



**Masterproef  
Politieke Communicatie**

**Kings and Queens: the politics of  
communicated personalities of the Belgian  
monarchs and their spouses.**

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Master Politieke Communicatie ([www.politiekecommunicatie.be](http://www.politiekecommunicatie.be))  
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Academiejaar 2013-2014

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**Abstract**

After the independence in 1830, the National Congress chose a constitutional monarchy as the form of government. Although bound by the constitution, the first kings exercised often real political power. This changed profoundly after the King Question following World War II. This article focuses on the Belgian Monarchy since 1951 and shows an investigation of the personalities of three consecutive kings: Baudoin I, Albert II and Philippe I. The latter was crowned in 2013, an opportunity to take a look at the history and future of the institution of the monarchy. After describing the role and power of the Belgian kings, their psychological profiles are completed based on the method of political profiling developed by Aubrey Immelman (2004). This article goes further than previous studies since it also looks at the personalities of the queens and their significance next to their husband and head of state, the King of Belgium.

## Introduction

The interest in the personality of political actors is not new and examples of personality affecting the course of political events are numerous (Winter, 2003). Greenstein (1967) argued that: “*There is a great deal of political activity which can be explained adequately only by taking account of the personal characteristics of the actors involved.*” But the influence of personality should always be considered within the constraints and opportunities offered by the roles and situations in which the political protagonists operate. This concern, in combination with Greenstein's perspective and today's issues around the Belgian Monarchy, are the starting points of this paper.

The Ancien Régime considered monarchs as God's representatives on earth. But the Enlightenment restricted the rights of sovereigns by constitution. Since then the monarch's role as a head of state is, in many parliamentary monarchies, a lively subject of the public debate. In Belgium, the country of interest for this paper, the King's role dramatically changed after World War II. Due to King Leopold II's dispute with the Belgian Government about his role during the war, he was forced to abdicate in favour of his 20 years old son Baudoin. The reign of the new King who became known as the 'sad King' was marked by many challenges. The Belgian state evolved from a unitary state into a federal state. At every election the state structure is questioned and one or two separatist parties openly advocate a scission of the country. The Monarchy is put under pressure, but the Royals are seen as the Kings and Queens of all Belgians. This may be a unifying factor between the various parts of the country (Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels and Eupen-malmedy). For Baudoin's brother Albert II, who took over after his death in 1993, destiny and fate were rather mild. King Albert II was popular and he is known as 'the smiling' or 'obedient King'. July 2013 he voluntarily abdicated in favour of his son Philippe, who is often described as 'the stiff King'. The adjectives to describe these Royals are commonly used, but it is the aim of this paper to gather all personality descriptions of the studied subjects. This study draws the psychological profiles of the Belgian Kings and their spouses over the past half century. By constructing a personality profile of them past behavior can be explained and predictions for the future of the Belgian Monarchy become possible<sup>i</sup>. This paper examines the following questions.

***Which personality patterns did the Belgian Kings and Queens express since 1950? How do these patterns contribute to explain past royal actions and behavior? How can they serve as a prediction tool for future royal actions and behavior? To what extent are the personalities of the Kings and their spouses complementary?***

This paper first discusses the evolution of the Belgian Monarchy since the enthronement of Baudoin I. While the political function of the King eroded into a more symbolic function after the Second World War, his presence still has political significance as head of state and in times of crises. Even though there is no mention of the function of the Belgian Queen in the Constitution; the public role that she fulfils next to her husband will also be described.

Second, this paper will explain the MIDC method to be applied in the following sections to the three Belgian Kings and their Queens: Baudoin I & Fabiola, Albert II & Paola, Philippe I & Mathilde. All present personality types will be discussed separately for each subject.

The concluding section will present the findings of the personality analyses for all subjects in connection to their role as royals and to the most important political events in Belgian history during their reign. It will finally discuss the personalities of the actual Belgian king and queen in relation to the present state of affairs of the monarchy, and formulate some expectations for the future.

## **The role and power of the Belgian King**

This article focuses on the period in Belgian history after 1950, when Baudoin I succeeded his father Leopold III as a king of Belgium. As a consequence of the 1831 Belgian constitution, which followed the 1830 Belgian revolution and independence, Belgium restricted power of the monarch (Witte et al., 2007). Till this day, the political influence of the Belgian king consists of *"the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn"* (Bagehot, 1955), which mainly occurs during the government's formation after the parliamentary elections. The King has no effective power because his acts have to be covered by a minister of the government who becomes responsible for them. Belgian kings once held substantial power: Leopold I exercised his power in a despotic way, Leopold II acted as an absolute ruler in his own African colony of Congo, and it was only after the forced exit of Leopold III due to his behavior during the Second World War, that the monarchy fully eroded (van den Wijngaert, 2008). The occupation of the Belgian throne by Leopold III 's son Baudoin in 1950 is the starting point of this period in Belgian history (and of this article). The ever expanding European Union, the involvement of Belgium in multiple international organizations, institutional reforms and public opinion about performances of the Royal Family and their endowment, all contributed to a significant change of the role of the Belgian King after Leopold I who was the first Monarch of Belgium in 1831.

Today in Belgium, the King's power is situated on the federal level. His most important political tasks, all backed by the Government, are: signing laws, appointing and dismissing the members of the Government, the remission of sentences pronounced by the court, giving advice to politicians, giving support to the people in all circumstances and represent the nation at home and abroad. The King is not supposed to make any politically charged statements due to the principle of impartiality (Devos & Von Busekist, 2013). Today, the Belgian Monarchy is struggling to survive and to keeping together the Belgian nation that is divided on several topics.

## **The role of the Belgian Queen**

Since Belgium abolished the Salian Law that prevented women from the throne only in 1991, it is waiting for Elisabeth to become the first Queen, for which position, until now, there is no definition. Nevertheless, Belgian queens always played an active role in public life. The Queen assists the King in carrying out his duties as the Head of State on his numerous visits to institutions, in his contacts with the nation, in state visits and official representations at home and abroad. The Queen pays special attention to her role as a hostess. The Queen is mainly active in social and cultural spheres, fields that are close to the heart. Because the

Queen is an important public figure in Belgium as a collaborator of the King, an investigation of the personalities of the King and the Queen is therefore of interest (Verleyen et al, 2009).

Since the enthronement of Philippe I, Belgium has two living Kings (Philippe I and Albert II) and three living Queens (Fabiola, Paola and Mathilde). Their personality and that of King Baudoin, who died in 1993, are the subject of this article. The next sections will construct their personality profiles according to Immelman's (2004) MIDC manual.

## **Methodology**

A great variety of methods has been developed for assessing personality in politics. Certainly when conducting research on royals there is a problem of accessibility. In Belgium there exists a code of secrecy between the King and everyone with whom he talks privately, the 'colloque singulier'. Since this code is highly respected, it is challenging to map the personalities of Royals and to draw inferences from it for explaining past and future behavior. The lack of access is a problem for all political profiling, but even more when assessing the personality of members of the Royal Family that are shielded by the protocol and the colloque singulier.

Political psychologists developed indirect measurement techniques to assess personalities of politically relevant actors with secondary sources. Members of the Belgian royal family are tremendously protected so that it is nearly impossible to access them physically. Next to political psychobiography and content analysis, *theory-based rating scales* are described by Winter (2013), as a technique for indirect personality assessment. The current study makes use of such a technique, *the Immelman method* (1993, 2002, 2003). is also called the MIDC ('Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria') method. This 'psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis redresses the access problem by drawing personality patterns based upon data derived from the observations and quotes by others (mainly biographers and journalists) and by the subject itself (Immelman & Steinberg, 2008). Even though media sources are often used, the analysis focuses on how subjects assert themselves in the public sphere and not on how media portray the subjects (De Landtsheer & De Sutter, 2011). The MIDC-method is a systematic method: because all sources are documented it is easy to replicate, and results are reliable since independent investigators are enabled to validate the measurements (Immelman, 2005). By using MIDC, this study will present a detailed picture of the personality that the three Belgian royal couples during the past half century communicated to the public.

### **The diagnostic procedure**

The psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis is executed as a three part process. First, data is collected in the *analysis phase*. Sources, as variable as possible in literary matters (journalism, biography, scientific analysis, autobiography, documentaries,...) are monitored and being reviewed to extract diagnostically relevant information publicized from different perspectives. In the second phase a comprehensive and workable set of diagnostically relevant data is collected by MIDC coding of the materials. The Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria offers 170 descriptors that combine twelve personality scales with five attribute domains. The MIDC coding is transferred by holistic scores into tables and figures. The third



phase concludes the assessment by theory-based inference from tables and figures of explanations and predictions (Immelman, 2004).

### **Data collection for the Belgian royals (analysis phase)**

To collect data for the three Kings and their spouses (Queens) this study searched the databases of Mediargus, GoPress and Pressbanking for articles from Belgian newspapers and magazines. The maximum range offered by the database consisted of articles published between 1985 and 2014. In addition data were collected from audio-visual media (in particular the image archives of the Belgian-Flemish public broadcasting service VRT and the editorial office of 'Royalty', a news magazine around royals on the commercial broadcaster VTM) and biographies.

### **Coding and scoring Belgian royals (synthetic phase)**

In this second phase the diagnostic materials extracted on the Belgian royals were coded according to MIDC. The final scoring in the table is a holistic procedure that emphasizes the MIDC-descriptors and not the articles as such. An MIDC-descriptor is mentioned when found in at least two independent sources without convincing evidence of the opposite (De Landtsheer & De Sutter, 2011). The articles were coded two times by two different coders in order to minimize the problem of subjectivity.

The MIDC contains ten basic personality patterns and two derivatives (table 1). The basic personality patterns can be gradually scored a, b or c in upgoing sense. The derivative scales 9 and 0 have two gradations d and e. These scores are made in five attribute domains: expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament and self-image. From the eight Millon attribute domains are only used those five that are directly observable (table 2). (Da Landtsheer, et al., 2004).

Scale 1 to 8 have three gradations which means that these personality patterns can be present on three levels (Immelman, 2004):

**Level I:** There is minimal evidence for a Level I personality type when scoring 4 points and the personality pattern is significantly present when scoring 5 points or more.

**Level II:** There is minimal evidence for a Level II personality type when scoring 8 points and the personality pattern is significantly prominently present when scoring 10 points or more.

**Level III:** There is minimal evidence for a Level III personality type when scoring 15 points and the personality pattern is mildly dysfunctional present when scoring 24 points or more.

Scale 9 and 10 have two gradations with a possible presence of the personality pattern on two levels (Immelman, 2004)

**Level IV:** There is minimal evidence for a Level IV personality type when scoring 16 points and moderately disturbed personality functioning is suggested when scoring 20 points or more.

