



Masterproef Politieke Communicatie

The giants of European decision-making

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Abstract

This paper tackles the political psychology of nine European politicians. Six heads of state or government: Silvio Berlusconi of Italy, Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands, Angela Merkel of Germany, Nicolas Sarkozy of France, Yves Leterme of Belgium and David Cameron of Great Britain are at the moment of writing this paper, the most important heads of state or government in the EU and consequently the European Council. The three other politicians that are profiled are President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy, Commission President José Barroso, and High Representative Catherine Ashton. By profiling these nine politicians according to the Immelman method of psychological profiling, we establish working relations and interoperability between the nine politicians in the context of the European Council negotiations. We will find what politicians are good negotiators and establish what personalities stand out in the EU crowd. Furthermore, we will extract an average profile for the European negotiator, to see what qualities a successful European politician must possess.

Keywords

EU – Political Psychology – MIDC-Profiling – European Council – International negotiations

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List of abbreviations

EC	European Commission
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EU	European Union
HR	High Representative for the Union in Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MIDC	Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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1. Introduction

This paper is written at an interesting point in time for the European integration process for two reasons. Firstly, the European Union – EU - has just witnessed an unprecedented change in its core structures and decision-making processes, due to the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty. Secondly, there are a lot of governments that were relatively stable throughout the last couple of years and throughout the ratification process of this Treaty about to change or that have just changed, thanks to the numerous elections that are underway or have just taken place in European Member States. Consequently, providing an insight into the psyche of Europe's leaders is both very interesting and relevant at this specific point in time.

In this paper we set off on a quest after the personalities in European decision-making. In how far are personalities of influence on negotiations in the European Council, and what are the personalities of the current cluster of European politicians, are the topics of this study.

This paper is the first major scientific study to the political personalities of European Union leaders. To identify, map and compare their personal psychological profiles, we make use of the elaborated profiling methods as developed by Aubrey Immelman, based on the Millon (1986a; 1986b; 1994) approach to psychological profiling, as developed by Theodore Millon. The theoretical framework on which the Millon approach is based is described extensively by Aubrey Immelman (1999; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2008), and will be discussed at length later in this paper.

The paper builds on the theories of three main disciplines: psychological profiling, negotiation literature, and European governance. Furthermore, psychological findings of this paper will be combined with the results from previous studies to the political psychological profile of other European politicians, to be able to portray the profile of the current giants of European Union politics.

When choosing the politicians to scrutinise, we have decided to include as many as possible, to include the three current highest EU politicians, to include politicians from the most important Member States, and to include politicians from both small and large Member States. As said, we ended with the discussion of the profiles of no less than nine European politicians.

We will first discuss the scientific relevance and theoretical framework upon which this paper is built. Subsequently, the findings for each politician are individually discussed. When describing the different politicians, the paper will be structured consistently. First a concise

biography is provided, in which the politician is introduced, politically analysed and relevant psychological features are mentioned. This part has no scientific pretensions other than providing background information relevant for the political psychological results.

The second part for each politician will focus on his or her role in the EU and his or her views and policies vis-à-vis the European Union, or their tasks within the EU - in the case of the three European officials. Finally, the psychological findings of the research on the basis of the Immelman method and Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria are stated for each politician. At the end of this paper, the findings for the nine politicians are jointly discussed and overall conclusions and remarks are made.

As preparation for this paper a pilot study was conducted for a seminar on Political Psychology, focusing on the cooperation between the new 'European three', Catherine Ashton, José Barroso, and Herman Van Rompuy. The results of this pilot study are used throughout this paper, in particular when describing the MIDC method of political psychological profiling and when describing the findings for the three EU politicians.

Thanks to the efforts of various other scholars, we can use the MIDC profiles of four other politicians, Herman Van Rompuy and Yves Leterme (De Landtsheer, 2010), Jan Peter Balkenende (Van Schaijk & De Landtsheer, 2010), and Nicolas Sarkozy (De Sutter & Immelman, 2008), have extensively been profiled by the respective authors. It is thanks to these researches that the incredible total of nine European politicians' profiles is investigated in this paper, in pursuit of describing the effect of political psychology on negotiations in the European Council.

The primary objective of this paper is providing an insight into the personalities of these European politicians. For this, the profiles of Angela Merkel, David Cameron, Silvio Berlusconi, Jan Peter Balkenende, Yves Leterme, Nicolas Sarkozy, Catherine Ashton, José Barroso, and Herman Van Rompuy are established, collected and investigated.

A secondary objective of this paper is the exploration of an 'ideal' negotiator profile for the European Council, on the basis of the MIDC method of psychological profiling and existing negotiation literature.

Finally, the acquired profiles of the politicians are discussed in relationship to each other, to see whether there is an overall European political profile, and to see in how far European leaders are effective negotiators. By discussing the profiles of these nine European politicians, we hope not only to contribute, but also to add valuable novel insights to the debate on the giants in European decision-making.

2. Relevance and theoretical background of this research

European Council meetings are prepared to every little detail. National ministries, the Permanent Representation in Brussels, the European Commission and many national and European interest groups are all involved in the process in different manners. For every European Council, governments spend enormous amounts to prepare the negotiations as optimal as possible. Even the actual negotiators, the heads of state or government are briefed to the limit beforehand, and have constant access to aides, informers and policy experts before the negotiations. In this day and age, they receive hints, tips and orders even during the actual negotiations via blackberry.

It is therefore exceptionally striking that the personalities of the European negotiators involved have not been given a closer look in literature. The idea why not to do it is clear: heads of state or government are elected democratically, and consequently there is no other person possible, so why study personal their psychology. However, this reasoning fundamentally underestimates the strength of political psychology. The political psychological influence on the result of the negotiations does not only concern the person who takes part in the negotiations, it is also about the interaction between personalities during the process of negotiations.

Also in the process of evaluating Council negotiations, it is striking that no previous research has looked into the effect of political psychology on European negotiations. As we know from research to other international negotiations, the effects of political psychological features are vast on many different aspects of international negotiations, such as the impact on judgment and decision-making by political leaders (Levy, 2003), perceptions and misperceptions in foreign policy (Jervis, 1976), and social, demographic and personality correlations with attitudes towards foreign affairs (Larson, 1985).

Political psychological analysis, and in particular the study of personalities in international politics, has developed over the years. Starting in the 1950s, the study of personality gained impact on the analysis of foreign policy and political science, in particular in the US. In political science, Greenstein (1975) was one of the first to discuss the impact of the personality on politics. Lowenberg (1969) discussed the psychobiographical approach in a concise method. Criticism to the psychobiographical approach came from Tetlock (*et al.*, 1981). However, the added value of psychobiographical research is demonstrated best by Levy:

The contribution of psychological variables to foreign policy analysis rests on their ability to explain significant additional variation in outcomes and not just on their ability to explain more of the “links between the links” (Levy, 2003, p. 255).

In Europe, the method did not gain ground until the early nineties, as psychohistorian approaches were more common beforehand. The focus on decision-making processes on especially the EU also started in this period, with groundbreaking research from Allison (1971) and Jordan & Schout (2006). Indeed the focus on decision-making processes is important. “If one wishes to probe the why questions underlying the events, conditions and interaction patterns that rest on state action, then decision-making analysis is necessary (Syder, Bruck, and Sapin, 1962, p. 33, quoted in Levy, 2003, p. 254). Added to this, Levy argues that

...variations in the beliefs, psychological processes, and personalities of individual decision-makers explain a significant amount of the variation in foreign policy behaviour of states in the international system and [...] these [psychological] variables are not endogenous to systemic structures or domestic interests. (Levy, 2003, p. 255).

The importance of the study of personalities in the specific area of the European Council is further elaborated in the next section. With only nine politicians covered in this paper, out of 30 possible Council members – 27 heads of state and government, plus the three EU representatives -, this seems a bit modest. However, if one considers the effort that is required for one profile, nearly one third of the entire European Council, including the, arguably, most important Member States is quite a good score. Of course, the picture would be best if all participants to European Councils could be profiled and plotted in a graph, but due to time and language constraints, and constantly changing governments, this is for now a utopia. This research, however, should be seen as an important step in the direction of getting there, and as a first major step in analysing the psychology of the European Council.

2.1 Political Psychology in EU negotiations

International politics is an important and tricky business. Because much of international affairs depends on interpersonal relations, countries began to professionalise their diplomacy since the fifteenth century (e.g. Van Kemseke, 2000; Berridge *et al.* 2001; Middelhoff, 2008). The differences in the practical conduct of bilateral and increasingly more multilateral negotiations between representatives of groups or states are striking. The importance of

political psychology in diplomacy is explained when one takes a closer look at the definition of the latter:

[D]iplomacy is the art and practice of professionals conducting negotiations and managing relations between actors in international politics, in order to secure advantages without arousing hostility. (Middelhoff, 2008, p.20).

The focus of political psychology in this definition is on the ‘managing of relations’ element, and in particular on interpersonal relations. We will elaborate on this later. Another striking feature about modern diplomacy is the increasing amount of multilateral summits. Summit diplomacy is the common standard for top-level modern diplomacy, and will remain so, according to commentators (e.g. Melissen, 2005). After the 1970s, multilateral summits became custom, and they still are today. Melissen predicts that summitry will remain important in international diplomacy, but that the pressure it puts on heads of government - with an increasing amount of summits on their agendas - and diplomats - who prepare the summits, and deal with all concerned communications -, will limit the total amount of summits visited by heads of government - whereby it is not said that lower levels will not attend summits anymore. The process of summitry is especially applicable to the European context (Middelhoff, 2008), in particular for the European Council as described by this paper.

Another tendency that is visible in especially European intra-state cooperation is that national Ministers other than the Foreign Minister take action in European affairs and negotiations. When Prime Ministers, Ministers or civil servants negotiate on a European level, a process of *group thinking* and *group identity* emerges between negotiating partners (Janis, 1972; Huddy, 2003). This Process of *Brusselization* is a topic often described by students of European studies (e.g. Shore, 2000). It is argued that due to ongoing European summits and integration processes, the envoys involved on behalf of the member states form an increasing *esprit de corps*: Hofstede’s group culture. This has been the case ever since the start of the European integration process, and throughout all levels of civil servants – up to the level of heads of government meetings (Deferme, 2000).

The European Union has lead to an increasing amount of summits between European Prime Ministers and individual Ministers. With regard to the success of the negotiations and the interpersonal value of summits, Europe must, as seen, watch for a process of summitry.

Summitry is a flexible instrument of international dialogue, but what goes largely unnoticed is that such flexibility has to be facilitated by numerous diplomats and other experts, frequently in extremely compressed time periods. (Melissen, 2004, p. 17).

However, Melissen continues by stating that the EU, due to the many, both formal and informal, summits involved in the European decision making processes, is ‘used’ to work at and with summits. This must lead to a *triumph of substance over presentation* in European summitry, where European summits are very successful in decision making, but the presentation to the public is often lacking behind, and consequently also public support (Middelhoff, 2008). “European leaders meet much more often in an even greater variety of bilateral and multilateral settings” than other leaders (Melissen, 2004, p. 18). They should therefore be much more familiar with summitry, but more importantly, each other.

Traditionally, the EU is seen as a complicated actor in international relation theories. In particular because of its complex decision-making processes and the many differences in the way different policy areas are being covered – although arguably, the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty has simplified this matter drastically (Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008). The EU can be seen as an international organisation, due to the intergovernmental structure of decision-making and common action in the area of, for example, Foreign Policy. But in most other policy areas the EU’s supranational decision-making processes gives reason to treat the EU as a state in international relation theories.

These same problems arise when discussing political psychological analyses within EU negotiations or bureaucratic processes. With regard to this latter point, and with Waltz’ distinction between the individual, the state and the system (Waltz, 1979), it is in the individual level that we will focus in this paper. It is interesting to look at the individual level of international negotiations, and in particular at the political psychology relevant during negotiations in the international arena. Much of the literature in the field of political psychology in international relations has focused on war and peace studies. Only limited researches demonstrate that in fact also more complex matters, such as individual psychology and negotiation strategies are of interest to the very interesting cross roads of international relations theory and political psychology.

Political psychology is important in international affairs, as a lot of affairs concern negotiations, and psychology is very important in negotiations. To be an effective negotiator, one should be “soft on the outside, hard on the inside” (Mastenbroek, 1989). The effective negotiator is holding to its position, and will not accept that the other is the boss in the

negotiations. The effective negotiator is however contributing to a good atmosphere and explores ideas of others, and comes with its own ideas (ibid.).

Willem Mastenbroek developed a scheme that shows the ideal personality features of an effective negotiator:

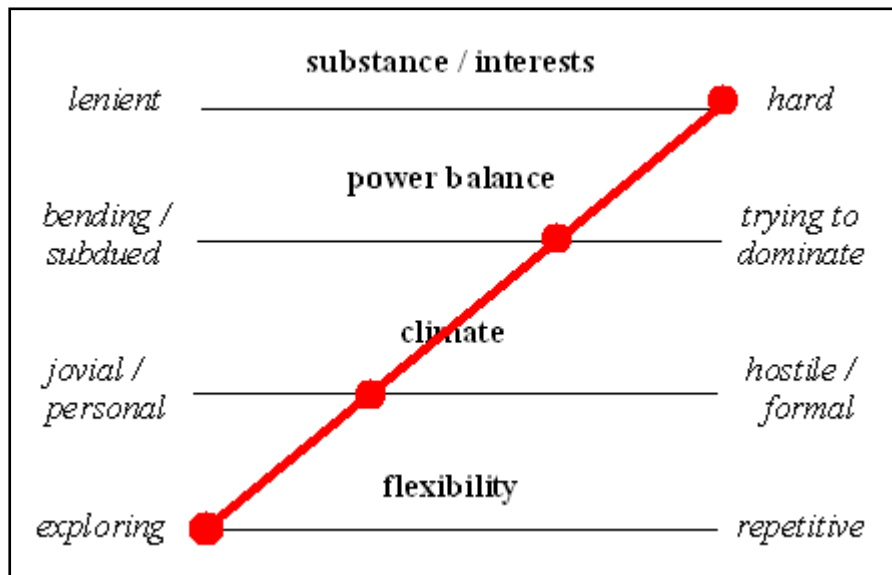


Figure 1, The effective negotiator grid (Adapted from: Mastenbroek, 1989).

According to Mastenbroek, the ideal negotiator is hard on his issues, hard on the substance under negotiation. He is in control of the negotiations, but does not try to dominate them completely – hence, he is not perceived as ‘bossy’. During the negotiations, an effective negotiator tries to establish a personal and jovial atmosphere. Finally, the effective negotiator is explorative, solicitous of others and their interests and possible solutions (ibid.).

By profiling the personalities of politicians active in European negotiations, we can establish their effectiveness as negotiators. There is a great amount of resemblance between Mastenbroek’s features on the grid, and some of the scales Millon, which we will use in this paper to profile politicians, and which will be explained in the next chapter of this paper. From Mastenbroek’s scheme, we derive that, ideally, the profile of an effective negotiator on the European level, would score high on the MIDC scale of the dominant personality (scale 1A) especially on the substance of the negotiations and on the power balance of the negotiations; the outgoing personality (scale 3) accounts for a more jovial and friendly environment; the accommodating personality (scale 4) forms a bridge between the explorative and jovial personality; and finally the daunting personality (scale 1B) to be more flexible in negotiations and be able to explore other options and solutions.

The naive negotiator is stubborn and does not like to admit at certain points. He also wants to be the boss in the negotiation process, which results in irritable behaviour, and he is not open to ideas from others. The consequence of this behaviour is that negotiations with such a personality are highly ineffective, as there is no compromise possible because there is no justice to the principles of negotiation: opposing interests, but interdependent goals (Mastenbroek, 1989). In this respect, Meerts has argued that the EU is a special case, as multilateral negotiations take place much more frequent and bilateral relations between European Member States and consequently their heads of state or government are greatly influenced by the interdependence due to the EU.

Perhaps Mastenbroek's analysis must be modified in situations, such as the EU, where negotiation is embedded in a series of negotiations. The larger and more intensive the series of negotiations, the more Mastenbroek's grid needs to be adjusted. (Meerts & Cede, 2004).

Another relevant aspect about European negotiations is the fact that every national representative will have to keep the national preferences and public opinion in mind, when negotiating on the European level. Consequently, a position in negotiations will not only be met by positive and negative reactions in Europe, and among the other Member States, but there will also be national positive and negative reactions. As negotiators on the European level have experienced, more often than not, these reactions are contrasting each other. These opposing reactions function as the *pulling* and *hauling* of competing interests in European negotiations (Levy, 2003, p. 258). They give an extra dimension to European negotiating.

Meerts distinguishes between three dimensions in the negotiation process: the political, the policies, and the technical. The political dimension consists of all political bodies, instances and persons relevant to decision making on that particular topic – the climate and the power balance from Mastenbroek's grid -, the policies concern the substance of the negotiations, and the technical dimension concerns the conduct of the actual negotiations – the power balance and the flexibility - (Meerts & Cede, 2004). Levy's pulling and hauling of competing interests is as a new dimension of influence to the policies and the political dimensions. For the political psychology of negotiations we will look at the personalities that take part in the actual negotiations, which is of importance in the political and the technical dimensions. We will apply this theory to the specific nature of negotiations in the European Council.

2.2 Negotiating in the European Council

Ever since the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, the Council acted as a counterbalance against the executive body of the High Authority, what is now the European Commission. It is the voice of the Member States versus the Commission's voice of Europe; its aim is to provide direction and an overall framework for the EU (Dinan, 1999).

With the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty, the heads of state and government in the Council have lost a considerable amount of power, for the benefit of a faster and more effective EU. The Treaty of Lisbon has expanded the use of Qualified Majority Voting in the Council, thereby limiting the previously very important instrument of a veto-vote for individual Member States, when unanimity was often required (Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008). Furthermore, the amount of policy areas where the Council is the sole decision-maker has been limited in favour of involvement of the Commission and especially the European Parliament. In other policy areas, the Council is granted a greater say by the Treaty of Lisbon, such as police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters, foreign policy, in particular due to the appointment of Lady Catherine Ashton as High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and overall constitutional matters (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008).

Another obvious change is the fact that the European Council now has a permanent president, in the form of Belgian Herman Van Rompuy. He is appointed for a two-and-a-half year period and can be re-elected only once. For a permanent president was chosen to give the Council more continuum and momentum, as in the traditional system of the rotating presidency, this heavily depended on the level of involvement and capabilities of the Member State holding the presidency (Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008).

On a more interpersonal note, the European Council meets on average four times a year – once at the beginning and once at the end of a semi-annual presidency -, although in recent years due to the financial crisis, the South-Ossetia war and other crises, we have seen more than this number of meetings. The expectation is that, with the installing of a permanent President, who has the possibility and capabilities to convene Council meetings when he pleases, that more meetings will take place (ibid.).

During European Council meetings, the atmosphere is mostly quite good. As mentioned before, heads of state and government meet each other more often and they are used to having these frequent multilateral meetings. Also, many problems have been negotiated already on lower levels of the Council: in the Council working groups or in Coreper 1 and 2 (Van Keulen, 2006). This means that the European Council only focuses on the highest

political topics and the overall direction of the EU. In addition, because of this pyramid structure of negotiations, the positions of the Member States are often already crystallised before the actual start of the negotiations. This led Paul Meerts to conclude that there is a cooperative and synergistic atmosphere within the European Council (Meerts & Cede, 2004).


Naturally, in the last six years, the Council has grown to include 27 heads of state or government. This is a substantial number and consequently, relations cannot be good between all participating. With such an amount of participants, chances are that every meeting has a different line up, due to elections or heads of state being hindered. Despite this, because of the fact that there are so many Council meetings, commentators argue that members get to know each other, and interpersonal relationships are formed (Elgström & Jonsson, 2000). In research to the Council, there is less attention to the informal norms of decision-making, probably because they are difficult to observe unless one is an insider, and even more difficult to generalise in order to theorise (Heisenberg, 2005). A specific feature about negotiations in the Council is the fact that consensus decision-making is the norm and that voting rarely occurs...

...except in a few areas where decisions could not be indefinitely delayed or postponed, such as during the annual budgetary cycle and on internal staffing matters. Most decisions, even on routine issues, came to be made by letting deliberations and negotiations run until an agreement finally emerged (Nugent, 2003, pp. 168–169).

In the Council, members sit according to the order of rotating presidency, which means that in every meeting, ones neighbours are the same. Another important feature about Council meetings is the well known fact that breaks or the refusal to quite without a consensus being reached are often used time-tactics in European Council meetings. On more than one occasion, European Council meetings lasted until the finest hours of the night. A participant in Council meetings should therefore be up to the task, and experience is important.

Table 1 shows the seniority of the European Council in the beginning of June 2010. The nine subjects of this research are evenly divided over the table, with Jan Peter Balkenende the second most experienced head of government, and David Cameron the newest member of the club. The idea of this table is that negotiating in the Council is always easier for those with more experience.

Table 1, list of seniority in the European Council¹

Country/institution	Name	Position	In office since
 Luxembourg	Jean-Claude Juncker	Prime Minister	20 January 1995
 Netherlands	Jan Peter Balkenende	Prime Minister	22 July 2002
 Finland	Matti Vanhanen	Prime Minister	24 June 2003
 Spain	José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero	President of the Spanish Government	17 April 2004
 Malta	Lawrence Gonzi	Prime Minister	1 May 2004
 Commission	José Manuel Barroso	President	23 November 2004
 Portugal	José Sócrates	Prime Minister	12 March 2005
 Estonia	Andrus Ansip	Prime Minister	12 April 2005
 Germany	Angela Merkel	Chancellor	22 November 2005
 Slovakia	Robert Fico	Prime Minister	4 July 2006
 Sweden	Fredrik Reinfeldt	Prime Minister	6 October 2006
 France	Nicolas Sarkozy	President	16 May 2007
 Poland	Donald Tusk	Prime Minister	16 November 2007
 Cyprus	Dimitris Christofias	President	28 February 2008
 Ireland	Brian Cowen	Taoiseach	7 May 2008
 Italy	Silvio Berlusconi	President of the Council of Ministers	8 May 2008
 Slovenia	Borut Pahor	Prime Minister	21 November 2008
 Austria	Werner Faymann	Chancellor	2 December 2008
 Lithuania	Andrius Kubilius	Prime Minister	9 December 2008
 Romania	Emil Boc	Prime Minister	22 December 2008
 Latvia	Valdis Dombrovskis	Prime Minister	12 March 2009
 Denmark	Lars Løkke Rasmussen	Prime Minister	5 April 2009
 Hungary	Gordon Bajnai	Prime Minister	14 April 2009
 Czech Republic	Jan Fischer	Prime Minister	8 May 2009
 Bulgaria	Boyko Borisov	Prime Minister	27 July 2009
 Greece	George Papandreou	Prime Minister	6 October 2009
 Belgium	Yves Leterme	Prime Minister	25 November 2009
 President	Herman van Rompuy	President	1 December 2009
 United Kingdom	David Cameron	Prime Minister	11 May 2010

¹ The EU High Representative is not part of the European Council. She is therefore not present in this scheme. The President of the European Commission has only observatory status, no voting rights.

2.3 Methodology of Psychological profiling

The personality of a politician matters in two ways. First, it is considerably affecting how individuals respond or resist to cues, symbols, and signs (Winters, 2004), and secondly it determines the actual interaction of the politician in the political arena, with other politicians and with the media.

One of the central axioms of political psychology is that political structures are shaped and channeled [*sic*] by peoples' personalities, that is by their individually patterned integration of processes of perception, memory, judgment, goal-seeking, and emotional expressions and regulations. (Winter, 2004, quoted in De Vries & De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 3).

To identify, map and compare the personal psychological profiles of the European politicians in this paper, we – and other authors from who we borrow the profiles of four other politicians - make use of the elaborated profiling method, as developed by Aubrey Immelman, based on the Millon approach to psychological profiling. The theoretical framework on which the Millon approach is based is described extensively by Aubrey Immelman (1999; 2002; 2003; 2004). One of the great advantages of this method is the fact that once scores are obtained for a politician, the profile can be compared with other profiles.

Methodologically, psychodiagnostic meta-analysis is located between psychobiography and historiometry (Immelman, 2002). The importance of psychodiagnostic meta-analysis is based on the central role of personalities in relationships. The relevance to politics is the capability of psychodiagnostic meta-analysis to predict the joint functioning or dysfunctional cooperation of political personalities (De Landtsheer, 2010).

The Immelman method is based on materials provided by five psychologists. This team has studied the biographies and interviews of candidates by using the method of Millon - named after the famous American profiler. This analysis system, popular in the United States - particularly in the intelligence services - is based on a battery of 230 questions that sift different personality traits (De Sutter & Immelman, 2008). During the Cold War traditional methods of content analysis of interviews with political leaders and their speeches were used by secret services, to profile the leaders.

The method used in this paper is a recent theoretically founded adaption of the original CIA method. Personalities of politicians are psychodiagnostically graded using the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria, MIDC (Immelman & Steinberg, 1999). This method constitutes a politically relevant psychological profile, on the basis of the model developed by

Millon (De Landtsheer, Winkelmans & Immelman, 2004). The MIDC method stems from psychology but combines clinical psychological assessments with media research (ibid.). It provides a good basis for conceptualising and defining the political personality, to classify types of political personality, and to predict political behaviour (Immelmann, 2002). The method consists of the grading of politicians at a psychological distance, via the media – including electronic media -, web sites, biographies, and other relevant archival material. This process is called “assessment at a distance” (De Landtsheer, Winkelmans & Immelman, 2004). The method is unique in that a synthesis of the personality profile is created based on the observation of others: biographers, and psycho-biographers, historians and psycho-historians, journalists and political commentators, but also colleagues, relatives, and friends of the subject. Among psychologists there is a reasonable consensus on the diagnostic value of biographical material, including media coverage, to draw directly on individual characteristics and lead to a personality profile.

The MIDC method does not use reliability coefficients. Instead the resources are documented for the purpose of reproducibility. Because of this reproducibility, the results of the psycho diagnostic meta-analysis allow for a plausible way to describe the personality of the investigated politicians (De Landtsheer, Winkelmans & Immelman, 2004).

From the study of political psychology - the scientific study of the relationship between psychological and political processes -, we know that on the local, national and international level, the personality of politicians are of political significance (ibid.). The major – in particular in the United States - research tradition in this field has generated several researches to the personality of political leaders. Examples are studies to: Bill Clinton, Al Gore, George W. Bush, Nelson Mandela, and Indira Gandhi (ibid.). These studies were designed to deepen information on the personality of these leaders and to explain or predict possible political developments. In this paper we rely on the literature when using the already established profiles of Nicolas Sarkozy (De Sutter & Immelman, 2008), Jan Peter Balkenende (Van Schaijk & De Landtsheer, 2010), Yves Leterme and Herman van Rompuy (De Landtsheer, 2010). The paper will contribute the profiles of Silvio Berlusconi, David Cameron, Angela Merkel, José Barroso, and Catherine Ashton to this field. In this paper, the profiles of the European leaders are principally designed to deepen information on the personality of the individual leaders and to explain or predict possible political developments. Cooperation and interaction between the nine European politicians is a secondary objective.

The MIDC profiling method uses 12 patterns or personality scales to identify a person. They are portrayed in table 2. Diagnostic material is gathered from media, books, speeches,

biographies, interviews and personal conversations. This material is coded according to the 12 different personality patterns in three different gradations - a to c in the 1a to 8 scales, otherwise d or e in scales 9 and 10 -, and according to attributes. The method looks for evidence of these patterns within five attributes: expressive behaviour, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament and self image (Immelman, 2004). As a result, material can be coded in twelve different patterns, on two to three gradations (see table 2) in five different attributes. This means that there is a maximum of 170 possible scores on the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (see table 3 for an example of an empty scoresheet).

Table 2, *Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations*. Adapted from Immelman (2004).

Scale 1A:	Dominant pattern
	a. Asserting
	b. Controlling
	c. Aggressive (Sadistic)
Scale 1B:	Dauntless pattern
	a. Venturesome
	b. Dissenting
	c. Aggrandizing (Antisocial)
Scale 2:	Ambitious pattern
	a. Confident
	b. Self-serving
	c. Exploitative (Narcissistic)
Scale 3:	Outgoing pattern
	a. Congenial
	b. Gregarious
	c. Impulsive (Histrionic)
Scale 4:	Accommodating pattern
	a. Cooperative
	b. Agreeable
	c. Submissive (Dependent)
Scale 5A:	Aggrieved pattern
	a. Unpresuming
	b. Self-denying
	c. Self-defeating
Scale 5B:	Contentious pattern
	a. Resolute
	b. Oppositional
	c. Negativistic (Passive-aggressive)
Scale 6:	Conscientious pattern
	a. Respectful
	b. Dutiful
	c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive)
Scale 7:	Reticent pattern
	a. Circumspect
	b. Inhibited
	c. Withdrawn (Avoidant)
Scale 8:	Retiring pattern
	a. Reserved
	b. Aloof
	c. Solitary (Schizoid)
Scale 9:	Distrusting pattern

Scale 0:
 d. Suspicious
 e. Paranoid
 Erratic pattern
 d. Unstable
 e. Borderline

Subject:
Date:

**Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria
Score Sheet**

		Scale																														Attribute totals:								
		1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6			7			8				9			10				
Attribute		a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	e	d	e					
A		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5					
B		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5					
C		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5					
D		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5					
E		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5					
Scale totals:																																								

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Table 3, Example Score sheet, taken from Immanuel (2004).

Aubrey Immanuel has implemented certain benchmarks to guarantee reliability and reproducibility in the MIDC method of profiling. First of all, at least two independent sources are necessary to be able to reliably award a certain score to a person. If – as is the case in some of the personality studies in this paper – only on source is found, we cannot definitively award the related score. A second way to guarantee the reliability of the method, are the benchmarks that need to be fulfilled before one can significantly establish presence of a certain personality pattern with an individual. On scales 1a to 8, these benchmarks are set at 5 to establish significant presence, 10 for prominent presence and a score of 20 for mildly dysfunctional amounts of the personality pattern.

As scales 9 (distrusting) and 10 (erratic) are dysfunctional scales in principle, the benchmarks are a bit different. On these scales, a level of at least 20 is needed to establish significant presence of one of the two dysfunctional personality scales, as this automatically constitutes a (mildly) dysfunctional personality feature.

As one would expect, the method has received some criticism. Through the professionalisation of politics and the rise of spokespersons, spin doctors, and communication advisors on the political stage, this traditional procedure for the study of personality is met with political scepticism and reluctance to cooperate, or provide alternatives for research. A major improvement over the early content analytical methods is the use of Q-sort methodology and expert ratings (Immelman, 2004). Content analysis and expert ratings have the benefit of reliability of measurement and reproducibility.

Another expressed criticism on the method is the fact that the coding process is a highly personal affair. However, in practice, the method is very holistic, and these ratings are rather impressionistic and not based on systematic grading of the personality. The high reliability factor does not necessarily prove the validity of the codes because they may rely on established myths about personality characteristics of the person under investigation (ibid.).

The use of media has also been criticised by Johnson-Cartee & Copeland (2004), for its mediated message: “reality is created, constructed, through communication not expressed by it [...] for any situation there is no single reality, no one objective truth, but multiple subjectively derived realities” (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 2004, p. 136). Though a valid argument, the MIDC method gets around this criticism by setting high benchmarks for establishing pattern presence, as well as the condition that any observation has to be confirmed by more than one independent source, to guarantee presence.

Finally, we want to express here clearly, that many factors play a role when it comes to cooperation between political personalities. The psychological aspect is only one of these aspects. Research has shown that dominant and jovial/outgoing personalities are the most important personality traits for political candidates, irrespective of the level of political sophistication (Pierce, 1993; De Vries & De Landtsheer, 2009). De Vries and De Landtsheer also concluded that the more outgoing a politician is perceived, the more politically suitable he or she comes across with the public (2009).

With the methodology of this research covered, we now turn to the individual profiles of Europe’s leaders. Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi has the honour of being the first under scrutiny. After him, we turn to Angela Merkel and David Cameron, as these three profiles are original research, conducted for this paper. We then turn to Jan Peter Balkenende, Nicolas Sarkozy and Yves Leterme, as much of their psychological analyses depend on previous work from other scholars. Finally, we turn to the original profiles of Catherine Ashton and José Barroso, and the previously established profile of Herman Van Rompuy.

3. Silvio Berlusconi

Entrepreneur, womaniser and Prime Minister, everybody knows *il cavaliere*. Berlusconi has served three terms as prime minister of Italy: in 1994; from 2001- 2006; and since 2008. Berlusconi's persuasive and charming personality, accusations and convictions for fraud and corruption, and debatable decisions made in office have made Silvio Berlusconi one of Italy's most controversial Prime Ministers.

The businessman Berlusconi owns an empire consisting of newspapers, television and radio stations, movie production houses, the AC Milan football club, insurers, food producers, advertisement agencies and real-estate developers (Ginsborg, 2003).

Whether they are the result of his entrepreneurship, his flamboyant lifestyle, or his political ambitions, or simply a combination of all these arenas, Berlusconi is the centre of many judicial proceedings, involving corruption, and power-abusing accusations. Recently, the countless sexual scandals that seem to haunt the person of Berlusconi became better known. An often used method in his judicial trials is the creation of new laws and immunity requests, put forward by Berlusconi and his party. Another often used tactic is searching the public, by – often very vocal - appearances in the media, complaining about 'Left-wing' judges and journalists (Gomes *et al.*, 2009).

Silvio Berlusconi was born on 29 September 1936. His father was a bank employee. In 1961 Berlusconi graduated Cum Laude in Law from the state University of Milan. His first job demonstrates another passion of Berlusconi: singing. He becomes an entertainer on cruise ships (Ginsborg, 2003).

In 1978, Berlusconi established Fininvest, which throughout his career will function as the base of his empire - it is still operative today and run by his son, Piersilvio Berlusconi. Almost immediately, Fininvest became the largest commercial television broadcaster, owning the television stations Italia 1, Rete 4 and Canale 5 (*ibid.*; Trouw, 2010). These stations are still in possession of Fininvest and, consequently, Silvio Berlusconi. When Berlusconi is prime minister and as a result also controls state-owned public broadcaster RAI, commentators argue that he is in direct control of over 90 percent of the Italian media landscape (Trouw, 2010).

In 1994, after successfully conquering the business/media arena, Berlusconi enters the political arena. His first party, Forza Italia has been described as a centre-right party, centred on the person and media empire of Berlusconi, and – loosely - based on Christian values (Ginsborg, 2003; Gomes *et al.*, 2009). Forza Italia wins the elections in 1994. However, due

to internal turmoil and many affairs, rule is short. The next six years, Berlusconi spend as opposition leader, before returning to power in 2001 (Ginsborg, 2003). He stayed in power until 2006, a remarkable achievement in Italia, which grants him the title of longest Italian prime-minister in power since the Second World War.

The only way to defeat Berlusconi's Grand centre-Right coalition is by forming a grand centre-left coalition. In 2006, former president of the European Commission Romano Prodi, manages to become the leader figure, the Italian left needed, in order to form a front against Berlusconi. In the 2006 elections, Prodi and Berlusconi go head to head, eventually resulting in a marginal majority for the centre-left coalition of Romano Prodi. Berlusconi is forced into opposition for a second time. However, immediately Berlusconi started to work on stage and, - according to some commentators and even some judiciaries – in particular behind the scenes (Gomes *et al.*, 2009), to weaken the fragile Prodi coalition. In 2008, after one previously unsuccessful attempt, Berlusconi succeeds, and the Prodi government falls. The following elections are won by Berlusconi's coalition, *Il Popolo della Libertà*. He has been in power since, although at the present, his popularity is waning due to several affairs that surround his personality.

Surrounding the person of Berlusconi, there are many controversies. In the beginning of his political career, these controversies involved corruption and immunity accusations. Recently, however, controversies are more often about sexual escapades with young women, the 'Euroveline', showgirls that were placed on the European Parliament election list of Il Popolo della Libertà (Gomes *et al.*, 2009). Also, Berlusconi has made some questionable remarks in public. He called newly elected president Obama 'hansom, young and bronzed', and he played hide and seek with Angela Merkel at an official event (Squires, 2009b; La Repubblica, 2010).

In his private life, Berlusconi has some issues as well, as his 2009 divorce testifies. His ex-wife, Veronica Lario has openly doubted his mental health, and revealed that Berlusconi was advised to visit a clinic for his sexual addiction (Trouw, 2010).

With all these remarks on the personality of Berlusconi, his populist manner of conducting politics, and his flamboyant lifestyle, it is sometimes difficult for people from non-Italian countries and cultures, to understand how the image of Berlusconi is appealing to many Italians. Italy is a country known for its widespread corruption and *machissimo* – masculine culture. With that in mind, Berlusconi's figure fits a stereotype of a strong leadership figure, successful in professional and private life, a profile that is highly admired in Italian culture:

For years, millions of hot-blooded Italian men have secretly wished they could gatecrash one of the parties hosted by their ebullient prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, featuring scantily-clad starlets and models, and endless bottles of expensive wine. (Squires, 2009a).

A different analysis demonstrates how Italian voters are reasoning when they vote for Silvio Berlusconi, despite his obvious flaws:

Foreigners find Berlusconi's success hard to comprehend. But he is loved for two reasons. First, he is an indefatigable showman. He cannot resist a joke. As Naples worried about a European ban on poisonous mozzarella, Berlusconi gingerly nibbled a morsel and pretended to collapse. The fawning crowd guffawed. His second gift is the ability to make promises just on the edge of plausibility. Those decades at the helm of Italy's biggest television network taught him how to sell dreams. (Moore, 2008).

Another insight comes from Italy itself, describing the importance of the media and Berlusconi's influence over the media in Italy:

The allegations of conspiracy, the appeals to the traditional macho instincts and sexual hypocrisy of an essentially conservative Catholic nation, along with his ownership and control of much of the media, help to explain the continuing appeal of Berlusconi despite the gaffes, sexual indiscretions and allegations of corruption. It is notable that surveys show Berlusconi's popularity is greatest among those sections of the Italian population who spend the most hours in front of their television sets. (Fella & Russa, 2009).

This is Italian *bella figura* - literally "beautiful form" - taken to a glorious extreme.

Berlusconi is very conscious about his image and, as a television man, he knows how to sell it to the public. More importantly, because of his influence on media he also has the power to get the message across.

3.1 Berlusconi and the EU

Under Berlusconi, Italy has continued its traditional stance of supporting reforms that would enlarge the European Union's range of policies and competences. However, the Berlusconi government has in fact been more outspoken and assertive in its dealings with Europe than any of its predecessors. (Groci, 2005).

It is clear where Silvio Berlusconi finds his main political arena: nationally. He has never really showed any real interest in the EU. Unless there is something he needs or wants on the agenda, or the EU is jeopardising his – business or private – interests. He sometimes even

departs from EU summits before the closing ceremony or the drafting of the joint declaration (Trend, 2010).

An example of his disinterest in EU affairs is the fact that some of his woman friends, television presenters, or wives of business associates are sent to Brussels, as members of the European parliament, whilst protégées, and those closest and most loyal to him, are sent to the Italian chamber of representatives. In Italy, they even have a special name for this phenomenon: *Euroveline* (Gomes *et al.*, 2009). Berlusconi has always denied this claim, by pointing at the resumes of the selected candidates. On recent European negotiations on climate talk, Berlusconi was reported to be sketching and distributing among the other government leaders, drawings of women's underwear (Daily mail, 2009).

Nevertheless, on particular European summits and in particular European policy areas - e.g. media policy and abortion debates -, Berlusconi can act fierce, sudden and vocal. It seems that he selects the topics that are close to him, or important to Italy, and is less strict on other issues. In 2005, for example, Berlusconi lobbied hard and successfully to have the European Food-Safety authority settle in Parma rather than in Finland, as according to *il Cavaliere*, Finns "do not know what prosciutto is".

Two of Berlusconi's greatest frustrations on European level are European bureaucracy and European judges. The Italian Prime Minister has taken aim at these on many occasions (EU business, 2008). He is also often frustrated about the level of involvement of the European Commission in National affairs:

The commissioners within the EU executive "have nothing to talk about. Their job is to tell member states how to achieve the objectives set by the heads of state and government. "Governments should not have to find themselves under the newspaper spotlight every three days thanks to their statements," Berlusconi insisted during his first European Summit since returning to power in April. (EU business, 2008).

Other notorious occurrences involving Silvio Berlusconi and international negotiations include having Angela Merkel wait at a NATO welcome ceremony due to an urgent phone call, bothering Queen Elisabeth by shouting to President Obama (BBC News, 2009), and the previously mentioned events of playing hide and seek with German Chancellor Angela Merkel and calling President Obama "tanned" (La Repubblica, 2010). Consequently, we can conclude that the Italian leader has developed a reputation for gaffes, outspoken comments and playful behaviour, also on the world stage.

Despite his many gaffes with the German Chancellor, Berlusconi has a good working relationship with Angela Merkel. As Angela Merkel, also Silvio Berlusconi has a warm relationship with Russian prime-minister Vladimir Putin:

Following a very intimate and successful meeting with Vladimir Putin, Italy's Prime Minister-elect Silvio Berlusconi said that he would urge the EU to ease visa restrictions for Russians. Italy is a signatory of the Schengen agreement. (Russia Today, 2008).

It is known that Berlusconi has openly stated that he would like to see Russia, and even Israel, enter the EU (Reuters, 2010).


It is clear that Berlusconi's flamboyant personality livens up affairs during European summits. Let us now turn to how his personality is composed.

3.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Silvio Berlusconi

The following section describes the results of the research process according to the MIDC approach for the politician Silvio Berlusconi. The score-sheet in table 4 shows the personality scales by which the politician was "scored".

Subject: Silvio Berlusconi

Date: May 2010



Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria

Score Sheet

Attribute	Scale																								Attribute totals:												
	1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6				7			8			9			10		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c		a	b	c	a	b	c	d	e	d	e		
A	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	20		
B	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	14			
C	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	1		
D	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	3		
E	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	3		
	2	6	6	2	6	6	2	2	3	4	6	9	1	2		3	2	4	3	1										8	5		5				
Scale totals:	14			14			6			19			3			3			9			1			-			-			13			5			

Table 4, MIDC Scoresheet for Silvio Berlusconi.

As can be seen from his scoresheet, Silvio Berlusconi scored on 41 items out of a possible 170 of the Millon Inventory Diagnostic Criteria. The Italian Prime Minister gets high

points in the behavioural domains expression (A, 20 scores), and interpersonal relationships (B, 14 scores). Self-image (E, 3 scores), mood / temperament (D, 3 score) and cognitive style (C, 1 score) are no relevant behavioural domains with Berlusconi.

With *il Cavaliere*, there are three of the twelve personality types prominently present (Level II): the outgoing pattern (3 scale, 19 points), the dominant (1A scale, 14 points), and the dauntless pattern (1B scale, 14 points). The Italian Prime Minister scores significantly on the presence of two other personality patterns (level I): the contentious pattern (scale 5b, 9 points) and the ambitious pattern (scale 2, 6 points).

Non-significant scores (less than five points) Berlusconi received for the accommodating pattern (scale 4, 3 points), the aggrieved pattern (5A scale, 3 point), and the conscientious pattern (scale 6, 1 point).

With regard to the disturbed patterns, Berlusconi scores considerable on the distrusting pattern (scale 9, score 13, where 20 is needed to express a moderate disturbance), and moderately on the erratic pattern (scale 10, 5 points, where also a score of 20 is needed to establish a moderate disturbance).

On no scale, Berlusconi scored dysfunctional (level III and higher), although we have to state that his score on the jovial, or outgoing personality type, scale 3 is verging on the edge of the dysfunctional level, with a score of 19 where a score of 24 or higher expresses a dysfunctional personality type. We could find no evidence to the presence of the reticent type, and the retiring type (patterns 7 and 8) with Silvio Berlusconi.

When looking at the findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis, Berlusconi's person is mostly characterised by outgoing², dauntless³ and dominant⁴ patterns. Furthermore,

² E.g. code 3Aa, sociable: "During his university studies he was an upright bass player in a group formed with the now Mediaset Chairman and amateur pianist Fedele Confalonieri and occasionally performed as a cruise ship crooner. In later life he wrote AC Milan's anthem with the Italian music producer and pop singer Tony Renis and Forza Italia's anthem with the opera director Renato Serio. With the Neapolitan singer Mariano Apicella he wrote two Neapolitan song albums: *Meglio 'na canzone* in 2003 and *L'ultimo amore* in 2006." (Wikipedia, 2010); e.g. code 3Ab, dramatic: "Now the prime minister contests the press versions of the Noemi story. "I never said anything else at all. I replied immediately to the single question of whether I had ever had spicy relations. And I said: 'Absolutely not'. I made it more solemn by swearing on the lives of my children. I never said anything else at all. Yet look at what some of the papers are saying"." *Corriere della sera*, 29/5/2010; e.g. code 3Ac, impulsive: "On 18 November 2008, Berlusconi played "hide-and-seek" with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. He was set to receive Merkel but opted to hide behind a column while Merkel and her entourage walked by. According to reporters present, Berlusconi called out "coo coo", prompting Mrs Merkel to turn around, saying "Oh, Silvio". *Repubblica* (2010). Taken 5/5/2010 from: <http://tv.repubblica.it/copertina/e-berlusconi-fa-cucu-alla-merkel/26451?video>.

³ E.g. code 1BBa, adventurous: The rivalry between Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and the speaker of the lower house exploded in a public row, when the prime minister asked Gianfranco Fini to resign, while the latter called on him to allow more debate within the party. "Political statements aren't supposed to come from

we found evidence of the contentious⁵ and ambitious⁶ patterns. Silvio Berlusconi's profile is plotted in figure 2.

people who head non-partisan institutions," Berlusconi said to Fini Thursday at a People of Liberty party meeting in here. Fini, who was sitting in the front row, was caught by television cameras saying, "What are you going to do, sack me?" When Berlusconi took the podium, Fini stood up and interrupted his speech while shaking his finger at the premier. IANS (2010). Berlusconi embroiled in public row, Thaindian News. April 23rd, 2010 Taken 24/4/2010 from:

http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/berlusconi-embroiled-in-public-row_100352676.html; e.g. code 1ABc, reckless: „I'm paler [than Mr Obama], because it's been so long since I went sunbathing. He's more handsome, younger and taller." Squires, N. (2009b).

⁴ E.g. code 1AAa, assertive: "Their public dispute was rekindled this week when a close aide to Fini, Italo Bocchino, quit his job as deputy whip for the party in the lower house of parliament. Bocchino accused Berlusconi of forcing him out because he had defended Fini in TV talk shows, and of wanting to discourage debate within the party." Rizzo, A. (2010). Berlusconi defiant despite gov't infighting. Associated Press. Taken 2/5/2010 from: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20100430/ap_on_re_eu/eu_italy_berlusconi; e.g. code 1AAb, forceful: "Volgens de media tonen de afgeluisterde conversaties aan dat Berlusconi het soms provocerende programma AnnoZero beëindigd zou zien en dat hij daarvoor druk zou hebben uitgeoefend op Innocenzi en Minzolini." De Morgen, 16/3/2010. Berlusconi probeerde politieke talkshow te stoppen; e.g. code 1AAc, aggressive: "Magistrates walked out of courts across Italy on Saturday in protest against Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's judicial reforms and what they see as aggressive language used against them. [...]" An execution squad, sewer, cancer, metastasis -- these are some of the words that the prime minister and his deputies have used to describe us," said Gioacchino Natoli of the National Magistrates Association union, which organized the protest. [...] Berlusconi has been on the warpath against the magistrates -- whom he accuses of being "communists" out to destroy him -- for months and has vowed to overhaul the judiciary with reforms that critics say are tailor-made to shield him from prosecution." Reuters, 30/01/2010. Italian magistrates walk out, say PM is aggressive. Taken 23/4/2010 from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE60T1AS20100130>.

⁵ E.g. code 5ABa, nonconformist: "Speaking to cameras admitted to Palazzo Chigi for the signing of a protocol for Abruzzo, a smiling Silvio Berlusconi commented on the way the press has seized on the Noemi affair. "Has anyone got any questions for me?" was the rhetorical enquiry with which Mr Berlusconi introduced his statement denying any "spicy relations" with Noemi. The premier also pointed out that had any such thing occurred, he would have resigned "immediately"." Corriere della sera, 29/5/2010, taken from; http://www.corriere.it/english/09_maggio_29/berlusconi_4939b106-4c49-11de-b7be-00144f02aabc.shtml; e.g. code 5ABb, resistant: "In seguito, uscendo da da Confcommercio, il Premier ha corretto il tiro: «Un'ironia». Anzi, «un modo affettuoso» ha detto ritorna sul termine coglioni utilizzato nel suo intervento. «E poi l'ho detto col sorriso sulle labbra», insiste il premier che, rivolgendosi ai suoi avversari politici, osserva: «Da loro mi sono arrivate accuse serie e non si sono ancora scusati.» "Berlusconi: «Non credo tanti coglioni". Corriere della Sera. 2006-04-06. Taken 3/5/2010 From:

http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Politica/2006/Notizie/Politiche2006/articoli/04_Aprile/04/coglioni.shtml; e.g. code 5ABc, resentful: "Het Openbaar Ministerie heeft een onderzoek geopend tegen Berlusconi wegens machtsmisbruik vanwege zijn beïnvloeding van de media. Berlusconi op zijn beurt betiteld magistraten geregeld als 'communisten' of 'zieken'." De Volkskrant, 04/04/2010. Nieuwe rel om persvrijheid Italië.

⁶ E.g. code 2AAb, conceited: "Still, as the campaign marches on, Berlusconi remains the unrivaled master of hogging the spotlight. Last weekend, he finished off a speech by theatrically tearing up a piece of paper he said was a copy of Veltroni's policy program." Time magazine, 14/3/2008. Taken 3/5/2010 from:

<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSl>; e.g. code 2AAc, arrogant: "Hij voelt zich onoverwinnelijk en onkwetsbaar, zwaait met opiniepeilingen die zeggen dat hij 'bij 75 procent populair is', hij roept zichzelf uit tot 'de meest geliefde regeringsleider te wereld, vóór Lula en Obama'. En omdat de oppositie [...] volstrekt afwezig is, denkt hij dat hij kan doen wat hij maar wil. Zelfs de Romeinse keizer Caligula voorbijstreven, die – als minimalist – zich beperkte tot het brengen van een paard naar de Senaat." Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). *Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht*. Amsterdam: Lebowski, p. 140.; e.g. code 2AAc: "Later at the national assembly of the Confesercenti retailers' association, the prime minister commented ironically on charges made in the foreign press (particularly the Financial Times): "Mussolini had squads of Blackshirts while I, according to the papers that are tucked under the carpet of the Left, have squads of starlets. At least it's a bit better"." Corriere della sera, 29/5/2010, taken from; http://www.corriere.it/english/09_maggio_29/berlusconi_4939b106-4c49-11de-b7be-00144f02aabc.shtml.

With mister Berlusconi there are five personality scales present, three of which are prominently present. This leads us to conclude that Mr. Berlusconi has a balanced personality, without any dysfunctional personality types. The level of the outgoing pattern of Mr. Berlusconi is quite high, although not dysfunctional; it is verging on the edge of being so. This is mainly due to the many scandals including his sexual affairs, inappropriate gaffes, and flirtatious behaviour. In particular, after the 2009 scandal resulting in his divorce from Veronica Lario, there is a lot of evidence and material available, which scores high in the outgoing domain. Nevertheless, there is no evidence for establishing a dysfunctional level of outgoingness.

