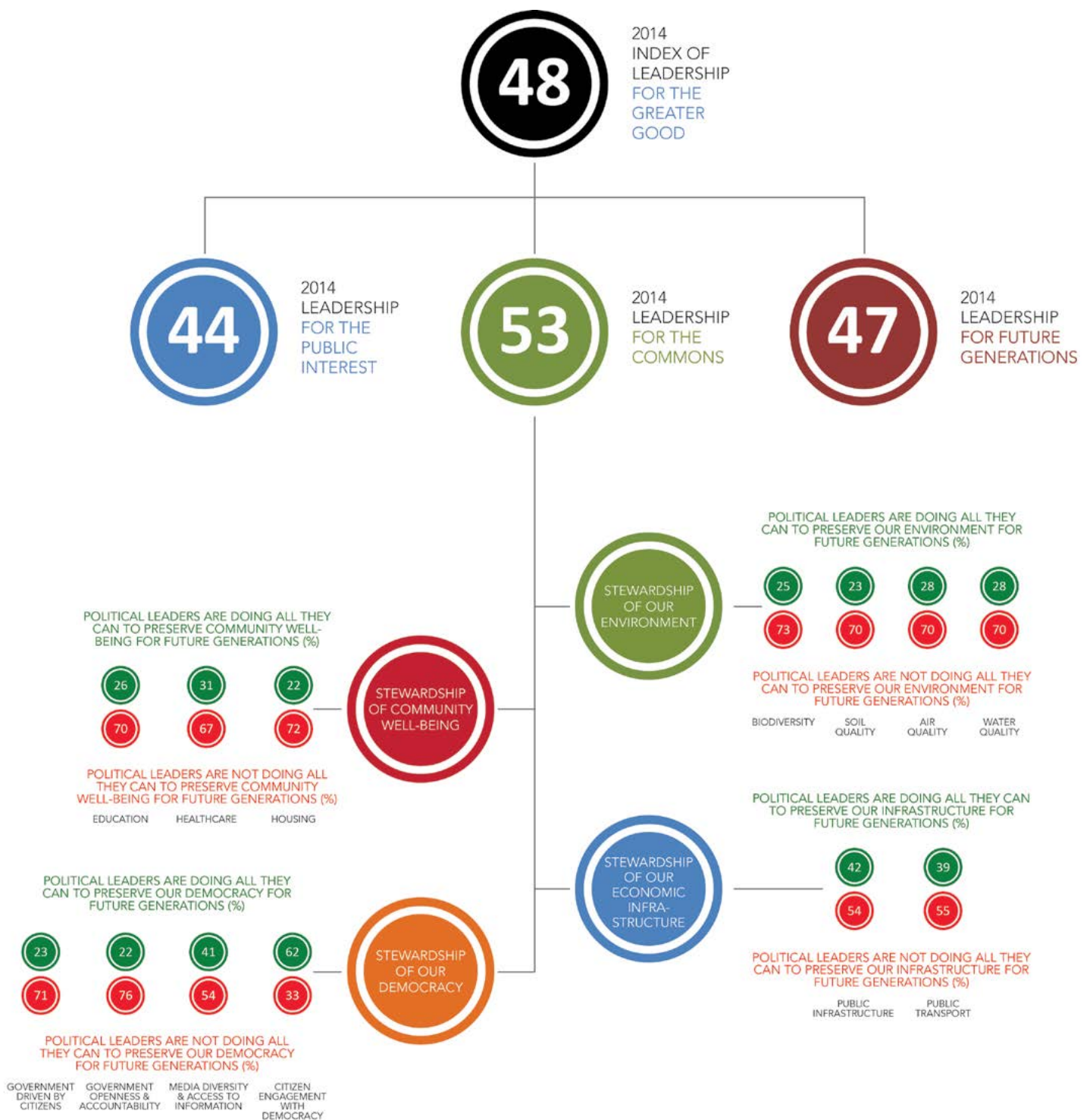
LEADERS CARE MORE ABOUT THE FUTURE (%)



LEADERS CARE MORE ABOUT THE SHORT TERM (%)

POLITICAL LEADERS BUSINESS LEADERS TRADE UNION LEADERS RELIGIOUS LEADERS COMMUNITY LEADERS

MAJOR FINDING #2: INDEX OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD



KEY CONCLUSIONS

#1. Australians have a nuanced and sophisticated appreciation of the art and challenges of leadership, as measured by:

The ability to differentiate between leadership across different sectors—politics, business, trade union, religious groups and in community.

This differentiation runs across beliefs about the trustworthiness and competence of leaders of these different sectors and in perceptions of the extent to which leaders are concerned with our shared interests (as opposed to self or vested interests) and the interests of future generations.

Consistency in these views with strong correlations of trustworthiness with both the future and wider public interest orientations of leaders across the different social sectors.

Appreciation of the complexity of our social, economic and environmental problems and the difficulty of addressing them comprehensively.

When problems are understood as complex, we appreciate the need for clear communication, compromise, and flexibility in achieving long-term resolutions. We expect collaborative, adaptive leadership, not quick fixes or crisis management.

Current involvement in various actions of community leadership and civic engagement.

#2. Australians do not believe national political leaders have a strong degree of commitment to the Greater Good, as measured by:

A low score on beliefs about leaders' commitments to the wider public interest.

A low score on beliefs about leaders' commitments to the future.

A low score on beliefs about leaders' commitments to stewardship of the commons upon which the well-being of current and future generations of Australians depends.

A low score on the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good.



SWINBURNE LEADERSHIP SURVEY

MAJOR FINDINGS

RATIONALE FOR THE SURVEY

AUSTRALIA BEGAN 2014 IN A CLIMATE OF OPTIMISM AND HOPE FOR THE FUTURE AFTER SEVERAL YEARS OF FEDERAL LEADERSHIP INSTABILITY, POLICY CONFUSION, AND NEGATIVE POLITICS.

The years of instability had taken their toll. A Scanlon Foundation study in 2013 found that public trust in government had collapsed, with around a half of all Australians reporting that the government in Canberra could not be trusted ‘almost always’ or ‘most of the time’.¹ Young Australians were especially disillusioned—almost half did not believe that ‘democracy is preferable to any other kind of government’ and many were not registered to vote.²

Australians were looking for change and elected a new national government towards the end of 2013; a government that promised to ‘restore trust’ in government. It was a government that also promised economic prosperity: ‘a stronger and more diverse five pillar economy with innovative manufacturing, agriculture, services and education as well as mining and two million new jobs over a decade. We’ll build a stronger economy so that everyone can get ahead’.³

The strategic withdrawal of Australian troops from Iraq and Afghanistan was well underway. Superannuation returns for 2013 were the highest since the Global Financial Crisis and the share market was showing bullish signs. The bushfire season was not as severe as had been feared and there were minimal summer cyclones and flooding. The ‘old enemy’ had been whitewashed five-nil in the 2013-2014 Cricket Ashes.

Thus, the leading international annual survey of trust in public institutions (not leadership per se)—the Edelman Trust Barometer—reported that Australia was one of the few countries in the world where there had been a net increase in trust. For example, trust in government had increased 13 per cent by early 2014 over the results for 2013. Trust in business had risen 11 per cent and six per cent in both the media and non-government organisations.⁴

By mid-2014, however, much of the optimism had dissipated. Concerns about transparency in government were rising and many believed that the government was reinterpreting its promises. It was even being said that we were now in an era of ‘post-truth politics’.⁵

Faith in other institutions was also under challenge. Royal and other Commissions into the 2009 home insulation scheme, trade union and political corruption, and institutional failures to address the sexual abuse of children by the clergy, teachers and other community leaders—all held in 2014—were undermining faith in governments, trade unions and religious bodies. Similarly, investigations by the Australian Securities and Investments Commission into unconscionable conduct by a major retailer and corrupt practices in the financial planning arm of the largest bank in Australia were undermining confidence in the integrity of business.

Thomas Picketty’s *Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century* was a best-seller worldwide, resonant with the zeitgeist of concern about growing inequality.⁶ Internationally, and in Australia, concern was growing that economic policy was increasingly out of government hands, that neither austerity nor Keynesian economics were able to trigger a return to prosperity, and that the post-GFC recovery was mostly benefitting the wealthy few—including the financial market operators who had caused the crisis in the first place. The failure of the Australian government to convince the public that its 2014 national budget was fair echoed this unease.

Thus, by late 2014, when research for the Swinburne Leadership Survey was being conducted, the level of public trust in leadership in Australia was a concern once again. Reports by the Lowy Institute, the Social Research Centre at the Australian National University (ANU-SRC) and the Scanlon Foundation were reporting near-record lows in levels of trust and confidence in government.⁷ The Edelman Trust Barometer had dropped from 58 to 52 in one year.⁸ Unhappily, the emergence in Australia of a political,

business and civic culture perceived to be elevating private over public interests and immediate benefits over long-term goals is a worrying sign that the long-term interests of current and future generations of Australians are not sufficiently valued today. Thus, even the Edelman Trust Barometer, which reported an overall increase in trust in government and business institutions from 2013 to 2014, detected signs of this. For example, even before wide reporting of the financial advice and retailer scandals in late 2014, the Trust Barometer was recording a demand for increased government regulation of business with 34 per cent of Australians believing there was not enough regulation and only 24 per cent believing there was too much. In the financial services and retail industries, the figures were 47 and 34 per cent, respectively wanting regulation and only 10 and 12 per cent, respectively, wanting less.⁹ A total of 59 per cent of those surveyed reported wanting the government to take more action to protect consumers from irresponsible business and to regulate business more.¹⁰

These surveys all suggest that, as Australians, we want a long-term, public interest approach to national leadership. We call this [Leadership for the Greater Good](#). This can take many forms but it always needs to be locally relevant and culturally appropriate. In all cases it recognises the legitimacy of the individual as citizen, the reality of our shared interests, and the importance of balancing competing interests in ways that enhance the greater good.

Although there is an abundance of evidence to support the argument for change, we seem unable to act on what we know. Why is it so difficult, in Australia, to practise a public interest approach to our complex challenges? What is the role of ordinary Australians in creating the 'space' within which leadership for the 'greater good' can be established and celebrated? Indeed, what does 'leadership for the greater good' look like?

One of the purposes of this inaugural Swinburne Leadership Survey is to help us better understand the answers to these questions. It also helps us

determine what Australians expect from 'leaders', how they would like them to approach our major challenges, and the roles they believe that ordinary citizens can play as change agents or local leaders for the greater good.

Understanding Leadership for the Greater Good requires that we measure indicators of trust and confidence in individuals and institutions. The Swinburne Leadership Survey does this. The survey also reports on patterns and trends in our levels of trust in leaders across different sectors (government, business, trade unions, religious bodies and the local community) and how competent we believe they are to lead.

The purpose of delving deeper into the beliefs and expectations that Australians have about the nature of our complex challenges and how these challenges ought to be addressed is to help illuminate the reasons why we have such difficulty in acting on what we know. The urgency of the need for long-term 'greater good' approaches to Australia's many 'wicked problems' demands more than abstract descriptions of Australians' trust in its leaders: it also demands insight into the factors that thwart the public interest approach, and those that enable and sustain it.

>> The Swinburne Leadership Survey goes beyond questions of confidence to also examine the beliefs of Australians about a range of our most complex challenges, how these challenges ought to be addressed, and how committed political leaders are to addressing these challenges. The Leadership Survey extends previous research to reveal some of the reasons why we make the leadership judgments we do and the areas in which leaders need to work harder to restore the trust and confidence that are crucial to civic life and well-being in a vibrant democracy—to be seen as Leaders for the Greater Good.

WHAT IS THE 'GREATER GOOD'?

LIKE 'LOVE' AND 'TRUTH', THE CONCEPT OF THE 'GREATER GOOD' (AND ITS SYNONYMS; 'PUBLIC INTEREST' OR 'COMMON GOOD') IS PARADOXICAL. ON THE ONE HAND, THE GREATER GOOD HAS THE QUALITY OF BEING FAMILIAR AND COMMONPLACE. AND YET, IT IS DIFFICULT TO ARTICULATE IN A PRECISE OR COMPREHENSIVE WAY. WE QUICKLY DISCOVER THAT IT IS MORE COMPLEX, EXPANSIVE AND ELUSIVE THAN WE INITIALLY SUPPOSE.

The concept of the greater good has a long yet punctuated history, replete with diverging meanings. To illustrate, Plato conceived an ideal state in which private goods such as property and nuclear families would be relinquished for the sake of the greater good of a harmonious society,¹¹ whereas Aristotle defined it in terms of a communally shared happiness, whose key constituents were wisdom, virtue and pleasure.¹² Throughout the centuries, Christian theologians such as Augustine and Aquinas¹³ examined the greater good, as have thinkers from other great faiths.¹⁴

More sustained engagement with the concept of the greater good occurred in the seventeenth century with the rise of social contract theory. Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau pioneered social contract theory, a school of thought that posited that individuals ought to forfeit their absolute freedom to live as they wished for the greater good of the security of shared life in a community.¹⁵ The proposition that safety of all the members of a community is a greater good than unrestricted individual liberty is related to the idea of 'the greatest good for the greatest number'.¹⁶

In this way, social contract theory overlaps with utilitarianism. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thinkers such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill argued that the right course of action is that

which creates the greatest 'utility' for society—utility defined as happiness (or, more precisely, experiencing pleasure and avoiding pain).¹⁷

In the twentieth century, the question of the greater good received renewed impetus with the seminal work of John Rawls.¹⁸ In his rethinking of the concept of justice as fairness, the common good was cast in terms of a thoroughgoing egalitarianism. And in the twenty-first century, hugely influential intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky and Slavoj Žižek are re-addressing the concept in affirmative and critical ways, respectively.¹⁹

Utilitarianism appears to inform the prevailing popular understanding of the greater good at the level of Australia's 'collective consciousness'. Utilitarianism's appeal may be attributed to the fact that it neatly intertwines with cultural norms such as 'mateship' and a 'fair go'.

However, utilitarianism does possess certain risks and limits. For instance, it exposes itself to a populism that is informed more by dominant ideology than by critical thinking, which can inhibit the expansion of what Martha Nussbaum calls the 'frontiers of justice'.²⁰ And in the context of intensifying environmental problems, utilitarianism's most serious limitation is that it is human-centred. It is silent on the greater good as it relates to other species and living systems.

The meaning of the 'greater good' will continue to evolve as our understanding expands in terms of what it means to be human and our place and impact on the world.

Our growing awareness of the vulnerability of ecological systems to human disturbance has heightened our concern for the systems that ultimately underpin and sustain our societies and economies.²¹ At minimum, construing these natural systems—or, more instrumentally, natural resources—as the ultimate means upon which all else depends admits the state of the environmental 'commons' into conceptions of the greater good.

Of course, the concept of the ‘commons’ or ‘common-pool resources’, which are collective goods that all group members have free access to, is an old one. Common-pool resources (e.g., drinking water, fish stocks) are clearly a vital part of the common good. However, it was Garrett Hardin’s work on the vulnerability of unregulated commons to over-exploitation²² that demonstrated the sustainability of common-pool resources could not be assumed without some mechanism to regulate their use and, if renewable, replenishment.

Public goods, such as government and roads, are another category of collective goods that comprise the common good. However, unlike common-pool resources, which begin at full provision, public goods require individuals to contribute some form of capital (money, time, effort) in order to bring the good into existence. However, once the public good is brought into existence, everyone can use it, regardless of whether or not they contributed towards its provision.²³

As this brief excursion through the history of ideas suggests, the greater good is a variegated, multidimensional concept. Although its social qualities are most apparent, its spatial and temporal qualities are also evident. Consider, for example, the private, tangible goods to which Plato refers, or the common goods whose depletion over time constitute Hardin’s ‘tragedy of the commons’.

These interlocking social, spatial, temporal qualities of the greater good comprise the heart of our thinking about the leadership for the greater good. Although imperfect and incomplete, we distilled our measures of the greater good to three key indicators. Our first is [concern for the public interest](#), as opposed to concern for private and vested interests. Our second is [concern for future generations](#), which we contrast with concern for only those who are alive in the here and now. Our third is [concern for the commons](#), which is a composite of collective goods in the domains of environment, society and economy.

>> LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD

When leaders act in ways that show us they care for the interests of all Australians, including future generations of Australians, and when they act as responsible stewards of our environmental, social, and economic commons to ensure that the quality and stock of collective goods is sufficient for future generations to meet their own needs, leaders demonstrate leadership for the greater good.

The Index of Leadership for the Greater Good integrates these three components of the greater good—leadership for the public interest, leadership for future generations, and leadership for the commons—into a single index.

LEADERSHIP FOR THE 'GREATER GOOD'

THE QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS, AS WELL AS IN TRADE UNIONS AND RELIGIOUS BODIES, IS A MAJOR CONCERN AROUND THE WORLD. THE 2015 WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM IN DAVOS LISTED A LACK OF LEADERSHIP AS NO. 3 IN THEIR LIST OF MAJOR CHALLENGES FOR 2105.

The Davos Global Agenda 2015 report described a “troubling disconnect between the public and the authorities that govern them”, and posited that this phenomenon was a sign of a “weakening of representative democracy.”²⁴ It found that most of today’s political leaders are no longer seen as reflective of the national aspirations for the type of leadership people around the world want.

Politics can involve the type of leadership we want, but only when office holders subjugate personal and party interests to their responsibilities to all groups in society, to future generations, and to maintaining the social, cultural and environmental traditions and assets upon which our sense of ourselves as Australians depends.

It is the same with business. Business only involves leadership when managers and CEOs position their firms at the intersection of owners, employees, suppliers, customers and the wider community that gives them their social licence to operate. It is not leadership to pursue short-term rises in a share price at the expense of others and future generations.

In Australia, Federal Court Judge Richard Edmonds argued recently that, over the past fifteen years, politicians have been too driven by “political

expediency to the exclusion and detriment of the nation’s best interest. In doing so they have all displayed a lack of intellectual honesty, integrity and the courage necessary for strong political leadership.”²⁵

The Swinburne Leadership Survey set out to find what sort of leadership we want.

We saw an example of it in Sri Lanka in the new President’s Independence Day Address in February 2015. In contrast with his predecessor’s regular celebration of military victory over the Tamil population five years ago, Maithripala Sirisena declared, “The biggest challenge today is to unite the hearts of the people of the north and south through a national reconciliation process for coexistence ... It is not proper to point fingers at each other. All political parties and leaders who governed this country must look at themselves and meditate on their role and look to the future.”²⁶

Leadership is ultimately about change; to have a positive effect on behalf of others and society. As US professor of leadership James O’Toole argues, leadership is not simply a matter of style or popularity. Leadership is about ideas and values. It is about understanding the diverse and sometimes conflicting needs of society. And it is about energising society to pursue a better state of affairs than we had thought possible. It is about creating a values-based umbrella large enough to accommodate the various interests of society but focused enough to direct our energies to the pursuit of the greater good.²⁷

**SUCH QUALITIES ARE THE HALLMARK OF
LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD.**

WE SAW LEADERSHIP WHEN ...

... [Malala Yousafzay](#) continued attending school in an assertion of the rights of all girls to an education despite threats by the Taliban.

... [then-Premier Anna Bligh](#) fronted the media for as long as she was needed during the 2011 Queensland floods, with Auslan interpreters on hand to make sure the message was conveyed to all.



... [then-Prime Minister John Howard](#) responded to the Port Arthur massacre with a gun buy-back scheme that alienated many of his Coalition supporters—and we saw it again when he introduced the GST because he saw it as essential for the future of the country's economy even though a predecessor, John Hewson, lost the 1993 election on the same issue.

... [then-Prime Minister Julia Gillard](#) set aside fiscal pressures to introduce the National Disability Insurance Scheme because the most vulnerable in Australia were suffering.

... [Don Henry](#) of the ACF and [Michael O'Connor](#) of the CFMEU ended a thirty year conflict and brokered the Tasmanian Forest Agreement.

... [Joanne McCarthy](#) and [Peter Fox](#) put their careers on the line to help bring about the Royal Commission into Institutional Child Abuse.

... [Rosie Batty](#) spoke out against all domestic violence after the tragic death of her son.

... [Donald Horne](#) deleted "Australia for the White Man" from the masthead of The Bulletin when appointed its editor.

LEADERSHIP AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

A story about Confucius illustrates the significance of people's trust in their government and people's confidence that, in return, their government cares for the long-term interests of society.

A disciple asked Confucius what were the major roles of the State. Confucius said that there were three: it must have military power to defend the people; it must provide food for the people to eat; and it must act in ways that the people could trust. The disciple then asked, "But what if you can't have all three?"

"Then do away with the military", replied Confucius. "But what if you can only have one?" the disciple continued.

"In that case, do without food," Confucius told him. "There has always been death, but without trust, there can be no state".²⁸

Yet, many global and national reports indicate that the social contract may be at risk through low and declining trust in national leaders. For example, the Edelman Trust Barometer, which is published each year in time for the Davos World Economic Forum, shows that nearly two-thirds of the 27 countries surveyed were net "distrusters"—not only of government leaders but also of business, media and community leaders. Australian leaders ranked in the bottom half in this survey with only 42% of an online sample of 1000 people expressing a positive level of trust in the 2015 report.²⁹

A detailed analysis for Australian results of the previous Edelman Survey revealed that only 7% said political and business leaders could be trusted a great deal when asked how much leaders could be trusted to tell the truth and act with integrity (cf. worldwide results of 13% for government leaders

and 20% for business leaders). The results for "do not trust at all" were 60% and 48% for Australian political and business leaders, respectively.³⁰

The lack of confidence is especially acute with respect to political leaders, but other sectors of leadership are not immune. There is a strong sense of a leadership malaise, or worse, a crisis in Australia. Consistent with this, when we asked whether there is a leadership crisis in Australia, nearly two-thirds of respondents (59%) either **agreed or strongly agreed** that there is one.