**Level V:** There is minimal evidence for a Level V personality type when scoring 25 points and a score of 36 points and more indicates strong evidence for markedly disturbed personality functioning with the possibility of personality decompensation.

### **Inference and interpretation of Belgian royals profiles (evaluation phase)**

In the third and final phase the results were evaluated based on the dominant personality structure and the levels of the personality traits. The obtained profile is a mixture of the expert opinions from the sources. The more “normal” scales are present up to a non-dysfunctional level, the more balanced the profile. The more empty spots in the score sheet, the lesser balanced and the more pronounced the personality (De Landtsheer, 2004).

**Table 1**  
**Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations**

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Scale 1A:	Dominant pattern
	a. Asserting
	b. Controlling
	c. Aggressive (Sadistic; <i>DSM-III-R</i> , Appendix A)
Scale 1B:	Dauntless pattern
	a. Adventurous
	b. Dissenting
	c. Aggrandizing (Antisocial; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.7)
Scale 2:	Ambitious pattern
	a. Confident
	b. Self-serving
	c. Exploitative (Narcissistic; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.81)
Scale 3:	Outgoing pattern
	a. Congenial
	b. Gregarious
	c. Impulsive (Histrionic; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.50)
Scale 4:	Accommodating pattern
	a. Cooperative
	b. Agreeable
	c. Submissive (Dependent; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.6)
Scale 5A:	Aggrieved pattern
	a. Unpresuming
	b. Self-denying
	c. Self-defeating ( <i>DSM-III-R</i> , Appendix A)
Scale 5B:	Contentious pattern
	a. Resolute
	b. Oppositional
	c. Negativistic (Passive-aggressive; <i>DSM-III-R</i> , 301.84)
Scale 6:	Conscientious pattern
	a. Respectful
	b. Dutiful
	c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.4)
Scale 7:	Reticent pattern
	a. Circumspect
	b. Inhibited
	c. Withdrawn (Avoidant; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.82)
Scale 8:	Retiring pattern
	a. Reserved
	b. Aloof
	c. Solitary (Schizoid; <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.20)
Scale 9:	Distrusting pattern
	d. Suspicious
	e. Paranoid ( <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.0)
Scale 0:	Erratic pattern
	d. Unstable
	e. Borderline ( <i>DSM-IV</i> , 301.83)

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*Note.* Equivalent *DSM* terminology and codes are specified in parentheses.

**Table 2**

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**Millon's Eight Attribute Domains**

Attribute	Description
A Expressive behavior	The individual's characteristic behavior; how the individual typically appears to others; what the individual knowingly or unknowingly reveals about him- or herself; what the individual wishes others to think or to know about him or her.
B Interpersonal conduct	How the individual typically interacts with others; the attitudes that underlie, prompt, and give shape to these actions; the methods by which the individual engages others to meet his or her needs; how the individual copes with social tensions and conflicts.
C Cognitive style	How the individual focuses and allocates attention, encodes and processes information, organizes thoughts, makes attributions, and communicates reactions and ideas to others.
D Mood/temperament	How the individual typically displays emotion; the predominant character of an individual's affect and the intensity and frequency with which he or she expresses it.
E Self-image	The individual's perception of self-as-object or the manner in which the individual overtly describes him- or herself.
F Regulatory mechanisms	The individual's characteristic mechanisms of self-protection, need gratification, and conflict resolution.
G Object representations	The inner imprint left by the individual's significant early experiences with others; the structural residue of significant past experiences, composed of memories, attitudes, and affects that underlie the individual's perceptions of and reactions to ongoing events and serves as a substrate of dispositions for perceiving and reacting to life's ongoing events.
H Morphologic organization	The overall architecture that serves as a framework for the individual's psychic interior; the structural strength, interior congruity, and functional efficacy of the personality system (i.e., ego strength).

*Note.* From *Disorders of Personality: DSM-IV and Beyond* (pp. 141–146) by T. Millon, 1996, New York: Wiley; *Toward a New Personology: An Evolutionary Model* (chapter 5) by

T. Millon, 1990, New York: Wiley; and *Personality and Its Disorders: A Biosocial Learning Approach* (p. 32) by T. Millon and G. S. Everly, Jr., 1985, New York: Wiley. Copyright © 1996, © 1990, © 1985 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Adapted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc. and Theodore Millon.

## **Baudoin I - Fabiola**

### **Baudoin I**

On September 7, 1930 the Belgian Queen Astrid gave birth to a son, Baudoin, who, conform with the Salic law, was a Crown Prince (Beullens et al.,2000). His youth may be described as rather dismal. The young Prince was raised by governesses in the protected environment of the palace with his own private classes and boy scout group. His grandfather, King Albert I, died in an alpinism accident when Baudoin was only four of age, and the following year his mother passed away in a tragic car accident. During World War II, the King's children resided most of the time in a castle in a secure area of Ciergnon, where Baudoin started his secondary school. During that period his father, the King, married Lilane Baels with whom he had another son, and so entered a stepmother and -brother into the Crown Prince's life. After the Allied invasion in June 1944, the Royal family was deported to Germany and Austria (Fralon, 2001). Due to a dispute between King Leopold and the Belgian government about the King's actions during WWII, Belgian public opinion was so divided that the King, his wife and children could not return to Belgium. As a result Baudoin lived until 1950 in exile in Switzerland, while Charles, Leopold's brother, ruled the kingdom as a Regent. In March, 1950 the controversy about the king reached its climax with a public consultation about the position of the King. The result was in favour of the king, but the climate in the country remained pre-revolutionary. It was impossible to form a government and Leopold III had to abdicate (Witte et al.,2007). July 16, 1951 Baudoin became the youngest King of Belgium ever, after that Leopold transferred his constitutional powers to his son.. These events were far from an ideal preparation for Baudoin, and the atmosphere in Belgium had even deteriorated.. The royal issue caused a rift between the catholic royalist Flanders and the more liberal and socialist Wallonia. The unprepared King was very much influenced by the old Monarch and his wife Lilian, with whom he lived at the Royal palace until his marriage to Doña Fabiola De Mora Y Aragon of Spain.(Van den Wijngaert, 2008). The coming paragraphs will show that during his 43 years of reign, Baudoin had to deal with all kinds of crises.

## **Findings of the psychodiagnostic meta-analysis**

Baldwin scores on 31 of the 170 items of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria. His scores are prominent (Level II) on the dominant pattern (scale 1A, 11 points) and significant (at Level I with a minimal evidence for Level II personality type) in the accommodating and conscientious patterns (scale 4 and 6, 9 points). Minimal evidence can be found for a Level I personality type on the dauntless (scale 2), aggrieved (scale 5A) and reticent (scale 7) pattern with a score of 4 points each. King Baudoin obtained no dysfunctional (Level III) scores in any of the twelve personality patterns.

In the distrusting pattern (scale 9) Baudoin scored 8 points which is not a significant score for this personality type.

### ***Dominant***

Because Baudoin scored 11 points in all attribute domains there is robust evidence for a prominent score in the dominant pattern. Dominant features appear in his forceful, controlling<sup>ii</sup> behavior and his willingness to intimidate others in order to obtain compliance<sup>iii</sup>. There are many examples of the strong beliefs that he convincingly defended. The best known instance, is when he refused to sign the law on abortion in 1990, in which he forced the Government into constitutional tricks to save the Monarchy and the stability of the country. Baudoin told the government that he would not sign a law that was against his conscience (Platel, 2002). In terms of moral issues, Baudoin viewed himself as assertive and forthright<sup>iv</sup>. Immelman (2004) describes dominant people as having an excitable temper that they may at times find difficult to control. This happened to Baudoin on occasions where he felt obstructed both in his ideas and in his actions<sup>v</sup>.

### ***Accommodating***

King Baudoin scores 9 points on the accommodating pattern, which is present with a minimal evidence of the Level II personality type for this scale. This score is obtained in the expressive, mood/temperament and self-image attribute domains.

Since Baudoin I is characterized as someone caring for others, being very solicitous and placing others' welfare above one's own<sup>vi</sup>, his style can be characterized as Olham and Morris's (1995) *Devoted* style. Personalities with this pattern usually possess a mild mannered mood and a pacific temperament. This is clearly the case for Baudoin who also showed the associated feelings of insecurity, pessimism and even discouragement. These feelings became apparent when he showed signs of disappointment when he and Fabiola were doomed to remain childless<sup>vii</sup>.

### ***Conscientious***

With 9 points, the conscientious pattern is present with a minimal evidence for a Level II personality type. Baudoin scored on all attribute domains except for the interpersonal conduct. He had strong moral principles, and followed standards from which he would not deviate. As is often the case with conscientious people, he was very religious (Van den Berghe, 2009) and dedicated to maintain his integrity while voicing moral values to the government and the people in his speeches (Buckinx, 1994). Baudoin showed his conscientiousness with occasional black and white thinking when facing complex matters like crises. As a perfectionist<sup>viii</sup> he saw himself as the link between God and earth and as someone who knew what was in everyone's best interest<sup>ix</sup>.

### **Fabiola**

Fabiola de Mora y Aragon, is born June 11, 1928 as the third of seven children of a noble couple in Madrid, she spent her early youth as a classic aristocrat, including holidays to private resorts and mundane places (Verleyen et al., 2009). With the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 Fabiola, two sisters and one brother fled with their governess to France, where they reunited with their parents. With the Civil War reaching France they moved to Switzerland to stay there until Franco regained control over the country in 1939. (Balfourt & De Voogt, 2008). As an adolescent, Fabiola entered the mundane world with balls, sailing and meeting people from the upper class. One would think that this represented an ideal environment to find an appropriate future husband, but it seemed Fabiola was in no hurry to commit her life to anyone. She filled her days with painting, music and writing fairytales for the youngest. When reaching the age of 30, after the death of her father, she came to care for deprived persons while following training courses to become a nurse (De Jonghe, 2008).

All biographical data point to Spring 1960 when Fabiola probably first met the reigning Belgian Monarch Baudoin I. There is a lot of speculation about how these two went from their first encounter, to September 16, 1960 when the then Prime Minister Gaston Eyskens announced their engagement to the nation. For many, it was a big surprise when they heard the name of Fabiola to become the next Queen of Belgium. She was a complete stranger to almost anyone when she walked down the aisle on December 15, 1960 (Urbiola, 2011). Fabiola became Queen of Belgium without any preparation.

