

"LEADERSHIP IN CHAOS: ANGELA MERKEL AND EUROCRISIS"

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## ABSTRACT

### LEADERSHIP in CHAOS: ANGELA MERKEL AND EUROCRISIS

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Leadership has been a questionable phenomenon for centuries. The Eurocrisis triggered debates over leadership within the European Union. This thesis analyzes the Federal Republic of Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel's leadership profile during the Eurocrisis. Throughout this thesis, the Eurocrisis is discussed by use of chaos theory borrowed from physics and understood as a chaotic system. From this perspective, Chancellor Angela Merkel's leadership profile is going to be analyzed within three time phases during the Eurocrisis period between 2009 and 2013 with four types of leadership. In terms of structure and theoretical perspective, this thesis makes a unique contribution to the prevailing literature.

**Keywords:** Leadership, Chaos Theory, Chaotic Systems, European Union, Euro, Eurocrisis, Angela Merkel, Quiet Leadership, Transformational Leadership, Visionary Leadership, Quantum Leadership

## ÖZ

### KAOS ORTAMINDA LİDERLİK: ANGELA MERKEL VE EUROKRİZİ

Açıklım, Şuay Nilhan

Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Hem akademik hem de toplumsal çalışmalar anlamında liderlik sadece günümüzün değil yüzyıllardır araştırılan bir kavram olmuştur. Özellikle Avrupa Birliği içerisinde Eurokrizinden sonra liderlik tartışmaları yeniden alevlenmiştir. Bu çalışmada esas olarak Alman Federal Cumhuriyeti Şansölyesi Angela Merkel'in Avro krizindeki liderliği ele alınmıştır. Eurokrizi fizikteki kaos teorisi ile analiz edilmiş, Eurokrizi bir kaotik sistem olarak ele alınmıştır. Kaotik bir sistem olarak Avro krizinde Şansölye Merkel'in liderliği 2009-2013 yılları arasında süreçlere göre üç ana boyutta dört farklı liderlik tipiyle incelenmiştir. Yapısal ve teorik içerik anlamında tez alanyazında tamamen yeni bir örnektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Liderlik, Kaos Teorisi, Kaotik Sistemler, Avrupa Birliği, Avro, Avro krizi, Angela Merkel, Sessiz Liderlik, Dönüştürücü Liderlik, Vizyoner Liderlik, Kuantum Liderlik

To My Grandmother Mübeccel Erçetin who untimely passed away  
And To My Mother Prof. Dr. Şefika Şule Erçetin, my hero forever...

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAS	Complex Adaptive System
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
CSU	Christian Social Union in Bavaria
EC	European Community
ECB	European Central Bank
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEC	European Economic Community
EMI	European Monetary Institute
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	European Monetary Union
ENP	Eastern Neighborhood Policy
ERM	Exchange Rate Mechanism
EU	European Union
FSAP	Financial Service Action Programme
G8	The Group of Eight
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GIIPS	Greece,Ireland,Italy, Portugal,Spain
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
MNC	Multi National Corporation
LTA	Leadership Trait Analysis
NEGP	Northern Europe Gas Pipeline Project
RMCD	Root Mean Square Deviation
SEA	Single European Act
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Tax

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

World history has witnessed major economic crises and remarkable national leaders in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The Great Depression, Asian Economic Crisis, 2008 Global Financial and Eurozone Crisis would be remembered as catastrophic for national economic systems, nation states and societies. The complex structure of financial and global economic systems that produced the 2008 global financial crisis and Eurozone crisis were different from any economic crisis. Especially, Eurocrisis has been the most peculiar economic crisis in terms of roots, structure and scale. Based on its structure, consequences of Eurocrisis would have been unexpected and undeniable for not only Eurozone countries but also the global economy. That's why, the Eurozone crisis will be remembered and analyzed for many years. In addition to this, all of these economic crises first questioned political leadership and leaders in those countries. Although there is a motto "all leaders need crises", equally there have been governments overthrown due to crises.