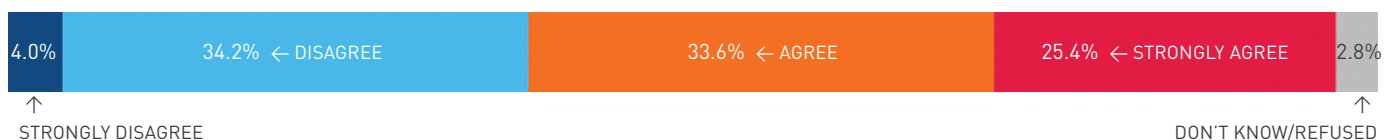
However, such results can obscure as much as they reveal, which requires that we take a more nuanced approach to understanding public confidence in, and beliefs about, leaders.

First, we need to examine beliefs about the trustworthiness and competence of leaders and do so across sectors of leaders: political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders, the latter defined as those who lead the civil society, charitable and not-for-profit groups in our communities.

Second, we also need to examine Leadership for the Greater Good and examine how it relates to confidence in leaders. Moreover, given the importance of citizens in sustaining Leadership for the Greater Good, we must also examine the relationship between citizens, leaders and leadership.

Finally, we need to think about how we might begin to address our leadership malaise. A useful starting point is to examine our expectations of leaders. We do this in the context of where good leadership is indispensable and poor leadership is counterproductive: solving 'wicked' problems.

FIGURE 1. 'WE HAVE A LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN AUSTRALIA TODAY.'



RESEARCH DESIGN

The survey has two parts: a large national telephone survey of Australian adults and a smaller internet-based survey that focuses on a specific leadership issue.

Our national telephone survey was conducted by Swinburne University's Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing team between the 12th and the 26th of September 2014.³²

Using dual-frame sample methodology, comprising both randomly generated mobile phone and landline telephone,³³ 800 Australian adults were interviewed (405 women and 395 men) ranging in age from 18 to 94 (M = 45.6). This random sample of 800 yielded a margin of error of four percentage points.

The national survey comprised 79 questions (69 substantive, 10 demographic) and took on average 21 minutes 54 seconds to complete. The response rate was 16.4 per cent.³⁴

The survey data was weighted to bring the achieved respondent profile into line with the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Census demographic indicators. Rim weighting developed and applied by The Social Research Centre was used to weight the national survey.

This procedure enabled a weighting of data by the following variables: geographic location, gender and age by education. The following variables were weighted: state, gender, and age (18-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55+) by education (university degree, no university degree).

Our internet-based survey was conducted between October and December 2014.

Participants were 107 adults (49 women and 58 men) ranging in age from 19 to 75 (M = 46.8) who were recruited from those participants in the national survey who agreed to be contacted by the Swinburne Leadership Institute regarding future leadership research.

Participants were informed in the plain language statement that preceded the survey that, if they chose to participate in the survey, they would be invited to enter a draw to win one of twenty \$100 gift vouchers.

The internet-based survey comprised 47 questions (43 substantive, 4 demographic).

Full details of survey procedure and the questionnaires are provided in the methodological report for the survey. This is available for download from www.swinburne.edu.au/leadership-institute

CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS ACROSS SECTORS

Our study of confidence in leaders involved the measurement of beliefs about the trustworthiness and competence of political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders.

Key findings are presented on pages 19–20 and a detailed report is presented on pages 36–39.

SOLVING COMPLEX PROBLEMS

To better understand expectations of leaders, we examined the relationship between beliefs about the nature of major national problems and beliefs about how leaders should address these problems (see ‘Problems, problems, problems’).

Our measures of problem and approaches to problem-solving were based upon a typology developed by Keith Grint, who differentiated between Critical, Tame and Wicked Problems for which he argued that Command, Management and Leadership, respectively, were required for successful resolution.³¹

Key findings are presented on pages 23–24 and a detailed report is presented on pages 42–45.

CITIZENS AND LEADERSHIP

Many of us take on leadership roles in society—helping coordinate the activities of local religious, sporting, charity, social and environmental groups. We also exercise leadership when we create or donate to a charitable cause as we are seeking to support a change we believe is desirable. Thus, the survey sought information on Australians’ beliefs about their own role as leaders in their communities and the types of civic and local leadership activities in which they have engaged over the last two years.

Key findings are presented on pages 25–26 and a detailed report is presented on pages 46–49.

LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD

We also explored public perceptions of Leadership for the Greater Good. We argued earlier that when leaders act in ways that show us they:

Care for the public interest ([leadership for the public interest](#));

Care for the interests of future generations ([leadership for future generations](#)), and;

Act as responsible stewards of collective goods ([leadership for the commons](#))

... leaders demonstrate leadership for the greater good.

We assessed beliefs about leadership for the public interest and leadership for future generations for all sectors of leaders.

Key findings are presented on pages 21–22 and a detailed report is presented on pages 38–41.

Our measure of [leadership for the commons](#) comprised four domains of stewardship: environment, economic infrastructure, community well-being, and democracy. However, because political leaders have a special responsibility to act as stewards of our collective goods, questions about leadership for the commons were focused solely on national political leaders.

Key findings are presented on page 28 and a detailed report is presented on pages 50–59.

INDEX OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD

The Index of Leadership for the Greater Good integrates these three components of the greater good—[leadership for the public interest](#), [leadership for future generations](#), and [leadership for the commons](#)—into a single index.

The Index is an integrated score that represents how well Australians believe that national political leaders are: making decisions that are in the interests of all Australians; care for the long-term future of the country; and maintaining the infrastructure and environmental and governmental systems—the ‘commons’—upon which all economic and social development depends.

Key findings are presented on page 29 and a detailed report is presented on pages 60–61.

CALCULATING THE INDEX

Calculating the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good was a methodological challenge. It demanded the development of scales that were grounded in people's lived experience rather than abstract philosophical and political concepts.

Even if there were consensus about the meaning of the greater good in philosophy and political science (there isn't), we would still need to possess, as citizens, an understanding of the greater good that is peculiar to us. Given this, it behoves us to ground our measures of the greater good, and leadership in its service, in the lived experience and expectancies of Australian citizens.

To this end, we convened workshops with dozens of people from government, the private and not-for-profit sectors, and civil society to explore the meaning of the greater good. The participants in these workshops are listed under 'Acknowledgements' on the inside back cover of this report.

It was the discussions at these workshops that highlighted and confirmed the importance of the three elements of Leadership for the Greater Good: [leadership for the public interest](#), [leadership for future generations](#) and [leadership for the commons](#).

We were able to scale findings about [leadership for the public interest](#) and [leadership for future generations](#) from survey questions about these elements across different social sectors and converting the measures related to political leaders to this common scale.

To make the scores easy to understand and to translate them into a form on which people can base their actions (see 'What makes for a good indicator?'), the three elements of the Index were converted to a common 0-100 scale, where 0 is the worst possible score and 100 is the best possible score.

This resulted in the following scores (out of 100): >>

>> WHAT MAKES FOR A GOOD INDICATOR?

Indicators are natural, everywhere, and part of everyone's life. Indicators arise from values (we measure what we care about) and they create values (we care about what we measure). When indicators are poorly chosen, they can cause serious malfunctions in our natural, economic, social systems. Importantly, indicators are data in a form that anyone can understand and/or objective information on which people can base their actions.

Good indicators have a number of characteristics:

Relevant. *An indicator set needs to relate to the needs of the community—to its successes and concerns and its vision of a better community tomorrow.*

Reliable. *There needs to be good, trustworthy data available, and some assurance that the data will be collected regularly over time.*

Understandable. *If an indicator is not understandable to the average person, it is generally not useful except to specialists or experts.*

Clear in direction. *Since an indicator must help us steer our course, it should be obvious (e.g., when you look at a chart) which direction constitutes 'improvement' and which direction 'decline'.*

Reflective of change over time. *Part of an indicator's purpose is to expand our sense of time, and help us understand the processes that happen slowly, over years.*



2014
LEADERSHIP
FOR THE
PUBLIC
INTEREST



2014
LEADERSHIP
FOR FUTURE
GENERATIONS

CREATING A MEASURE OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS

Finding a measure of **leadership for the commons** was more difficult due to the complexity of the concept.

In such cases, as the late Stephen Jay Gould observed, it is often better to sneak up on generalities through particulars rather than tackle them head-on. Applied to the concept of the greater good, this advice suggests that it is better to think about the concrete manifestations of the greater good than to ponder it in the abstract. One way that we can approach this task is to think about familiar common-pool resources and public goods—the ‘concrete’ elements of the commons.

Using the metaphor of the compass, as proposed by Alan AtKisson,³⁵ we divided the types of common-pool resources and public goods that Australians enjoy into four domains that correspond to the four points on a compass: N (nature); E (economy); S (society); and W (who decides and how?).



In our workshops, we assigned participants to different domains and asked them to identify key assets, concerns and values in these domains. We also asked participants to think about possible indicators of these assets, concerns and values, as well as what the trajectory of these indicators might look like over time.

Dozens of indicators were identified, many of which were classifiable as forms of capital:³⁶

Natural capital (All renewable and non-renewable resources and processes);

Manufactured capital (Manufactured objects that support the production of goods and services);

Intellectual capital (Knowledge-based intangibles, such as intellectual property and tacit knowledge);

Human capital (People’s skills, abilities, experience, intelligence, education and health);

Social capital (Trust between people, shared norms, common values and behaviour) and;

A special category of social capital that relates to the experience, expectations and social practice of democracy that we call **democratic capital**.

The metaphor of the compass is powerful because a compass provides orientation but does not set the direction. We make that choice.

Because our aim was to develop measures of the commons, we reviewed the indicators to identify those that were—or could be reframed as—collective goods. This resulted in eight indicators per domain (N, E, S, W).

Given that the greater good is something that is greater than the self—socially, spatially and temporally—we were interested in the stocks of common-pool resources and public goods that must be available to people socially and temporally distant from us (e.g., future generations) in order for them to meet their own needs.

In our pre-testing of our indicators, we focused participants' minds on one key question: What collective goods are indispensable to the ability of future generations to live good, happy lives? Through this process of empirical validation in pilot surveys, we identified sixteen indicators across the four domains.

These indicators formed the basis of our study of beliefs about the state of the commons and the quality of political leaders' stewardship of the commons. These indicators were further refined through factor analyses prior to the calculation of the four indices of stewardship that comprise the higher-order index of leadership for the commons.

When the score for [leadership for the commons](#) was converted to the common scale (i.e., 0-100) with [leadership for the public interest](#) and leadership for future generations, the result was:



>> LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS

The following indices, validated by factor analysis, comprised our measure of leadership for the commons:

Stewardship of our environment: the biodiversity of our forests, woodlands and wetlands; the health and fertility of our soil; the quality of the water in our rivers, beaches and oceans; the quality of our air.

Stewardship of our economic infrastructure: the quality of public transport; the quality of public infrastructure, excluding public transport.

Stewardship of community well-being: the quality and cost of education; the quality and cost of healthcare; the quality and cost of housing.

Stewardship of democracy: the openness, honesty and accountability of government; government driven by citizens, not special interest groups; citizen engagement with democratic processes, like voting; media diversity and access to information.

MAJOR FINDING #1

AUSTRALIANS HAVE A NUANCED AND SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE ART AND CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP.

Contrary to some popular perceptions of Australians (e.g., that they are not interested in current affairs and are disillusioned with leaders of all stripes), the Swinburne Leadership Survey found that Australians have a nuanced appreciation of the art and challenges of leadership.

It is true, as the ANZOG Institute for Governance found in 2013, that:

Citizens feel disillusioned, cynical and discontented with how this system is working. Three years of a federal hung parliament has probably made them more jaded than usual. The 24-hour media cycle means they are constantly assailed by political noise.³⁷

However, this does not mean that we do not believe in our democratic system, that we don't know what we want of leaders, or are that we are unwilling to engage in acts of local leadership.

Citizens believe in the principles of their democratic system, and they keep an eye on what is happening, even if they are mostly not engaged. They also indicate they would be more willing to play an active role, if there were changes that encouraged them to do so.³⁸

One reason for these discrepancies is that many surveys have been based upon narrow views of leadership—often seeing it as synonymous with a leader, or with government or business, or as a role or position at the top of a hierarchy, or as a process that occurs inside organisations or institutions rather than in their interaction with wider systems and contexts. This narrow, hierarchical and individualistic view of leadership means that sometimes researchers do not ask questions open enough to enable wider, alternative views of leadership to emerge.

The wider view of leadership taken in this study helped avoid this error and, thus, yielded results that indicate Australians generally have a sophisticated understanding of the process of leadership. For example, in our findings, there is strong evidence that:

The Australian public can differentiate between leadership across different social sectors – politics, business, trade union, religious groups and community.

This differentiation runs across perceptions of the trustworthiness and competence of leaders of these different sectors and in perceptions of the extent to which they are concerned with shared interests (as opposed to self- or vested interests) and the interests of those who cannot represent their interests in the here and now (i.e., future generations).

When the complexity of major national problems is grasped, people don't look for quick fixes by technocrats or crisis management by commanders; instead they look for collaborative, adaptive leadership.

Many Australians would like to be involved in collaborative problem-solving and appreciate the need for clear communication and flexibility in achieving long-term resolutions.

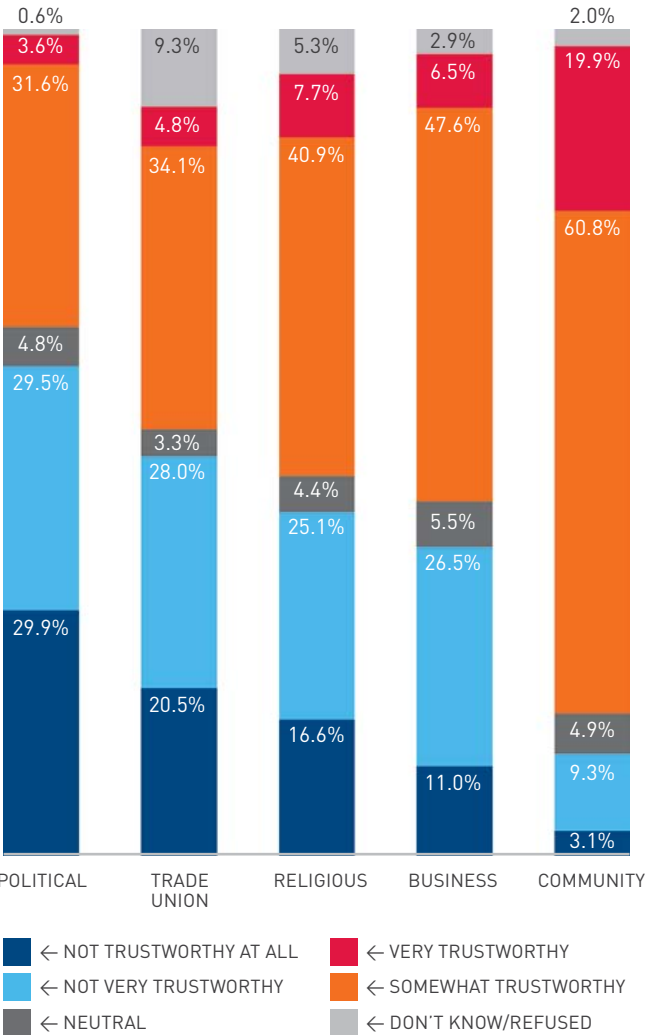
Many Australians are involved in various actions of community leadership to the extent they are able. However, these do tend to be more passive than active actions and there is a perception that more Australian could be more involved that we currently are.

Evidence supporting these conclusions is provided in the following sections.

TRUST IN LEADERS

Using one of five response options—*not trustworthy at all*, *not very trustworthy*, *neutral*, *somewhat trustworthy*, and *very trustworthy*—we asked respondents to tell us how trustworthy they thought political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders were.

FIGURE 2. TRUST IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF AUSTRALIAN LEADERSHIP



KEY FINDINGS

We found dramatically different levels of trust across different sectors of leaders.

Political leaders were the least trusted. Two-thirds of respondents (59%) reported that political leaders were *not very* or *not trustworthy at all*.

Trade union leaders did not fare much better: half of our respondents (49%) reported that trade union leaders were *not very* or *not trustworthy at all*.

Overall, respondents were net 'distrusters' of political leaders and trade union leaders.

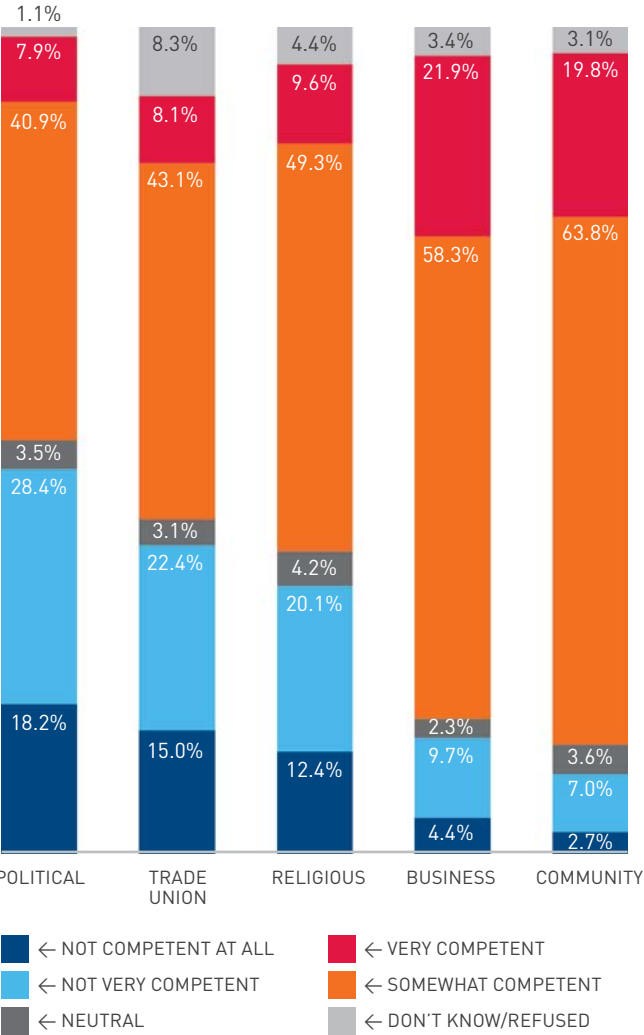
Community leaders were the most trusted. Four-fifths of respondents (81%) thought community leaders were *somewhat* or *very trustworthy*.

Perceptions of trust in political leaders varied markedly according to political orientation: 54.3% of Coalition voters rated political leaders as *somewhat* or *very trustworthy*, compared to only 23.7% of Labor voters.

COMPETENCE OF LEADERS

Using one of five response options—*not competent at all*, *not very competent*, *neutral*, *somewhat competent*, and *very competent*—we asked respondents to tell us how competent political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders were in their leadership.

FIGURE 3. COMPETENCE OF DIFFERENT SECTORS OF AUSTRALIAN LEADERSHIP



KEY FINDINGS

Respondents judged political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders as more competent than incompetent.

Consistent with the findings about trustworthiness, political leaders were regarded as the least competent of the five sectors of leaders.

Like perceptions of trust, beliefs about competence of political leaders varied as a function of political orientation: 69.3% of Coalition voters thought political leaders were *somewhat* or *very competent*, whereas only 39.5% of Labor voters thought political leaders were *somewhat* or *very competent*.

Community leaders were regarded as the most competent to lead. Four-fifths of respondents (84%) thought community leaders were *somewhat* or *very competent*.

Beliefs about the competence of leaders were strongly associated with judgements of trust. This was true for political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders.