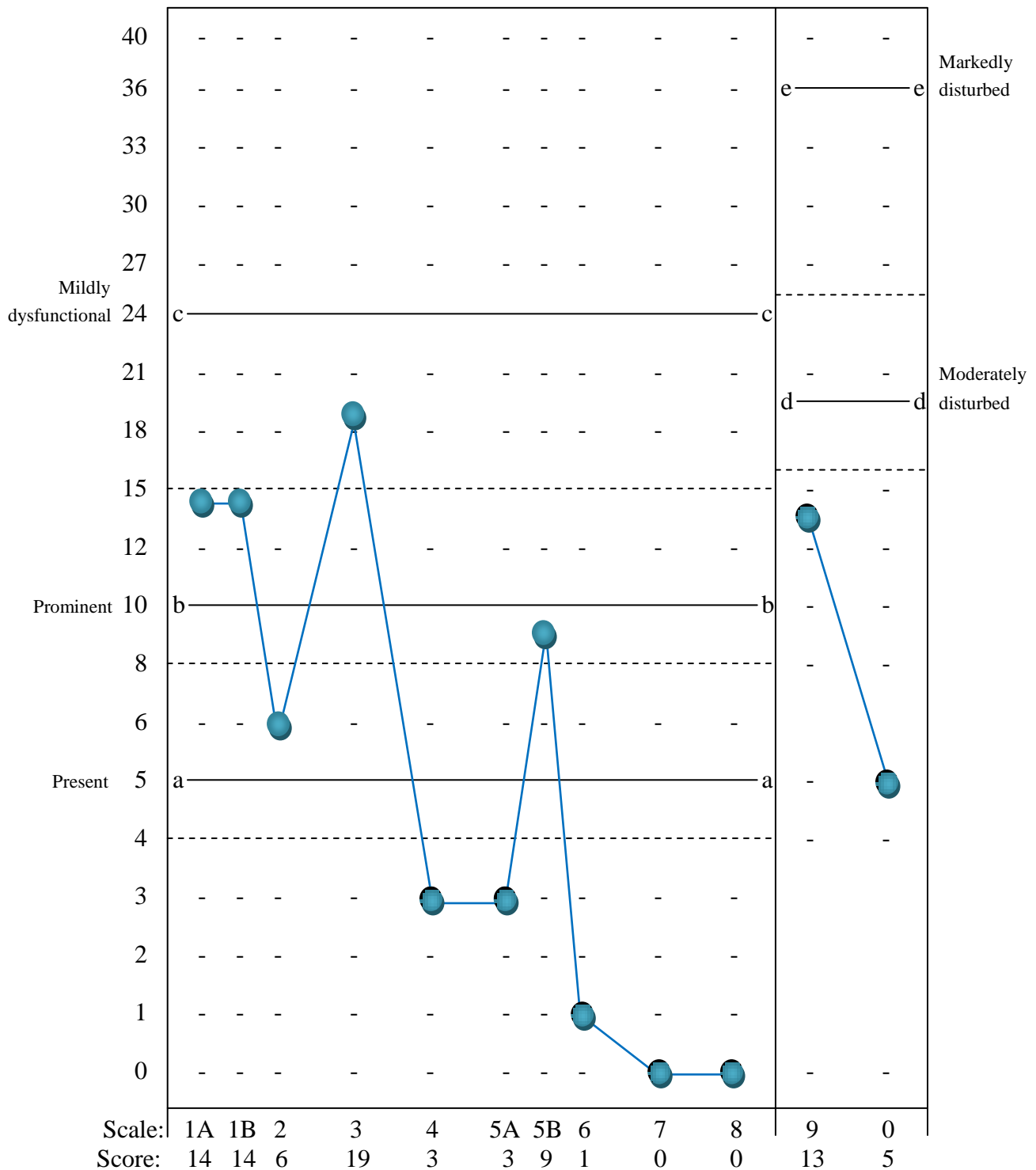
We conclude that the Prime Minister of Italy appears to have an outgoing, dominant and daunting personality. Of course, these three features enhance each other even further. He is an out-spoken man, with overall a slightly unbalanced and unstable personality. The biggest example of the presence of this profile with Mr. Berlusconi, is the fact that he is known by his nickname *il Cavaliere*, “the Cavalier”.

Outgoing and dominant people are often found in politics, they have a great need for power and dominance - examples include Winston Churchill and Saddam Hussein, (De Landtsheer, Winkelmanns, & Immelman, 2004). The person with, what is also known as the “aggressive” leadership style, enjoys directing others to obey and respect him. Berlusconi appears to believe quite strongly in himself, he is ambitious and competitive. A dominant person can be hard and unsentimental, and often unpleasant. Usually this type demonstrates his or her power-oriented tendencies by taking roles, he assumes, the public has accepted. Occasionally, these tendencies develop into stubbornness, perfectionism, and thoroughness. Every once in a while, statements surface that reveal the strictness of Berlusconi and denounce his enthusiasm and sense of responsibility. These periodic negative expressions do not prevent dominant types from being effective leaders with the skills to supervise and persuade themselves and others to pursue the common goals. This is of course, very important, and relevant for Berlusconi’s endeavours in EU politics.

Apart from the accommodating pattern, Berlusconi scores high on the three other scales necessary for establishing the potential of an effective negotiator with Mr Berlusconi. However, as argued, his score in the outgoing pattern is quite high. In particular in combination with the absence of the accommodating pattern, one may wonder if such a jovial person that does not care much about his negotiation partners is an effective negotiator. Nevertheless, his prominent scores in the daunting and dominant patterns demonstrate that

Silvio Berlusconi is an exploring negotiator, who takes up a hard position on the substance and will try to dominate the process of the negotiations.

Figure 2. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: *Silvio Berlusconi*



4. Angela Merkel

Angela Dorothea Kasner was born in Hamburg on 17 July 1954. Her father was a Lutheran reverent and her mother a teacher. At the age of three, Merkel's family moved to the DDR, as her father was given a religious position there (HDG, 2010). This event is important in understanding the psychology of Angela Merkel, as growing up in the Communist DDR has shaped her personality to a large extent.

Most of her childhood, Angela Merkel spend in Templin. She has a younger brother and sister. In 1977, the former Angela Kasner married physics student Ulrich Merkel. The marriage ended in divorce in 1982. Her second and current husband is quantum chemist and Professor Joachim Sauer, who has largely remained out of the media spotlight. She has no children of her own (Von Bassewitz & Chaperon, 2009; HDG, 2010).

Her political career starts around 1968, when she, like many East-German youngsters, joins the communist youth movement *Freie Deutsche Jugend*. Of this movement, she becomes *Kulturfunktionärin* – culture secretary -, which she remains until 1990 (HDG, 2010).

Merkel is a physicist, earning a Ph.D. in Physical chemistry in 1986. After having worked as a scientist and researcher for several years, Merkel became politically active in 1989, when she joined the *Demokratischer Aufbruch* - Democratic Awakening, DA - that was, after die Wende, resolved in the CDU. DA played a very active role in the fall of the Berlin wall. In 1991, she was appointed minister for Youth and Women. Due to the fact that her profile ticked many minority boxes in German politics – she was a woman, young, and from Eastern-Germany -, Merkel was catapulted into the party top (Von Bassewitz & Chaperon, 2009). She was elected one of the vice-presidents of the CDU and in 1994 she was appointed as Minister for the Environment and Nuclear Safety. In 1998 and 1999, the CDU was forced into opposition. Angela Merkel was soon put forward as party leader, in particular when she openly criticised former patron Helmut Kohl, because of his role in a party financing scandal. As the position of Kohl was ruined because of the scandal, and Merkel was the first to publicly criticise her former benefactor, she gained importance and was soon elected as CDU-leader, in 2000. However, Merkel was not allowed to lead the CDU in the 2002 elections. The candidate, Edmund Stoiber, rendered himself chanceless for future political roles as he lost the elections by a thin margin, after having had a huge lead in the opinion polls (Spiegel, 2010). Consequently, Merkel lead the CDU in the Bundestag for 5 consecutive years, despite some of her party members believing she was just a transitional

president (ibid.). As an opposition leader, Merkel led the CDU to victories in 2005 and again in 2009, becoming the first *Bundeskanslerin*. As Germany's face to the world, Merkel immediately became an influential figure in international politics, topping Forbes magazine's list of "the World's 100 Most Powerful Women" in 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2010 (Serafin, 2010).

4.1 Merkel and the EU

Merkel's position in the EU defines itself by her position as Chancellor of the biggest economy in Europe. This has given her substantial weight in negotiations, in particular, economic EU negotiations. Within the EU she has managed to broker important solutions over financing, carbon emissions and the controversial European constitution. During the 2007 German EU presidency, Merkel pushed forward European science and technology policy (Merkel, 2006), she - together with Commission President José Manuel Barroso - emphasised EU solidarity with Russia despite the gas crisis (Barysch, 2007), and she promoted renewable energy sources and cutting European carbon emissions, an area where Germany is leading the EU (Schreurs & Tiberghien, 2007). Her most important achievement, however, was continuing the process of restructuring the EU, resulting eventually in the Lisbon Treaty, after the no-votes in France and the Netherlands and the consequent end of the European constitution (Euractiv, 2007).

Traditionally, German Chancellors are the main advocates of the European integration process. Merkel, however, sees the concept of Europe as one of costs and benefits. The benefits include, for example, the domestic political points she can score by taking a sceptical tone on Europe and a tough stance in economic negotiations. Accordingly, another important feature, when considering Merkel's position in Europe, is the fact that Germany's public opinion is slightly shifting towards a more negative stance on further European integration "In these circumstances, it would take courage to argue for European community spirit. But having the courage to oppose public opinion isn't one of Merkel's traditional strengths" (Spiegel, 2010).

This is not good news for Europe. EU integration only happened because German governments pushed for it, and the economy has always backboned the EU. Consecutive chancellors not only supported, but drove forward EU reforms, economic adaptations – e.g. the Euro - and deeper and wider integration. Merkel, during her first four-year term, was no exception to this.

However, at the moment, commentators publicly question the fact that the current economic turmoil has no effect on this stance on the EU. With current public opinion polls increasingly unsupportive of further EU integration and a lot of German money flowing towards the EU and Greece as part of the financial rescue plan, it would require a lot of determination to argue and strive for a more European political course. Commentators are questioning Angela Merkel's position in this:

Would she still have the determination today to push for a fundamental decision like the EU's eastward expansion or the introduction of the euro, even if it meant opposing the will of her own country's population? At the moment, this seems at least doubtful. Last Monday evening, Merkel invited the CDU and CSU members of the European Parliament to meet with her at the Chancellery. The guests soon realised that the chancellor showed little enthusiasm for Europe. (Spiegel, 2010).

Adding to the difficulties, Angela Merkel is facing a 2009 German National Federal Constitutional Court ruling on the Lisbon Treaty, which put a stop to further integration steps, without consent from the *Bundesrat* that represents the federal *ländern* (HIB, 2009). If Merkel wants to substantially further European integration – although arguably, after the recent restructuring and with the current high levels of Euroscepticism in Germany that seems highly unlikely – than she has to get agreement from the *Bundesrat*.

Important remarks with regard to her personality and the EU, is the fact that Angela Merkel speaks fluent Russian – which means that she can directly communicate with Russian President Medvedev and Prime-Minister Putin. German-Russian relations are, perhaps as a result, at a high, despite recent turmoil over gas and energy infrastructure (Barysch, 2007). The EU has recognised and used this feature, by often sending Merkel to discuss EU-Russian relations, or other Eastern-European issues. In addition, Angela Merkel is very close to Dutch Prime-Minister Jan Peter Balkenende, because of the fact that he speaks German and both are protestant Christian conservatives. Furthermore, as we will find in this paper - both have a retiring personality. Also, under the reign of Merkel, the French-German block in the EU has been rebuild, as Merkel's relationship with French President Nicolas Sarkozy has often been described as very warm.

Similarly, though they couldn't be more different as far as temperaments are concerned, Sarkozy and Merkel seem to have une certaine idée de l'europe in common: they both realise Europe cannot and should not aspire to define itself against the US. José Manuel Barroso, the president of the European Commission, is Merkel's man – an ex-Maoist who sees Europe as an "Empire" holding the decisive centre of the western alliance. As far as

Russia is concerned, Merkel has been candid about that country's disgraceful human rights situation, and although she hasn't gone as far as stopping Schröder's Nordstream gas pipeline (which she ought to do), she has lent quiet but decisive support to the Nabucco pipeline (a pet project of Barroso's), which will get Central Asian gas to Europe through Turkey, bypassing Russia. (Guardian, 2009).

Although in recent times, it has come under pressure due to the financial crisis and the problems the EU is having in finding a common approach (de Volkskrant, 2010).

4.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Angela Merkel

The following sections describe the results of the research process according to the MIDC approach for the politician Angel Merkel. The score-sheet in table 5 shows the personality scales by which the politician was scored.

Subject: Angela Merkel

Date: May 2010

Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria Score Sheet

		Scale																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
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Table 5 MIDC Scoresheet for the personality of Angela Merkel

The *Bundeskanzlerin* scores on 41 items out of a possible 170 of the Millon Inventory Diagnostic Criteria. Angela Merkel receives high scores in the behavioural domains expression (A, 21 scores), and interpersonal relationships (B, 12 scores). Cognitive style (C, 3 score), mood / temperament (D, 3 score), and self-image (E, 2 scores) are less relevant behavioural domains in Merkel's personality.

The scores have been plotted in figure 3. We found two of the twelve personality types prominently present (Level II) with Mrs Merkel. The conscientious pattern (scale 6, 13

points)⁷, and the accommodating pattern (scale 4, 10 points)⁸, are the most prominent personality features with Mrs Merkel. The chancellor scores significantly on the presence of

⁷ E.g. code 6Aa, dutiful: "The German chancellor's approach in the past was to quietly and steadfastly pursue her interests in Brussels with the help of key partners or the European Commission." (Spiegel, 29/3/2010); e.g. code 6Ab, rigid: "Positiv gewendet, drückt das Gröhe so aus: "Es gibt Politiker und auch Meinungsführer, die dazu neigen, schon die Wahrnehmung der Realität als eine Anpassung an den Zeitgeist zu kritisieren. Angela Merkel gehört definitiv nicht dazu. Derartige Scheuklappen sind ihr fremd, ärgern sie geradezu. Für sie ist eine ehrliche Bestandsaufnahme der Situation Grundvoraussetzung für erfolgreiches politisches Handeln." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 6Ac, perfectionistic: „So akribisch wie sie waren ihre beiden Vorgänger im Kanzleramt gewiss nicht.“ (Die Zeit, 8/4/2010); e.g. code 6Bb, exacting: „Some people said Angela Merkel was boring and provincial, but they underestimated her," says Detmar Doering, the head of the Liberal Institute in Potsdam. He says Mrs Merkel - the first chancellor from the former communist east - does not need to rely on charisma to win over voters, because she is a pragmatic politician who inspires confidence." (BBC News, 27/9/2009); e.g. code 6Ca, circumspect: "Dass sie sich nicht überhöht, dass sie zuhören kann, dass sie fleißig ist und von eiserner Geduld, dass sie keine Feinde kennt und daher auch kaum Polemik – all das macht Merkel zunächst mal zu einer passenden Kanzlerin für dieses Land." (Die Zeit, 8/4/2010); e.g. code 6Cb, unimaginative: „True to form, Merkel has tended to go with the tide rather than attempt to turn it. As a physicist, she won't repeat Canute's mistake. Or Sarkozy's mistakes, for that matter. This passivity can exasperate us journalists, who then tend to mutter darkly that she "has no principles" or at least that we don't know what she really stands for. But Merkel knows that she gains authority by seeming to be above the fray. When called for, she is ready to use that authority." (Guardian, 2009).

⁸ E.g. code 4Aa, accommodating: "Das entspricht, wie auch sonst, jener Bemerkung Frau Merkels vom Jahresanfang: "In bestimmter Weise habe ich auch was zu sagen, aber ich kann viel sagen, wenn nicht andere mitmachen und wenn wir nicht bestimmte Dinge gemeinsam unternehmen." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 4Ab, inept: „The German chancellor's approach in the past was to quietly and steadfastly pursue her interests in Brussels with the help of key partners or the European Commission." (Spiegel, 29/3/2010); e.g. code 4Ac, dependent: "In einer Fernsehsendung hat das Frau Merkel kurzgefasst: "Mal bin ich liberal, mal bin ich konservativ, mal bin ich christlich-sozial - und das macht die CDU aus." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 4Ba, conciliatory: "Sie scheiterte mit diesem Ansinnen an ihrer Partei. Frau Merkel machte das Beste daraus." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 4Bb, submissive: "Manche beklagen sich, dass die Kanzlerin für fast alles und jeden Verständnis habe. Selbst für ihre Gegner., (Die Zeit, 8/4/2010); e.g. code 4Ea, considerate: " Die Frage, ob Merkel immer noch mit der rheinisch-katholischen CDU fremdelt, lächelte Merkel weg. Schließlich meinte sie: "Ich komme nicht aus dem Rheinland, das ist unübersehbar. Ich bin aber für die ganze CDU verantwortlich." Den Vorwurf der Moderatorin, sie brauche die Konservativen in ihrer Partei nicht mehr, ließ sich Merkel nicht gefallen. "Ich bin manchmal auch konservativ", sagte die Parteichefin und betonte, die CDU habe drei Wurzeln: das Christentum, das Liberale und das Konservative., (Quadbeck, 2009).

two other personality patterns (level I): the reticent pattern (scale 7, 6 points)⁹, the retiring pattern (scale 8, score 6)¹⁰, and the aggrieved pattern (5A scale, 5 point)¹¹.

Non-significant scores (four points or less) are found for the dominant (1A scale, 4 points)¹², the daunting (1B scale, 4 points)¹³, the ambitious (scale 2, 4 points)¹⁴, the

⁹ E.g. code 7Aa, watchful: "Positiv gewendet, drückt das Gröhe so aus: "Es gibt Politiker und auch Meinungsführer, die dazu neigen, schon die Wahrnehmung der Realität als eine Anpassung an den Zeitgeist zu kritisieren. Angela Merkel gehört definitiv nicht dazu. Derartige Scheuklappen sind ihr fremd, ärgern sie geradezu. Für sie ist eine ehrliche Bestandsaufnahme der Situation Grundvoraussetzung für erfolgreiches politisches Handeln." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 7Ab, guarded: "Erschwerend kommen die kleinen Fehler hinzu, die sich die Kandidatin leistet: Gleich zweimal verwechselt sie in Interviews Brutto mit Netto, wenn es um das Einkommen der Menschen in Deutschland geht. Und im Nachhinein versucht die Union, diesen Lapsus im Internet wenigstens zu vertuschen. Das schürt den Eindruck, dass Merkel unsicher ist – und vor laufenden Kameras dem so genannten Medienkanzler einfach hoffnungslos unterlegen wäre. Wo Schröder das Fernsehen nutzt, um zu überzeugen, um den sympathischen Macher zu geben, der ja nur unser Bestes will, muss Merkel fürchten, an die Wand geredet zu werden. (Mai, 2005); e.g. code 7Bb, apprehensive: „Merkel behauptet, das habe alles nichts mit ihr zu tun, sie kann für alle drei Parteien interne Gründe für ihr irrationales Verhalten angeben. Diese Gründe gibt es gewiss, doch ist es auch sie, die Horst Seehofer und Guido Westerwelle, um es mal bayerisch zu sagen, narrisch macht. (Die Zeit, 8/4/2010); e.g. code 7Db, anguished: „The fact is, Merkel is an opportunist in the manner of most successful politicians. And she is so concerned with covering her tracks, with trying to shield herself from attack, that she may no longer really know what did or did not happen on certain crucial evenings in 1990." (Boyes, 2005).

¹⁰ E.g. code 8Aa, indifferent: "German Chancellor Angela Merkel isn't one for big speeches, and pathos makes her uncomfortable." (BBC News, 27/9.2009); e.g. code 8Ab, solitary: "Es war nicht ihre vorausschauende Entscheidung. Angela Merkels Teilnahme ist einem bewussten Kalkül geschuldet. Die Kanzlerin ist der öffentlichen Meinung gefolgt, fürchtete den Druck, hat die Argumente abgewogen und schließlich entschieden. Merkel agiert nicht spontan, sie wartet, führt nicht von vornweg, sondern eher von hinten. Der Erfolg gibt ihr scheinbar recht. Seit zehn Jahren steht sie an der Spitze der CDU." (Presseschau Deutschlandfunk, 2010); e.g. code 8Bb, aloof: „Mr Brown greeted his counterpart in Downing Street with an awkward peck on the cheek. But Mrs Merkel was left looking distinctly unimpressed by his attentions, judging by the sour expression on her face." (Waites, 2008); e.g. code 8Da, unexcited: "Das OBERMAIN-TAGBLATT aus Lichtenfels erinnert daran: "Im letzten Moment hat sich die Kanzlerin besonnen und an der Trauerfeier für die gefallenen deutschen Soldaten teilgenommen. Es machte sich nicht gut, dass sie dazu erst aufgefordert werden musste bevor sie ihren Osterurlaub abbrach." (Presseschau Deutschlandfunk, 2010).

¹¹ E.g. code 5AAa, humble: "Das entspricht, wie auch sonst, jener Bemerkung Frau Merkels vom Jahresanfang: "In bestimmter Weise habe ich auch was zu sagen, aber ich kann viel sagen, wenn nicht andere mitmachen und wenn wir nicht bestimmte Dinge gemeinsam unternehmen." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 5AAb, abstinent: „Ihre einstige Wortwahl vom "Durchregieren", das hat sie (mindestens) gelernt und vielleicht auch schon immer gewusst, war ein Missgriff. Ungern legt sie sich frühzeitig fest. Gern lässt sie andere im Unklaren, was sie eigentlich bezweckt. Ihre Argumentation verknüpft die Wirklichkeit mit Möglichkeiten und Wahrscheinlichkeiten. Auch deshalb fühlen sich Teile der CDU unverstanden - vom Mittelstand über den konservativen Flügel bis hin zu einem neu gebildeten katholischen Arbeitskreis." (ibid.); e.g. code 5CAa, unsure: „Angela Merkel führt, um ein Wort von Christian Wulff zu gebrauchen, "die Herde von hinten". Oft sieht man sie hinter der Herde kaum noch, sie liefert wenige Vorgaben und wenig Überbau für ihre Politik." (Die Zeit, 8/4/2010); e.g. code 5EAa, inconsequential: „It was an unusual sight: Angela Merkel's naturally melancholic features broke into a broad grin yesterday when she heard that Germany's four Opel car works had been saved as part of a deal that handed the company to a Canadian-Russian consortium. "We are exceptionally happy," said the German leader. "The patience and the determination of the Government paid off." (The times, 2009).

¹² E.g. code 1AAa, assertive: "Merkel's new course is even alarming members of her own party, the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU)." (Spiegel, 29/3/2010); e.g. code 1AAb, forceful: "Mrs Merkel has gone from strength to strength since being elected Chancellor by a wafer thin majority in 2005. Her unpretentious, straightforward style has won her a reputation as a powerful and effective negotiator." (Paterson, 2008); e.g. code 1BAa, commanding: "Mrs Merkel has taken the credit for negotiating global carbon emissions targets that were ratified at this year's G8 summit in Japan. In Germany, the conservative media has already declared her "Mrs World" and refers to her as the undisputed Queen of the EU." (Paterson, 2008).

contentious type (scale 5B, score 4)¹⁵, and the outgoing pattern (scale 3, 2 points)¹⁶. We have to note here, that there is some evidence that Angela Merkel could have a higher score in the ambitious pattern. We have found only one source in the 2Ac¹⁷, 2Da¹⁸ and 2Ea¹⁹ sections, even after extensive research. Therefore, we cannot confirm presence of these features, but we can state that we suspect that it might be present, meaning that Merkel's ambitious personality type could be as high as 8. Furthermore, because the benchmark of establishing the presence of a certain personality feature is laid at a score of 5 by Aubrey Immanuel (2004), Merkel has a score of four in four different personality types. Despite of the fact that we cannot establish a significant amount of presence, these are still relevant scores and we can conclude that there is at least limited presence of all of these four personality types in the personality of Angela Merkel.

¹³ E.g. code 1ABa, adventurous: "The German leader's consensual style was well suited to the politics of compromise imposed by co-habitation with the social democrats. Pundits hope that those qualities can be put to good use as the helmsman of a more adventurous government." (The Telegraph, 29/9/2009); e.g. code 1ABB, fearless: "Merkel is now the first chancellor to have abandoned this principle on an important issue. She has made it clear that there are German interests and European interests, and that they are not necessarily the same. It is a paradigm shift in Germany's European policy." (Spiegel, 29/3/2010); e.g. code 1BBa, individualistic: "Merkel's style has also raised hackles in the Foreign Ministry. Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle, not exactly known for his quiet demeanor, is worried that it could exacerbate reservations about Europe in Germany. He also fears that Merkel's tone could lead to misunderstandings abroad. His concerns are not unjustified." (ibid.).

¹⁴ E.g. code 2Aa, confident: "Das Amt des CDU/CSU-Fraktionsvorsitzenden hatte sie sich als Gegengabe des Verzichts ausbedungen." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010); e.g. code 2Ab, conceited: „Angela Merkel ist nun seit zehn Jahren Vorsitzende der CDU, seit bald fünf Jahren Kanzlerin, und wenig spricht dagegen, dass sie auch noch ein drittes Mal zur Regierungschefin gewählt werden könnte, vielleicht mit einem dritten Koalitionspartner. Schon jetzt ist klar, dass sie in ihrem Jahrzehnt die Partei so sehr verändert hat wie vor ihr nur Konrad Adenauer und Helmut Kohl. Wie hat sie das gemacht, mit welcher Methode, und was bedeutet das für die CDU und die deutsche Demokratie?“ (Die Zeit, 8/4/2010);

¹⁵ E.g. code 5ABa, nonconformist: "Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel was today named the world's most powerful woman for the third year in succession by the US magazine Forbes although the accolade was largely ignored by her home nation which already refers to her as "Mrs World". (Paterson, 2008); e.g. code 5ABb, resistant: "As a female politician from a centre right party, and a scientist, Merkel has been compared by many in the English-language press to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Some have referred to her as "Iron Lady", "Iron Girl", and even "The Iron Frau" (all alluding to Thatcher, whose nickname was "The Iron Lady" —Thatcher also has a science degree: an Oxford University degree in chemistry). Political commentators have debated the precise extent to which their agendas are similar." (Risen, 2005); e.g. code 5BBa, unyielding: "Sie hatte keine Hausmacht. Sie verfügte nicht über das Netzwerk anderer, die politisch in der Jungen Union groß geworden waren." (Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/4/2010).

¹⁶ E.g. code 3Aa, sociable: "Merkel is also prominent at the German national football team's matches, and is an honorary club member of Energie Cottbus." (Wikipedia, 2010); e.g. code 3Ba, demonstrative: "Last year Angela Merkel received a "wild" birthday present: An adoption certificate for the male jackass penguin Helmut. On April 6th, she visited him at the zoo!" (Hannover Zoo, 2010).

¹⁷ Code 2Ac, arrogant: The true legacy of her communist youth is that the neglected, rather damaged pastor's daughter became both rootless and ruthless. Communism taught her how to stitch up rivals. (Boyes, 2005).

¹⁸ Code 2Da, poised: "Her ambition, on the other hand, is written off as a desire to please her dad. To cover up her embarrassment at being a pastor's daughter in an avowedly atheistic state, Merkel embraced the system. She was top of the class, winning a trip to Moscow because of her excellent Russian." (ibid.).

¹⁹ Code 2Ea, confident: Merkel knows that she gains authority by seeming to be above the fray. When called for, she is ready to use that authority. (Guardian, 2009).

On no scale, Mrs. Merkel scored dysfunctional (level III and higher). We have found no evidence to the presence of the distrusting pattern and the erratic type (patterns 9, and 0) with Angela Merkel.

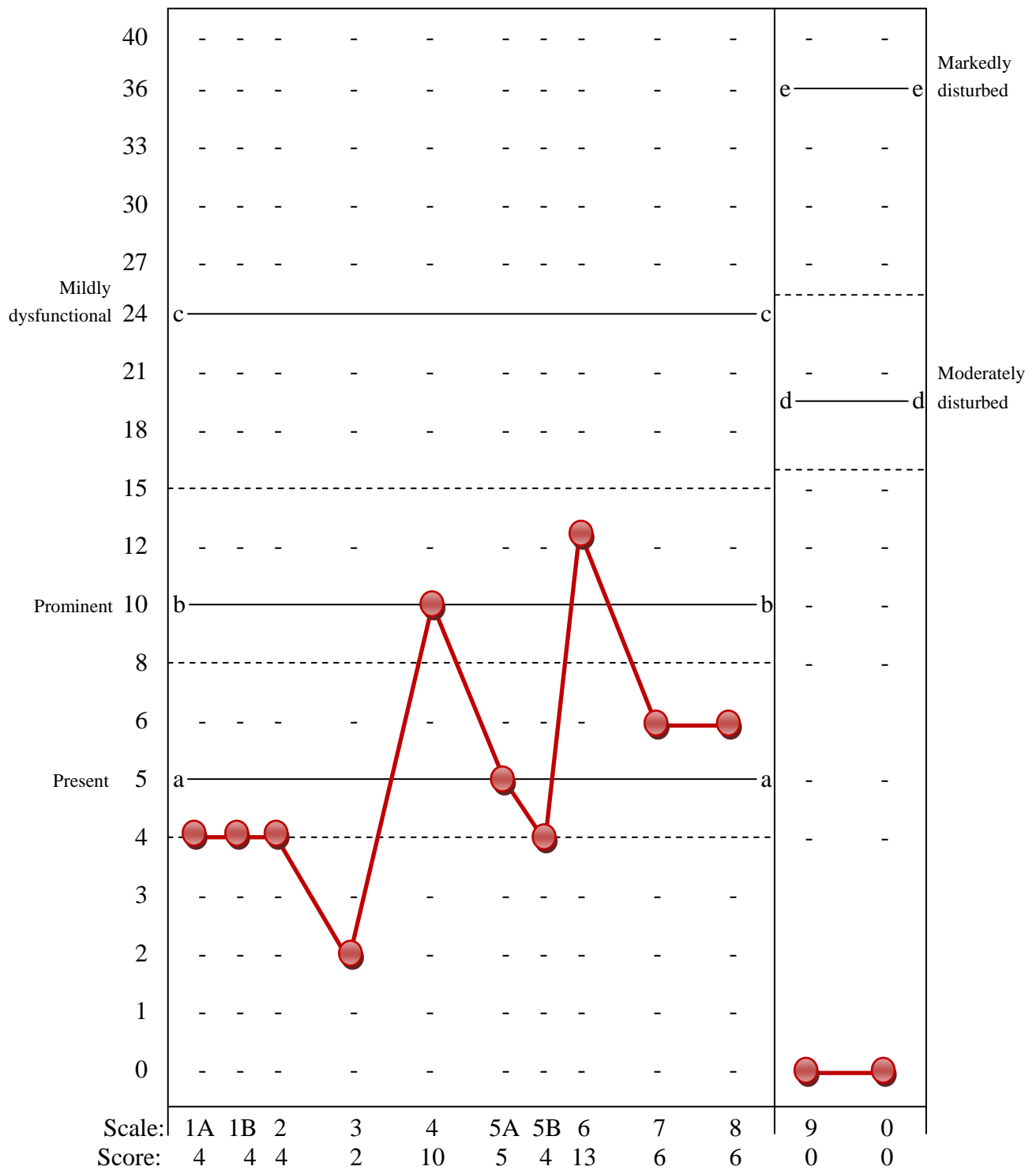
On the whole, we can say that Angela Merkel scores significantly, or close to significantly on quite a number of patterns. This in combination with the fact that she has no scores over the level of 13 leads us to believe that she has a very even personality.

In terms of MIDC scale gradation criteria (Immelman, 1999), Merkel was classified as primarily a blend of the Conscientious/dutiful (Scale 6) and accommodating (Scale 4), with secondary features of Retiring/aloof (Scale 8) personality patterns, and the Reticent/circumspect (Scale 7) pattern. With this pattern, Merkel displays signs of the reticent personality type, resembling the profile of former Dutch Social-democratic Prime Minister Wim Kok (Immelman, De Landtsheer and Van der Schaaf, 2004). The authors characterise this type of personality as...

an insecure, anxious, boring individual who relates to others in a cool, distant manner—someone who is a successful administrator but an uninspiring party leader. Insecurity and anxiety are associated with the Reticent pattern, whereas people with a combination of Conscientious and Retiring patterns typically are perceived as boring. People with Reticent or Retiring patterns (particularly the latter) are typically experienced as distant, aloof, and uninspiring (ibid., pp. 16).

With her high score on the accommodating personality (Scale 4), Angela Merkel could function as the accommodator of the European Council, serving as a unifying or force. We have seen that one more than one occasion, she has taken up this role. As established, the accommodating pattern has to be present with effective negotiators, in particular in the European context. However, her lack of significant dominant, daunting and outgoing personality features leads us to believe that Merkel is not an effective negotiator. Of course, she has the power at her side during European Council negotiations, due to the sheer size of the German economy. Nevertheless, her lack of flexibility in negotiations, and the fact that Merkel is not likely to create a jovial environment in the process, make that the personality of the German Chancellor is not ideal for negotiations in the international context.

Figure 3. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: *Angela Merkel*



5. David Cameron

David William Donald Cameron was born on 9 October 1966. He was born as the son of a wealthy London stockbroker, and he had what he describes as a “happy childhood”, with his brother Alec and sisters Tania and Clare (BBC, 2010). David Cameron visited elitist private school Eton, and he studied at the prestigious university of Oxford. This elitist background has haunted him during his entire political career, in particular during the recent elections in the United Kingdom, as his opponents used his background to demonstrate he is not in touch with the public. His privileged background is also relevant to understand the psychology of David Cameron. This background has made him the confident and ambitious man that he is, someone for whom success is evident (de Volkskrant, 2010a).

After graduating from Oxford in Philosophy, Politics and Economics, Cameron started as a researcher for the Conservative party. He became an aide for Norman Lamont, who was minister of Finance in the early nineties. In this position David Cameron sat at the heart of politics, whilst being sheltered from political turmoil. The conservative party, under the leadership of John Major faced internal struggles and an external loss of popularity. David Cameron’s march through the ranks was, however, unfettered by all this.

After witnessing the internal struggles of his party, and gaining a lot of experience in politics, Cameron leaves the political arena to gain some experience in real life. He starts to work for a Communications agency. In 2001 he returns to politics.

David Cameron was blessed, or cursed, with the tag of future Conservative leader almost as soon as he set foot in the House of Commons in 2001. Nobody imagined it would take only four years.

To his supporters - especially fellow members of the "Notting Hill Set" of modernising, young London Conservatives - Cameron represents the holy grail. He's telegenic, approachable, sanely eurosceptic, socially liberal, unburdened by baggage: a Blair for the Tories, though you'd never catch them putting it like that. (Guardian, 2005).

This particular set of qualities resulted in a victory for David Cameron and his conservative party in the 2010 British Parliamentary elections, thereby effectively ending thirteen years of Labour government. After a short period of consultations and negotiations, David Cameron announced that he will lead a coalition government with the liberal democrats, the direct result of the hung parliament outcome of the elections. Cameron is the first Tory Prime Minister since John Major, It is the first time that the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats

have had a power-sharing deal at Westminster, and it is the first coalition government since 1945.

Despite David Cameron's success in his political career, a private event has had an important impact on his personality as well. His eldest son was born severely handicapped in 2002. Cameron describes this as a significant period in his life, himself:

"It just changes your life," he says, setting down his coffee mug, his bluff tone vanishing. "It's the most appalling shock, because there are all the wonders of the baby being born, and everything is so exciting, and suddenly this news hits you like a freight train ... I was tremendously knocked back. Still am." Ivan's condition means he has frequent fits, so that one of his parents or a nurse must sleep alongside him every night. He is unlikely ever to be able to walk or talk. Did Cameron become depressed? "You are depressed for a while, yes, because you're grieving the difference between your hopes and the reality. But you do get over that, because he's wonderful ... you learn to adjust." (Guardian, 2005)

Even his most vocal critics were silent when Ivan passed away. A testimony to the fact that even with all the fortune in the world, an elite education, tremendous career and a wonderful background, not everything in life is always perfect. The tragic events and his experience with social healthcare have made David Cameron an active supporter of people with a disability and a vocal activist for a better healthcare system.

5.1 Cameron and the EU

Euroscepticism seems to be one of David Cameron's deep rooted beliefs. In 2007, only three Tory MPs voted in favour of the Lisbon Treaty. Furthermore, Cameron led his conservative party out of the – in his eyes too federal - European People's Party group, and personally established a new group, the European Conservatives and Reformists. The conservative party is joined in this new group by many Eurosceptic Eastern European parties.

Nevertheless, during the 2010 election campaign, Cameron ordered his party to end its obsession with Europe and tried to reposition it as the party of the environment and the NHS (BBC, 2010). Furthermore, he has entered into a coalition government with the pro-European Liberal Democratic Party of Nick Clegg. In the first coalition agreements of the Cameron-Clegg government, the pro-European Liberal Democrats had to let go of their desire of the UK to join the Euro zone (de Volkskrant, 2010a).

We can trace back many of the Conservatives Eurosceptic sentiment in the coalition agreement of the new Cameron government. On every future transition of sovereignty to

Brussels, the Conservative-Liberal Democratic coalition agreement requires a referendum to be held. This constitutes a clear barrier to furthering the European integration process, or at least Great Britain's part therein, as the majority of the British public is still extremely Eurosceptic (de Volkskrant, 2010a).

However, some hope for a more moderate stance of the newly formed coalition towards Brussels can also be found in the coalition agreement. The Conservative party had to agree that no efforts will be made to regain control on social and employment issues, policies that, with the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, have shifted to Brussels (de Volkskrant, 2010a; Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008).

Regarding the topic of this research and in all fairness, we must state that the personality of David Cameron in international politics might be a bit unknown to take into consideration for international negotiations. Furthermore, his party's European stance and attitude are probably of much more influence on the British stance in European negotiations in the following years, than his personality. However, that does not mean that David Cameron's personality is irrelevant to study altogether. We only have to mention Mrs. Thatcher's image of an Iron Lady and her actions in the process leading up to the British rebate, to demonstrate the tremendous effects of a dominant personality in combination with a rigid, Eurosceptic policy. The first signs of Cameron's personal endeavour on the European arena are hopeful, as his first visit to a foreign leader was to French president Nicolas Sarkozy (de Volkskrant, 2010b).

5.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis

With David Cameron, we have found 41 scores out of 170 scores on the MIDC score sheet. Relevant attributes for the new British Prime Minister are attribute A, expressive behaviour with 17 scores, attribute B, interpersonal conduct with 13 scores. Attributes E, self image with 7, and C, cognitive style with 4 scores are less relevant. There is no evidence in the mood/temperament attribute D. The score sheet for David Cameron can be found in table 6. The Conservative leader has very prominent scores in the ambitious (scale 2, score 15)²⁰, dominant (scale 1A, score 11)²¹, and outgoing (scale 3, score 8)²² personality types.

²⁰ E.g. code 2Aa, confident: "To his fans he is the Tories' answer to Blair - clever, telegenic and bent on modernising his party. To his critics he is a ludicrously inexperienced, metropolitan toff." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 2Ab, conceited: "So I believe the choice at this election is between a reactionary Labour party and the old ways of command and control, or radical change with the Conservatives – a progressive party in tune with the modern world. To Guardian readers everywhere, I say: overcome any prejudices you may have. We want to change our country, and we want to do it with your help." (Cameron, 2010); e.g. code 2Ac, arrogant: "The resentment towards Cameron - and the rest of the set - is undisguised among older MPs on both ideological

Other patterns of which presence is significant, are the contentious (scale 5B, score 7)²³ and the daunting (scale 1B, score 5)²⁴ patterns. The British Premier obtained non-

wings of the party. "Quite why he thinks he's qualified, from nappies, to be leader - I think it's a cheek," one senior Tory fumes. "That gang, they just get up people's noses. They're a self-regarding clique who think they deserve to inherit the world." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 2Ba, self-asserting: "Likable, quick on his feet, informal, self-assured, his easy charm a vivid contrast to the tortured, self-lacerating intensity of former Prime Minister Gordon Brown, Mr. Cameron seemed at times to be gliding into power, so effortlessly did he take to the cut-and-thrust of British parliamentary politics." (NY Times, 2010); e.g. code 2Bb, entitled: "This, then, is the man who will now lead Britain, not with the simple, overwhelming mandate he could once have expected, but through an agreement with his former foes. Perhaps that is only appropriate, for Mr Cameron is neither the one-dimensional smoothie depicted by some, nor the paragon portrayed by others, but an intriguing mixture of parts: charming and sure-footed, but also controlled, self-deprecating and politely aloof in a most English way." (MacIntyre, 2010); e.g. code 2Bc, exploitative: "But some who have had dealings with him on his rise to power, and during his brief career in business, recall a "slippery", "ruthlessly ambitious", somewhat guarded individual." (Wheeler, 2010).

²¹ E.g. code 1AAa, assertive: "Mr Cameron spent seven years at Carlton, as head of corporate communications, travelling the world with the firm's boss Michael Green, who has described him as "board material". "I tried to persuade him that he could have a really good career in industry, but he was completely resolute about going back to politics, and I respected him for that. He's good, he's the real McCoy," Mr Green told The Independent." (Wheeler, 2010); e.g. code 1AAb, forceful: "His detractors see a wildly over-confident Old Etonian who has risen without trace, from Oxford to parliament, via the Conservative research department, jobs at the Treasury and the Home Office, and a quick stint in business." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 1CAa, opinionated: "He has espoused many traditional Tory views, such as low taxes and a strong emphasis on the family. But he immediately set about moving his Party to the centre ground. He changed the candidate selection system to favour women and ethnic minorities, emphasised world poverty and the environment as key issues, cycled to work and ditched several commitments of the 2005 manifesto that he had helped draft. He made it clear there was more to come." (Yahoo, 2010); e.g. code 1CAb, dogmatic: "As a Conservative, there are two fundamental tenets on which my beliefs are based: a profound faith in my fellow human beings and a healthy awareness of the state's limitations. Nowhere has this been more forcefully brought home to me than the closure of special schools." (Cameron, 2010), e.g. code 1EAc, powerful: "I'm going to be as radical a social reformer as Mrs Thatcher was an economic reformer." (Wheeler, 2010).

²² E.g. code 3Aa, sociable: "It's Cameron they can't quite figure out: they seem to like the cut of his jib, his youth and vibrancy, but they're not on precisely the same wavelength, not yet." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 3Ab, dramatic: "A fluent if not sensational speaker, he wowed the party conference with a well-rehearsed bravura performance without notes, seen in contrast to a pedestrian speech from the front-runner David Davis." (Yahoo, 2010); e.g. code 3Ac, impulsive: "Cameron was also a member of the Bullingdon Club, an exclusive and largely Old Etonian society notorious for drunkenness and violence." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 3Ea, charming: "A leading member of the so-called Notting Hill group of younger Tories, he is one of a dozen Etonians remaining in the House of Commons, most of whom are now in his frontbench team. He also has the classic, almost too classic, pedigree of the traditional Tory leader, with added modernity and youthful good looks." (Yahoo, 2010).

²³ E.g. code 5Aba, nonconformist: "It remains unlikely that David Cameron will become the next leader of the Conservative party: he's too young and experienced, and the party's decision not to change its voting rules makes an upset in his favour even less probable. Indeed, if he is ever to reach the top, he has a long list of obstacles to overcome. In an increasingly meritocratic world, he went to a posh school, then Oxford. He has alienated a large segment of his party, who accuse him of betrayal. He is driven less by ideology than a hunch that the oppositionist days of a clearly defined left and right may be over. He's a bit arrogant, though admittedly telegenic, and he's good at sounding sincere, because, for the most part, he is. Yet this man - this ex-public schoolboy with a modernising urge, to put it briefly - seems to believe he can lead a major national party and then, one day, the country." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 5ABb, resistant: "Mr Cameron's period at Carlton is not remembered so fondly by some of the journalists who had to deal with him. Jeff Randall, writing in The Daily Telegraph where he is a senior executive, said he would not trust Mr Cameron "with my daughter's pocket money". "To describe Cameron's approach to corporate PR as unhelpful and evasive overstates by a wideish margin the clarity and plain-speaking that he brought to the job of being Michael Green's mouthpiece," wrote the ex-BBC business editor. "In my experience, Cameron never gave a straight answer when dissemblance was a plausible alternative, which probably makes him perfectly suited for the role he now seeks: the next Tony Blair," Mr Randall wrote. Sun business editor Ian King, recalling the same era, described Mr Cameron as a

significant scores in the accommodating (scale 4, score 4), the conscientious (scale 6, score 4), the reticent (scale 7, score 2), the retiring (scale 8, score 2), and finally the aggrieved (scale 5A, score 1) pattern.

Subject: David Cameron

Date: May 2010

Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria Score Sheet

Scale																																			
1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6			7			8			9			10		
a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	e	d	e		
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X			X	X		X			X					X	X					
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
X			X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X				X	X		X			X												
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
X	X																X													X					
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
X																																			
1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
X	X	X				X	X		X												X														
4	4	3	3	2		3	6	6	3	2	3	2	2		1			3	4		2	2		2						8	5				
11			5			15			8			4			1			7			4			2			0			13			0		

Attribute totals:

17

13

4

-

7

Attribute

A

B

C

D

E

Scale totals:

Table 6, MIDC Score sheet for David Cameron

David Cameron scores relatively high on the dysfunctional scale of the distrusting personality pattern (scale 9, score 13). As on this scale a minimum score of 20 is needed to establish a significant amount of presence of the dysfunctional scale, we cannot speak of a dysfunctional personality feature, but the score is considerable, pointing at a hint of distrusting

"poisonous, slippery individual". (Wheeler, 2005); e.g. code 5BBa, unyielding: "Mr. Cameron provoked anger from Tory old-timers by publicly rebuking the party grandees caught in last year's scandal over parliamentary expenses — the ones who charged taxpayers for items like buying manure, getting moats cleaned and fixing swimming pools (many of those particular legislators were successfully dissuaded, by Mr. Cameron, from seeking re-election)." (NY Times, 2010).

²⁴ E.g. code 1ABa, adventurous: "To his fans he is the Tories' answer to Blair - clever, telegenic and bent on modernising his party. To his critics he is a ludicrously inexperienced, metropolitan toff." (Guardian, 2005); e.g. code 1BBa, individualistic: "If a career consultant ever got David Cameron and Gordon Brown to take a Myers-Briggs personality test, the chances are that they would emerge as polar opposite types of leader. My guess is that Cameron would score as extrovert, intuitive, feeling and perceptive - an "ENFP" to Myers-Briggs initiates - while Brown would be introvert, sensing, thinking and judging - a natural "ISTJ". (Kettle, 2010); e.g. code 1BBb, unconscientious: "In my experience, Cameron never gave a straight answer when dissemblance was a plausible alternative, which probably makes him perfectly suited for the role he now seeks: the next Tony Blair," Mr Randall wrote. Sun business editor Ian King, recalling the same era, described Mr Cameron as a "poisonous, slippery individual". (Wheeler, 2010); e.g. code 1EBa, self-sufficient: "Presenting himself as the modernisers candidate, a centrist with a conscience, he called for radical change in the Party, which he said needed to think, look and feel and sound like a completely different organisation. He praised Tony Blair for transforming his Party, and set about doing the same for the Conservatives immediately after his runaway victory." (Yahoo, 2010).

characteristics with David Cameron. This is relevant especially for interpersonal relations with the new British Prime Minister.

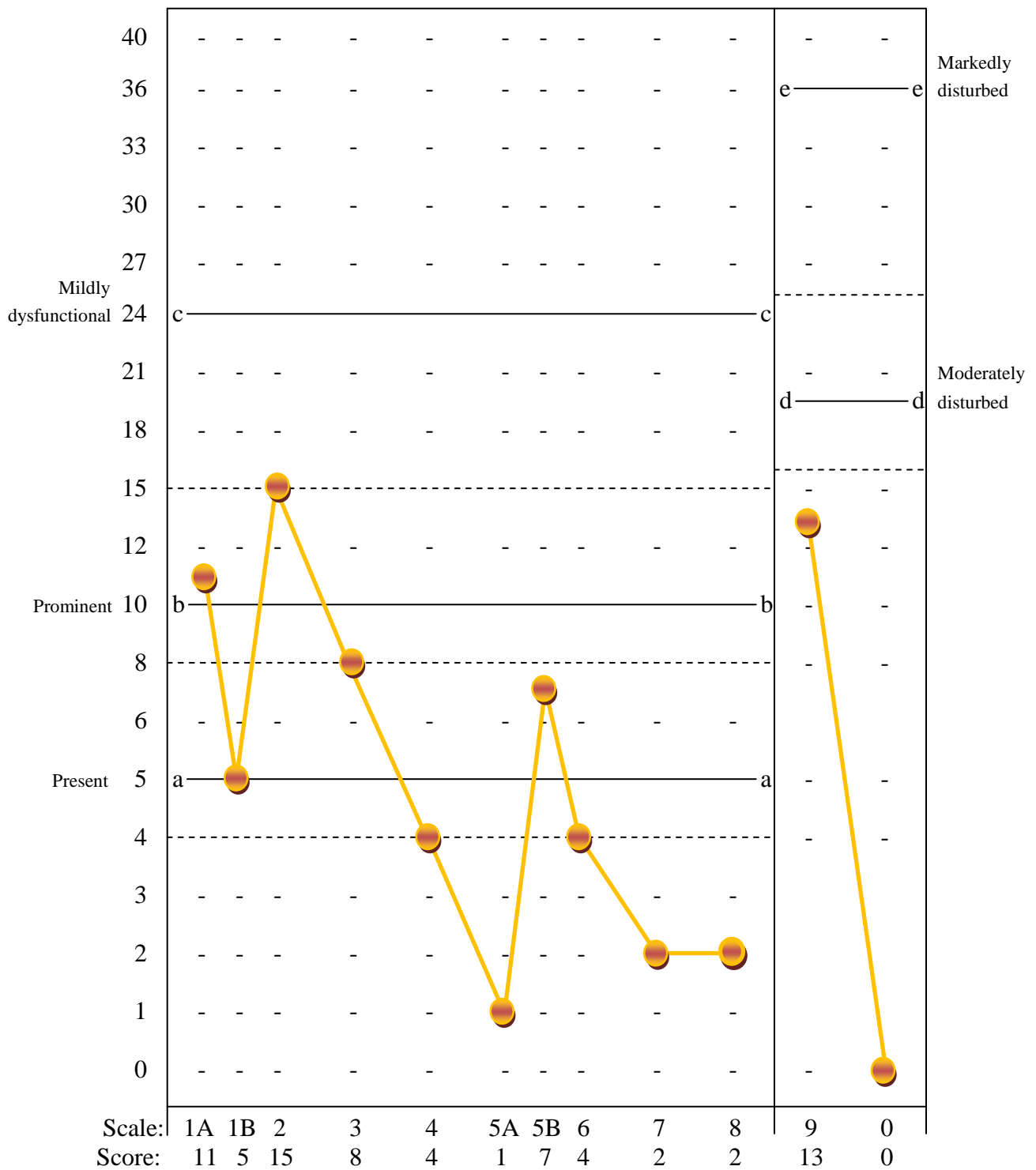
Overall, we can say that David Cameron has a very balanced personality. This is because he scores on eleven of the twelve scales, and on no pattern dysfunctional. Furthermore we can say that, with high scores in the dominant, ambitious and outgoing pattern, the new Prime-minister of Great Britain fulfils the profile of what the public sees as a successful politician (De Vries & De Landtsheer, 2008).

Given that David Cameron is quite a dominant personality, and with his previously mentioned highly Eurosceptic standpoint in mind, Brussels should expect a return to the years of Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher when it comes to Britain's involvement with the EU. However, not all circumstances are equal to what they were in the eighties, and Cameron has a highly pro-European coalition partner to take into consideration. Nevertheless, personality-wise and policy-wise, there are many similarities observable.

We expect Cameron to be a very effective negotiator on the European level, as he has prominent scores in three of the four required personality features – dominant, daunting and outgoing – and we even found a hint of the accommodating personality, attesting the fact that Cameron might very well prove to be an explorative and flexible negotiator. His high amount of distrusting personality features is not relevant for establishing the effective negotiator profile, as this profile does not account for consecutive negotiations. However, in the European arena, negotiations follow each other at least every three months, and with a slightly distrustful character, David Cameron might bring to the negotiation tables prejudices from previous negotiation rounds. Of course, this is purely speculative, but actors involved in negotiations with David Cameron should take it into consideration when encountering the British Prime Minister in a negotiation setting.