### **Findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis**

Queen Fabiola de Mora y Aragon scores on 28 items out of 170 of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria. Out of the twelve personality types, none is prominently present with robust evidence. A prominent score with less evidence for a Level II personality type is obtained in the dominant (scale 1A, 8 points), the conscientious (scale 6, 8 points) and the aggrieved (scale 5A, 8 points) pattern. Fabiola scores significantly for the Level I personality



on the dauntless (scale 1B, 6 points) and the ambitious pattern (scale 2, 6 points). There is also found minimal evidence for a Level I personality type on the accommodating pattern (scale 4, 4 points)

### ***Dominant***

With a score of 8 points there is minimal evidence for a Level II personality type in the dominant pattern though there were no scores recorded in the mood/temperament and self-image attribute domain. The dominant pattern indicates a strong-willed, though, competitive and controlling character. The controlling and competitive aspects come forward in the use of power to direct and intimidate others in favor of oneself to evoke respect. These inclinations became evident in the coercive behavior Fabiola showed towards Paola after Albert became King following Baudoin's death<sup>x</sup>. Dominant persons tend not to back away from a fight, just as Fabiola did not on the occasion she was threatened to death by a person indicating she would be hit by a crossbow on the National Day. Instead of protecting herself against it, she went to the military parade, after which she showed an apple to the spectators and the present media, referring to the William Tell story (Balfoort & De Voogt,2008).

### ***Aggrieved***

Fabiola scored 8 points on this pattern, which means this pattern is prominent though the evidence yet is less robust and only found in the domains of expressive behavior and interpersonal conduct. An aggrieved pattern indicates a humble, unpretentious and unassuming personality in the expressive field, which was perceived in Fabiola's self-sacrificing behavior when it became clear she could not give birth to an heir. She was even willing to step aside should that have been necessary for Baudoin to remain King of Belgium<sup>xi</sup>.

### ***Conscientious***

Fabiola scored eight points on the conscientious pattern. This means there is minimal evidence for a Level II personality type in this pattern. Fabiola scored in the expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and cognitive style attribute domains. Since her youth Fabiola is described as dutiful, scrupulous and principled with a well-disciplined and organized lifestyle<sup>xii</sup>. Her conscientiousness is expressed in courteous behavior towards everyone she meets on official representations and in interpersonal conduct, where it is known she wants to speak to her Belgian interlocutors in their own language<sup>xiii</sup>. She is always very cautious in her attitudes and deeds, but is known to have showed black and white thinking when it comes to moral issues and ethics. Her strong religious beliefs caused her to voice moral values often and express them in an inflexible attitude towards for example

divorced people against who she dared to use a veto in the selection process for official positions at the court<sup>xiv</sup>.

### ***Dauntless***

Fabiola with 6 points shows robust evidence for the presence of the dauntless pattern. She obtained this score in the attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and cognitive style. The fearless, daring and adventurous side of Fabiola has been mentioned above with the William Tell story. Dauntless personalities are risk taking and their self-confidence makes them act in the way they want to and they are willing to accept the consequences for them. They do what they consider important, no matter what others think. Besides her religious beliefs, she can be jovial and convivial but confronting when things are not going the way she intended<sup>xv</sup>.

### ***Ambitious***

Scoring 6 points on the ambitious pattern, means that there is robust evidence for the presence of a level I personality type in Fabiola. She scored in three of the five attribute domains. The ambitious personality type shows assertiveness, is shrewd and has confidence in one's own ideas. Under pressure, Fabiola is known to be unruffled and calm, but to become upset when she or her beliefs are subject to criticism. Her high level of self-confidence brings her to often show her exuberance to the nation. She once started to dance at a rock concert for example, and exhorted the other spectators to dance with her<sup>xvi</sup>.

### Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria

Profile Form BAUDOIN - FABIOLA

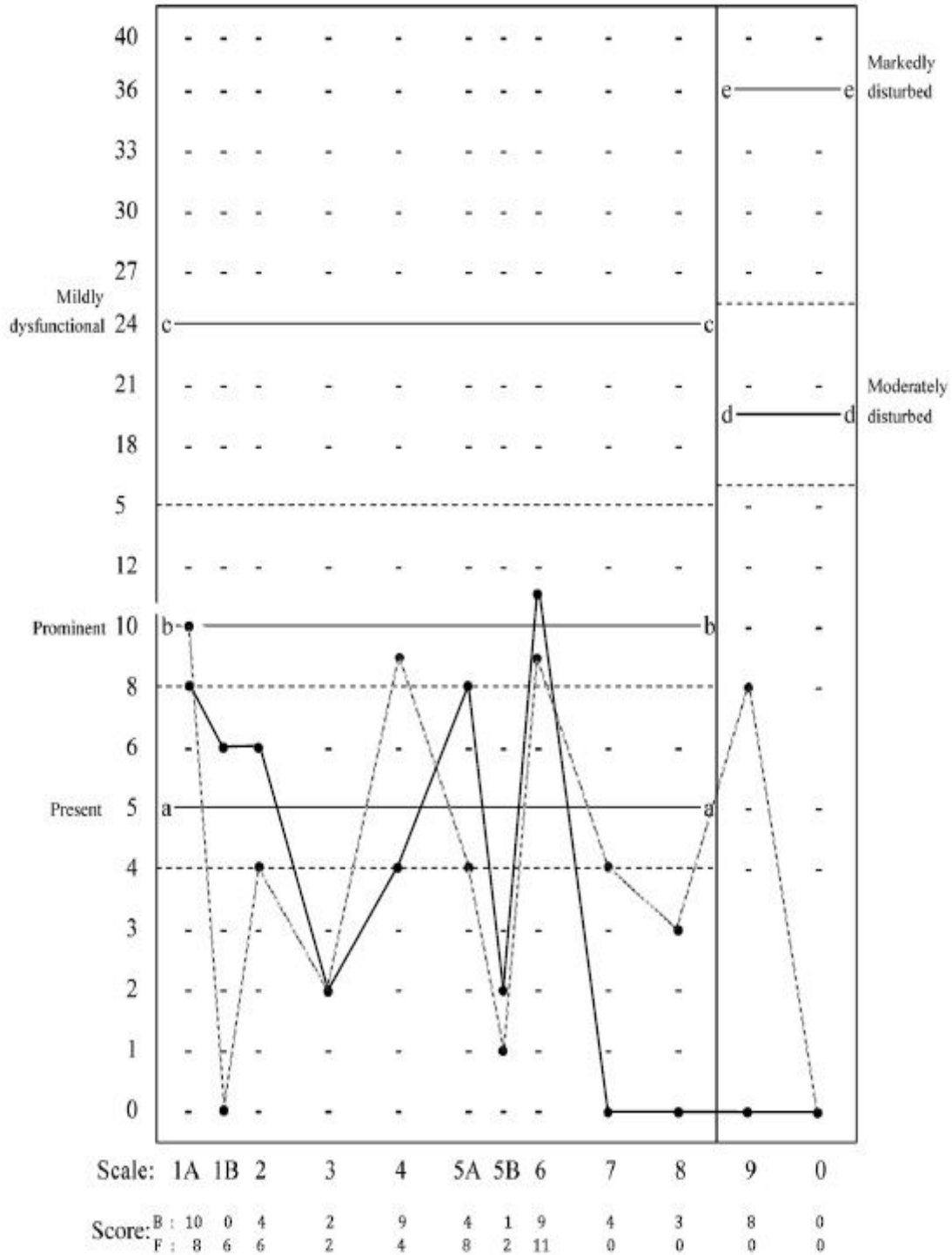


Figure 1: Personality Pattern Baudoin - Fabiola

## **Albert II - Paola**

### **Albert II**

Albert, born on June 6, 1934 was named after his grandfather, King Albert I who died a few months before his birth in an alpinism accident. As the younger brother of the Crown Prince Baudoin he lived almost the same youth (Laporte, 2003) yet he was able to grow up in the shadow of the future King. This tranquility came to an end with his marriage to the Italian Paola in 1959 and the birth of their first son, Philippe, a year later. Albert was able to ensure the continuity of the Belgian Monarchy since King Baudoin I was unmarried at that time and when he finally did marry, he was fated to remain childless (Van den Wijngaert,2008). This shortcoming is seen by many as the reason why Baudoin was always very concerned about the education of Albert's son who was expected to become the next King of Belgium. As the honorary Chairman of the Belgian Foreign Trade Agency, Albert became head of over hundred Belgian trade missions. The presence of a Belgian royal in that role was seen as a factor which would open doors to new economies worldwide (Leyts, 2013).

Albert and Paola were on a holiday in the south of France when King Baudoin I died in his Property in Spain in July, 1993. Albert had no time to mourn since an emergency meeting of the Government asked him to succeed his brother. Albert became King unintentionally at the age of 59, and his son Philippe, who had been tipped for the throne, was cast aside . Many saw Albert as a transitional figure until his son would be ready for the job. But Albert II remained in office until 2013 and grew into a modern king in a federal state (Beullens et al.,2000). Later sections of this paper will link King Albert's fulfillment of his role as a king to his personality..

### **Findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis**

King Albert scores on 26 out of the 170 items of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria. He only receives prominent scores with robust evidence for a Level II personality type in the accommodating (scale 4, 12 points) pattern. Another prominent score, though with less evidence for a Level II personality type, was recorded in the outgoing pattern (scale 3, 8 points). As significant score for a Level I personality type (presence) was obtained in the conscientious (scale 6, 5 points) and dominant (scale 1A, 5 points) patterns. Albert also scored 4 points in the distrusting pattern which is far beneath the minimum score for the presence of such a personality pattern.

### ***Accommodating***

With a score of 12 points on the accommodating scale, this pattern is considered to be prominently present in Albert's personality. Since it is the highest score of all patterns, and

Albert scored in all the attribute domains I consider it as his primary personality pattern. Albert fits in the accommodating type in that he has a conciliatory and cooperative personality. The title of a documentary concerning this king is entitled: “Albert, the obedient king”. He is usually thoughtful and friendly, important characteristics for a king who must cope with almost everyone. In his interpersonal conduct, Albert shows a conciliatory attitude in his function and private life<sup>xvii</sup>. He is known to have an open-minded personality with an illustrious empathy and warmth towards others. Accommodating personalities view themselves as cooperative and dedicated which can lead to uncertainty in some cases<sup>xviii</sup>.

### ***Outgoing***

The scoring of 8 points in the outgoing scale means there is minimal evidence for a Level I personality type in this pattern. The scores were recorded in all attributes except for the cognitive style.

Outgoing personalities are known to be open, extraverted and dutiful. They are gregarious and easy to get along with. Albert is known as a joker and a pleasant man. He is described as social, jovial, vivid and engaging in his expressive behavior. As a prince and as a king, Albert did not hide his feelings of happiness or sadness, nervousness or calm. Albert is seen as a human, popular monarch who liked to show off with his hedonistic lifestyle as when he insisted to give an extravagant engagement party for Philippe and Mathilde<sup>xix</sup>.