TABLE 1. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TRUST IN LEADERS AND COMPETENCE TO LEAD

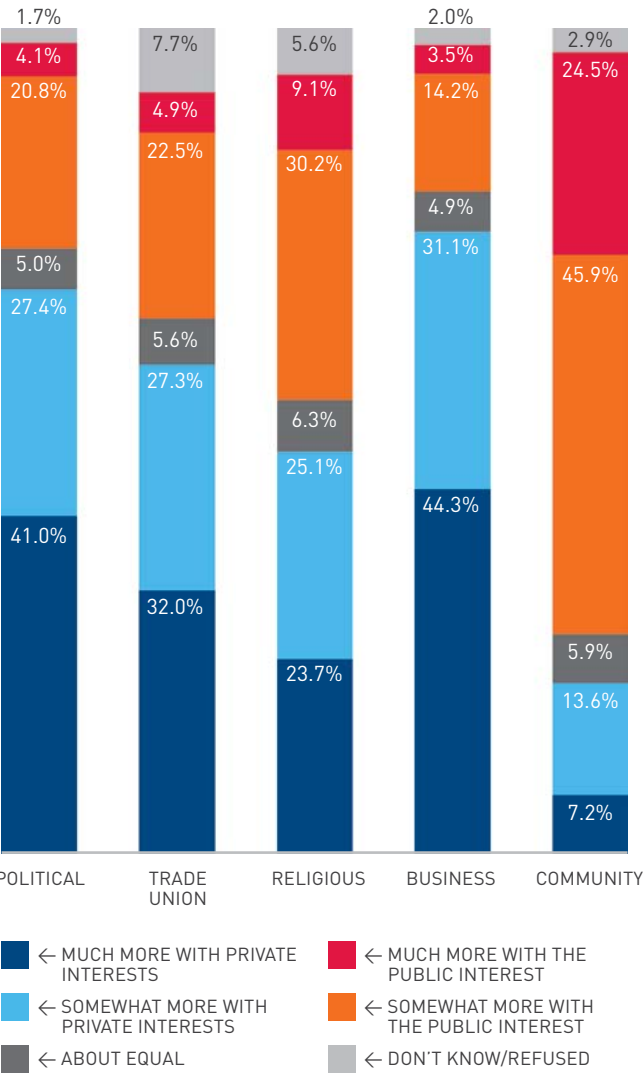
	TRUST IN LEADERS				
	POLITICAL	BUSINESS	UNION	RELIGIOUS	COMMUNITY
COMPETENCE TO LEAD	.61**	.45**	.58**	.59**	.50**

NOTE. COEFFICIENTS HIGHLIGHTED WITH ASTERISKS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE LEVELS OF 99% CONFIDENCE.

LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

We asked respondents whether they thought political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders cared about the public interest, as opposed to self-interest and the interests of close supporters.

FIGURE 4. LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST ACROSS DIFFERENT SECTORS OF LEADERS



KEY FINDINGS

In general, Australian leaders are thought to care less for the public interest than their own self-interest and the interests of their close supporters.

Business leaders were seen as least concerned with the public interest: 75% reported business leaders were *somewhat or much more concerned* with self-interest.

Political leaders did not fare much better. Only a quarter of respondents (25%) thought political leaders were more concerned with the public interest than self-interest.

Community leaders were perceived as the most concerned with the public interest. Nearly three quarters of respondents (71%) reported community leaders were *somewhat or much more concerned* with the public interest than self-interest.

Only a fifth (21%) thought community leaders were more concerned with self-interest than the public interest. The corresponding figure for religious leaders was more than double (49%).

TABLE 2. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TRUST IN LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

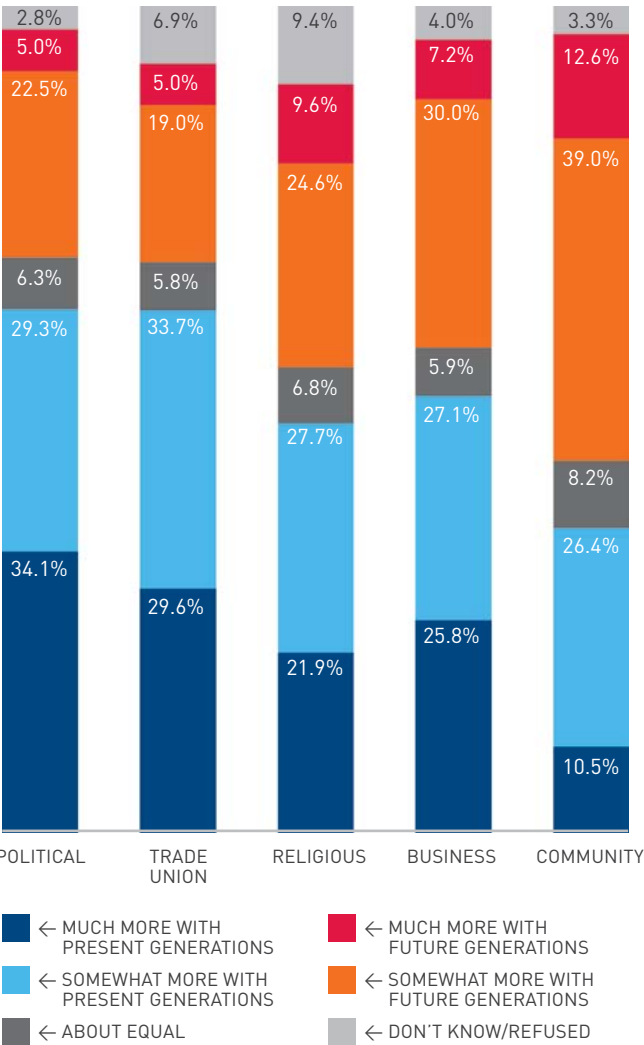
	TRUST IN LEADERS				
	POLITICAL	BUSINESS	UNION	RELIGIOUS	COMMUNITY
LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST	.52**	.34**	.48**	.45**	.39**

NOTE. COEFFICIENTS HIGHLIGHTED WITH ASTERISKS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE LEVELS OF 99% CONFIDENCE.

LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

We asked respondents whether they thought political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders cared about the interest of future generations rather than simply those of present generations.

FIGURE 5. LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST ACROSS DIFFERENT SECTORS OF LEADERS



KEY FINDINGS

In general, Australian leaders are regarded as less concerned about the interests of future generations of Australians than they are with those alive in the here and now.

This relative lack of concern for future generations’ interests was especially pronounced when trade union and political leaders were assessed.

Two-thirds of respondents (63%) reported trade union leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with the interests of present generations of Australians than future generations. The same result was obtained for political leaders (63%).

Community leaders were thought to care most for future generations. Over half of respondents (52%) reported that community leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with the interests of future generations.

TABLE 3. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TRUST IN LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

	TRUST IN LEADERS				
	POLITICAL	BUSINESS	UNION	RELIGIOUS	COMMUNITY
LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS	.33**	.24**	.35**	.24**	.22**

NOTE. COEFFICIENTS HIGHLIGHTED WITH ASTERISKS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE LEVELS OF 99% CONFIDENCE.

SOLVING COMPLEX PROBLEMS

In this part of the study we examined the relationship between people’s beliefs about the nature of the nation’s major problems and their thoughts about how leaders should address them.

The participants in this study were first asked to nominate our ‘toughest’ problem. Next, participants answered a number of questions about the characteristics of their problem, as well as about how their problem should be solved by leaders.

Although the majority of the 107 problems identified could be classified as social, economic or environmental, some problems were characterised as possessed of multiple dimensions. A cluster analysis performed on these 107 problems produced six discrete clusters of problems and five distinct approaches to solving these problems.

Our analyses revealed that problems are understood in a variety of ways and resolvable via a number of approaches.

To illustrate, many participants in this study identified ‘illegal immigrants’ as Australia’s major problem and characterised this problem as a combination of a tame and critical problem; that is, the problem is a crisis with a known cause and a clear, unambiguous solution (e.g., “Turn back the boats”). Understood in this way, this is a problem that is solved by the judicious application of coercion or force by a commander.

By contrast, other participants framed this as a challenge that involved ‘asylum seekers’. For these people, this challenge is one that no one really knows how to solve, for which there is no single correct answer, and for which every ‘solution’ is the source of new problems. Understood in this way, approaches that rely on compliance with or obedience to authorities are inadequate; instead, the assumption of shared responsibility and adopting a

collaborative approach is necessary.

Our results suggest a slight tendency towards construing tough problems as critical problems—evident in four of the six clusters—whereby problems are framed as crises that require urgent resolution and decisive action. The more problems were perceived as critical, the stronger the belief was that coercion is acceptable and the weaker the belief that collaboration and consultation was appropriate (see Table 4).

However, we discovered that when problems were understood as wicked challenges, neither compliance nor obedience to experts and authorities was endorsed as the appropriate way to address problems. Instead, problems so construed were associated with problem-solving approaches that required the assumption of shared or collective responsibility and collaboration, which is enabled by one thing: leadership.

Notably, the more problems were perceived as complex or wicked, the stronger the belief that shared decision-making is needed and the weaker the belief that coercion was appropriate (see Table 4).

TABLE 4. CORRELATIONS AMONG BELIEFS ABOUT PROBLEM ATTRIBUTES AND APPROACHES TO PROBLEM SOLVING

	CALCULATIVE COMPLIANCE	COERCIVE COMPLIANCE	NORMATIVE COMPLIANCE
TAME PROBLEMS	.24**	.51**	-.44**
CRITICAL PROBLEMS	.16	.28**	-.42**
WICKED PROBLEMS	-.16	-.29**	.46**

NOTE. COEFFICIENTS HIGHLIGHTED WITH ASTERISKS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE LEVELS OF 99% CONFIDENCE.

>> PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS

Critical problems are those that arise from a crisis of some sort. For example, after a natural disaster, during a riot or an armed attack, the problems are critical and there is often little time for decision-making.

Critical problems are also associated with little uncertainty about what needs to be done—at least on the part of the Commander tasked with addressing the crisis. The Commander has to take the required decisive action to provide the answer to the problem, even if this involves coercion (i.e., coercive compliance). A crisis is not the time to plan strategy (as in management) or to build collaboration around common values and vision (as in leadership).

Management is best suited to tame problems. A tame problem lacks the urgency of a critical problem and often is a familiar or recurring one. As a result, it can be addressed through a rational, linear, decision making processes. In other words it is associated with Management. This was the approach to problem solving advocated by F.W. Taylor, the originator of Scientific Management.

In general, tame problems present few or none of the difficulties encountered when trying to understand wicked problems. This does not diminish the importance of tame problem solving. However, many problems are recurrent and our understanding of how to solve them evolves accordingly. Indeed, when knowledge in a domain develops to the point that it can be codified, disciplines and their attendant professions come into play. In consequence, we look to, and follow the advice of, experts in order to solve complicated problems (i.e., calculative compliance).

By contrast, a wicked problem—such as “Closing the Gap”, funding healthcare, responding to climate change, and so on—cannot be solved by simply deferring to the judgment of a technocrat or an authority, such as a CEO. Instead, the diversity of perspectives and interests of the people involved means that wicked problems require all these people to actively participate in problem solving. Further, the people involved must believe that they are collectively responsible to solve the problem (i.e., normative compliance). As argued by Keith Grint, persuading people to assume shared responsibility for collective complex problems is the art of leadership.

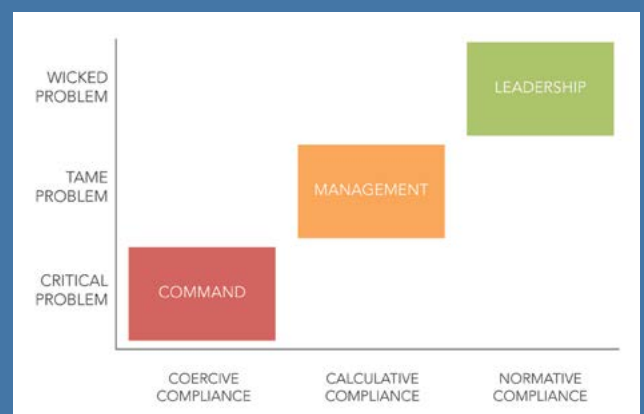
Wicked problems are the antithesis of tame problems. In particular, wicked problems cannot be removed from the context or system of which they are a part, solved, and then returned without affecting the system.

Wicked problems are simultaneously social, economic, technical, environmental and legal problems that require multi-faceted solutions, which unfortunately are not always obvious. When such approaches to problem solving are recognised and planned, they often cannot be implemented simultaneously.

As a result, the easiest implemented solutions are often tried first, which very often creates new problems. Many preferred solutions to wicked problems often lead to unintended consequences that demand totally new “next practice” approaches.³⁹

Sadly, governments and businesses often lack the time and resources for adaptive leadership. Instead, locked in by the path-dependency of the rationales for their first set of policies and actions—and fear of being criticised for changing tack mid-stream—decision makers often enter a cycle of quick-fix solutions, policy failure and crisis management.⁴⁰

FIGURE 6. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF PROBLEMS, PROBLEM SOLVING AND AUTHORITY (GRINT, 2005)



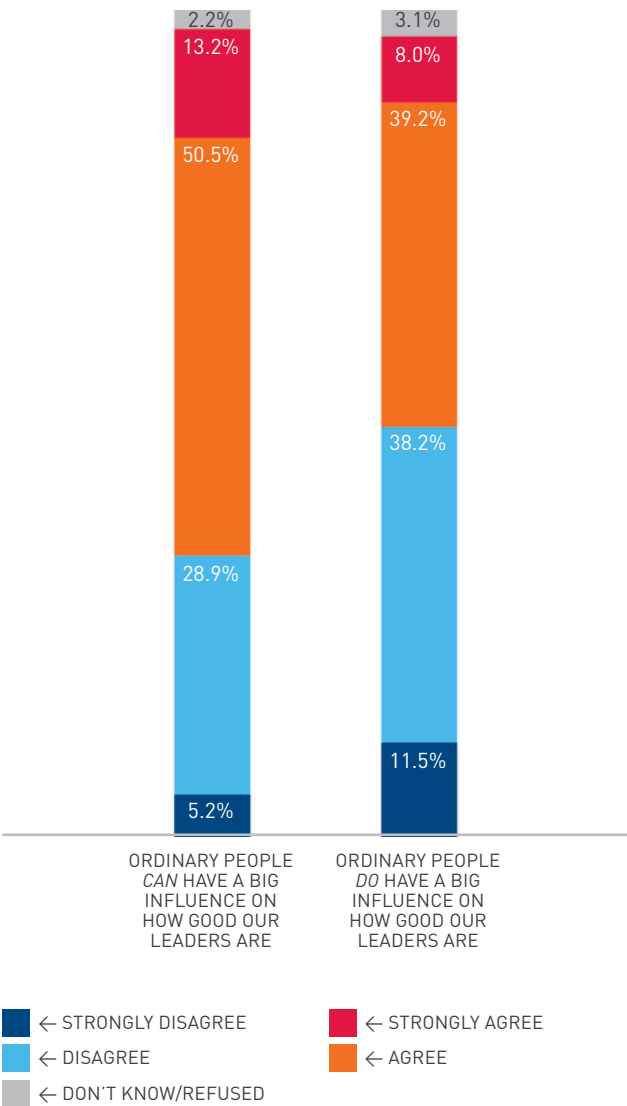
CITIZENSHIP AND LEADERSHIP

CITIZEN INFLUENCE ON LEADERS

To assess beliefs about the role of citizens in effective leadership, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with two statements:

1. Overall, ordinary people *can* have a big influence on how good our leaders are.
2. Overall, ordinary people *do* have a big influence on how good our leaders are.

FIGURE 7. CITIZEN INFLUENCE ON CITIZEN LEADERSHIP

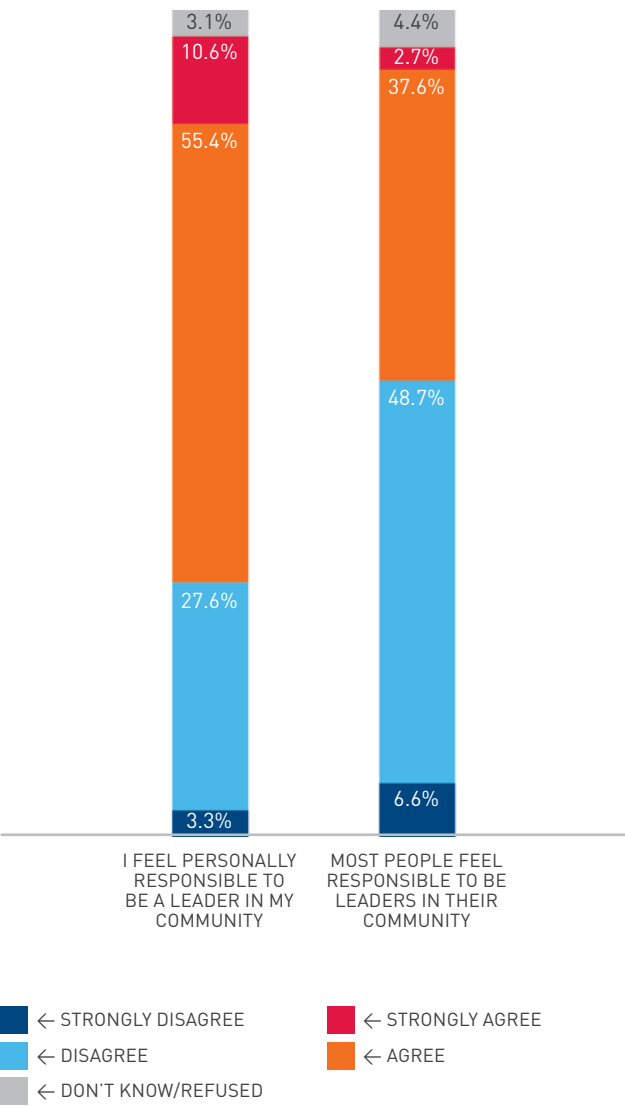


CITIZENS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS

To assess beliefs about the role of citizens in practicing leadership in their communities, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with two statements:

1. I feel personally responsible to be a leader in my community whenever I can.
2. Most Australians feel personally responsible to be leaders in their community whenever they can.

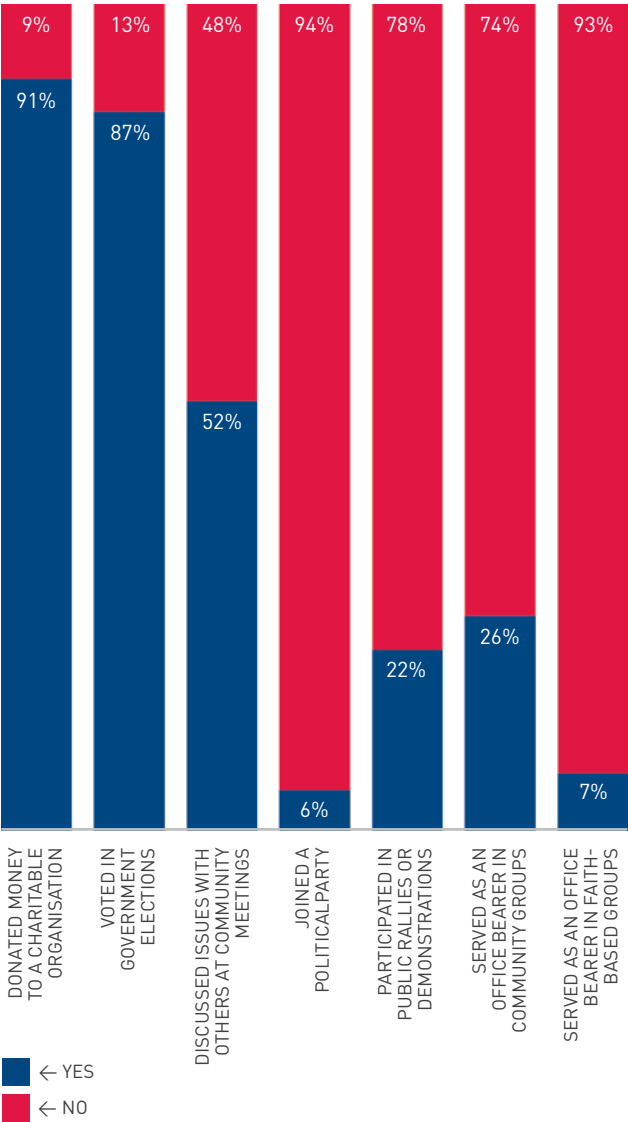
FIGURE 8. CITIZENS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS



CIVIC ACTIVITIES AND LEADERSHIP

We asked respondents whether they had engaged in a variety of leadership activities in the past two years.

FIGURE 9. LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT IN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES



KEY FINDINGS

People clearly differentiate between their ideal and actual influence over the quality of our leaders.

Two-thirds (66%) of Australian's report they feel a duty to serve as leaders in their community.

Although most Australians engage in civic activities, these activities tend to be those that require small contributions of time and effort (e.g., donating money to a charity, voting) than large contributions of time and effort (e.g., serving as an office bearer in community/faith-based groups).

MAJOR FINDING #2

AUSTRALIANS DO NOT BELIEVE NATIONAL POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE A STRONG DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO THE GREATER GOOD

The strength of the finding that Australians have a sophisticated and nuanced understanding of leadership and leadership processes gives credence to the second major finding of the study, namely, that Australians do not believe national political leaders have a strong degree of commitment to the Greater Good.

We came to this conclusion in this way. After respondents were asked about the leadership for the public interest and future generations exercised by political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders, we turned our attention to leadership for the commons (which is defined more explicitly below). As political leaders have a special responsibility to act as stewards of the commons, we focused questions on this aspect of Leadership for the Greater Good only on political leaders.

The strength of this second conclusion also stems from the scores that were calculated from answers in the telephone interview to questions about leadership for the public interest, future generations and the commons. These calculations revealed that Australians believe national political leaders, as a group, do not have:

A strong commitment to wider public interest (44/100), or

A strong commitment to the future (47/100), or

A strong commitment to stewardship of the commons upon which the well-being of current and future generations of Australians depends (53/100).

These scores were combined and resulted in a low score of only 48 (out of 100) for national political leaders on the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good.



3

LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS

Our approach to measuring beliefs about leadership of the commons did not involve abstract questions about the commons, but rather questions about specific collective goods. We divided our collective goods into four domains that correspond to the four points on a compass: N (nature); E (economy); S (society); and W (who decides and how?) and called the leadership exercised in the service of these goods [stewardship of our environment](#), [economic infrastructure](#), [community well-being](#) and [democracy](#), respectively.