Figure 4 shows the plotted personality patterns of David Cameron.

Figure 4. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: *David Cameron*



6. Jan Peter Balkenende

From 2002 until 2010, Jan Peter Balkenende has been Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Leading coalitions from right to left, Balkenende has never succeeded to win the heart of the Dutch people over completely. After the recent elections of 9 June 2010, reports that the current popularity of the former Prime Minister was the lowest it has ever been throughout his political career (Meerhof, 2010) were confirmed, and Jan Peter Balkenende announced his exit from politics. Nevertheless, Jan Peter Balkenende was one of the longest leaders of government in Europe and has played a role in many important European decisions and intergovernmental councils. He was the face of Dutch European policy for eight years and his person is therefore very relevant to take into consideration when looking at personalities in European decision making.

Jan Peter Balkenende was born on 7 May 1956 into a humble middle class Calvinistic Protestant family in the small south western province of Zeeland. He was the oldest of three sons. His father was a small businessman and his mother a teacher (Broer & Van Weezel, 2009). His political career started at the scientific bureau of the Christian Democratic Party, where Balkenende spend almost twenty years in the eighties and nineties. During this period, the later Dutch Prime Minister developed many of his views and believes about society. While working at the scientific bureau, he met many persons that would later join him in one of his cabinets (Broer & Van Weezel, 2009).

Similar to Angela Merkel, Jan Peter Balkenende is a protestant Christian democratic politician, with a background in science. Balkenende has a Ph.D. in Law and he was a part-time professor in Christian social thinking at the Free university of Amsterdam (Wytzes, 2006).

Jan Peter Balkenende was elected into the Dutch Chamber of Representatives in 1998, with finances, social affairs, interior affairs and justice as his responsibilities. At that time, the CDA was leading the opposition against the government coalition of social democrats and liberals, led by social democrat Wim Kok²⁵. In 2001, then CDA leader and later NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer lost a power struggle for the leadership of the CDA party, and had to step down. On 1 October 2001 Balkenende was elected as the new political leader of the Christian Democratic Party (Wytzes, 2006).

²⁵ See for a Psychological profile of Wim Kok and his government De Landtsheer, Winkelmanns & Immelmann, (2004).

Balkenende led the CDA to a great electoral victory in 2002, in the wake of the Pim Fortuyn murder. He formed his first government with the Fortuyn party and the liberals. This government was characterised by many internal affairs, and finally fell in 2002. Balkenende's leadership capabilities were openly questioned in this period. In 2003, Balkenende led his party to another win in the election campaigns, resulting in a coalition with the liberal and liberal-democratic parties. This government lasted three years.

In 2007, Balkenende won the elections once more, and entered in a coalition government with the other major victor of the elections, the social-democratic party – *Partij van de Arbeid* – led by Wouter Bos²⁶, and a smaller Christian party – *ChristenUnie*. His government lasted for three years, and finally fell in March 2010 over the Dutch participation in the war in Afghanistan.

At the time of writing, Jan Peter Balkenende has just lost the national elections, he announced his leave from politics, and the Netherlands will have a new Prime Minister in the form of Liberal Mark Rutte. Our research, however, will focus on the period from 2002 until 2010, when the Dutch Prime Minister Balkenende became one of the longest serving European heads of state in the EU.

6.1 Balkenende and the EU

Although the Dutch prime minister has warm ties with American leaders and politics, Balkenende should not be described as an Atlanticist *pur sang*. Having served as one of the longest leaders of government in Europe, Jan Peter Balkenende is quite familiar with European summits and politics. The Dutch prime minister has been involved in European decision making in a very turbulent period for the EU. He has witnessed the difficulties emerging from the expansion of the EU with new member states and the failed attempt of the Treaty of Nice to attend to this expansion. The following process of the difficult coming about of a European constitution resulted in a clear defeat for the Dutch Prime Minister, when the Dutch rejected the constitution in a 2005 referendum (Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008). Balkenende succeeded to steer the subsequent Lisbon treaty through the House of Representatives and the senate, but he did not risk putting it up for another public vote.

We have to realise that the public needs time to get used to the EU in its new form. Things have changed quickly. Too quickly for some people's tastes. We must allow time for a sense of solidarity to grow. (Balkenende, 2007).

²⁶ See for the MIDC profile of Wouter Bos, Van Schaijk & De Landtsheer, (2010).

This decision was heavily criticised nationally, but was met with agreement throughout Europe. The policy of the Balkenende governments towards the EU has been characterised by this period (Meerhof, 2009). Facing a tougher stance by parties on further European integration, Balkenende could no longer take the traditional Dutch pro-European attitude for granted. This had some major implications for Dutch policy vis-à-vis the EU. In 2007, Balkenende appeared in the European Parliament to discuss his visions on the Netherlands and the EU after the Dutch no-vote:

We need to continue with the Monnet method: moving ahead via small, but significant increments. [...] A more robust subsidiarity test, with an important role for national parliaments. [...] to be more effective the EU needs more qualified majority voting. The Union can become more effective only if it has public support.[...] Enlargement criteria should be included in the new Treaty. (Balkenende, 2007).

It is clear that many of his visions are influenced by the increasing Euroscepticism in the Netherlands (Meerhof, 2009). The increased emphasis on the use of the subsidiarity test, which guarantees that the European political arena does not interfere with matters that can effectively be addressed on a national level testifies this shift.

The mentioning of the importance of public opinion is extra remarkable when one takes into consideration the difficulties Balkenende had to gain public support for the Constitutional treaty in 2005. Nevertheless, in late 2006, 75% of Dutch people had declared their support for EU membership (European Commission, 2006).

In the second half of 2008, Balkenende's endeavour on the European arena was characterised by his unofficial attempts to become the first president of the European Council, the position that eventually was awarded to Herman Van Rompuy (Meerhof, 2009). Although he never publicly admitted it, behind the scenes there was an intense lobby in favour of Balkenende. In particular Angela Merkel was an avid supporter of Balkenende for the position of the first EU president, perhaps because of the many personal and professional similarities between her and Jan Peter Balkenende, or their good personal relationship.

It is known that, apart from Merkel, Balkenende has good working relationship with former British Prime Ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, French President Nicolas Sarkozy, and Belgian former Prime Ministers Yves Leterme and Herman Van Rompuy.

In 2005, two Belgium ministers made undiplomatic remarks about Balkenende, more specific about his appearance and about the fact that he apparently did not want to be re-

elected, causing a small diplomatic controversy between both European Member States (BBC News, 2005). Balkenende demanded apologies, showing his vanity and his sense of honour.

6.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Jan Peter Balkenende

When describing the personality of former Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende, we draw heavily on the work by Pieter van Schaijk and Christ'l de Landtsheer (2010). The results of their research are portrayed in figure 5 and table 7.

Minister-President Balkenende scored on 33 out of 170 possible MIDC items. Within domains A until E, Expressive behaviour is prominently present (A; 11 scores). Furthermore, Interpersonal conduct (B, 8 scores) Cognitive style (C, 6 scores), Mood/temperament (D, 3 scores) and Self Image (E, 5 scores) are domains where personality patterns are clearly observable (ibid.). The behavioural domain of interpersonal relations demonstrates, according to Van Schaijk and De Landtsheer excessive presence of the reticent personality.

Van Schaijk and De Landtsheer have found prominent scores in the retiring (scale 8, score 16) and dutiful (scale 6, score 10) pattern. Other personality patterns that are present in the personality of the Dutch prime minister are Outgoingness (scale 3, score 6) and to a lesser extent reticent (scale 7, score 4) and contentious patterns.

In particular the retiring pattern is present with the former Dutch Prime Minister. Political leaders with features of this pattern are more reserved, solitary and impassive. Balkenende appears to be more aloof, humble and somewhat emotionless (ibid.).



**Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria
Score Sheet**

Attribute		Scale																														Attribute totals:				
		1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6			7			8				9		10	
		a	b	c	a	b	c	A	b	c	a	b	c	A	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c		d	e	d	E
A	1 x	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	11	
B	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	8	
C	1 x	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	6	
D	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	3	
E	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	5	
Scale totals:	2			0			2			6			0			0			3			10			4			16			0		0			

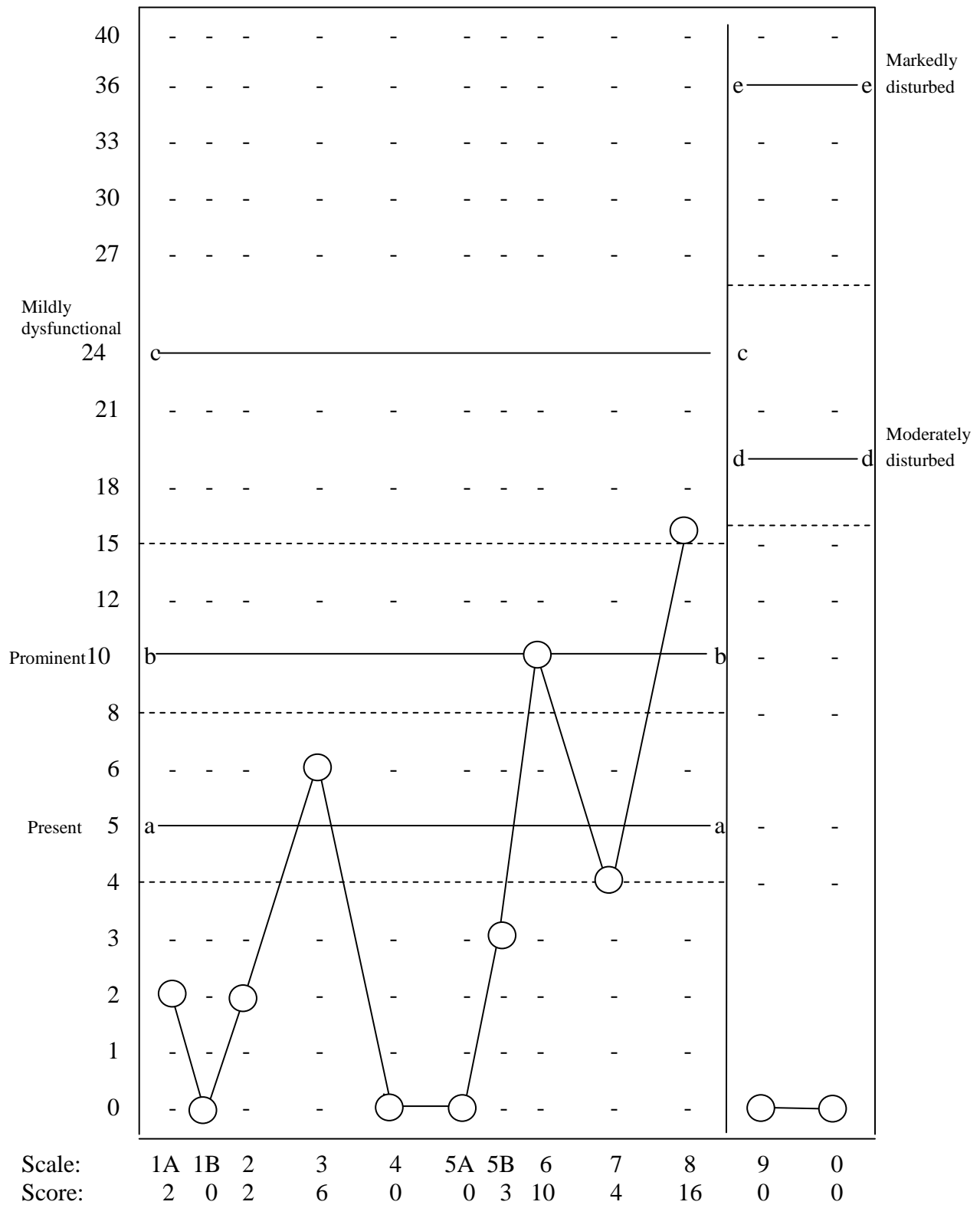
Aubrey Immanuel and Avi A. T. Bahadoor Copyright © 2000 Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics

Table 7, scoresheet MIDC score for Jan Peter Balkenende, reprinted with permission from Van Schaijk & De Landsheer (2010).

The personality pattern of Jan Peter Balkenende also shows strong features of the conscientious pattern. This type of political leaders is generally polite, honest and respectful (ibid.). In particular the absence of a dominant style of leadership is something, which the prime minister is often accused of. Overall, Balkenende has an image of academic brilliance combined with communicative and leadership deficiencies in Dutch media.

Striking is the fact that the former Dutch Prime Minister scores low on the effective negotiator profile, scoring only on the outgoing pattern. This is remarkable, because the Netherlands negotiated a billion Euro rebate on the EU finances, during his period as Prime Minister. However, it was argued that it was in particular former Minister of Finances Gerrit Zalm, in combination with the 2005 no-vote of the Dutch public to the European constitution that jointly resulted in the rebate (Rood, Van Keulen, Limonard, 2008).

Figure 5, MIDC Profile Jan Peter Balkenende (Reprinted, with permission from Van Schaijk & De Landtsheer, 2010).



7. Nicolas Sarkozy

Nicolas Paul Stéphane Sarközy de Nagy-Bocsa was born in Paris on 28 January, 1955. As a politician, he is best described as a centre-right conservative politician of the UMP - *Union pour un Mouvement Populaire* – party (Sauger, 2007). His parents are from Hungarian and Greek decent. For different reasons they had to flee their countries after the Second World War. They met in Paris and founded a family there. The flight and immigration status of his parents must have made a lasting impression on the young Sarkozy, and my have shaped his beliefs in freedom.

Sarkozy studied law at the prestigious *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*. After his studies, he established himself as a lawyer, specialising in business law. Nicolas Sarkozy has been divorced two times, and he has three sons from the first two marriages. In 2008, he married for a third time to French model, singer and actress Carla Bruni. This ‘glamour marriage’ still lasts, and is the topic of many newspaper and magazine articles. It has in recent years greatly determined Sarkozy’s image, in particular internationally.

His political career starts with a place in the local community council of Neuilly-sur-Seine, his residence, in 1977. In 1983 he becomes mayor of this small village just outside of Paris. Nicolas Sarkozy remains the mayor of Neuilly-sur-Seine until 2002. In the meantime, he continues his lawyer’s office and, in 1999 is elected in the European Parliament. Since 2002 he was awarded several minister postings between 2002 and 2004. In 2004 he was elected president of the UMD party (Sauger, 2007).

In 2007 he was re-elected as leader of the UMD party, and he was to lead the party in the election campaign for the presidency. In May 2007, he was elected President of France, defeating Ségolène Royal of the social-democratic PS party (ibid.).

7.1 Nicolas Sarkozy in EU negotiations

As said, Nicolas Sarkozy was a Member of the European Parliament from 1999 until 2004. This experience will have made a positive impression on Sarkozy, since in his first three years as President of the Republic of France he developed as one of the driving forces behind furthering European integration. In particular since German Chancellor Angela Merkel came to power, Sarkozy and Merkel re-established the Franco-German tandem in European politics, resulting in an especially powerful block in EU negotiations. The special relationship revives an ongoing power block that dates back to Robert Schuman and the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. No relationship has been more important for

European integration than the Franco-German tandem (Webber, 1999). Personal relations between Adenaur and De Gaulle, Brandt and Pompidou, Schmidt and Giscard d'Estain, and Kohl and Mitterand have always been excellent (ibid.) Other Member States, such as the low countries, Italy and most notably the United Kingdom have always found it difficult to act against the Franco-German tandem (ibid.). Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy continue this tradition with their good personal, political and professional relationship. On several occasions, Merkel and Sarkozy acted together and with a uniform goal. This resulted in strong and rapid EU reactions, in particular in foreign policy. In the first year of his presidency, until the end of the French presidency of the EU in December 2008, Sarkozy was very active in foreign policy (Brouwer, 2008). He was present at every international summit, spoke on behalf of the European Union on numerous occasions, played an active role in the settling of the Russian-Georgian crisis of August 2008 (Kramer, 2008), and pushed forward the Lisbon treaty that restructured the European Union, despite the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in a French referendum in 2005. In fact, Sarkozy was so active in foreign politics that French politicians and journalists were wondering if he was ever home long enough to deal with domestic policies (Dimitriakopoulos *et al.*, 2009). At the present, Sarkozy's EU ambitions are tempered by the increasing Eurosceptic public opinion in France (ibid.). This Euroscepticism was demonstrated by the no-vote in the referendum concerning the EU constitutional treaty and has been growing ever since. In Sarkozy's own words:

These are challenges that demand that we ensure the EU runs more efficiently and openly, and that people can clearly see that it serves their interests in policy areas where EU-wide programmes are demonstrably more effective than national ones. In short, Europe must operate where it is needed and as much as it is needed, but no more than that. (Sarkozy, 2008)

Another important goal of Nicolas Sarkozy is the establishment of a Mediterranean Union, consisting of the 27 members of the European Union, and 16 other Mediterranean countries. In Sarkozy's view, the Mediterranean Union provides an alternative to EU membership for countries such as Turkey, and the Union can contribute to continue peace in the Middle-East, in particular between Israel and its neighbours (Gillespie, 2008). The idea of the Mediterranean Union was originally launched by Sarkozy in his speech after he won the presidential elections in 2007. In November 2008, all members of the Mediterranean Union met to officially establish the Union, hereby demonstrating the swift execution of Sarkozy's initiative (ibid.). Despite being met with scepticism among some – primarily northern -

European leaders, the Union for the Mediterranean, as it has come to be known - to actively distinguish it from the European Union - is potentially a significant turning point in the Barcelona Process (ibid.). The Barcelona Process is a project of the European Union where non-EU countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea receive financial help from the EU. It seeks to improve the economies of the countries in Northern Africa and the Middle East (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008).

In his three years in power, Sarkozy has developed to be one of the driving forces behind European integration. He heavily criticised British and Irish officials in the process of the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, for failure of actively supporting the Treaty's ratification process at home (EU business, 2008).

7.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Nicolas Sarkozy

When establishing the political psychological profile of Nicolas Sarkozy, we gratefully make use of previous research conducted by Pascal de Sutter and Aubrey Immelman (2008).

In the research of De Sutter and Immelman, Sarkozy scored on 69 out of the 170-item MIDC scale. He scored on the attribute domain of Expressive behaviour 17 times, Interpersonal conduct 14 times, Cognitive style 11 times, Mood/temperament 15 scores and de Sutter and Immelman found 12 scores in the domain of Self-image (De Sutter and Immelman, 2008).

Sarkozy's most elevated scale, with a score of 24, is Scale 2 (Ambitious), closely followed by a score of 22 on Scale 1A (Dominant). Based on cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, the Scale 2 elevation just reaches the threshold for the *mildly dysfunctional* (24–30) range, whereas Scale 1A is well within the *prominent* (10–23) range. Four additional scales reached diagnostically significant elevations: Scale 6 (Conscientious) and Scale 3 (Outgoing) in the *prominent* (10–23) range; and Scale 1B (Dauntless) and Scale 5B (Contentious) in the *present* (5–9) range. (De Sutter & Immelman, 2008, pp. 6).

De Sutter and Immelman concluded that Nicolas Sarkozy was primarily an Ambitious/exploitative (Scale 2) and Dominant/controlling (Scale 1A) personality, with secondary features of the Conscientious/dutiful, Outgoing/gregarious, Dauntless/adventurous, and Contentious/resolute personality patterns. In this respect, his profile resembles that of David Cameron and, to a lesser extent, Silvio Berlusconi, as all have high scores in the dominant and ambitious personality patterns. De Sutter and Immelman, however, describe Sarkozy's personality as a highly ambitious personality, corresponding to Oldham and

Morris's (1995) *Self-Confident* style, Strack's (1997) *confident* style, and Millon's (1994) *Asserting* pattern (de Sutter and Immelman, 2008). The results of the de Sutter and Immelman research to the personality of Nicolas Sarkozy are portrayed in figure 6.

Sarkozy's ambitiousness in combination with his high score in the dutiful domain explain to a great extent his activeness in European foreign policy and international politics. The French president has the ambition to lift European foreign policy of the ground, and to further European integration. Given his dominant personality, he likes to take the lead in this process.

The established personality of Nicolas Sarkozy has some implications for his role in EU negotiations. First of all, as mentioned, Sarkozy likes to take the lead. We saw evidence of this with his initiative for establishing a Union for the Mediterranean, his efforts to achieve peace in South Ossetia, and, for example, that his response to the earthquake in Haiti was much quicker than Catherine Ashton's response. This is also a pitfall with the personality of Nicolas Sarkozy. Thanks to the new structure of EU foreign affairs, there are now two other figures responsible in international diplomacy – Ashton and Van Rompuy. Sarkozy, who obviously is a dominant, daunting and dutiful personality, likes to see things get done, rather than endlessly discussing bureaucracies and details. We saw this in his vivid and active presidency of the European Council in 2008. Now, however, he has to consult many different persons, and he cannot any longer speak on behalf of the entire Union, without having consulted at least some capitals and Brussels institutions first. This might cause some frustrations with the French president who is not a big fan of discussions, as is attested by a relatively low score in the accommodating pattern.

Still, in internal European policies, we still observe an active French president, who operates within a successfully functioning Franco-German tandem. The latest example of this is the joined French-German responses to the financial crisis, and more in particular the Greek bail-out and Franco-German initiative of a rescue plan to support the Euro currency (Euractiv, 2010). In fact, before many European Council meetings and Council summits, French and German diplomats have already negotiated standpoints beforehand. On numerous occasions, the other Member States have found it difficult to act against the Franco-German standpoint. The fact that Merkel and Sarkozy fare quite well in each other's company, and share a vision of Europe only fosters this cooperation.

Recently, however, there is also increasing evidence of a good interpersonal relationship between Silvio Berlusconi and Nicolas Sarkozy. They pleaded together for a cut in EU carbon emissions (Environmental Green, 2010), they work together in nuclear affairs

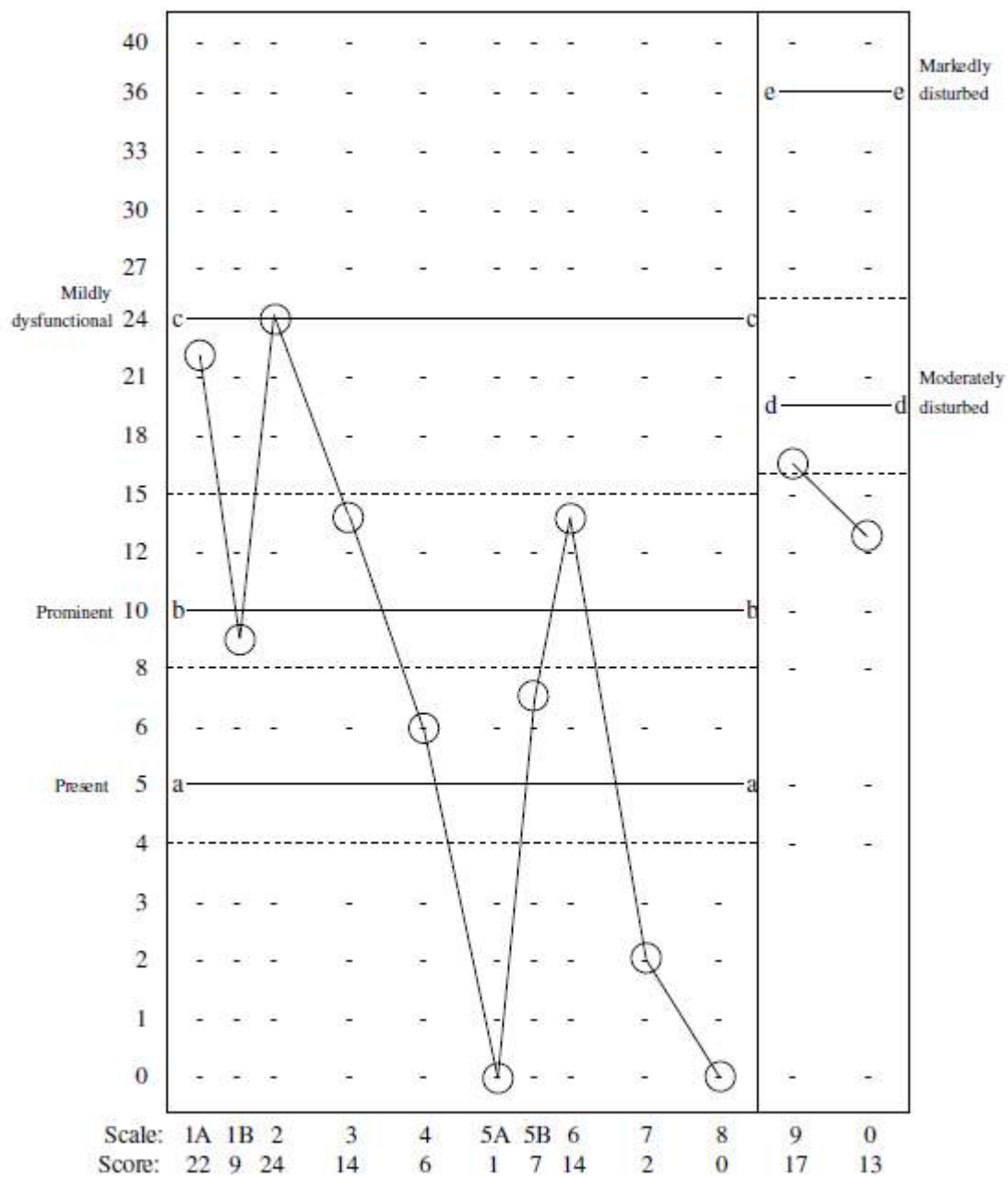
(Canvasse, 2010), discuss the Eurozone (Reuters, 2010), and tackle EU immigration issues together (EU business, 2009).

Sarkozy is an effective negotiator, as he has all four personality patterns of Mastenbroek's negotiating grid present. Of course, his dominance is almost dysfunctional, but he also possesses accommodating personality features. Together with his exploring and flexible attitude in negotiations this is a winning combination in European negotiations.

All things considered, the EU has in the person of French President Nicolas Sarkozy an ambitious, dominant, conscientious, and outgoing guardian of the European integration process, who has demonstrated his intentions, capabilities and interpersonal qualities, and whose European and international objectives are only limited by the leverage that is granted to him by domestic political and public opinion.

Figure 6 shows the plotted profile of Nicolas Sarkozy, as established by De Sutter and Immelman.

Figure 6, MIDC: Profile for Nicolas Sarkozy (De Sutter & Immelman, 2008, pp. 7).



8. Yves Leterme

Yves Camille Désiré Leterme was born on 6 October 1960 in Wervik, in the province of West-Flanders in Belgium. He is a Flemish Christian Democratic - CD&V – politician, of humble decent: his father was a painter (Rogiers, 2009). Until June 2010, Leterme was Belgian Prime Minister. It was his second government, which he could lead after Prime Minister Herman Van Rompuy left to become president of the European Council. On 13 June 2010, Belgium faces new elections, after a governmental crisis over election districts – where more governments have fallen over already. Yves Leterme has already announced that he will not take part in these elections. His government went to work promising to address the issues that have been holding the political arena in Belgium hostage for several years. His obvious failure to do so has made it, in his own eyes, impossible to return to power.

Why then, include Leterme in this research to political decision making at the European level? The reasons for this decision are threefold. First, because Leterme has played a significant role on the European level for a number of years. Not only in his two terms as Prime Minister, but also as foreign Minister, Leterme was active in the European Council. Second, because at the moment of writing, it is not yet clear who will be the new prime minister of Belgium. Finally, on a more practical note, a thorough profile of Yves Leterme has been made by De Landtsheer (*et al.*, 2010).

Yves Leterme has studied Law and Public Governance in Ghent. After his studies, he followed a traditional career in Politics. He became an assistant to several Christian democratic politicians, at the same time taking up some junior-positions in the Christian democratic Party. After two years, he started working for the National Belgium Court of Audit (Rogiers, 2009). After a brief stint at this institution, Leterme moved to the European parliament to become an administrator. After staying here for five years, Leterme returned to the National arena - although, admittedly for Belgians this is not as much of a geographical transition as it is for many other Europeans, such as Nicolas Sarkozy.

After this period, Leterme's political career kicks off with a seat in the Chamber of Representatives in 1997 and an election into the Federal parliament in 1999. After two years, he becomes the group leader of the Christian Democratic fraction in Parliament. In 2003 he is elected as Chairman of the CD&V party (Rogiers, 2009). In 2004 he switched to the Flemish Regional Parliament, where he became Prime Minister for Flanders, from 2004 to 2007. At the end of the year, Leterme was allowed to establish his first government. He however failed

at his first attempt, but succeeded a month later, although Leterme does not become Prime Minister then either. Instead, he settles for minister of Budget, Transport, Institutional Reform and the North Sea in an interim government led by Guy Verhofstadt (Rogiers, 2009). It has been argued that Verhofstadt, who was Leterme's liberal coalition partner, was appointed Prime Minister because some coalition partners could not live with the personality of Leterme as their Prime Minister (Justaert, 2010). At the end of March of 2008 he finally did become federal Prime Minister of Belgium. His stint did not, however, last very long, as the continuous struggle over the splitting of the bilingual electoral region of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde and another affaire which involved alleged accusations of Leterme and other government officials attempting to influence judicial proceedings regarding a take-over of one of Belgium's largest banks – Fortis by French bank BNP Paribas in 2008 – forced him to resign in late December, 2008 (Rogiers, 2009).

In a new government, Leterme is appointed Foreign Minister under guidance of Prime Minister Herman Van Rompuy. When the latter is called upon to become the first president of the European Council, Leterme takes over his former position as Prime Minister of Belgium in November 2009. In April 2010 the second Leterme government falls over the still unresolved issue of the bilingual electoral region of Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde. Leterme commented on this episode that his “stubbornness will not have contributed to the resolution of things” (In: Justaert, 2010). New elections are due in June 2010, and Leterme has announced that he will not take part in these elections.

Leterme is not known for his accommodating and diplomatic character. On several occasions he has enraged fellow coalition members, and he was unable to establish a government at his first attempt in 2007. Also relevant for the personality of Yves Leterme, are the several controversies he has been involved in. There were controversies regarding him not knowing the reason behind a Belgian public holiday, him singing the French national anthem, when asked to sing the French version of the Belgian anthem, and several poorly chosen comparisons. Furthermore, Leterme was accused of influencing a judicial process in the light of the Fortis nationalisation and subsequent takeover, one of the largest Belgian banks (Rogiers, 2009). These controversies are remarkable, when one considers Leterme's experience in politics and his diplomatic experience as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. We must therefore concede with Leterme on the fact that the basis of these controversies should be found in his personality.

8.1 Leterme and the EU

The later Belgian Prime Minister was active as an administrator for the European Parliament from 1992 until 1997 (Rogiers, 2009). Leterme has also worked - albeit for just under half a year - as Minister of Foreign Affairs, which would have given him the diplomatic experience necessary to successfully conduct international relations. Despite this experience, perhaps because of his conscientious and dominant character that we will discuss later, Leterme does not have a perfect working relationship with every European head of government (Rogiers, 2009).

Yves Leterme has a good working relationship with Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands. Van Hecke (2010) has argued that both are actually strikingly similar personalities, because of their background and image. Both have an accountant's image, being portrayed as gray, cold and perfect son in laws. It must be said that Balkenende is a devoted Protestant, whilst Leterme is Catholic, although both men come from a joint Catholic-Protestant party. The policies of both leaders are based on a solid financial basis and a stable European and international environment for their respective countries (ibid. p.1). They maintain an ambiguous relationship with the media: they are not smooth spokesmen, but they are notable for their amateurish veil of ignorance, unoriginality and boring reliability (ibid., p. 2).

Yves Leterme has an intricate relationship with Nicolas Sarkozy. In European negotiations Sarkozy has criticised Leterme - without publicly mentioning his name – for being counterproductive in negotiations and leaking to the press. This was in particular the case in the negotiations over the Euro and a European financial rescue plan in 2008. This meagre relationship is highly relevant for Belgian politics as traditionally, France is one of the biggest allies, and economic partners of Belgium.

Because of the small size and proximity of their countries, Luxembourg Christian Democratic Prime Minister Jean Claude Juncker and Leterme have frequent bilateral meetings. Their relationship is characterised as good, and their countries traditional allies (Lambrix, 2008).

8.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Yves Leterme

An extensive analyses of the profile of Yves Leterme was conducted by De Landtsheer (*et al.*, 2010), who base their research in turn on De Decker (2008). We make thankful use of their vast research when describing the findings for Yves Leterme. Portrayed in table 8 is the MIDC score sheet for the Belgian Premier, taken from De Landtsheer's research. Yves

Leterme was scored in April 2009 and he scored on 104 points on the 170 possible score on the score sheet. This is a confounding amount of present personality features. It is because of this vast amount of scores that Leterme has scores on every attribute²⁷ and on every personality scale.

Yves Leterme scores close to dysfunctional levels of the conscientious personality type (scale 6, score 19). The characteristics of conscientious people in general are that these people are serious, respectful and polite. They are also often dutifully, reliable and sober. Needless to say but relevant for First Ministers, conscientious people have a very good work ethos.

Furthermore, the Belgian Prime Minister scored very prominently on the dominant scale (scale 1a, score 14), the reticent personality type (scale 7, score 12), and the ambitious scale (scale 2, score 11), like many other democratically elected politicians.

Other significantly present personality patterns are the contentious (scale 5b, score 8), the aggrieved pattern (scale 5A, score 7), and the outgoing pattern (scale 3, score 5).

Non significant scores were found by De Landtsheer and her team in the accommodating (scale 4, score 4), retiring (scale 8, score 3), and the daunting (scale 1b, score 1) personality pattern.

The Belgian prime Minister has another noticeable score in the distrusting personality area (scale 9, score 16). Although a score of 16 is too low to significantly establish a dysfunctional amount of the distrusting pattern with the Belgian Premier – for this a score of 20 is needed -, it does however have some psychological meaning. In particular, as De Landtsheer states that only a couple more codes were needed to establish dysfunctional presence with Yves Leterme (De Landtsheer *et al.*, 2010), we suspect limited amounts of distrustfulness with the Belgian first Minister. Distrusting people are generally very defensive, quarrelsome, surly and very suspicious.

²⁷ Expressive behaviour is the most relevant attribute, with 34 scores, followed by interpersonal conduct, with 24 scores, and self-image with 21 scores. Less relevant are the attributes of cognitive style (17 scores), and 8 scores on the emotional attribute (De Landtsheer *et al.*, 2010).

**Millon Inventory of Diagnostic
Criteria
Score Sheet**

		Scale																																			
		1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6			7			8			9			10		
Attribute		a	b	C	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	A	b	c	a	b	C	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	e	d	e		
	A	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
	B	x	x					x	x		x			x			x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x		x			x		x			
	C	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
	D	x	x					x			x			x			x			x			x	x		x			x			x					
	E	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5		
Scale totals:		14			1			11			5			4			7			8			19			12			3			16			4		

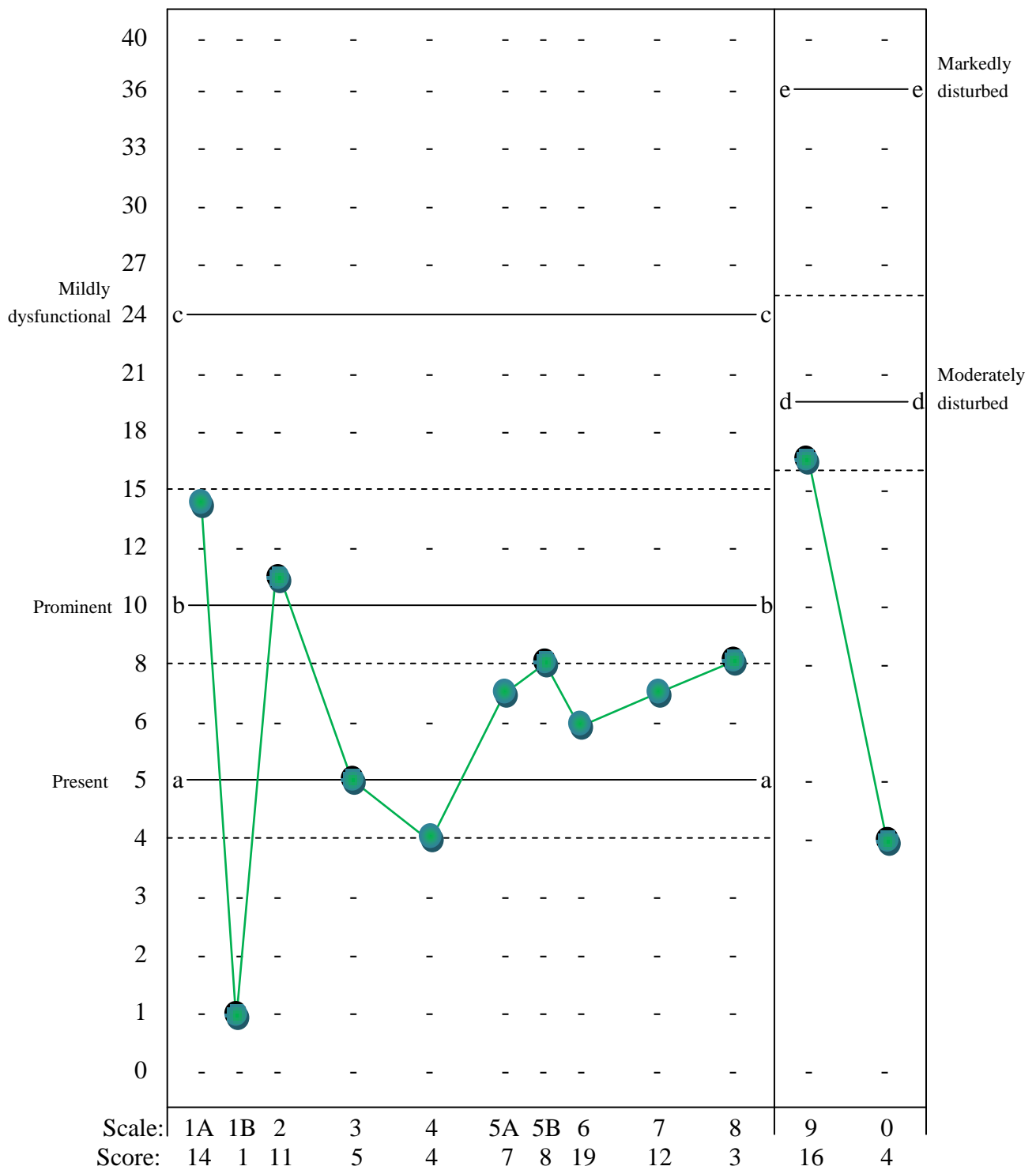
Table 8 MIDC Score sheet for Yves Leterme (Reprinted with permission from: De Landtsheer *et al.*, 2010).

It is this latter characterisation, in combination with a dominant character that Leterme is referring to when he blames his 'stubbornness' for the fall of his government. This feature is most likely also the reason why Leterme is not that successful in some relations with other European leaders. It is definitively something to take into consideration when interacting with

We conclude that Yves Leterme is a relatively ineffective negotiator. This is because he only scores significantly on the dominant and outgoing personality patterns, out of the four personality patterns needed for an effective negotiator. Although there is some evidence that Leterme might be accommodating towards others in negotiations, his clear lack of daunting and explorative features make that others will perceive him as being a – too – dominant negotiation partner. Once again, this is a demonstration of the fact that his stubbornness is also hindering him in - international - negotiations.

Figure 7 shows the plotted profile for Yves Leterme.

Figure 7 *Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Yves Leterme* (Adapted from De Landtsheer *et al.*, 2010).



9. Baroness Catherine Margareth Ashton of Upholland²⁸

Baroness Ashton's political resume reveals that she was born in 1956 into a humble family. Perhaps this modest background made her an ambitious person, as she was the first person from her family to attend university (Renterghem, 2009). Nevertheless, commentators, politicians and last but not least herself were astounded when she surfaced as the new High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the European Union at the informal European Council meeting in Brussels on 19 November 2009. "I imagine that my appointment may have come as somewhat of a surprise to many of you – perhaps to all of you. It was quite a surprise for me too, but a very welcome one" (Ashton, 2009), were the exact and honest words of the baroness after her appointment.

Ashton's comet rise to one of the three highest positions in Brussels becomes evident when one looks at her curriculum vitae. Despite claiming to "have 28 years of experience of negotiation, of consensus-building and of advocacy" (Ashton, 2009), Ashton was never democratically elected in office, nor did she hold a senior ministerial position in government (The Sunday Times, 2010).

Before joining politics, she worked in the public and private sector, she was Director of Business in the Community, and established the Employers' Forum on Disability, Opportunity Now, and the Windsor Fellowship. She was an active supporter for Gay rights, she chaired the Health Authority in Hertfordshire from 1998 to 2001, and became a Vice President of the National Council for One Parent Families (European Commission, 2009).

Furthermore, she was responsible, as Leader of the House, of passing the Treaty of Lisbon through the, at the time, rather conservative British House of Lords: a remarkable achievement for which she has received a lot of praise (The Sunday Times, 2010). However, on the whole she misses the experience of an electoral battle, or a senior position in government. These are experiences that both José Barroso and Herman Van Rompuy, the two other senior EU officials do possess, and without any pre-emptive judgments, it is highly relevant for the personality of Baroness Ashton and it will be for determining her role on the EU-scene.

²⁸ This part on the personality of Baroness Ashton and the MIDC results have been adapted from a pilot study for this paper, and will also be published in a forthcoming publication (Middelhoff & De Landtsheer, 2010).

9.1 Catherine Ashton and the EU

Apart from being a junior government official, and some experience in political and advocacy work, Ashton does not have any experience in diplomacy or international negotiations. As is the case in Europe, her experience and skills were tested rapidly after her instalment to the post of High Representative, as the December 2009 Haiti earthquake demanded her immediate attention. This was the first event where she was tested, and where she encountered the complex political arena that is the EU, as in the Brussels political arena politics does not work as simple as it does in a national system, in particular when it comes to foreign policy (Keukeleire & Maclaughlan, 2008). What is very typical for the EU and different from national politics is the fact that the political arena, especially in foreign policy, is the tip of the iceberg of 27 Member States' foreign policies. Hereby, the interactions, interests, actors etc. are much more complex than in a national political arena. Ashton had to find this out the hard way, when an increasing number of attacks to her position occurred - especially from France - after her decision not to visit Haiti immediately after the earthquake. When she took some other rigorous decisions such as skipping an EU ministerial defence summit, criticism on the European mainland began to increase, even from some Member State Ministers (Charter & Keeley, 2010). At the present, she seems to be taking other Member States more into consideration and the criticisms have been silenced a bit.

One of the many advantages Ashton's position brings her is the fact that she, as the first High representative after the entering into force of the treaty of Lisbon, can establish, pick and consequently design the European External Action Service. This service, with a possible magnitude of 5000 civil servants was originally envisaged by the drafters of the Constitutional treaty, to form the European ministry of Foreign Affairs, in support of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Giscard d'Estain, 2007).

In half a year of Catherine Ashton as High Representative, her endeavours were mainly characterised by the aforementioned affairs, the orientation on the setting up of the EEAS, and her attempts to help the EU assert itself more politically. She wants to foster the dialogue with Russia and has called the trans-Atlantic relations of "strategic importance", hereby demonstrating the difficulty of her position, split between Member States with considerable interests in a good relationship with Russia and other, more *Atlanticist* Member States.

9.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Catherine Ashton

The following section describes the results of the research process according to the MIDC approach for the politician Catherine Ashton.

The score-sheet, table 9, shows the personality scales by which the politician was scored.

Subject: Catherine Ashton												Date: March 2010																										
Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria Score Sheet																																						
Scale																																						
Attribute		1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6			7			8			9			10			Attribute totals:
		a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	e	d	e			
A		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	15		
B		X	X		X	X		X			X			X	X	X	X	X		X			X	X		X		X		X					6			
C		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	1		
D		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	0		
E		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	0		
Scale totals:		1 2			1 4			1			2			2 3			1 2			1			3 2			1			1									
		3			5			1			5			7			3			1			5			1			1			0			0			

Table 9 MIDC Score sheet Catherine Ashton.

Baroness Catherine Ashton scores on 22 items out of a possible 170 of the Millon Inventory Diagnostic Criteria. The High Representative gets high points in the behavioural domains expression (A, 15 scores), and interpersonal relationships (B, 6 scores). Cognitive style (C, 1 score), self-image (E, 0 scores), and mood / temperament (D, 0 score) are no relevant behavioural domains with Ashton. This latter might be due to the absence of a biography or autobiography of the Baroness - and consequently the absence in the source material -, as often in these works one finds these domains more easily when private thoughts and beliefs are unveiled in an autobiographical material.

We do not see any of the twelve personality types prominently present (Level II) with Mrs Ashton. The Baroness scores significantly on the presence of four different personality patterns (level I): the daunting pattern (scale 1B, 5 points)²⁹, the jovial pattern (scale 3, 5

²⁹ E.g. code 1ABa, adventurous: "I am proud of the fact that women have been recognised as being as capable, as able to do the senior jobs in Europe as any man. I am very proud of being a woman and holding that role," she said. "Am I an ego on legs? No I am not. Do I want to be seen out there all the time saying everything? No, I don't. Judge me on what I do and I think you will be pleased and proud of me." Waterfield, B. (2009). *Profile: Baroness Ashton, EU's new foreign minister*. In: Telegraph, 20 Nov 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/6609910/Profile-Baroness-Ashton-EUs-new-foreign-minister.html>.; E.g. code 1ABa: "My job is to lead the development of European foreign policy ideas. But I recognize that on some issues, there will not be a consensus. There will be different views." Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, *Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME*.; E.g. code 1ABb, fearless: "It would have been nice to have had something a bit different," Ashton, who is British, told the BBC when asked if she was surprised at the degree of hostility she had faced. "When you have a new job that's built on three

points)³⁰, the accommodating pattern (scale 4, 7 points)³¹, and the conscientious pattern (scale 6, 5 points)³².

people's jobs ... it's inevitable that some people will be dissatisfied. I hope though, as they see what I do, that they will become more and more satisfied with what I'm doing," she said. The Star Online (2010). EU's Ashton says she can win over critics. Retrieved March 15, 2010, from:

http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2010/3/15/worldupdates/2010-03-15T081041Z_01_NOOTR_RTRMDNC_0_-469104-1&sec=Worldupdates;

E.g. code 1ABb: "I should occupy this job because 27 heads of government invited me to. I may not be your choice, but I am theirs." Earth Times (2010) EU's new top diplomat denies inexperience at first hearing. 02 Dec 2009. Retrieved 26 Mar 2010 From:

http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/297351_eus-new-top-diplomat-denies-inexperience-at-first-hearing--summary.html#ixzz0jHOqgpbX;

E.g. code 1BBb, unconscientiously: "She used her experience of fixing votes in the Lords to help the commission chairman out of difficulties with the Brussels parliament. Despite such qualities, Brown put her on the list of his candidates for high representative with no great enthusiasm." The Sunday Times (2009). *Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up*. November 22, 2009. Retrieved 02.03.2010 from: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece>.

³⁰ E.g. code 3Aa, sociable: "It was her relationship with Kellner that was the key stepping stone to her improbable rise. He introduced her to Tony and Cherie Blair, who became regular visitors to their home; in 1999 Blair gave her a seat in the Lords, getting her into parliament without the inconvenience of an election." The Sunday Times (2010). *PROFILE: Catherine Ashton*. 14.03.2010.

<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7061021.ece>;

E.g. code 3Aa: "Little-known to the UK public, Ashton has a reputation in political circles of quiet efficiency, of being a consensus builder and a strong advocate of social rights." Fleischmann-Hillard (2009). Biography Baroness Catherine Ashton.

http://www.eu.fleishmaneuropa.com/downloads_a/ashton_biography.pdf;

E.g. code 3Bc, seductive: Lord McNally is one of her most excitable admirers: "She has a very seductive manner," he once told his peers.

"Indeed, in my daydreams I sometimes think... of *Antony and Cleopatra*, with me as Antony—but she already has an Antony." Alex Barker, (2009), Financial Times Westminster Blog, Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know. November 13, 2009. <http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/>.

³¹ E.g. code 4Aa, accommodating: "Let's get out of the limelight first. Someone asked if I would be able to stop the traffic in Washington, but in fact my job is to keep traffic moving. I'm not interested in the limelight. I'm interested in what we can actually do." Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, *Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME*;

E.g. code 4Ba, conciliatory: She planned to seek "to reach the highest common factor" among the 27 Member States, instead of the "lowest common denominator", she added. EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009;

E.g. code 4Ab, inept: "In Ashton and van Rompuy, the EU has selected a pair who might "struggle even to hail a cab", according to one Brussels wag." The Sunday Times (2009). *Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up*. November 22, 2009. Retrieved 02.03.2010 from:

<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece>;

E.g. code 4Ab: "There is no lack of ambition in the Foreign Affairs Council. I have to do it within the constraints of needing to build a consensus and with the resources we have. But there is no lack of ambition when we start to talk." Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, *Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME*;

E.g. code 4Ac, dependent: "The initial goodwill towards the 53-year-old appears to be ebbing amid her continuing lack of confidence during foreign policy briefings and ministerial meetings, when she is regularly eclipsed by her more seasoned colleagues. [...] Senior officials within her team complain that she "sticks to generalities"." Mock, V. (2010). *French Sexism Blamed for attacks on baroness Ashton*. the Independent, 16 February 2010.

³² E.g. code 6Aa, dutiful: "In a statement, Barroso said he was "very satisfied with the profile of the commissioner," noting that "she was responsible for the successful passage of the Lisbon Treaty in the House of Lords". "She has very solid economic experience," said Barroso's spokesperson, Johannes Laitenberger, at the Commission's standard press briefing on Friday. "She has very solid legal experience, and she has dealt with aspects of trade issues before." EurActiv, 6 Oct. 2008, Barroso embraces new UK commissioner;

E.g. code 6Aa: "Lady Ashton said she believed in "quiet diplomacy" and "building confidence", and she wanted to "keep the traffic moving" rather than stopping it. She added however that when needed, "we must be out at the forefront with a loud voice"." EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009;

E.g. code 6Ab, rigid: "She quit as Tony Blair's farming minister after four days in 2006. She refused to take on the job as a part-time adjunct to her post at the Department for Constitutional Affairs." Barker, A. (2009). *Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know*. Financial Times Westminster Blog November 13, 2009.

Non-significant scores (less than four points) are found for the dominant (1A scale, 3 points), the ambitious (scale 2, 1 points), the aggrieved pattern (5A scale, 3 point), the contentious type (scale 5B, score 1), the reticent pattern (scale 7, 1 point), and the retiring pattern (scale 8, score 1). On no scale, Mrs. Ashton scored dysfunctional (level III and higher). We could find no evidence to the presence of the distrusting pattern and the erratic type (patterns 9, and 0) with Catherine Ashton.

When looking at the findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis, Baroness Ashton's person is mostly characterised by accommodating and jovial patterns. Furthermore, we found evidence of the conscientious pattern. Ashton also displays signs of the jovial personality type. Although she does not let people know a lot about her personal life, in public there is a lot of evidence of a jovial personality. For example, the fact that she has a life-size science fiction character from the British TV series Dr. Who in her house³³, demonstrates her adventurous character and her engaging and animated spirit.