### ***Dominant***

On this pattern King Albert scored 5 points which is robust evidence for this pattern being present. He scored in four attribute domains but not in the self-image attribute.

The dominant Albert can be assertive when it comes to issues that are close to his heart: justice, correct relationships and respect for others. But he can also show stubborn behavior and hold on to his beliefs. When things are not going as he intended, or are not well organized, the King would show difficulties to control his temper<sup>xx</sup>.

### ***Conscientious***

A score of 5 points in the conscientious pattern testifies of the presence of this pattern within the normal range. On all attribute domains Albert scored at the first level.

Conscientiousness appears in dutiful, disciplined and responsible personalities. Albert is known to be a jovial king, but he also shows dedication to his job and respect for the protocol that was imposed on him. He always showed respect to the people he met, whether they were important ministers or just fellow citizens. In the cognitive style these personalities are circumspect trying to be preserved from all kinds of danger and criticism in their position.<sup>xxi</sup>.



## **Paola**

In November 1958 a coronation ceremony was held in Rome for the new Pope John XXIII. Paola Ruffo di Calabria, aged 19, represented her family and the young aristocracy at this event.. Also present was Albert, the Prince of Belgium who seemed very interested in the beautiful Italian who until then lived her 'dolce vita' with her widowed mother (Paola lost her father and brother because of WWII). The two kept seeing each other which led to their engagement in Spring 1959 (Danneels,1999).

After getting married, the couple gave birth to three children in a relatively short period. Their first born child Philippe was received by the Belgians as a gift from God. Since King Baudoin I was unmarried and childless at the time, Philippe was the safeguard of the continuity of the Belgian Monarchy (Beullens et al.,2000).

After a popular start, Albert and Paola lived a life far from the spotlights until the sudden death of King Baudoin. The government asked Albert for the throne instead of the expected heir, his son Philippe. In contrast of what Albert and Paola expected they became the King and Queen of Belgium. After an analysis of Paola's personality, we will describe how personality shaped the way Paola fulfilled her duty as a queen and handled private crises, like the problems with her youngest son and the fact that King Albert has an illegitimate child.

## **Findings of the psychodiagnostic meta-analysis**

Queen Paola scores on 35 items out of 170 of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria. The outgoing (scale 3, 13 points) and contentious (scale 5B, 12 points) patterns are prominently present with robust evidence. The accommodating (scale 4, 10 points) and dauntless (scale 1B, 8 points) patterns respectively are prominent and potentially prominent.. The Italian scores significantly on the presence of the dominant (scale 1A, 5 points) and ambitious (scale 2, 6 points) patterns while the reticent score (scale 7, 4 points) suggests the presence of the Level I personality type for this pattern.

### ***Outgoing***

Paola scored 13 points on this pattern, which indicates a prominent presence for this pattern. She scored on all attribute domains except for the cognitive style domain. As she is Italian, it does not come as a surprise that she scored on all the levels in the mood/temperament attribute.

As an outgoing person, Paola is seen as sociable and extraverted. She is engaging and extravert. Outgoing personalities like Paola are attention seekers<sup>xxii</sup> who openly show their

feelings. Paola is often described as a person who cannot pretend to be happy when she is not and vice versa. It makes her a sanguineous personality who easily shows signs of enthusiasm and boredom. In the self-image Paola, like her husband, King Albert enjoys openly the good things in life (Masuy, 2007).

### ***Contentious***

This second personality pattern, prominently present with a 12 points score is also found in all attribute domains except for the cognitive style.

Being contentious, Paola shows signs of an oppositional personality who fits in Millon's (1994) complaining personality. These people find that they are often erroneously blamed for things with which they have nothing to do. In the expressive domain, Paola behaves in a non-conformist way as a resolute and determined personality, who can be oppositional and resentful sometimes.<sup>xxiii</sup> Contentious personalities finally tend to be easily annoyed and disappointed in others. In Paola's case she is often disappointed in the press, whom she believes not to respect her privacy (Danneels, 1999).

### ***Accommodating***

On this pattern Paola scored 10 points which means there is minimal evidence for a Level II personality type in the accommodating pattern. Paola is scoring in the domains of expressive behavior, mood/temperament and self-image.

Accommodating personalities are cooperative, generous and they show gentle behavior. Paola is especially accommodating in her temperament because of her mild mannered mood and her involvement with everyone she meets, in official and unofficial affairs. On the other side, when in public, Paola is also often described as timid. Relating to her self-image, she is for example aware of her weaknesses when it comes to her knowledge of the Dutch language, the second language in Belgium<sup>xxiv</sup>.

### ***Dauntless***

With 8 points on this scale, it can be stated that in Paola's personality there is minimal evidence for a prominence on this pattern. The scores were recorded in the attributes of expressive behavior, cognitive style and mood/temperament.

The dauntless Paola can be described as an initiator who does things her own way, makes spontaneous decisions and feels not deterred by the protocol. She is a non-conformist, wears her heart on her sleeve and shows her (dis)pleasures openly, even on official representations<sup>xxv</sup>.



### ***Ambitious***

Robust evidence was found for the presence of the ambitious pattern with a score of 6 points. All scores were recorded in the attribute of expressive behavior.

Paola's ambitious nature emerges only in the expressive field. She knows exactly what she wants and doesn't want, resulting in an extremely self-confident behavior that sometimes seems arrogant sometimes., Paola is the only Belgian Royal who expects the guards to salute every time, even when it's raining cats and dogs (Wellens, 2009).

### ***Dominant***

Paola scored 5 points on the dominant pattern which is a significant score for the presence of this pattern in her personality. The scores are divided over the domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and cognitive style.

Paola is a dominant personality that is strong-willed, competitive and outspoken, with strong beliefs which she defends with vigor. She has a controlling personality, and that urge to control can result in domineering behavior against her family and staff that she expects to show respect towards her as a Queen<sup>xxvi</sup>.

### Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria

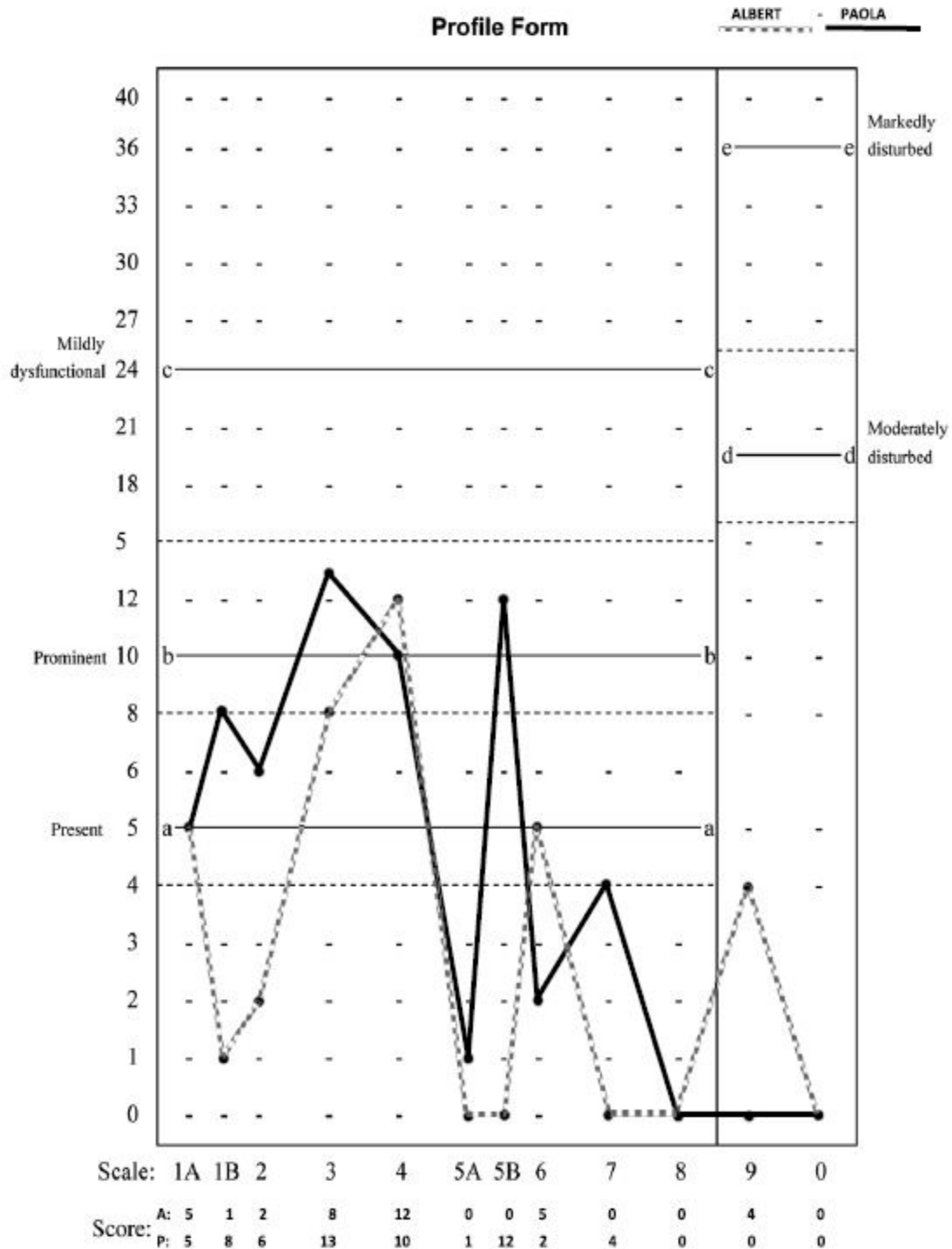


Figure 2: Personality Pattern Albert II - Paola

## **Philippe I - Mathilde**

### **Philippe I**

In Summer 1993, former crown prince Philippe had to deal with the biggest disappointment of his life. After the death of his uncle and mentor, King Baudoin, on 31 July that year many people, and with them the 33 year old prince believed he would be the next one on the Belgian throne. After all, throughout his life, he had been trained for the monarchy by his uncle Baudoin who was fated to remain childless and who found his own qualities in the young prince: seriousness, virtue and dedication. Moreover, he did not have confidence in his brother, prince Albert as a moral leader of the nation (Wellens, 2010). Altogether, this made prince Philippe the biggest candidate to become the sixth monarch in the kingdom of Belgium. Big was the surprise for almost everyone, including the anticipated successor, when prime minister Jean-Luc Dehaene and his government declared that they preferred Philippe's father Albert, the constitutional heir in fact, to become the King. The news was a major blow for Philippe who had put his mind on the kingship. The motivation of the political leaders at that time was that Philippe 'was not ready' for the task. Nevertheless, on August 6, 1993, Prince Philippe accepted the Honorary Presidency of the Board of Directors of the Belgian Foreign Trade Office, following up his father, the new King Albert II. In this function he led several economic missions each year for the country (Van den Wijngaert, 2013).

