



BECOMING
**MADAM
CHANCELLOR**

Angela Merkel and the Berlin Republic

JOYCE MARIE MUSHABEN

"Becoming Madam Chancellor is the first comprehensive study of how Angela Merkel inhabited the German Chancellery and in the process profoundly shaped society as well as Germany's role in Europe. Meticulously researched and superbly written, the book follows Merkel's trajectory from being a pastor's daughter in former East Germany to becoming arguably the most powerful woman in the world. Ambitiously unpacking the 'Merkel Method' in domestic and international politics, this book is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand contemporary German politics as well as those interested in gender, power, and political representation."

Sabine Lang, Professor of European Politics, University of Washington

"Joyce Mushaben paints a fascinating and multifaceted picture of the 'World's Most Powerful Woman' (ten times over). The book grasps the extent to which Merkel's leadership has transformed the nation as a whole. Given her detailed, personal, and firsthand knowledge about West German politics and culture, East German politics and identity, and German unification as well as EU gender policies, Mushaben was in a unique position to write this important book."

Gabriele Abels, Chair for German and European Politics, University of Tübingen

"This is a unique contribution for policymakers as well as academics on the most influential female political leader of the twenty-first century. It reads like a political novel though it reveals a sharp analysis based on a carefully researched study. A must-read for anyone interested in European politics, German politics before and after reunification, and contemporary feminism."

Agnes Hubert, EU gender expert and Professor on Gender and Social Inequalities, College of Europe, Bruges

JOYCE MARIE MUSHABEN is Professor of Global Studies and the Curators' Distinguished Professor of Comparative Politics & Gender Studies at University of Missouri–St. Louis. She has spent seventeen years living in Germany, researching East–West identities, EU policies, citizenship, migration and asylum reforms, women's leadership, social movements, and welfare states. Mushaben has received grants from the Ford Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service, the Fulbright Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

Cover illustration: German Chancellor Angela Merkel stands next to a flag with the German Federal Eagle as she attends a ceremony in which President Joachim Gauck appointed Sigmar Gabriel as new foreign minister at Schloss Bellevue palace on January 27, 2017 in Berlin, Germany. (Photo by Sean Gallup / Getty Images)

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Becoming Madam Chancellor

Since 2005, Angela Merkel has transformed not only the way Germans see themselves but also the way that politicians worldwide, male and female, perceive women in power. The East German daughter of a Protestant pastor, this physicist-turned-politician has deployed her life experiences to cultivate a unique set of leadership skills. Her pragmatic, data-driven, and future-oriented approach to politics – grounded in a commitment to democratic pluralism, human rights, and personal responsibility – has produced extraordinary paradigm shifts in many national policies in the wake of major crises. As the first English-language scholarly book to provide an overview of her career and influence, *Becoming Madam Chancellor* examines Merkel's achievements across six key policy domains, contextualizes these within broader German history before and after reunification, and uncovers the personal and political factors that have contributed to Chancellor Merkel's hard-earned status as the world's most powerful woman.

Joyce Marie Mushaben is Professor of Global Studies and the Curators' Distinguished Professor of Comparative Politics & Gender Studies at the University of Missouri–St. Louis. She has spent seventeen years living in Germany, researching East–West identities, EU policies, citizenship, migration and asylum reforms, women's leadership, social movements, and welfare states. Mushaben has received grants from the Ford Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service, the Fulbright Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

This book is dedicated to girls everywhere, looking for positive political role models, who are committed to the proposition that women's rights are human rights, and human rights are women's rights.

It is also dedicated to my late husband, Harry F. Few, who had a hard time understanding why his wife insisted that the words "same" and "equal" are not synonyms, and that sometimes we actually need to be treated "differently" to achieve equality when it comes to reconciling family and career.

Abbreviations

AfD	Alternative for Germany (party)
BAMF	Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees
BL	Basic Law (Constitution)
BND	<i>Bundesnachrichtendienst</i> /Federal Intelligence Agency
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CDU	Christian Democratic Party
CEE	Central East European states
CHP	Combined Heat and Power
CSU	Christian Social Union
DA	<i>Demokratischer Aufbruch</i> /Democratic Awakening
DAX	<i>Deutsche Aktien Index</i> /German Stock Exchange
DG	Directorate-General (European Union)
EC	European Community
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECB	European Central Bank
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EU	European Union (post 1991)
EURODAC	European Dactyloscopy (European Union registry)
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FCO	<i>Bundeskanzleramt</i> /Federal Chancellor's Office
FDJ	Free German Youth (East Germany)
FDP	Free Democratic Party
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany, and post-unity)
FRONTEX	European Border and Coast Guard Agency
GC	<i>Gro-Ko</i> Grand Coalition
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic (former East Germany)

GHG	Green-house Gases
GM	gender mainstreaming
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
KGB	Committee for State Security (Soviet Union)
LNG	Liquid Natural Gas
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIP	National Integration Plan
PDS	Party of Democratic Socialists
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
R&D	research and development
RE	Renewable Energy
Red-Green	Social Democratic/Green Party coalition
SDS	Students for Democratic Society (West Germany)
SED	Socialist Unity Party (East Germany)
SME	social market economy
SPD	Social Democratic Party
SS	<i>Schutzstaffel</i> (Nazis)
<i>Stasi</i>	Secret Police (East Germany)
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math; known in German as MINT for Math, Computing, Natural Sciences, Technology
<i>Treuhand</i>	State Privatization and Holding Company (unification)
UN	United Nations
WMPW	“World’s Most Powerful Woman”

Acknowledgments

As I regularly advise my students, once you “discover” gender, you are destined to spend the rest of your career looking for it (and usually finding it) under every policy rock, as well as in every institutional nook and cranny. For those of us who secured our jobs in the 1980s, it was a case of learning-by-doing. For most of my younger colleagues and undergraduates, identifying the many sources of inequality shaping the lives of women and minorities has become second nature.

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