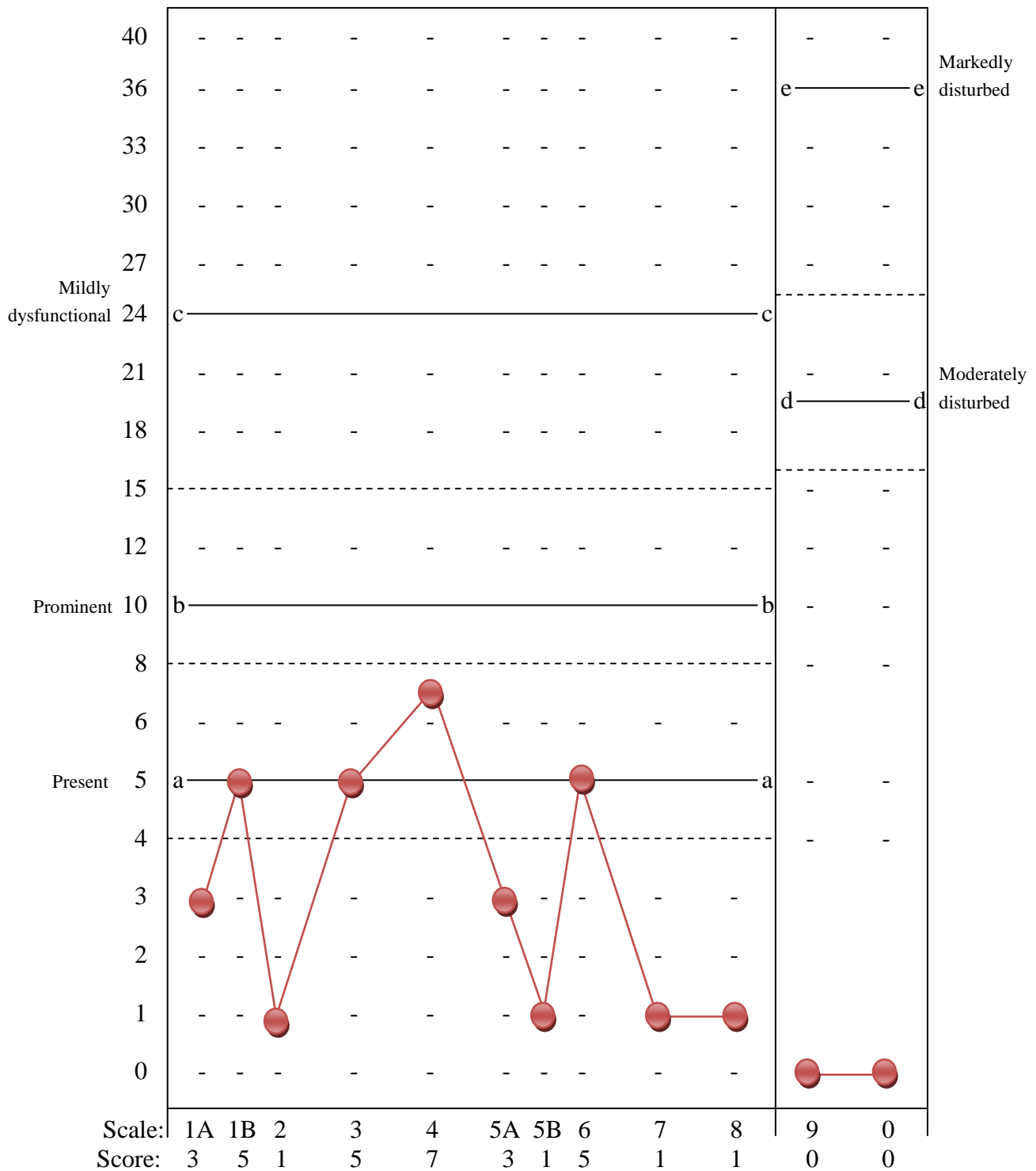
A common combination in politics is the ambitious, jovial personality type - combination scale 2 with scale 3. According to the literature, individuals with this personality are able to lure others by their wit, cleverness and charm. Although there is not enough evidence to establish an ambitious pattern, the joviality Baroness Ashton possesses is mentioned by several of her former colleagues, and gives her some credit as an effective negotiator.

<http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/>; E.g. code 6Ba, respectful: "Her friends say she has considerable quiet charm. "She has achieved more in one year than Peter Mandelson did in four," said one. "He was too abrasive, whereas Cathy is patient and good at building alliances. It is the style of politics that works in Brussels." Or as Ashton herself put it in a waspish interview last year: "Everyone has their own style. Peter did a fantastic job in my view, but I bring a different style. I don't know any oligarchs. I don't think I've ever been on anyone's yacht." Charter, D. & Keely, G. (2010). *Baroness Ashton under fire for missing European defence summit*. February 26, 2010. From The Times <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7041984.ece>; E.g. code 6Ba: "One ally of Mandelson said: "Cathy is good at building relationships, but the question is whether she would bring enough gravitas." The Sunday Times (2009). *Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up*. November 22, 2009. Retrieved 02.03.2010 from: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece>; E.g. code 6Ba: Lord Kinnock, the former Labour leader and EU commissioner, said that the EU leaders had made "good choices". "What they have gone for with the Belgian Prime Minister Rompuy and with Cathy Ashton is high quality, functional effectiveness, not flamboyance," he told Today." Telegraph (2009). *EU foreign minister: Lady Ashton to prove she is 'best person for the job'*. Telegraph, 20 Nov 2009.; E.g. code 6Ca, circumspect: "While her appointment will be seen as underwhelming in some quarters and not the heavyweight figure many hoped for the role, Baroness Ashton is used to shaking off criticism and getting on with the job. [...] But Baroness Ashton is widely regarded to have proved a success, showing quiet efficiency and an ability to build consensus on key issues." BBC News (2009). *Profile: EU foreign minister Baroness Ashton*, BBC News, Thursday, 19 November 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8369392.stm>; E.g. code 6Ca, prudent: "Catherine Ashton indicated that it was too soon since her appointment for her present a considered view." European Commission (2009). *EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically*. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009.

³³ The Sunday Times (2010). *PROFILE: Catherine Ashton*. 14.03.2010. Retrieved 20.03.2010 From: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7061021.ece>.

Catherine Ashton scored on three of the four necessary items for the effective negotiator profile (daunting, jovial, and accommodating). She is explorative and friendly during negotiations. In particular her explorative and cooperative nature will help her a great deal in European negotiations. Figure 8 shows Lady Catherine Ashton's profile.

Figure 8. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Baroness Catherine Ashton



10. José Manuel Durão Barroso³⁴

Having been Portugal's Prime Minister since 2002, José Manuel Durão Barroso was relatively inexperienced when he was appointed president of the European Commission in 2004. Barroso, who graduated in Law, Economics and Social Sciences, is a Maoist turned conservative. After having lobbied hard, both openly and behind the scenes, Barroso was nominated for a second term in office by the European Council in June 2009. He was officially re-elected by the European Parliament in September 2009.

When looking at the early political activities of Barroso, it is striking to find that he was a keen Maoist activist during his studies. This is relevant for the study of the personality of Barroso, as it may have shaped his beliefs, ambitions and possibly other patterns during his formative period of adolescence. First, we look at the fact that he was an active activist. In one of the sources used for the meta-analysis, Barroso recounts the story how he fled an armed military convoy that had arrested him minutes before, by claiming that "they would not shoot him in the back" (NRC Handelsblad, 2008).

A second relevant feature is the fact that he switched his beliefs dramatically in the years after his studies, when he joined the Democratic Popular Party, which many commentators describe as right of centre (EurActiv, 2010). However, Barroso himself denies making a radical switch in his beliefs (BBC News, 2009). The problem in this case lies in the fact that the Democratic Popular Party was a fiercely anti-communist party, but to Western-European standards still left of centre. To demonstrate, the party later switched its name to PSD - *Partido Social Democrata* -, or the Social-Democratic Party. This supports Barroso's claim that he never switched positions radically. However, at the moment, Barroso's party is a member of the Parliamentary Group of the European People's Party in the European Parliament, the Christian Democrats. At this moment in time, Barroso describes himself as being a "centrist reformer" (BBC News, 2009). After joining the PSD, Barroso soon rose among the ranks and by 1985 he was named Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, in 1987 he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and in 1992 he was appointed Foreign minister. The PSD lost its seat in government from 1995 and returned to power only in 2002. It won these last elections under the lead of José Manuel Durão Barroso, who became prime-minister. It was in the midst of

³⁴ This part on the personality of Barroso and the MIDC results for Barroso have been adapted from a pilot study for this paper, and will also be published in a forthcoming publication (Middelhoff & De Landsheer, 2010).

his term that he became the successful compromise figure, acceptable to all heads of state and with support from the biggest fraction in the European Parliament, his own EPP, and was appointed to lead the European Commission.

In Brussels, José Manuel Durão Barroso, who is known in Portugal as just Durão Barroso had to drop his middle name, due to the fact that *Durão* means “though one” in Portuguese. The message was clear straight from the beginning: if Barroso wanted to succeed in Brussels, he needed to be lenient, flexible and try not to step on any of the big Member State leaders’ toes.

10.1 Barroso and the EU

In six years of Barroso Commission, the Portuguese has put as clear signature on the EU. He has led the administrative body of the EU through two important expansions³⁵, and one major Treaty reformation. As Commission President, Barroso has pushed through an EU climate change package, the start of accession talks with Turkey, the instalment of a European GPS system Galileo, and the Doha round in development negotiations.

Nevertheless, his biggest issue has been the emphasising on the Lisbon strategy, which was a strategy to make Europe “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” (European Council, 2000). On this strategy, many EU policies have been based and eventually only very few of the ambitious goals set by the agenda were reached in 2010 (Rodriguez, 2009). In fact, in May 2010, the strategy was classified as a failure (CPB, 2010).

With his second mandate underway, Barroso is now by far the most experienced of the triangle of power in the European Union. However, he is also more senior than many European government leaders. Only Jean-Claude Juncker of Luxembourg, Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands, José Zapatero of Spain, Lawrence Gonzi of Malta, and Matti Vanhanen of Finland have been in office longer than Barroso has. This means that 22 heads of government, including Merkel, Sarkozy, Cameron, and Berlusconi have less experience on the European level than Barroso has³⁶. With the appointment of Herman Van Rompuy and Catherine Ashton, as the other two main figures in EU politics, Barroso is the apparent

³⁵ The 2004 enlargement with 10 new Member States, and the 2007 enlargement with Bulgaria and Romania.

³⁶ Admittedly, when one combines the total years of his three periods as Prime Minister, Italian Silvio Berlusconi does have more experience in Brussels. See for a complete table of seniority the earlier section on negotiating in the Council.

veteran in Brussels. Should Barroso have any ambitions to increase his influence, commentators argue that the recent appointments benefitted him greatly (Peeperkorn, 2009).

As seen before in this paper, Barroso has the biggest machine at his disposal, the entire European Commission with 25.000 civil servants, compared to the current 20 person private staff of Catherine Ashton and Herman Van Rompuy. However, it is expected that the number of civil servants of the latter two will rise dramatically over the next period of time. With the establishment of the EEAS – Ashton- and the increased importance of the Council secretariat - Van Rompuy -, all three figures will eventually have at their disposal a considerable body of civil servants (Van Keulen, Rood & Limonard, 2008).

However, with the possible judicial and political causes for a potential power struggle between the three most important EU civil servants already covered, it is more interesting to look at the personal attributes of José Manuel Durão Barroso.

10.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis

The following sections describe the results of the research process according to the MIDC approach for the politician José Barroso. The score-sheet in table 10, shows the personality scales by which the politician was scored.

José Manuel Barroso scored on 26 items out of a possible 170 of the Millon Inventory Diagnostic Criteria. The president of the European Commission received high points in the behavioural domains expression (A, 15 scores), and interpersonal relationships (B, 7 scores). Self-image (E, 2 scores), cognitive style (C, 1 score) and mood and temperament (D, 1 score) are no relevant behavioural domains with Barroso.

With *le President*, there is none of the twelve personality types prominently present (Level II). The president scores significantly on the presence of four different personality patterns (level I): the dominant (1A scale, 6 points), the dauntless (1B scale, 6 points), the ambitious (scale 2, 8 points), and the accommodating pattern (scale 4, 7 points).

Non-significant scores (less than four points) Barroso received for the jovial pattern (scale 3, 2 points), the aggrieved pattern (5A scale, 1 point), the conscientious pattern (scale 6, 4 points), the reticent pattern (scale 7, 1 point), and the distrusting pattern (scale 9, score 5 where 20 is needed to express presence). On no scale, Barroso scored dysfunctional (level III and higher). We could find no evidence to the presence of the contentious type, retiring type, and the erratic type (patterns 5B, 8, and 0) with José Barroso.

When looking at the findings of the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis, Barroso's person is mostly characterised by accommodating³⁷ and ambitious³⁸ patterns. Furthermore, we found evidence of the dominant³⁹ and dauntless⁴⁰ patterns. Overall, we conclude that the president of the European Commission appears to have an ambitious, out-spoken but overall fairly balanced personality.

With mister Barroso there are four personality scales present, none of which are dominantly present. This leads us to conclude that Mr. Barroso has a balanced personality, without any dysfunctional personality types. Barroso fits roughly in the dominant-ambitious pattern. Dominant and ambitious people are often found in politics, they have a great need for

³⁷ E.g. code 4Aa, accommodating: "President Barroso, as well as most of the prospective members of the College, seem reluctant to tackle Member States head on, in particular as national governments enter the delicate stage of ratification of the Constitutional Treaty." Grevi, G. (2004). *The Barroso Commission: Unfinished Business?* EPC Issue Paper No. 17. p.8.; 4Aa: "Sure he does not move a finger before asking the member states. Why do you think he was given this job? And why do you think he will be reappointed?" European Voice (2009). *Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview*. 02.04.2009.; Code 4Ba: "There will always be criticisms. Some criticisms are welcome. They help us to stay focused." European Voice (2009). *Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview*. 02.04.2009.; code 4Ab: "It also reminds everyone that he is a consensus-builder - a key element in his re-election as Commission president." BBC News (2009). *Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso*. 16 September 2009.

³⁸ E.g. code 2Aa, confident: "I don't want a Commission with a lame duck president," Barroso said. "If you are against me, vote against me." EurActiv, *Liberals and Greens disagree on Barroso*. Published: 10 September 2009; E.g. code 2Ba, conceited: Spencer said Barroso had spent the last two years of his first mandate preparing for competition with the first permanent Council president. However, with the post being taken by former Belgian Prime Minister Herman Van Rompuy, Spencer said he expected Barroso to find a "comfortable" *modus vivendi* with him, as the two are "quite similar people in some ways". EurActiv, *'Imperial' Barroso urged to have 'vision' for second mandate*. Published: 11 February 2010.; E.g. code 2Ab, conceited: "Frankly I think he has put more effort into safeguarding his own job than in fighting for the jobs of European citizens. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen in: European Voice (2009). *Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview*. 02.04.2009.

³⁹ E.g. code 1AAa, assertive: "In five years' time, I want this Commission to have been instrumental in leading Europe out of the economic crisis towards a competitive economy that provides sustainable growth," Barroso told a news conference. EurActiv. *Barroso unveils new EU Commission line-up*. Published: 27 November 2009; E.g. code 1AAb, forceful: "There is not a change in my thinking." European Voice (2009). *Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview*. 02.04.2009.; However, a Portuguese MEP and Socialist, Ana Gomes, argues that Mr Barroso "has lots of ability, but no strong convictions on anything, and he's driven not by money, but by power". BBC News, 2009, *Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso* Wednesday, 16 September 2009.; E.g. code 1Baa, commanding: "President Barroso has a direct interest in pre-empting the establishment of this new position by demonstrating that he himself, and the new College, are trustworthy interlocutors." Grevi, G. (2004). *The Barroso Commission: Unfinished Business?* EPC Issue Paper No. 17; Sensitive issues and proposals are dealt with in advance and on a bilateral basis by the President and the relevant Commissioner(s), and then submitted for collective approval. This may well reflect President Barroso's own leadership style. Missiroli, A. (2006). *The European Commission at 27: between reshuffle and reform*. EPC policy Brief November 2006. p. 3.

⁴⁰ E.g. code 1BBa, adventurous: "However, by backing Jeleva, Barroso is perfectly aware that he will face the fury of the Socialists and Democrats (S&D) group, which asked for the withdrawal of the Bulgarian nominee." EurActiv, *Barroso on collision course over Jeleva*. Published: 18 January 2010.; E.g. code 1ABb, fearless: "There was a big risk that the funding would not be approved but Barroso made so much public noise about it that he would have lost face if it had not been approved. He went against a sword on this one." European Voice (2009). *Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview*. 02.04.2009.; E.g. code 1EBb, unfettered: "Mr Barroso long ago abandoned left-wing politics in favour of economic liberalism and free trade. But he resents being labelled a "liberal", insisting that he is "a centrist reformer". BBC News (2009). *Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso*. Wednesday, 16 September 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8139205.stm>.

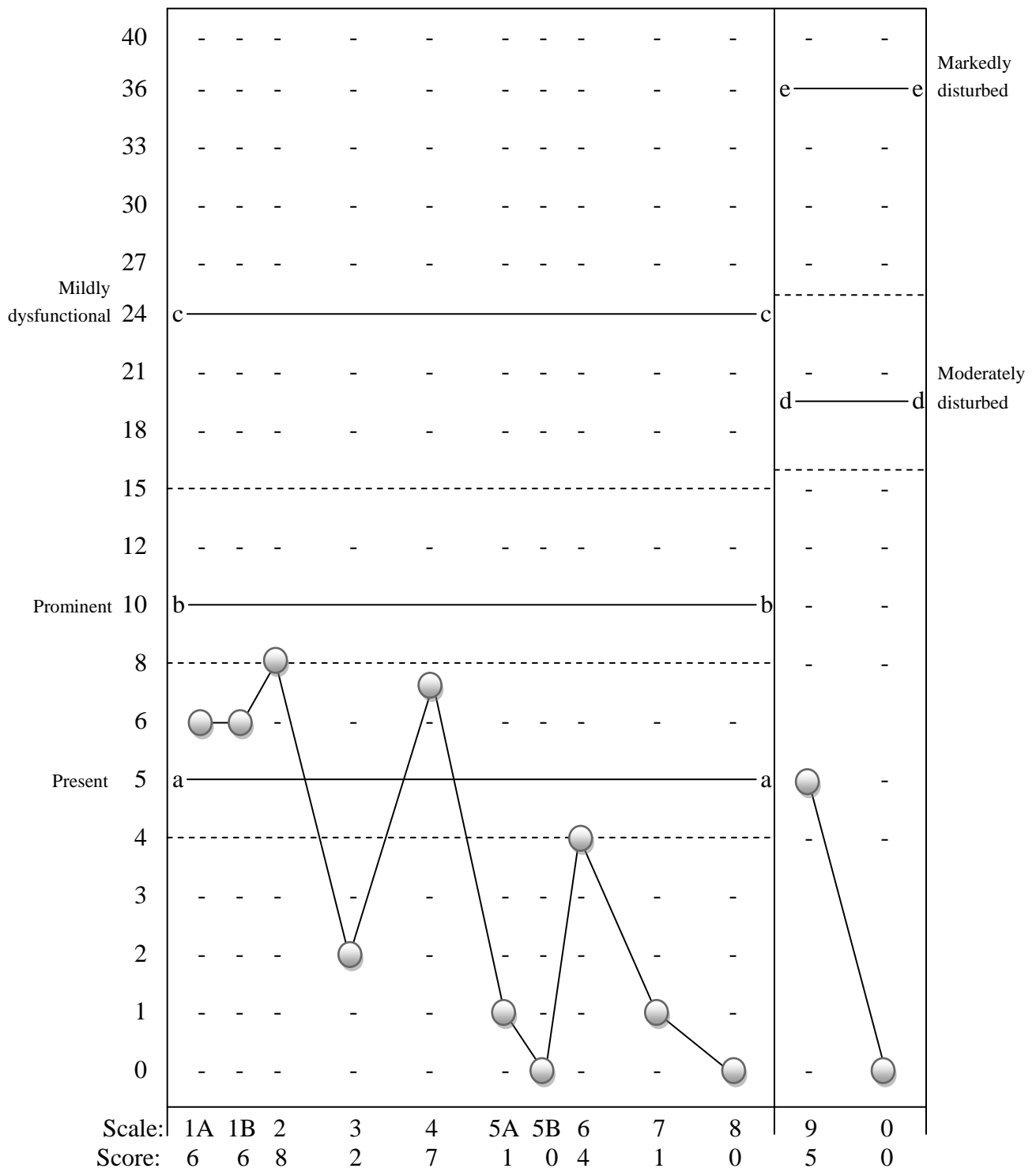
power and dominance - examples include Winston Churchill and Saddam Hussein (De Landsheer, Winkelmanns, & Immelman, 2004). The person with, what is also known as the "aggressive" style, enjoys directing others to obey and respect him. Barroso appears to believe quite strongly in himself, he is ambitious and competitive. A dominant person can be hard and unsentimental, and often unpleasant. Usually this type demonstrates his or her power-oriented tendencies by taking roles, he assumes, the public has accepted. Occasionally, these tendencies develop into stubbornness, perfectionism, and thoroughness. Every once in a while, statements surface that reveal the strictness of Barroso and denounce his enthusiasm and sense of responsibility (European Voice, 2009). These periodic negative expressions do not prevent controlling types from being effective leaders with the skills to supervise and persuade themselves and others to pursue the common goals. This is of course very important, relevant and necessary in the European context Barroso is working in.

Subject: José Manuel Barroso												Date: March 2010																									
Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria Score Sheet																																					
Scale																																					
Attribute	1A			1B			2			3			4			5A			5B			6			7			8			9			10			Attribute totals:
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	e	d	e			
A	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	15		
B	X	X		X	X		X	X		X			X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X		X							X			7		
C	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	1		
D	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	1		
E	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	4	5	2		
Scale totals:	2	4		2	4		4	4		2			2	2	3	1					2	2		1								5					
	6			6			8			2			7			1			0			4			1			0			5		0				

Table 10 MIDC Score sheet José Manuel Barroso

With regard to effective negotiating, Barroso has a significant presence of most personality types needed to be an effective negotiator on the European level. Although his scores are not prominent, the personality of Barroso makes up for that by scoring in three out of the four required domains (accommodating, daunting, dominance, not outgoingness). We can therefore say that Barroso is a relatively effective negotiator. His profile is plotted in figure 9.

Figure 9. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: José Manuel Barroso



11. Herman Van Rompuy

Eventually, Belgian Prime Minister Herman Van Rompuy was the not so surprising, compromise figure to become the first President of the European Council. He has been working in his new position for more than half a year now. Although a relative novice to international politics, Van Rompuy's name had been circling among insiders in Brussels and other European capitals for quite some time. Van Rompuy, who was prime-minister of Belgium for less than a year, ticked all the boxes of the profile of the first president of the European Council. He is of the right political colour - Christian Democratic, the largest fraction in the European Parliament and in most national parliaments, which was according to some commentators why Tony Blair was unacceptable, apart from his outspoken behaviour (Barber, 2009) -, he is perceived as an overt consensus builder – the reasoning being that anyone who can hold Belgium together is capable of doing the same for Europe (Peeperkorn, 2009), he speaks French – very important for Paris and Nicolas Sarkozy -, English and Dutch fluently, and he is not an outspoken person – very important for all the dominant and ambitious heads of state. This latter point is according to commentators one of the reasons why, for example, fellow Christian Democrat Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands was not acceptable to some heads of state (Peeperkorn, 2009). Although this has to do with the image of Balkenende, as previously we have seen that he is not an outspoken and dominant personality at all.

Contrary to Catherine Ashton, Van Rompuy has extensive political and governmental experience, being politically active since 1973, and having held several executive positions. Furthermore, Van Rompuy has participated in countless elections, an experience Ashton is also lacking.

11.1 Van Rompuy and the EU

The numerous biographies and profiles that occurred in the international media after Herman Van Rompuy was appointed EU president all speak of his relative inexperience in international politics and about the fact that he as a Belgian politician was always more of an Atlanticist rather than a Europhile (De Smet, 2009). The reason why he was appointed permanent EU president was most likely his solid image and his low profile on the European political arena. However, the fact that he speaks many of the official working languages of the European Union will have also played a very important role. It will come in handy, when

Van Rompuy, who is a big fan of informal and quiet diplomacy (Middelhoff, 2008), organises informal meetings with Member States' leaders.

A sign of his quite diplomatic conduct and his preference for informal diplomacy is the fact that in the first months of his presidency, Van Rompuy visited most EU member states. He also organised an informal meeting of the heads of state of the EU in February 2010. As president, Van Rompuy has the power to organise informal European Council meetings. He – together with his staff and the Council secretariat that now falls directly under him - is also responsible for the preparation of Council Meetings, and assists the Member State that is holding the presidency of the European Council (Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008).

Before he became President of the European Council, Van Rompuy was sceptical on the Turkish membership of the EU in 2004 as opposition leader in the Belgian Chamber of Representatives. This is something that still follows him, in particular as Turkey is very careful of its opportunities to join the EU.

11.2 Findings of the Psycho diagnostic Meta-analysis for Herman Van Rompuy

The profile of Herman Van Rompuy has been mapped comprehensively on the basis of a psycho diagnostic analysis by De Landtsheer (2009). For this part of the paper, we built heavily on her extensive work.

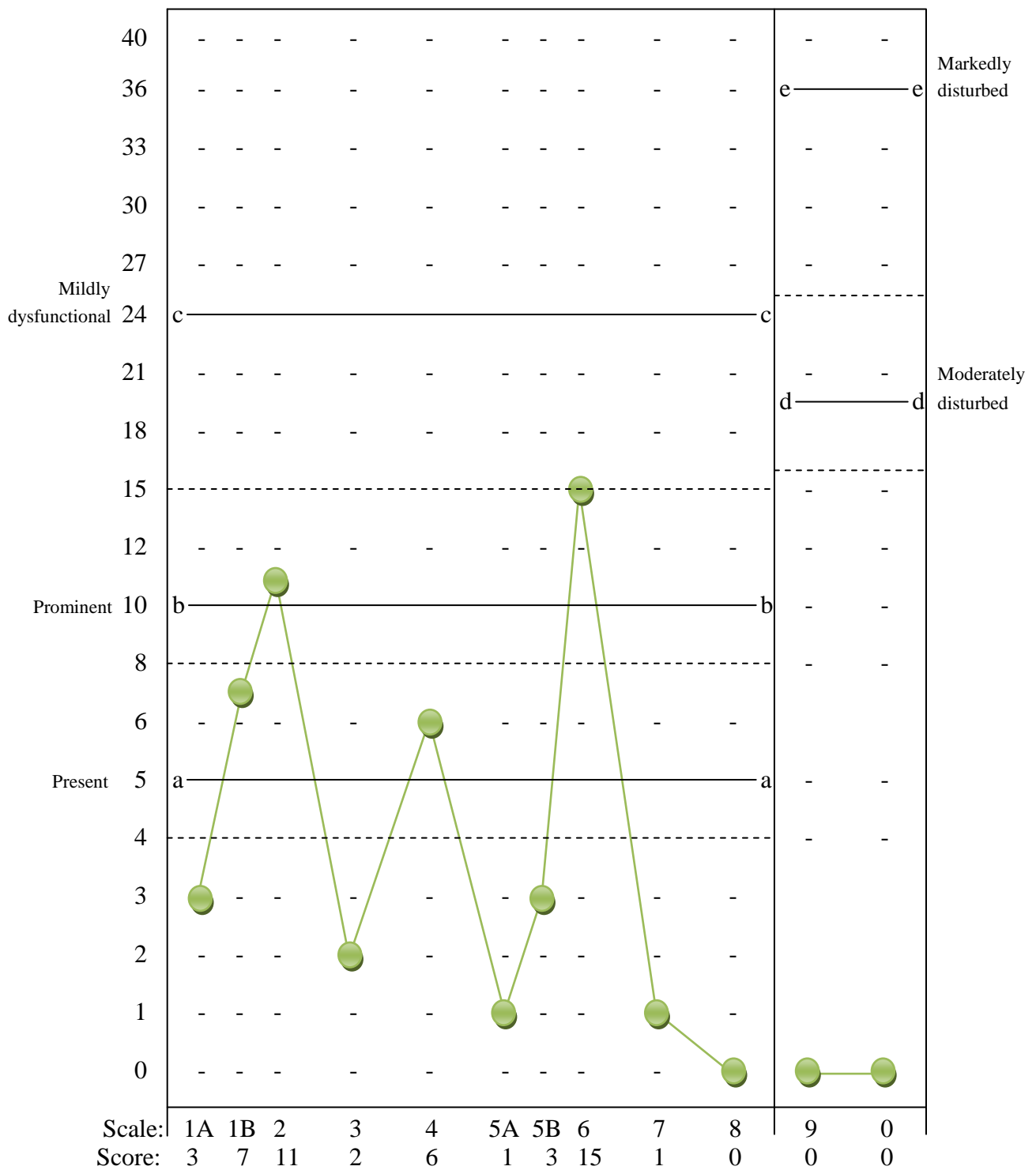
As with the profiles of the other government and EU officials in this paper, De Landtsheer used the Millon method of profiling to establish the personality of Herman Van Rompuy. Since the same method of psycho diagnostic analysis was used, it will be possible to compare the findings from De Landtsheer (2009) with our own findings for Ashton and Barroso and the other European government leaders. This will be done in the last section of this paper.

To map out Van Rompuy's personality, De Landtsheer collected many relevant articles, interviews, and broadcasts about or with Herman Van Rompuy in the media. Table 11 shows the findings for the politician Herman van Rompuy.

types are humble, kind and empathetic, and not threatening to set themselves. They always behave elegantly, even against those who they do not like. These "dedicated" types are loyal to their family, business and organisation (Immelman 1999).

Below the plotted profile – figure 10 - of Herman Van Rompuy can be found, reprinted, with permission, from De Landtsheer (2009). Van Rompuy can not be classified as an effective negotiator, as he does not score significantly on the outgoing and dominant scale. He is, however, accommodating – just as the other two European decision makers Ashton and Barroso -, although not very prominently.

Figure 10. *Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Herman Van Rompuy.* Adapted from: De Landtsheer (2009).



12. The findings combined

With the personalities of six European Government leaders and the three European leaders profiled, we can now compare the results. Ultimately, we hope to see whether there are specific attributes that constitute a great amount of tension or a common ground between the European leaders. In addition, we might be able to see if there is a clear pattern for the psychology of European leaders and if there are some leaders who clearly fall out of the average pattern and consequently stand out in EU negotiations. We will start this section by discussing the findings for the Government leaders. We will then discuss the EU leaders, before turning to a final section in which all nine profiles are combined and discussed.

12.1 The Profiles of six EU Government leaders

Throughout this paper, we have discussed the psychological profiles of Silvio Berlusconi, Angela Merkel, Nicolas Sarkozy, Jan Peter Balkenende, Yves Leterme and new kid on the block David Cameron. Although six out of an EU of 27, looks a bit meagre at first glance, this research includes the leaders of six of the largest⁴¹, and politically⁴² and economic⁴³ still most important Member States of the European Union.

Table 12 combines the statistics of the six Prime Ministers discussed in this paper, including an average score and average deviation on each of the twelve scales.

MIDC SCALE:	1a	1b	2	3	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9	0
Berlusconi	14	14	6	19	3	3	9	1	0	0	13	5
Merkel	4	4	4	2	10	5	4	13	6	6	0	0
Sarkozy	22	9	24	14	6	1	7	14	2	0	17	13
Balkenende	2	0	2	6	0	0	3	10	4	16	0	0
Leterme	14	1	11	5	4	7	8	19	12	3	16	4
Cameron	11	5	15	8	4	1	7	4	2	2	13	0
<i>Average⁴⁴:</i>	11	6	10	9	5	3	6	10	4	5	10	4
<i>Average deviation⁴⁵:</i>	5,50	4,00	6,33	5,00	2,33	2,17	1,89	5,17	3,11	4,33	6,56	3,67

Table 12, Combined statistics of the MIDC scores of six European Government leaders.

⁴¹ Combined, the six covered government Leaders determine direction for nearly 300 million inhabitants, more than half of the 500 million EU inhabitants.

⁴² The six Member States represent 141 QMV votes out of a total of 345 in the Council. In other words, no decision can pass the Council, without at least two of the six covered Member States agreeing to the proposal under the QMV system of voting in the Council (Rood, Van Keulen & Limonard, 2008).

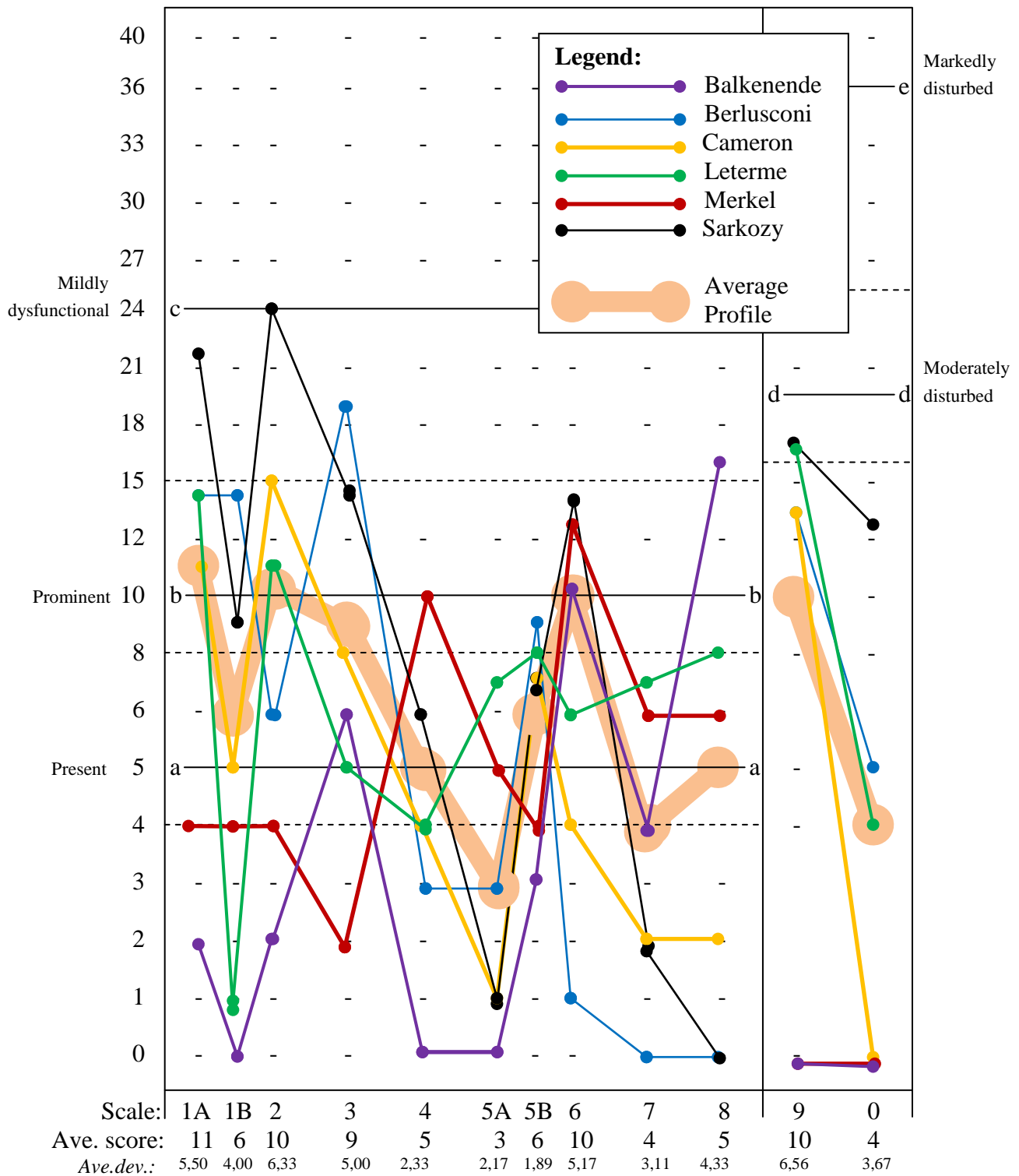
⁴³ The six leaders, represent more than two thirds (8.777.635 million) of the total EU GDP (12.506.778 million).

⁴⁴ Rounded to whole numbers.

⁴⁵ Average deviation calculates the average of the absolute intra-scale deviations of scores relative to their average intra-scale value. The formula used is: $\frac{1}{n} \sum |x - \bar{x}|$. As inter-scale scores in the MIDC method of Psychological Profiling, like most psychometric methods, are in principle ordinal data, they do not provide proper statistical value (Stevens, 1946). However, the average deviation gives us a good insight in the variation within a scale.

From this table, we can learn that there is a distinctive pattern for European Government leaders. In the table, we are looking for high average scores on a particular scale, and a low average deviation, to find similarities and establish pattern presence among European government leaders. The results are also portrayed in a combined profile in figure 11.

Figure 11. MIDC: Combined Profiles of Six Prime Ministers



On the basis of this figure and the data, we can conclude that among European Prime Ministers we find high presence of the dominant (scale 1a, average score 11), the conscientious (scale 6, average score 10), the ambitious (scale 2, average score 10), and the outgoing (scale 3, average score 9) patterns. The average deviation on these scales is quite high, meaning that the value of these scales among European leaders differs to quite some extent.

On a lower level, the average European Prime Minister has a significant level of the contentious (scale 5b, average score 6), the daunting (scale 1b, average score 6), the accommodating (scale 4, average score 5), and the retiring (scale 8, average score 5) personality type. In particular the contentious and accommodating patterns have a low average deviation among the six leaders, demonstrating that presence of this personality type is essential among European leaders.

It is interesting to have a look at where certain politicians stand out from the others. For the following analyses we use the following benchmarks: for a person to stand out significantly on a specific scale, he or she has to score higher or lower at least more than the average deviation from the European mean on that particular scale. If the distinction falls within the average deviation bandwidth, it will only be noted if the specific deviation is somewhat higher, and it will be labelled deviation to a lesser extent.

Silvio Berlusconi stands out on his high levels of outgoing, daunting, contentious and to lesser extent dominant patterns. He also stands out on low levels of his conscientious, and to a lesser extent his ambitious personality type.

Angela Merkel's only score higher than the average deviation above the average score, is in the accommodating pattern. The German chancellor stands out significantly with lower scores than average on the dominant, outgoing, and ambitious scales. To a lesser extent, Merkel stands out on the conscientious scale.

Nicolas Sarkozy stands out with significant higher scores on the ambitious, dominant, outgoing, erratic and the distrusting personality scales. To a lesser extent, he stands out on the dutiful and daunting patterns in particular.

Jan Peter Balkenende has remarkably high score on the retiring pattern, and remarkable low scores on the dominant, daunting, accommodating and ambitious scales.

Yves Leterme has a significantly more conscientious, aggrieved and reticent personality. On the other hand, he is significantly less daunting, and than his former European colleagues.

David Cameron, finally, fits the average profile of a European Prime Minister quite well, only significantly deterring by a lower conscientious score. Significantly to a lesser extent is

Cameron's higher score in the ambitious personality type. However, this scale has a high degree of intra-scale deviation, which means we can safely say that David Cameron is a more ambitious person than the average European Prime Minister.

To these conclusions, we must note that all six European Prime Ministers and President Sarkozy are Christian democratic, or liberal conservative politicians. No social democratic, social liberal or liberal democratic politicians are included. It might be possible that the political preference of the politicians has an influence on the psychological profile of these five. It might also be that centre-right to right parties have a preference for a specific type of political leader, thereby resulting in a similar pattern of political psychological profiles throughout Europe. We do not know this, and it might be an interesting topic for further research. Of course, ideally, some Government leaders of other political colours would be included in the research as well. However, at the moment Europe is dealing with a considerable right to centre-right Council of Ministers, and the recent European Parliamentary election results demonstrated that the whole EU is facing a political shift towards the right.

12.2 The Giants of European Decision Making

In the same way as with the Prime Ministers in the previous part, this section will now discuss the findings for the three European top officials, Catherine Ashton, José Barroso and Herman Van Rompuy, regarding their personalities and future cooperation between the three. Table 13 provides a concise overview of the most interesting patterns that exist in the co-operation between the three.

MIDC SCALE:	1a	1b	2	3	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9	0
Ashton	3	5	1	5	7	3	1	5	1	1	0	0
Barroso	6	6	8	2	7	1	0	4	1	0	5	0
Van Rompuy	3	7	11	2	6	1	3	15	1	0	0	0
<i>Average</i>	4	6	7	3	7	2	1	8	1	0	2	0
<i>Average deviation:</i>	1,33	0,67	3,78	1,33	0,44	0,89	1,11	4,67	0,00	0,44	2,22	0,00

Table 13, MIDC Scores for Ashton, Barroso and Van Rompuy.

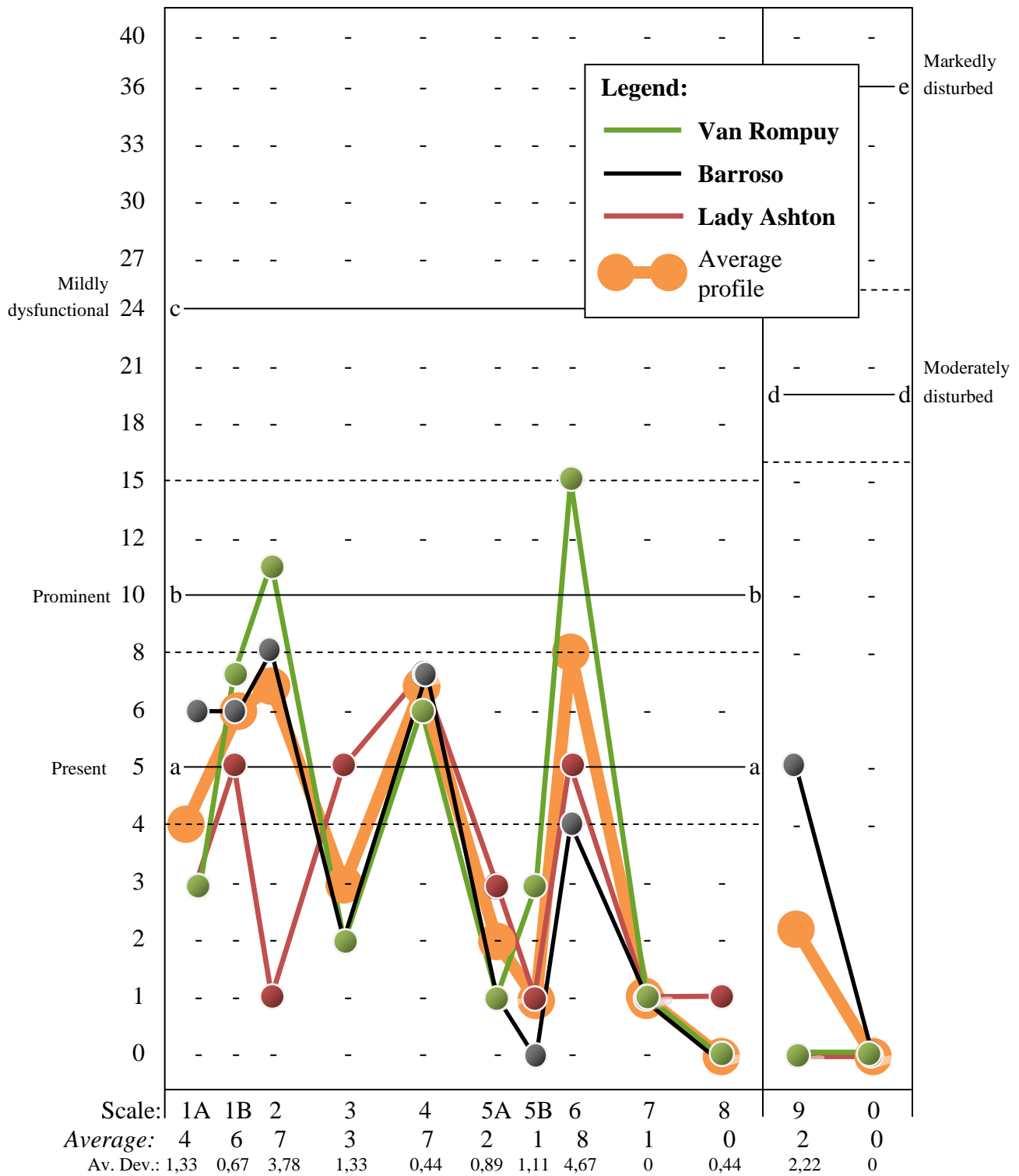
The results can also be plotted. This result can be found in figure 12. As before when discussing the Prime Ministers, MIDC scales with a low average deviation and significant presence with at least one of the subjects are interesting to take into account, as this shows similarities between the three personalities. The same goes for scales with a high average

deviation and significant presence with at least one of the subjects, as these indicate dissimilarities in the personalities. Scales 5a, 5b, 7, 8, 9, and 0 are irrelevant in this respect as they are not significantly present with any of the three subjects.

Between Ashton, Van Rompuy, and Barroso a fruitful cooperation seems a very probable and promising option. They all three have a certain daunting and conscientious pattern. If they can use these traits together that would certainly be good news for Europe. Also, all three are accommodating personalities. It is certainly possible to generally reach consensus among the three. Furthermore, both Ashton and Barroso seem to need Van Rompuy, when it comes to accuracy and conscientiousness in the study of dossiers, something that seems not that present in their own patterns. Catherine Ashton's flirtatious behaviour stands out from the other two, as can be seen on the scale of joviality. It is not expected that this will cause disturbances, if anything it might improve – lighten – working relations between all.

Although we have not found structural evidence of the distrusting pattern with Barroso, there are some hints of it being present. This might cause some disturbances with Van Rompuy's conscientious pattern. Combined with the presence of a dominant pattern in Barroso's profile, this may lead to disturbances in their relationship. Van Rompuy might – eventually – gain more dossier knowledge; at least he does have more interest in the matters. Nevertheless, the evidence for a distrusting pattern with Barroso is too limited to significantly establish its presence.

Figure 12. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Van Rompuy, Barroso & Lady Ashton.



12.3 The Psychology of the European Council

Last but not least, we will have a look at the combined profiles of all nine European politicians discussed in this paper. The method and structure will follow that of the previous sections. Table 14 shows the total combined scores of this research for all nine European leaders.

MIDC SCALE:	1a	1b	2	3	4	5a	5b	6	7	8	9	0
Berlusconi	14	14	6	19	3	3	9	1	0	0	13	5
Merkel	4	4	4	2	10	5	4	13	6	6	0	0
Sarkozy	22	9	24	14	6	1	7	14	2	0	17	13
Balkenende	2	0	2	6	0	0	3	10	4	16	0	0
Leterme	14	1	11	5	4	7	8	19	12	3	16	4
Cameron	11	5	15	8	4	1	7	4	2	2	13	0
Ashton	3	5	1	5	7	3	1	5	1	1	0	0
Barroso	6	6	8	2	7	1	0	4	1	0	5	0
Van Rompuy	3	7	11	2	6	1	3	15	1	0	0	0
<i>Average:</i>	9	6	9	7	5	2	5	9	3	3	7	2
<i>Average deviation:</i>	5,75	2,96	5,46	4,44	2,20	1,83	2,74	5,28	2,74	3,51	6,79	3,26

Table 14, Combined MIDC scores for nine European leaders.

Now, we can see that there are a number of features most European politicians possess. We can also see a clear difference between the EU-three and the government leaders. The EU three have apparent lower scores on the dominant, ambitious, and to a smaller extent the outgoing pattern than the Prime Ministers.

If we would make a model average European politician, he or she would be almost prominently dominant, ambitious, and conscientious (scales 1a, 2, and 6, average score 9). Furthermore, he or she would significantly possess outgoing, daunting, accommodating, and contentious features (scales 3, 1b, 4, 5b, respective average scores: 7, 6, 5, 5). A politician with prominent aggrieved, reticent, and retiring personality patterns, would feel a bit solitary at European summits, as these personality patterns seem less present at the European level. This is the case for Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands in the retiring pattern and for Yves Leterme of Belgium in the reticent and conscientious pattern. He is joined by fellow Belgian Van Rompuy, who also has a conscientious personality.

Other politicians who might find themselves to be standing out a bit in the European environment are Berlusconi, on the outgoing – joined by Sarkozy –, contentious and daunting front, Merkel, on the outgoing front – joined by Barroso and Van Rompuy, and Sarkozy on the dominant, ambitious and outgoing personality types.

David Cameron will feel that he has a lot more in common with the average European leader than he might expect. He seems to be psychologically the most averaged European politician.

Silvio Berlusconi and Nicolas Sarkozy, on the other hand, are the most deviating personalities in this group of nine European politicians. We also observe that on some scales politicians are as different as 23 scores – Ashton and Sarkozy on the dominant personality, scale 2 -, but on one other scale, the nine are relatively similar.⁴⁶

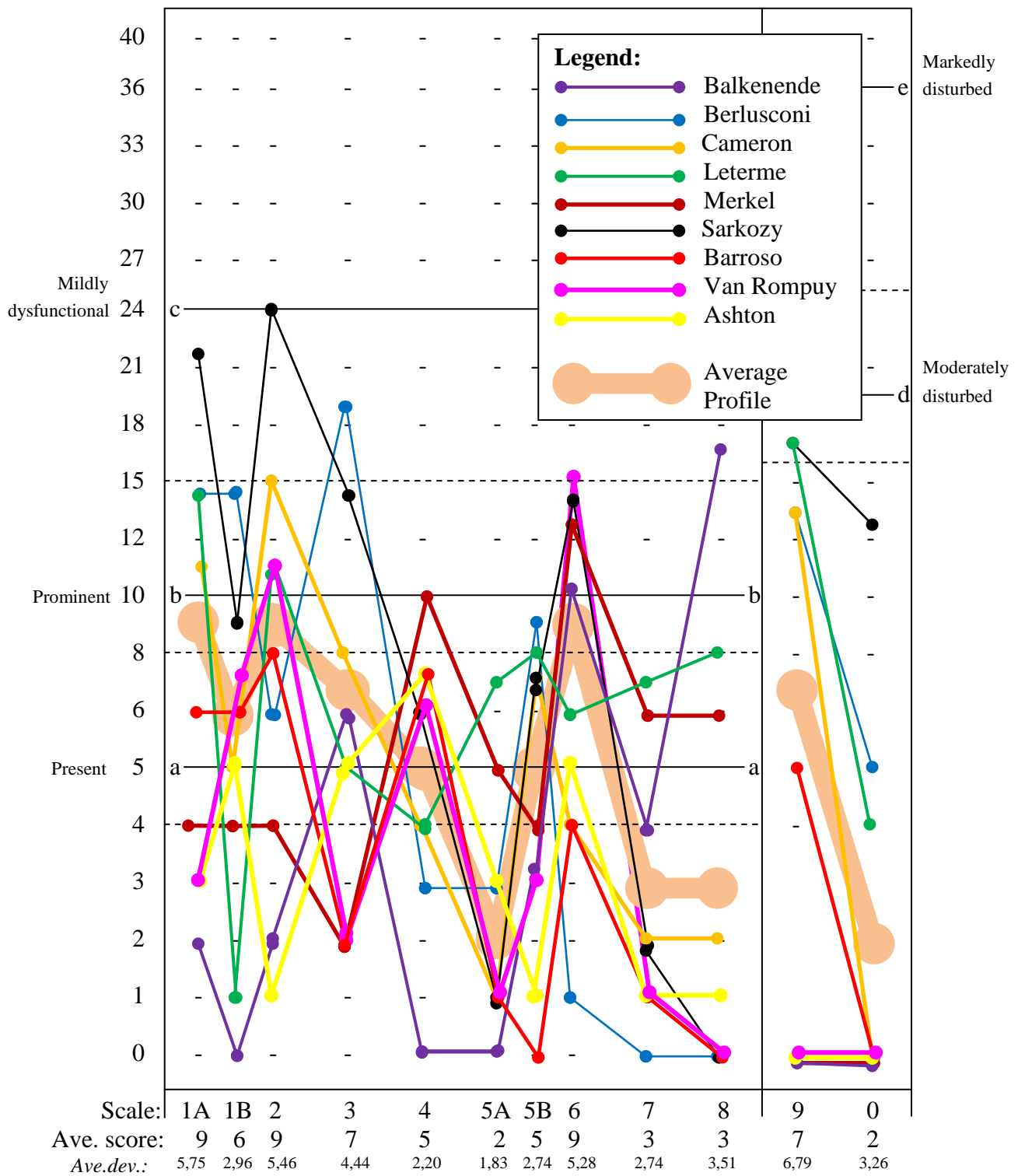
On a more positive note, we observe that there are only three politicians – Sarkozy, Berlusconi and Balkenende - with evidence for the potential for mildly dysfunctional behaviour patterns that may impede their political role performance and leadership effectiveness.