In 2009 Greek government officially announced that Greece's sovereign debt reached 113% of GDP costing 300bn Euros. At first sight, this debt can be seen as ordinary sovereign debt crisis, François Gianviti, Anne O. Krueger, Jean Pissani-Ferry, Andre Sapir, Jürgen von Hagen (2010), Philip Lane (2013) and some other scholars prefer to use "European sovereign debt crisis". However the effects of this crisis have not been only about economics but also have political and social dimensions. Because of its comprehensive structure, throughout the thesis the notion of "Eurocrisis" will be used instead of European sovereign debt crisis throughout the thesis. This economic collapse triggered intellectual discussions. Discussions have been concentrated on two different tracks; economic and political. Economic debate mainly focuses on roots and effects of crisis. Firstly, in order to find a nonvolatile solution to crisis have been explored in the scope of literature. George Ross (2011),

Öniş and Kutlay (2012), Dimitiris Tsarouhas (2012) and Kathleen R. McNamara (2010) suggests that the cradle of Eurocrisis dates back to the evolution of a common currency and they all agree that common currency should encompass common economic policy and banking system together. Secondly, political implications of Eurocrisis have been highly discussed. Political implications of Eurocrisis were revealed as a reaction to austerity measures through social protests and radicalization of the right and left wing parties in both creditor and debtor countries. Henk Overbeek (2012),Ladi and Tsarouhas (2014), Matsaganis and Leventi (2014) shift their attention to poverty and social problems as an effect of austerity and its reflection on the political ground of countries and European Union.

Eurocrisis is not solely economic but also it has also been transformed into a political and social crisis, so, it became impossible to explain the complex nature of Eurocrisis with one-dimensional approaches. The demand to understand Eurocrisis in a nonlinear and dynamic way is only possible with chaos theory. The word of chaos literally means disorder and existence of turbulence. Chaos theory is derived from mathematics and has various applications in physics, meteorology, engineering, economics as well as different branches of social sciences. Chaotic systems have unique features compared to conventional (linear) systems. Sensitiveness to initial conditions, having multi actors, non-linearity and interdependence are determinants of chaotic system. Chaos theory was applied in economic crisis pioneered by in order to understand its dynamics and unpredictability as pioneered by Jess Benhabib and Richard H. Day(1981). There is intensive literature about application of chaos theory in economics led by Jean Michel Grandmont(1985), Michele Boldrin and Luigi Montrochhio (1986). However there is almost no literature about application of chaos theory in the Eurocrisis. From this perspective, this thesis aims to make a completely fresh and new approach to Eurocrisis with chaos theory. Throughout this thesis, the Eurocrisis is redefined with characteristics of chaos theory which are sensitiveness to initial conditions, multi actors, non linearity relationship and interdependence. It is a unique perspective to understand the complex and dynamic nature of the Eurocrisis.

Albeit European Union was designed based on consensus making, actually the notion of “leadership” has been questioned in decision making process in the

European Union in terms of institutions and national leaders. Jack Hayward claims that since 1950's, the European Union tended to become leaderless day by day(2008). Leaders become more important in crisis time to determine the future and Eurocrisis pushed to public to seek a leader who could take responsibility and find a solution for Eurocrisis. Once more, consequent to the Eurocrisis, the leadership debate in the European Union heated up as the public asked that who will be the responsible for the whole Eurozone? Economically the two most powerful countries Germany and France naturally emerged as potential leaders. However, the damaged economy of France and reluctance of President Nicola Sarkozy were not suitable for the expected leader profile. Angela Merkel thus became the main spot, the Chancellor of Federal German Republic as a ground breaking leader in Europe with a strong and stable economy and politics. Angela Merkel is a woman and she is from East Germany, has a PhD in physics. She is not like a prototype leader compared to other national leaders. Will Eurocrisis be a chance for Angela Merkel to boost her leadership? Or will the Eurocrisis be catastrophic and end her political career? There are numerous literature, which discuss Chancellor Merkel's leadership during Eurocrisis, explaining her economic policies and political differences between Germany and other countries. Frank Bohn and Eelke de Jong (2011), Guiso, Herrera and Morelli (2013) emphasize political culture of France and Germany and leadership differences between Nicola Sarkozy and Angela Merkel. Tellingly though, an analysis of the, Chancellor's leadership during the Eurocrisis based on particular leadership styles is largely elusive and most of those prevalent are short and shallow analyses.