After marrying Countess Mathilde d'Udekem d'Acoz in 1999, Philippe entered a new period in his life. Between 2001 until 2008 he became the father of four children, with Elisabeth as his successor to become the first queen of Belgium. Royalty watchers, journalists and former critics of the prince occasionally started to change their minds and saw a new prince becoming ready for the throne (Leyts et al., 2013). These perceptions were still challenged by occasional missteps and therefore people were rather concerned when Albert II announced his abdication in 2013 in favor of his son Philippe. On that year's National Day, Philippe's long lasting ambition was granted. The future will learn whether he is able to handle the difficult tasks of a King in a complex country like Belgium. The following sections will look for dangers and opportunities in his personality in connection to the role of the Belgian Monarch.

### **Findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis**

King Philippe scores on 54 items out of 170 of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria. The scores on the conscientious (scale 6, 21 points) and the ambitious (scale 2, 20 points) patterns indicate a minimal evidence for a Level III personality type. This score points to the potential for a mild personality dysfunction. Philippe scores prominently with robust evidence

for a Level II personality type on the dominant (scale 1A, 12 points), the accommodating (scale 4, 10 points), the contentious (scale 5B, 12 points) and the reticent (scale 7, 10 points) patterns. The dauntless (scale 1B, 5 points) and outgoing (scale 3, 5 points) patterns are significantly present. Philippe also scored on the aggrieved pattern (scale 5A,) with a score of 4 points which indicates minimal evidence for a Level I personality type.

In the distrusting pattern (scale 9) Philippe scored 12 points which is not a significant score for this personality type.

### ***Conscientious***

King Philippe scores 21 points on the conscientious scale which means robust evidence with a suggestion of maladaptive features of the basic personality pattern. He scored in all attribute domains except cognitive style.

The conscientious score is the highest score obtained which makes it Philippe's primary personality pattern. The King has a strong sense of duty which was seen through his whole life. As a consequence, he is often seen as a serious, rigid and perfectionist man who is willing to comply with the requirements of the protocol. Due to their severe appearance contentious people appear to be unsociable but this is described to their disdain for frivolity while they can exhibit a dry sense of humor which is often been attributed to Philippe<sup>xxvii</sup>. When Philippe was a prince, he compared his commitment with that of an athlete being disciplined, efficient with an exceptional important task to fulfil. He gets frustrated when attention is directed towards other members of the Royal Family.

### ***Ambitious***

With a score of 20 points the ambitious pattern is strongly prominent with minimal evidence for a Level III personality type with the potential of mild personality dysfunction. The scores were recorded in all attribute domains except the interpersonal conduct.

Ambitious personalities are characterized by their self-confidence. Although Philippe often is described as a timid personality, he shows confidence in his own capacities. This belief in his own efficacy can result in a rather arrogant attitude on official representations and missions where Philippe is convinced he does not need to prepare his speeches and meetings. In the cognitive field ambitious personalities have self-glorifying fantasies which is shown in Philippe's hostility towards advisors and their notifications<sup>xxviii</sup> and his tendency to deny failures and exaggerate achievements. Prince Philippe indeed showed his royal ambition by emphasizing his own merits and he never hesitated to stress he was ready to serve the country as a king.

### ***Dominant***

With 12 points on the dominant scale there is robust evidence for the prominence of this pattern. The points were scored in all attribute domains but not in the mood/temperament.

A prominent dominant pattern indicates that a person is forceful, intimidating and controlling. Philippe scores on all these levels in his expressive behavior. Philippe can be intimidating and controlling towards others in the interpersonal conduct and rather close-minded in his cognitive style in that he tends to see things in black and white. In the self-image attribute he likes to describe his behavior as combative and tough towards critical people or those that he considers republican or separatist and therefore are against him as a person<sup>xxix</sup>.

### ***Contentious***

With a score of 12 points the contentious pattern is also found prominent in Philippe's personality. The King scored in all attribute domains for this pattern.

Contentiousness shows up in Philippe's tendency to complain of being misunderstood and unappreciated. Contentious personalities show little understanding for dissidents, are determined, resolute, and quarrelsome. They are typically freethinking which can be seen in the King's occasional sarcasm towards the press people he does not trust.<sup>xxx</sup> In their temperament these personalities are easily annoyed, frustrated or disappointed by others. In his self-image the complaints about being misunderstood return since Philippe often lets people know things didn't work out well for him as a result of this lack of comprehension.

### ***Accommodating***

With a score of 10 points, the accommodating pattern is prominent. The scores were recorded in the expressive behavior, cognitive style and mood/temperament attribute domains.

Philippe's behavior as a prince was cooperative in that he was willing to do whatever was necessary to be seen as a good heir to the throne. Accommodating people tend to rely on others. When it became clear that Mathilde had a positive influence on the public opinion, she was able to take away his uncertainties when in public. The King is described as empathic and he allows others to freely express their opinions, although he cannot understand them.. People often compare Philippe with his uncle Baudoin<sup>xxxi</sup> who also scored prominently on this pattern and with whom he has his timid, shy personality in common.

### ***Reticent***

Scoring 10 points in the attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and mood/temperament, the reticent scale can be considered prominently present as a level II personality type.

The reticent score means that Philippe can be considered as guarded and circumspect, someone who is in a never ending search for acceptance by others. The King is described as a naturally reserved personality (Leyts et al., 2013; Van Den Wijngaert et al., 2013; Debels, 2013). He often maintains social distance because he is concerned that people would act differently because of his royal position<sup>xxxii</sup>. It was his position as a crown prince and the fear of being rejected in this role that often made him act rigidly in front of a public.

### ***Dauntless***

Philippe of Belgium scored 5 points on the dauntless pattern which means it is significantly present in his personality. The points were scored in no more attribute domains than the expressive behavior and interpersonal conduct.

The protocol doesn't leave much room for a prince to behave like a dauntless personality, but Philippe scored in this pattern because he showed that he dares to deviate. This happened when he launched a legislative proposal in his capacity as a senator with a ban on pornography. In his expressive behavior he occasionally took spontaneous initiatives and a clear stand on a variety of issues<sup>xxxiii</sup>. This behavior was not always appreciated by the public opinion and by the government who is held responsible for his words and deeds. In his interpersonal conduct, Philippe can become confrontational and provocative when crossed.

### ***Outgoing***

The outgoing scale received a score of 5 which means robust evidence for a Level I personality type. The King scored in all five attribute domains.

An outgoing pattern indicates that someone is lively, friendly, spontaneous and engaging in his or her expressive behavior. Philippe is also known as an amiable and demonstrative person in the interpersonal conduct with an unreflective cognitive style where his focus lies merely on practical matters. When the situation or the official representation is rather conversational, Philippe shows himself as an expressive and jovial individual. In his self-image Philippe thinks he is liked and popular. This could be noticed on the Grand Slam tournament of Roland Garros, when Philippe thought the public was applauding for him instead of for a Belgian tennis player with the same name<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

## **Mathilde**

Mathilde d'Udekem d'Acoz, a damsel born in the Belgian province of Luxembourg (1973) married the Belgian Prince Philippe in 1993 and became Princess Mathilde of Belgium. After a rather normal, quiet but strict upbringing, she graduated as a speech therapist, and ran her own practice in Brussels while also working part time as a primary school teacher. Her relatively tranquil life came to an end on September 13, 1999 when she was presented by the Crown Prince Filip as his future bride. After a few months and an engagement party, Philippe and Mathilde were married on December 4 of that year. From that day onward, Mathilde became an official member of the Belgian Royal Family. During the many joyous Entries in all the Belgian Provinces, the crowd was pleased to see this very good looking and spontaneous Princess next to the Royal Prince whom they blamed for his stubbornness. The fear by many that she would overshadow her husband seems not justified because Philippe and Mathilde appear to be a good team (Balfort, 2012).

On July 21, 2013 with the enthronement of Philippe I, Princess Mathilde became the first Belgian born queen in history. Many believed she would need to have a strong personality to assist her husband in his regency.

### **Findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis**

Mathilde scores on 28 items of the 170 of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria. Only in the conscientious (scale 6, 12 points) pattern a prominent (Level II) score was recorded. No other scale was found prominent in her personality but Mathilde scored significantly on the dominant (scale 1A, 7 points), the ambitious (scale 2, 7 points), the accommodating (scale 4, 6 points) and the outgoing (scale 3, 5 points) patterns.

#### ***Conscientious***

Mathilde scores 12 points on this scale what means there is robust evidence for this pattern to be prominent. Since it is the highest score overall, † we will consider the conscientious pattern as Mathilde's primary personality pattern. Mathilde scored in four out of the five attributes. Only in the mood/temperament domain no score was recorded.

As a conscientious personality Mathilde demonstrated a never-ending sense of duty in her role as a princess on the many missions where she accompanied the former crown prince. She is always mature and deliberate, and even showed conscientiousness in her attitude<sup>xxxv</sup> and the way she interacted with all kinds of people. It seems she never stepped out of the box. For journalists and biographers, it is hard to find any stumble on her part

(Balfort, 2012). Mathilde knows exactly what is within her capabilities and what is not. Dignity, solidarity and determination are characteristics she finds very important in people.

### ***Dominant***

With 7 points there is robust evidence for the presence of a Level I personality type in the dominant scale. The pattern is strongly present and scores were obtained in the expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and cognitive style attributes.

The dominant pattern indicates that Mathilde is asserting, strong willed and shows coercive behavior in the expressive domain. She also is known to occasionally be forceful and controlling. This tendency to control also shows up in her interpersonal conduct. In this attribute she scores on the dictating and directing levels<sup>xxxvi</sup>. It has to be said however, that these commanding features are mostly directed towards her husband, Philippe. In the cognitive style Mathilde is known as an empathic person with strong ideas.

### ***Accommodating***

On this pattern Mathilde scored 6 points which made it a significantly present Level I personality pattern. For the accommodating pattern the scores were obtained in all attribute domains.

Accommodating people, Queen Mathilde included, are devoted, conciliatory, cooperative generous and thoughtful. She has no problem stepping aside when the attention should be focused on someone else, which is often her husband, the King.<sup>xxxvii</sup> Mathilde's accommodating nature lies in her positive attitude, open mindedness and mild mannered mood with modest aspirations.

### ***Outgoing***

With 5 points on this scale, it can be stated that there is robust evidence for a Level I personality type. Mathilde scores for this pattern in the expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and mood/temperament attribute domains.

