

Contents

<i>List of Tables, Figures, and Boxes</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiv
Introduction: “Becoming Madam Chancellor”	I
From “Research Puzzle” to Clear Case: Why I Wrote this Book	4
Theoretical Framing, Core Concepts, and the Problem of “ $n = 1$ ”	8
PART I “THE PERSONAL IS THE POLITICAL”	
1 The Extreme Makeover of Angela Merkel: Gender, Style, and Substance	21
Stage One: The Early Years or “Toto, I’ve a Feeling We’re not in Templin Anymore”	24
Stage Two: “Kohl’s Girl” or “ <i>Gut gemacht, Angela!</i> ”	27
Stage Three: Challenging the Old Boys and the “Andes Pact”	31
Stage Four: Elections as a Powder-Puff Derby	33
Presenting and Representing Women in Politics: The Power of Pant- suits	36
2 A Pastor’s Daughter in a “Difficult Fatherland”: Reconciling East and West German Identities	46
A Difficult Fatherland: From one <i>Volk</i> in Two States, to Two Nations in One State	50
From Party to Hangover: Reactions to the Fall of the Wall	57
Reconciling the German–German Pasts	61
Revisiting the Cultural Revolution(s) of 1968	64
Mastering the Present: The Eastern Economy and Gender Relations	66

Providing for a Sustainable Future: Demographic Change	71
Conclusion: Learning to Live with Differences	73
3 From <i>Staatsräson</i> to <i>Realpolitik</i>: Reconfiguring German–Israeli Relations	84
Understanding “Merkiavellian” Discourse: History, Morality, and Special Relationships	86
Stages and Turning Points: “From Enmity to Amity”	88
<i>Staatsräson</i> as the Defense of Israel	94
Finding Synergy in Strange Places: Joschka Fischer and Angela Merkel	96
The Merkel Doctrine	104
The Dilemmas of Generational Change	108
Conclusion: Gender and the <i>Shoah</i> Revisited	112
 PART II FROM UNDERSTUDY TO LEADING LADY: ANGELA MERKEL ON THE GLOBAL STAGE	
4 Checkmate: Angela Merkel, Vladimir Putin, and the Dilemmas of Regional Hegemony	123
Becoming a Reluctant Hegemon: West Integration, <i>Ostpolitik</i> , and Civilian Power	127
Immovable Object, Unstoppable Force: Merkel, Putin, and “Power Physics”	132
Change through <i>Rapprochement</i> v. Change through <i>Interdependence</i> : Energy Policy	140
Speaking Truth to Revisionist Power: Merkel and the Caucasus Crises	144
A Different Clash of Civilizations: Soft v. Hard Power	150
5 Madam Non and the Euro Crisis: Shaping Economic Integration and Governance	161
From Marshall Plan to Unification: Ordo-liberalism and the Social Market Economy	166
Stage One: Bankers, Bailouts, and “Crass Keynesianism”	171
Financial <i>Blitzkrieg</i> and the Franco-German Axis	173
Stage Two: Northern Creditors, Southern Scapegoats, and Sovereign Debt	178
Stage Three: The Euro Crisis, the Troika, and the EU Democratic Deficit	184
The Wisdom of the <i>schwäbische Hausfrau</i> , Revisited	188
Assessing the Impact of Financial Crises: Gender Blind † Gender Neutral	193
Conclusion: Looking for Balance between Market and Community	197

**PART III “METHOD MERKEL” AND THE PUSH FOR
DOMESTIC REFORMS**

6	<i>Fukushima, mon Amour</i> : Merkel and the (Supra)National Energy Turn-Around	215
	Environmentalism as a National Virtue in Germany	218
	Operation Head Start: German Energy Policy, 1935–2010	220
	The Greening of Angela Merkel	222
	German Responses to Fukushima	229
	Full Speed Ahead, Mostly: German Energy Policy, 2011–2015	232
	“Location, Location, Location”: Uploading National Priorities and Practices	237
	Conclusion: Promise v. Performance	240
7	Germany as a Land of Immigration: Citizenship, Refugees, and the Welcoming Culture	250
	Geography, Generations, and German Citizenship, 1900–2005	252
	Leveraging Europe and Living Diversity	259
	Scientist at Work: Integration and Implementation Monitoring	261
	From <i>Leading Culture</i> to <i>Welcoming Culture</i> : The “Option Requirement”	267
	The Paradigm Shift: “Asylum Knows No Upper Limits”	271
	“We Can Do This”: Merkel’s Response to the Refugee Crisis	277
	Conclusion: Migration Policies with a Human Face	283
8	“Misunderestimating” the World’s Most Powerful Woman, or Why Gender Still Matters	291
	Gender and Style: Transformational v. Transactional Leadership	295
	Reconfiguring the Berlin Republic: Merkel’s Policy Legacies	300
	The Gender Card: “To Play or Not to Play, That is the Question”	306
	Angela Merkel’s National Legacy: <i>Wir schaffen das!</i>	310
	<i>Bibliography</i>	317
	<i>Index</i>	338