There is no doubt that Chancellor Merkel's personality, decisions and their effect are a unique case for the field of leadership. Because of this, a section has been reserved specifically for Chancellor Merkel's biography part has been built based on personal interviews with Prof. Josef Janning and Stefan Kornelius. The phenomenon of Eurocrisis, which affected not only Europe but also the global economy, portrayed Chancellor Merkel as a distinct case in leadership. Therefore, the thesis comes in handy to analyze Angela Merkel's leadership in Eurocrisis as a chaotic environment.

The types of leadership styles and chaos theory are the main pillars of the thesis. The first chapter in thesis engages a historical evolution of leadership

definitions, approaches to leadership and types of leadership styles are given. The second chapter explains chaos theory, chaotic systems and application of chaos in the Eurocrisis. The third and last chapter is about Angela Merkel's personal and political background and analysis of her multidimensional leadership profiles is kind of a superordinate analysis of Eurocrisis as a chaotic environment. This does not only render the thesis unique but positions it as a completely new approach in literature.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LEADERSHIP**

#### **2.1 Definitions of Leadership**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, leadership was one of the most controversial phenomena in the field of management, and was the subject of a great amount of academic research. In the 21st century, both theorists and practitioners have invested a great deal of effort into analyzing the concept of leadership. These efforts have led to the production of over 5,000 academic works, and over 350 different definitions of leadership (Bass,1981, p.12). These works contribute to the various approaches associated with leadership, while the definitions help clarify what is meant by the word itself. So, as Stogdill posits that there are as many definitions of leadership as people who have tried to define it (1974, p.9). However, it is impossible to find a widely accepted definition of leadership in the literature. Equally, the notion of leadership should be differentiated from power and management. Power literally means having the potential to influence others. As Etzioni suggests that, power can be considered as the ability to reward or punish performance based on formal power which a leader has (1961, p.5). So, debates over definitions of leadership shape leadership literature.

In the last 50 years, scholars developed almost 65 different classification systems for definitions (Fleishmen et all, 1991,p.248). For example, Bass suggested a classification system based on focus of group processes which means a leader directly fits into the center of a group and the only person who envisions the will of the group(1990,p.21). On the other hand, there is another classification scheme commonly known as personality perspective, which evokes the traditional question of “is leadership born or made? As mentioned, definitions of leadership have been changing through the years with typical examples of leadership definitions being given from each time period, and an emphasis on presenting the similarities and differences among the various approaches is at the center stage.

At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Cooley (1902) asserted “Leadership is the ability to be at the center of social movements”, also Mumford claims that leadership is when one person in a group comes to the forefront during the process of directing a social movement (Strong, 1907, p.390). Blackmar meanwhile suggests that leadership is being able to utilize the power of the entire group for one's own endeavors (1911, p.626-628). As mentioned at the beginning, the notion of leadership has been affected by social and political atmosphere of the ages. As known, the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century is unfortunately remarked with aggressive political atmosphere under two world wars. Monarchies and empires were still dominant in most of the countries and there was also a rising country, the so called “new land”. The social and political effects of the French revolution were still being felt. Most of the empires had to deal with self-determination movements. In addition to this, the idea of Marxism had been spread with harsh effects of the Industrial Revolution. If having drawn a picture of the 1900s, new social movements challenged to empires and monarchies while there was political aggression between colonial powers in shape of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Portugal and Germany. As expected social movements was emerged in most of the countries. So, the period of monarchies and empires shaped the notion of leadership mostly focused on an idea of “one powerful man in decision making”. At the beginning of the 1900s however with the effects of WWI and regime changings broke the ideologies of world politics were broken and dragged the leadership definition to a new form which is more open and democratic way.