Mathilde has an outgoing personality in that she is described as friendly, lively, pleasant, extraverted and gregarious in the expressive behavior. She takes time for every one and acts very casually. As a temptress she entices the Belgians with her charm and self-confidence. On official representations she makes jokes with the people in her company and behaves unrestrained and jovial. Even when confronted with unforeseen consequences, she acts spontaneously and vivid.<sup>xxxviii</sup>



### ***Ambitious***

A score of 5 on the ambitious scale means there is robust evidence for the presence of this pattern. Mathilde scores in the attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct and mood/temperament.

Ambitious personalities are typically self-assured, socially balanced and confident in their expressive behavior. Mathilde is also seen as witty in this attribute. In the field of interpersonal conduct ambitious people can be exploitative. When the current Queen was a princess she showed her ambition to become queen in the ways she pushed Philippe towards a king worthy attitude (Bammens, 2008). In her mood Mathilde's ambition shows in her calm in the most stressful situations<sup>xxxix</sup>.

### Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria

#### Profile Form

PHILIPPE - MATHILDE

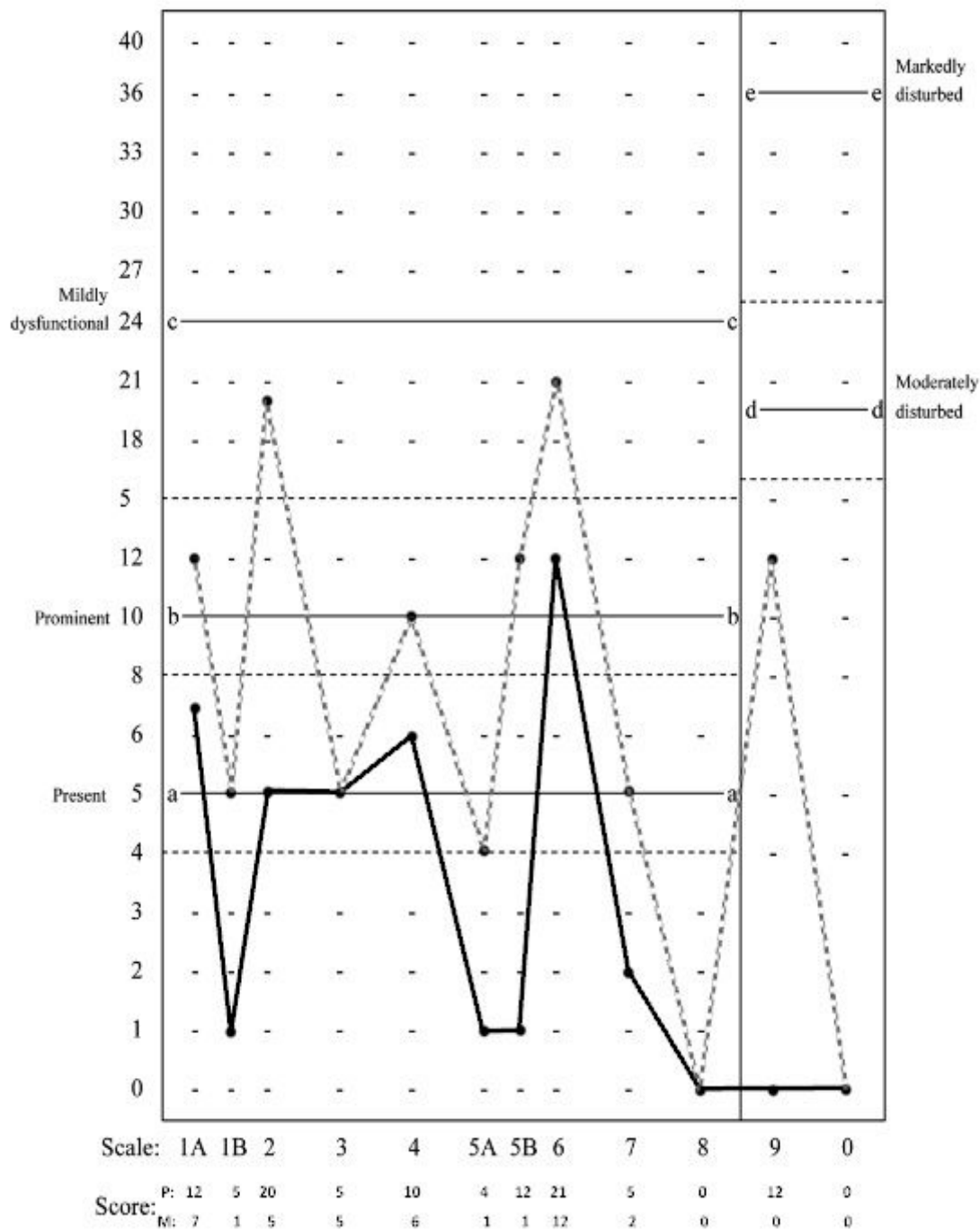


Figure 3: Personality Pattern Philippe - Mathilde

**Conclusion**

Scale	1A	1B	2	3	4	5A	5B	6	7	8	9	0
Baudoin	10	0	4	2	9	4	1	9	4	3	8	0
Fabiola	8	6	6	2	4	8	2	11	0	0	0	0
Albert	5	1	2	8	12	0	0	5	0	0	4	0
Paola	5	8	6	13	10	1	12	2	4	0	0	0
Philippe	12	5	20	5	10	4	12	21	5	0	12	0
Mathilde	7	1	5	5	6	1	1	12	2	0	0	0

**Figure 4: Summary of personality profiles of Belgian royal couples**

In his work on 'the presidential' style, that aims at assessing leadership on the basis of personality, Simonton (1988) notices that a persistent question in this matter is whether leadership is 'a matter of being the right person for a leadership position or rather being in the right place at the right time'. This is obviously of no importance for our case since the Kings of Belgium are subject to succession. Their personalities have to be regarded in the light of the role provided by the Constitution and in the political context of their reign. This is what will be done in this last part. Furthermore, we will elaborate as to what extent the Queen’s own personality contributed to the King’s performance. For Philippe I and Mathilde, we will be giving considerations on how they could perform in the future and what are the traps and opportunities for them.

Looking at Baudoin's history, a remarkable turning point can be distinguished with regard to his personality. In his first years as a king, the accommodating and conscientious patterns were dominant. After the Royal Question, a political crisis due to a dispute between King Leopold III and the Belgian Government, the King was forced to abdicate in favour of his son. Baudoin accepted the task rather out of a sense of duty than ambition. As an inexperienced, unprepared monarch in an unstable political climate in the aftermath of WW II, Baudoin showed conscientiousness in combination with an accommodating personality which made him what Millon (1994) describes as a conformist, who is respectful of tradition and authority. These characteristics were internalized in the person of Baudoin’s father and predecessor. Until Baudoin’s marriage, Leopold III dominated his son politically, and he lived with him in the same castle. Baudoin’s political behavior was an intermediary for Leopold III. During the

first ten years of Baudoin's reign, his political actions were mainly directed towards the Belgian colony of Congo, a quiet place until the end of the fifties.

With the colonial unrest and another important phase in his life, his engagement and marriage with the Spanish-born Fabiola de Mora y Aragon in 1960, the dominant pattern became increasingly apparent in his personality, while the accommodating pattern moved slightly to the background. In combination with an elevated score on the conscientious pattern, this turned Baudoin into a morally principled and authoritative king. He did not tolerate any contradiction and wanted to impose his ideas on others. His authoritarian tendencies were already apparent in his speech towards the Congolese people during the settlement of the decolonization. In this speech on June 30, 1960, he admired the 'merits' of his grandfather Leopold II, who is known in history as a dictator held responsible for the death of millions of Congolese citizens. On institutional issues, like the 'language war' and the federalization, the King kept a low profile and was cooperative, signing laws on matters he considered as unstoppable in the evolution of his country. However, there were also instances where he was principled and had qualms that made him refuse to sign specific laws. During the Second School War (1950-1958) Baudoin intended not to sign a specific law targeting catholic schools who would receive less subsidies. In a private conversation with the Prime Minister, Baudoin was reminded of his constitutional obligations where after the King obediently endorsed the law (Dujardin et al., 2009). Later, when confronted with a law concerning the legalization of abortion in 1990, the principled King stood his ground this time which put the government in a difficult situation and put the existence of the monarchy in jeopardy. The solution of the Government was to declare the King unable to reign and to take over his powers for 36 hours (Reynebeau, 2009). On the other side, Baudoin will also be remembered in history as an empathic, interested, responsible and conscientious king who paid attention to almost everything and everyone, including issues not so common for a monarch such as his concern towards the trafficking in women. As a very religious king, he saw his kingship as a call from God. Altogether, Baudoin was a conforming and responsible king who increasingly fulfilled his role with (moral) power, sometimes crossing his constitutional barriers.

Since 1960 the Spanish-born Fabiola stood by his side. Until his death, she played her role as a spouse especially in the private sphere. Within the castle walls, she was remarked as a dominant and ambitious presence. Suffering from multiple miscarriages and a sense of guilt towards the King, she never intervened in Baudoin's political activities and was docile in her public appearances. After the death of her husband in 1993 she seemed to play increasingly cavalier seul, explaining her elevation on the dauntless pattern.

After Baudoin's death, his brother Albert came on the Belgian throne. After the responsible, devoted, morally dominant Baudoin, he brought a different style to the monarchy, directing it into the 21st century and the new interpretation of its role. With his open character the doors of the Royal palace opened for the nation, bringing the King and his family closer to the people.

Albert II uses his personality traits to fulfil his duties as a king. With his outgoing and caring characteristics he shares the feelings of his fellow citizens. This was clearly evident in his actions during the Dutroux case.<sup>x1</sup> Albert reacted quickly after having received the dramatic news and he immediately chose publicly the side of the victims and the Belgian people who opposed the government and the judicial system. As a consequence he became an independent entity through which the nation could channel its feelings, thereby creating space for the leaders of the country to continue their job. The exponent of this behavior was the moment he brought politicians and victims together in the Royal palace. He did this out of a sense of duty towards the affected families and the country but never crossed the line of his constitutionally defined role. The same behavior was seen with institutional matters. King Albert II often came discretely to the forefront during difficult government formations. Indeed, during his reign, Belgium broke, with 541 days, the world record of the longest time for a country to be without a government (Van der Kelen & Meynen 2013). But King Albert II only intervened with the tools offered by the constitution and within the prerogatives Bagehot (1955) had set. The right to be consulted was filled in by informal conversations who remained secret through the colloque singulier. In his speeches to the population, he repeatedly used the rights to encourage and to warn the responsible leaders of the country. Albert II can be considered as the perfect monarch of his time; in an institutionally evolving country he acted as a modern and contemporary monarch. As an accommodating king, he fulfilled his role with a sense of duty, bringing it closer to the people with his outgoing nature.