When we return to the profile of the effective negotiator, we see that the average EU politician actually fits fairly well in the description adapted from Mastenbroek's grid in the beginning of this paper. In the section on the profile of an effective negotiator on the European level, we combined Mastenbroek's theory with Millon's method and established an ideal profile with significant scores in the dominant, outgoing, accommodating and daunting scales. We can now see that the average European politician scores indeed significantly on all four of these personality types. Whether this is coincidence or the fact that these politicians are used to international negotiations, we can conclude that European politicians are on average, very effective negotiators. In particular Sarkozy and Berlusconi, and to a lesser extent Barroso, Ashton, Van Rompuy, Leterme and Cameron are on the whole, effective negotiators. Balkenende and Merkel score higher in other personality features, and can therefore not be classified as effective negotiators. Figure 13 plots the profile of the nine European politicians as well as the average profile of all nine combined.

When we try to simplify the findings, we can roughly distinguish between two groups. It is clear that there are some outspoken personalities in the European Council and some conscientious and accommodating politicians. It is understandable that the latter personalities have an open and lenient attitude towards the former personalities, and vice-versa more dominant personalities rely on the conscientious and dutiful behaviour of the second group. In this way, both groups enhance each other in the decision-making process.

⁴⁶ E.g. scale 4, accommodating pattern with an average deviation of 2,20; scale 5B, av. dev. 2,74; scale 1B, av. dev. 2,96.

Figure 13. MIDC: Combined Profiles of Nine European Politicians



13. Concluding remarks

Many results, numbers and psychometrics have been provided in this paper. So many, that one might wonder what the actual meaning of all of these numbers and profile is. What can we do with the results of this research? First of all, the importance lies in the described influence of personality on negotiations. Difficulties during negotiations or unexplainably tough coalitions in European negotiations might more often than not have a basis in interpersonal relations of the individual leaders involved. These interpersonal relations are based on the psychological profiles of the peoples involved, as described. Furthermore, when dealing with any of the personalities profiled in this paper, their profiles might reveal certain reactions to specific behaviour. On the basis of this, a diplomatic interpersonal strategy could be developed to acquire maximum desired effect of interactions with the profiled person. In this sense, political psychological preparations should be deemed just as important as policy issues and position papers, and should be well prepared in order to gain as much advantage as possible for a participant in negotiations.

One might question the actual influence of personality in European negotiations, and in fact, we admit that personality plays only a limited role at times, especially when negotiations are conducted by professionals. This is after all how diplomacy emerged in the 16th century (Middelhoff, 2008). However, personality remains of importance in every aspect of politics, which includes even professionally and diplomatically conducted international negotiations. Even if political psychology is only of influence in the margins of negotiations, it is still important to understand the processes that play a role. Someone who questions the importance of details is not a true academic, as it is the aim of academia to fully grasp as much about complex processes as possible. In our case, the processes are European negotiations and the details might be – although we have argued that in fact they play a larger role than just a marginal one – the personal characteristics of the persons involved.

By combining the results of a psychodiagnostic survey to nine European politicians, we have found the average psychological profile of the European Council. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that some Prime Ministers are in fact not great negotiators, - which is very relevant on the European level -, and likewise, some politicians have considerably dysfunctional personality features. When we look at what we eventually found, the results might not be astonishing, but they will proof to be a great asset to further research to the personality of European politicians.

The greatest achievement of this paper lies not in the accumulated value of the nine profiles, but in the added value of six new individual political psychological profiles. The combining of profiles is just an exercise for political psychological fanatics and further research should take a closer look on individual relationships and possibly add more European heads of state or government to the equation, so that a more reliable political psychological picture of the European Council can be made.

We furthermore anticipate that the idea of the profile of an effective negotiator in international relations will be applied to many other international politicians, so that this theory can be perfected and tested. Of course, to test this theory and the profiles of the nine politicians discussed, more research is needed and highly desired in this field.

In this paper, we have argued that personalities are of major influence on negotiations in the European Council, and that the personalities of the current cluster of European politicians are relatively effective negotiators, and that the personalities of the nine politicians covered in this paper contribute to thriving European Council meetings. We have described strengths and weaknesses for each individual and of course there are plenty from both, but overall, we are mildly positive over the potential of the personalities involved in European decision-making. The personalities in the European Council can enhance the atmosphere during negotiations, and although there might be disturbing factors, the great amount of accommodating and dutiful personalities means that negotiations will principally set out for a successful outcome.

On the basis of the acquired results, many interpretations are possible and apart from the analyses provided in this paper, we leave it up to the debate to work with the existing and newly acquired political psychological profiles of Europe's politicians. We are thankful to have contributed to the wonderful field of political psychology, and hope that the interest in this field will extent from the scholarly debate to political and institutional debates.

We are delighted to find that the EU has so many effective negotiators among its giants in decision-making. It is important because of the increasing amount of negotiations and a prospected growth in EU importance and relevance, thereby resulting in even more intergovernmental negotiations.

By studying the political psychology of EU negotiations, the latter become more effective in many ways. Negotiations will go faster, atmosphere is beneficial, and essentially, outcomes of negotiations are not hindered by personal inconveniences. Interpersonal relationships still matter in this day and age, and it is up to our leaders to start to use them to their fullest potential.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Onderhandelingen zijn in Europese context zeer belangrijk. Ze komen steeds vaker voor, tengevolge van de toenemende en verder ontwikkelende Europese samenwerking. In deze scriptie zijn wij op zoek gegaan naar de politieke psychologie die van invloed is tijdens EU onderhandelingen.

Op basis van de theorieën van Willem Mastenbroek (1989) hebben wij het profiel van een effectieve onderhandelaar opgesteld. Door vervolgens op basis van de methode Immelman naar de psychologische profielen van Europese leiders gaan kijken, kunnen wij vaststellen in hoeverre zij effectieve onderhandelaars zijn, en in hoe verre er binnen de context van de Europese raad sprake kan zijn van een vruchtbare samenwerking.

De methode van Aubrey Immelman (1999; 2002; 2003; 2004) bestaat uit een psychodiagnostische profilering van politici op basis van secundair bronnenmateriaal. Mediaoptredens, biografieën, toespraken, quotes van vrienden en bekenden en ander materiaal kunnen allemaal worden meegenomen in de codering die uiteindelijk leidt tot een profiel van de politicus op basis van twaalf persoonlijkheidskenmerken. Aan de hand van dit profiel is het mogelijk om uitspraken te doen over de politicus in kwestie, en in het bijzonder over zijn of haar persoonlijkheid.

In deze scriptie behandelen we de profielen van negen Europese leiders. De regeringsleiders Silvio Berlusconi, Angela Merkel, David Cameron, Jan Peter Balkenende, Yves Leterme, en Nicolas Sarkozy, en EU-leiders José Barroso, Catherine Ashton en Herman Van Rompuy. Voor deze groep is gekozen op basis van het economische en politieke belang van hun land voor de EU en het feit dat een aantal profielen van regeringsleiders reeds voorhanden is. De roerige politieke periode in Europa – België, Nederland en Groot Brittannië hielden verkiezingen in de loop van het onderzoek – verklaart waarom nieuwbakken Brits Premier David Cameron wel is meegenomen in het onderzoek, maar de nieuwe premiers van België en Nederland niet meer konden worden meegenomen.

We beschrijven de sterktes en zwaktes van de persoonlijkheid van elke politicus en concluderen dat gemiddeld genomen, Europa zeer effectieve onderhandelaars heeft. De persoonlijkheden in de Europese raad kunnen elkaar vooral versterken en een eventuele storende factor zal vanwege het grote aantal inschikkelijke en gewetensvolle persoonlijkheden niet van invloed zijn op het succesvolle verloop van het onderhandelingsproces.

Wel constateren we een tamelijk grote discrepantie tussen de profielen van de Europese leiders Ashton, Barroso en Van Rompuy enerzijds, en de profielen van de regeringsleiders anderzijds. Een verklaring kan liggen in het feit dat de Europese leiders benoemd worden door de regeringsleiders, en die laatste niet graag uitgesproken persoonlijkheden op de belangrijke Europese posten zien. Hoe dan ook, de hoge inschikkelijke en plichtsgetrouwe profielen van de Europese leiders kunnen uitermate faciliterend functioneren in Europese onderhandelingen. De profielen van de drie EU leiders werken niet alleen versterkend met elkaar maar ook ten opzichte van andere persoonlijkheden in de Europese raad.

Deze verhandeling concludeert dat de nieuwe Britse premier David Cameron het dichtst in de buurt van het gemiddelde Europese leiderschapsprofiel komt. Hij zal dan ook veel gemeenschappelijk hebben met veel van zijn collega's in de Europese Raad. Nicolas Sarkozy en Silvio Berlusconi staan het verst af van het gemiddelde profiel en zullen zich dan ook maar met weinig collega's kunnen identificeren. Hoewel beiden wel weer het meest op elkaar lijkt. Voorts pleit de auteur ervoor om de politieke psychologie van onderhandelingen structureel onderdeel te laten worden van de voorbereidingen van ministers voor Europese raadonderhandelingen, aangezien deze onderhandelingen dusdanig belangrijk zijn, dat elk detail van belang is, zo ook het politiek psychologische.

Onderzoek naar de politieke psychologie van onderhandelingen zullen grotendeels bijdragen aan het effectiever verlopen van het onderhandelingsproces. Onderhandelingen zullen soepeler verlopen, de onderhandelingsatmosfeer zal heilzaam zijn, en persoonlijkheden zullen de resultaten van de onderhandelingen niet meer in de weg staan, in tegendeel, in potentie kan de studie van de politieke psychologie bijdragen aan het succes van onderhandelingen op elk niveau.

Persoonlijke relaties doen er nog steeds toe, zelfs in deze moderne tijd. Het is daarom zaak voor de moderne leiders om deze relaties ten volle te benutten.

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Appendices

Coding scheme: profile Silvio Berlusconi

Code	Excerpt	Source
1A Dominant Pattern		
1AAa	A talk show on which Berlusconi is due to appear, "Porta a Porta" usually airs late at night on state broadcaster RAI channel 1 but has been moved up to give it a bigger audience. RAI executives then pulled the plug on "Ballaro", a rival talk show whose guests are often critical of Berlusconi, while Matrix, a talk show on a private network owned by the Berlusconi family, was also postponed. Giuseppe Giulietti, an opposition parliamentarian, denounced the changes as proof that virtually all Italian broadcasters were forced to "genuflect before the sole master".	TVNZ (2009). Italy row spotlights Berlusconi control of TV. Taken 3/3/2010 from: http://tvnz.co.nz/world-news/italy-row-spotlights-berlusconi-control-tv-2992619 .
1AAa	Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi insisted Friday that his government would serve out the remaining three years of its term, despite mounting infighting and trouble within his coalition. In a defiant and defensive statement on his party's website, Berlusconi said his government was hard at work modernizing the country, fighting cancer, bailing out Greece, nabbing mobsters and reforming the justice system.	Rizzo, A. (2010). Berlusconi defiant despite gov't infighting. Associated Press. Taken 2/5/2010 from: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20100430/ap_on_re_eu/eu_italy_berlusconi .
1AAa	Their public dispute was rekindled this week when a close aide to Fini, Italo Bocchino, quit his job as deputy whip for the party in the lower house of parliament. Bocchino accused Berlusconi of forcing him out because he had defended Fini in TV talk shows, and of wanting to discourage debate within the party.	Rizzo, A. (2010). Berlusconi defiant despite gov't infighting. Associated Press. Taken 2/5/2010 from: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20100430/ap_on_re_eu/eu_italy_berlusconi .
1AAb	In een vraaggesprek met het publieke radiostation GR1 verdedigde de premier zijn "recht" om zonder af luistering te kunnen telefoneren, zeker als dit af luisteren buiten zijn medeweten gebeurt. De linkse oppositie reageerde furieus.	De Morgen, 16/3/2010. Berlusconi probeerde politieke talkshow te stoppen.
1AAb	Volgens de media tonen de afgeluisterde conversaties aan dat Berlusconi het soms provocerende programma AnnoZero beëindigd wou zien en dat hij daarvoor druk zou hebben uitgeoefend op Innocenzi en Minzolini.	De Morgen, 16/3/2010. Berlusconi probeerde politieke talkshow te stoppen.
1AAb	Met de komst van Berlusconi als premier heeft de persvrijheid sterk te lijden gehad. De mediamagnaat bezit niet alleen de meest bekeken commerciële zenders van het Zuid-Europese land, maar beïnvloedt ook de publieke omroep. Volgens Freedom House, een organisatie die jaarlijks de persvrijheid wereldwijd beoordeelt, is Italië momenteel het enige land in West-Europa dat geen vrije pers kent. De media zijn er slechts 'gedeeltelijk vrij'.	De Volkskrant, 04/04/2010. Nieuwe rel om persvrijheid Italië.
1AAc	"Volslagen onzin" Namens Berlusconi heeft zijn advocaat Niccolo Ghendini een en ander als volslagen onzin bestempeld en een "coïncidentie" bespeurd in de lekken rond de affaire en de regionale verkiezingen van 28 en 29 maart.	De Morgen, 16/3/2010. Berlusconi probeerde politieke talkshow te stoppen.

1AAc	Magistrates walked out of courts across Italy on Saturday in protest against Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's judicial reforms and what they see as aggressive language used against them. [...] "An execution squad, sewer, cancer, metastasis -- these are some of the words that the prime minister and his deputies have used to describe us," said Gioacchino Natoli of the National Magistrates Association union, which organized the protest. [...] Berlusconi has been on the warpath against the magistrates -- whom he accuses of being "communists" out to destroy him -- for months and has vowed to overhaul the judiciary with reforms that critics say are tailor-made to shield him from prosecution.	Reuters, 30/01/2010. Italian magistrates walk out, say PM is aggressive. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://www.reuters.com/article/id/USTRE60T1AS20100130 .
1AAc	Berlusconi has intensified his aggressive strategy towards critical media outlets because of a seemingly never ending stream of accusations, revelations, and the publication of embarrassing photographs, all concerning his involvement with escorts, frequenting with minors, womanising - all this on top of a very acrimonious and public divorce.	PressTv, 2009. Berlusconi's <u>banned party pics published</u> . Taken 3/4/2010 from: http://www.presstv.com/detail.aspx?id=97313
1BAa	One of Italy's leading newspapers Corriere della Sera recently accused Mediaset and RAI executives of behaving like "amateurs" for acting like obsequious servants of Berlusconi.	<u>Political Custard (2009). Taken 3/3/2010 from:</u> http://politicalcustard.blogspot.com/2009/10/mass-demonstrations-as-berlusconi.html
1BAa	Indeed, Berlusconi has a long, and well documented, history of threatening press freedom and attenuating the independence of the nation's media.	Political Custard (2009). Taken 3/3/2010 from: http://politicalcustard.blogspot.com/2009/10/mass-demonstrations-as-berlusconi.html
1BAb	"Er was nog altijd iets over het Spatuzza-proces op tv. Ik werd er terecht als lid van de maffia. Echt waar, als jij er niet in slaagt je job te doen, dan weet ik niet wat er zal gebeuren". Silvio Berlusconi.	De Morgen, 19/3/2010. Berlusconi betraapt bij het afdreigen van mediaregulator.
1BAb	Het imperium van de Italiaanse premier Silvio Berlusconi brokkelt verder af. Na de vele seksaffaires en corruptieschandalen duiken nu weer meer en meer verhalen van manipulatie op. Berlusconi, zelf eigenaar van drie tv-stations, is betraapt bij het onder druk zetten van een topman van de Agcom, de Italiaanse regulator voor de media. De RAI wilde een tv-programma over Berlusconi's banden met de maffia uitzenden en dat zinde 'Il Cavaliere' allerminst.	De Morgen, 19/3/2010. Berlusconi betraapt bij het afdreigen van mediaregulator.
1BAc	Innocenzi is helemaal van zijn melk en telefoneert op zijn beurt naar Mauro Masi, de grote baas van de RAI, over een ander programma (waarin hij van omkoping beschuldigd wordt) dat de premier niet aanstond. "Berlusconi schold me uit. 'Verdomme man, wat steek jij daar allemaal uit?' Dan kreeg ik een eindeloze scheldtirade te verwerken."	De Morgen, 19/3/2010. Berlusconi betraapt bij het afdreigen van mediaregulator.
1BAc	Berlusconi was woedend. Hij noemde Fini een 'verrader' en eiste dat hij als Kamervoorzitter aftreedt 'als jij aan politiek wilt doen'.	De Volkskrant, 22/10/2010. Bondgenoot valt Berlusconi aan.
1DAb	Het kan toeval zijn, maar vlak na de eerste uitgelekte mededelingen over de inhoud van het verzoek van de ovj's, raakt de minister-president weer instaat van opwinding. 'Als ze mijn telefoongesprekken publiceren', roept hij meerdere keren in december, 'vertrek ik uit Italië'.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 128

1DAb	Berlusconi reacted angrily to the announcement, slamming a "politically motivated" decision by a "left-wing" court and vowing to stay on. In a characteristic rant before a host of Italian and foreign journalists, he accused the country's judges, its president, the press and TV channels — most of which he owns or indirectly controls — of siding with the left.	<u>France24 (2009). Immunity law overruled, Berlusconi determined to stay put. 8/10/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.france24.com/en/20091008-immunity-law-overruled-berlusconi-determined-stay-put- .
1B Daunting Pattern		
1ABa	Berlusconi heeft vrijdag koortsachtig overleg gevoerd in Rome over de zaak en een maatregel afgekondigd waarmee de kiescommissies soepeler kunnen omgaan met de regels rond de kandidaatstelling. De oppositie is er razend over. Ze meent dat de premier zich niet aan de regels houdt. In het centrum van Rome is zaterdagavond tegen de gang van zaken betoogd.	De Volkskrant, 10/03/2010. Berlusconi vertraagt proces met nieuwe wet.
1ABa	Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi insisted Friday that his government would serve out the remaining three years of its term, despite mounting infighting and trouble within his coalition. In a defiant and defensive statement on his party's website, Berlusconi said his government was hard at work modernizing the country, fighting cancer, bailing out Greece, nabbing mobsters and reforming the justice system.	Rizzo, A. (2010). Berlusconi defiant despite gov't infighting. Associated Press. Taken 2/5/2010 from: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20100430/ap_on_re_eu/eu_italy_berlusconi .
1ABa	Their public dispute was rekindled this week when a close aide to Fini, Italo Bocchino, quit his job as deputy whip for the party in the lower house of parliament. Bocchino accused Berlusconi of forcing him out because he had defended Fini in TV talk shows, and of wanting to discourage debate within the party.	Rizzo, A. (2010). Berlusconi defiant despite gov't infighting. Associated Press. Taken 2/5/2010 from: http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20100430/ap_on_re_eu/eu_italy_berlusconi .
1ABb	"Ho troppa stima per l'intelligenza degli italiani per credere che ci possono essere in giro tanti coglioni che votano per il proprio disinteresse. [...] Scusate il linguaggio rozzo ma efficace..."	<u>"Berlusconi: «Non credo tanti coglioni»". Corriere della Sera. 2006-04-06. Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Politica/2006/Notizie/Politiche2006/articoli/04_Aprile/04/coglioni.shtml
1ABb	Since the 2008 general election, Berlusconi has already begun to court controversy at European level. He has publicly criticized the current composition of the Council of Ministers of the Spanish Government as being too 'pink' by virtue of the fact that it has (once the President of the Council, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, is counted) an equal number of men and women. He also stated that he doubted that such a composition would be possible in Italy given the "prevalence of men" in Italian politics.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
1ABb	Een feit dat naar voren komt uit de onderzoeken en de verzamelde bewijzen is dat Silvio Berlusconi, direct of indirect, tussen de zomer en de herfst van 2007 een gerichte activiteit heeft opgezet om centrumlinkse senatoren naar de oppositie te laten overstappen.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 118

1ABc	On 26 September 2001, after the 11 September 2001 attacks in New York, USA, Berlusconi said: "We must be aware of the superiority of our civilisation, a system that has guaranteed well-being, respect for human rights and - in contrast with Islamic countries - respect for religious and political rights, a system that has as its value understanding of diversity and tolerance." This declaration caused an uproar, not only in the Arab and Muslim world, but also all around Europe, including Italy. Subsequently Berlusconi told the press: "We are aware of the crucial role of moderate Arab countries... I am sorry that words that have been misunderstood have offended the sensitivity of my Arab and Muslim friends.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
1ABc	On 2 July 2003, one day after taking over the rotating presidency of the EU Council of Ministers, he was heavily criticised by the German SPD Member of the European Parliament Martin Schulz because of his domestic policy and his alleged links to the Mafia. Berlusconi responded: "Mr Schulz, I know a movie producer in Italy who is making a movie about Naziconcentration camps. I will recommend you for the role of a Kapo. You are perfect for the part!". Responding to the shoutings that then came from the Socialist MEP backbenchers, Berlusconi insisted that he was only joking, but soon after accused Martin Schulz and others leftish MEPs to be "bad-willing tourists of democracy". His comparisons with the Nazis caused a brief cooling of Italy's relationship with Germany.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
1ABc	In mid-May 2005, while opening the European Food Safety Authority in Parma (preferred over a Finnish location, after Berlusconi made an assertion of Finns "not knowing what prosciutto is"), Berlusconi claimed that he had to "dust off my playboy skills" with the Finnish president, Tarja Halonen, to convince her to locate the EFSA in Parma. This caused criticism from both Italy and Finland, with the Italian ambassador in Finland being summoned by the Finnish foreign minister. A minister of his cabinet later 'explained' the comment by saying that "anyone who had seen a picture of Halonen must have been aware that he had been joking".	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
1ABc	In March 2006, Berlusconi defended accusations he made that the "Communists used to eat children", by responding with claims that "... read the Black Book of Communism and you will discover that in the communist China of Mao, they did not eat children, but had them boiled to fertilise the fields". He later admitted, "It was questionable irony ... because this joke is questionable. But I did not know how to restrain myself."	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
1ABc	I will try to help relations between Russia and the United States where a new generation has come to power. I don't see problems for Medvedev to establish good relations with Obama because he is young, handsome and even tanned, therefore I think that a good cooperation can be developed.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
1ABc	I'm paler [than Mr Obama], because it's been so long since I went sunbathing. He's more handsome, younger and taller.	Squires, N. (2009). Silvio Berlusconi says he is 'paler' than Barack Obama". London: The Daily Telegraph. Retrieved 31 March 2010.

1ABc	Things began to go askew in 2002 when, at a press conference with a visiting prime minister, Berlusconi astonished his audience by seeming to suggest that his wife was having an affair with a centre-left politician. At about that time, said a journalist who shadowed him for several years, his behaviour underwent an abrupt change.	Hooper, J. (2009). Being Silvio Berlusconi. In: <i>the Guardian</i> , 31/10/2009. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/oct/31/silvio-berlusconi-profile .
1BBa	Aanvankelijk probeert il Cavaliere ten minste enkele van zijn favorieten te redden, maar vervolgens verdwijnen ze onverbiddelijk de een na de ander.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 152
1BBa	The rivalry between Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and the speaker of the lower house exploded in a public row, when the prime minister asked Gianfranco Fini to resign, while the latter called on him to allow more debate within the party. "Political statements aren't supposed to come from people who head non-partisan institutions," Berlusconi said to Fini Thursday at a People of Liberty party meeting in here. Fini, who was sitting in the front row, was caught by television cameras saying, "What are you going to do, sack me?" When Berlusconi took the podium, Fini stood up and interrupted his speech while shaking his finger at the premier.	IANS (2010). Berlusconi embroiled in public row, Thaindian News. April 23rd, 2010 Taken 24/4/2010 from: http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/berlusconi-embroiled-in-public-row_100352676.html .
1BBb	Italië krijgt er 21 nieuwe provincies bij, ondanks de belofte van premier Silvio Berlusconi om het openbaar bestuur te vereenvoudigen.	De Volkskrant, 05/03/2010. Italië krijgt er 21 provincies bij.
1BBb	Berlusconi werd toen per acclamatie tot voorzitter 'gekozen'; hij wees vervolgens persoonlijk alle hoge bestuursfuncties toe. Volgens Fini moet het afgelopen zijn met het 'charismatisch centralisme' van Berlusconi: 'In alle politieke families van Europa is sterk leiderschap het resultaat van een synthese uit verschillende standpunten.'	De Volkskrant, 22/10/2010. Bondgenoot valt Berlusconi aan.
1BBb	De Italiaanse premier Berlusconi wil de grondwet hervormen, onder meer om de positie van de regeringsleider sterker te maken. Berlusconi, die tot voorzitter van de PDL is gekozen, hekelde het feit dat een premier in Italië niet de bevoegdheid heeft ministers te benoemen of op non-actief te stellen.	De Volkskrant, 29/5/2009. Berlusconi: meer macht voor premier.
1BBb	Subsequently at a tent camp on the outskirts of L'Aquila housing some of the more than 30,000 people who lost their homes during the 2009 earthquake he said to an African priest: "you have a nice tan."	Daily Mail, 17/04/09. He's done it AGAIN! Berlusconi tells black priest: 'I wish I had time to get as tanned as you'. Retrieved 04/04/2010 From: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/worldnews/article-1170655/Hes-AGAIN-Berlusconi-tells-black-priest-I-wish-I-time-tanned-you.html#ixzz0mxJ6mv3s .
1BBb	Berlusconi zegt tegen Saccà: 'Als jij Elena Russo helpt, is het alsof je mij helpt en ik zal iets voor je terugdoen zodra je een zelfstandig ondernemer bent.' Saccà antwoordt niet gechoqueerd 'Pardon, maar hoe haal je het in je hoofd?' of misschien 'Doe geen moeite, ik wil niets terug, ik doe het gratis, uit vriendschap'. Nee, op het onfatsoenlijke voorstel van il Cavaliere reageert de trouwe Agostino eerst met een schaterlach, vervolgens zegt hij 'ja' en uiteindelijk sluit hij het gesprek af met een veelzeggend 'Bedankt president'.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 121

1BBc	His political opponent, Romano Prodi, told the press, "The damage caused to Italy by an insult to 1.3 billion people is by all means a considerable one", and that Berlusconi's comments were "unthinkable".	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi .
1BBc	<i>Avvenire</i> is the daily newspaper backed by the Italian Bishops' Conference (CEI) which has been highly critical of Silvio Berlusconi. Indeed, editorials penned by Boffo have accused the Italian PM of "embarrassing much of the country" after (yet more) allegations of sleaze emerged. The paper has called for "a premier who, with sobriety, is able to be the mirror of his country's soul" and has published countless readers' letters complaining about Berlusconi's controversial lifestyle.	Heaven, W. (2010). Don't mess with Silvio Berlusconi, Italian Catholic editor learns. Taken 27/5/2010 from: http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/willheaven/100008553/dont-mess-with-silvio-berlusconi-italian-catholic-editor-learns/
1CBb	Vervolgens laat ik ze vertellen en dan zullen we weer eens zien hoe deze linkse pers maar valse informatie blijft verspreiden en slinkse handelwijzen toepast, alleen om de politieke tegenstander in diskrediet te brengen, met de oppositie als medeplichtige. De oppositie en de linkse kranten hebben zoals gewoonlijk desinformatie verspreid.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 153
1CBb	Mediamagenaar Berlusconi staat terecht wegens omkoping en belastingfraude. Via tal van juridische trucs probeert hij het proces te rekken. Zo liet hij twee jaar geleden een wet aannemen die de president, de premier en de beide Kamervoorzitters onschendbaar maakt. Het Grondwettelijk Hof zette later een streep door de regel.	De Volkskrant, 10/03/2010. Berlusconi vertraagt proces met nieuwe wet.
2 Ambitious Pattern		
2Aa	The Italian Prime Minister opened talks between the world's leading industrial nations by denouncing photos of him with various women and denying allegations that he paid for sex. He was all smiles as he greeted the most powerful leaders on the planet in the town of L'Aquila, which was decimated by an earthquake three months ago.	<u>Blome, N. (2009). Italian PM Silvio Berlusconi slams sex rumours as "all lies". In: Bild, 09/07/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.bild.de/BILD/news/bild-english/world-news/2009/07/09/g8-summit-laquila-italy/italian-pm-silvio-berlusconi-slams-sex-rumours-as-all-lies.html .
2Aa	Berlusconi has played up his credentials as a political outsider, speaking the language of the common people and purporting to represent their interests against a self-serving political elite. A conservative Italian populace that was sick of the complacent, stuffy and corrupt Italian political establishment quickly fell for his charms. Berlusconi's success as an entrepreneur – a figure that the Italian people can look up to – is used to his advantage.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/
2Ab	Still, as the campaign marches on, Berlusconi remains the unrivaled master of hogging the spotlight. Last weekend, he finished off a speech by theatrically tearing up a piece of paper he said was a copy of Veltroni's policy program.	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008. Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSl
2Ab	Nu [...] is het goed om te vertellen hoe in die zomer van 2008 de grote wens van de premier ontstond om de pers het zwijgen op te leggen. In die warme dagen van juli wordt er een geheim spel achter de rug van het volk om gespeeld. De dreiging van il Cavaliere heeft het beoogde effect.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 127

2Ac	Zowel Berlusconi als Innocenzi mogen zich aan een diepgaand onderzoek over de affaire verwachten. Zoals gewoonlijk antwoordt de premier geïrriteerd en waant hij zich nog altijd 'untouchable'. "Dit is een grotesk initiatief. Ik ben hoegenaamd niet verontrust over de inhoud van die beschuldigingen, want de premier heeft het recht om te telefoneren met wie hij wil zonder dat hij afgeluisterd wordt."	De Morgen, 19/3/2010. Berlusconi betraft bij het afdreigen van mediaregulator.
2Ac	Later at the national assembly of the Confesercenti retailers' association, the prime minister commented ironically on charges made in the foreign press (particularly the Financial Times): "Mussolini had squads of Blackshirts while I, according to the papers that are tucked under the carpet of the Left, have squads of starlets. At least it's a bit better".	<u>Corriere della sera, 29/5/2010, taken from:</u> http://www.corriere.it/english/09_maggio_29/berlusconi_4939b106-4c49-11de-b7be-00144f02aabc.shtml
2Ac	On 2 July 2003, one day after taking over the rotating presidency of the EU Council of Ministers, he was heavily criticised by the German SPD Member of the European Parliament Martin Schulz because of his domestic policy and his alleged links to the Mafia. Berlusconi responded: "Mr Schulz, I know a movie producer in Italy who is making a movie about Naziconcentration camps. I will recommend you for the role of a Kapo. You are perfect for the part!". Responding to the shoutings that then came from the Socialist MEP backbenchers, Berlusconi insisted that he was only joking, but soon after accused Martin Schulz and others leftish MEPs to be "bad-willing tourists of democracy". His comparisons with the Nazis caused a brief cooling of Italy's relationship with Germany.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
2Ac	In mid-May 2005, while opening the European Food Safety Authority in Parma (preferred over a Finnish location, after Berlusconi made an assertion of Finns "not knowing what prosciutto is"), Berlusconi claimed that he had to "dust off my playboy skills" with the Finnish president, Tarja Halonen, to convince her to locate the EFSA in Parma. This caused criticism from both Italy and Finland, with the Italian ambassador in Finland being summoned by the Finnish foreign minister. A minister of his cabinet later 'explained' the comment by saying that "anyone who had seen a picture of Halonen must have been aware that he had been joking".	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi .
2Ac	Hij voelt zich onoverwinnelijk en onkwetsbaar, zwaait met opiniepeilingen die zeggen dat hij 'bij 75 procent populair is', hij roept zichzelf uit tot 'de meest geliefde regeringsleider te wereld, vóór Lula en Obama'. Ne omdat de oppositie [...] volstrekt afwezig is, denkt hij dat hij kan doen wat hij maar wil. Zelfs de Romeinse keizer Caligula voorbijstreven, die – las minimalist – zich beperkte tot het brengen van een paard naar de Senaat.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 140
2Ac	Diezelfde dag, de dag na de sneren van Veronica naar de veline- 'troep', doet Berlusconi geestig. In zijn speech bij de vergadering van de landbouworganisatie Coldiretti verklaart hij: 'ik ben zonder veline gekomen, maar ik zal mijn leven beteren. Als ik denk aan jullie twintigduizend verkooppunten: mochten jullie knappe verkoopsters nodig hebben, dan weten jullie bij wie je moet zijn'. Hij wordt door sommigen uitgefloten.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 163

2Ac	Berlusconi reacted angrily to the announcement, slamming a "politically motivated" decision by a "left-wing" court and vowing to stay on. In a characteristic rant before a host of Italian and foreign journalists, he accused the country's judges, its president, the press and TV channels — most of which he owns or indirectly controls — of siding with the left.	<u>France24 (2009). Immunity law overruled, Berlusconi determined to stay put. 8/10/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.france24.com/en/20091008-immunity-law-overruled-berlusconi-determined-stay-put-
2Ba	The Italian Prime Minister opened talks between the world's leading industrial nations by denouncing photos of him with various women and denying allegations that he paid for sex. He was all smiles as he greeted the most powerful leaders on the planet in the town of L'Aquila, which was decimated by an earthquake three months ago.	<u>Blome, N. (2009). Italian PM Silvio Berlusconi slams sex rumours as "all lies". In: Bild. 09/07/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.bild.de/BILD/news/bild-english/world-news/2009/07/09/g8-summit-laquila-italy/italian-pm-silvio-berlusconi-slams-sex-rumours-as-all-lies.html
2Ba	Despite the embarrassing headlines, Berlusconi remains popular in Italy. Like his many gaffes – such as complimenting Barack Obama on his suntan and comparing a German socialist MEP to a Nazi concentration camp guard – the headlines may even help to reinforce his populist “outsider” status as a man of the people with a mischievous twinkle in his eye who refuses to bow to the stuffy protocols of the political establishment.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/
3 Outgoing Pattern		
3Aa	During his university studies he was an upright bass player in a group formed with the now Mediaset Chairman and amateur pianist Fedele Confalonieri and occasionally performed as a cruise ship crooner. In later life he wrote AC Milan's anthem with the Italian music producer and pop singer Tony Renis and Forza Italia's anthem with the opera director Renato Serio. With the Neapolitan singer Mariano Apicella he wrote two Neapolitan song albums: Meglio 'na canzone in 2003 and L'ultimo amore in 2006.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
3Aa	During a televised encounter with voters Thursday, a young woman asked what the younger generation should do about the lack of secure jobs. The billionaire, ever grinning, promptly suggested that she try to marry "the son of Berlusconi... with the smile that you have, you could try."	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008. Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSl
3Aa	De dag erna belt Berlusconi De Angelis terug, die over muziek begint te praten en psotief is over nummers die hij met Apicella heeft gemaakt: “Ik wilde je alleen maar zeggen dat ik L'ultimo amore heb gehoord. Ik had je belooft mijn mening te geven. Nou, mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar de volgende nummers: ‘Il fantasma di un amore’, twee, ‘Mi dici addio’, en drie, ‘L'ultimo amore’. Ze zijn mooi, ze raken je en ze zijn aangrijpend.”	<u>Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht. Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 108</u>
3Aa	Maar over wie is men wel ‘verontwaardigd, gechoqueerd en verontrust’? Over de arme Silvio, ‘een edelmoedige, fatsoenlijke en respectvolle man, voorkomend en vriendelijke, nooit bazig of arrogant, zich bewust dat hij een aangeboren vermogen heeft om te verleiden’. - Mara Carfagna.	<u>Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht. Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 169</u>

3Ab	Italy is the country I love. Here I have my roots, my hopes, my horizons. Here I have learned, from my father and from life, how to be an entrepreneur. Here I have also acquired the passion for liberty. I have chosen to enter the field and become a public servant because I do not want to live in an illiberal country, ruled by immature forces and by people who are well and truly bound to a past that proved both a political and economic failure. —	<u>Silvio Berlusconi, discourse on Entering the field ("la discesa in campo") – 26 January 1994. Taken 3/5/2010 from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi</u>
3Ab	Now the prime minister contests the press versions of the Noemi story. "I never said anything else at all. I replied immediately to the single question of whether I had ever had spicy relations. And I said: 'Absolutely not'. I made it more solemn by swearing on the lives of my children. I never said anything else at all. Yet look at what some of the papers are saying".	<u>Corriere della sera, 29/5/2010, taken from: http://www.corriere.it/english/09_maggio_29/berlusconi_4939b106-4c49-11de-b7be-00144f02aabc.shtml</u>
3Ab	Diezelfde dag, de dag na de sneren van Veronica naar de veline- 'troep', doet Berlusconi geestig. In zijn speech bij de vergadering van de landbouworganisatie Coldiretti verklaart hij: 'ik ben zonder veline gekomen, maar ik zal mijn leven beteren. Als ik denk aan jullie twintigduizend verkooppunten: mochten jullie knappe verkoopsters nodig hebben, dan weten jullie bij wie je moet zijn'. Hij wordt door sommigen uitgefloten.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 163
3Ac	Berlusconi is notorious for his questionable sense of humour. In February 2002, at a European Union summit of foreign ministers, Berlusconi, who was present since the replacement of his previous foreign minister, Renato Ruggiero, had not yet been appointed, made a vulgar gesture (the "corna") behind the head of the Spanish foreign minister, Josep Piqué, intimating he was a cuckold during an official photo shoot. This is a common joke among Italian children, but many felt it was utterly out of place in an international meeting.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi</u>
3Ac	On 2 July 2003, one day after taking over the rotating presidency of the EU Council of Ministers, he was heavily criticised by the German SPD Member of the European Parliament Martin Schulz because of his domestic policy and his alleged links to the Mafia. Berlusconi responded: "Mr Schulz, I know a movie producer in Italy who is making a movie about Naziconcentration camps. I will recommend you for the role of a Kapo. You are perfect for the part!". Responding to the shoutings that then came from the Socialist MEP backbenchers, Berlusconi insisted that he was only joking, but soon after accused Martin Schulz and others leftish MEPs to be "bad-willing tourists of democracy". His comparisons with the Nazis caused a brief cooling of Italy's relationship with Germany.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi</u>
3Ac	In mid-May 2005, while opening the European Food Safety Authority in Parma (preferred over a Finnish location, after Berlusconi made an assertion of Finns "not knowing what prosciutto is"), Berlusconi claimed that he had to "dust off my playboy skills" with the Finnish president, Tarja Halonen, to convince her to locate the EFSA in Parma. This caused criticism from both Italy and Finland, with the Italian ambassador in Finland being summoned by the Finnish foreign minister. A minister of his cabinet later 'explained' the comment by saying that "anyone who had seen a picture of Halonen must have been aware that he had been joking".	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi.</u>

3Ac	On 18 November 2008, Berlusconi played "hide-and-seek" with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. He was set to receive Merkel but opted to hide behind a column while Merkel and her entourage walked by. According to reporters present, Berlusconi called out "coo coo", prompting Mrs Merkel to turn around, saying "Oh, Silvio".	<u>Repubblica (2010). Taken 5/5/2010 from: http://tv.repubblica.it/copertina/e-berlusconi-fa-cucu-alla-merkel/26451?video.</u>
3Ac	Wanneer hij twee jonge, blonde meiden ziet die met de armen zwaaien en zijn naam roepen, slaakt hij de volgende uitroep: 'nou zeg, complimenten! Wat een lekkere mokkels hebben jullie hier rondlopen!'	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 148
3Ac	In June, a Spanish newspaper published paparazzi photographs showing naked and semi-naked guests at Villa Certosa, Berlusconi's retreat on Sardinia. And finally, later the same month, the latest scandal broke over his parties at Palazzo Grazioli. It has every conceivable ingredient for lurid controversy – sex, power, money and drugs, all set against a backdrop dotted with celebrities. (Among those who figure peripherally – and innocently – in the affair are the Queens Park Rangers chairman and formula one boss, Flavio Briatore; and the Chelsea chairman and oil and metals billionaire, Roman Abramovich).	Hooper, J. (2009). Being Silvio Berlusconi. In: <i>the Guardian</i> , 31/10/2009. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/oct/31/silvio-berlusconi-profile .
3Ba	Like many Italians of his generation, he had never acknowledged a contradiction between playing the roles of devout Catholic and Latin lover. He had a reputation as a <i>sciupafemmine</i> ("lady-killer"), but by 2001, when he returned to power, there seemed to be every likelihood he would settle into an increasingly respectable old age.	Hooper, J. (2009). Being Silvio Berlusconi. In: <i>the Guardian</i> , 31/10/2009. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/oct/31/silvio-berlusconi-profile .
3Ba	"He suddenly began flirting with the women journalists in the pack that followed him round," she said. "He'd say things like, 'With legs like that, you can ask me whatever you like', or 'What a nice décolleté, signora.' " Sexually loaded comments became a hallmark of the Berlusconi persona.	Hooper, J. (2009). Being Silvio Berlusconi. In: <i>the Guardian</i> , 31/10/2009. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/oct/31/silvio-berlusconi-profile .
3Ba	Yesterday, he charmed them with the revelation that he often has "to hide under the bed" when his wife Veronica is in a strop. The image of the old man huddling for safety is pure slapstick. Can you even imagine another European leader making such a human remark?	Moore, M. (2008), Berlusconi set for another comic turn in Power. In: <i>The Telegraph</i> , 9/4/2008. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3557079/Berlusconi-set-for-another-comic-turn-in-power.html
3Bb	Ook in dat telefoongesprek lijkt Silvio Berlusconi een man die slechts op zoek is naar nieuwe relaties.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 116
3Bb	Maar over wie is men wel 'verontwaardigd, gechoqueerd en verontrust'? Over de arme Silvio, 'een edelmoedige, fatsoenlijke en respectvolle man, voorkomend en vriendelijke, nooit bazig of arrogant, zich bewust dat hij een aangeboren vermogen heeft om te verleiden'. - Mara Carfagna.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 169

3Bb	He later explained that he "was just kidding", and was trying to create a relaxed atmosphere, that this sort of meeting was meant to "create friendship, cordiality, fondness and kind relationships" between the participants, and that he wanted to amuse a small group of Boy Scout bystanders.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> <u>http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi</u>
3Bc	At an awards dinner in January 2007, Berlusconi was quoted as saying, "If I wasn't already married, I would marry you right away," and "With you, I'd go anywhere" to Mara Carfagna, a representative of Forza Italia and former showgirl. These flirtatious comments prompted his wife Veronica to demand an apology in a front-page letter to the Italian newspaper la Repubblica, one of Berlusconi's rival publications. In a statement released through his political party, he begged for forgiveness and stated that he would "always protect [Veronica's] dignity."	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi</u> .
3Bc	Indeed, among the many mysteries of "Berlusconismo" is how his popularity is affected by such episodes. They were initially labeled as "gaffes," from which he supposedly had to recover. But as time went on, and the circus kept coming back to town, there seemed to be some kind of method to the crassness. The umbrella gesture followed the cuckold "corna" (horns) sign — pinky and forefinger behind the head — he performed on the Spanish foreign minister in 2002, and the flashing of his middle finger at a campaign rally in 2006.	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008.</u> <u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSl</u>
3Bc	Despite his continuing star power, few still see him as a savior.	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008.</u> <u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSl</u>
3Da	"He is really unique in as far as how much passion and devotion he puts into what he does," his son told CNN. "He did a lot as a businessman and now as a politician."	Deane, D. (2009). Berlusconi's son on growing up in Italy's first family. CNN, October 22, 2009. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORD/europe/10/16/berlusconi.son/index.html .
3Da	When Mr Berlusconi narrowly lost to Mr Prodi in 2006 he even refused to leave office, claiming that the vote had been rigged. He eventually disappeared to his luxury seaside villa in Sardinia, cheering himself up with parties, performances of his own songs — he is a former cruise-ship crooner — fireworks and a fake volcano. He then reappeared, his hair blacker and his smile broader than ever, to wait for the inevitable collapse of the fractured and quarrelsome Prodi coalition.	<u>The Times (2008). Silvio Berlusconi, the 'Great Seducer', set to charm his way back into heart of power. In: the Times, 1/2/2008. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article3285700.ece</u> .
3Ea	Yet when he himself entered politics, in 1994, he managed to bring off the remarkable trick of portraying himself to the electorate as the standard-bearer of a new Italy. In some ways, he was — and is — a mould-breaker: an "anti-politician", as his supporters claim.	Hooper, J. (2009). Being Silvio Berlusconi. In: <i>the Guardian</i> , 31/10/2009. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/oct/31/silvio-berlusconi-profile .

3Ea	His charisma is still a thousand watts bright as he leaps about the stage and cuddles the middle-aged women - Berlusconi - that seem to emerge at every rally in their low-cut blouses.	Moore, M. (2008), Berlusconi set for another comic turn in Power. In: <i>The Telegraph</i> , 9/4/2008. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3557079/Berlusconi-set-for-another-comic-turn-in-power.html
3Eb	[...] zodat de verplichtingen van een gewone dag van de minister-president zichtbaar worden. Er staan vrij weinig officiële verplichtingen in. In plaats daarvan staan er afspraken met wel zes meisjes in: de Oekraïense Marinna, een zekere Balia, zoals gewoonlijk Manna en Troise, de zeer jonge afgevaardigde De Girolamo en de mysterieuze Selvaggia. Zes op een dag.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 116
3Eb	For years, millions of hot-blooded Italian men have secretly wished they could gatecrash one of the parties hosted by their ebullient prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, featuring scantily-clad starlets and models, and endless bottles of expensive wine.	Squires, N. (2009). Is the Party over for Silvio Berlusconi?. In: <i>Daily Telegraph</i> , 22/6/2009. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/5599641/Is-the-party-over-for-Silvio-Berlusconi.html .
3Ec	And image is everything for the former cruise ship singer, who has managed to convince a large swath of Italians that he is the idealized, super-rich version of what they could be. During his last term in office, from 2001-2006, Berlusconi broke a kind of plastic barrier in modern politics, openly admitting to cosmetic surgery and hair replacement treatment. Whether pushing elective office toward the ridiculous, or a more authentic rapport with ordinary people, Berlusconi has managed to avoid the fate of so many political veterans: Nobody can call him boring.	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008.</u> <u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSI</u>
3Ec	"Well, he's now pulled off the trifecta of obscene hand gestures," quipped Filippo Ceccarelli, a La Repubblica political columnist and astute observer of the phenomenologia of this unique political animal. "With Berlusconi, you must understand that the body, the physicality, has always been key to his image."	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008.</u> <u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSI</u>
3Ec	Berlusconi may even be moving subtly away from his maverick image. Ceccarelli has noticed a slight tweak to the billionaire's image, including a change in his wardrobe to a more casual attire from his standard double-breasted blue suit. "Now, he openly says that he's old. He relates to the senior citizens," says Ceccarelli. "But he makes it clear that though he's getting old, he's not losing his mind."	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008.</u> <u>Taken 3/5/2010 from:</u> <u>http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSI</u>
3Ec	Look at Veronica Lario, Silvio Berlusconi's wife. Earlier this year, she bluntly announced to the press that she could no longer put up with her husband's "infatuation with young women," and wanted a divorce. Berlusconi, Italy's current Prime Minister and one of the richest men in the world, is now entangled in a sex scandal with a cocaine dealing businessman accused of supplying Berlusconi with girls at his private residences in Rome and Sardegna.	Huffington Post (2010). Today's Politician's Wife Is No Longer Standing By Her Man. November 30, 2009. Taken 8/5/2010 from: http://anushayspoint.com/2009/11/30/today-s-politician-s-wife-jenny-sanford-shows-us-the-way/
4 Accomodating Pattern		

4Bb	"I'm 100% sure and positive that history will say that George W. Bush has been a great, very great President of the United States of America." The effusive and stubbornly loyal Berlusconi has stuck with Bush despite the American President's abiding unpopularity in Italy. More than 80% of Italians were opposed to the war in Iraq, but their controversial Prime Minister helped spearhead the so-called "Letter of Eight" public declaration of support from some European leaders for Bush's Iraq policy in the weeks before the invasion.	<u>Israeli, J. (2008). Berlusconi, Bush's Last Best Friend. In Time Magazine, 14/10/2008. Taken 3/5/2010 From: http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1849966,00.html#ixzz0mragy2Cp</u>
4Bb	Asked what he learned from his father, Pier Silvio Berlusconi said that as a young boy, his father taught him normal father-son things like "how to swim" and play tennis. The most important thing he taught him in life though, he told CNN, was "respect for other people. I am impressed by how much respect he always has for the other person."	Deane, D. (2009). Berlusconi's son on growing up in Italy's first family. CNN, October 22, 2009. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORD/europe/10/16/berlusconi.son/index.html .
4Bb	Asked to describe his flamboyant father in a few words, Pier Silvio Berlusconi replied: "Positive energy." "He's like a battery," he said, "full of energy always, always positive, towards people, towards things he has to do, towards problems which he always tries to do everything he can to resolve."	Deane, D. (2009). Berlusconi's son on growing up in Italy's first family. CNN, October 22, 2009. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORD/europe/10/16/berlusconi.son/index.html .
4Da	De dag erna belt Berlusconi De Angelis terug, die over muziek begint te praten en psoitief is over nummers die hij met Apicella heeft gemaakt: "Ik wilde je alleen maar zeggen dat ik L'ultimo amore heb gehoord. Ik had je belooft mijn mening te geven. Nou, mijn voorkeur gaat uit naar de volgende nummers: 'Il fantasma di un amore', twee, 'Mi dici addio', en drie, 'L'ultimo amore'. Ze zijn mooi, ze raken je en ze zijn aangrijpend."	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p.108
4Da	Noemi Letizia, the aspiring lingerie model whose mysterious friendship with Silvio Berlusconi came close to destroying his political career along with his marriage after he attended her 18th birthday party a year ago, today said that they were still in touch but declined to say what present he had given her as she turned 19.	<u>The Times 2010-05-06. Aspiring model Noemi Letizia receives another birthday gift from Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7118339.ece</u>
5A Aggrieved Pattern		
5AAc	Mediamagnaat Berlusconi staat terecht wegens omkoping en belastingfraude. Via tal van juridische trucs probeert hij het proces te rekken. Zo liet hij twee jaar geleden een wet aannemen die de president, de premier en de beide Kamervoorzitters onschendbaar maakt. Het Grondwettelijk Hof zette later een streep door de regel.	De Volkskrant, 10/03/2010. Berlusconi vertraagt proces met nieuwe wet.
5AAc	Vervolgens laat ik ze vertellen en dan zullen we weer eens zien hoe deze linkse pers maar valse informatie blijft verspreiden en slinkse handelswijzen toepast, alleen om de politieke tegenstander in diskrediet te brengen, met de oppositie als medeplichtige. De oppositie en de linkse kranten hebben zoals gewoonlijk desinformatie verspreid.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 153
5B Contentious Pattern		

5ABa	Speaking to cameras admitted to Palazzo Chigi for the signing of a protocol for Abruzzo, a smiling Silvio Berlusconi commented on the way the press has seized on the Noemi affair. "Has anyone got any questions for me?" was the rhetorical enquiry with which Mr Berlusconi introduced his statement denying any "spicy relations" with Noemi. The premier also pointed out that had any such thing occurred, he would have resigned "immediately".	<u>Corriere della sera, 29/5/2010, taken from:</u> http://www.corriere.it/english/09_maggio_29/berlusconi_4939b106-4c49-11de-b7be-00144f02aabc.shtml
5ABa	The decision to transport hundreds of journalists, security personnel and diplomats to the small town threatened to turn the summit into a logistical nightmare, but was seen as 'typical Berlusconi' – individualistic and showy.	<u>Blome, N. (2009). Italian PM Silvio Berlusconi slams sex rumours as "all lies". In: Bild, 09/07/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.bild.de/BILD/news/bild-english/world-news/2009/07/09/g8-summit-laquila-italy/italian-pm-silvio-berlusconi-slams-sex-rumours-as-all-lies.html .
5ABb	On 22 September 2009, Silvio Berlusconi after a press conference declared that he has asked his ministers not to respond anymore to questions regarding "gossip". He has stated also that the Italian press should talk only about the "successes" of Italian Government in internal and foreign policies, adding also that the press now will be able only to ask questions such as "how many apartments will be given in L'Aquila", i.e. on his administration and not on gossip.	<u>Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlusconi
5ABb	In seguito, uscendo da da Confcommercio, il Premier ha corretto il tiro: «Un'ironia». Anzi, «un modo affettuoso» ha detto ritorna sul termine coglioni utilizzato nel suo intervento. «E poi l'ho detto col sorriso sulle labbra», insiste il premier che, rivolgendosi ai suoi avversari politici, osserva: «Da loro mi sono arrivate accuse serie e non si sono ancora scusati.	<u>"Berlusconi: «Non credo tanti coglioni". Corriere della Sera. 2006-04-06. Taken 3/5/2010 From:</u> http://www.corriere.it/Primo Piano/Politica/2006/Notizie/Politiche2006/articoli/04_Aprile/04/coglioni.shtml
5ABc	Het Openbaar Ministerie heeft een onderzoek geopend tegen Berlusconi wegens machtsmisbruik vanwege zijn beïnvloeding van de media. Berlusconi op zijn beurt betiteld magistraten geregeld als 'communisten' of 'zieken'.	<u>De Volkskrant, 04/04/2010. Nieuwe rel om persvrijheid Italië.</u>
5ABc	Despite the embarrassing headlines, Berlusconi remains popular in Italy. Like his many gaffes – such as complimenting Barack Obama on his suntan and comparing a German socialist MEP to a Nazi concentration camp guard – the headlines may even help to reinforce his populist "outsider" status as a man of the people with a mischievous twinkle in his eye who refuses to bow to the stuffy protocols of the political establishment.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/
5ABc	Berlusconi reacted angrily to the announcement, slamming a "politically motivated" decision by a "left-wing" court and vowing to stay on. In a characteristic rant before a host of Italian and foreign journalists, he accused the country's judges, its president, the press and TV channels — most of which he owns or indirectly controls — of siding with the left.	<u>France24 (2009). Immunity law overruled, Berlusconi determined to stay put. 8/10/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from:</u> http://www.france24.com/en/20091008-immunity-law-overruled-berlusconi-determined-stay-put- .