Munson and Miller opine that “Leadership is the skill of successfully reaching people's goals with the least amount of conflict and the strongest possible cooperation (1921,p.30). Also, the definition by Chapin in 1924 contends that “Leadership is being able to give a special meaning to cooperation within a group” (p.57). Few years later in 1927 it was defined as follows “Leadership is being able to notice the needs and wants of a group's members, and to direct one's energy toward satisfying those needs and wants” by L.L. Bernard (p.70) As mentioned before, perception of leadership has been changing. Definitions centered on the notion of skill that has common goals for followers and the leader. There is also emphasis on cooperation between different actors to make decisions for the sake of the people. In other words, the new political atmosphere completely changed the leadership

perceptions of scholars. There were no more autocratic leaders who run the country or their followers solely. They were kind of footprints for the beginning of leadership literature. From 1930 up to the beginning 21<sup>st</sup> century, the definition of leadership has been transformed dramatically. This evolution is given in the following Figure 2.1.



Figure 2.1: Evolution of leadership definition

<p>“Leadership is being able to use authority to make decisions” (Dubin,1968,p.96)</p>	<p>1968 1a08</p>
<p>Ten types of leadership definitions.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership as the focal point of group processes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership as personality and its effects</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Leadership as the art of persuading people to comply and follow <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership as the use of influence</li> <li>• Leadership as action and behavior <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership as shaping belief</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Leadership as a tool for attaining goals</li> <li>• Leadership as the effect of interaction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership as a varying role</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• Leadership as initiative (Stogdill,1974,p.7-16)</li> </ul>	<p>1974 1a14</p>
<p>“Leadership is creating the motivation for an organization's members to perform at a level that goes beyond mechanical fulfillment of the organization's routine goals” (Katz and Kahn,1978,p.196)</p>	<p>1978 1a18</p>
<p>“Leadership is the form of power that is used to influence the actions of others” (Krausz,1986,p.88)</p>	<p>1986 1a80</p>
<p>“Leadership is a process of being able to successfully mobilize large numbers of people with complete loyalty and competence, in order to work toward common goals” (Jacques and Clement,1991,p.4)</p>	<p>1991 1a01</p>
<p>“Leadership is being able to influence people in order to achieve a goal, by presenting active, important and cohesive behaviors like expertise and empathy” (Pagonis,1992, p.118)</p>	<p>1992 1a05</p>
<p>“Leadership is being able to deal with complex and problematic situations” (Kowalski and Reitzug,1993,p.218)</p>	<p>1993 1a03</p>

Figure 2.1: Evolution of leadership definition (cont'd)

“Leadership is creating and shaping the interaction patterns of an organization's members, based on the situations faced” (Ogawa and Bossert,1995, p.233)

1995  
1992

“A leader is defined as, the ‘one person getting other people to do something” (Ciulla 2002, p. 340).

2002  
2005

“Leadership is a composite of providing technical performance, internal direction to followers, external organizational direction—all with a public service orientation” (Van Wart 2003, p. 221).

2003  
2003

“Leadership is a series of interaction processes where leaders affect followers by creating common images for future” (Parry and Bryman,2006, p.447)

2006  
2006

Figure 2.1: Evolution of leadership definition (cont'd)

It can be seen from the examples given above that the definitions of leadership that were adopted in the 20<sup>th</sup> century vary considerably. There are, however, some common themes to group these definitions. Katz & Kahn determined that the common points in the definitions are: a) an organizational authority, b) a person with certain characteristics and c) a type of action. On the other hand, they classified them in two categories: a) influencing the members of an organization or group and b) helping an organization or a group reach goals (Katz&Kahn, 1978, p.200-219 and George et al., 1996, p.36). Chance grouped the common characteristics somewhat differently: a) attaining goals, b) interpersonal interaction and c) certain personal characteristics (1992,p.15).