Paola can be described as a queen with a proper interpretation of her role as a 'first lady'. She never drew attention to herself and used her southern outgoing flair in her contacts with the public. Her elevated scores stem as well from her period as a flamboyant, lightly inflammable Belgian Princess as from her private behavior in family matters. Her private controlling behavior suddenly came into public after Albert's abdication. In March 2014, she described her youngest son Laurent as a "vulnerable child" in a press release due to his suffering from pneumonia in the hospital. This communication crossed the new King Philippe's actions to restore Laurent in an official function and was perceived as a meddling act on Paola's behalf.

Before looking at Philippe I's personality profile, a few considerations have to be made. His profile shows his personality as a prince while almost all biographical information concerning

his father and uncle stem from their period as a king. In Baudoin's case, this is a consequence of his enthronement as a very young man. Albert on the other hand was never seen as a successor to the throne and was considered less important for journalists and biographers until Baudoin died and he became in charge. The perception that all three kings scored, not significant though, on the distrusting pattern is interesting. This stems from their role as a Kings who are not supposed to make mistakes. As a result, they are always circumspect and they do not trust people easily. This is most certain in Philippe's case, since he always had to compete against people's preconception that he was not ready for the throne.

Compared to Baudoin I and Albert II, who scored significantly on respectively three and four personality scales, Philippe shows a personality profile with significant scores on all basic personality patterns except for the retiring pattern. He also scores prominent on four scales with almost reaching the mildly dysfunctional level on the ambitious and conscientious scale. Looking at the Immelman's (2004)'Common Compound Configurations', Philippe shows signs of the *compensatory narcissist and bureaucratic compulsive* composite patterns. Compensatory narcissistic behavior stems from feelings of insecurity and weakness, which individuals try to compensate with a strive for recognition and prestige. This is suggested by Philippe's denial of the faults he made and his tendency to present them as good deeds that are misunderstood by others who are trying to discredit him. But it can be concluded that his strive for recognition and prestige may have come to an end, due to the succession rule in the Constitution, since his enthronement. Now he no longer has to prove he can become a King, but that he can act conform with the expectations of the political world and his fellow citizens. In Philippe's case the foundations of this pattern lie in a controlling upbringing, with expectations for perfection coming from his uncle Baudoin and aunt Fabiola, who were concerned with his upbringing and education as a future king. Dangers for a king in this composite pattern lie in an officious, high-handed bearing, intrusive, meddlesome attitude towards others, a close minded cognitive style, and a responsible self-image. Nowadays, it is crucial for a king to be more accommodating with less interference, to have an open mind and a rather modest self-image in order to come close to the people. This does not have to be an invincible obstacle for Philippe in the future, because bureaucratic compulsive individuals tend to function loyally once they reach their objectives. They are known to be trustworthy and faithfully committed to the goals and values of the institution.

Compared with the other cases, a similarity is found between Baudoin and Philippe. For those two the entrance of a woman in their life seems to have been a turning point. It is often considered that from the moment Mathilde entered the Court, she and Philippe became a unified team. It is plausible that in the future, they will be acting even more so as a team

following Philippe's appointment to the throne in July, 2013. Mathilde's personality can compensate Philippe's traits that could potentially be detrimental for a King these days. Looking at this profile the danger may lie in his high scores on the contentious, the ambitious and the dominant scale. Today more than ever, the King cannot show any ambition to intervene in political affairs or to lay his will upon politicians. In Belgium, there is a growing number of proponents in favor of a more ceremonial monarchy. This means that the king would need to exhibit a more accommodating, outgoing, conscientious personality with less signs of dominant and contentious behavior. Mathilde's dominant score was obtained due to her controlling behavior towards Philippe, trying to protect him from making mistakes, especially in the contentious field, and directing him into desired behavior we find mostly in the accommodating and outgoing pattern. Her ambition to become Queen of Belgium was clear from the beginning, and until today she has acted conform to what can be expected from a queen. Throughout the entire diagnostic material about all royals researched in this paper, not one negative characteristic of Mathilde was found. It seems she uses every significant pattern in her search for perfection as a Belgian Royal. She seems to know the perfect balance between acting on stage and directing in the background. All this might help Philippe in fulfilling his role as the next King of Belgium. Looking at the King couples, it is remarkable that while Fabiola and Paola obtain on certain patterns a higher score than their husbands do, Mathilde only shows scores that are all lower than Philippe's. A possible explanation can be the southern and more vivid and sanguineous nature of the former Queens compared with a 'typically Belgian' aloofness of Mathilde. Though it has to be noticed that Philippe's scores are that high they are almost impossible to outstrip.

Today a year after becoming King, Philippe I is facing a major challenge. After the elections of May 25, 2014 he has to guide the formation of the government to success. Already the day after the elections, he approached this task resolute and invited the leader of the Flemish nationalists to his office and gave him the task to take the initiative in the formation. Philippe learned from history, did not act against the people with an antiroyalist and separatist program. Instead he behaved cooperative and followed conscientiously the rules of the constitution and the political conventions. But by acting this fast, he silenced his critics and gained control over the situation. This deed can be traced back to Philippe I's personality profile and his high scores on the dominant, accommodating and conscientious scales.

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## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> The profiles of Baudoin I and Albert II from the unpublished master's thesis by Philippe De Vries (2004) have been updated and adjusted with more recent material.

<sup>ii</sup> Baudoin does not neglect to control Philippe's life. According to Barend Leyts, Baudoin molds his nephew to 'his own copy'... Neither gives Philippe any voice in his own activities. It is Baudoin who decides which tasks Philippe should carry out. (1AAb) Debels, T. (2010). *Koning Boudewijn een biografie*. Antwerpen, Houtekiet.

<sup>iii</sup> From that period dates a peculiar habit of Baudoin. He develops his own technique to start a conversation with a person he finds interesting. The King walks straight into the man or woman of concern, his back turned to the audience. Next he guides the victim from the middle of the bunch to the side, to spent a few minutes on a 'private conversation'. Herman Liebaers, the later Court Marshall experienced it once as an employee of the Royal Library. 'Later I saw him repeat the trick at least two times,' he knows. 'It was quite intimidating'. (1ABb) Debels, T. (2010). *Koning Boudewijn een biografie*. Antwerpen, Houtekiet.

<sup>iv</sup> "I know that I, acting in that way, am not choosing the easiest way and that I take the risk to be not understood by a large number of fellow citizens. But it is the only way for me to follow in good conscience. *Baudoin talking about his refusal to sign a law on abortion*. (1AEa) Van Lobkowitz, S. (1995) *Boudewijn: Biografie*. Eigenbrakel: Collet.

<sup>v</sup> "Those who never saw Baudoin furious, will at least remember the events of December 11, 1988. He was frantic. As a matter of fact, he does not tolerate those who thwart him, even though he remains outwardly calm. He hates to be given a blow below the belt. In that case, he will become very testy and angry.' (1ADa) Fralon, J. A. (2001), Boudewijn. *De man die geen koning wou worden*. Atwerpen : Manteau,

<sup>vi</sup> Jean Luc Dehaene: "He was a man with a strong sense of duty and a particular discernment. Remarkable was his concern for his fellow citizens, especially the weakest and the poorest." (4Aa) Botte, T. (2013). *Herinneringen aan Boudewijn, 5e koning der Belgen*. Antwerpen, Lido.

<sup>vii</sup> Baudoin speaks to them; "You all know we have no children of our own. For a long time we asked ourselves how this could happen to us. Why did we have to suffer like that? Little by little we understood this would make our hearts free to love all children. (4Da) Fralon, J. A. (2001), Boudewijn. *De man die geen koning wou worden*. Atwerpen : Manteau.

<sup>viii</sup> Willy Claes: "I remember Baudoin as a man who considered kingship as a vocation, a man who was engaged in that vocation from morning to evening, seven days a week. He considered it a duty to commit himself to the population of the country." (6Ac) Botte, T. (2013). *Herinneringen aan Boudewijn, 5e koning der Belgen*. Antwerpen, Lido.

<sup>ix</sup> 'He was marked by a great self-confidence, but he was tremendously nervous when his pro-Habyarimana letter was leaked to the press. He was as tense as a spring, that much is true, and he was unapproachable too. When he refused to sign the law on abortion, thereby risking to lose the throne, he was very calm... The King followed his conscience. He was so convinced of his own rightness that he was imperturbable in those moving days.' (6Ea) Antonissen, J. (2003, July 15). Boudewijn was geen roi triste, hij hield van het leven. *Humo*. Nr. 3280, p. 8

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<sup>x</sup> The timing of Fabiola's decision to delegate her last prominent tasks was not randomly chosen. The Queen deliberately awaited Albert's abdication which made her sister-in-law Paola unable to claim the honorary Chair of the Queen Elisabeth music competition. Paola aspired to this prestigious role for years while profiling herself as an Art protector.(1ABb) De weduwe van Boudewijn blijf Paola Jennen. (2014, January 7). *Story*. p.34-38

<sup>xi</sup> Fabiola is dazed when she enters her husband's office out of breath and humiliated. She'll certainly never be the cause of his abdication. If he loves her, and she knows the power behind this word, he will not abdicate due to a spouse who is not able to become a mother. She forbids him. 'If God, on the other hand, does not bless me with what can be expected of a queen, my place is no longer here.' (5ABb) Séguy, P., van Ardenne, C., & Michelland, A. (1996). *Fabiola koningin in het wit*. Antwerpen, Hadewych.

<sup>xii</sup> At the end of the fifties, Fabiola was professionally very active as well as in her charity works. She not only worked as a nurse in the military hospital Gomez Ulla, but she also studied and moreover, she made time every day to help the people in need, the poor children in the poor districts of Madrid. (6Aa) Urbiola, F. J. (2011). *Fabiola een geboren koningin*. Antwerpen, Houtekiet.

<sup>xiii</sup> "When I asked my unknown caller again for her name, I heard to my astonishment responding in French: 'But I am the Queen. Oh it's true, I had to address you in French.' "I swear to you, she seemed a native Flemish. Which people would not be moved by seeing a queen acquiring their culture? In the multilingual country of Belgium, Fabiola wants to address everyone in his or her own language." (6Ba) Séguy, P., van Ardenne, C., & Michelland, A. (1996). *Fabiola koningin in het wit*. Antwerpen, Hadewych.

<sup>xiv</sup> When the second Government under Prime Minister Dehaene wanted to appoint a new ambassador in Madrid, Fabiola vetoed: the diplomat was a divorced man and the widowed Queen did not want 'that kind of man' to represent Belgium in her home country. (6Cc) Séguy, P., van Ardenne, C., & Michelland, A. (1996). *Fabiola koningin in het wit*. Antwerpen, Hadewych.