Because we wanted respondents to answer our stewardship questions after some reflection on the state of our collective goods, respondents were first asked to answer a single question for each collective good: “Compared to the condition it should be in for future generations, what is the current condition of [...]?”

Respondents were then asked about political leaders’ stewardship of these goods. Specifically, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the statement: “Political leaders doing all they can to preserve [...] for future generations”.

KEY FINDINGS

Three-quarters of respondents (70-82%) believe the state of our environment, infrastructure, and community well-being is *worse*, *somewhat worse* or *much worse* than it should be for future generations.

Mixed results were found for the state of our democracy. Three-quarters of respondents (70-84%) reported ‘government accountability’ and ‘government driven by citizens’ was worse than it should be, whereas only half (51-54%) reported ‘media diversity and access to information’ and ‘citizen engagement with democratic processes’ are worse than they should be.

The national averages for the four stewardship indices ranged between 2.01 and 2.28 (out of four), which indicates Australians do not believe that political leaders are doing all they can to preserve our environmental, social, economic commons for future generations.



INDEX OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD

THE INDEX OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD INTEGRATES THREE COMPONENTS OF THE GREATER GOOD—LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST, LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS, AND LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS—INTO A SINGLE INDEX.

The Index is an integrated score that represents how well Australians believe national **political leaders** are acting in ways that show us:

That they are making decisions that are in the interests of all Australians and not letting the unintended consequences of any policy decision to unfairly impact on any one social group;

That they care for the long-term future of the country, including the needs of future generations of Australians, not just their chances of re-election; and at the same time;

That they are maintaining the infrastructure and environmental and governmental systems—the ‘commons’—upon which all economic and social development depends.

The inaugural 2014 Index of Leadership for the Greater Good yielded a score of 48 out of 100.

In tests of significance, generally no differences were found in beliefs about the Leadership for the Greater Good across gender, age, education and region. The only exceptions were in the opinions of between people aged between 18-24 and 35-54 and between Coalition and Labor voters. The fact that even these differences were minor suggests beliefs about the low quality of Leadership for the Greater Good in Australia are widely shared.

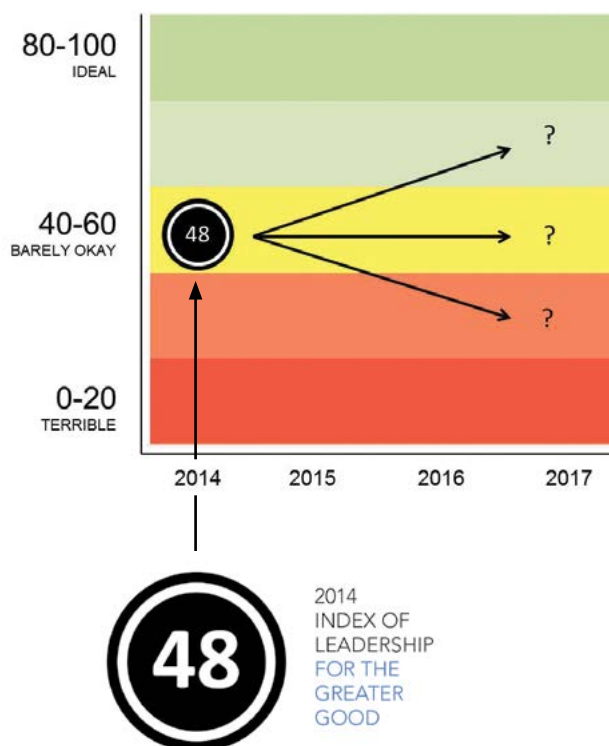
The 2014 Index of Leadership for the Greater Good score of 48/100 indicates the Australian public thinks political leaders:

Are not making decisions that are in the wider public interest;

Are not making decisions that are in the interests of future generations;

Are not doing enough to maintain the ‘commons’ that we will bequeath to future generations of Australians.

The 2014 Swinburne Leadership Survey will be repeated annually. Which direction will the score of 48 on the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good go in the future?



IMPLICATIONS

THE SWINBURNE LEADERSHIP SURVEY IS THE FIRST—THE BENCHMARK—REPORT OF AN ANNUAL SERIES OF STUDIES OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD IN AUSTRALIA.

Future reports will track the patterns in results and seek to explain why any changes or trends occur. These may be small in some measures but, perhaps, large in others. The Edelman Trust Barometer studies report a relatively high degree in volatility in some results. For example, while it found that Australia was one of the few countries in the world where net trust in government, business, media and NGO institutions increased from 2013 to 2014, it was reporting that Australians were net “distrusters”, with only 42 per cent expressing a positive level of trust in 2015.⁴¹

Many of the results of the 2014 Swinburne Leadership Survey are similar to those found in other studies, such as those by Edelman, Scanlon, Lowy, ANU and ANZOG Institute for Governance. Where they differ is generally related to the specific focus on the “greater good” role of leadership at the centre of this study.

The Swinburne Leadership Survey had both perception and normative aspects. Like the other studies, it asked questions about what people were thinking or perceiving of leadership at the present time. However, it also asked them normative (or values-based) questions about what they believed leadership in Australia ought to be—at least in relation to national political leaders.

These two types of questions—the perception of leadership ones and the ones about normative views of leadership for the Greater Good—gave rise to the two major findings of the study.

The results of the Survey are significant because they reveal the reasons, at least in part, why Australians assess political leaders so negatively.

They also tell us the qualities of leadership that Australians value and how they would like national political leaders to act. Specifically, Australians are seeking leaders they believe:

- are making decisions that are in the interests of all Australians and not letting the unintended consequences of any policy decision to unfairly impact on any one social group;
- care for the long-term future of the country, including the needs of future generations of Australians, not just their chances of re-election; and at the same time; and
- are maintaining the infrastructure and environmental and governmental systems—the ‘commons’—upon which all economic and social development depends.

Such desired behaviours of leaders seem to be common around the world at the present time. To return to the Davos survey we discussed at the beginning of this report: when people in different countries were asked about the traits they believe necessary in their national leaders, ethical responsibilities and qualities dominated the list—empathy, courage, morality, prioritising social justice and well-being over financial growth, and a collaborative approach.

These traits represent the sort of leadership we want and, as we become clearer about this and how to seek it, then politicians will follow. It may well be that national political leaders believe they are acting in these ways. The problem is that Australians do not perceive them that way—and, as in so many aspects of life, perception is reality.

Thus, what might leaders do to address the leadership crisis—be it one of perception or reality—that they—and we—face? Five attributes are proposed, and all begin with the letter “C”: Collaboration, Character, Continuity of Commitment, Competence, and Communication.⁴²

First of all, however, we should heed Einstein’s message that “We cannot solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them”.

The problems society, its leaders, and their followers face today are complex, difficult to define, and ever-changing. They are what we called “wicked problems” and need to be approached iteratively, and in a spirit of experimentation, knowing that today’s solution could very well be tomorrow’s new problem. Adaptive leadership is thus called for—and this requires wide stakeholder participation. This is essential to ensure the ‘buy-in’ of normative compliance but it also is vital to provide on-going feedback and advice.

To be successful, such collaborative adaptive leadership requires actions that display humility, honesty and trust, empathy, suspended judgments, commitment and authentic listening. These are all part of the key tool for ensuring public trust—the character of the leader.

It has become fashionable in some aspects of leadership studies to criticise ‘trait theories’ of leadership. However, there is no understating the significance of character in a leader. Collaboration is impossible without it.

Along with collaboration and character, it is vital leaders display a strong sense of continuity in their commitments. Endurance and long-term commitment are necessary to adaptive leadership: leaders must be prepared to stay the distance!

There are two more “C-words” that leaders might heed. The first is competence. Leadership is a skillful practice and effective leadership, especially over wicked problems, requires a high degree of proficiency and the willingness to seek advice and guidance. It is also here where leadership must be complemented by good management practices to ensure that the strategies for adaptive, collaborative problem solving that are chosen and planned are implemented comprehensively, efficiently, effectively and most of all, flexibly and adaptively.

The final “C-word” is communication. The complexity of wicked problems and their embeddedness in conflicting values and competing interests mean any decisions and strategies will please some social groups but not others. Leaders must be able to communicate in open, honest and persuasive ways to explain the nature and seriousness of the problem at hand, the difficulties in resolving it, and the reasons for the chosen actions.

Such communication is important. Indeed, our findings show that when people understand the complexity of problems they are willing to seek alternative solutions and appreciate adaptive decision-making. Thus, it is also important for leaders to communicate that they appreciate the views of those who may be feeling aggrieved by actions that are made and they sincerely promise to keep their implementation under constant review, and are willing to respond quickly if new or unintended consequences arise.

THIS IS LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD.



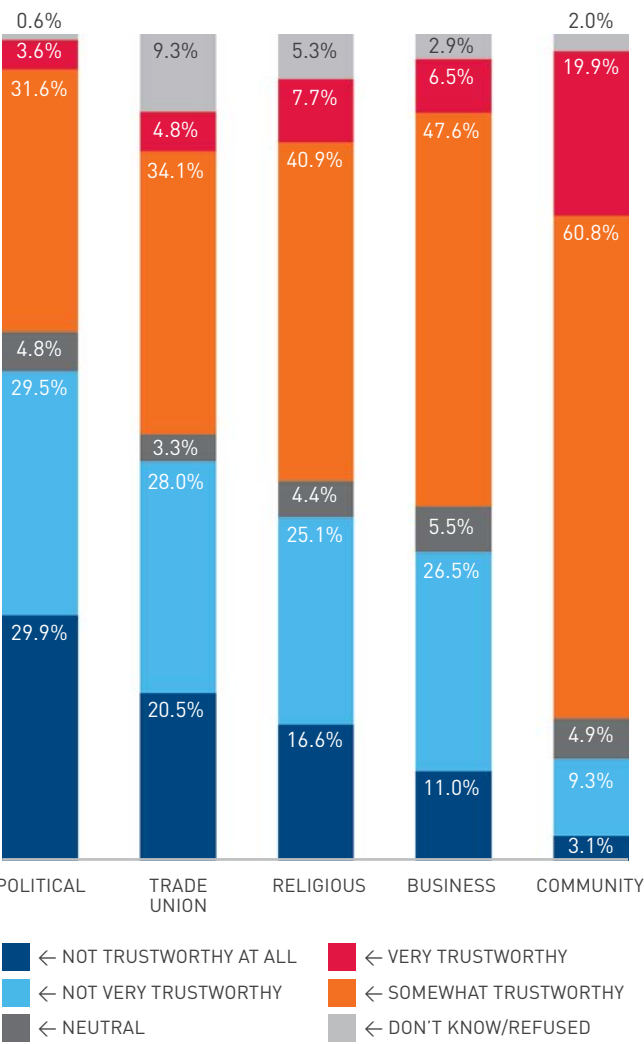
SWINBURNE LEADERSHIP SURVEY

TECHNICAL REPORTS

TRUST IN LEADERS

Using one of five response options—*not trustworthy at all*, *not very trustworthy*, *neutral*, *somewhat trustworthy*, and *very trustworthy*— we asked respondents to tell us how trustworthy they thought political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders were.

FIGURE 10. TRUST IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF AUSTRALIAN LEADERSHIP



KEY FINDINGS

Political leaders were the least trusted. Two-thirds of respondents (59%) reported political leaders were *not very* or *not trustworthy at all*.

Overall, respondents were net ‘distrusters’ of political leaders and trade union leaders.

Community leaders were the most trusted. Four-fifths of respondents (81%) thought community leaders were *somewhat* or *very trustworthy*.

Trust in political leaders varied according to political orientation: 54.3% of Coalition voters rated political leaders as *somewhat* or *very trustworthy*, compared to 23.7% of Labor voters.

Of the three predictors of trust in leaders we examined, competence was the strongest predictor, followed by leadership for the public interest and leadership for future generations.

TABLE 5. STANDARDISED BETA COEFFICIENTS FOR VARIOUS PREDICTORS OF TRUST IN LEADERS

	TRUST IN LEADERS				
	POLITICAL	BUSINESS	UNION	RELIGIOUS	COMMUNITY
COMPETENCE TO LEAD	.45**	.41**	.44**	.44**	.42**
LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST	.29**	.25**	.23**	.26**	.21**
LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS	.08*	.10**	.13**	.04	.08*

NOTE: COEFFICIENTS HIGHLIGHTED WITH ASTERISKS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT LEVELS BETWEEN 95%-99% OF CONFIDENCE.

TABLE 6. 'HOW TRUSTWORTHY ARE POLITICAL LEADERS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT TRUSTWORTHY' AND 'VERY TRUSTWORTHY' (%)

GENDER	MALE 37.0	FEMALE 33.9				
AGE	18-24 39.8	25-34 33.1	35-44 31.0	45-54 30.8	55-64 40.3	65 PLUS 37.5
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 33.2	TAFE 34.0	YEAR 12 40.4	< YEAR 12 33.2		
REGION	URBAN 34.7	REGIONAL 37.8	RURAL/REMOTE 37.0			
VOTE	LABOR 23.7	COALITION 54.3				

TABLE 7. 'HOW TRUSTWORTHY ARE BUSINESS LEADERS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT TRUSTWORTHY' AND 'VERY TRUSTWORTHY' (%)

GENDER	MALE 52.8	FEMALE 58.6				
AGE	18-24 64.1	25-34 55.0	35-44 57.5	45-54 55.6	55-64 50.2	65 PLUS 51.0
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 52.5	TAFE 47.4	YEAR 12 63.9	< YEAR 12 61.9		
REGION	URBAN 54.1	REGIONAL 54.2	RURAL/REMOTE 60.2			
VOTE	LABOR 50.1	COALITION 70.0				

TABLE 8. 'HOW TRUSTWORTHY ARE TRADE UNION LEADERS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT TRUSTWORTHY' AND 'VERY TRUSTWORTHY' (%)

GENDER	MALE 39.7	FEMALE 46.0				
AGE	18-24 68.1	25-34 51.0	35-44 46.4	45-54 39.9	55-64 29.2	65 PLUS 25.1
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 44.3	TAFE 43.7	YEAR 12 47.6	< YEAR 12 36.0		
REGION	URBAN 44.0	REGIONAL 44.1	RURAL/REMOTE 39.0			
VOTE	LABOR 55.7	COALITION 24.4				

TABLE 9. 'HOW TRUSTWORTHY ARE RELIGIOUS LEADERS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT TRUSTWORTHY' AND 'VERY TRUSTWORTHY' (%)

GENDER	MALE 49.1	FEMALE 53.5				
AGE	18-24 63.8	25-34 51.0	35-44 43.7	45-54 49.6	55-64 45.2	65 PLUS 54.9
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 53.2	TAFE 51.1	YEAR 12 57.2	< YEAR 12 43.8		
REGION	URBAN 54.1	REGIONAL 48.0	RURAL/REMOTE 48.6			
VOTE	LABOR 44.6	COALITION 57.9				

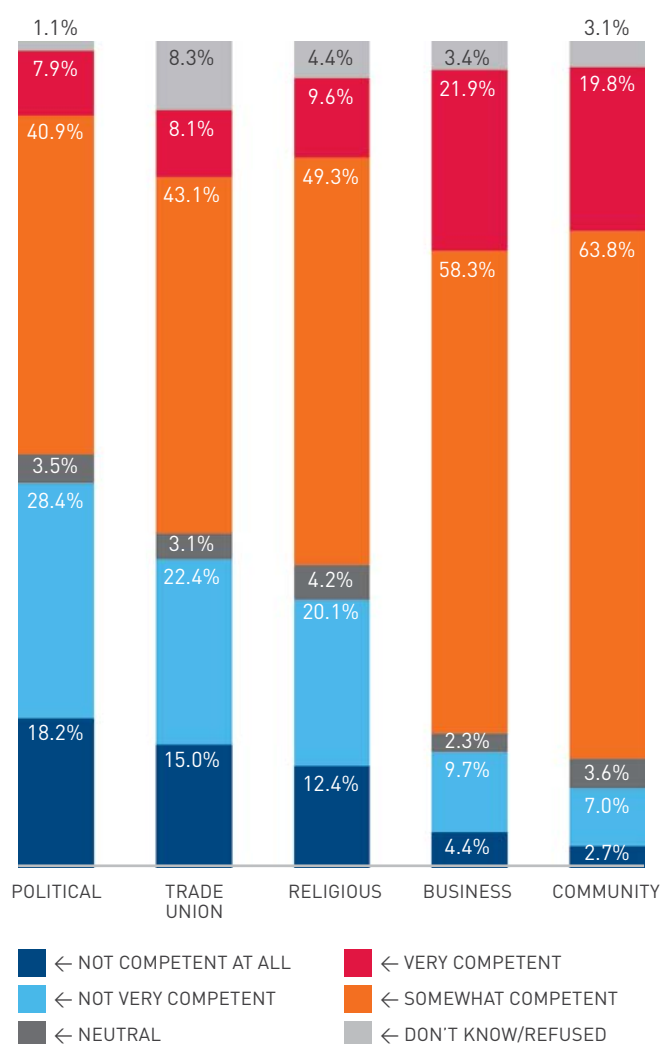
TABLE 10. 'HOW TRUSTWORTHY ARE COMMUNITY LEADERS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT TRUSTWORTHY' AND 'VERY TRUSTWORTHY' (%)

GENDER	MALE 81.5	FEMALE 83.3				
AGE	18-24 88.2	25-34 90.3	35-44 81.1	45-54 72.7	55-64 84.2	65 PLUS 79.3
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 91.3	TAFE 80.5	YEAR 12 84.5	< YEAR 12 74.7		
REGION	URBAN 84.6	REGIONAL 78.7	RURAL/REMOTE 80.7			
VOTE	LABOR 82.3	COALITION 81.5				

COMPETENCE OF LEADERS

Using one of five response options—*not competent at all*, *not very competent*, *neutral*, *somewhat competent*, and *very competent*— we asked respondents to tell us how competent political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders were to lead.

FIGURE 11. COMPETENCE OF DIFFERENT SECTORS OF AUSTRALIAN LEADERSHIP



KEY FINDINGS

In general, respondents judged political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders as more competent than incompetent.

Consistent with the findings about trustworthiness, political leaders were regarded as the least competent to lead of the five sectors of leaders.

Like perceptions of trust, beliefs about competence of political leaders varied as a function of political orientation: 69.3% of Coalition voters thought political leaders were *somewhat* or *very competent*, whereas only 39.5% of Labor voters thought political leaders were *somewhat* or *very competent*.

Community leaders were regarded as the most competent to lead. Four-fifths of respondents (84%) thought community leaders were *somewhat* or *very competent*.

TABLE 11. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE COMPETENT.' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT COMPETENT' AND 'VERY COMPETENT' (%)

GENDER	MALE 51.1	FEMALE 47.6				
AGE	18-24 47.6	25-34 52.3	35-44 46.1	45-54 50.2	55-64 51.4	65 PLUS 49.3
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 55.8	TAFE 45.1	YEAR 12 51.4	< YEAR 12 47.1		
REGION	URBAN 48.8	REGIONAL 54.7	RURAL/REMOTE 48.1			
VOTE	LABOR 39.5	COALITION 69.3				

TABLE 12. 'BUSINESS LEADERS ARE COMPETENT.' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT COMPETENT' AND 'VERY COMPETENT' (%)

GENDER	MALE 83.4	FEMALE 82.5				
AGE	18-24 85.5	25-34 91.3	35-44 84.1	45-54 82.7	55-64 77.0	65 PLUS 78.0
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 85.4	TAFE 83.0	YEAR 12 82.1	< YEAR 12 82.3		
REGION	URBAN 81.3	REGIONAL 80.8	RURAL/REMOTE 88.8			
VOTE	LABOR 83.3	COALITION 88.9				

TABLE 13. 'TRADE UNION LEADERS ARE COMPETENT TO LEAD.' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT COMPETENT' AND 'VERY COMPETENT' (%)

GENDER	MALE 54.6	FEMALE 57.1				
AGE	18-24 79.5	25-34 62.3	35-44 65.3	45-54 47.7	55-64 41.3	65 PLUS 39.8
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 65.9	TAFE 55.0	YEAR 12 60.8	< YEAR 12 43.5		
REGION	URBAN 55.8	REGIONAL 63.3	RURAL/REMOTE 50.3			
VOTE	LABOR 68.6	COALITION 35.2				

TABLE 14. 'RELIGIOUS LEADERS ARE COMPETENT.' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT COMPETENT' AND 'VERY COMPETENT' (%)

GENDER	MALE 59.0	FEMALE 64.3				
AGE	18-24 64.6	25-34 60.2	35-44 63.7	45-54 56.8	55-64 62.2	65 PLUS 62.8
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 66.6	TAFE 60.0	YEAR 12 62.6	< YEAR 12 60.3		
REGION	URBAN 63.1	REGIONAL 57.5	RURAL/REMOTE 63.6			
VOTE	LABOR 55.8	COALITION 68.6				

TABLE 15. 'COMMUNITY LEADERS ARE COMPETENT.' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT COMPETENT' AND 'VERY COMPETENT' (%)

GENDER	MALE 86.0	FEMALE 86.5				
AGE	18-24 88.7	25-34 95.4	35-44 85.7	45-54 82.5	55-64 86.9	65 PLUS 80.3
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 90.5	TAFE 84.2	YEAR 12 86.7	< YEAR 12 85.6		
REGION	URBAN 86.6	REGIONAL 85.9	RURAL/REMOTE 85.1			
VOTE	LABOR 87.0	COALITION 84.0				

LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

We asked respondents to tell us how concerned they believed political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders were with the public interest, which we contrasted with leaders' self-interest and the interests of their close supporters.