In conclusion, it can be said that definitions of leadership vary based on societal, organizational and individual differences, as well as the typical perceptions, expectations and approaches of the time. Still, definitions of leadership typically include a) realizing goals, b) the presence of complex interaction and c) the attribution of certain characteristics to the leader. In addition, once we accept that defining leadership is a difficult task, it can be drawn the following conclusions can be drawn from the similarities and differences in the definitions listed above:

- Leadership and management are different concepts.
- Leadership does not depend on formal status.
- Leadership is political.
- Leadership is cultural
- Leadership is a process that emphasizes certain intangible characteristics.

## **2.2 Approaches to Leadership**

Just like the case is with definitions of leadership, there has been controversy and little agreement over approaches to leadership. Approaches to leadership can be considered as scientific attempts to understand what is leadership, what is the best type of leadership style and how are they categorized. Actually, implications of scientific attempts or approaches to leadership have composed definitions of leadership and types of leadership styles. In this section, characteristic approaches, behavioral approaches and situational approaches are explored.

### **2.2.1 Characteristic Approaches**

Historically, the first work about approaches to leadership known as “Characteristic Approaches” was carried out by Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881). Carlyle claimed that some people are born to be leaders, and opened a debate about the idea of the “Great Man in History”, who has an especially strong effect on the course of events in human history. This claim was supported by social and political developments in the 1800's, as well as by philosophical approaches like “Social Darwinism”, which suggested that the fittest and most adapted individuals survive (Chance, 1992, p.15).

Several other works in the subsequent years contributed to the development of the “Characteristic Approaches”. In Stogdill's first work in 1948, around 300 characteristics that had been proposed up to that point were reviewed, grouped and tested. The results indicated that regardless of whether a person has failed to demonstrate some of the characteristics, or clearly possessed all of them, nothing definite could be said about whether that person had the potential to become a leader (Stogdill, 1948, p.50-54). A summary of those characteristics is given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Summary of Stogdill's Grouping of Leadership Characteristics

Physical Characteristics	Social History	Intelligence	Personality	Work-related Characteristics	Social Characteristics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Age</li> <li>• Weight</li> <li>• Height</li> <li>• Appearance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Mobility</li> <li>• Social Status</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perception</li> <li>• Decision</li> <li>• Effective Speaking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Independence</li> <li>• Self-confidence</li> <li>• Dominance</li> <li>• Aggression</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Success</li> <li>• Initiative</li> <li>• Responsibility</li> <li>• Interest in People</li> <li>• Interest in Results</li> <li>• Need for Security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supervision Skills</li> <li>• Cooperative Approach</li> <li>• Honesty</li> <li>• Need for Power</li> </ul>

Mann, who tested Stogdill's proposed characteristics, only found a relationship between intelligence and leadership, and not for the other characteristics (Mann,1959, p.244-249). In Stogdill's second study in 1974, he reexamined the leadership characteristics he had previously proposed, and regrouped them as characteristics and skills (Stogdill,1974,p.7-16). This grouping is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Most Commonly Observed Traits among Leaders(Stogdill,1974)

Characteristics	Skills
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ability to adapt to situations</li> <li>• Sensitivity to social environment</li> <li>• Need for ambition and success</li> <li>• Assertiveness</li> <li>• Decisiveness</li> <li>• Independence</li> <li>• Desire to influence others</li> <li>• Persistence</li> <li>• Work Ethic</li> <li>• Self Confidence</li> <li>• Ability to deal with stress</li> <li>• Willingness to take responsibility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intelligence</li> <li>• Conceptual thinking</li> <li>• Creativity</li> <li>• Finesse and diplomacy</li> <li>• Effective Speaking</li> <li>• Knowledge of group's task</li> <li>• Organization</li> <li>• Persuasive ability</li> <li>• Social skills</li> </ul>

Characteristic approaches were heavily criticized up until the 1980's. The essence of the criticism was that characteristics defined for every situation, every task and every individual cannot be sufficient to explain a complex process like leadership, and that other variables need to be considered.

