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Becoming Madame Chancellor: Angela Merkel and the Berlin Republic by Joyce Marie Mushaben (review)

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through the words of Holocaust tourists, would have given the book a stronger focus and deeper argument. However, the voices of Holocaust tourists are strangely absent from this book. Their story, which as Reynolds signals is important, remains to be told.

Tim Cole, *University of Bristol*

Becoming Madame Chancellor: Angela Merkel and the Berlin Republic. By Joyce Marie Mushaben. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Pp. xv + 342. Paper £21.99. ISBN 978-1108405638.

She has been at the helm of Germany for twelve years, at the top of *Forbes's* list of the most powerful women in the world eleven times, only the fourth woman to be *Time Magazine's* Person of the Year, and, for some years, the person world leaders call when they want to speak to Europe. By now, the world knows the basic outlines of Merkel's unusual rise to power and her penchant for cautious, consensus-driven decision-making. Less is known, however, about why and how her background influences Merkel's leadership style and policy preferences. Specifically, has Madam Chancellor contributed to increasing diversity and inclusion in Europe's largest country? Has she made a difference in Germany's foreign relations and in the European integration project? Joyce Mushaben's answers to each of these questions is an emphatic "yes." In particular, she asserts, "although she refuses to label herself a feminist, I maintain that Merkel has done more to modernize gender roles in united Germany than all of her predecessors" (8).

Mushaben is a maven of German politics and society and, perhaps unlike Merkel, brings a gender-conscious perspective to discussions of power, representation, and policy. Informed by years of research on German politics, Mushaben's newest book makes the case that "Merkel stands as the embodiment of demographic transformation processes that have taken root across the country and the continent since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989" (3).

Mushaben's study takes a triple-track approach, exploring Merkel's leadership, generational and value shifts, and the evolution of several key domestic and foreign policies. The author examines Merkel's reconfiguration of the Berlin Republic and her transformative leadership through case studies of the 2015 decision to open the door to refugees, the *Energiewende* in the wake of the 2011 Fukushima disaster, the management of the Euro crisis, and foreign relations with Israel and Russia. Each chapter blends thick description with thoughtful conceptualization and analysis. In contrast to those who cast the chancellor as a hesitant, visionless, Biedermeier figure, Mushaben provides a compelling narrative of clear principles and purpose and deft leadership. Drawing on concepts such as descriptive, substantive, and symbolic (or "transformational") representation and critical mass theory, Mushaben explains

Merkel's "politics of small steps." Mushaben argues that the culmination of small steps has been significant progress in breaking "the mold regarding outdated leadership models" (309). While the author does not engage with the literature on political elites or executive leadership style in Germany, her "unabashedly qualitative and eclectic approach" (6) has much to offer scholars of political leadership as well as advanced students of German and European politics and societies.

Ultimately, Mushaben poses the question of why Merkel does not consider herself a feminist. Her answer is that "a woman leader need not openly and regularly declare herself a feminist in order to 'make a difference'" (312). One could argue that this lets Merkel off the hook: what is it about the goals of feminism that Merkel cannot or will not embrace? Why hasn't this leader leveraged the intersectionality of her gender and her unusual background or used her position of power or her *moderne christliche* worldview to challenge traditional patterns of authority and paternalism more perceptibly? Newly restored as chancellor, the story of Angela Merkel and the Berlin Republic continues.

Jennifer Yoder, *Colby College*

Back to the Post-Industrial Future: An Ethnography of Germany's Fastest-Shrinking City. By Felix Ringel. New York: Berghahn, 2018. Pp. 238. Cloth \$120.00. ISBN 978-1785337987.

How do urban communities deal with the loss of their future? This is the central question Felix Ringel asks in his ethnographic study of Hoyerswerda in Saxony, often described as Germany's fastest-shrinking city. Hoyerswerda was planned as a socialist model town from the late 1950s onwards and experienced a rapid growth in the socialist era, with its *Neustadt* entirely built from prefabricated concrete blocks. However, following reunification, the privatization of the mining and energy industry that had provided the foundation for Hoyerswerda's postwar boom resulted in the loss of jobs and perspectives in the city. Hoyerswerda began to shrink rapidly from just under 70,000 inhabitants in 1988 to a mere 33,000 in 2016, and one housing block after the other fell victim to demolition. With high unemployment rates, an aging population and a growing neo-Nazi scene, Hoyerswerda became widely seen as a city without a future.

Ringel lived in Hoyerswerda for sixteen months in 2008–2009 and fully immersed himself in the local community of the dwindling city: he interviewed local politicians and activists, spoke with members of the clubs and associations, and boarded with local families to understand how the inhabitants of Hoyerswerda engage with different notions of the city's future. One of the great strengths of the book is Ringel's ability to strike the balance between capturing the richness of life in the community