5BBa	Italy's constitutional court has ruled that a law protecting Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and other top officials from prosecution violates the constitution. Berlusconi vowed to stay on, slamming a "political" decision by a "left-wing" court.	<u>France24 (2009). Immunity law overruled, Berlusconi determined to stay put. 8/10/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.france24.com/en/20091008-immunity-law-overruled-berlusconi-determined-stay-put-</u>
5BBa	Berlusconi's continuous refrain for the past years has been that there is a left-liberal plot against him. This is being conducted through the media (the parts which he does not own or control) and the judiciary. His claims have had a considerable impact. His supporters have not taken seriously many of the legal investigations into his business affairs. Berlusconi has faced several investigations into his commercial activities, with accusations of tax fraud and bribery. However, he has evaded prosecution through changes in the law passed by his own governments.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/</u>
5BBb	Meanwhile, on the judicial front, Berlusconi has been able to convince many that he is the eternal victim of politically motivated magistrates. He spent much of his energy as Prime Minister shaping laws that were helpful for him personally, both in the business and legal arenas.	<u>Time magazine, 14/3/2008. Taken 3/5/2010 from: http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722581,00.html#ixzz0mrWnqcSI</u>
5BBb	Like all populists, he sees himself as speaking directly to and on behalf of the people – and is thus rather impatient towards the norms of liberal constitutional democracy, such as an independent judiciary and parliamentary scrutiny. He recently described parliamentarians as useless. His populism is also reflected in the way he demonises his political opponents – denouncing the left as dangerous communists, despite the mild social democratic policies espoused by the centre-left.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/</u>
6 Conscientious Pattern		
6Aa	'Ik zeg nee tegen voorkeurstemmen, want we moeten Europa in met hooggekwalificeerde mensen en in alle 23 commissies professionals hebben op elk gebied. Alleen op die manier kunnen we er zeker van zijn dat we de Italiaanse belangen beschermen.' Silvio Berlusconi, Ansa, 28 oktober 2008.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 139
6Aa	Maar over wie is men wel 'verontwaardigd, gechoqueerd en verontrust'? Over de arme Silvio, 'een edelmoedige, fatsoenlijke en respectvolle man, voorkomend en vriendelijke, nooit bazig of arrogant, zich bewust dat hij een aangeboren vermogen heeft om te verleiden'. - Mara Carfagna.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 169
7 Reticent Pattern		
8 Retiring Pattern		
8Ab	When Mr Berlusconi narrowly lost to Mr Prodi in 2006 he even refused to leave office, claiming that the vote had been rigged. He eventually disappeared to his luxury seaside villa in Sardinia, cheering himself up with parties, performances of his own songs — he is a former cruise-ship crooner — fireworks and a fake volcano. He then reappeared, his hair blacker and his smile broader than ever, to wait for the inevitable collapse of the fractured and quarrelsome Prodi coalition.	<u>The Times (2008). Silvio Berlusconi, the 'Great Seducer', set to charm his way back into heart of power. In: the Times, 1/2/2008. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article3285700.ece</u>
9 Distrusting Pattern		

9Ad	Like all populists, he sees himself as speaking directly to and on behalf of the people – and is thus rather impatient towards the norms of liberal constitutional democracy, such as an independent judiciary and parliamentary scrutiny. He recently described parliamentarians as useless. His populism is also reflected in the way he demonises his political opponents – denouncing the left as dangerous communists, despite the mild social democratic policies espoused by the centre-left.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/</u>
9Ad	Berlusconi reacted angrily to the announcement, slamming a "politically motivated" decision by a "left-wing" court and vowing to stay on. In a characteristic rant before a host of Italian and foreign journalists, he accused the country's judges, its president, the press and TV channels — most of which he owns or indirectly controls — of siding with the left.	<u>France24 (2009). Immunity law overruled, Berlusconi determined to stay put. 8/10/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.france24.com/en/20091008-immunity-law-overruled-berlusconi-determined-stay-put-</u>
9Ae	Vervolgens doet Berlusconi een wel heel ironische uitspraak, als hij voorstelt aan Innocenzi om naar zijn baas bij de Agcom (Corrado Calabro) te bellen. "Maar wees voorzichtig, want er zijn geruchten dat Calabro's telefoon wordt afgeluisterd." Berlusconi beseft duidelijk niet dat ook zijn gesprek op de straatstenen kon belanden.	De Morgen, 19/3/2010. Berlusconi betraft bij het afdreigen van mediaregulator.
9Ae	Berlusconi has based his appeal around a platform of anti-political populism. This is all the more remarkable, given the numerous investigations into his alleged corruption and abuses of power, and the record of his governments in passing a number of laws to protect his media and business interests, hamper investigations into his affairs and grant him immunity from prosecution.	<u>Fella, S. & Russa, C. (2009). How Italy fell for Berlusconi. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.tribunemagazine.co.uk/2009/08/17/how-italy-fell-for-berlusconi/</u>
9Bd	En wat zeggen al die heren nu, die deze campagne in elkaar hebben gedraaid? Houden ze hun mond en hebben ze zich uit schaamte opgesloten of niet?	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 152
9Bd	Yesterday he made clear that he would block all attempts by Franco Marini, the respected Speaker of the Senate, to form a caretaker government, whose task would be to overhaul Italy's much maligned electoral system. The proposal, which is favoured by President Napolitano, is backed by Confindustria, the employers' federation, several trade unions and the Catholic Bishops Conference. As Mr Marini, 74, began talks, Mr Berlusconi declared that the idea was doomed from the outset. "We are wasting time," he said, adding that millions of Italians would protest on the streets if President Napolitano did not dissolve parliament and call elections. Furthermore, Mr Berlusconi's right-wing allies have all buried their squabbles to swing behind him.	<u>The Times (2008). Silvio Berlusconi, the 'Great Seducer', set to charm his way back into heart of power. In: the Times, 1/2/2008. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article3285700.ece</u>
10 Erratic Pattern		
10Ae	En toch geeft de premier ook op die triomfantelijke 25 ^e april blijk van zijn onevenwichtigheid die inmiddels onbedwingbaar en niet te verbergen is, en waarover zijn vrouw Veronica al gauw zal spreken.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 147

10Ae	Terwijl hij voor een groepsfoto poseert tussen brandweerlieden en vrijwilligers uit Trentino die betrokken waren bij de wederopbouw van Bazano, een door de aardbeving getroffen stad aan de rand van L'Aquila, merkt Berlusconi niet dat er een tv-camera voor hem staat te filmen. Hij wendt zich tot een van de aanwezigen en wijst een mevrouw aan, waarbij hij hardop en uiterst geamuseerd vraagt: 'Mag ik een beetje voelen aan mevrouw?'.	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 147
10Ae	Wanneer hij twee jonge, blonde meiden ziet die met de armen zwaaien en zijn naam roepen, slaakt hij de volgende uitroep: 'nou zeg, complimenten! Wat een lekkere mokkels hebben jullie hier rondlopen!'	Gomez, P., Lillo, M. & Travaglio, M. (2010). <i>Papi. Berlusconi: de Media, de vrouwen & de macht</i> . Amsterdam: Lebowski. p. 148

Coding scheme: profile Angela Merkel

Code	Excerpt	Source
1A Dominant Patern		
1AAa	Als Kanzlerin arbeitet Angela Merkel an unendlich vielen Baustellen.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
1AAa	Merkel's new course is even alarming members of her own party, the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU).	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
1AAa	The magazine also lauded her for her commitment to the environment by advocating steep cuts in greenhouse-gas emissions, resulting in her place at the top of its 2008 list of the world's 100 most powerful women.	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
1AAb	Merkel hat das mit der ihr eigenen Geduld geschafft, sie hat wenig davon angekündigt, jedoch immer wieder die passenden Leute auf die richtigen Plätze gebracht, Ursula von der Leyen zum Beispiel oder Norbert Röttgen. Vor allem hat sie dafür gesorgt, dass die gesellschaftliche Drift ihre Partei erfassen kann.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
1AAb	Merkel, with dark rings under her eyes, seemed both exhausted and relieved. She and her fellow European leaders had just spent two days wrangling over what to do about debt-ridden Greece. The German chancellor had fought against the rest of Europe -- and won.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
1AAb	While not completely abandoning this position, Merkel now seems to be tying it to tougher conditions.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
1AAb	Mrs Merkel has gone from strength to strength since being elected Chancellor by a wafer thin majority in 2005. Her unpretentious, straightforward style has won her a reputation as a powerful and effective negotiator.	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
1AAb	Within the EU she has managed to broker important solutions over financing, carbon emissions and the controversial European constitution."	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html

1AAb	Forbes nevertheless praised the conservative German leader for the way she "bulldozes through controversy: hosted the Dali Lama, chastised Mugabe and wants to make the euro a bigger player in global financial markets as the dollar wanes."	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
1BAa	Nie hat die Union - mit Ausnahme des Jahres 1949 - bei Bundestagswahlen so schlecht abgeschnitten wie unter der Führung Frau Merkels. Doch die Verfassungsorgane liegen in ihrer Hand. Die Union stellt elf Ministerpräsidenten. Eine Parteifeier aus Anlass des Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläums soll es nicht geben.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. <i>Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.</i>
1BAa	Mrs Merkel has taken the credit for negotiating global carbon emissions targets that were ratified at this year's G8 summit in Japan. In Germany, the conservative media has already declared her "Mrs World" and refers to her as the undisputed Queen of the EU.	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
1B Daunting Patern		
1ABa	From Merkel's perspective, such accusations are unjustified. She argues that her current approach is necessary to prevent further growth of euro-skepticism in Germany. According to Merkel, German citizens' unease about Europe has increased in proportion to the EU's expansion of its competencies. For this reason, she argues, she has to make it clear that Europe is subject to the same rules it has set for itself.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
1ABa	The German leader's consensual style was well suited to the politics of compromise imposed by co-habitation with the social democrats. Pundits hope that those qualities can be put to good use as the helmsman of a more adventurous government.	TheTelegraph, 29/9/2009, German Elections: Merkel's coalition must pursue divisive reforms. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/6237789/German-elections-Merkels-coalition-must-pursue-divisive-reforms.html
1ABb	Merkel is now the first chancellor to have abandoned this principle on an important issue. She has made it clear that there are German interests and European interests, and that they are not necessarily the same. It is a paradigm shift in Germany's European policy.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
1ABb	Joop was apparently so taken with Merkel's image change that he has dedicated a clothing line from his new fall/winter collection to her. "The open, clear and steely strength in Angela Merkel's eyes inspired me," Joop told the German tabloid Bild. He added that her "strong and fearless" style was representative of a change in the fashion zeitgeist.	Deutsche Welle, 03/04/2006. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,1952918,00.html

1BBa	Manche beklagen sich, dass die Kanzlerin für fast alles und jeden Verständnis habe. Selbst für ihre Gegner. Allerdings hindert sie solches Verständnis keineswegs daran, den, den sie versteht, auch abzuräumen, wenn es denn nötig ist wie einst im Falle des talentierten Friedrich Merz, den sie vom Fraktionsvorsitz verdrängte.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
1BBa	Merkel's style has also raised hackles in the Foreign Ministry. Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle, not exactly known for his quiet demeanor, is worried that it could exacerbate reservations about Europe in Germany. He also fears that Merkel's tone could lead to misunderstandings abroad. His concerns are not unjustified.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
2 Ambitious Patern		
2Aa	Das Amt des CDU/CSU-Fraktionsvorsitzenden hatte sie sich als Gegengabe des Verzichts ausbedungen.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
2Aa	Friedrich Merz ist - so gesehen - der einzige maßgebliche CDU-Politiker, der von Frau Merkel aus dem Amt verdrängt wurde. Alle anderen scheiterten mit ihren Ambitionen an sich selbst.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
2Aa	Erst mit der doppelten Verantwortung - Parteivorsitz, Fraktionsvorsitz - legte Frau Merkel den Grundstein für ihre Kanzlerschaft. Die wiederum war die Grundlage für ihr Verbleiben im Parteivorsitz.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
2Aa	Nie hat die Union - mit Ausnahme des Jahres 1949 - bei Bundestagswahlen so schlecht abgeschnitten wie unter der Führung Frau Merkels. Doch die Verfassungsorgane liegen in ihrer Hand. Die Union stellt elf Ministerpräsidenten. Eine Parteifeier aus Anlass des Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläums soll es nicht geben.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
2Aa	Was an sich schon mal erstaunlich ist, denn für gewöhnlich werden Kanzler nach ein paar Jahren etwas majestätisch. "Woll'n Se 'nen Kaffee?", fragt sie nun und will auch gleich einschenken. Im politischen Berlin ist für so etwas schon in mittleren ausländischen Botschaften ein Livrierter zuständig. In dieser ostentativen Merkelschen Normalität liegt etwas bezwingend Sympathisches.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
2Aa	When a CSU politician asked whether Merkel had any major European policy initiatives planned, such as a European army, she coolly replied that such bold plans are no longer possible, partly because Germany's Federal Constitutional Court, in its ruling on the Lisbon Treaty, put a stop to further integration steps.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
2Aa	I think it's a pretty safe bet to say that after Germany's general election on 27 September, Angela Merkel will still be chancellor. The only question is, will her foreign minister be the Social Democrat incumbent Frank-Walter Steinmeier or the Free Democrat challenger Guido Westerwelle? Which doesn't really matter, as Merkel is her own woman and has forged her own foreign policy.	Guardian (2009). Merkel leads the quite revolution. In: Guardian, 16/9/2009. Taken 20/3/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/sep/16/angela-merkel-germany .

2Aa	Für die SAARBRÜCKER ZEITUNG lag ein - Zitat: "Moment großer Ernsthaftigkeit in der Afghanistan-Debatte, der nachwirken könnte. Denn die Kanzlerin bekannte sich zwar trotz aller 'menschlichen Zweifel' zur Notwendigkeit der Mission, reduzierte diese aber ohne jeden Pathos auf ihren Kern: Kein Wort von Menschenrechten und humanitären Zielen. Der Einsatz ist für sie keinen Tag länger gerechtfertigt, als er für die Sicherheit Deutschlands unbedingt erforderlich ist. Eine ehrliche Analyse könnte ergeben, dass dieser Tag naht. Merkels rhetorischer Rückzug dürfte den militärischen beschleunigen", überlegt die SAARBRÜCKER ZEITUNG.	Presseschau Deutschlandfunk (2010). Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.dradio.de/presseschau/20100410070000/ .
2Ab	Angela Merkel ist nun seit zehn Jahren Vorsitzende der CDU, seit bald fünf Jahren Kanzlerin, und wenig spricht dagegen, dass sie auch noch ein drittes Mal zur Regierungschefin gewählt werden könnte, vielleicht mit einem dritten Koalitionspartner. Schon jetzt ist klar, dass sie in ihrem Jahrzehnt die Partei so sehr verändert hat wie vor ihr nur Konrad Adenauer und Helmut Kohl. Wie hat sie das gemacht, mit welcher Methode, und was bedeutet das für die CDU und die deutsche Demokratie?	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
2Ab	Auch der Kanzlerin eröffnet das die Aussicht auf eine recht lange Regentschaft.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
2Ac	The true legacy of her communist youth is that the neglected, rather damaged pastor's daughter became both rootless and ruthless. Communism taught her how to stitch up rivals.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
2Ba	Was sie selbst motiviert, das ist so eine Art Emphase des Vernünftigen. Wenn sich genug Unvernünftige finden, kann daraus sogar ein echter Zusammenhalt für die CDU entstehen, als Partei der angewandten Vernünftigkeit. Und genug Unvernünftige fanden sich in den letzten Jahren allemal. Boshaft könnte man sogar sagen: Die vernünftige Angela Merkel profitiert von dem Irrsinn, in den sie andere treibt.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
2Ba	Merkel's new course is even alarming members of her own party, the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU).	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy</i> .
2Ba	Merkel's style has also raised hackles in the Foreign Ministry. Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle, not exactly known for his quiet demeanor, is worried that it could exacerbate reservations about Europe in Germany. He also fears that Merkel's tone could lead to misunderstandings abroad. His concerns are not unjustified.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy</i> .
2Ba	Many thought the coalition would break apart, but Mrs Merkel managed to hold it together, and in fact take the credit for Germany's emergence from recession, and the deal that kept Opel a going concern.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
2Da	Her ambition, on the other hand, is written off as a desire to please her dad. To cover up her embarrassment at being a pastor's daughter in an avowedly atheistic state, Merkel embraced the system. She was top of the class, winning a trip to Moscow because of her excellent Russian.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .

2Ea	Merkel knows that she gains authority by seeming to be above the fray. When called for, she is ready to use that authority.	Guardian (2009). Merkel leads the quite revolution. In: Guardian, 16/9/2009. Taken 20/3/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/sep/16/angela-merkel-germany .
3 Outgoing Patern		
3Aa	In der kommenden Woche reist Frau Merkel nach Washington und dann nach Kalifornien. Nach dem Fall der Mauer hatte sie dort ihren ersten Auslandsaufenthalt verbracht. Das ist zwanzig Jahre her.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
3Aa	Hier wird gerade renoviert, darum sitzt sie im falschen Büro, dem vom Amtschef Ronald Pofalla, der wiederum eine Etage tiefer ziehen musste. Der Raum ist karg, die Kanzlerin wie immer.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
3Aa	Was an sich schon mal erstaunlich ist, denn für gewöhnlich werden Kanzler nach ein paar Jahren etwas majestätisch. "Woll'n Se 'nen Kaffee?", fragt sie nun und will auch gleich einschenken. Im politischen Berlin ist für so etwas schon in mittleren ausländischen Botschaften ein Livrierter zuständig. In dieser ostentativen Merkelschen Normalität liegt etwas bezwingend Sympathisches.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
3Aa	Merkel is also prominent at the German national football team's matches, and is an honorary club member of Energie Cottbus.	Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angela_Merkel
3Ba	Commentators have speculated that Merkel may get more respect because she's a woman and she doesn't come across as particularly arrogant.	<i>Caricaturing the Chancellor: How Angela became Miss Germany</i> . In: Spiegel, 7/3/2009. Taken 3/4/2010 from: http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,634206,00.html
3Ba	Was an sich schon mal erstaunlich ist, denn für gewöhnlich werden Kanzler nach ein paar Jahren etwas majestätisch. "Woll'n Se 'nen Kaffee?", fragt sie nun und will auch gleich einschenken. Im politischen Berlin ist für so etwas schon in mittleren ausländischen Botschaften ein Livrierter zuständig. In dieser ostentativen Merkelschen Normalität liegt etwas bezwingend Sympathisches.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
3Ba	Last year Angela Merkel received a "wild" birthday present: An adoption certificate for the male jackass penguin Helmut. On April 6th, she visited him at the zoo!	HannoverZoo (2010). Angela Merkel visits adopted penguin Helmut. Taken 8/5/2010 from: http://www.zoo-hannover.de/about-us/newspress/news/news/news-oktober.html?L=1&cHash=97c986ed5b
4 Accomodating Patern		
4Aa	Sie verzichtete zugunsten Stoibers - sozusagen freiwillig. Das war klug und zeigte zugleich Beharrungsvermögen. Stoiber verlor die Bundestagswahl. Frau Merkel konnte CDU-Vorsitzende bleiben.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.

4Aa	Hermann Gröhe, CDU-Generalsekretär, hat den politischen Stil seiner Vorsitzenden nun so beschrieben: "Jeder hat seine Art zu führen. Angela Merkels Führungsstil ist geprägt durch die Kraft der Argumente. Er wirkt nüchterner, entspricht damit aber der heutigen Zeit. Lautstarkes Basta oder Alphonsegehebe passen nicht zu ihrem Wesen. Mancher mag großes Pathos vermissen, doch was ihr Glaubwürdigkeit verleiht, ist ihre Authentizität."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Aa	Das entspricht, wie auch sonst, jener Bemerkung Frau Merkels vom Jahresanfang: "In bestimmter Weise habe ich auch was zu sagen, aber ich kann viel sagen, wenn nicht andere mitmachen und wenn wir nicht bestimmte Dinge gemeinsam unternehmen."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Aa	Angela Merkel fehlt dieses Denken, sie vertritt eine Politik der Feindlosigkeit.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Aa	<i>"Parteien müssen ab und zu auch den Mut haben zu Vereinfachungen, weil sie ansonsten schwer ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl entwickeln können. Ich habe selbstverständlich auch schon Vereinfachungen geboten, wo man in der Sache differenzierter hätte argumentieren sollen und können."</i>	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Aa	Nach einem Jahrzehnt unter Angela Merkel ist die Partei ihr ähnlich geworden. Feinde hat sie keine mehr. Ob Muslime oder Schwule oder schwule Muslime, ob Internetfreaks oder Ökologen, ob konservativer Mann oder emanzipierte Frau – die CDU richtet sich an alle.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Aa	But if her role in the Kohl saga suggests a ruthless streak, she is known more for her pragmatism and ability to compromise.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
4Ab	Ihre einstige Wortwahl vom "Durchregieren", das hat sie (mindestens) gelernt und vielleicht auch schon immer gewusst, war ein Missgriff. Ungern legt sie sich frühzeitig fest. Gern lässt sie andere im Unklaren, was sie eigentlich bezweckt. Ihre Argumentation verknüpft die Wirklichkeit mit Möglichkeiten und Wahrscheinlichkeiten. Auch deshalb fühlen sich Teile der CDU unverstanden - vom Mittelstand über den konservativen Flügel bis hin zu einem neu gebildeten katholischen Arbeitskreis.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ab	An den Schaltstellen des Apparates sitzen nun Vertraute Frau Merkels. Peter Altmaier als Parlamentarischer Geschäftsführer der Bundestagsfraktion, Gröhe in der Parteizentrale, Ronald Pofalla als Chef des Kanzleramtes. Sie alle hielten zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre, als Frau Merkel noch Frauenministerin war, Kontakte zu den Grünen ("Pizza-Connection"), weshalb manche glauben, nach der großen Koalition und nun dem christlich-liberalen Bündnis würde Frau Merkel auch weitere Optionen nicht ausschließen wollen.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ab	Nie hat die Union - mit Ausnahme des Jahres 1949 - bei Bundestagswahlen so schlecht abgeschnitten wie unter der Führung Frau Merkels. Doch die Verfassungsorgane liegen in ihrer Hand. Die Union stellt elf Ministerpräsidenten. Eine Parteifeier aus Anlass des Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläums soll es nicht geben.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ab	Merkel hat das mit der ihr eigenen Geduld geschafft, sie hat wenig davon angekündigt, jedoch immer wieder die passenden Leute auf die richtigen Plätze gebracht, Ursula von der Leyen zum Beispiel oder Norbert Röttgen. Vor allem hat sie dafür gesorgt, dass die gesellschaftliche Drift ihre Partei erfassen kann.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>

4Ab	The German chancellor's approach in the past was to quietly and steadfastly pursue her interests in Brussels with the help of key partners or the European Commission.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
4Ab	Indeed, some outsiders have argued that Mrs Merkel's unwieldy grand coalition government of conservatives and Social Democrats has forced her to make a string of compromises which have effectively rolled back economic reform.	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
4Ac	In einer Fernsehsendung hat das Frau Merkel kurzgefasst: "Mal bin ich liberal, mal bin ich konservativ, mal bin ich christlich-sozial - und das macht die CDU aus."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ac	In these circumstances, it would take courage to argue for European community spirit. But having the courage to oppose public opinion isn't one of Merkel's traditional strengths.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
4Ba	Sie scheiterte mit diesem Ansinnen an ihrer Partei. Frau Merkel machte das Beste daraus.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ba	An den Schaltstellen des Apparates sitzen nun Vertraute Frau Merkels. Peter Altmaier als Parlamentarischer Geschäftsführer der Bundestagsfraktion, Gröhe in der Parteizentrale, Ronald Pofalla als Chef des Kanzleramtes. Sie alle hielten zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre, als Frau Merkel noch Frauenministerin war, Kontakte zu den Grünen ("Pizza-Connection"), weshalb manche glauben, nach der großen Koalition und nun dem christlich-liberalen Bündnis würde Frau Merkel auch weitere Optionen nicht ausschließen wollen.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ba	Nie hat die Union - mit Ausnahme des Jahres 1949 - bei Bundestagswahlen so schlecht abgeschnitten wie unter der Führung Frau Merkels. Doch die Verfassungsorgane liegen in ihrer Hand. Die Union stellt elf Ministerpräsidenten. Eine Parteifeier aus Anlass des Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläums soll es nicht geben.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Ba	Es ist der 10. April 2000, wir befinden uns in der Essener Gruga-Halle, und eine neue Ära beginnt, die Ära von Angela Merkel. Doch das glauben an diesem Tag nur wenige.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Ba	"Es ist doch eigentlich sehr schön, dass die CDU als Partei der Einheit eine Vorsitzende hervorgebracht hat, die aus den neuen Bundesländern kommt. Sicher aufgrund meines Lebensweges habe ich in Fragen der Freiheit eine sehr feste Position, weil ich viele Jahre meines Lebens Freiheit vermisst habe und mich über Freiheit sehr, sehr freuen kann. Daraus präge ich allerdings auch einen Debattenstil, der unter Freiheit immer auch ein Stück Toleranz versteht und der nicht zwanghaft unentwegt nach Gegnern sucht. Richtig ist, dass die CDU von einer Vorsitzenden geführt wird, die unter der sogenannten realen Diktatur des Proletariats gelebt hat. Meine eigentlichen Gegner haben 1990 den Weg der Geschichte genommen und haben verloren. Das starke Freund-Feind-Denken in der Bundesrepublik zwischen den demokratischen Parteien habe ich so nicht erlebt."	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Ba	Angela Merkel hat mit ihrem persönlichen Stil und mit der deutschen Konsensmethode viel Macht in der Welt errungen, zu viel, um sich so wenig um die Neuorientierung zu kümmern.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>

4Ba	After being elected in 2005 she entered into coalition with her rivals in the Social Democrats (SPD), including her 2009 election challenger, and foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier. That has meant ditching some of her planned free market reforms, and agreeing to more left-leaning measures like a minimum wage in some sectors and a huge fiscal stimulus.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
4Ba	In forming her grand coalition government, Merkel made concessions in negotiations with the SPD on various policies but she stood firm on policies which were not part of the deal.	People's Daily, 23 November, 2005. Profile: Angela Merkel -- Germany's first woman chancellor. Taken 27/4/2010 from: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200511/23/eng20051123_223285.html
4Bb	Ihre einstige Wortwahl vom "Durchregieren", das hat sie (mindestens) gelernt und vielleicht auch schon immer gewusst, war ein Missgriff. Ungern legt sie sich frühzeitig fest. Gern lässt sie andere im Unklaren, was sie eigentlich bezweckt. Ihre Argumentation verknüpft die Wirklichkeit mit Möglichkeiten und Wahrscheinlichkeiten. Auch deshalb fühlen sich Teile der CDU unverstanden - vom Mittelstand über den konservativen Flügel bis hin zu einem neu gebildeten katholischen Arbeitskreis.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Bb	In einer Fernsehsendung hat das Frau Merkel kurzgefasst: "Mal bin ich liberal, mal bin ich konservativ, mal bin ich christlich-sozial - und das macht die CDU aus."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
4Bb	Manche beklagen sich, dass die Kanzlerin für fast alles und jeden Verständnis habe. Selbst für ihre Gegner.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Bb	She has rebuilt Germany's badly damaged relationship with the United States which she inherited from Mr Schröder through his opposition to the Iraq war. Unlike her predecessor, she has also taken a tougher stand with Russia and China on human rights.	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
4Ea	" Wenn ich mir überlege, was alles in der Zeit passiert ist, ist es eine lange Strecke", antwortet Angela Merkel. " Vom Gefühl her ist es unglaublich schnell vergangen, weil jeder Tag so ausgefüllt ist.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
4Ea	The German leader's consensual style was well suited to the politics of compromise imposed by co-habitation with the social democrats.	TheTelegraph, 29/9/2010, German Elections: Merkel's coalition must pursue divisive reforms. Taken 23/4/2010 from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/6237789/German-elections-Merkels-coalition-must-pursue-divisive-reforms.html

4Ea	Die Frage, ob Merkel immer noch mit der rheinisch-katholischen CDU fremdelt, lächelte Merkel weg. Schließlich meinte sie: "Ich komme nicht aus dem Rheinland, das ist unübersehbar. Ich bin aber für die ganze CDU verantwortlich." Den Vorwurf der Moderatorin, sie brauche die Konservativen in ihrer Partei nicht mehr, ließ sich Merkel nicht gefallen. "Ich bin manchmal auch konservativ", sagte die Parteichefin und betonte, die CDU habe drei Wurzeln: das Christentum, das Liberale und das Konservative.	Quadbeck, E. (2009). Merkel selbstbewusst bei Will. In: Rheinische Post, 23/3/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://nachrichten.rp-online.de/politik/merkel-selbstbewusst-bei-will-1.32304 .
5A Aggrieved Patern		
5AAa	Aus gegebenen Anlässen - hier der 80. Geburtstag, dort das Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläum - werden Vergleiche zwischen Helmut Kohl und Angela Merkel gezogen. Kohl, so sind sich Zeitzeugen sicher, habe die CDU vor allem mit Hilfe persönlicher Loyalitäten geführt. Er kannte die Partei nicht nur als Organisation. Er kannte bis hinunter in die Kreisverbände Mitglieder und örtliche Funktionäre. Er hatte ein Notizbuch, mit dessen Hilfe er jemandem zur Silberhochzeit gratulieren konnte. Wer nicht für ihn war, war wider ihn. Kohl konnte starrköpfig sein. Wenn andere - und seien es Parteifreunde - ihn öffentlich bedrängten, etwas zu tun, tat er es gerade nicht.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5AAa	Hermann Gröhe, CDU-Generalsekretär, hat den politischen Stil seiner Vorsitzenden nun so beschrieben: "Jeder hat seine Art zu führen. Angela Merkels Führungsstil ist geprägt durch die Kraft der Argumente. Er wirkt nüchterner, entspricht damit aber der heutigen Zeit. Lautstarkes Basta oder Alphonsegehebe passen nicht zu ihrem Wesen. Mancher mag großes Pathos vermissen, doch was ihr Glaubwürdigkeit verleiht, ist ihre Authentizität."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5AAa	Das entspricht, wie auch sonst, jener Bemerkung Frau Merkels vom Jahresanfang: "In bestimmter Weise habe ich auch was zu sagen, aber ich kann viel sagen, wenn nicht andere mitmachen und wenn wir nicht bestimmte Dinge gemeinsam unternehmen."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5AAa	Was an sich schon mal erstaunlich ist, denn für gewöhnlich werden Kanzler nach ein paar Jahren etwas majestätisch. "Woll'n Sie 'nen Kaffee?", fragt sie nun und will auch gleich einschenken. Im politischen Berlin ist für so etwas schon in mittleren ausländischen Botschaften ein Livrierter zuständig. In dieser ostentativen Merkelschen Normalität liegt etwas bezwingend Sympathisches.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
5AAa	Auf die Frage, was sich verändert hat, erwidert sie als Erstes: "Unser Land hat sich verändert."	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
5AAa	Beim Verlassen des Kanzlerbüros gehen wir an den Fotos aller Vorgänger vorbei. Die wurden für die Renovierung nicht ab-, sondern nur umgehängt. Es sind Aufnahmen von Konrad R. Müller, der alle Kanzler, sogar Kiesinger, zu markanten historischen Figuren modelliert hat. Selten schienen sie uns so vergangen wie heute. Eine andere Welt war das, keine schlechte, aber eine ferne. Merkels Bild hängt hier nicht. Es ist noch immer nicht fertig.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
5AAa	She chose uncharacteristically flowery rhetoric.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
5AAa	The dowdy image that supporters feared would stymie her progress to the top is long forgotten. Partly that is because she spruced up her appearance, wearing bright colours and sporting more stylish hairstyles - but largely it is because few people think it matters.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm

5AAb	Ihre einstige Wortwahl vom "Durchregieren", das hat sie (mindestens) gelernt und vielleicht auch schon immer gewusst, war ein Missgriff. Ungern legt sie sich frühzeitig fest. Gern lässt sie andere im Unklaren, was sie eigentlich bezweckt. Ihre Argumentation verknüpft die Wirklichkeit mit Möglichkeiten und Wahrscheinlichkeiten. Auch deshalb fühlen sich Teile der CDU unverstanden - vom Mittelstand über den konservativen Flügel bis hin zu einem neu gebildeten katholischen Arbeitskreis.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5AAb	Positiv gewendet, drückt das Gröhe so aus: "Es gibt Politiker und auch Meinungsführer, die dazu neigen, schon die Wahrnehmung der Realität als eine Anpassung an den Zeitgeist zu kritisieren. Angela Merkel gehört definitiv nicht dazu. Derartige Scheuklappen sind ihr fremd, ärgern sie geradezu. Für sie ist eine ehrliche Bestandsaufnahme der Situation Grundvoraussetzung für erfolgreiches politisches Handeln."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5AAb	In einer Fernsehsendung hat das Frau Merkel kurzgefasst: "Mal bin ich liberal, mal bin ich konservativ, mal bin ich christlich-sozial - und das macht die CDU aus."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5CAa	Angela Merkel führt, um ein Wort von Christian Wulff zu gebrauchen, "die Herde von hinten". Oft sieht man sie hinter der Herde kaum noch, sie liefert wenige Vorgaben und wenig Überbau für ihre Politik.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
5CAa	Angela's problem, says her latest biographer, Gerd Langguth, was Kasner's coldness: his warmth was reserved for the trainee priests and the disabled children. From his eldest daughter he expected more and he seemed to be constantly disappointed by her. When at the end of the 1970s he visited her in her own first flat, in Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin, he cast a quick eye around the place as his daughter waited anxiously for approval. "Couldn't you have done better?" he said at last, turning to go. Angela Merkel's relationship with her father is not just a story of unrequited or inadequately expressed paternal love.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
5EAa	Sie selbst erinnert sich genau: " <i>Ich sehe mich noch in diese Halle gehen. Von so einer Zuneigung und so einem Wohlwollen wird man nur in ganz außergewöhnlichen Situationen empfangen und begleitet.</i> "	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
5EAa	It was an unusual sight: Angela Merkel's naturally melancholic features broke into a broad grin yesterday when she heard that Germany's four Opel car works had been saved as part of a deal that handed the company to a Canadian-Russian consortium. "We are exceptionally happy," said the German leader. "The patience and the determination of the Government paid off."	Times, 2009. Too Early to celebrate but Opel deal will inspire voters. In: The Times, 11/9/2009. Taken 2/5/2010 from: http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/industry_sectors/engineering/article6829826.ece
5B Contentious Patern		
5ABa	Angela Merkel ist nun seit zehn Jahren Vorsitzende der CDU, seit bald fünf Jahren Kanzlerin, und wenig spricht dagegen, dass sie auch noch ein drittes Mal zur Regierungschefin gewählt werden könnte, vielleicht mit einem dritten Koalitionspartner. Schon jetzt ist klar, dass sie in ihrem Jahrzehnt die Partei so sehr verändert hat wie vor ihr nur Konrad Adenauer und Helmut Kohl. Wie hat sie das gemacht, mit welcher Methode, und was bedeutet das für die CDU und die deutsche Demokratie?	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
5ABa	Angela Merkel has ruffled the feathers of her European partners with her uncompromising response to the Greek debt crisis.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
5ABa	Most striking has been the tone with which she has pursued her tough stance on the Greek question -- almost rude, by Merkel's standards.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>

5ABa	Analysts say she cowed many in the party by her decisive role in seeing off a giant of the party, former Chancellor Helmut Kohl. When he was caught in a slush fund scandal, she was the first former Kohl ally to publicly break with the man who brought her into the cabinet, writing a front-page article calling for his resignation.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
5ABa	Initially dismissed as a dowdy east German without dress sense and incapable of making an effective political speech	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
5ABa	Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel was today named the world's most powerful woman for the third year in succession by the US magazine Forbes although the accolade was largely ignored by her home nation which already refers to her as "Mrs World".	Paterson, T. (2008). Merkel named most powerful woman in world (again). In the Independent, 28/08/2008. Taken 29/4/2010 from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/merkel-named-most-powerful-woman-in-world-again-911891.html
5ABb	As a female politician from a centre right party, and a scientist, Merkel has been compared by many in the English-language press to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Some have referred to her as "Iron Lady", "Iron Girl", and even "The Iron Frau" (all alluding to Thatcher, whose nickname was "The Iron Lady" —Thatcher also has a science degree: an Oxford University degree in chemistry). Political commentators have debated the precise extent to which their agendas are similar.	Risen, Clay (July 5, 2005), "Is Angela Merkel the next Maggie Thatcher?"
5ABb	In forming her grand coalition government, Merkel made concessions in negotiations with the SPD on various policies but she stood firm on policies which were not part of the deal.	People's Daily, 23 November, 2005. Profile: Angela Merkel -- Germany's first woman chancellor. Taken 27/4/2010 from: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200511/23/eng20051123_223285.html
5ABb	The latest bone of contention was Sarkozy's continued push for the creation of a Mediterranean Union involving European and African nations along the Mediterranean rim, which the French president again promoted during his visit to Algeria this week. Merkel reacted by suggesting that such an affiliation of nations could lead to "a corrosion of the EU in its core area" and "could release explosive powers in the EU." Such a frankly undiplomatic reaction was unusual under the circumstances, and suggested that Merkel may have reached a point in her relationship with the French president where she felt it necessary to go public with her discontent.	Deutsche Welle (2010). <i>Merkel and Sarkozy Meet Under Gathering Storm Clouds</i> . In: deutsch Welle, 06.12.2007. taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2992119,00.html .
5BBa	Sie hatte keine Hausmacht. Sie verfügte nicht über das Netzwerk anderer, die politisch in der Jungen Union groß geworden waren.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.

5BBa	Ein gutes Jahr später schrieb sie jenen - in dieser Zeitung erschienenen - Aufsatz, in dem sie die Notwendigkeit proklamierte, die CDU müsse sich von Kohl lösen. Das zeigte Entschlossenheit.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
5BBa	Wir begegnen ihr im Kanzleramt, um mit ihr über ein Thema zu reden, das sie sonst eher meidet – die Methode Merkel.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6 Conscientious Patern		
6Aa	Aus gegebenen Anlässen - hier der 80. Geburtstag, dort das Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläum - werden Vergleiche zwischen Helmut Kohl und Angela Merkel gezogen. Kohl, so sind sich Zeitzeugen sicher, habe die CDU vor allem mit Hilfe persönlicher Loyalitäten geführt. Er kannte die Partei nicht nur als Organisation. Er kannte bis hinunter in die Kreisverbände Mitglieder und örtliche Funktionäre. Er hatte ein Notizbuch, mit dessen Hilfe er jemandem zur Silberhochzeit gratulieren konnte. Wer nicht für ihn war, war wider ihn. Kohl konnte starrköpfig sein. Wenn andere - und seien es Parteifreunde - ihn öffentlich bedrängten, etwas zu tun, tat er es gerade nicht.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
6Aa	Hermann Gröhe, CDU-Generalsekretär, hat den politischen Stil seiner Vorsitzenden nun so beschrieben: "Jeder hat seine Art zu führen. Angela Merkels Führungsstil ist geprägt durch die Kraft der Argumente. Er wirkt nüchterner, entspricht damit aber der heutigen Zeit. Lautstarkes Basta oder Alphonse-Gehebe passen nicht zu ihrem Wesen. Mancher mag großes Pathos vermissen, doch was ihr Glaubwürdigkeit verleiht, ist ihre Authentizität."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
6Aa	Angela Merkel ist nun seit zehn Jahren Vorsitzende der CDU, seit bald fünf Jahren Kanzlerin, und wenig spricht dagegen, dass sie auch noch ein drittes Mal zur Regierungschefin gewählt werden könnte, vielleicht mit einem dritten Koalitionspartner. Schon jetzt ist klar, dass sie in ihrem Jahrzehnt die Partei so sehr verändert hat wie vor ihr nur Konrad Adenauer und Helmut Kohl. Wie hat sie das gemacht, mit welcher Methode, und was bedeutet das für die CDU und die deutsche Demokratie?	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Aa	In diesen Tagen wird Angela Merkel öfter mit Helmut Kohl verglichen, der am 3. April 80 wurde. Ein bisschen nervt sie das, jetzt liest sie spottlustig aus einem Zeitungsporträt über den damaligen Kanzler von 1992 vor, in dem vom "Führungsvakuum" die Rede ist und Kohl als "Staatsmoderator" charakterisiert wird. So wie sie heute. Auch der Konturverlust der CDU wurde seinerzeit schon beklagt. Tatsächlich sieht sich Merkel als Parteivorsitzende in seiner Tradition.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Aa	The German chancellor's approach in the past was to quietly and steadfastly pursue her interests in Brussels with the help of key partners or the European Commission.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
6Aa	Most striking has been the tone with which she has pursued her tough stance on the Greek question -- almost rude, by Merkel's standards.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
6Aa	"German voters aren't stupid - they don't want a Britney Spears as the chancellor of Germany, they want a serious leader whom they can trust. Merkel knows what she's doing." - Detmar Doering.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
6Aa	But if her role in the Kohl saga suggests a ruthless streak, she is known more for her pragmatism and ability to compromise.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm

6Aa	She has been criticised by some in her own party for an apparent shift to the left. But some analysts believe this is simply pragmatism.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
6Aa	Listen to the undertones, study her preference for polit-bureaucratic decision-making, and the true Angie emerges. She has been hardened in a different way from her western colleagues.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
6Aa	A few family snaps and a sheaf of school pictures show a shy girl dutifully passing through the stages of East German socialisation: as a member of the Free German Youth (FDJ), cooking on a sailing trip, an uncoordinated teenager smiling nervously at the camera during a compulsory volleyball game.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
6Ab	An diesem Samstag vor zehn Jahren wurde die Generalsekretärin der CDU, Angela Merkel, zur Parteivorsitzenden gewählt. Der Parteitag fand in Essen statt. "Zur Sache" lautete das Motto.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
6Ab	Positiv gewendet, drückt das Gröhe so aus: "Es gibt Politiker und auch Meinungsführer, die dazu neigen, schon die Wahrnehmung der Realität als eine Anpassung an den Zeitgeist zu kritisieren. Angela Merkel gehört definitiv nicht dazu. Derartige Scheuklappen sind ihr fremd, ärgern sie geradezu. Für sie ist eine ehrliche Bestandsaufnahme der Situation Grundvoraussetzung für erfolgreiches politisches Handeln."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
6Ab	Wenn man sie nach ihrer politischen Methode fragt, dann sagt sie: " <i>Fleißig. Aber das ist ja keine Methode. Ich bin mit Sicherheit kein Ad-hoc-Entscheider, denn ich begreife Prozesse in ihrem Gesamtverlauf und frage bei vielen Entscheidungen, wo das endet.</i> «	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Ab	Einer, der ihre alltägliche Arbeit genau kennt, meint, sie erkenne die Fragen sehr früh und antworte sehr spät. In der Zwischenzeit ist sie fleißig, wie jetzt wieder bei der Griechenland-Krise.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Ab	Dass sie sich nicht überhöht, dass sie zuhören kann, dass sie fleißig ist und von eiserner Geduld, dass sie keine Feinde kennt und daher auch kaum Polemik – all das macht Merkel zunächst mal zu einer passenden Kanzlerin für dieses Land.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Ab	As a female politician from a centre right party, and a scientist, Merkel has been compared by many in the English-language press to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Some have referred to her as "Iron Lady", "Iron Girl", and even "The Iron Frau" (all alluding to Thatcher, whose nickname was "The Iron Lady" —Thatcher also has a science degree: an Oxford University degree in chemistry). Political commentators have debated the precise extent to which their agendas are similar.	Risen, Clay (July 5, 2005), "Is Angela Merkel the next Maggie Thatcher?"
6Ac	So akribisch wie sie waren ihre beiden Vorgänger im Kanzleramt gewiss nicht.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Ac	Vielleicht hängt es damit zusammen, dass diese Methode nicht allein Folge ihrer persönlichen Eigenschaften ist, von Fleiß, Vernünftigkeit und Zögerlichkeit, sondern auch eine Antwort auf die Realität.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>

6Ba	Nie hat die Union - mit Ausnahme des Jahres 1949 - bei Bundestagswahlen so schlecht abgeschnitten wie unter der Führung Frau Merkels. Doch die Verfassungsorgane liegen in ihrer Hand. Die Union stellt elf Ministerpräsidenten. Eine Parteifeier aus Anlass des Zehn-Jahres-Jubiläums soll es nicht geben.	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
6Ba	Was an sich schon mal erstaunlich ist, denn für gewöhnlich werden Kanzler nach ein paar Jahren etwas majestätisch. "Woll'n Se 'nen Kaffee?", fragt sie nun und will auch gleich einschenken. Im politischen Berlin ist für so etwas schon in mittleren ausländischen Botschaften ein Livrierter zuständig. In dieser ostentativen Merkelschen Normalität liegt etwas bezeichnend Sympathisches.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Bb	Das Späte und das Genaue ist es, was die anderen oft zu irrationalen Aktionen treibt, sie zu früh und zu ungenau handeln lässt. Manchmal wundert man sich, dass noch keiner ihrer Koalitionspartner ein Rezept gegen die Methode Merkel gefunden hat.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Bb	"Some people said Angela Merkel was boring and provincial, but they underestimated her," says Detmar Doering, the head of the Liberal Institute in Potsdam. He says Mrs Merkel - the first chancellor from the former communist east - does not need to rely on charisma to win over voters, because she is a pragmatic politician who inspires confidence.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
6Ca	Dass sie sich nicht überhöht, dass sie zuhören kann, dass sie fleißig ist und von eiserner Geduld, dass sie keine Feinde kennt und daher auch kaum Polemik – all das macht Merkel zunächst mal zu einer passenden Kanzlerin für dieses Land.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Ca	She chose uncharacteristically flowery rhetoric.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy.</i>
6Cb	Sie selbst begründet das so: " Es gibt eine zwiespältige Sehnsucht. Einerseits die Sehnsucht nach Klarheit und überschaubaren Diskussionen, die in endlicher Zeit zu einem klar erkennbaren Ende geführt werden, und auf der anderen Seite die Sehnsucht nach Freiheit der Debatte und einer großen Vielfalt der Meinungsäußerung. Von der Bundeskanzlerin und Parteivorsitzenden der CDU zu erwarten, dass sie zu allen Themen stets eine Vorgabe für eine schnelle Diskussion macht, wäre falsch. Wenn ich bei zehn Themen von Beginn an die Lösung vorgeben würde, hätte ich weder unsere demokratische Ordnung noch das Wesen der CDU verstanden. Es gäbe trotzdem ein abweichendes und völlig berechtigtes Interesse zum Beispiel der Ministerpräsidenten, ihre eigenen Vorstellungen deutlich zu machen. Das alles bedeutet nicht, dass ich nicht genau wüsste, was mir wichtig ist und was wir schaffen müssen.«	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel.</i>
6Cb	True to form, Merkel has tended to go with the tide rather than attempt to turn it. As a physicist, she won't repeat Canute's mistake. Or Sarkozy's mistakes, for that matter. This passivity can exasperate us journalists, who then tend to mutter darkly that she "has no principles" or at least that we don't know what she really stands for. But Merkel knows that she gains authority by seeming to be above the fray. When called for, she is ready to use that authority.	Guardian (2009). Merkel leads the quite revolution. In: Guardian, 16/9/2009. Taken 20/3/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/sep/16/angela-merkel-germany .

6Cb	"Tatsächlich hat Merkel die Partei in zehn Jahren verändert, sie modernisiert und an manchen Stellen vielleicht auch demokratisiert oder gar etwas nach links gerückt. Das gefiel und gefällt längst nicht jedem in der Partei. Aber mit unbotmäßigen Kritikern und unsicheren Kantonisten kann sie innerparteiliche Demokratie hin oder her ähnlich konsequent umgehen wie einst ihr bundespolitischer Lehrmeister. Wer meint, die gute Frau Merkel gebe nicht die Richtung vor, der sollte einfach einmal bei Friedrich Merz oder Günther Oettinger nachfragen"	Presseschau Deutschlandfunk (2010). Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.dradio.de/presseschau/20100410070000/ .
6Da	For Langguth, an indulgent biographer, one can explain some of Merkel's conservatism as a quest for certainty, a rejection of the political ambiguity of her father. Hence her vocal commitment to the free market and to Washington, DC.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
6Da	When a CSU politician asked whether Merkel had any major European policy initiatives planned, such as a European army, she coolly replied that such bold plans are no longer possible, partly because Germany's Federal Constitutional Court, in its ruling on the Lisbon Treaty, put a stop to further integration steps.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy</i> .
7 Reticent Patern		
7Aa	Positiv gewendet, drückt das Gröhe so aus: "Es gibt Politiker und auch Meinungsführer, die dazu neigen, schon die Wahrnehmung der Realität als eine Anpassung an den Zeitgeist zu kritisieren. Angela Merkel gehört definitiv nicht dazu. Derartige Scheuklappen sind ihr fremd, ärgern sie geradezu. Für sie ist eine ehrliche Bestandsaufnahme der Situation Grundvoraussetzung für erfolgreiches politisches Handeln."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
7Aa	In einer Fernsehsendung hat das Frau Merkel kurzgefasst: "Mal bin ich liberal, mal bin ich konservativ, mal bin ich christlich-sozial - und das macht die CDU aus."	Frankfurter Allgemeine, 10/04/2010. Angela Merkels Kraft der Argumente.
7Aa	In dieser ostentativen Merkelschen Normalität liegt etwas bezwingend Sympathisches, sie gibt auch eine erste Antwort auf die Frage nach der Methode Merkel: Sie überhöht sich nicht, sie bleibt bei sich. Und sie hält sich immer auch eine Flucht ins Profane offen.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
7Aa	German Chancellor Angela Merkel isn't one for big speeches, and pathos makes her uncomfortable.	Spiegel, 29/03/2010. <i>Chancellor Abandons Germany's Post-War EU Policy</i> .
7Aa	Although she retained the look of a blackboard monitor deep into middle age, Merkel's girlhood was over long before Kohl became chancellor. Merkel is a product of communism; she embodies its aesthetics and its rigidities. She was 35 when East Germany was dissolved and her instincts, her distrust of men, her nose for conspiracy, had already been formed. Even her career seems to follow a very personal five-year plan.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
7Ab	Einer, der ihre alltägliche Arbeit genau kennt, meint, sie erkenne die Fragen sehr früh und antworte sehr spät. In der Zwischenzeit ist sie fleißig, wie jetzt wieder bei der Griechenland-Krise.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .

7Ab	Erschwerend kommen die kleinen Fehler hinzu, die sich die Kandidatin leistet: Gleich zweimal verwechselt sie in Interviews Brutto mit Netto, wenn es um das Einkommen der Menschen in Deutschland geht. Und im Nachhinein versucht die Union, diesen Lapsus im Internet wenigstens zu vertuschen. Das schürt den Eindruck, dass Merkel unsicher ist – und vor laufenden Kameras dem so genannten Medienkanzler einfach hoffnungslos unterlegen wäre. Wo Schröder das Fernsehen nutzt, um zu überzeugen, um den sympathischen Macher zu geben, der ja nur unser Bestes will, muss Merkel fürchten, an die Wand geredet zu werden.	Mai, A. (2005). TV-Duell - Merkel hat schon verloren. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/meldung169784.html .
7Bb	Merkel behauptet, das habe alles nichts mit ihr zu tun, sie kann für alle drei Parteien interne Gründe für ihr irrationales Verhalten angeben. Diese Gründe gibt es gewiss, doch ist es auch sie, die Horst Seehofer und Guido Westerwelle, um es mal bayerisch zu sagen, narrisch macht.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
7Bb	Das Ergebnis der kurzen Straßenumfrage, was den Menschen zu Merkel falle, nahm die Kanzlerin gelassen. Die meisten hatten mit Schweigen, manche mit "äh" oder "tja" geantwortet, während die Befragten sehr wohl etwas zu den Ex-Kanzlern Schröder, Kohl und Adenauer zu sagen wussten. "Da mache ich mir keine Sorgen, dass die Menschen später einmal irgendetwas über mich sagen können", sagte Merkel, die sich in der ARD-Talksendung "Anne Will" kämpferisch und selbstbewusst zeigte.	Quadbeck, E. (2009). Merkel selbstbewusst bei Will. In: Rheinische Post, 23/3/2009. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://nachrichten.rp-online.de/politik/merkel-selbstbewusst-bei-will-1.32304 .
7Da	The fact is, Merkel is an opportunist in the manner of most successful politicians. And she is so concerned with covering her tracks, with trying to shield herself from attack, that she may no longer really know what did or did not happen on certain crucial evenings in 1990.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
7Da	Worauf es dabei ankommt ist die so genannte Performance, die Frage: Wie kommt er oder sie rüber - kompetent, sympathisch, selbstbewusst, oder unsicher, verkrampft und am Ende unterlegen. Es wird durch die Wiederholung nicht besser und man kann Merkmals Weigerung menschlich gut verstehen. Aber es hätte im Wahlkampf der Union gar nicht erst passieren dürfen, dass man sich über den Mut oder die Kompetenz oder die Telegenität der Kandidatin Gedanken machen muss. Wer an Merkel glaubt, muss auch auf ihre Chancen setzen. David hat gegen Goliath gewonnen, Merkel hätte diesem Kanzler nur immer wieder seine Bilanz vorhalten müssen. Sie wird es wohl auch tun, doch nach diesen medialen Startschwierigkeiten werden ihre Fehler noch auffälliger sein, also ohne das ganze Sommertheater um ein TV-Duell.	Mai, A. (2005). TV-Duell - Merkel hat schon verloren. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/meldung169784.html .
8 Retiring Patern		
8Aa	German Chancellor Angela Merkel isn't one for big speeches, and pathos makes her uncomfortable.	BBC News, 27 September 2009, Taken 1/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm
8Aa	Merkel's colleagues and rivals in the Christian Democratic Union are still baffled by her rise. (Where, after all, is her regional power base? Her network of cronies? Her hotline to big business?)	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
8Ab	Meist verweigert sie sich, ganz Frau, deren Aufforderungen zum Duell, sie lässt sie so lange toben, bis sie müde werden.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .

8Ab	"Es war nicht ihre vorausschauende Entscheidung. Angela Merkmals Teilnahme ist einem bewussten Kalkül geschuldet. Die Kanzlerin ist der öffentlichen Meinung gefolgt, fürchtete den Druck, hat die Argumente abgewogen und schließlich entschieden. Merkel agiert nicht spontan, sie wartet, führt nicht von vornweg, sondern eher von hinten. Der Erfolg gibt ihr scheinbar recht. Seit zehn Jahren steht sie an der Spitze der CDU."	Presseschau Deutschlandfunk (2010). Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.dradio.de/presseschau/20100410070000/ .
8Bb	Manche beklagen sich, dass die Kanzlerin für fast alles und jeden Verständnis habe. Selbst für ihre Gegner. Allerdings hindert sie solches Verständnis keineswegs daran, den, den sie versteht, auch abzuräumen, wenn es denn nötig ist wie einst im Falle des talentierten Friedrich Merz, den sie vom Fraktionsvorsitz verdrängte.	Die Zeit, 08/04/2010. <i>Die Methode Merkel</i> .
8Bb	The latest bone of contention was Sarkozy's continued push for the creation of a Mediterranean Union involving European and African nations along the Mediterranean rim, which the French president again promoted during his visit to Algeria this week. Merkel reacted by suggesting that such an affiliation of nations could lead to "a corrosion of the EU in its core area" and "could release explosive powers in the EU." Such a frankly undiplomatic reaction was unusual under the circumstances, and suggested that Merkel may have reached a point in her relationship with the French president where she felt it necessary to go public with her discontent.	Deutsche Welle (2010). <i>Merkel and Sarkozy Meet Under Gathering Storm Clouds</i> . In: deutsch Welle, 06.12.2007. taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2992119,00.html .
8Bb	Mr Brown greeted his counterpart in Downing Street with an awkward peck on the cheek. But Mrs Merkel was left looking distinctly unimpressed by his attentions, judging by the sour expression on her face.	Waites, M. (2008). Sweet and sour: Kiss leaves Merkel cold. In: <i>YorkshirePost</i> 31/10/2008. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/Sweet-and-sour-Kiss-leaves.4648382.jp .
8Da	there was not much money in the household (Angela never learned to dress) but there was an air of privilege about it.	Boyes, R. (2005). NS Profile - Angela Merkel. Published 25 July 2005. Retrieved 23/4/2010 from: http://www.newstatesman.com/200507250025 .
8Da	Mr Brown greeted his counterpart in Downing Street with an awkward peck on the cheek. But Mrs Merkel was left looking distinctly unimpressed by his attentions, judging by the sour expression on her face.	Waites, M. (2008). Sweet and sour: Kiss leaves Merkel cold. In: <i>YorkshirePost</i> 31/10/2008. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/Sweet-and-sour-Kiss-leaves.4648382.jp .
8Da	Das OBERMAIN-TAGBLATT aus Lichtenfels erinnert daran: "Im letzten Moment hat sich die Kanzlerin besonnen und an der Trauerfeier für die gefallenen deutschen Soldaten teilgenommen. Es machte sich nicht gut, dass sie dazu erst aufgefordert werden musste bevor sie ihren Osterurlaub abbrach."	Presseschau Deutschlandfunk (2010). Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.dradio.de/presseschau/20100410070000/ .
9 Distrusting Patern		

9Ad	<p>Worauf es dabei ankommt ist die so genannte Performance, die Frage: Wie kommt er oder sie rüber - kompetent, sympathisch, selbstbewusst, oder unsicher, verkrampft und am Ende unterlegen. Es wird durch die Wiederholung nicht besser und man kann Merckels Weigerung menschlich gut verstehen. Aber es hätte im Wahlkampf der Union gar nicht erst passieren dürfen, dass man sich über den Mut oder die Kompetenz oder die Telegenität der Kandidatin Gedanken machen muss. Wer an Merkel glaubt, muss auch auf ihre Chancen setzen. David hat gegen Goliath gewonnen, Merkel hätte diesem Kanzler nur immer wieder seine Bilanz vorhalten müssen. Sie wird es wohl auch tun, doch nach diesen medialen Startschwierigkeiten werden ihre Fehler noch auffälliger sein, also ohne das ganze Sommertheater um ein TV-Duell.</p>	<p>Mai, A. (2005). TV-Duell - Merkel hat schon verloren. Taken 9/5/2010 from: http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/meldung169784.html.</p>
10 Erratic Patern		

Coding scheme: profile David Cameron

Code	Excerpt	Source
1A Dominant Pattern		
1AAa	Op de stoep liet Cameron doorschermen hoe hij ‘echte verandering’ nastreeft. In de geest van de Amerikaanse president Kennedy zei Cameron dat Britten zich niet langer moeten afvragen ‘wat hun rechten zijn, maar wat hun verantwoordelijkheden zijn’. Om angsten weg te nemen dat de Conservatieven zich zo hard zullen tonen als in de Thatcherjaren, bezwoer hij dat ‘mijn regering altijd zal zorgen voor de ouderen, zwakken en armsten’.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
1AAa	De grote verdienste van de 43-jarige Cameron is geweest dat hij de Conservatieve Partij na drie verkiezingsnederlagen weer in het centrum van het politieke spectrum wist te plaatsen. Wat zijn drang om te moderniseren betreft, is hij vergeleken met Tony Blair, die een frisse wind liet waaien door de zieltogende sociaaldemocraten.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .
1AAa	Mr Cameron spent seven years at Carlton, as head of corporate communications, travelling the world with the firm's boss Michael Green, who has described him as "board material". "I tried to persuade him that he could have a really good career in industry, but he was completely resolute about going back to politics, and I respected him for that. He's good, he's the real McCoy," Mr Green told The Independent.	Wheeler, B. (2005). The David Cameron Story. London: BBC, 6/12/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4502656.stm .
1AAa	He has insisted, however, that it is "not where you come from but where you are going that counts".	BBC. (2005). Contender: David Cameron. 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4651553.stm
1AAa	So I believe the choice at this election is between a reactionary Labour party and the old ways of command and control, or radical change with the Conservatives – a progressive party in tune with the modern world. To Guardian readers everywhere, I say: overcome any prejudices you may have. We want to change our country, and we want to do it with your help.	Cameron, D. (2010). Labour are now the reactionaries, we the radicals. In: The Guardian, 8/4/2010. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/08/david-cameron-conservatives-radicals .
1AAb	The fact that his critics inside parliament all insist on anonymity, though, suggests that they fear he is a force to be reckoned with.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
1AAb	His detractors see a wildly over-confident Old Etonian who has risen without trace, from Oxford to parliament, via the Conservative research department, jobs at the Treasury and the Home Office, and a quick stint in business.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .

1AAb	As well as ideology, though, matters of style and social circles are an inextricable part of the Tory divide. Though one major brain behind the Cameron campaign is that of Oliver Letwin, not a Notting Hillite, the rest of the group are seen by their enemies as a purely metropolitan bunch, unrepresentative and arrogant. "It's true that some people, like George and David, can be possessed of a degree of self-assurance that alienates some people," says another Notting Hill Tory, who doesn't agree. "There's this idea that there's an element of slick careerism - that they don't have blood on their boots, dirt under their fingernails, or conviction in their hearts."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
1BAa	He has been accused of having an autocratic style and of limiting his decision-making to a small circle of advisers, many of them old friends, like George Osborne, who in opposition was the shadow chancellor of the Exchequer.	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .
1BAa	But some who have had dealings with him on his rise to power, and during his brief career in business, recall a "slippery", "ruthlessly ambitious", somewhat guarded individual.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
1CAa	I'll never forget visiting one of the threatened schools I helped to save – Alderman Knight in Tewkesbury. The sense of relief among teachers, parents and children was clear. You would have needed a heart of stone not to be moved and it remains my proudest contribution to politics to date. It left a deep impression. Not just emotionally, but politically.	Cameron, D. (2010). This is a radical revolt against the statist approach of Big Government. In: The Guardian, 18/4/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/18/david-cameron-my-big-society .
1CAa	He has espoused many traditional Tory views, such as low taxes and a strong emphasis on the family. But he immediately set about moving his Party to the centre ground. He changed the candidate selection system to favour women and ethnic minorities, emphasised world poverty and the environment as key issues, cycled to work and ditched several commitments of the 2005 manifesto that he had helped draft. He made it clear there was more to come.	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
1CAa	Presenting himself as the modernisers candidate, a centrist with a conscience, he called for radical change in the Party, which he said needed to think, look and feel and sound like a completely different organisation. He praised Tony Blair for transforming his Party, and set about doing the same for the Conservatives immediately after his runaway victory.	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
1CAa	He has been accused of having an autocratic style and of limiting his decision-making to a small circle of advisers, many of them old friends, like George Osborne, who in opposition was the shadow chancellor of the Exchequer.	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .

1CAb	As a Conservative, there are two fundamental tenets on which my beliefs are based: a profound faith in my fellow human beings and a healthy awareness of the state's limitations. Nowhere has this been more forcefully brought home to me than the closure of special schools.	Cameron, D. (2010). This is a radical revolt against the statist approach of Big Government. In: The Guardian, 18/4/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/18/david-cameron-my-big-society .
1CAb	Unemployment is rising, taxes will go up and bank lending is tight. That mix seems highly unlikely to produce permanent inflation any time soon. More cheap money, not less, could still be needed in 2010. Much depends on the data, of course, and it's best to keep an open mind. That is why it is worrying that Cameron is dogmatic. Cheap money cannot last forever, but the Bank's pragmatic stance of looking through the volatility in the readings to the medium-term pressures on inflation, including the build-up of spare capacity in the economy, is the sensible approach.	Pratley, N. (2009). Cameron may be too dogmatic on quantitative easing. In: the Guardian, 13/10/2009. Taken 18/10/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2009/oct/13/viewpoint-inflation-cpi-cameron .
1CAb	As leader, the smooth, self-assured Mr. Cameron, who became Britain's new prime minister on Tuesday, moved swiftly to weed out the old guard, replacing the party's mean-spirited image with a kinder, more socially progressive philosophy that he called compassionate Conservatism. That he succeeded is a reflection of his toughness, acumen and resolve.	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .
1EAa	Cameron past naadloos in de traditie van de pragmatische Old Etonians. 'Ik weet waar ik heen wil, maar voel me niet ideologisch gebonden aan een bepaalde methode', zegt hij zelf.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
1EAa	Presenting himself as the modernisers candidate, a centrist with a conscience, he called for radical change in the Party, which he said needed to think, look and feel and sound like a completely different organisation. He praised Tony Blair for transforming his Party, and set about doing the same for the Conservatives immediately after his runaway victory.	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
1EAc	I'm going to be as radical a social reformer as Mrs Thatcher was an economic reformer.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
1EAc	I'm a practical person, and pragmatic. I know where I want to get to, but I am not ideologically attached to one particular method.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .

1EAc	At the start of his leadership, Mr Cameron was all about sunny optimism and "sharing the proceeds of growth". He told activists in his first party conference speech to "let sunshine win the day" and managed to get a round of applause for a mention of civil partnerships. The media, eager for a new story after years of Tory failure and with an increasingly unpopular Labour government, gave him the glowing coverage he craved, helping him to "decontaminate" the Tory brand and move the party back towards the centre ground, where, the conventional wisdom has it, British elections are won and lost. He ordered the party to end its obsession with Europe and tried to reposition it as the party of the environment and the NHS, as well as recruiting more women and candidates from ethnic minorities to winnable seats. He also cannily used the expenses scandal that rocked Westminster to portray himself as a radical reformer bent on cleaning up politics.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
1B Daunting Pattern		
1ABa	Op de stoep liet Cameron doorschermen hoe hij 'echte verandering' nastreeft. In de geest van de Amerikaanse president Kennedy zei Cameron dat Britten zich niet langer moeten afvragen 'wat hun rechten zijn, maar wat hun verantwoordelijkheden zijn'. Om angsten weg te nemen dat de Conservatieven zich zo hard zullen tonen als in de Thatcherjaren, bezwoer hij dat 'mijn regering altijd zal zorgen voor de ouderen, zwakken en armsten'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
1ABa	De grote verdienste van de 43-jarige Cameron is geweest dat hij de Conservatieve Partij na drie verkiezingsnederlagen weer in het centrum van het politieke spectrum wist te plaatsen. Wat zijn drang om te moderniseren betreft, is hij vergeleken met Tony Blair, die een frisse wind liet waaien door de zieltogende sociaaldemocraten. Het is aan premier Cameron om het tegendeel te bewijzen. Iets heeft de kersverse regeringsleider al aangetoond: dat hij een coalitieregering kan vormen. Alleen dat is voor Britse begrippen al uiterst ongebruikelijk.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .
1ABa	To his fans he is the Tories' answer to Blair - clever, telegenic and bent on modernising his party. To his critics he is a ludicrously inexperienced, metropolitan toff.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
1ABa	Dergelijke modder blijft echter zelden kleven aan deze politieke kameleon, die erin slaagde de Conservatieven vanuit de politieke wildernis naar de top van de peilingen te loodsen. Hij zette zijn toekomst even op het spel toen hij verwickeld raakte in een affaire met cannabis. Diverse jaargenoten werden van school gestuurd maar Cameron hoefde als strafwerk slechts 500 Latijnse dichtregels over te schrijven. Tot de dag van vandaag weigert hij te zeggen of hij ooit drugs heeft gebruikt.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
1BBa	But Mr Cameron's period at Carlton is not remembered so fondly by some of the journalists who had to deal with him. Jeff Randall, writing in The Daily Telegraph where he is a senior executive, said he would not trust Mr Cameron "with my daughter's pocket money". "To describe Cameron's approach to corporate PR as unhelpful and evasive overstates by a widish margin the clarity and plain-speaking that he brought to the job of being Michael Green's mouthpiece," wrote the ex-BBC business editor.	Wheeler, B. (2005). The David Cameron Story. London: BBC, 6/12/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4502656.stm .

1BBa	If a career consultant ever got David Cameron and Gordon Brown to take a Myers-Briggs personality test, the chances are that they would emerge as polar opposite types of leader. My guess is that Cameron would score as extrovert, intuitive, feeling and perceptive - an "ENFP" to Myers-Briggs initiates - while Brown would be introvert, sensing, thinking and judging - a natural "ISTJ".	Kettle, M. (2010). Cameron has the edge. In: the Guardian, 23/5/2006. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/may/23/comment.politics .
1BBb	"In my experience, Cameron never gave a straight answer when dissemblance was a plausible alternative, which probably makes him perfectly suited for the role he now seeks: the next Tony Blair," Mr Randall wrote. Sun business editor Ian King, recalling the same era, described Mr Cameron as a "poisonous, slippery individual".	Wheeler, B. (2005). The David Cameron Story. London: BBC, 6/12/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4502656.stm .
1BBb	Zijn oprechtheid is altijd in twijfel getrokken. Cameron, zo wil het verhaal, is immers bereid werkelijk alles te zeggen, zo lang het hem maar aan de macht brengt.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
1BBb	Veel journalisten die toen met Cameron werkten, hebben nu geen goed woord voor hem over. 'Een giftig, gluiperig individu' en 'Ik zou hem het zakgeld van mijn dochter nog niet toevertrouwen', zo zeiden oud-journalisten van The Sun en The Daily Telegraph over hem, ironisch genoeg kranten die nu zijn grootste fans zijn.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
1CBa	Presenting himself as the modernisers candidate, a centrist with a conscience, he called for radical change in the Party, which he said needed to think, look and feel and sound like a completely different organisation. He praised Tony Blair for transforming his Party, and set about doing the same for the Conservatives immediately after his runaway victory.	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
1EBa	Presenting himself as the modernisers candidate, a centrist with a conscience, he called for radical change in the Party, which he said needed to think, look and feel and sound like a completely different organisation. He praised Tony Blair for transforming his Party, and set about doing the same for the Conservatives immediately after his runaway victory.	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
1EBa	Cameron is particularly bothered by the prevalent idea that he might be a secret Blairite. "Blair has been very difficult," he says. "Suddenly you had these guys come along and sit in the middle of British politics, and they've said and occasionally done some conservative things . . . but if you're not a real conservative, it won't work properly. I could never be Blairite any more than I could be Chinese. They may have given up trying to control the commanding heights of the economy, but they haven't given up trying to control people's souls."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2 Ambitious Pattern		
2Aa	De grote verdienste van de 43-jarige Cameron is geweest dat hij de Conservatieve Partij na drie verkiezingsnederlagen weer in het centrum van het politieke spectrum wist te plaatsen. Wat zijn drang om te moderniseren betreft, is hij vergeleken met Tony Blair, die een frisse wind liet waaien door de zieltogende sociaaldemocraten. Na de machtsverovering door Labour in 1997 begon een lange periode in de oppositie. De partij kende daarna veel wisselingen in het leiderschap. Pas met de komst van Cameron in 2005, die vier jaar eerder in het Lagerhuis was gekozen, kwam daar een einde aan. De levenslustige jongeling wist weer eenheid te brengen in de partij.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .

2Aa	<p>To his fans he is the Tories' answer to Blair - clever, telegenic and bent on modernising his party. To his critics he is a ludicrously inexperienced, metropolitan toff.</p> <p>"Freedom and responsibility" have been the themes behind six key policy speeches that Cameron has delivered over the past four months; on the family, the constitution, terrorism, quality of life, the environment and the voluntary sector. They contained a slew of specific proposals - everything from fixed parliamentary terms to tax relief on childcare - which makes it strange that a common media criticism of Cameron is his lack of policy ballast. If anything, the reason that one compelling campaign theme has yet to emerge is that he has too many ideas, not too few.</p>	<p>Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2.</p>
2Aa	Glad, welbespraakt, gevat, uitstekend opgeleid, familieman, opgewekt.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
2Ab	What, exactly, is David Cameron playing at? A toddler by Westminster standards, one-and-a-bit terms into life as an MP, he is putting himself forward as the man to rescue the Conservatives from the biggest crisis they've ever known. And though he may only have an outside chance this time, it says much about him that none of his party colleagues are treating his campaign, officially launched today, as a joke.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ab	His detractors see a wildly over-confident Old Etonian who has risen without trace, from Oxford to parliament, via the Conservative research department, jobs at the Treasury and the Home Office, and a quick stint in business.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ab	As well as ideology, though, matters of style and social circles are an inextricable part of the Tory divide. Though one major brain behind the Cameron campaign is that of Oliver Letwin, not a Notting Hillite, the rest of the group are seen by their enemies as a purely metropolitan bunch, unrepresentative and arrogant. "It's true that some people, like George and David, can be possessed of a degree of self-assurance that alienates some people," says another Notting Hill Tory, who doesn't agree. "There's this idea that there's an element of slick careerism - that they don't have blood on their boots, dirt under their fingernails, or conviction in their hearts."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ab	So I believe the choice at this election is between a reactionary Labour party and the old ways of command and control, or radical change with the Conservatives – a progressive party in tune with the modern world. To Guardian readers everywhere, I say: overcome any prejudices you may have. We want to change our country, and we want to do it with your help.	Cameron, D. (2010). Labour are now the reactionaries, we the radicals. In: The Guardian, 8/4/2010. Taken 10/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/08/david-cameron-conservatives-radicals .
2Ac	Toch verwijten critici Cameron dat hij te elitair is om de problemen van de gewone mensen te begrijpen. Ook dichten waarnemers hem een gebrek aan inhoud, ervaring en een duidelijke ideologie toe.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .

2Ac	The resentment towards Cameron - and the rest of the set - is undisguised among older MPs on both ideological wings of the party. "Quite why he thinks he's qualified, from nappies, to be leader - I think it's a cheek," one senior Tory fumes. "That gang, they just get up people's noses. They're a self-regarding clique who think they deserve to inherit the world."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ac	He has the softness of face, and the preternatural absence of stubble, that render certain members of the British upper classes oddly ageless - characteristics that fit perfectly with having gone to Eton and then married Lord Astor's stepdaughter. During the time I spend with Cameron, people will on several occasions refer to him being a bit of a toff.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ac	It remains unlikely that David Cameron will become the next leader of the Conservative party: he's too young and experienced, and the party's decision not to change its voting rules makes an upset in his favour even less probable. Indeed, if he is ever to reach the top, he has a long list of obstacles to overcome. In an increasingly meritocratic world, he went to a posh school, then Oxford. He has alienated a large segment of his party, who accuse him of betrayal. He is driven less by ideology than a hunch that the oppositionist days of a clearly defined left and right may be over. He's a bit arrogant, though admittedly telegenic, and he's good at sounding sincere, because, for the most part, he is. Yet this man - this ex-public schoolboy with a modernising urge, to put it briefly - seems to believe he can lead a major national party and then, one day, the country.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ac	Veel journalisten die toen met Cameron werkten, hebben nu geen goed woord voor hem over. 'Een giftig, gluiperig individu' en 'Ik zou hem het zakgeld van mijn dochter nog niet toevertrouwen', zo zeiden oud-journalisten van The Sun en The Daily Telegraph over hem, ironisch genoeg kranten die nu zijn grootste fans zijn.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
2Ba	Yesterday's speech on wellbeing shows this. The Tories see it as step two in the effort to persuade the persuadable that Cameron's party has broken with the past and is living in the present. Step one was the environmental campaign that helped push the Tories to a strong showing in this month's local elections. Now the eco-friendly Cameron has been joined by the family-friendly Cameron. In each case, the policy prescriptions are still thin. At this stage, though, they are not the point. The aim is simply to get the public to notice that something is changing - which it clearly is.	Kettle, M. (2010). Cameron has the edge. In: the Guardian, 23/5/2006. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/may/23/comment.politics .
2Ba	As leader, the smooth, self-assured Mr. Cameron, who became Britain's new prime minister on Tuesday, moved swiftly to weed out the old guard, replacing the party's mean-spirited image with a kinder, more socially progressive philosophy that he called compassionate Conservatism. That he succeeded is a reflection of his toughness, acumen and resolve. Likable, quick on his feet, informal, self-assured, his easy charm a vivid contrast to the tortured, self-lacerating intensity of former Prime Minister Gordon Brown, Mr. Cameron seemed at times to be gliding into power, so effortlessly did he take to the cut-and-thrust of British parliamentary politics.	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .

2Bb	This, then, is the man who will now lead Britain, not with the simple, overwhelming mandate he could once have expected, but through an agreement with his former foes. Perhaps that is only appropriate, for Mr Cameron is neither the one-dimensional smoothie depicted by some, nor the paragon portrayed by others, but an intriguing mixture of parts: charming and sure-footed, but also controlled, self-deprecating and politely aloof in a most English way.	Macintyre, B. (2010). David Cameron profile: an enigma wrapped up in a prime minister. In: the Australian, 12/5/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 From: http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/david-cameron-profile-an-enigma-wrapped-up-in-a-prime-minister/story-e6frg6so-1225865394884 .
2Bb	The 2010 general election opened the possibility of the first hung Parliament since the 1970s. Cameron's self-serving claim to be the "heir to Blair" was spectacularly exploded.	The Mirror (2010). David Cameron has no mandate to unleash age of austerity. In: The Mirror, 7/5/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/columnists/maguire/2010/05/07/david-cameron-has-no-mandate-to-unleash-age-of-austerity-115875-22239807/ .
2Bc	Veel journalisten die toen met Cameron werkten, hebben nu geen goed woord voor hem over. 'Een giftig, gluiperig individu' en 'Ik zou hem het zakgeld van mijn dochter nog niet toevertrouwen', zo zeiden oud-journalisten van The Sun en The Daily Telegraph over hem, ironisch genoeg kranten die nu zijn grootste fans zijn.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
2Bc	David Cameron should be ashamed over Jacqui Janes exploitation. The shameless exploitation of a mother's grief to support a mean-spirited political vendetta has revolted the nation.	The Mirror (2009). David Cameron should be ashamed over Jacqui Janes exploitation. In: The Mirror, 11/11/2009. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.mirror.co.uk/opinion/voiceofthemirror/2009/11/11/shame-on-you-dave-115875-21812923/ .
2Db	But some who have had dealings with him on his rise to power, and during his brief career in business, recall a "slippery", "ruthlessly ambitious", somewhat guarded individual.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
2Ea	"Now," says the executive, their main business out of the way, "why don't you tell me a bit about yourself? You went to Eton, didn't you? That's a bit of a problem in the modern Conservative party, isn't it?" There is a glint of mischief in his eye. Cameron takes a sip of his bitter and exhales. "I don't think so," he says. "The thing is, you can have all the back-story in the world, but what matters is what you're going to contribute to the country."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .

2Ea	Cameron and his campaign team are so intent on downplaying the Eton-and-Oxford thing, so worried about the Toff Problem, that it's hard to get them to talk about it at all	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Ea	Toch is zijn bevoorrechte achtergrond van belang om de nieuwe premier te begrijpen – het maakte hem tot de zelfverzekerde en ambitieuze man voor wie succes schijnbaar vanzelfsprekend is. Sindsdien rees hij als een komeet door de rangen. Op zware ideologische bagage heeft hij zich nooit laten betrappen. Maar dat is ook geen must bij de Tories, waar daden (of soms: niets doen) voorop staan.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
2Ea	As leader, the smooth, self-assured Mr. Cameron, who became Britain's new prime minister on Tuesday, moved swiftly to weed out the old guard, replacing the party's mean-spirited image with a kinder, more socially progressive philosophy that he called compassionate Conservatism. That he succeeded is a reflection of his toughness, acumen and resolve.	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .
2Eb	Cameron is particularly bothered by the prevalent idea that he might be a secret Blairite. "Blair has been very difficult," he says. "Suddenly you had these guys come along and sit in the middle of British politics, and they've said and occasionally done some conservative things . . . but if you're not a real conservative, it won't work properly. I could never be Blairite any more than I could be Chinese. They may have given up trying to control the commanding heights of the economy, but they haven't given up trying to control people's souls."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
2Eb	Speaking on the campaign trail in south-east London, the Liberal Democrat leader hit back, by saying Mr Cameron had not won the election yet. 'David Cameron, with breathtaking arrogance, is already measuring up the curtains for No.10 before you have even voted,' Mr Clegg said. 'Telling you what he's going to do with Britain, when it's not for him to tell you what to do with this country.' 'It's for you to tell us, the politicians, what kind of future you want.'	Higginson, J. (2010). General Election 2010: 'Arrogant David Cameron believes he has won' . In: Metro, 4/5/2010. Taken 26/5/2010 from: http://www.metro.co.uk/news/election/824425-arrogant-david-cameron-believes-he-has-won-the-election .
3 Outgoing Pattern		
3Aa	Na de machtsvername door Labour in 1997 begon een lange periode in de oppositie. De partij kende daarna veel wisselingen in het leiderschap. Pas met de komst van Cameron in 2005, die vier jaar eerder in het Lagerhuis was gekozen, kwam daar een einde aan. De levenslustige jongeling wist weer eenheid te brengen in de partij.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_1eidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .
3Aa	To his fans he is the Tories' answer to Blair - clever, telegenic and bent on modernising his party. To his critics he is a ludicrously inexperienced, metropolitan toff	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .

3Aa	It's Cameron they can't quite figure out: they seem to like the cut of his jib, his youth and vibrancy, but they're not on precisely the same wavelength, not yet.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
3Aa	<p>He is the first Eton-educated Conservative leader since Sir Alec Douglas-Home in the early 1960s and is a member, along with Prince Charles and his sons, of exclusive Mayfair gentleman's club White's. He is even, it turns out according to reports this week, distantly-related to the Queen. Yet with his mountain bike and fondness for indie rock music Mr Cameron also likes to be seen as a man of the people.</p> <p>Recently, in a bid to dispel his "toff" image, he told the Sun newspaper he enjoys a pint of real ale, rather than champagne, and that he smokes Marlboro Lights cigarettes (a habit he has repeatedly vowed to quit).</p> <p>His biggest mention in the Eton school magazine came when he sprained his ankle dancing to bagpipes on a school trip to Rome.</p>	Wheeler, B. (2005). The David Cameron Story. London: BBC, 6/12/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4502656.stm .
3Aa	I think I'm canine rather than feline. I like company, I like people, and that is much more dog-like than cat-like. And I'm more of a dog lover.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
3Ab	Hij zette zijn toekomst even op het spel toen hij verwickeld raakte in een affaire met cannabis. Diverse jaargenoten werden van school gestuurd maar Cameron hoefde als strafwerk slechts 500 Latijnse dichtregels over te schrijven. Tot de dag van vandaag weigert hij te zeggen of hij ooit drugs heeft gebruikt.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
3Ab	A fluent if not sensational speaker, he wowed the party conference with a well-rehearsed bravura performance without notes, seen in contrast to a pedestrian speech from the front-runner David Davis	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
3Ab	If a career consultant ever got David Cameron and Gordon Brown to take a Myers-Briggs personality test, the chances are that they would emerge as polar opposite types of leader. My guess is that Cameron would score as extrovert, intuitive, feeling and perceptive - an "ENFP" to Myers-Briggs initiates - while Brown would be introvert, sensing, thinking and judging - a natural "ISTJ".	Kettle, M. (2010). Cameron has the edge. In: the Guardian, 23/5/2006. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/may/23/comment.politics .
3Ac	Cameron was also a member of the Bullingdon Club, an exclusive and largely Old Etonian society notorious for drunkenness and violence.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .

3Ac	This Conservative leader is remarkably open to ideas. His project is still very much work in progress. To some, like the Dead Ringers satirists, this makes him a man who will say whatever you want him to say. The alternative, though, is that Cameron knows broadly what he wants to be - a centrist politician who can be sharply differentiated from the Labour leader apparent - and that he is in the market for imaginative ways of proving it. It must be fun to be his speechwriter.	Kettle, M. (2010). Cameron has the edge. In: the Guardian, 23/5/2006. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/may/23/comment.politics .
3Ac	At Oxford, he was a member of the notorious Bullingdon Club, whose agenda consisted of getting dressed up, getting drunk and getting out of trouble by paying off the people whose things were destroyed in club bacchanalias.	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .
3Ba	Woensdagochtend ontving Cameron zijn vicepremier en leider van de LibDems Nick Clegg voor een eerste werkbespreking op zijn ambtswoning. Zij gaven geen antwoord op vragen van de pers, maar lieten het bij een stevige handdruk, die volgens de BBC getuigde van een 'positieve lichaamstaal'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
3Ba	Opscheppen of opvallen deed hij niet en hij voelde zich thuis in elk denkbaar gezelschap. Zo werkte hij als oppas van de rasta-eigenaar van het lokale Jamaicaanse restaurant.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
3Ba	De eminente hoogleraar staatsrecht Vernon Bogdanor omschreef hem als een van zijn 'aardigste en begaafdste pupillen'.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
3Ea	Recently, in a bid to dispel his "toff" image, he told the Sun newspaper he enjoys a pint of real ale, rather than champagne, and that he smokes Marlboro Lights cigarettes (a habit he has repeatedly vowed to quit).	Wheeler, B. (2005). The David Cameron Story. London: BBC, 6/12/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4502656.stm .
3Ea	A leading member of the so-called Notting Hill group of younger Tories, he is one of a dozen Etonians remaining in the House of Commons, most of whom are now in his frontbench team. He also has the classic, almost too classic, pedigree of the traditional Tory leader, with added modernity and youthful good looks.	Yahoo (2010). Profile: David Cameron. 11/5/2010. Taken 17/5/2010 from: http://uk.news.yahoo.com/11/20100511/tpl-profile-david-cameron-0a1c1a1.html .
4 Accomodating Pattern		
4Aa	Woensdagochtend ontving Cameron zijn vicepremier en leider van de LibDems Nick Clegg voor een eerste werkbespreking op zijn ambtswoning. Zij gaven geen antwoord op vragen van de pers, maar lieten het bij een stevige handdruk, die volgens de BBC getuigde van een 'positieve lichaamstaal'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
4Aa	Het is aan premier Cameron om het tegendeel te bewijzen. Iets heeft de kersverse regeringsleider al aangetoond: dat hij een coalitieregering kan vormen. Alleen dat is voor Britse begrippen al uiterst ongebruikelijk	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .

4Ba	Back at the house, I ask Cameron whether the 2005 election campaign, in which he played a central role, didn't ultimately appeal to exactly that tribalism, especially in its rabble-rousing on immigration. "You play as a team, you win as a team and you lose as a team," Cameron replies carefully.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
4Ba	If a career consultant ever got David Cameron and Gordon Brown to take a Myers-Briggs personality test, the chances are that they would emerge as polar opposite types of leader. My guess is that Cameron would score as extrovert, intuitive, feeling and perceptive - an "ENFP" to Myers-Briggs initiates - while Brown would be introvert, sensing, thinking and judging - a natural "ISTJ".	Kettle, M. (2010). Cameron has the edge. In: the Guardian, 23/5/2006. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/may/23/comment.politics .
4Bb	I ask Cameron whether the 2005 election campaign, in which he played a central role, didn't ultimately appeal to exactly that tribalism, especially in its rabble-rousing on immigration. "You play as a team, you win as a team and you lose as a team," Cameron replies carefully. But it's hard to believe he was comfortable with those immigration ads, or the way the "traditional family" rhetoric bordered on homophobia. In recent pronouncements, Cameron has sought to tack back to social conservatism, but that wing of the party is unimpressed.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
4Bb	One thing Mr. Cameron does have is flexibility, said Peter Snowdon, author of "Back From the Brink: The Inside Story of the Tory Resurrection." "He's more pragmatic than ideological," Mr. Snowdon said. "He's not a strong-conviction politician the way Margaret Thatcher was. In many ways, he's an old-fashioned conservative with a small c. He was brought up in rural England and he considers things like family life and the state of the British union very important. But to him, most things are up for debate, for framing and discussing and forging positions on."	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .
4Bb	Friends talk of a witty, self-deprecating character, a devoted family man who loves to throw weekend parties at his Oxfordshire constituency home and who hates "talking shop".	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
5A Aggrieved Pattern		
5AAa	Op de stoep liet Cameron doorschmeren hoe hij 'echte verandering' nastreeft. In de geest van de Amerikaanse president Kennedy zei Cameron dat Britten zich niet langer moeten afvragen 'wat hun rechten zijn, maar wat hun verantwoordelijkheden zijn'. Om angsten weg te nemen dat de Conservatieven zich zo hard zullen tonen als in de Thatcherjaren, bezwoer hij dat 'mijn regering altijd zal zorgen voor de ouderen, zwakken en armsten'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
5AAa	Friends talk of a witty, self-deprecating character, a devoted family man who loves to throw weekend parties at his Oxfordshire constituency home and who hates "talking shop".	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
5B Contentious Pattern		

5ABa	De grote verdienste van de 43-jarige Cameron is geweest dat hij de Conservatieve Partij na drie verkiezingsnederlagen weer in het centrum van het politieke spectrum wist te plaatsen. Wat zijn drang om te moderniseren betreft, is hij vergeleken met Tony Blair, die een frisse wind liet waaien door de zieltogende sociaaldemocraten.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .
5ABa	Na de machtsverovering door Labour in 1997 begon een lange periode in de oppositie. De partij kende daarna veel wisselingen in het leiderschap. Pas met de komst van Cameron in 2005, die vier jaar eerder in het Lagerhuis was gekozen, kwam daar een einde aan. De levenslustige jongeling wist weer eenheid te brengen in de partij.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .
5ABa	It remains unlikely that David Cameron will become the next leader of the Conservative party: he's too young and experienced, and the party's decision not to change its voting rules makes an upset in his favour even less probable. Indeed, if he is ever to reach the top, he has a long list of obstacles to overcome. In an increasingly meritocratic world, he went to a posh school, then Oxford. He has alienated a large segment of his party, who accuse him of betrayal. He is driven less by ideology than a hunch that the oppositionist days of a clearly defined left and right may be over. He's a bit arrogant, though admittedly telegenic, and he's good at sounding sincere, because, for the most part, he is. Yet this man - this ex-public schoolboy with a modernising urge, to put it briefly - seems to believe he can lead a major national party and then, one day, the country.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
5ABa	Cameron heeft de Britse macht, in al zijn raffinement en meedogenloosheid, al van binnen gezien. En hij weet wat het is om tegen de stroom op te roeien.	De Volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
5ABa	I'm a practical person, and pragmatic. I know where I want to get to, but I am not ideologically attached to one particular method. "He has a great sense of humour, he can be self-deprecating" Nick Bourne, Welsh Tory leader	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
5ABb	But Mr Cameron's period at Carlton is not remembered so fondly by some of the journalists who had to deal with him. Jeff Randall, writing in The Daily Telegraph where he is a senior executive, said he would not trust Mr Cameron "with my daughter's pocket money". "To describe Cameron's approach to corporate PR as unhelpful and evasive overstates by a wide margin the clarity and plain-speaking that he brought to the job of being Michael Green's mouthpiece," wrote the ex-BBC business editor. "In my experience, Cameron never gave a straight answer when dissembling was a plausible alternative, which probably makes him perfectly suited for the role he now seeks: the next Tony Blair," Mr Randall wrote. Sun business editor Ian King, recalling the same era, described Mr Cameron as a "poisonous, slippery individual".	Wheeler, B. (2005). The David Cameron Story. London: BBC, 6/12/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4502656.stm .

5ABb	But some who have had dealings with him on his rise to power, and during his brief career in business, recall a "slippery", "ruthlessly ambitious", somewhat guarded individual.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
5BBa	Woensdagochtend ontving Cameron zijn vicepremier en leider van de LibDems Nick Clegg voor een eerste werkbespreking op zijn ambtswoning. Zij gaven geen antwoord op vragen van de pers, maar lieten het bij een stevige handdruk, die volgens de BBC getuigde van een 'positieve lichaamstaal'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
5BBa	Hij nam afstand van het harde imago dat de partij onder Margaret Thatcher en Major in de jaren tachtig en negentig had opgebouwd. Hij legde meer nadruk op linkse thema's als milieu en een nationale gezondheidszorg. Ook was hij een tegenstander van al te veel belastingverlagingen, waar zijn partij prat op gaat.	De Volkskrant, 11/5/2010, Cameron leidt conservatieven naar de macht. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/article1378546.ece/Cameron_leidt_Conservatieven_naar_de_macht .
5BBb	Veel journalisten die toen met Cameron werkten, hebben nu geen goed woord voor hem over. 'Een giftig, gluisperig individu' en 'Ik zou hem het zakgeld van mijn dochter nog niet toevertrouwen', zo zeiden oud-journalisten van The Sun en The Daily Telegraph over hem, ironisch genoeg kranten die nu zijn grootste fans zijn.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
5BBb	Mr. Cameron provoked anger from Tory old-timers by publicly rebuking the party grandees caught in last year's scandal over parliamentary expenses — the ones who charged taxpayers for items like buying manure, getting moats cleaned and fixing swimming pools (many of those particular legislators were successfully dissuaded, by Mr. Cameron, from seeking re-election).	NY Times, 12/4/2010. Man in the News: David Cameron. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/12/world/europe/12cameron.html .
5CBa	As a Conservative, there are two fundamental tenets on which my beliefs are based: a profound faith in my fellow human beings and a healthy awareness of the state's limitations. Nowhere has this been more forcefully brought home to me than the closure of special schools	Cameron, D. (2010). This is a radical revolt against the statist approach of Big Government. In: The Guardian, 18/4/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/18/david-cameron-my-big-society .
5CBa	Some parents want mainstream schools for their children, but for others it is a disaster. So when the effect of a fine intention is the imposition of an unyielding blueprint on local authorities, leading to the closure of so many excellent schools, you have to ask the question: just whose interests is it serving? Not the parents. Not the teachers. Definitely not the children. No one, in fact, whom the state is meant to be serving.	Cameron, D. (2010). This is a radical revolt against the statist approach of Big Government. In: The Guardian, 18/4/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/18/david-cameron-my-big-society .
6 Conscientious Pattern		

6Aa	Op de stoep liet Cameron doorschermen hoe hij 'echte verandering' nastreeft. In de geest van de Amerikaanse president Kennedy zei Cameron dat Britten zich niet langer moeten afvragen 'wat hun rechten zijn, maar wat hun verantwoordelijkheden zijn'. Om angsten weg te nemen dat de Conservatieven zich zo hard zullen tonen als in de Thatcherjaren, bezwoer hij dat 'mijn regering altijd zal zorgen voor de ouderen, zwakken en armsten'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
6Aa	The drug clinic has a well-equipped residential detox unit, resembling nothing so much as the Big Brother house. But it's empty, unused for lack of funding. "OK, let's cut to the chase," says Cameron, addressing two drug workers. "Why can't you get access to government programmes?" He peppers them with highly specific questions. He ventures only one moralistic query, about "encouraging people to live drug-free lives", and when the workers tell him they'd never condemn someone for "using", he lets it pass.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
6Aa	It remains unlikely that David Cameron will become the next leader of the Conservative party: he's too young and experienced, and the party's decision not to change its voting rules makes an upset in his favour even less probable. Indeed, if he is ever to reach the top, he has a long list of obstacles to overcome. In an increasingly meritocratic world, he went to a posh school, then Oxford. He has alienated a large segment of his party, who accuse him of betrayal. He is driven less by ideology than a hunch that the oppositionist days of a clearly defined left and right may be over. He's a bit arrogant, though admittedly telegenic, and he's good at sounding sincere, because, for the most part, he is. Yet this man - this ex-public schoolboy with a modernising urge, to put it briefly - seems to believe he can lead a major national party and then, one day, the country.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
6Aa	Volgens zijn tijdgenoten was hij geen gangmaker. Zodra het echt uit de hand liep was Cameron al naar huis. Hij was immers als student al een keiharde werker die zijn zaakjes toen al goed voor elkaar had.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
6Ba	Woensdagochtend ontving Cameron zijn vicepremier en leider van de LibDems Nick Clegg voor een eerste werkbespreking op zijn ambtswoning. Zij gaven geen antwoord op vragen van de pers, maar lieten het bij een stevige handdruk, die volgens de BBC getuigde van een 'positieve lichaamstaal'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
6Ba	Cameron left the Home Office to work for Carlton Communications, whose famously tempestuous chief at the time, Michael Green, remembers being impressed by the youngster's cheek. Cameron told him he wanted to work in the investor relations department, but didn't plan to stay. Green, who thinks of himself as anti-establishment, seems to have had doubts about hiring an old Etonian, but they were dispelled. The office atmosphere, Green recalls, was highly charged, "and if something went wrong, people would come straight down and shout their heads off. But [Cameron] absolutely grabbed hold of this and loved it and thrived in it. It was never, 'Oh, my God, the tosser's come into the room.'"	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
6Ba	Volgens zijn tijdgenoten was hij geen gangmaker. Zodra het echt uit de hand liep was Cameron al naar huis. Hij was immers als student al een keiharde werker die zijn zaakjes toen al goed voor elkaar had.	De volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.

6Eb	I think I'm a good father. But I'm a better father for being at work as well	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
6Eb	Mr Cameron told BBC1's Andrew Marr show he 'aspired' to lead a government of 'quiet effectiveness'. His comments came after it was alleged some cabinet members want Labour to cling on to power, even if it came third in the popular vote, by forming a coalition with the Lib Dems. Accusing Labour of letting down the country, Mr Cameron said that under Gordon Brown's leadership the government had 'destroyed civil liberties on an industrial scale' and introduced a 'grotesquely unfair' tax system. He also denied complacency and denounced the current political system as a 'stitch-up between two old vested interests'. Mr Cameron is planning to campaign through the night tonight and only go to sleep once election offices close. 'There is still a huge amount to do. There has never been an ounce of complacency in my body,' he added.	Higginson, J. (2010). General Election 2010: 'Arrogant David Cameron believes he has won'. In: Metro, 4/5/2010. Taken 26/5/2010 from: http://www.metro.co.uk/news/election/824425-arrogant-david-cameron-believes-he-has-won-the-election .
7 Reticent Pattern		
7Aa	Op de stoep liet Cameron doorschemeren hoe hij 'echte verandering' nastreeft. In de geest van de Amerikaanse president Kennedy zei Cameron dat Britten zich niet langer moeten afvragen 'wat hun rechten zijn, maar wat hun verantwoordelijkheden zijn'. Om angsten weg te nemen dat de Conservatieven zich zo hard zullen tonen als in de Thatcherjaren, bezwoer hij dat 'mijn regering altijd zal zorgen voor de ouderen, zwakken en armsten'.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
7Aa	Cameron seems mildly stressed about a dinner he's due to attend this evening, at the home of Stuart Wheeler, the spread-betting millionaire. Cameron will be required to defend his bid before a panel of rightwing commentators, and perhaps also answer questions about being a director of Urbium, a late-night bar business that takes a different view to his party on 24-hour drinking. "Blimey," he says, raising his eyebrows as he scans the guest list. "Talk about being put on the spot."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
7Aa	"The less said about that the better," Cameron says. "It was a university dining club, and lots of them do things they shouldn't." He was never present at any scenes of destruction, he insists.	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
7Aa	Hij zette zijn toekomst even op het spel toen hij verwickeld raakte in een affaire met cannabis. Diverse jaargenoten werden van school gestuurd maar Cameron hoefde als strafwerk slechts 500 Latijnse dichtregels over te schrijven. Tot de dag van vandaag weigert hij te zeggen of hij ooit drugs heeft gebruikt.	De Volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
7Ba	Volgens zijn tijdgenoten was hij geen gangmaker. Zodra het echt uit de hand liep was Cameron al naar huis. Hij was immers als student al een keiharde werker die zijn zaakjes toen al goed voor elkaar had.	De Volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.

7Ba	“He's not someone - and most Englishmen aren't - who talks freely and easily in the open-hearted Oprahesque fashion that some do but he's extremely good company” Friend and adviser Michael Gove.	Wheeler, B. (2010). David Cameron: Life and times of new UK prime minister. BBC News. Published: 11/5/2010. Taken 14/5/2010 from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/election_2010/8661964.stm .
8 Retiring Pattern		
8Ab	Hij zette zijn toekomst even op het spel toen hij verwickeld raakte in een affaire met cannabis. Diverse jaargenoten werden van school gestuurd maar Cameron hoefde als strafwerk slechts 500 Latijnse dichtregels over te schrijven. Tot de dag van vandaag weigert hij te zeggen of hij ooit drugs heeft gebruikt.	De Volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
9 Distrusting Pattern		
9Ad	Op de stoep liet Cameron doorschermen hoe hij ‘echte verandering’ nastreeft. In de geest van de Amerikaanse president Kennedy zei Cameron dat Britten zich niet langer moeten afvragen ‘wat hun rechten zijn, maar wat hun verantwoordelijkheden zijn’. Om angsten weg te nemen dat de Conservatieven zich zo hard zullen tonen als in de Thatcherjaren, bezwoer hij dat ‘mijn regering altijd zal zorgen voor de ouderen, zwakken en armsten’.	De Volkskrant, 12/5/2010, David Cameron Nieuwe Britse Premier. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/article1378522.ece/David_Cameron_nieuwe_Britse_premier .
9Ad	Cameron seems mildly stressed about a dinner he's due to attend this evening, at the home of Stuart Wheeler, the spread-betting millionaire. Cameron will be required to defend his bid before a panel of rightwing commentators, and perhaps also answer questions about being a director of Urbium, a late-night bar business that takes a different view to his party on 24-hour drinking. "Blimey," he says, raising his eyebrows as he scans the guest list. "Talk about being put on the spot."	Guardian (2005). Profile: David Cameron. In: The Guardian, 29/9/2005. Taken 15/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/sep/29/toryleadership2005.conservatives2 .
9Ae	Hij zette zijn toekomst even op het spel toen hij verwickeld raakte in een affaire met cannabis. Diverse jaargenoten werden van school gestuurd maar Cameron hoefde als strafwerk slechts 500 Latijnse dichtregels over te schrijven. Tot de dag van vandaag weigert hij te zeggen of hij ooit drugs heeft gebruikt.	De Volkskrant (2010), 14/05/2010, Politieke kameleon waaraan geen modder blijft kleven.
9Ae	Conservative leader David Cameron has set up a policy group on the environment to pave the way for "tough decisions" on cutting greenhouse gas.	BBC News, 2005. Cameron vows 'tough' green action. 25/12/2005. Taken 20/5/2010 from; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4512202.stm .
9Cd	As a Conservative, there are two fundamental tenets on which my beliefs are based: a profound faith in my fellow human beings and a healthy awareness of the state's limitations. Nowhere has this been more forcefully brought home to me than the closure of special schools	Cameron, D. (2010). This is a radical revolt against the statist approach of Big Government. In: The Guardian, 18/4/2010. Taken 16/5/2010 from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/apr/18/david-cameron-my-big-society .