KEY FINDINGS

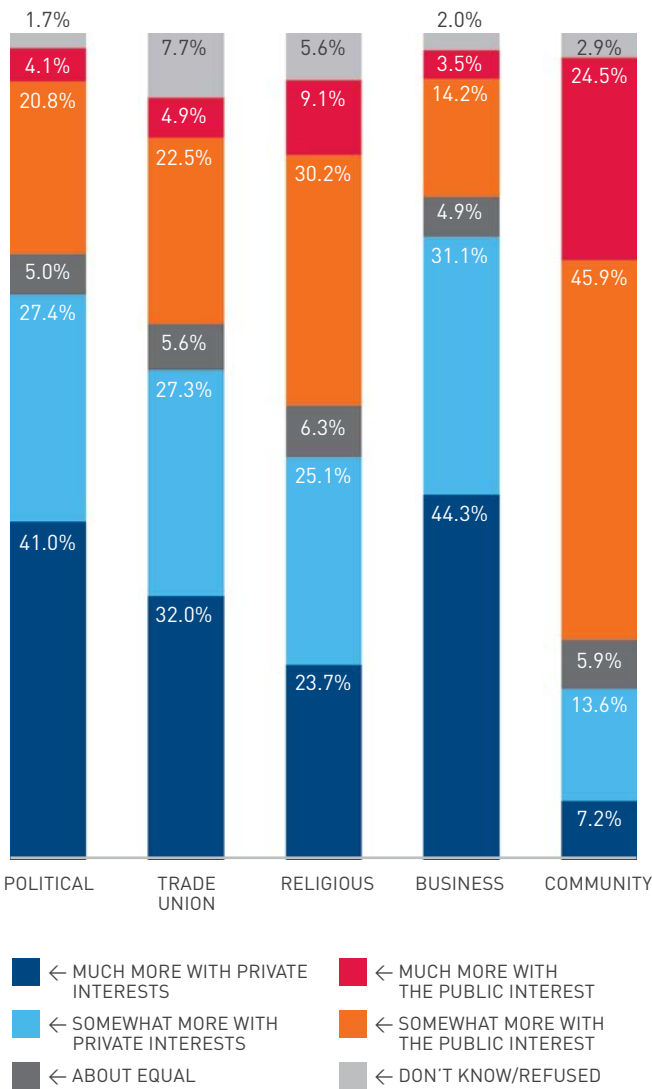
In general, Australian leaders are thought to care less for public interest than their self-interest and the interests of their close supporters.

Business leaders were seen as least concerned with the public interest: 75% reported business leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with their self-interest. Political leaders did not fare much better. Two-thirds (68%) reported political leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with their self-interest.

Community leaders were perceived as the most concerned with the public interest; over two-thirds of respondents (70%) reported community leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with the public interest than with self-interest.

Only a fifth of respondents (21%) thought community leaders were *more concerned* with their personal interests than the public interest. The corresponding figure for religious leaders was more than double (49%).

FIGURE 12. LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST ACROSS DIFFERENT SECTORS OF LEADERS



To create the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good, it was necessary to find a common scale for the indicators that comprised the Index; namely, political leaders' results for leadership for the public interest and leadership for future generations, as well as leadership for the commons, which was only addressed to political leaders. The national average of political leaders' score for leadership for the public interest was 2.18. Given that a five-point scale was originally used, the multiplication of this value by twenty produced a transformed score of 43.6/100.

44

2014 LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST

TABLE 16. 'ARE POLITICAL LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE PUBLIC OR PERSONAL INTERESTS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH THE PUBLIC INTEREST (%)

GENDER	MALE 27.8	FEMALE 22.9				
AGE	18-24 36.9	25-34 23.0	35-44 21.5	45-54 24.6	55-64 22.3	65 PLUS 23.5
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 28.5	TAFE 24.4	YEAR 12 27.8	< YEAR 12 21.3		
REGION	URBAN 26.1	REGIONAL 27.9	RURAL/REMOTE 22.0			
VOTE	LABOR 21.0	COALITION 39.1				

TABLE 17. 'ARE BUSINESS LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE PUBLIC OR PERSONAL INTERESTS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH THE PUBLIC INTEREST (%)

GENDER	MALE 16.8	FEMALE 19.3				
AGE	18-24 31.9	25-34 10.9	35-44 19.5	45-54 14.9	55-64 16.3	65 PLUS 13.5
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 13.7	TAFE 13.7	YEAR 12 23.2	< YEAR 12 21.7		
REGION	URBAN 17.4	REGIONAL 15.6	RURAL/REMOTE 21.1			
VOTE	LABOR 16.8	COALITION 23.0				

TABLE 18. 'ARE TRADE UNION LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE PUBLIC OR PERSONAL INTERESTS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH THE PUBLIC INTEREST (%)

GENDER	MALE 29.3	FEMALE 30.0				
AGE	18-24 55.7	25-34 39.2	35-44 29.2	45-54 23.4	55-64 20.3	65 PLUS 12.7
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 32.8	TAFE 31.9	YEAR 12 29.3	< YEAR 12 23.6		
REGION	URBAN 31.3	REGIONAL 33.4	RURAL/REMOTE 20.7			
VOTE	LABOR 40.4	COALITION 17.6				

TABLE 19. 'ARE RELIGIOUS LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE PUBLIC OR PERSONAL INTERESTS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH THE PUBLIC INTEREST (%)

GENDER	MALE 41.3	FEMALE 42.0				
AGE	18-24 53.3	25-34 36.7	35-44 38.8	45-54 37.5	55-64 40.7	65 PLUS 41.6
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 43.4	TAFE 42.4	YEAR 12 47.2	< YEAR 12 34.0		
REGION	URBAN 42.8	REGIONAL 38.9	RURAL/REMOTE 42.9			
VOTE	LABOR 40.9	COALITION 46.9				

TABLE 20. 'ARE COMMUNITY LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE PUBLIC OR PERSONAL INTERESTS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH THE PUBLIC INTEREST (%)

GENDER	MALE 69.0	FEMALE 75.9				
AGE	18-24 89.7	25-34 80.2	35-44 76.9	45-54 64.2	55-64 64.3	65 PLUS 60.1
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 80.9	TAFE 70.5	YEAR 12 73.8	< YEAR 12 67.7		
REGION	URBAN 73.7	REGIONAL 70.0	RURAL/REMOTE 72.9			
VOTE	LABOR 70.1	COALITION 73.2				

LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

We asked respondents to tell us how concerned they believed political, business, trade union, religious and community leaders were with the interests of future generations, which we contrasted the interests of present generations—those Australians alive in the here and now.

KEY FINDINGS

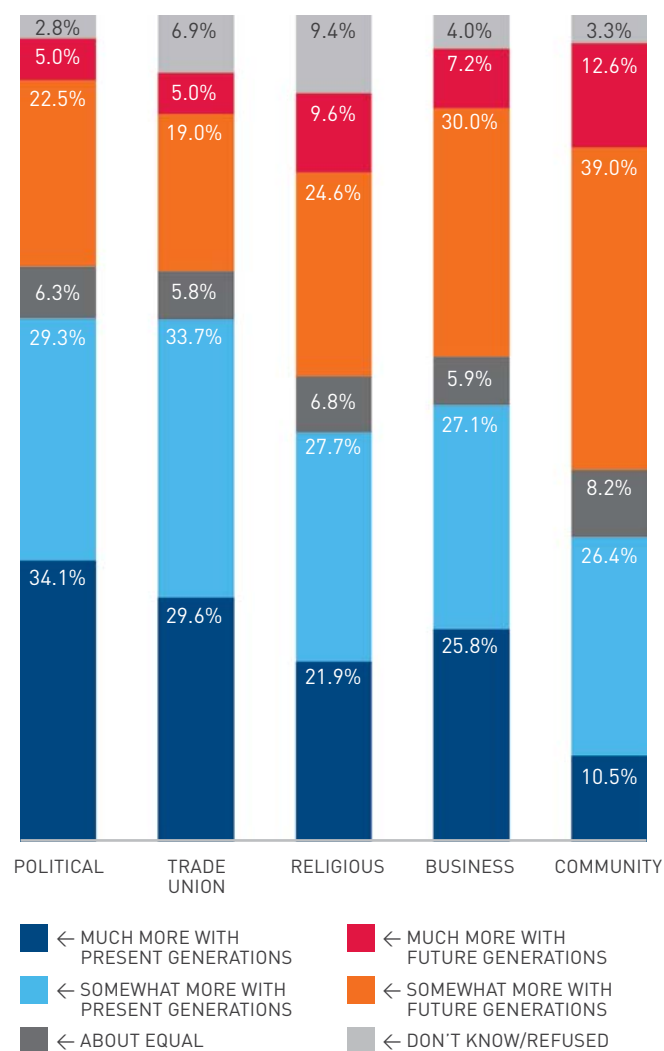
In general, Australian leaders are judged as less concerned about the interests of future generations of Australians than they are with those alive in the here and now.

This relative lack of concern for future generations' interests was especially pronounced when trade union and political leaders were assessed.

Two-thirds of respondents (63%) reported trade union leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with the interests of present than future generations of Australians. The same results was obtained for political leaders (63%).

Community leaders were thought to care most for future generations. Over half of respondents (52%) reported community leaders were *somewhat* or *much more concerned* with the interests of future generations.

FIGURE 13. LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS ACROSS DIFFERENT SECTORS OF LEADERS



To create the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good, it was necessary to find a common scale for the indicators that comprised the Index; namely, political leaders' results for leadership for the public interest and leadership for future generations, as well as leadership for the commons, which was only addressed to political leaders. The national average of political leaders' score for leadership for future generations was 2.33. Given that a five-point scale was originally used, the multiplication of this value by twenty produced a transformed score of 46.6/100.



2014
LEADERSHIP
FOR FUTURE
GENERATIONS

TABLE 21. 'ARE POLITICAL LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE INTERESTS OF PRESENT OR FUTURE GENERATIONS?'
RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH FUTURE GENERATIONS (%)

GENDER	MALE 26.0	FEMALE 30.6				
AGE	18-24 38.6	25-34 28.4	35-44 27.7	45-54 22.3	55-64 28.0	65 PLUS 24.5
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 22.8	TAFE 27.1	YEAR 12 31.9	< YEAR 12 31.2		
REGION	URBAN 28.8	REGIONAL 24.3	RURAL/REMOTE 31.7			
VOTE	LABOR 26.9	COALITION 37.3				

TABLE 22. 'ARE BUSINESS LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE INTERESTS OF PRESENT OR FUTURE GENERATIONS?'
RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH FUTURE GENERATIONS (%)

GENDER	MALE 37.4	FEMALE 40.1				
AGE	18-24 46.6	25-34 36.6	35-44 45.3	45-54 32.9	55-64 37.8	65 PLUS 32.8
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 32.2	TAFE 38.3	YEAR 12 42.9	< YEAR 12 41.2		
REGION	URBAN 39.4	REGIONAL 39.1	RURAL/REMOTE 37.1			
VOTE	LABOR 41.4	COALITION 36.6				

TABLE 23. 'ARE TRADE UNION LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE INTERESTS OF PRESENT OR FUTURE GENERATIONS?'
RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND 'MUCH MORE' WITH FUTURE GENERATIONS (%)

GENDER	MALE 24.7	FEMALE 26.8				
AGE	18-24 37.8	25-34 29.9	35-44 31.8	45-54 20.7	55-64 19.2	65 PLUS 15.4
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 21.4	TAFE 24.2	YEAR 12 26.6	< YEAR 12 30.3		
REGION	URBAN 26.5	REGIONAL 22.6	RURAL/REMOTE 26.2			
VOTE	LABOR 30.8	COALITION 14.7				

TABLE 24. 'ARE RELIGIOUS LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE INTERESTS OF PRESENT OR FUTURE GENERATIONS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND
'MUCH MORE' WITH FUTURE GENERATIONS (%)

GENDER	MALE 38.6	FEMALE 37.0				
AGE	18-24 40.4	25-34 32.1	35-44 48.2	45-54 26.8	55-64 38.6	65 PLUS 39.4
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 39.7	TAFE 37.8	YEAR 12 34.4	< YEAR 12 39.0		
REGION	URBAN 37.7	REGIONAL 37.1	RURAL/REMOTE 40.2			
VOTE	LABOR 32.3	COALITION 43.6				

TABLE 25. 'ARE COMMUNITY LEADERS CONCERNED WITH THE INTERESTS OF PRESENT OR FUTURE GENERATIONS?' RESPONSE: 'SOMEWHAT MORE' AND
'MUCH MORE' WITH FUTURE GENERATIONS (%)

GENDER	MALE 50.8	FEMALE 55.8				
AGE	18-24 59.7	25-34 62.7	35-44 57.2	45-54 42.8	55-64 50.9	65 PLUS 48.5
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 51.0	TAFE 54.5	YEAR 12 51.5	< YEAR 12 55.2		
REGION	URBAN 54.5	REGIONAL 48.9	RURAL/REMOTE 54.6			
VOTE	LABOR 54.2	COALITION 54.9				

>> ATTRIBUTES OF PROBLEMS

TAME PROBLEMS

The cause of this problem is well understood

There is always a correct answer to this problem

There is no uncertainty about what must be done to solve this problem

CRITICAL PROBLEMS

This problem is obvious to everyone, regardless of a person's beliefs or values

Most people think that this problem is an emergency

This problem has a solution that everyone can agree on

WICKED PROBLEMS

No one really knows how to solve this problem

There is not always a correct answer to this problem

The solutions offered for this problem create new problems

>> APPROACHES TO PROBLEM-SOLVING

CALCULATIVE COMPLIANCE

Experts and professionals are the best type of people to manage this problem

Following the advice of experts is the best way to solve this problem

Complying with the advice of professionals solves this problem

COERCIVE COMPLIANCE

Authorities must act decisively to solve this problem

Solving this problem demands urgent action, not careful consultation

Using coercion or force is acceptable to address this problem

NORMATIVE

Neither experts nor authorities can solve this problem on their own

This is a complex problem that requires a collaborative approach

Solving this problem requires that we take shared responsibility for it

SOLVING COMPLEX PROBLEMS

IN THIS PART OF THE STUDY WE EXAMINED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLE'S BELIEFS ABOUT THE NATURE OF AUSTRALIA'S TOUGHEST PROBLEMS AND THEIR THOUGHTS ABOUT HOW LEADERS SHOULD ADDRESS THEM.

The specific problems identified were less important than how these problems were understood.

The participants in this study were first asked to identify what they regarded as the single toughest problem we face in Australia. Next, we asked participants to describe this problem by indicating their level of agreement with a series of items that measure the attributes of problems. Finally, we asked participants to prescribe how their problem should be solved by indicating their level of agreement with a series of items that measure approaches to problem solving.

A cluster analysis was run on the 107 problems using scores for tame, critical and wicked problems and calculative, coercive, and normative compliance as variables. A hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's method produced six clusters, which were significantly different in the main.

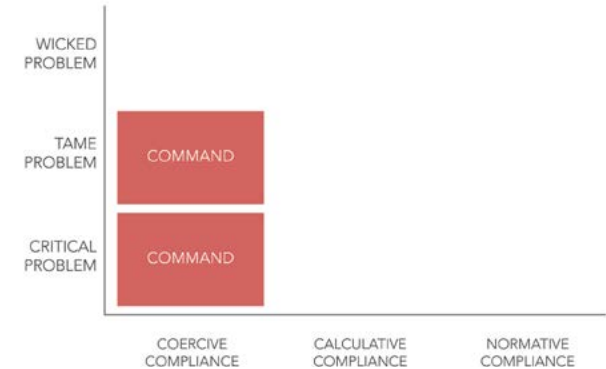
The problems in the [first cluster](#) were understood as tame and critical and the prescribed problem-solving approach was coercive compliance. This pattern of results suggests Command is the appropriate response to these problems (see Figure 14).

The problems in the [second cluster](#) were understood as tame and the prescribed problem-solving approach was coercive compliance. This pattern of results suggests Command is the appropriate response to these problems (see Figure 15).

The problems in the [third cluster](#) were understood critical and wicked and the prescribed problem-solving approach was coercive and calculative compliance. This pattern of results suggests some combination of Command and Management is the appropriate response to these problems (see Figure 16).

The problems in the [fourth cluster](#) were understood as critical and the prescribed problem-solving approach was calculative compliance. This pattern of results suggests Management is the appropriate response to these problems (see Figure 17).

FIGURE 14. CLUSTER ONE



The problems in the [fifth and sixth clusters](#) were understood as wicked and the prescribed problem-solving approach was normative compliance. This pattern of results suggests Leadership is the appropriate response to these problems (see Figure 18).

FIGURE 15. CLUSTER TWO

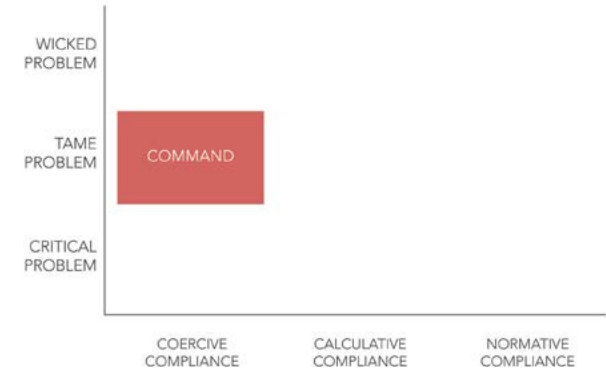


FIGURE 16. CLUSTER THREE

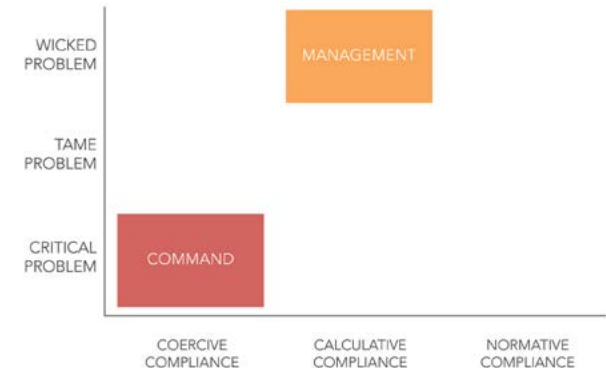


FIGURE 17. CLUSTER FOUR

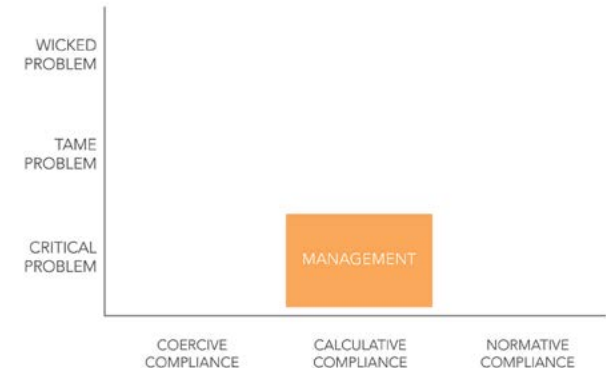
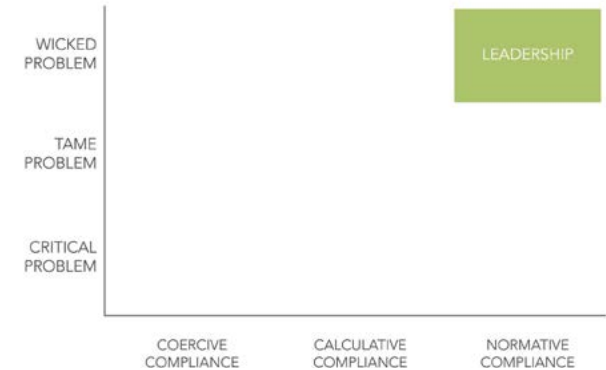


FIGURE 18. CLUSTERS FIVE AND SIX



There were significant differences between clusters in terms of tame attributes, $F(5, 101) = 40.87, p < .001$; critical attributes, $F(5, 101) = 15.16, p < .001$; wicked attributes, $F(5, 101) = 27.36, p < .001$; coercive compliance, $F(5, 101) = 24.8, p < .001$; calculative compliance, $F(5, 101) = 14.26, p < .001$; and normative compliance, $F(5, 101) = 22.93, p < .001$. (See Table 26 for descriptive statistics).

If tame problems are best addressed via calculative compliance, critical problems via coercive compliance, and wicked problems via normative compliance, these patterns should be apparent when clusters that reflect tame, critical and wicked problems, respectively, are compared. This task is achieved by comparing clusters with distinct tame, critical and wicked profiles.

The average of clusters 1 and 2 comprises the high-tame cluster, whereas a single cluster—cluster 6—constitutes the low-tame cluster. The average of clusters 1 and 3 comprises the high-critical cluster, whereas a single cluster—cluster 6—constitutes the low-critical cluster. Finally, the average of clusters 5 and 6 comprises the high-wicked cluster, whereas the average of clusters 1, 2 and 4 comprises the low-wicked cluster.