In the 1980's, the personal characteristics of leaders once again entered the spotlight of researchers' interests. For example, in 1983 Kenny & Zaccaro suggested that the data associated with characteristic approaches might have been analyzed incorrectly, so they applied new statistical techniques to the old data. The findings that emerged suggested that the previously determined characteristics could largely predict leaders' behaviors (Kenny and Zaccaro, 1983, p.680-682). However, the methods they chose have been criticized because the characteristics were not analyzed individually. Lord, de Vader and Alliger applied an item analysis to the measurements used to determine characteristics, and made several corrections (1986,p.405). The corrections suggested that the researchers had misinterpreted the findings of Stogdill and Mann, and mistaken a relationship between perceived leadership skills and characteristics for a relationship between characteristics and leader effectiveness. Additionally, the results of the reanalysis of Mann's data were linked with the findings of later researchers, and a high-level, consistent relationship was found between leaders' personal characteristics and whether they were perceived as leaders (Kouzes&Posner, 2011, p.8-22).

Studies on the characteristic approach had made some interesting developments, for instance, gender has been analyzed as a characteristic in a large number of works. This subject has been discussed extensively in the various new paradigms and interpretations of leadership. So, it can be said that there is a relationship between some personal characteristics and the extent to which a person is perceived as a leader. However, this relationship should be considered in the context of situation, task, time and other variables. A complex process like leadership cannot be explained solely based on personal characteristics.

## **2.2.2 Behavioral Approaches**

Studies that fall under the scope of “behavioral” approaches focus on leaders' behaviors, types of leadership based on behavior patterns and the effect of leader behavior on groups. The best-known of these are the studies of Ohio State University and the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

### **2.2.2.1 Ohio State Studies**

Research conducted in the 1950's attempted to look at the effects of patterns of leader behavior on groups. Researchers defined 1800 leadership behaviors,

classified into nine groups, with the two primary independent dimensions of creating structure and showing understanding.

- Creating structure includes behaviors like authority, defining tasks and responsibilities, organization, setting up teams, creating communication channels and evaluating group performance (Halpin&Winer, 1957, p.42-45, Fleishman, 1953, p.3-4 and Gutknecht&Miller, 1990, p.128).
- Showing understanding refers to behaviors like trust, mutual respect, friendship, support and showing interest in the various needs of group members. Researchers defined the highest levels of behavior for the dimensions of creating structure and showing understanding as when a leader manages to find the ideal balance point for optimal group performance. The following figure presents four functional types of leadership, based on the two dimensions of leadership defined in the Ohio State studies.

Table 2.3: Four Functional Types of Leadership Based on the Dimensions of Creating Structure and Showing Understanding

<b>High Creating</b>	High Structure Creation Showing Low Understanding	High Structure Creation Showing High Understanding (most suitable equilibrium point)
	Low Structure Creation Showing Low Understanding	Low Structure Creation Showing High Understanding
<b>Low Creating</b>		
	<b>Showing Low</b>	<b>Understanding High</b>

### 2.2.2.2 Michigan Studies

The purpose of these studies, which were carried out under Likert's supervision, was to determine the most effective leadership behaviors for increasing group performance and security. An analysis of the data gathered through interviews with leaders and followers, managers and subordinates produced a definition of two

fundamental leadership behavior types: work-centered and individual-centered (Helphin and Winer, 1952, p.42-44)

**Work-Centered Behavior:** A leader's or a manager's attention is more focused on the success of the work done by the followers or subordinates. Thus, work-centered leaders' behaviors involve close inspection, evaluation of performance and displaying the power of position and punishment.