<sup>xv</sup> From that moment Fabiola is the aunt that pats you when you are nice but also gives you a stern look and reprimands you with a stiff upper lip when you had taken a cookie that was not agreed on. (1BBa) Wellens, E. (2009). *Albert II de vorst met de glimlach*. Antwerpen, Manteau.

<sup>xvi</sup> An exuberant Fabiola welcomed Cardinal Danneels yesterday on the international youth encounter of the Taizé-community in Brussels. The Queen attended the communal prayer and took time for a conversation with the youngsters. (2Dc) Feys, J. (2008, December, 31). *Uitbundige Fabiola op Taizé. Het Laatste Nieuws*. Retrieved from [www.academic.gopress.be](http://www.academic.gopress.be)

<sup>xvii</sup> In the nineties, Albert approached his stepmother carefully. It is said that he suffered greatly under the long lasting feuds. It is also known that he is the only one who stayed in contact with his uncle Charles. (4Ba) Balfort, B., Van Den Driessche, P., & Leyts, B. (2003). *Albert II 10 jaar koning*. Leuven, Van Halewyck.

<sup>xviii</sup> "But in the meantime he was afraid he couldn't cope with the situation." (4Ec) Neuckermans, & Van den Driessche, P. (1995). *Albert II, koning na Boudewijn*. Leuven, Van Halewyck.

<sup>xix</sup> The engagement party of Philippe and Mathilde plainly bears the stamp of King Albert and Queen Paola. It exudes the same atmosphere of ease as that fabulous engagement day of the Princess of Liege. It was to let the world know the Royal Palace knows how to party. (3Ec) Wellens, E. (2009). *Albert II de vorst met de glimlach*. Antwerpen, Manteau.

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<sup>xx</sup> Claude de Valkeneer mentions that he found the Prince in an indescribable state: "He was furious because, due to the press campaign, the whole aura surrounding his marriage was affected." (1ADa) Laporte, 2003, C. (2003). *Albert II de biografie*. Tielt, Lannoo.

<sup>xxi</sup> That is certainly the custom he followed during his regency; the King cannot afford to end up in a situation that may give rise to criticism. (6Ca) Becaus, J., Coppen, J-P. & Verbruggen, T. (2006). *Paola: paroles de Reine* [Documentary]. Brussels: VRT/RTBF.

<sup>xxii</sup> "The presence of the press and the family made it a very busy scene, but Paola revived when she was surrounded by people and animation. Being alone was difficult for her to reconcile with her southern temperament. " (3Bb) Danneels, M. (1999). *Paola van "la dolce vita" tot koningin*. Leuven, Van Halewyck.

<sup>xxiii</sup> When Baudoin died, Paola suddenly became 'Queen of Belgium'. This was time for revenge her way. "When Fabiola, as a widowed queen, was not preparing to move out of the Laken Castle, Paola launched infrastructure projects on the palace with a lot of noise," Danneels says. "And when Fabiola returned from a trip, she found all her possessions neatly packed in the Hall." (5BAc) Van De Perre, K. (2013, July 6). Wil de echte 'Queen Bee' nu opstaan? *De Morgen*. Retrieved from [www.academic.gopress.be](http://www.academic.gopress.be)

<sup>xxiv</sup> I understand and accept the criticism of my language, my imperfect knowledge of Dutch. But I will stubbornly continue to improve my cognitions of it. Furthermore, I am becoming sensitive to the mentality of this language and I like it. (4Ea) Becaus, J., Coppen, J-P. & Verbruggen, T. (2006). *Paola: paroles de Reine* [Documentary]. Brussels: VRT/RTBF.

<sup>xxv</sup> A journalist with an opinion on anything does not leave much room for improvisation: 'Tais-toi et soi belle'. The Princess gets annoyed and she cannot hide it. Sometimes she just sits there uninterested and without saying a word. (1BDa) Wellens, E. (2009). *Albert II de vorst met de glimlach*. Antwerpen, Manteau.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Her employees have a hard time working for her. 'She is intolerable towards her staff,' an ex-courtesan admits. 'The few times she does enter the kitchen, it happens in a rather domineering way. It is her way or the highway. She wants to be treated after her position. Never forget she is a temperamental personality who knows exactly what she wants, derives authority from it and want to be respected for it.' (1ABa) Danneels, M. (1999). *Paola van "la dolce vita" tot koningin*. Leuven, Van Halewyck.

<sup>xxvii</sup> 'The Prince has a special sense of humor,' a friend says. 'He can be very dry and all the while looking so serious that the joke sometimes is misunderstood by others.' (6Dc) Wellens, E. (2010). *Prins Filip: koning op wacht*. Antwerpen, Manteau.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Philippe's advisor suggests not to answer a question. Philippe dismisses the good advice. 'This stubborn nature is a typical family trait of the Coburgs.' (2Cc) Debels, T. (2013). *Filip I: zoon van Boudewijn*. Kalmthout, Pelckmans.

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<sup>xxix</sup> *Then you had a short conversation?* "Yes only for five minutes. I congratulated him and he said the famous sentences about the Vlaams Belang (Right Winged republican party). The conversation ended: 'I can be a tough one if I have to. I will not let them just walk over me.'

*What did he mean by that?* "I think this must be understood as a heartfelt plea for the country of Belgium, against the Vlaams Belang. Everyone who wants the country to end, will meet him on their way. How he would act, he did not say." (1AEc) Coosemans, D. (2004, December 1). Louis Van Raak, auteur van het Story-interview. *Het Laatste Nieuws*. Retrieved from [www.academic.gopress.be](http://www.academic.gopress.be).

<sup>xxx</sup> The Prince poses next to Mickey Mouse and he reacts wittily when a journalist asks him some tricky questions. When she asks the Crown Prince to take place on a one dollar banknote to create a good frame for the interview, Philippe replied that her questions "have the same value of the one dollar banknote." The journalist is aghast. The Prince had just outsmarted her.(5BCa) Leyts, B., van den Wijngaert, M., & Balfoort, B. (2013). *Koning Filip de biografie*. Antwerpen, Houtekiet.

<sup>xxxi</sup> "Philippe is permeated with the impact of the media and the role he has to play. During a trip through Mexico, we've had a three days of no more than shaking hands all the time. This was no material for me as a journalist and I told him: All these pictures could have been taken in Brussels. The next day he took us to a trendy bar in Mexico city, put on a sombrero, placed cigar between his lips and posed extensively for the cameras.' (4Aa) Article with no title. (2004, December 27). *Gazet Van Antwerpen*. Retrieved from [www.gopress.academic.be](http://www.gopress.academic.be)

<sup>xxxii</sup> Even though Prince Philippe appears to be a friendly person with a good sense of humor, the perception is often very different. "But this is only when he is not in public. He does not like to be questioned because, I think, he knows he is then perceived to be artificial. He is afraid to say the wrong things, keeping in mind that the press is ready to attack any miscommunication from his side." "Public appearances are of course always inestimable and that is what he is trying to anticipate. He had already a few bad experiences, especially with the French speaking press, which makes him distrustful towards them. But when he is comfortable, away from the spotlights, he is just like you and me. You can call him a 'nice guy.'" (7Ab) FDV. (2009, October 23). "Prins Filip is eigenlijk een toffe gast." *Het Nieuwsblad*. Retrieved from [www.academic.gopress.be](http://www.academic.gopress.be).

<sup>xxxiii</sup> The relationship between Philippe and his father has been thoroughly disrupted. They only let each other know the most necessary things and after that they remain silent towards each other. Philippe is taking it badly that his father is obstructing his path to the throne. (1BBa) Antonissen, J. (2006, March 28) Paleisrevolutie in Laken: Maar wie vertelt het aan Prins Filip. *Humo*. Nr. 3421, pp. 22-26

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Philippe Dewulf, a former Belgian top tennis player remembers the following: "Before my semi-final on Roland Garros against Gustavo Kuerten, Prince Philippe took place in the VIP seats. When the game was about to start, the Belgian crowd started to yell the players name: 'Philippe! Philippe!' when the Prince stood up and turned around to the president to ask why they were screaming his name. This shows how much of a stranger he was to the real world and how he assumes the world revolves around him" (3Ea) Debels, T. (2013). *Filip I: zoon van Boudewijn*. Kalmthout, Pelckmans.

<sup>xxxv</sup> On that occasion Mathilde's natural talent as a future Crown Princess is striking. A perfect smile, her head a bit slant, she wanders around with a suitable conversation for everyone. (6Ba) Leyts, B., van den Wijngaert, M., & Balfoort, B. (2013). *Koning Filip de biografie*. Antwerpen, Houtekiet.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> The Royal Lounge of Brussels airport has been repainted because Mathilde did not like the colours. "She looked at those colours and asked me whether this was the Royal Lounge or a candy

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shop," says the president of the national airport. "I immediately promised the Princess to paint the lounge in white. She said that would be ok. The next day the job was done." (1ABb) RD. (2001, February 15). Mathilde vindt koninklijk salon van Zaventem lelijk. *Het Laatste Nieuws*. Retrieved from www.mediargus.be.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> There is something else about Mathilde that touches him: her ability to be subservient in the background. The damsel does not show any interest in personal gain nor does she want to be praised for that. (4Aa) Wellens, E. (2010). *Prins Filip: koning op wacht*. Antwerpen, Manteau.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> My student went into the crowd a bit anxious and arrived at the front row where he was waiting. To catch Mathilde's attention, he had put on a student cap to mention he was a typical student of the town. I stood next to him. Mathilde approached him and waited to admire the cap. They had a little conversation and he explained he made a bet that he could get a kiss from the princess. Mathilde responded affirmative and did it. The crowd was ecstatic. (3Da) Deborsu, F. (2012). *Koningskwesities*. Baarn, Agora.

<sup>xxxix</sup> She must have found a way to focus. Otherwise it would be impossible. Staying that calm while being besieged by people who want something from you. As an outsider you would say: 'It's part of the job'. But when you have seen it from that close you know: never underestimate that job. (2Da) Arg. (2010, March 24). Faut le faire. *Het Nieuwsblad*. Retrieved from www.mediargus.be.

<sup>xl</sup> In 1996 the Belgian police found 2 young girls abused but alive in a cellar of the known paedophile Marc Dutroux. Shortly after he was arrested, four more but less fortunate victims were excavated. This news discredited the Belgian police system and the legal system as a whole which turned into a heated national debate that attracted international media attention. Walgrave and Rihoux (1997) described the mobilization wave as: 'the largest in Belgian history, with as apex the so called *White March* in October 1996 attracting 300,000 people. Walgrave, S., & Rihoux, B. (1997). Van emotie tot politieke commotie. De Witte Mars: één jaar later.