

PALGRAVE STUDIES IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP SERIES

Leadership and Uncertainty Management in Politics

Leaders, Followers and Constraints
in Western Democracies

Edited by Agnès Alexandre-Collier
and François De Chantal



Leadership and Uncertainty Management in Politics:
Leaders, Followers and Constraints in Western
Democracies

Palgrave Studies in Political Leadership

Series editors:

LUDGER HELMS, Professor of Political Science and Chair of Comparative Politics, University of Innsbruck, Austria

ROBERT ELGIE, Paddy Moriarty Professor of Government and International Studies, Dublin City University, Republic of Ireland

TAKASHI INOUCHI, Professor Emeritus, University of Tokyo and President, University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan

GILLIAN PEELE, Fellow and Tutor in Politics, Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford, UK

BERT A. ROCKMAN, Professor and Head of Department, Department of Political Science, Purdue University, USA

Editorial Advisory Board:

BARBARA KELLERMAN, James MacGregor Burns Lecturer in Leadership, Center for Public Leadership, Kennedy School, Harvard University, USA

ANTHONY KING, Essex County Council Millennium Professor of British Government, University of Essex, UK

R.A.W. RHODES, Professor of Government, Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, University of Southampton

Palgrave Studies in Political Leadership seeks to gather some of the best work on political leadership broadly defined, stretching from classic areas such as executive, legislative and party leadership to understudied manifestations of political leadership beyond the state. Edited by an international board of distinguished leadership scholars from the United States, Europe and Asia, the series publishes cutting-edge research that reaches out to a global readership.

Titles include:

Mark Bennister

PRIME MINISTERS IN POWER

Political Leadership in Britain and Australia

Donatella Campus

WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS AND THE MEDIA

Dennis Grube

PRIME MINISTERS AND RHETORICAL GOVERNANCE

Ludger Helms (*editor*)

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Kevin Theakston and Jouke de Vries (*editors*)

FORMER LEADERS IN MODERN DEMOCRACIES

Political Sunsets

Palgrave Studies in Political Leadership series

Series Standing Order ISBN 978-1-137-02484-8 (hardback) and

ISBN 978-1-137-02485-5 (paperback)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBNs quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Leadership and Uncertainty Management in Politics

Leaders, Followers and Constraints in
Western Democracies

Edited by

Agnès Alexandre-Collier

Professor of British Studies at the University of Burgundy, Dijon, France

and

François Vergniolle de Chantal

Professor of American Politics at Paris Diderot University, France

palgrave
macmillan



Selection and editorial matter © Agnès Alexandre-Collier and

François Vergniolle de Chantal 2015

All remaining chapters © the individual authors 2015

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is a global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978–1–137–43923–9 hardback

ISBN 978–1–137–02485–5 paperback

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

Contents

<i>List of Tables, Figures and Boxes</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	ix
1 Introduction <i>Agnès Alexandre-Collier and François Vergniolle de Chantal</i>	1
2 Is Senatorial Leadership even possible? The Deadlock of the American Upper Chamber <i>François Vergniolle de Chantal</i>	14
3 The Office Holder: John Boehner as Speaker of the US House of Representatives <i>Alix Meyer</i>	32
4 Tony Blair's Leadership Style in Foreign Policy: Hubris Without Constraints? <i>Pauline Schnapper</i>	51
5 From Dewar to Salmond: The Scottish First Ministers and the Establishment of their Leadership <i>Gilles Leydier</i>	65
6 Political Leadership and the Instrumentalization of the Media: General de Gaulle between Politics and the Military (1958–1962) <i>Julia Heinemann</i>	82
7 Silvio's Party <i>Nicolas Bonnet</i>	93
8 Leader of my Heart! Use of Twitter by Leaders' Partners during Election Campaigns <i>Alex Frame and Gilles Brachotte</i>	111
9 Leadership and the European Debate from Margaret Thatcher to John Major <i>Karine Tournier-Sol</i>	127
10 The Temptation of Populism in David Cameron's Leadership Style <i>Agnès Alexandre-Collier</i>	141

11	Leadership Elections and Democracy in the British Labour Party <i>Emmanuelle Avril</i>	157
12	The (Seeming) Power of (Seemingly) Leaderless Organizations: The Tea Party Movement as a Case Study <i>Aurélie Godet</i>	179
13	Petra Kelly: Charismatic Leadership in the German Peace Movement and Early Green Party <i>Saskia Richter</i>	201
14	Erika Steinbach: The Last Charismatic Representative of the Expellees? <i>Lionel Picard</i>	217
15	Edward Heath: The Failed Leadership of an Uninspiring Leader <i>Laetitia Langlois</i>	230
16	When the President is not really the Boss: The Mysterious Case of Ronald Reagan's Presidential Leadership <i>Françoise Coste</i>	249
17	Conclusion <i>Agnès Alexandre-Collier and François Vergniolle de Chantal</i>	267
	<i>Index</i>	273