HIGH-TAME VERSUS LOW-TAME CLUSTERS

The problems in the high-tame cluster received significant higher calculative compliance ratings than the problems in the low-tame cluster (see Table 27). More generally, beliefs about tame attributes and the need for calculative compliance are positively related, which means that the more a person believes that a problem is tame, the more strongly she thinks that rational compliance is an appropriate way to address the problem (see Table 28).

HIGH-CRITICAL VERSUS LOW-CRITICAL CLUSTERS

The problems in the high-critical cluster received significantly higher coercive compliance ratings than the problems in the low-critical cluster (see Table 27). More generally, beliefs about critical attributes

and the need for coercive compliance are positively related, which means that the more a person believes that a problem is critical, the more strongly she thinks that coercive compliance is an appropriate or acceptable way to address the problem (see Table 28).

HIGH-WICKED VERSUS LOW-WICKED CLUSTERS

The problems in the high-wicked cluster received significantly higher normative compliance ratings than the problems in the low-wicked cluster (see Table 27). More generally, beliefs about wicked attributes and the need for normative compliance are positively related, which means the more a person believes that a problem is wicked, the more strongly she thinks normative compliance is an appropriate way to address the problem (see Table 28).

The pattern of results we obtained in this study provides some support for the propositions that management is appropriate for tame problems, command is appropriate for critical problems, and leadership is appropriate for wicked problems.

However, it should be noted that participants' conceptions of tough problems did not always fall neatly into the heuristic typology that informed our inquiry into beliefs about problems and problem solving. This was most apparent with regard to problems understood as tame or critical or some combination of tame and critical or critical and wicked.

Our results suggest a tendency towards construing problems as crises, which require urgent resolution and decisive action, rather than as complex problems that admit neither simple solutions nor the possibility of deferring the responsibility of decision-making and problem solving to others.

However, when problems were understood as wicked challenges, neither compliance nor obedience to experts and authorities was adjudged necessary to address the problem. These complex problems required the assumption of shared responsibility and collaboration, which is enabled by one thing: leadership.

TABLE 26. MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF PROBLEM ATTRIBUTES AND APPROACHES TO PROBLEM SOLVING ACROSS SIX CLUSTERS OF 'TOUGH' PROBLEMS

CLUSTER	PROBLEM ATTRIBUTES			PROBLEM SOLVING APPROACHES		
	TAME	CRITICAL	WICKED	RATIONAL COMPLIANCE	COERCIVE COMPLIANCE	NORMATIVE COMPLIANCE
1	3.88 [0.46]	3.84 [0.53]	2.49 [0.56]	3.13 [0.75]	3.73 [0.86]	3.44 [0.60]
2	4.71 [0.36]	2.76 [0.79]	1.57 [0.37]	4.05 [1.08]	4.29 [0.52]	4.00 [0.54]
3	2.88 [0.78]	3.44 [0.77]	3.67 [0.46]	4.02 [0.48]	3.96 [0.53]	4.00 [0.57]
4	3.06 [0.59]	3.51 [0.81]	2.79 [0.37]	4.09 [0.73]	2.48 [0.58]	3.70 [0.74]
5	3.11 [0.71]	2.73 [0.71]	3.62 [0.65]	2.36 [0.66]	3.42 [0.79]	4.56 [0.37]
6	2.13 [0.46]	2.39 [0.70]	3.63 [0.67]	2.81 [0.83]	2.36 [0.50]	4.72 [0.29]

NOTE. THE NUMBER OF PROBLEMS PER CLUSTER IS AS FOLLOWS: CLUSTER 1 (25 PROBLEMS); CLUSTER 2 (7 PROBLEMS); CLUSTER 3 (16 PROBLEMS); CLUSTER 4 (11 PROBLEMS); CLUSTER 5 (15 PROBLEMS); CLUSTER 6 (33 PROBLEMS).

TABLE 27. MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THREE APPROACHES TO PROBLEM SOLVING ACROSS TAME, CRITICAL AND WICKED (HIGH VERSUS LOW) CLUSTERS OF PROBLEMS

	HIGH-TAME CLUSTER	LOW-TAME CLUSTER	COMPARISON OF HIGH VS LOW TAME	HIGH-CRITICAL CLUSTER	LOW-CRITICAL CLUSTER	COMPARISON OF HIGH VS LOW CRITICAL	HIGH-WICKED CLUSTER	LOW-WICKED CLUSTER	COMPARISON OF HIGH VS LOW WICKED
CALCULATIVE	3.33 [0.90]	2.80 [0.83]	t(63) = 2.45*	3.48 [0.78]	2.81 [0.83]	t(72) = 3.58**	2.67 [0.80]	3.53 [0.91]	t(89) = -4.79**
COERCIVE	3.85 [0.82]	2.36 [0.50]	t(50.94) = 8.77**	3.82 [0.75]	2.36 [0.50]	t(69.90) = 9.98**	2.69 [0.77]	3.50 [0.97]	t(80.25) = -4.40**
NORMATIVE	3.56 [0.62]	4.73 [0.29]	t(47.80) = -9.57**	3.66 [0.64]	4.72 [0.29]	t(58.54) = -9.48**	4.67 [0.33]	3.60 [0.65]	t(60.40) = 9.83**

NOTE. HIGH-TAME CLUSTER IS THE AVERAGE OF CLUSTERS 1-2 (N = 32). LOW-TAME CLUSTER IS 6 (N = 33). HIGH-CRITICAL CLUSTER IS THE AVERAGE OF CLUSTERS 1 AND 3 (N = 41). LOW-CRITICAL CLUSTER IS CLUSTER 6 (N = 33). HIGH-WICKED CLUSTER IS THE AVERAGE OF CLUSTERS 5-6 (N = 48). LOW-WICKED CLUSTER IS THE AVERAGE OF CLUSTERS 1-2 AND 4 (N = 43). BOLD FACED MEANS SHOULD BE HIGHER IF INDICATOR IS VALID.

*p < .05 **p < .001

TABLE 28. CORRELATIONS AMONG BELIEFS ABOUT PROBLEM ATTRIBUTES AND APPROACHES TO PROBLEM SOLVING

	CALCULATIVE COMPLIANCE	COERCIVE COMPLIANCE	NORMATIVE COMPLIANCE
TAME PROBLEMS	.24*	.51*	-.44*
CRITICAL PROBLEMS	.16	.28*	-.42*
WICKED PROBLEMS	-.16	-.29*	.46*

*p < .01

CITIZENSHIP

INFLUENCE ON LEADERS

To assess Australians' beliefs about the role of citizens in effective leadership, participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with two statements:

1. Overall, ordinary people *can* have a big influence on how good our leaders are; and
2. Overall, ordinary people *do* have a big influence on how good our leaders are.

To convey their beliefs, respondents were asked to answer using one of four response options: [strongly disagree](#), [disagree](#), [agree](#) or [strongly agree](#).

KEY FINDINGS

People clearly differentiate between their ideal and actual influence over the quality of our leaders

Two-thirds of respondents (64%) believe ordinary people can have a significant influence over the quality of leaders, whereas only half (50%) believe ordinary people actually do have such influence.

FIGURE 19. CITIZEN INFLUENCE ON CITIZEN LEADERSHIP

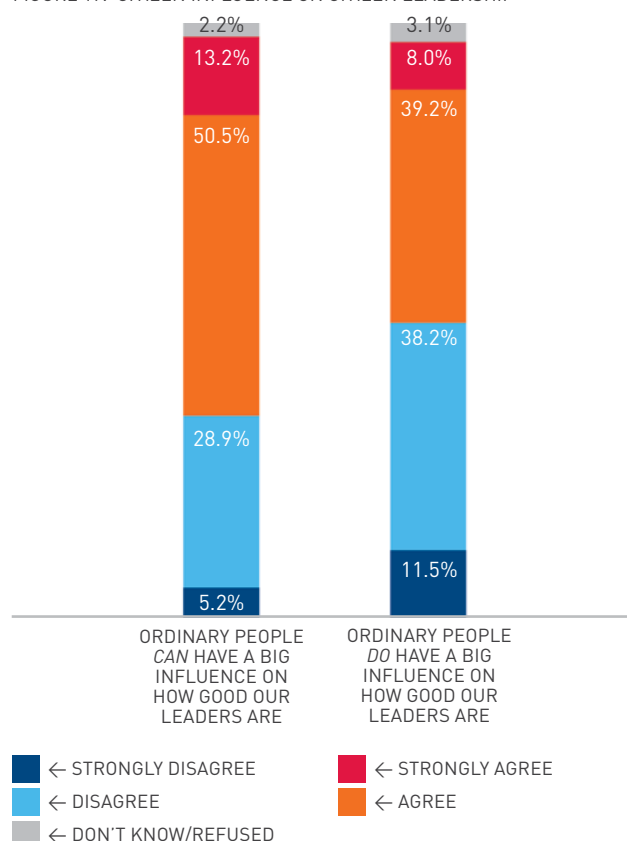


TABLE 29. 'ORDINARY PEOPLE CAN HAVE A BIG INFLUENCE ON HOW GOOD OUR LEADERS ARE.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 63.5	FEMALE 66.7				
AGE	18-24 70.8	25-34 60.1	35-44 60	45-54 61.3	55-64 69.7	65 PLUS 68.4
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 69.7	TAFE 61.8	YEAR 12 68.4	< YEAR 12 62.3		
REGION	URBAN 63.8	REGIONAL 67.6	RURAL/REMOTE 67.4			
VOTE	LABOR 63.9	COALITION 66.6				

TABLE 30. 'ORDINARY PEOPLE DO HAVE A BIG INFLUENCE ON HOW GOOD OUR LEADERS ARE.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 44.7	FEMALE 52.7				
AGE	18-24 54.2	25-34 43.8	35-44 50.4	45-54 41.1	55-64 46.7	65 PLUS 54.5
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 54.6	TAFE 47.6	YEAR 12 45.1	< YEAR 12 49.0		
REGION	URBAN 47.0	REGIONAL 50.0	RURAL/REMOTE 53.4			
VOTE	LABOR 47.9	COALITION 51.7				

CITIZENS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS

To assess respondents' beliefs about the role of citizens as leadership in their communities, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with two statements:

1. I feel personally responsible to be a leader in my community whenever I can; and
2. Most Australians feel personally responsible to be leaders in their community whenever they can.

Respondents were asked to answer using one of four options: **strongly disagree**, **disagree**, **agree** or **strongly agree**.

KEY FINDINGS

Two-thirds of respondents (66%) reported they felt personally responsible to serve as a leader in their community.

However, less than half (40%) believe other members of their community feel similarly inclined.

FIGURE 20. CITIZENS AS COMMUNITY LEADERS

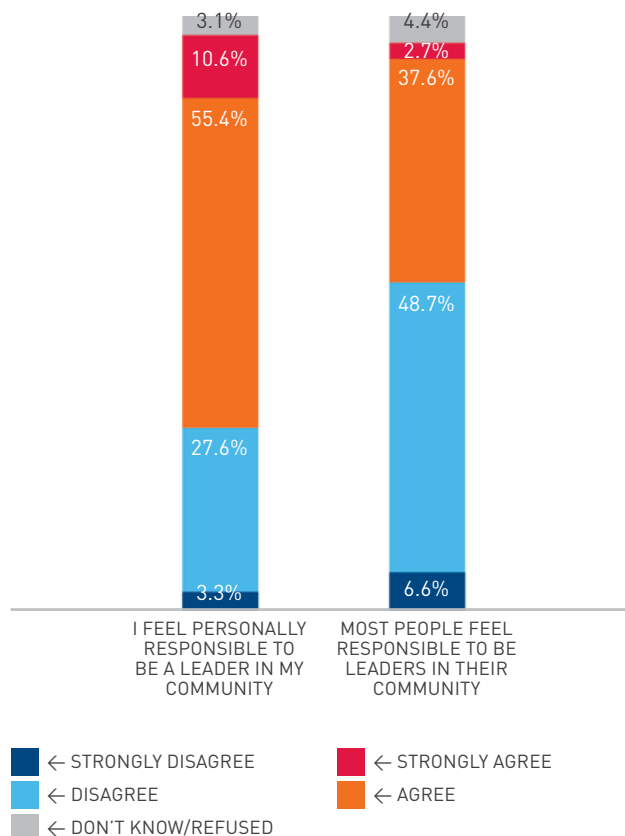


TABLE 31. 'I FEEL PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE TO BE A LEADER IN MY COMMUNITY WHENEVER I CAN.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 67.8	FEMALE 68.4				
AGE	18-24 68.3	25-34 60.7	35-44 76.4	45-54 75.5	55-64 66.4	65 PLUS 59.3
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 71.7	TAFE 70.6	YEAR 12 64.3	< YEAR 12 64.6		
REGION	URBAN 64.9	REGIONAL 70.7	RURAL/REMOTE 75.4			
VOTE	LABOR 69.6	COALITION 66.8				

TABLE 33. 'MOST AUSTRALIANS FEEL PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE TO BE A LEADER IN THEIR COMMUNITIES WHENEVER I CAN.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 44.1	FEMALE 40.3				
AGE	18-24 48.2	25-34 32.9	35-44 40.3	45-54 48.5	55-64 38.3	65 PLUS 42.96
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 34.1	TAFE 39.3	YEAR 12 42.3	< YEAR 12 53.3		
REGION	URBAN 38.3	REGIONAL 50.2	RURAL/REMOTE 46.1			
VOTE	LABOR 48.9	COALITION 44.9				

CIVIC ACTIVITIES AND LEADERSHIP

To assess actual leadership practices in their communities, we asked respondents whether they had engaged in a variety of activities in the past two years.

Respondents conveyed their answers to these questions using a simple **yes** or **no** response.

KEY FINDINGS

Although most Australians engage in civic activities, these activities tend to be those that require small contributions of time and effort rather than large contributions of time and effort

The most common civic activities were ‘donating money to a charitable organisation’ (91%) and ‘voting in government elections’ (87%)

The least common civic activities were ‘serving as an office bearer in faith-based groups’ (7%) and ‘joining a political party’ (6%)

FIGURE 21. LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT IN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES

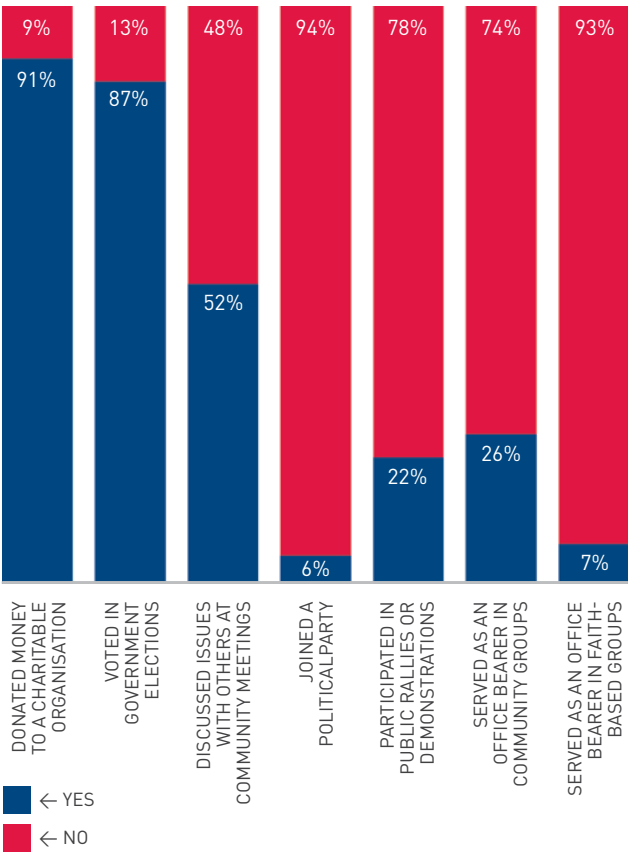


TABLE 33. DONATED MONEY TO A CHARITABLE ORGANISATION IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. RESPONSE: ‘YES’ (%)

GENDER	MALE 87.7	FEMALE 93.2				
AGE	18-24 83.6	25-34 91.1	35-44 91.7	45-54 91.9	55-64 94.5	65 PLUS 90.4
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 94.2	TAFE 90.9	YEAR 12 89.2	< YEAR 12 88.1		
REGION	URBAN 89.0	REGIONAL 91.2	RURAL/REMOTE 94.7			
VOTE	LABOR 90.8	COALITION 95.4				

TABLE 34. VOTED IN A GOVERNMENT ELECTION IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. RESPONSE: ‘YES’ (%)

GENDER	MALE 86.6	FEMALE 87.6				
AGE	18-24 68.9	25-34 84.2	35-44 90.3	45-54 91.1	55-64 94.6	65 PLUS 93.6
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 87.3	TAFE 92.6	YEAR 12 79.5	< YEAR 12 87.8		
REGION	URBAN 85.3	REGIONAL 90.5	RURAL/REMOTE 88.2			
VOTE	LABOR 91.2	COALITION 92.4				

TABLE 35. 'DISCUSSED ISSUES WITH OTHERS AT COMMUNITY MEETINGS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.' RESPONSE: 'YES' (%)

GENDER	MALE 52.4	FEMALE 51.1				
AGE	18-24 43.5	25-34 41.2	35-44 57.9	45-54 58.4	55-64 54.8	65 PLUS 52.8
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 57.4	TAFE 55.3	YEAR 12 50.6	< YEAR 12 42.2		
REGION	URBAN 48.1	REGIONAL 48.6	RURAL/REMOTE 66.8			
VOTE	LABOR 51.6	COALITION 49.1				

TABLE 36. 'JOINED A POLITICAL PARTY IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.' RESPONSE: 'YES' (%)

GENDER	MALE 7	FEMALE 4.1				
AGE	18-24 6.8	25-34 3.9	35-44 5.6	45-54 7.2	55-64 5.3	65 PLUS 4.2
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 6.0	TAFE 6.9	YEAR 12 3.9	< YEAR 12 4.8		
REGION	URBAN 5.6	REGIONAL 5.9	RURAL/REMOTE 5.3			
VOTE	LABOR 5.4	COALITION 7.3				

TABLE 37. 'PARTICIPATED IN PUBLIC RALLIES OR DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.' RESPONSE: 'YES' (%)

GENDER	MALE 21.2	FEMALE 23.3				
AGE	18-24 30.5	25-34 22.2	35-44 24.0	45-54 18.6	55-64 22.9	65 PLUS 15.2
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 32.4	TAFE 22.6	YEAR 12 17.3	< YEAR 12 17.2		
REGION	URBAN 23.1	REGIONAL 23.0	RURAL/REMOTE 19.1			
VOTE	LABOR 22.7	COALITION 12.7				

TABLE 38. 'SERVED AS AN OFFICE BEARER IN COMMUNITY GROUPS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.' RESPONSE: 'YES' (%)

GENDER	MALE 24.4	FEMALE 26.9				
AGE	18-24 12.7	25-34 17.6	35-44 27.2	45-54 32.3	55-64 28.0	65 PLUS 34.6
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 33.4	TAFE 29.0	YEAR 12 19.7	< YEAR 12 19.4		
REGION	URBAN 22.9	REGIONAL 24.3	RURAL/REMOTE 35.1			
VOTE	LABOR 20.0	COALITION 29.9				

TABLE 39. 'SERVED AS AN OFFICE BEARER IN FAITH-BASED GROUPS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS.' RESPONSE: 'YES' (%)

GENDER	MALE 6.0	FEMALE 8.8				
AGE	18-24 2.2	25-34 4.5	35-44 14.7	45-54 7.7	55-64 8.6	65 PLUS 6.2
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 10.1	TAFE 11.1	YEAR 12 4.6	< YEAR 12 2.7		
REGION	URBAN 6.6	REGIONAL 8.2	RURAL/REMOTE 9.6			
VOTE	LABOR 5.2	COALITION 9.4				

LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS

Given the development of our measure of leadership for the commons has been described elsewhere (see 'Creating a measure of leadership for the commons') this section focuses on describing the findings obtained for the leadership of the commons across demographic groups, as well as those found across the four measures of stewardship that comprise the measure of leadership of the commons.

KEY FINDINGS

LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS

Men rated political leaders as exercising better leadership of the commons than women.

Coalition-leaning voters rated political leaders as exercising better leadership of the commons than Labor-leaning voters.

People aged between 18-24 rated political leaders as better leaders of the commons than Australians aged between 35-44 and 45-54.

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

Men rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of the environment than women.

Coalition-leaning voters rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of the environment than Labor-leaning voters.

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

People aged between 18-24 rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of our economic infrastructure than all other age groups.

Coalition-leaning voters rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of our economic infrastructure than Labor-leaning voters

STEWARDSHIP OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

Men rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of community well-being than women.

People aged between 18-24 and those aged 65+ rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of community well-being than Australians aged between 35-44 and 45-54. No other differences were found between age groups.

Coalition-leaning voters rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of community well-being than Labor-leaning voters

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR DEMOCRACY

Coalition-leaning voters rated political leaders as exercising better stewardship of our democracy than Labor-leaning voters.

To create the Index of Leadership for the Greater Good, it was necessary to find a common scale for the indicators that comprised the Index; namely, political leaders' results for leadership for the public interest and leadership for future generations, as well as leadership for the commons, which was only addressed to political leaders. The national average for leadership for the commons was 2.12. Given that a four-point scale was originally used, the multiplication of this value by twenty-five produced a transformed score of 53/100.