9Cd	They were both at Eton, both members of Oxford University's infamous Bullingdon Club and are both die-hard Tories who still share the same friends. But behind the public camaraderie of David Cameron and Boris Johnson lies a story of suspicion and distrust.	The Mirror (2010). Boris Johnson wants David Cameron's job. In: The Mirror, 21/2/2010. Taken 18/5/2010 from: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/top-stories/2010/02/21/boris-wants-dave-s-job-yah-115875-22058145/ .
10 Erratic Pattern		

Coded sources MIDC-profile Catherine Ashton

Code	Excerpt	Source
1A Dominant Patern		
1AAa	"Like many young people in the 1970s and early 1980s, Catherine Ashton was involved in the big campaign issue of the time with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. She has never made a secret of that," the spokesperson said.	EurActiv, Ashton faces accusations ahead of Parliament hearing Published: 26 November 2009
1AAa	Ashton was a vocal supporter of gay rights and guided some key pieces of legislation through the upper chamber.	Gay rights advocate Cathy Ashton is new EU foreign affairs chief, PinkNews.co.uk, Publish November 20, 2009.
1AAb	This is not the first time that Lady Ashton has drawn criticism in her short career as top Eurocrat. Her decision not to visit Haiti after the earthquake surprised many, especially because the EU was a big donor to the relief and aid effort. "There is no doubt that Mrs Ashton should have taken herself to Haiti immediately to wave the flag for Europe," Pierre Lellouche, France's Europe Minister, said. "I guess that not everyone is a Nicolas Sarkozy."	Baroness Ashton under fire for missing European defence summit February 26, 2010 From The Times David Charter and Graham Keeley http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7041984.ece
1AAb	Touting his old chum Blair for the presidency, Miliband had famously claimed the job needed "someone who could stop the traffic in Beijing". Instead, critics carped, they got someone "who couldn't hail a cab in Brussels". Ashton's reply is that her job is to "keep the traffic moving". She claims her strength is "quiet diplomacy" and has a speedy retort to anyone who suggests Mandelson would have been a better choice, replying with mock modesty and a dig at Mandelson's business relationships: "I don't know any oligarchs; I don't think I've ever been on anyone's yacht."	The Sunday Times (2010). <i>PROFILE: Catherine Ashton</i> . 14.03.2010. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7061021.ece
1B Daunting Patern		
1ABa	The sniping at Lady Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs — who attended the inauguration of President Yanukovich in Ukraine, rather than the European defence ministers' meeting with the Nato Secretary General in Majorca — was led by the French.	Baroness Ashton under fire for missing European defence summit February 26, 2010 From The Times David Charter and Graham Keeley http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7041984.ece

1ABa	His Dutch counterpart, Jack de Vries, chimed in on Twitter: "Madame Ashton was notable by her absence." He noted that Javier Solana, her predecessor, always found time for defence ministers' talks.	Baroness Ashton under fire for missing European defence summit February 26, 2010 From The Times David Charter and Graham Keeley http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7041984.ece
1ABa	"I am proud of the fact that women have been recognised as being as capable, as able to do the senior jobs in Europe as any man. I am very proud of being a woman and holding that role," she said. "Am I an ego on legs? No I am not. Do I want to be seen out there all the time saying everything? No, I don't. Judge me on what I do and I think you will be pleased and proud of me."	Profile: Baroness Ashton, EU's new foreign minister By Bruno Waterfield, Telegraph, 20 Nov 2009, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/6609910/Profile-Baroness-Ashton-EUs-new-foreign-minister.html
1ABa	"My job is to lead the development of European foreign policy ideas. But I recognize that on some issues, there will not be a consensus. There will be different views."	Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, <i>Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME</i>
1ABb	"It would have been nice to have had something a bit different," Ashton, who is British, told the BBC when asked if she was surprised at the degree of hostility she had faced. "When you have a new job that's built on three people's jobs ... it's inevitable that some people will be dissatisfied. I hope though, as they see what I do, that they will become more and more satisfied with what I'm doing," she said.	The Star Online (2010). EU's Ashton says she can win over critics. Retrieved March 15, 2010, from: http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2010/3/15/worldupdates/2010-03-15T081041Z_01_NOOTR_RTRMDNC_0_-469104-1&sec=Worldupdates .
1ABb	"It is often the case that you get a better result when you do things out of the limelight,"	Earth Times (2010) EU's new top diplomat denies inexperience at first hearing. 02 Dec 2009. Retrieved 26 Mar 2010 From: http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/297351,eus-new-top-diplomat-denies-inexperience-at-first-hearing--summary.html#ixzz0jHOqgbX

1ABb	"I should occupy this job because 27 heads of government invited me to. I may not be your choice, but I am theirs."	Earth Times (2010) EU's new top diplomat denies inexperience at first hearing. 02 Dec 2009. Retrieved 26 Mar 2010 From: http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/297351,eus-new-top-diplomat-denies-inexperience-at-first-hearing--summary.html#ixzz0jHOqgpbX
1BBb	For all her affable style and down-to-earth manner, colleagues and friends say there is a steely side to Lady Ashton. As a minister, she became notorious in Whitehall for the unhappiness of the civil servants assigned to her private office. According to one Government source, the staff turnover in Lady Ashton's team was comparable to that of the formidable and abrasive Baroness Vadera, Lady Ashton "went through private secretaries like socks," said one source. "A lot of civil servants just couldn't work for her."	Baroness Ashton: fast-talking and affable, James Kirkup, Telegraph, Published: 7:21PM GMT 20 Nov 2009
1BBb	She used her experience of fixing votes in the Lords to help the commission chairman out of difficulties with the Brussels parliament. Despite such qualities, Brown put her on the list of his candidates for high representative with no great enthusiasm.	Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up From The Sunday Times November 22, 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece
2 Ambitious Patern		
2Aa	Ashton rejected such claims in her inaugural press conference in Brussels last week, arguing that she had sufficient experience for EU leaders to unanimously back her and adding that she intended to show that she was the best person for the job.	EurActiv, Ashton faces accusations ahead of Parliament hearing, Published: 26 November 2009
2Aa	"I think for quite a few people they would say I am the best for the job and I was chosen because I am. I hope that my particular set of skills will show that I am the best choice."	Baroness Cathy's key role on world stage, Published Date: 24 November 2009 http://www.wigantoday.net/women/Baroness-Cathy39s-key-role-on-5853008.jp

2Aa	Catherine Ashton has travelled a long way from her chairmanship of Hertfordshire's health authority to her nomination as the European Union's first foreign minister.	Profile: Baroness Ashton, EU's new foreign minister By Bruno Waterfield, Telegraph, 20 Nov 2009, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/world-news/europe/eu/6609910/Profile-Baroness-Ashton-EUs-new-foreign-minister.html
2Aa	"My job is to move the policy on. Not just for the E.U., but other parts of the world. There is the old idea, which still resonates, that you support the ideals you hold. Not to impose, but to help with issues like nation building. To do that, we should be ambitious. There is no lack of ambition in the Foreign Affairs Council. I have to do it within the constraints of needing to build a consensus and with the resources we have. But there is no lack of ambition when we start to talk."	Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, <i>Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME</i>
2Ba	Speaking of the creation of her role and the setting up of the EEAS, she said: "This has never been done before, and I intend to make this work as best I can. Please work with me to help me get it right."	EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009.
3 Outgoing Patern		
3Aa	It was her relationship with Kellner that was the key stepping stone to her improbable rise. He introduced her to Tony and Cherie Blair, who became regular visitors to their home; in 1999 Blair gave her a seat in the Lords, getting her into parliament without the inconvenience of an election.	The Sunday Times (2010). <i>PROFILE: Catherine Ashton</i> . 14.03.2010. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7061021.ece
3Aa	It was a transfiguration that should have been familiar to a woman who keeps a life-size Dalek in her living room: one moment she was about to board her favourite means of transport, the next she was miraculously reincarnated as a powerful new entity.	The Sunday Times (2010). <i>PROFILE: Catherine Ashton</i> . 14.03.2010. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7061021.ece
3Aa	Little-known to the UK public, Ashton has a reputation in political circles of quiet efficiency, of being a consensus builder and a strong advocate of social rights.	Fleischmann-Hillard (2009). Biography Baroness Catherine Ashton. http://www.eu.fleishmaneuropa.com/downloads_a/ashton_biography.pdf
3Ba	Cathy Ashton's meteoric rise has surprised many, but not those who know her best. [...] Lady Ashton: Principled, charming.	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk , Friday 20 November 2009

3Ba	Fellow Tory MEP Robert Sturdy said: ""Baroness Ashton is a very nice person and was a good trade minister, but whether she is up to this new role remains to be seen. I am rather concerned it is a question of appointing people who are not qualified."	EU foreign minister: Lady Ashton to prove she is 'best person for the job', Telegraph, Published: 20 Nov 2009
3Bc	Lord McNally is one of her most excitable admirers: "She has a very seductive manner," he once told his peers. "Indeed, in my daydreams I sometimes think...of <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> , with me as Antony—but she already has an Antony."	Alex Barker, Financial Times Westminster Blog, Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know. November 13, 2009. http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/
3Bc	By contrast, Lord McNally, a Lib Dem peer, once described her as having "a very seductive manner" and she has good relations with many Tory peers. When Mr Brown telephoned her last year to tell her about her first Brussels post, he was surprised to find she was having lunch with Lord Strathclyde, the Tory leader in the Lords. [...] It was her manner and her deal-making that helped her to her greatest success in the Lords last year when she steered the Lisbon Treaty through the upper house.	James Kirkup, Telegraph, Baroness Ashton: fast-talking and affable, 20 Nov 2009.
4 Accomodating Patern		
4Aa	Geen afzonderlijk stralende sterren maar een gedeeld en gedempt licht, dat blijft de ambitie van de EU. De gezamenlijke aanpak, waarbij de belangen van grote/kleine, rijke/arme en oude/nieuwe lidstaten zorgvuldig worden afgewogen, wint het van het grote gebaar van een sterke man. Barroso, als Commissievoorzitter het boegbeeld van die aanpak, heeft er twee bondgenoten bij.	Marc Peeperkorn, De Volkskrant, Barroso wint Europese carrousel, 20 Nov 2009
4Aa	"Let's get out of the limelight first. Someone asked if I would be able to stop the traffic in Washington, but in fact my job is to keep traffic moving. I'm not interested in the limelight. I'm interested in what we can actually do."	Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, <i>Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME</i>
4Ba	Barroso betitelde Ashton en Van Rompuy als 'de best mogelijke kandidaten'. En hij heeft er niets voor hoeven doen, het waren de Europese regeringsleiders die de keuze maakten. Zij wensten geen geslepen mannetjesputters maar bescheiden compromiszoekers.	Marc Peeperkorn, De Volkskrant, Barroso wint Europese carrousel, 20 Nov 2009

4Ba	She planned to seek "to reach the highest common factor" among the 27 Member States, instead of the "lowest common denominator", she added.	EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009.
4Ab	In Ashton and van Rompuy, the EU has selected a pair who might "struggle even to hail a cab", according to one Brussels wag.	Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up From The Sunday Times November 22, 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece
4Ab	A science fiction fan who has a life-size Dalek in her living room, Ashton, from near Wigan, does not immediately radiate charisma.	Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up From The Sunday Times November 22, 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece
4Ab	Makerfield MP Ian McCartney, said: "She is a Wigan girl who has really made good. Cathy is quiet but effective in her job and she makes good decisions under pressure. "She is supportive of working people and has never forgotten her roots."	Baroness Cathy's key role on world stage, Published Date: 24 November 2009 http://www.wigantoday.net/women/Baroness-Cathy39s-key-role-on.5853008.jp
4Ab	"There is no lack of ambition in the Foreign Affairs Council. I have to do it within the constraints of needing to build a consensus and with the resources we have. But there is no lack of ambition when we start to talk."	Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, <i>Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME</i>
4Ac	"She will start travelling a lot more now and will cover as much ground as [Javier] Solana did. But she really felt it has been essential for her to learn the ropes in Brussels before heading abroad," her spokesman said. "She very badly and urgently needs a success story or she will lose this image war," a senior diplomat in Brussels said. "At first people were inclined to be kind and wait for her to come good. But she is keeping them waiting a little too long." [...] EU's first foreign affairs supremo is fighting an 'image war' which critics say she is losing.	French Sexism Blamed for attacks on baroness Ashton. Vanessa Mock, the Independent, 16 February 2010.

4Ac	The initial goodwill towards the 53-year-old appears to be ebbing amid her continuing lack of confidence during foreign policy briefings and ministerial meetings, when she is regularly eclipsed by her more seasoned colleagues. [...]Senior officials within her team complain that she "sticks to generalities".	French Sexism Blamed for attacks on baroness Ashton. Vanessa Mock, the Independent, 16 February 2010.
5A Aggrieved Patern		
5AAa	Rod Liddle, the acerbic columnist for this newspaper, pilloried her in The Spectator as having "the charisma of a caravan site on the Isle of Sheppey".	The Sunday Times (2010). <i>PROFILE: Catherine Ashton</i> . 14.03.2010. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article7061021.ece
5AAa	The plotting and bungles that led to an obscure British bureaucrat heading the EU's foreign service were even greater than first thought.	Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up From The Sunday Times November 22, 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece
5AAa	It told her she was to be the EU's first high representative for foreign affairs. The decision was such a shock that Ashton had been preparing to board the Eurostar to go home to London and had no acceptance speech prepared.	Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up From The Sunday Times November 22, 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece
5AAa	Of stel dat een politiek dier als David Miliband, de Britse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, die rol voor de EU was gaan vervullen in plaats van Ashton. Hij zou Barroso in het defensief kunnen drukken.	Marc Peepkorn, De Volkskrant, Barroso wint Europese carrousel, 20 Nov 2009
5AAa	Cathy Ashton is Europe's new foreign policy supremo. Even friends are stunned that someone so low key could have been elevated to such a high profile job.	Alex Barker, Financial Times Westminster Blog, Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know. November 13, 2009. http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/
5AAa	Ashton, whose appointment came as a surprise to some who said she did not have enough foreign experience, said she was "humbled" at being selected for the role. [...] "I think for quite a few people they would say that I am the best person for the job and I was chosen because I am, but I absolutely recognise there are a number of candidates around, all of whom would have been extremely good, extremely able.	Gay rights advocate Cathy Ashton is new EU foreign affairs chief, By Staff Writer, PinkNews.co.uk • November 20, 2009

5AAa	In the space of 13 months she has been catapulted from a relatively junior position in the British cabinet, as leader of the House of Lords, to represent foreign policy on behalf of half a billion EU citizens. "Cathy is a bit surprised and so is everyone else," her former boss Charles Clarke said.	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk, Friday 20 November 2009
5AAa	"In foreign policy, there are times when speaking with one voice — and it doesn't have to be mine — allows us to engage better on issues, and enables us to do things more effectively."	Time Magazine Mar. 08, 2010, <i>Europe's Foreign Minister Catherine Ashton spoke with TIME</i>
5AAb	"It smacks of amateurism, even incompetence," the paper wrote. France's Europe Minister Pierre Lellouche deplored the "current void" left by Ashton. "The world does not wait for us," he told French reporters. She also left herself open to further attacks over her decision to forgo an international aid conference for Haiti in Canada, leaving the media-savvy French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner to grab the limelight.	French Sexism Blamed for attacks on baroness Ashton. Vanessa Mock, the Independent, 16 February 2010.
5AAb	Ashton appeared surprised by her appointment on Thursday night, but she told Radio 4's Today programme : "Over the next few months and years I aim to show that I am the best person for the job. I hope that my particular set of skills will show that in the end I am the best choice."	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk, Friday 20 November 2009
5BAa	Some politicians would have taken offence, but Lady Ashton laughed, a reaction in keeping with her reputation for not taking herself too seriously. Although convention dictates she is referred to by her title, she insists on being referred to as Cathy. [...] Baroness Ashton of Upholland talks quickly, sometimes so quickly she can be hard to follow.	James Kirkup, Telegraph, Baroness Ashton: fast-talking and affable, 20 Nov 2009.
5B Contentious Patern		
5BBa	Daniel Korski, a defence analyst at the European Council on Foreign Relations, said: "She has so much on her plate that it is frankly impossible for her to go everywhere and see everyone." He added, however: "She has not really shown herself to be particularly interested in the defence portfolio."	Baroness Ashton under fire for missing European defence summit. David Charter & Graham Keely, February 26, 2010. From The Times http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7041984.ece
5BBa	Shami Chakrabarti, director of Liberty, who became friends with Ashton when she covered the human rights brief at the DCA, said: "People underestimate Cathy at their peril. She is not a great big bruiser. She is a persuader and a charmer. That is the secret of her success."	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk, Friday 20 November 2009
6 Conscientious Patern		

6Aa	In a statement, Barroso said he was "very satisfied with the profile of the commissioner," noting that "she was responsible for the successful passage of the Lisbon Treaty in the House of Lords". "She has very solid economic experience," said Barroso's spokesperson, Johannes Laitenberger, at the Commission's standard press briefing on Friday. "She has very solid legal experience, and she has dealt with aspects of trade issues before."	EurActiv, 6 Oct. 2008, Barroso embraces new UK commissioner.
6Aa	Baroness Ashton, the current EU Trade Commissioner, pledged to work with "quiet diplomacy" in her new role.	EU foreign policy chief to work with 'quiet diplomacy', BBC News, Thursday, 19 November 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8369568.stm .
6Aa	Lady Ashton said she believed in "quiet diplomacy" and "building confidence", and she wanted to "keep the traffic moving" rather than stopping it. She added however that when needed, "we must be out at the forefront with a loud voice".	EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009.
6Aa	Cathy Ashton's meteoric rise has surprised many, but not those who know her best.	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk , Friday 20 November 2009
6Aa	Friends say she will grow into the role, as she did when was appointed to the House of Lords in 1999 and slowly rose up the ministerial ranks.	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk , Friday 20 November 2009
6Aa	"I spent 76 hours of my life getting the Lisbon Treaty through the House of Lords. I would very much like to see it come into force," she said.	Profile: Baroness Ashton, EU's new foreign minister, Bruno Waterfield, <i>Telegraph</i> , 20 Nov 2009, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/6609910/Profile-Baroness-Ashton-EUs-new-foreign-minister.html
6Ab	She quit as Tony Blair's farming minister after four days in 2006. She refused to take on the job as a part-time adjunct to her post at the Department for Constitutional Affairs	Alex Barker, <i>Financial Times</i> Westminster Blog, Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know. November 13, 2009. http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/

6Ab	<p>"I didn't hear you say who you appointed, maybe because the name is difficult to pronounce," another reporter asks later. "His name is Vygaudas Usackas," Ashton shoots back, giving the Lithuanian ex-foreign minister's name a very anglophone rendering. "Vygaudas Usackas," a visibly squirming EU Development Commissioner Andris Piebalgs -- a Latvian -- makes phonetic amends, leaning over from his seat next to Ashton. "Usackas," repeats Ashton, refusing to admit defeat. "You see, because I don't have the accent properly." Not liking the line of questioning Ashton then briefly goes off on a tangent, explaining he was the best man for the job. Piebalgs, however, grimly hangs on to Baltic pride, his dark mutterings not letting Ashton off the hook. "How do I say it properly with the wonderful accent?" Ashton says, finally prods Piebalgs. "Vygaudas Usackas." "Usackas," Ashton repeats, now correctly, clenching her hands for emphasis. " Usackas."</p>	<p>Catherine Ashton's Teething Problems , taken February 24, 2010 from: http://www.speroforum.com/a/27941/Catherine-Ashtons-Teething-Problems</p>
6Ba	<p>However, her friends say she has considerable quiet charm. "She has achieved more in one year than Peter Mandelson did in four," said one. "He was too abrasive, whereas Cathy is patient and good at building alliances. It is the style of politics that works in Brussels." Or as Ashton herself put it in a waspish interview last year: "Everyone has their own style. Peter did a fantastic job in my view, but I bring a different style. I don't know any oligarchs. I don't think I've ever been on anyone's yacht."</p>	<p>Baroness Ashton under fire for missing European defence summit. David Charter & Graham Keely, February 26, 2010. From The Times http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article7041984.ece</p>
6Ba	<p>One ally of Mandelson said: "Cathy is good at building relationships, but the question is whether she would bring enough gravitas."</p>	<p>Baroness Ashton: EU couldn't make it up From The Sunday Times November 22, 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6927033.ece</p>
6Ba	<p>She had been astute enough to agree a position with Gordon Brown beforehand, so when the Irish result interrupted a Lords debate on Europe, she was able to rise to her feet immediately and give the treaty her full backing.</p>	<p>Alex Barker, Financial Times Westminster Blog, Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know. November 13, 2009. http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/</p>

6Ba	Lord Kinnock, the former Labour leader and EU commissioner, said that the EU leaders had made "good choices". "What they have gone for with the Belgian Prime Minister Rompuy and with Cathy Ashton is high quality, functional effectiveness, not flamboyance," he told Today.	Telegraph (2009). <i>EU foreign minister: Lady Ashton to prove she is 'best person for the job'</i> . Telegraph, 20 Nov 2009.
6Ba	Clarke, who was her boss as education secretary and who worked with her in his time as home secretary when she was a minister in the old Department for Constitutional Affairs, is full of praise. "I have seen Cathy in action. I have great respect for her. She is excellent at building good relations with people and a good negotiator," he said.	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk, Friday 20 November 2009
6Ca	While her appointment will be seen as underwhelming in some quarters and not the heavyweight figure many hoped for the role, Baroness Ashton is used to shaking off criticism and getting on with the job. [...] But Baroness Ashton is widely regarded to have proved a success, showing quiet efficiency and an ability to build consensus on key issues.	Profile: EU foreign minister Baroness Ashton, BBC News, Thursday, 19 November 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8369392.stm .
6Ca	Catherine Ashton indicated that it was too soon since her appointment for her present a considered view.	EU's new High Representative Catherine Ashton Says That She Would Help Europe "Punch Its Weight" Politically. Brussels: European Commission, 3 December 2009.
7 Reticent Patern		
7Aa	She shuns some accoutrements of the high life ("I don't know any oligarchs. I don't think I've ever been on anyone's yacht.") but she is not known to compromise on restaurants in Brussels	Alex Barker, Financial Times Westminster Blog, Cathy Ashton: 10 things to know. November 13, 2009. http://blogs.ft.com/westminster/2009/11/cathy-ashton-10-things-you-may-not-need-to-know/
7Aa	This small act was typical of Ashton, 56, who is described by friends as straightforward, practical and a natural homemaker. Unlike Mandelson, who became a major figure throughout the EU and something of a catch on the Brussels dinner and cocktail party circuit, Ashton maintains a lower profile and is often spotted gossiping with friends in the corners of parties.	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk, Friday 20 November 2009
8 Retiring Patern		

8Aa	"Cathy spreads calm," her friend the former Europe minister Denis MacShane said. "She [...] Friends say Ashton is grounded because she has never forgotten her Lancashire roots. is oil on troubled water. She is practical, businesslike and liked by everybody. I have never heard a nasty word said about her. That is rare in politics."	Nicholas Watt, Lady Ashton: Principled, charming ... or just plain lucky, guardian.co.uk, Friday 20 November 2009
8Aa	EPP group chairman Joseph Daul MEP [...] also attacked High Representative for Foreign Affairs Catherine Ashton (UK, Labour), for allegedly taking days off over the weekend despite the dramatic situation in Haiti.	EurActiv, Jeleva pull-out upsets Barroso II plans, Published: 20 January 2010
9 Distrusting Patern		
10 Erratic Patern		

Coded sources MIDC-profile José Manuel Barroso

Code	Excerpt	Source
1A Dominant Patern		
1AAa	Developed countries like the United States and EU members need to put "numbers on the table" for emission cuts and funding to help developing countries, he said. "Of course, we are not going to have a fully-fledged binding treaty - Kyoto-type - by Copenhagen," European Commission President José Manuel Barroso told reporters before meeting with US President Barack Obama. "There is no time for that."	EurActiv. <i>Barroso: Forget climate treaty, aim for pact in Copenhagen</i> . Published: 04 November 2009
1AAa	Turkey has made consistent progress over time [on meeting EU standards], President Barroso said after his meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan yesterday (10 April). But he stressed that more and faster reforms were needed.	EurActiv. <i>Barroso pushes Turkey on reforms</i> . Published: 11 April 2008
1AAa	"In five years' time, I want this Commission to have been instrumental in leading Europe out of the economic crisis towards a competitive economy that provides sustainable growth," Barroso told a news conference.	EurActiv. <i>Barroso unveils new EU Commission line-up</i> . Published: 27 November 2009
1AAb	There is not a change in my thinking.	European Voice (2009). <i>Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview</i> . 02.04.2009.
1AAb	I don't agree with the idea that corresponds to a change in my position.	European Voice. <i>Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview</i> . 02.04.2009.
1AAb	However, a Portuguese MEP and Socialist, Ana Gomes, argues that Mr Barroso "has lots of ability, but no strong convictions on anything, and he's driven not by money, but by power".	BBC News, 2009, <i>Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso</i> Wednesday, 16 September 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8139205.stm ,
1AAb	Volgens critici zocht Barroso de afgelopen jaren zelden de confrontatie met lidstaten. Maar binnen de Europese Commissie wordt hij niet gezien als slap of makkelijk. Integendeel. Hij is 'presidentiël' dan zijn voorgangers, klinkt het, en hij krijgt meestal zijn zin.	NRC Handelsblad, 19 July 2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i>
1BAa	Barroso daarentegen zwaait al vijf jaar de scepter in het Berlaymontgebouw (de zetel van de Commissie) en kent als geen ander de wegen naar de macht, de hoofdsteden en het geld.	De Volkskrant, <i>Barroso wint Europese carrousel</i> . Marc Peeperkorn. 20 November 2009.
1BAa	President Barroso has a direct interest in pre-empting the establishment of this new position by demonstrating that he himself, and the new College, are trustworthy interlocutors. (p. 8)	Grevi, G. (2004). <i>The Barroso Commission: Unfinished Business?</i> EPC Issue Paper No. 17.
1BAa	'Wij zijn zeer ambitieus', zei Van Rompuy over zichzelf en de regeringsleiders. Zijn voornaamste slachtoffer – voorzitter José Manuel Barroso van de Europese Commissie – beaamde het met een gezicht als een oorworm.	De Volkskrant, <i>EU-president trekt macht naar zich toe</i> . Marc Peeperkorn, 11 February 2010.
1BAa	Sensitive issues and proposals are dealt with in advance and on a bilateral basis by the President and the relevant Commissioner(s), and then submitted for collective approval. This may well reflect President Barroso's own leadership style.	Missiroli, A. (2006). <i>The European Commission at 27: between reshuffle and reform</i> . EPC policy Brief November 2006. P. 3.
1BAb	In deciding how to incorporate the two new Commissioners in his team, President Barroso had two main options. He plumped for the one that was easiest to achieve: namely, a minor reshuffle. Its success depended on the readiness of those Commissioners who would lose part of their portfolios to make room for the newcomers to put a brave face on this, and this required skilful management by the President. Mission accomplished. The other option would have been to	EPC policy Brief November 2006. <i>The European Commission at 27: between reshuffle and reform</i> . Antonio Missiroli. P. 2.

	<p>carry out a major reshuffle of the entire College: the Barroso Commission has reached 'mid-term' and the President could have seized this unique opportunity to assert his authority inside and outside the College, set a precedent for the future, and prepare his team for the second and conclusive part of their term of office. Mission impossible?</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Mr Barroso chose instead to limit the reshuffle to a minimum, probably at least in part to avoid a broader re-evaluation of the whole College by the Parliament, possibly leading up to a second vote of confidence.</p>	
1BAb	<p>Europa's eerste president wil zijn stempel drukken op de Unie. Tot chagrijn van Commissievoorzitter Barroso.</p>	<p>De Volkskrant, <i>EU-president trekt macht naar zich toe</i>. Marc Peeperkorn, 11 February 2010.</p>
1B Daunting Patern		
1ABa	<p>Zo rondde Barroso zijn laatste tussenkomst voor de verzamelde liberale fractie af met een dapper 'als het nodig is, zal ik tegen de lidstaten opstaan'.</p>	<p>De Standaard (2009). <i>De wereld volgens Barroso</i>. IN EUROPA PAUL GOOSSENS, 12 September 2009.</p>
1ABa	<p>„Als iemand denkt dat de besluitvorming complex is in de EU, zeg ik: ja, dat is zo. We zijn een democratische organisatie, we kunnen niets opdringen aan een EU-lidstaat.”</p> <p>„Natuurlijk moeten wij rekening houden met de mening van alle lidstaten, of ze nu klein of groot zijn, rijk of minder rijk, of ze al lang bij de EU horen of nog maar kort. Dat is een geweldig voorbeeld voor de rest van de wereld. Als de rest van dit wereld hetzelfde zou doen, zou die wereld veel aangenamer worden.”</p>	<p>De Koning, P. (2008). <i>Barroso geeft in Rusland lesje democratie</i>. NRC Handelsblad, 27 June 2008.</p>
1BBa	<p>By supporting Bulgaria's Rumiana Jeleva, the most controversial of the commissioners-designate, European Commission President José Manuel Barroso today (15 January) put himself on a collision course with the European Parliament's socialists and liberals, who loudly called for her replacement.</p> <p>After lengthy and secretive telephone diplomacy following the questionable performance of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Jeleva (EurActiv 13/01/10), who was recently appointed vice-president of the European People's Party, Barroso finally announced his decision to support her.</p>	<p>Euractiv, <i>Barroso on collision course over Jeleva</i>. Published: 18 January 2010</p>
1BBa	<p>However, by backing Jeleva, Barroso is perfectly aware that he will face the fury of the Socialists and Democrats (S&D) group, which asked for the withdrawal of the Bulgarian nominee.</p>	<p>Euractiv, <i>Barroso on collision course over Jeleva</i>. Published: 18 January 2010</p>
1EBa	<p>Sometimes in the political debate people try to put one thing against another. It is perfectly possible to be as I am: very committed to open economies with a high degree of social inclusion with high level of environmental protection.</p>	<p>European Voice (2009). <i>Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis</i>: Interview. 02.04.2009.</p>
1ABb	<p>There was a big risk that the funding would not be approved but Barroso made so much public noise about it that he would have lost face if it had not been approved. He went against a sword on this one.</p>	<p>European Voice (2009). <i>Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis</i>: Interview. 02.04.2009.</p>
1ABb	<p>José Manuel Barroso werd geboren op 23 maart 1956. Hij was net achttien toen in Portugal de Anjerrevolutie uitbrak die een einde maakte aan de dictatuur in het land. In een eerder interview vertelde hij hoe hij in 1975 werd opgepakt door militairen, nadat hij was betrapt op het verspreiden van pamfletten. Portugal bevond zich op dat moment nog in een overgangsfase tussen dictatuur en democratie. Militairen namen Barroso mee in een jeep. Hij keek hen aan en zei: „Ik denk niet dat jullie de moed hebben om iemand in de rug te</p>	<p>NRC Handelsblad, (2008). 'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'. 19 July 2008.</p>

	schieten." Barroso sprong naar buiten. De soldaten schoten niet.	
1EBb	Mr Barroso long ago abandoned left-wing politics in favour of economic liberalism and free trade. But he resents being labelled a "liberal", insisting that he is "a centrist reformer".	BBC News (2009). <i>Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso</i> . Wednesday, 16 September 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8139205.stm .
1EBb	<i>EV: Has your thinking changed over five year term. You were labelled an intergovernmentalist?</i> JMB: Please make a distinction between what is the reality and the caricature. When I came to Brussels, for certain reasons there was a sort of portrait robot of me that did not correspond to reality. I was always for the Community method when I was foreign minister of Portugal. I have written about it, saying the Commission is the central institution in the European process. I'm very Community-oriented. That's why I accepted this great challenge of being Commission president over being Portuguese prime minister.	European Voice (2009). <i>Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview</i> . 02.04.2009.
1ABc	European Commission chief Jose Manuel Barroso has dismissed allegations of misconduct over a holiday on a Greek billionaire's yacht as "absurd".	BBC News (2005). <i>Barroso rebuffs yacht question</i> . Wednesday, 25 May, 2005. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4578261.stm
2 Ambitious Patern		
2Aa	Ik ben zelf premier geweest van een land, dus ik begrijp dat politici in eerste instantie aandacht moeten geven aan nationale zorgen.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
2Aa	"I don't want a Commission with a lame duck president," Barroso said. "If you are against me, vote against me."	EurActiv, <i>Liberals and Greens disagree on Barroso</i> . Published: 10 September 2009.
2Aa	This is the first time we have united around values of peace freedom and solidarity. The simple fact of adapting Europe to this new context was a great achievement of the mandate of this Commission and I'm very proud of it.	European Voice (2009). <i>Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview</i> . 02.04.2009.
2Aa	Donderdag moest Barroso bij de fracties aan de slag die hem een praatjesmaker, een Atlantische poedel, een vurige minnaar van de vrije markt of een combinatie van dit alles vinden.	De Standaard (2009). <i>De wereld volgens Barroso</i> . <i>IN EUROPA PAUL GOOSSENS</i> , 12 September 2009.
2Ba	Barroso moest door het stof en dat deed hij met zwier, op slappe koffie en bronwater.	De Standaard (2009). <i>De wereld volgens Barroso</i> . <i>IN EUROPA PAUL GOOSSENS</i> , 12 September 2009.
2Ba	Spencer said Barroso had spent the last two years of his first mandate preparing for competition with the first permanent Council president. However, with the post being taken by former Belgian Prime Minister Herman Van Rompuy, Spencer said he expected Barroso to find a "comfortable" <i>modus vivendi</i> with him, as the two are "quite similar people in some ways".	EurActiv, <i>'Imperial' Barroso urged to have 'vision' for second mandate</i> . Published: 11 February 2010.
2Da	José Manuel Barroso laat in het bijzijn van journalisten nooit blijken dat hij boos is. Als je hem vraagt of hij zich ergens zorgen over maakt of zich ergens aan ergert, dan denkt hij eerst heel even na. „Kijk”, begint hij dan. Of: „luister”. En dan volgt een lang antwoord waaruit blijkt dat hij zich juist geen zorgen maakt, of waarom hij niet boos is.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
2Da	In Brussel wordt wel gezegd dat Barroso gemaakt is van teflon. Alles lijkt van hem af te glijden.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
2Ea	Hij weet nog hoe de revolutie begon, vertelt hij nu in Japan. „Ik was bezig aan het eerste jaar van mijn rechtenstudie, aan de universiteit van Lissabon. Meestal studeerde ik 's avonds laat. Op een avond luisterde ik naar de radio. De normale	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .

	<p>muziek veranderde. Ik dacht: wat is er aan de hand? Toen hoorde ik een stem die zei: dit is een beweging van de gewapende krachten, dit is democratisch, we maken een einde aan de dictatuur – en dat soort dingen. Ik maakte mijn vader wakker en zei: dit is een revolutie. Onmiddellijk ging ik de straat op.</p> <p>„Ik denk dat ik bevoorrecht was dat ik dat heb meegemaakt. Het was het belangrijkste moment in mijn publieke leven. Het heeft me ervan doordrongen hoe belangrijk politiek is. Omdat politiek het lot van een land volledig kan veranderen. Van miljoenen mensen, op één moment. Het was de langstdurende dictatuur in Europa – 48 jaar – en die werd zomaar beëindigd. Dat was belangrijk voor mijn persoonlijke ontwikkeling. Voor het belang dat ik hecht aan politiek. Sommige mensen zijn cynisch over politici. Ze zeggen dat ‘ze’ allemaal hetzelfde zijn. Dat is niet waar! Politiek kan een verschil maken.”</p>	
2Ea	„Kijk, zoals je ziet, geniet ik van wat ik wat doe. Ik voel me vereerd en bevoorrecht.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>‘Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd’.</i>
2Ea	Mensen zeggen dat we bureaucraten zijn. Ik ben geen bureaucraat, of een technocraat, maar een democraat. Ik zal in juni of juli, wanneer de beslissing moet worden genomen, zien of de omstandigheden goed zijn om door te gaan. En of de Europeanen me willen.”	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>‘Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd’.</i>
2Ab	Asked to account for his holiday aboard Spiros Latsis's 51ft yacht last August, Mr Barroso described the motion as "unfair, unjustified, illegitimate and absurd". He added: "We never dealt with any commercial subjects at all. There was no link between the cruise and my work."	Castle, S. (2005). <i>Barroso survives confidence debate over free holiday with Greek tycoon</i> . Independent 26 May 2005: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/barroso-survives-confidence-debate-over-free-holiday-with-greek-tycoon-492101.html
2Ab	An "imperial" Barroso II is emerging in a strong position to lead the EU executive, but he lacks the "heroism" or visionary perspective of a predecessor like Jacques Delors, said Spencer, a former Conservative MEP.	EurActiv, <i>'Imperial' Barroso urged to have 'vision' for second mandate</i> . Published: 11 February 2010.
2Ab	“Frankly I think he has put more effort into safeguarding his own job than in fighting for the jobs of European citizens. “Barroso's response to the recession is too little, too late. His main concern seems to not to provide leadership but to avoid criticism from any member state government.” - <i>Poul Nyrup Rasmussen</i>	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
2Ab	He was "very radical, hard-working and ambitious" as a left-wing student in the 1970s, she told the BBC's Gaelle Legroux.	BBC News (2009). <i>Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso</i> . Wednesday, 16 September 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8139205.stm .
2Ab	I am very proud that this commission was most ambitious ever on this policy of climate change which is still most advanced in the world.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
2Bb	People have been grumbling over the last year or so that Barroso's presidency of the European Commission has been too much influenced by hope of a second term.	EurActiv, <i>Barroso on the spot before European Council nomination</i> . Published: 17 June 2009
2Bb	Traditional collegiate policy-making is also on the wane due, in part, to the leadership style of President José Manuel Barroso. Personalities matter and by cultivating bilateral ties with individual Commissioners, strengthening the role of the Secretariat-General, shaping ever-more draft legislation by written procedure and avoiding votes in the College, President	Missiroli, A. (2009). <i>The Next European Commission: tips for the President-elect</i> . EPC Policy Brief, April 2009. P. 1.

	Barroso has contributed to centralising decisions and reinforcing his own role – thus paving the way for a new form of ‘presidentialisation’.	
2Ac	"You're shooting at the Commission because it's easier. You're shooting at the wrong target," Barroso said.	EurActiv, <i>Liberals and Greens disagree on Barroso</i> . Published: 10 September 2009.
G NAR	Both Barroso and Spencer physically participated in the 'Carnation Revolution', during which time Barroso was a young Maoist activist and Spencer took part in political events in Portugal, organised by European conservative youth movements.	EurActiv, <i>'Imperial' Barroso urged to have 'vision' for second mandate</i> . Published: 11 February 2010.
3 Outgoing Patern		
3Aa	„Ik geniet van wat ik doe”, zegt de Portugees.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
3Aa	"The true agenda of this sort of attack is to undermine the credibility of the Union's institutions and its work of integration, replacing the debate on ideas with the fabrication of alleged scandals," Mr Barroso said.	BBC News (2005). <i>Barroso rebuffs yacht question</i> . Wednesday, 25 May, 2005. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4578261.stm
3Ba	"Bilder von der Begrüßung durch EU- Kommissionspräsident José Manuel Barroso sehen aus, als würden die beiden tanzen, sich gegenseitig tief in die Augen schauend und seelig lächelnd"	Duthel, H. (2009). <i>Angela Merkel - Die Politikerin Die Aus Der Kalte Kam</i> . Berlin: Lulu. p. 73.
3Ba	Mr Barroso acknowledged spending time on board the yacht owned by his friend Mr Latsis, but argued it was his right to have holidays with friends and family.	BBC News (2005). <i>Barroso rebuffs yacht question</i> . Wednesday, 25 May, 2005. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4578261.stm
3Ba	Sarkozy then reiterated his personal liking for Barroso. "You know I like Mr Barroso a lot, I have enjoyed working with him [during the French Presidency], I have trust in him and I have trust in the Commission. There you go. That way, it is clear."	EurActiv, <i>Sarkozy vague on Barroso's EU future</i> . Published: 03 March 2009
3Ba	Die ene vraag die ik in het vliegtuig kon stellen ging over de Anjerrevolutie in Portugal. Dat vond hij leuk. Hij stelde voor toch verder te praten op het vliegveld.	NRC Handelsblad, 21 July 2008, <i>Een interview met Barroso</i> .
4 Accomodating Patern		
4Aa	European Commission President José Manuel Barroso welcomed the arrival of Baroness Ashton, who was nominated on Friday (3 October) to replace Peter Mandelson at the trade portfolio. [...] In a statement, Barroso said he was "very satisfied with the profile of the commissioner," noting that "she was responsible for the successful passage of the Lisbon Treaty in the House of Lords".	Euractiv. <i>Barroso embraces new UK commissioner</i> . Published: 06 October 2008
4Aa	Barroso credited Obama with improving the international mood surrounding climate negotiations by placing much more importance on the issue than his predecessor, George W. Bush.	EurActiv. <i>Barroso: Forget climate treaty, aim for pact in Copenhagen</i> . Published: 04 November 2009
4Aa	'Kleurloze Barroso zoekt overal steun en kiest nergens'	De Standaard (2009). <i>De wereld volgens Barroso</i> . IN EUROPA PAUL GOOSSENS, 12 September 2009.
4Aa	President Barroso, as well as most of the prospective members of the College, seem reluctant to tackle Member States head on, in particular as national governments enter the delicate stage of ratification of the Constitutional Treaty.	Grevi, G. (2004). <i>The Barroso Commission: Unfinished Business?</i> EPC Issue Paper No. 17. p.8.
4Aa	"Sure he does not move a finger before asking the member states. Why do you think he was given this job? And why do you think he will be reappointed?"	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
4Aa	Barroso was de kandidaat tegen wie niemand bezwaar had.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008.

	Erg hoog waren de verwachtingen niet. Hij leek alles in zich te hebben om een voorzitter te worden zoals regeringsleiders die graag zien: niet te sterk. En dus: niet te lastig.	<i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'.</i>
4Ba	There will always be criticisms. Some criticisms are welcome. They help us to stay focused.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
4Ba	As soon as we saw conditions to come with initiatives in this area we put them forward. Let's see now if people support them. I hope that now we have conditions to achieve some consensus in these areas.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
4Ab	He was true to his own slogan, 'don't upset anybody, in particular no big member state'."	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
4Ab	It also reminds everyone that he is a consensus-builder - a key element in his re-election as Commission president.	BBC News (2009). <i>Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso</i> . Wednesday, 16 September 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8139205.stm .
4Ab	Like any modern father – if one of my children is sick, I am ready to drop everything and focus on him until he is back to health. That is normal and responsible. But that does not mean I love the others any less!"	Euractiv, 2004-2009 : <i>Evaluation Barroso Commission</i> . 01 September 2009
4Ac	"The criticism that Mr Barroso is unwilling to be robust with big governments is sometimes justified," Mr Grant says.	BBC News (2009). <i>Profile: EU Commission chief Barroso</i> . Wednesday, 16 September 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8139205.stm .
4Ac	Advocates of deeper EU integration also accuse him of lacking the backbone to stand up to major member states such as France, Germany and Britain.	DPA, PROFILE: <i>Jose Manuel Barroso, the EU's Mister Compromise</i> . 09.06.2009. http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/how/272434,profile-jose-manuel-barroso-the-eus-mister-compromise.html#ixzz0h0nT2KiD .
4Ac	Bij Barroso haalt de filiaalhouder het al vijf jaar op de politieke leider en beterschap is niet in zicht. Dat de man geen held is, mag niemand hem kwalijk nemen. Dat het hem aan moed en lef ontbreekt des te meer. Hij is als de dood voor controverses.	De Standaard (2009). <i>De wereld volgens Barroso</i> . IN <i>EUROPA PAUL GOOSSENS</i> , 12 September 2009.
4Bc	Jose Manuel Barroso was the man that nobody disliked enough to reject as the head of the European Commission	DPA, PROFILE: <i>Jose Manuel Barroso, the EU's Mister Compromise</i> . 09.06.2009. http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/how/272434,profile-jose-manuel-barroso-the-eus-mister-compromise.html#ixzz0h0nT2KiD .
4Cc	Terwijl Detroit en Berlijn met de knikkers speelden, keken de bevoegde Duitse commissaris Günther Verheugen en voorzitter Barroso de andere kant uit. Ze schitterden door irrelevantie en schuldig verzuim.	De Standaard (2009). <i>De wereld volgens Barroso</i> . IN <i>EUROPA PAUL GOOSSENS</i> , 12 September 2009.
4Fc	Today, Barroso seems to use the same technique. He does not believe that his role is to go out and fight now and not to pre-empt the result of the negotiations.	EurActiv. <i>Is Barroso dodging the climate fight?</i> Published: 09 December 2009.
4Fc	Let us just hope, then, that the EU leaders who will meet in Brussels this week will simply disregard the self-defeating attitude of Barroso, which confirms once again his (until now for him) very convenient tendency never to fight battles he could lose."	EurActiv. <i>Is Barroso dodging the climate fight?</i> Published: 09 December 2009.
5A Aggrieved Patern		

5AAa	It was a commission proposal. I'm proud of the Commission response.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
5AAa	Minuten eerder, bij aankomst op de luchthaven, is er opwinding in het gevolg van Barroso. Japanse veiligheidsfunctionarissen staan erop dat hij – als een gewone reiziger – door een veiligheidspoortje loopt. Dat is in strijd met het protocol. „Hij hoeft dit niet te doen”, zegt een van zijn medewerkers. Die noemen hem niet Barroso of José maar <i>the President of le Président</i> . Met een hoofdletter. Zelf lijkt Barroso zich niet druk te maken. Hij leegt z'n zakken en loopt rustig door het poortje, terwijl zijn medewerkers verder ruziën met de Japanners.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
5B Contentious Patern		
6 Conscientious Patern		
6Aa	De gezamenlijke aanpak, waarbij de belangen van grote/kleine, rijke/arme en oude/nieuwe lidstaten zorgvuldig worden afgewogen, wint het van het grote gebaar van een sterke man. Barroso, als Commissievoorzitter het boegbeeld van die aanpak, heeft er twee bondgenoten bij.	De Volkskrant, <i>Barroso wint Europese carrousel</i> . Marc Peeperkorn. 20 November 2009.
6Aa	Barroso als hoeder van het gezamenlijke Europese belang	De Volkskrant, <i>Barroso wint Europese carrousel</i> . Marc Peeperkorn. 20 November 2009.
6Aa	„We moeten het ratificatieproces afmaken. Dat is een basisprincipe: als je een verdrag tekent, dan verplicht je jezelf ertoe te proberen ervoor te zorgen dat het geratificeerd wordt. De Ierse regering heeft dat geprobeerd, en dat is niet gelukt. Maar de andere regeringen hebben niet alleen het recht, ze hebben ook de plicht om het ratificatieproces af te ronden. Uiteindelijk, wanneer dit proces is afgerond, zullen we de kwestie meer in detail bespreken met onze Ierse partners. Om te zien of er een uitweg is.”	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
6Aa	This is the line I try to follow. I like very much a great German author called Max Weber. I subscribe to what he says about the ethics of responsibility. In five years I could have announced some measures to get some applause but I don't believe they were appropriate, so I have not done that. I've tried always to follow what I believe what is the strategic interest of Europe with a sense of responsibility. This is the most important thing about leadership, not to give up to populism, not to do what us is easy but to do what you believe. This is important in whatever mandate to keep this strategic interest with a sense of responsibility.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
6Aa	“He is a very effective manager. He is structured, well organized, well briefed.”	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
6Aa	Elke ochtend staat <u>José Manuel Barroso</u> om vijf uur op. Hij heeft dan vijf uur geslapen, zegt hij, of maximaal zes.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
6Aa	Vóór de uitbreiding van de EU met twaalf nieuwe lidstaten – in 2004 en 2007 – werd gevreesd dat het heel moeilijk zou worden om nog besluiten te nemen. Die voorspelling is niet uitgekomen. De Europese Commissie blijkt met 27 leden – voor iedere lidstaat één – best te functioneren. Sterker, de wekelijkse vergaderingen zijn efficiënter geworden. Een belangrijke verklaring daarvoor is: Barroso. Hij zorgt ervoor dat beslissingen vaak al in kleine kring zijn genomen voordat de vergadering begint.	NRC Handelsblad, 19.07.2008. <i>'Zonder Europa zijn we gedoemd'</i> .
6Aa	<i>Do you feel any responsibility for the three no votes on treaty during your presidency of the Commission?</i> JMB: There have also been yes votes. I take the responsibility	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.

	for what I do. Ratification of the treaty is a national responsibility.	
6Ca	I don't like to engage in anticipatory scenarios of what can go wrong because I don't think this speculation is helpful.	Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview 02.04.2009 / 00:00 CET A full transcript of European Voice's Interview with <u>José Manuel Barroso</u> .
6Ca	I'm focused on the current situation. This is my first priority. I still have a lot of work to do in this mandate on the crisis including its social consequences.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
6Ab	Caution, not vision, was the name of the game. Undoubtedly, careful judgement of the political constraints on the scope of President Barroso's initiative and that of his colleagues will be crucial to their eventual success. (p. 9)	Grevi, G. (2004). <i>The Barroso Commission: Unfinished Business?</i> EPC Issue Paper No. 17.
6Ab	hij formuleert goed, maar lang. Hij vertelt vaak ongeveer hetzelfde en nooit iets persoonlijks.	<i>NRC Handelsblad</i> , 21 July 2008, <i>Een interview met Barroso</i> .
7 Reticent Patern		
7Aa	In 2004, it was more of a 'creeping' politicisation than an open and explicit one – and this may have contributed to the Barroso Commission's image in some segments of European public opinion as an unelected administration with an illegitimate 'liberal' agenda. It is perhaps for this reason that President Barroso has tried to correct this image recently and project a more consensual agenda	EPC Policy Brief, The Next European Commission: tips for the President-elect. Antonio Missiroli, April 2009. P. 3
7Aa	President Barroso got off to a good start last summer, declaring that the achievement of the Lisbon goals will be the 'northern star' of his crew. That was smart for two reasons. Firstly, because it is essential to make real progress on the Lisbon Agenda. Secondly, because making Lisbon the key priority is harmless: few would disagree. Predictably, the devil is in the details. (p. 9-10)	Grevi, G. (2004). <i>The Barroso Commission: Unfinished Business?</i> EPC Issue Paper No. 17.
7Aa	I don't want to elaborate on negative scenarios.	European Voice (2009). Barroso denies reacting slowly to economic crisis: Interview. 02.04.2009.
8 Retiring Patern		
8Aa	Initially, the Commission president refused to answer a parliamentary question on his holiday arrangements from Mr Farage but he later confirmed a German newspaper story about the holiday.	Castle, S. (2005). <i>Barroso survives confidence debate over free holiday with Greek tycoon</i> . Independent 26 May 2005: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/barroso-survives-confidence-debate-over-free-holiday-with-greek-tycoon-492101.html
9 Distrusting Patern		
9Ad	On the first question, Barroso avoided taking any risks, saying that the Commission must rely on the statements of the individuals concerned.	Euractiv. <i>Barroso on collision course over Jeleva</i> . Published: 18 January 2010.
9Ae	On the second question, Barroso said that Jeleva, who has twice been elected as an MEP and is currently her country's foreign minister, "has the necessary general competence and international experience, and shows the necessary commitment, to exercise her functions" as commissioner responsible for humanitarian aid and crisis response. Here also, the Commission president took no risks, as he did not refer to her hearing.	Euractiv. <i>Barroso on collision course over Jeleva</i> . Published: 18 January 2010.

9Ae	<p>"Both men are [among] Commission President Barroso's top lieutenants and they are seen as safe pairs of hands," an EU diplomat said.</p> <p>"In making these appointments, Barroso keeps tight control on two top jobs and keeps Paris, Berlin and London's hands off them."</p>	<p>EurActiv. <i>Barroso unveils new EU Commission line-up</i>. Published: 27 November 2009.</p>
10 Erratic Patern		