2014
LEADERSHIP
FOR THE
COMMONS

TABLE 40. MEANS OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS SCORES ACROSS DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

GENDER	MALE 2.17	FEMALE 2.08				
AGE	18-24 2.24	25-34 2.12	35-44 2.06	45-54 2.04	55-64 2.14	65 PLUS 2.15
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 2.08	TAFE 2.16	YEAR 12 2.12	< YEAR 12 2.10		
REGION	URBAN 2.10	REGIONAL 2.20	RURAL/REMOTE 2.11			
VOTE	LABOR 1.99	COALITION 2.37				

NOTE. HIGHLIGHTED MEANS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE 95% LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE.

TABLE 41. MEANS OF STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ENVIRONMENT SCORES ACROSS DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

GENDER	MALE 2.10	FEMALE 1.94				
AGE	18-24 2.05	25-34 2.04	35-44 1.95	45-54 2.01	55-64 2.03	65 PLUS 2.03
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 1.91	TAFE 2.08	YEAR 12 2.04	< YEAR 12 1.97		
REGION	URBAN 1.99	REGIONAL 2.13	RURAL/REMOTE 1.99			
VOTE	LABOR 1.85	COALITION 2.33				

NOTE. HIGHLIGHTED MEANS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE 95% LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE.

TABLE 42. MEANS OF STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE SCORES ACROSS DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

GENDER	MALE 2.30	FEMALE 2.26				
AGE	18-24 2.51	25-34 2.24	35-44 2.25	45-54 2.18	55-64 2.28	65 PLUS 2.23
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 2.27	TAFE 2.29	YEAR 12 2.26	< YEAR 12 2.30		
REGION	URBAN 2.29	REGIONAL 2.35	RURAL/REMOTE 2.18			
VOTE	LABOR 2.17	COALITION 2.42				

NOTE. HIGHLIGHTED MEANS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE 95% LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE.

TABLE 43. MEANS OF STEWARDSHIP OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING SCORES ACROSS DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

GENDER	MALE 2.08	FEMALE 1.95				
AGE	18-24 2.16	25-34 2.00	35-44 1.87	45-54 1.88	55-64 2.08	65 PLUS 2.10
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 1.94	TAFE 2.09	YEAR 12 1.97	< YEAR 12 1.99		
REGION	URBAN 1.97	REGIONAL 2.06	RURAL/REMOTE 2.10			
VOTE	LABOR 1.84	COALITION 2.29				

NOTE. HIGHLIGHTED MEANS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE 95% LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE.

TABLE 44. MEANS OF STEWARDSHIP OF OUR DEMOCRACY SCORES ACROSS DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

GENDER	MALE 2.21	FEMALE 2.16				
AGE	18-24 2.24	25-34 2.21	35-44 2.17	45-54 2.11	55-64 2.17	65 PLUS 2.23
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 2.19	TAFE 2.19	YEAR 12 2.20	< YEAR 12 2.15		
REGION	URBAN 2.18	REGIONAL 2.25	RURAL/REMOTE 2.19			
VOTE	LABOR 2.08	COALITION 2.46				

NOTE. HIGHLIGHTED MEANS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE 95% LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE.

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

Our approach to measuring beliefs about the quality of environmental stewardship did not involve asking abstract questions about ‘the environment’, but, rather, questions about specific common-pool resources.

- The quality of the water in our rivers, beaches and oceans
- The quality of our air (e.g., low levels of pollution)
- The biodiversity of our forests, woodlands and wetlands
- The health and fertility of our soil (e.g., soil erosion)

Because we wanted respondents to answer our stewardship questions after some reflection on the state of our environment, respondents were first asked to answer a single question for each common-pool resource: “Compared to the condition it should be in for future generations, what is the current condition of [...]?”

After some reflection on the state of our environment, respondents were then asked about political leaders’ stewardship of our environment. Specifically, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the following statement: “Political leaders doing all they can to preserve [...] for future generations”.

FIGURE 22. STATE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. COMPARED TO THE STATE IT SHOULD BE IN, WHAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR ENVIRONMENT?

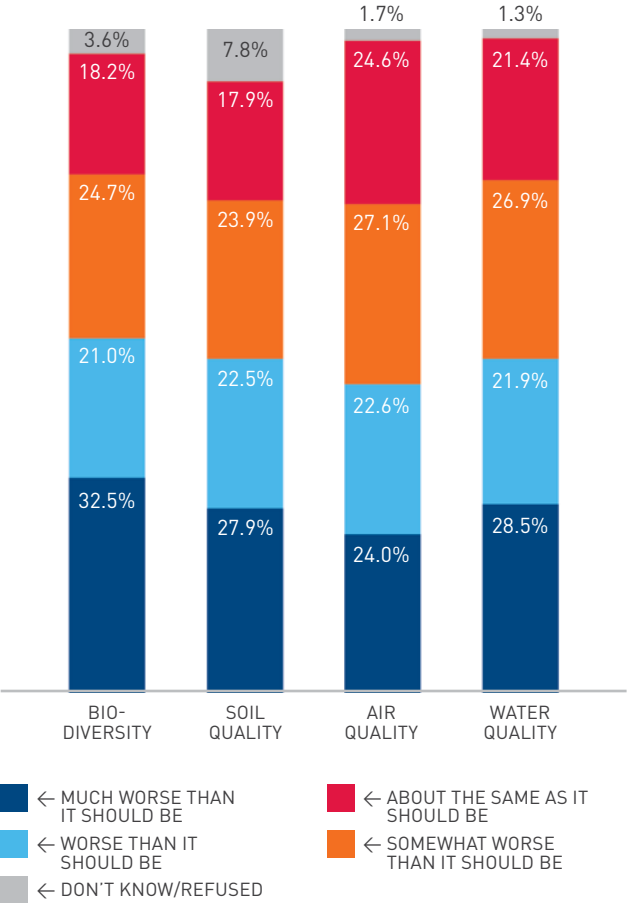
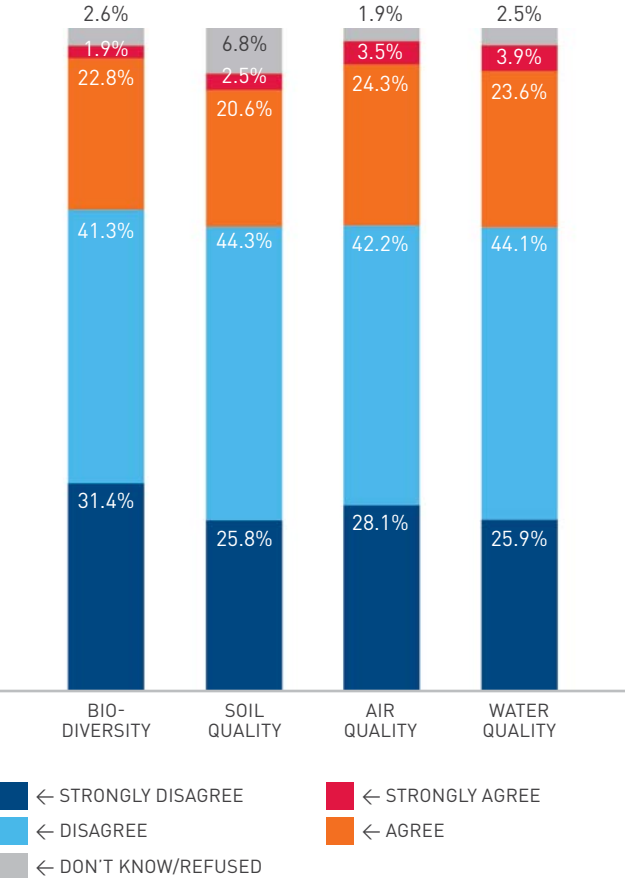


FIGURE 23. STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE OUR ENVIRONMENT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS



KEY FINDINGS

Three-quarters of respondents (74-78%) believe the present state of our environmental resources—our natural capital—is worse than it should be for future generations.

Nearly three-quarters of respondents (70-73%) believe political leaders are not doing all they can to preserve our natural capital for future generations of Australians.

TABLE 45. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE BIODIVERSITY OF OUR FORESTS, WOODLANDS AND WETLANDS FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 29.6	FEMALE 21.1				
AGE	18-24 26.2	25-34 23.5	35-44 25.9	45-54 23.1	55-64 29.4	65 PLUS 24.0
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 22.7	TAFE 28.3	YEAR 12 24.6	< YEAR 12 22.6		
REGION	URBAN 22.2	REGIONAL 31.0	RURAL/REMOTE 29.3			
VOTE	LABOR 14.5	COALITION 39.5				

TABLE 46. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE HEALTH AND FERTILITY OF OUR SOIL FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 29.6	FEMALE 19.9				
AGE	18-24 28.9	25-34 28.3	35-44 22.8	45-54 22.2	55-64 24.7	65 PLUS 22.6
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 21.4	TAFE 25.7	YEAR 12 22.7	< YEAR 12 26.8		
REGION	URBAN 25.1	REGIONAL 23.4	RURAL/REMOTE 24.7			
VOTE	LABOR 16.9	COALITION 38.4				

TABLE 47. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF OUR AIR FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 33.4	FEMALE 23.3				
AGE	18-24 26.1	25-34 33.8	35-44 23.4	45-54 25.3	55-64 32.8	65 PLUS 30.3
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 22.4	TAFE 29.7	YEAR 12 31.4	< YEAR 12 27.0		
REGION	URBAN 28.6	REGIONAL 34.1	RURAL/REMOTE 24.1			
VOTE	LABOR 17.6	COALITION 47.9				

TABLE 48. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF THE WATER IN OUR RIVERS, BEACHES AND OCEANS FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 33.5	FEMALE 23.0				
AGE	18-24 29.1	25-34 29.7	35-44 30.1	45-54 23.4	55-64 30.1	65 PLUS 26.7
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 25.4	TAFE 30.0	YEAR 12 30.9	< YEAR 12 23.8		
REGION	URBAN 28.9	REGIONAL 28.1	RURAL/REMOTE 26.6			
VOTE	LABOR 20.3	COALITION 42.9				

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

Our approach to measuring beliefs about the quality of economic stewardship did not involve asking abstract questions about ‘the economy’, but, rather, questions about specific public goods.

- The quality of public transport (e.g., trains, buses)
- The quality of our public infrastructure (e.g., roads, power stations)

Because we wanted respondents to answer our stewardship questions after some reflection on the state of our economic infrastructure, respondents

were first asked to answer a single question for each public good: “Compared to the condition it should be in for future generations, what is the current condition of [...]?”

After some reflection on the state of our infrastructure, respondents were then asked about political leaders’ stewardship of our infrastructure. Specifically, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the following statement: “Political leaders doing all they can to preserve [...] for future generations”.

FIGURE 24. STATE OF OUR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE. COMPARED TO THE STATE IT SHOULD BE IN, WHAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR INFRASTRUCTURE?

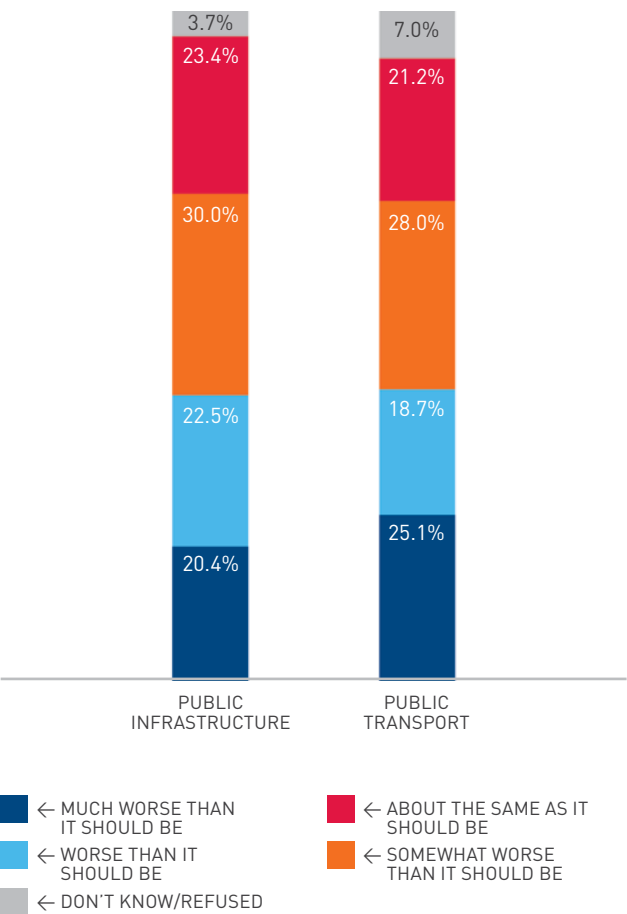
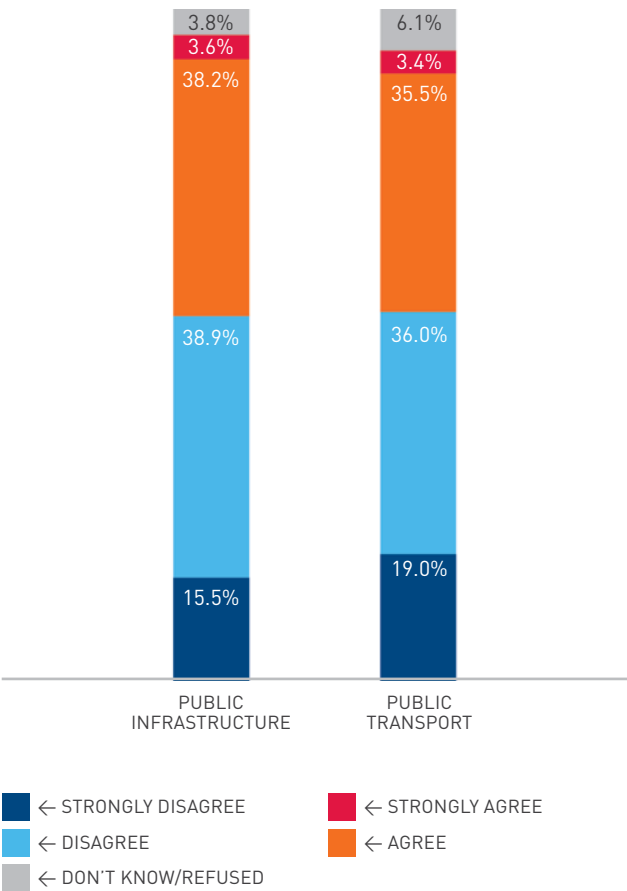


FIGURE 25. STEWARDSHIP OF OUR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE. LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE OUR INFRASTRUCTURE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS



KEY FINDINGS

Nearly three-quarters of respondents (72-73%) believe the present state of our economic infrastructure—our manufactured capital—is worse than it should be for future generations.

Over half of respondents (54-55%) believe political leaders are not doing all they can to preserve our manufactured capital for future generations of Australians.

TABLE 49. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF OUR PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.'
RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 44.1	FEMALE 42.7				
AGE	18-24 64.0	25-34 45.6	35-44 41.7	45-54 29	55-64 40.7	65 PLUS 39.6
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 47.5	TAFE 45.1	YEAR 12 39.7	< YEAR 12 40.7		
REGION	URBAN 45.1	REGIONAL 49.1	RURAL/REMOTE 32.8			
VOTE	LABOR 32.6	COALITION 51.2				

TABLE 50. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF OUR PUBLIC TRANSPORT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.'
RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 42.5	FEMALE 40.4				
AGE	18-24 51.2	25-34 35.1	35-44 41.0	45-54 36.0	55-64 46.2	65 PLUS 37.7
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 37.2	TAFE 44.7	YEAR 12 38.8	< YEAR 12 44.1		
REGION	URBAN 40.2	REGIONAL 48.4	RURAL/REMOTE 39.7			
VOTE	LABOR 34.4	COALITION 49.7				

STEWARDSHIP OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

Our approach to measuring beliefs about the stewardship of community well-being did not involve asking abstract questions about ‘the community’, but, rather, questions about specific public goods, like access to affordable healthcare, that influence the stocks of human capital in our communities.

The quality and cost of housing

The quality and cost of education

The quality and cost of healthcare

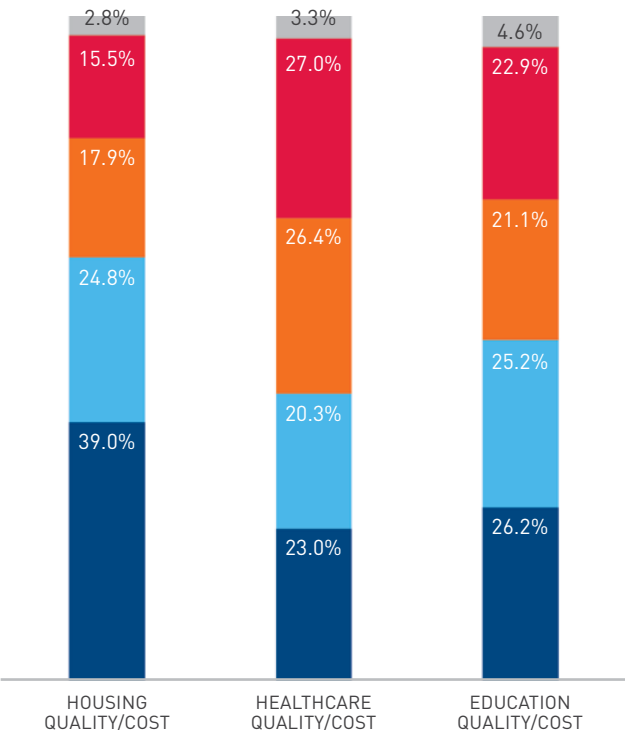
Because we wanted respondents to answer our stewardship questions after some reflection on the state of the public goods that influence community

well-being, respondents were first asked to answer a single question for each public good: “Compared to the condition it should be in for future generations, what is the current condition of [...]?”

After some reflection on the state of the various public goods that affect community well-being, respondents were then asked about political leaders’ stewardship of these public goods.

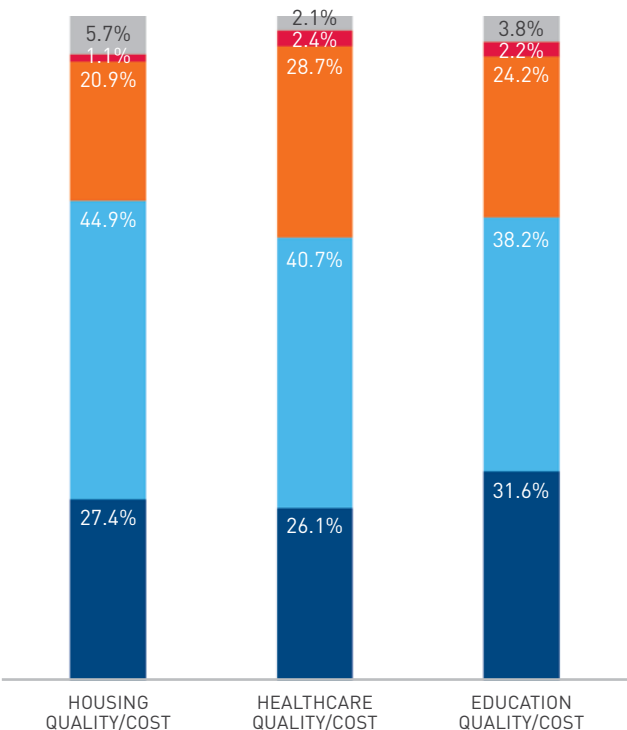
Specifically, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the following statement: “Political leaders doing all they can to preserve [...] for future generations”.

FIGURE 26. STATE OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING. COMPARED TO THE STATE IT SHOULD BE IN, WHAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING?



← MUCH WORSE THAN IT SHOULD BE
← WORSE THAN IT SHOULD BE
← DON'T KNOW/REFUSED
← ABOUT THE SAME AS IT SHOULD BE
← SOMEHOW WORSE THAN IT SHOULD BE

FIGURE 27. STEWARDSHIP OF COMMUNITY WELL-BEING. LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE COMMUNITY WELL-BEING FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS



← STRONGLY DISAGREE
← DISAGREE
← DON'T KNOW/REFUSED
← AGREE
← STRONGLY AGREE

KEY FINDINGS

Over two-thirds of respondents (69-82%) believe the present state of the resources that influence our stocks of human capital is worse than it should be for future generations.

Over two-thirds of respondents (67-72%) believe political leaders are not doing all they can to preserve the resources that influence human capital for future generations of Australians.

TABLE 51. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY AND COST OF HOUSING FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.'
RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 26.2	FEMALE 20.5				
AGE	18-24 35.6	25-34 18.4	35-44 21.5	45-54 14.3	55-64 23.4	65 PLUS 26.1
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 18.1	TAFE 26.4	YEAR 12 19.8	< YEAR 12 26.2		
REGION	URBAN 22.0	REGIONAL 22.4	RURAL/REMOTE 28.3			
VOTE	LABOR 20.6	COALITION 31.3				

TABLE 52. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY AND COST OF HEALTHCARE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.'
RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 37.5	FEMALE 26.2				
AGE	18-24 37.1	25-34 35.4	35-44 24.8	45-54 25.8	55-64 38.3	65 PLUS 30.9
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 29.4	TAFE 39.9	YEAR 12 30.4	< YEAR 12 21.8		
REGION	URBAN 27.6	REGIONAL 39.6	RURAL/REMOTE 36.4			
VOTE	LABOR 22.1	COALITION 47.4				

TABLE 53. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY AND COST OF EDUCATION FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.'
RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 31.2	FEMALE 23.7				
AGE	18-24 30.3	25-34 24.0	35-44 19.0	45-54 24.1	55-64 34.9	65 PLUS 33.4
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 20.8	TAFE 30.7	YEAR 12 26.0	< YEAR 12 30.0		
REGION	URBAN 24.4	REGIONAL 28.0	RURAL/REMOTE 35.9			
VOTE	LABOR 16.7	COALITION 42.9				

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR DEMOCRACY

Our approach to measuring beliefs about the stewardship of our democracy did not involve asking abstract questions about ‘democracy’, but, rather, questions about specific public goods.

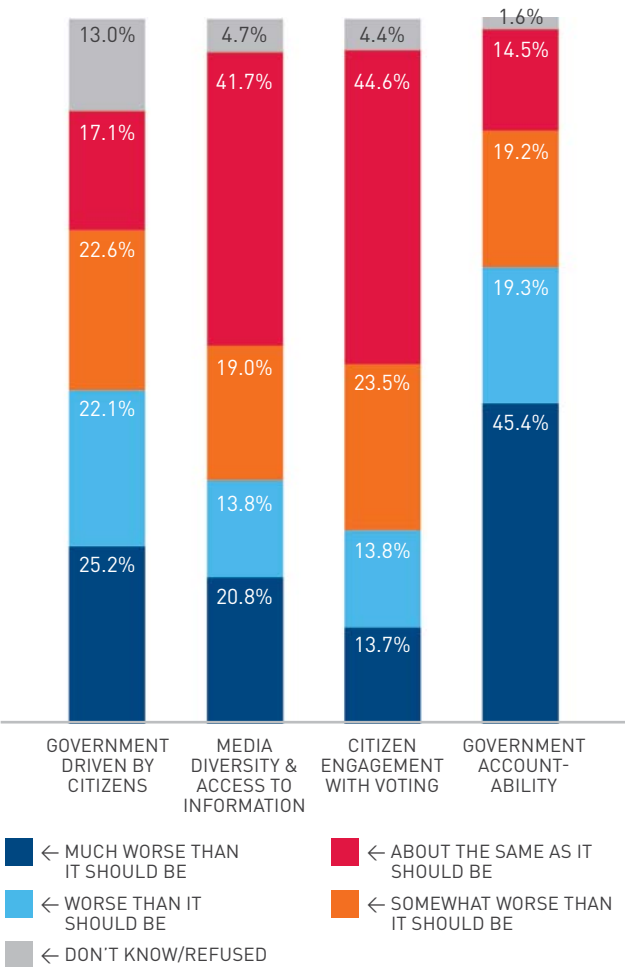
The openness, honesty and accountability of government

Media diversity and access to information

Our engagement with democratic processes, like voting

Government driven by citizens, not special interest groups

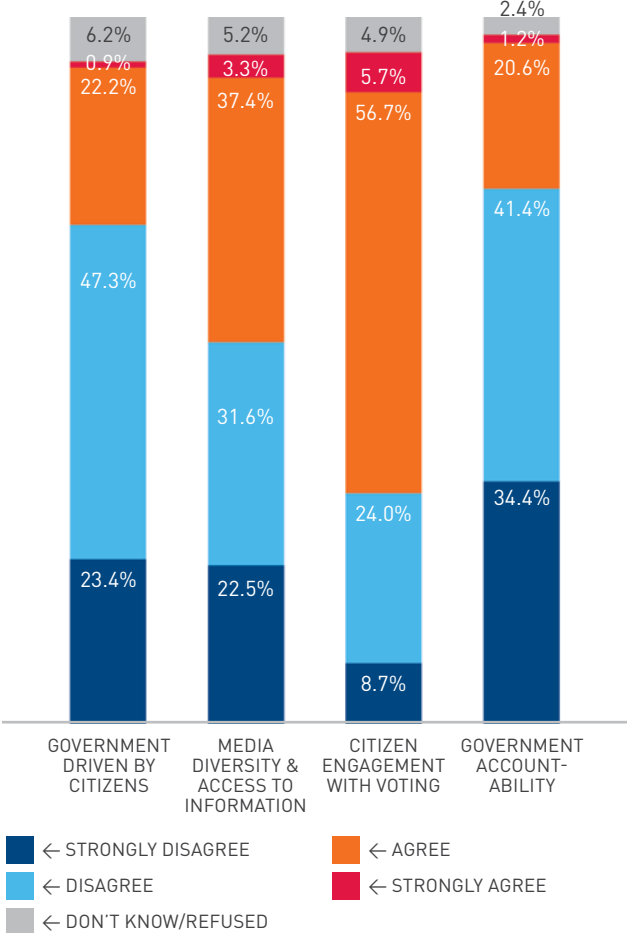
FIGURE 26. STATE OF OUR DEMOCRACY. COMPARED TO THE STATE IT SHOULD BE IN, WHAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR DEMOCRACY?



Because we wanted respondents to answer our stewardship questions after some reflection on the state of our democracy, respondents were first asked to answer a single question for each public good: “Compared to the condition it should be in for future generations, what is the current condition of [...]?”

After some reflection on the state of our democracy, respondents were then asked about political leaders’ stewardship of our democracy. Specifically, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with the following statement: “Political leaders doing all they can to preserve [...] for future generations”.

FIGURE 27. STEWARDSHIP OF OUR DEMOCRACY. LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE OUR DEMOCRACY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS



KEY FINDINGS

Beliefs about the state of our democracy were mixed. Half of respondents (51-54%) reported the present state of 'media diversity and access to information' and 'Australians' engagement with democratic processes' is worse than it should be for future generations. Approximately three-quarters of

respondents (70-84%) thought the same was true for the 'government driven by citizens' and the 'openness, honesty and accountability of government'.

Similar patterns were observed for political leaders' stewardship of our democracy.

TABLE 54. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE GOVERNMENT DRIVEN BY CITIZENS, NOT SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 24.8	FEMALE 24.4				
AGE	18-24 33.8	25-34 23.2	35-44 15.6	45-54 24.7	55-64 26.2	65 PLUS 24.9
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 22.5	TAFE 22.6	YEAR 12 24.4	< YEAR 12 28.6		
REGION	URBAN 24.3	REGIONAL 29.3	RURAL/REMOTE 22.7			
VOTE	LABOR 16.3	COALITION 39.0				

TABLE 55. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE MEDIA DIVERSITY AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 42.9	FEMALE 43.0				
AGE	18-24 46.5	25-34 44.2	35-44 42.3	45-54 42.2	55-64 38.3	65 PLUS 43.8
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 42.9	TAFE 43.6	YEAR 12 41.0	< YEAR 12 42.8		
REGION	URBAN 41.6	REGIONAL 45.6	RURAL/REMOTE 42.8			
VOTE	LABOR 36.4	COALITION 59.7				

TABLE 56. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE OUR ENGAGEMENT WITH DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, LIKE VOTING, FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 67.0	FEMALE 64.1				
AGE	18-24 67.4	25-34 64.1	35-44 72.0	45-54 60.8	55-64 59.3	65 PLUS 68.7
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 68.9	TAFE 69.4	YEAR 12 60.1	< YEAR 12 61.9		
REGION	URBAN 63.4	REGIONAL 68.9	RURAL/REMOTE 71.2			
VOTE	LABOR 64.0	COALITION 76.6				

TABLE 57. 'POLITICAL LEADERS ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO PRESERVE THE OPENNESS, HONESTY AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF GOVERNMENT FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.' RESPONSE: 'AGREE' AND 'STRONGLY AGREE' (%)

GENDER	MALE 25.3	FEMALE 19.4				
AGE	18-24 19.7	25-34 18.1	35-44 20.7	45-54 20.9	55-64 24.7	65 PLUS 29.3
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 22.0	TAFE 25.3	YEAR 12 20.7	< YEAR 12 19.1		
REGION	URBAN 22.9	REGIONAL 20.7	RURAL/REMOTE 23.2			
VOTE	LABOR 11.9	COALITION 38.8				

INDEX OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD

The Swinburne Index of Leadership for the Greater Good integrates three components of the greater good—leadership for the public interest, leadership for future generations, and leadership for the commons—into a single index.

The Index is an integrated score that represents how well Australians believe [national political](#) leaders are acting in ways that demonstrate they are making decisions in interests of all Australians, including future generations of Australians, and acting as responsible stewards of our environmental, economic, social and democratic commons.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COMPONENTS OF THE GREATER GOOD

The three components of the Index were positively correlated (see Table 58) and the internal consistency reliability of the index, as measured by Cronbach’s alpha ($\alpha = .602$), was acceptable.

TABLE 58. CORRELATIONS AMONG LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST, LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS AND LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS

	LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST	LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS
LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS	.32**	
LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS	.49**	.40**

NOTE. COEFFICIENTS HIGHLIGHTED WITH ASTERISKS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE LEVEL OF 99% CONFIDENCE.

INDEX CONSTRUCTION

Recalling that good indicators should be understandable to the average person and clear in terms of which direction constitutes ‘improvement’ and which direction ‘decline’, we transformed the scores obtained for leadership for the public interest, future generations, and the commons, respectively, to a common scale of 0 to 100, where 100 is the best possible score.

Given that the response scales for the measures of leadership for the public interest and future generations were five-point scales, multiplying these scores by twenty rescaled them. The response scale for leadership for the commons was a four-point scale and multiplying this score by twenty-five rescaled it.

The descriptive statistics for leadership for the public interest, future generations, and the commons, respectively, are presented in their original and transformed scales in Table 59. This table also presents the overall score for the Swinburne Index of Leadership for the Greater Good.

TABLE 59. MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF ORIGINAL AND TRANSFORMED LEADERSHIP FOR THE GREATER GOOD SCORES

	ORIGINAL SCALE	TRANSFORMED SCALE	SLI INDEX SCORE
LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST	2.18 (1.29)	43.64 (25.77)	
LEADERSHIP FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS	2.33 (1.30)	46.60 (26.05)	47.78 (16.93)
LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMONS	2.12 (0.54)	53.11 (13.56)	

TABLE 60. MEANS SLI LEADERSHIP INDEX SCORES ACROSS VARIOUS DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

GENDER	MALE 47.94	FEMALE 47.33				
AGE	18-24 53.23	25-34 47.04	35-44 45.39	45-54 43.37	55-64 47.48	65 PLUS 47.24
EDUCATION	UNIVERSITY 46.97	TAFE 47.36	YEAR 12 48.12	< YEAR 12 47.93		
REGION	URBAN 47.32	REGIONAL 49.69	RURAL/REMOTE 47.16			
VOTE	LABOR 44.66	COALITION 55.77				

NOTE. HIGHLIGHTED MEANS DENOTE STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE AT THE 95% LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE.

KEY FINDINGS

The score of 48 out of 100 obtained for the 2014 Index of Leadership for the Greater Good indicates political leaders are not thought to act in interests of all Australians, including future generations, or to act as responsible stewards of our commons.

People aged between 18-24 rated political leaders as significantly better leaders of the greater good than Australians aged between 35-44 and 45-54. No other differences were found between age groups.

Coalition-leaning voters rated political leaders as significantly better leaders of the greater good than Labor-leaning voters.

No statistically significant differences were found when results were analysed by gender, education and region, which suggest beliefs about the generally low quality of leadership for the greater good are widely shared.



ENDNOTES AND REFERENCES

- Markus, A. (2013) *Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Surveys 2013. National report*. The Scanlon Foundation, Melbourne.
- Oliver, A. (2013) *The Lowy Institute Poll 2013*. Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney.
- Abbott, T. (2013) Address to the National Press Club: 2013 Election. Available at <http://www.liberal.org.au/latest-news/2013/09/02/tony-abbott-address-national-press-club-election-2013>
- Edelman (2014) 2014 Edelman Trust Barometer: Annual Global Study – Australia, p. 4. Available: http://www.edelman.com.au/pdf/Edelman_Trust_Deck.pdf?v=2 [Accessed 02/03/2015].
- Alcorn, G. (2014) Facts are futile in an era of post-truth politics, *The Age*, 28 February, p. 29.
- Picketty, T. (2014) *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Markus, *op. cit.*
McAllister, I. (2014): ANU-SRC Poll: Changing Views of Governance. Results from the ANU Poll, 2008 and 2014. August 2014. Available at http://politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/ANU_SRC_Poll_Governance.pdf
Oliver, *op. cit.*
- Edelman (2015) 2015 Edelman Trust Barometer: Global Results, p. 4. Available: <http://www.edelman.com/insights/intellectual-property/2015-edelman-trust-barometer/trust-around-world/> [Accessed 02/03/2015].
- Edelman (2014) *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- Ibid.*, p. 10.
- Plato (1974) *The Republic*, second ed., trans. D. Lee, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Aristotle (1984) *The Politics*, trans. C. Lord, University of Chicago Press, Chicago; Aristotle (2013) *Eudemian Ethics*, trans. B. Inwood and R. Woolf, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Augustine (1983) *City of God*, trans. M. Dods, Modern Library, New York.
Aquinas (1981) *Summa Theologiae*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, Christian Classics, Westminster.
- Refer to, e.g.:
Dalai Lama (1988) *Humanity and Ecology*, The Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, India.
O.P. Dwivedi (2000) Dharmic Ecology, in *Hinduism and Ecology*, ed. C.K. Chapple and M.E. Tucker, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 3–20.
- Hobbes, T. (1924) *Leviathan*, J.M. Dent, London.
Rousseau, J.-J. (1913) *The Social Contract*, trans. G.D.H. Cole, J.M. Dent, London.
- This now-popular saying is a deviation of Francis Hutchinson's 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number', cited from his 1725 book, *Inquiry Concerning Moral Good and Evil* (the second part of the treatise (1971) *An Inquiry into the Originals of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* [sic], Garland Publishing, New York).
- Bentham, J. (1983) *Deontology* together with *A Table of the Springs of Action* and *The Article on Utilitarianism*, ed. A. Goldsworth, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Mill, J.S. (2002) *Utilitarianism and the 1868 Speech on Capital Punishment*, ed. G. Sher, second ed., Hackett Publishing Company, Indiana.
- Rawls, J. (1971) *A Theory of Justice*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Chomsky, N. (2013) *What kind of creatures are we?*, Lecture 3, "What is the common good?", Dewey Lecture, Columbia University, New York. Available from: *The Journal of Philosophy* 110 (12), 685–700.
Žižek, S. (2013) *Demanding the Impossible*, ed. Y.-J. Park, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). *Frontiers of Justice*. The Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Rockström, J., et al. (2009) A safe operating space for humanity. *Nature*, 461, 472–475.
- Hardin, G. (1968). The tragedy of the commons. *Science*, 162, 1243–1248.
- Parks, C. D., Joireman, J., & Van Lange, P. A. M. (2013). Cooperation, trust, and antagonism: How public goods are promoted. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, 14(3), 119–165.
- <http://widgets.weforum.org/outlook15/03.html>
- http://www.afr.com/p/national/tax_system_infected_by_politics_kgasuqPwMqQyghMwN3WgIP
- <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/02/sri-lankan-leader-calls-unity-ethnic-rift-150204075107033.html>
- <http://www.valuesbasedleadershipjournal.com/issues/vol1issue1/otoole.php>
- This story is recounted in Platt, S. (2011) *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, Atlantic Books, New York, p. 159.
- Edelman (2015) *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- Edelman (2014) *op. cit.*
- Grint K (2005) Problems, problems, problems: The social construction of 'Leadership'. *Human Relations*, 58, 1467–1494.
- The Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facility at Swinburne University of Technology was established in 2003. It is located in the Faculty of Health, Arts and Design. The CATI facility draws on the cross-disciplinary expertise of senior researchers from the Social Psychology Research Unit (SPRU) and the Psychological Science and Statistics (PSS) group. See <http://www.swinburne.edu.au/lss/spru/spru-cati.html>
- Household and mobile telephone numbers were sourced through Sampleworx, which is a Sydney-based company that randomly generates phone numbers and validates each one before adding it to their database. Because numbers are randomly computer generated, the sample pool includes not only published phone numbers, but also numbers in new exchange areas and VOIP numbers.
- It should be noted that the survey was conducted during school holidays, which may partially account for the lower than expected response rate.
- AtKisson, A., & Hatcher, R. L. (2001). The compass index of sustainability: Prototype for a comprehensive sustainability information system. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 3(4), 509–532.
- Gleeson-White, J. (2014). *Six Capitals: The revolution capitalism has to have—or can accountants save the planet?* Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Grattan, M. (2013) Foreword. In Evans, M., Stoker, G. & Nasir, J. How do Australians Imagine their Democracy? Australian Survey of Political Engagement: Findings 2013. ANZOG Institute for Governance, University of Canberra, p. 3. Available: <http://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/DEMOCRACY%20REPORT-%20UPDATED%20VERSION-27-6-13.pdf> [Accessed 01/03/2015].
- Grattan, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- Kahane, A. (2010). *Power and Love: A theory and practice of social change*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers, San Francisco.
- Leadership approaches for dealing with wicked problems in an Australian context are discussed in detail in APSC (2007) *Tackling Wicked Problems: A Public Policy Perspective*. Australian Public Service Commission, Canberra. Available: <http://www.apsc.gov.au/publications07/wickedproblems.pdf> [Accessed 27/03/2015].
- Edelman (2014) *op. cit.* and Edelman (2015) *op. cit.*
- This section is adapted from Fien, J. & Wilson, S. (2004) *Leadership Tools for Wicked Problems*, Working Paper No. 3, Swinburne Leadership Institute. Available from <<http://www.swinburne.edu.au/leadership-institute/working-papers/>> [Accessed 27/03/2015].

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to extend our heartfelt thanks to the following people for sharing their insights with us so generously: Christine Agius, Fiona Armstrong, Rick Arrowood, Patricia Buckley, Ed Bernacki, Liz Branigan, Stephanie Camarena, Sonia Chan, Nita Cherry, Ken Chern, Christine Cookson, Marcus Connor, Darren Cronshaw, Arda Cunningham, Gonzalo Diaz, Brendan Doidge, Peter Fenwick, John Fitzgerald, Lucia Giagnorio, Phil Harrington, Elizabeth Hartnell-Young, Roscoe Howell, Carolyn Ingvarson, Nicholas Jackson, Bryan Kidd, Michael Liffman, Helena Liu, Lucy Louca, Janet Matton, Neil McCoy, Peter Moran, Margaret Nicol, Ken Oaten, Zen Parry, Ricardo Pereyra, Ken Parker, Gabrielle Reilly, Catherine Richards, Alisia Romanin, Kurt Seemann, David Seignior, Christopher Selvarajah, Teresa Soderlund, Michael Staindl, Philip Sutton, Monir Uddin Ahmedm, Bruce Wilson, Tomi Winfree, Joshua Wood and Jenny Yang.

A very special thank you to: Hugo Armstrong, Joanna Barrett, Gordana Bruce, Esther Charlesworth, Christine Critchley, Jenine Davidson, Steve Graham, Annie Jones, Patrick McCarthy, Mark Manolopoulos, Ashlin Raymond, Andrew Ward, and our dear friend and tireless supporter, the late George Collins.

AREAS OF CRITICAL FOCUS

The Swinburne Leadership Institute aims to catalyse discussion about key leadership issues with business, government and the community.

The Institute has three key activities:

- Leadership research
- Leadership development
- Public engagement.

LEADERSHIP RESEARCH

The SLI Research Program aims to generate, apply and assess fundamental knowledge, processes and skills that can advance Leadership for the Greater Good. The research has five objectives:

- To clarify the contested nature of leadership and what Leadership for the Greater Good can contribute to well-being, prosperity, sustainability and harmony.
- To analyse different philosophies of, and approaches to, leadership in relation to Leadership for the Greater Good;
- To map the social, psychological and political skills needed for Leadership for the Greater Good as well as what is required of citizens to support Leadership for the Greater Good.

- To analyse how Leadership for the Greater Good is practiced and the opportunities and constraints that influence such leadership.

- To develop empirically grounded strategies for enhancing the capacity of emerging and existing leaders to enact Leadership for the Greater Good.

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

The Institute conducts regular high-level conversations, master classes and symposia to disseminate research insights with senior leaders and their teams. It also provides training for Swinburne staff and students that reflect new leadership thinking and practices.

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

The Institute engages the broader community in critical leadership issues and the ways that political, business and community leaders can best address them.

Our programs include; lecture series and seminars, online commentaries, print and broadcast media analyses, and participation in business, government and community forums. Our flagship program of Leadership Dialogues is held across the year and often broadcast on Radio National.



Swinburne Leadership Institute

The Swinburne Leadership Institute seeks partners to develop and empower a new generation of leaders.

■ Engage with us on leadership issues by:

- inviting us to facilitate leadership dialogues, symposia or workshops for your teams and organisation
- following our blogs, news and projects at swinburne.edu.au/leadership-institute
- attending Swinburne Leadership Dialogues

The Swinburne Leadership Institute was established through generous benefactor support. We welcome the opportunity to explore how further philanthropic investment might further enhance our vision.

■ Connect with us

To subscribe to our mailing list visit:
<http://www.swinburne.edu.au/leadership-institute/subscribe/>

■ Contact us

Swinburne Leadership Institute
+61 3 9214 5717
leadershipinstitute@swin.edu.au

swinburne.edu.au/leadership-institute