**Individual-centered behavior:** A leader or a manager is interested in followers or subordinates as “people”. He/she chooses behaviors that provide for subordinates' needs, personal development and well-being.

In these studies, the best form of leadership is the optimal balance between work- and individual-centered behaviors. Both the Ohio and Michigan studies have been the inspiration for similar works in various cultural and organizational environments. These later studies have further developed the Organizational Approaches and have introduced new theories to the literature on leadership. Some examples of such studies, with information on the researchers and the dimensions they defined, are given in Table 2.4

Table 2.4: Several Researchers and the Behavioral Dimensions Defined, which further Developed the Behavioral Approaches

Researchers	Defined Behavior	Dimensions
C. Argyris (1957, p.13)	▪ Formal Behavior	▪ Individual Behavior
B.M Bass (1960, p.424-430)	▪ Task effectiveness	▪ Effective Interaction
A.F. Brown (1967, p.65-68)	▪ System-centered	▪ Individual-centered
F. Fiedler (1965, p.115-116)	▪ Work-centered	▪ Relationship-centered
P.Hersey & K.H.Blanchard (1969, p.26-34)	▪ Work-centered	▪ Relationship-Centered

The two important studies in the behavioral approaches, and their results, can be evaluated in the following way:

- These two important studies each defined fundamental leadership behavior patterns in terms of a dichotomy—on the one hand structure-creating / work-centered and on the other hand showing understanding / individual-oriented. However, leadership behavior is of course too complex to be explained with a two-dimensional model.
- In both studies, a type of leadership that can be considered universally to be the most effective is recommended. However, if such a recommendation is considered in the context of modern societies and organizations, it might not be valid.
- The design of both of the studies is also an issue that has been discussed. The point most emphasized in these discussions is that situational variables like organizational capacity, technology, culture, climate etc. should be taken into account.
- The works are certainly important in the sense that they opened up discussions on the subject of the influence of leader behavior on groups, as well as the fact that because they provide useful, though limited, clues on how to proceed.

### **2.2.3. Situational Approaches**

Works that can be considered to represent situational approaches see effective leadership as a function of a) followers, b) the leader's characteristics, c) the type of leadership, d) the situation the leader faces. This section will look at some works that follow the situational approaches.

#### **2.2.3.1. Fiedler's Theory**

Fiedler, who views organizational behavior as a result of personal characteristics and situation, analyzed the process of leadership based on the interaction between the two factors. By reanalyzing the results of studies carried out in previous approaches, both in terms of leaders' personal characteristics and in terms of the situation, Fiedler tried to determine how all of these factors affect the effectiveness of a leader. In this way, he sought the answer to the following two questions regarding leadership (Fiedler, 1967, p.36 and Fiedler&Chemers, 1974, p.182).

Why is a leader with certain characteristics sometimes effective in a given situation, whereas another leader with similar, or even exactly the same characteristics is ineffective?

1. Why is a leader sometimes effective in one situation, but ineffective in another situation?

Fiedler defined two types of leadership, work-oriented and relationship-oriented. He saw types of leadership as a characteristic that offers continuity, and claimed that leadership types cannot easily be changed. For this reason, a leader who typically exhibits the work-centered type of leadership will have difficulty exhibiting relationship-centered leadership. Effective leadership thus depends on the situation, and on whether the leader's style of leadership fits to that situation. Especially in organizations, leaders who adopt an unchanging leadership type that offers stability must change situations that do not fit into their leadership type.

Fiedler suggested that three basic factors can help a leader change and control situations, 1) leader-follower relations, 2) task structure and 3) the power of office. Figure 2.6 shows Fiedler's suggested techniques with which leaders can change and control various situations.

Table 2.5: Techniques suggested by Fiedler for Leaders Wishing to Change and Control Situations (Fiedler and Chemers,1984)

<b>SITUATIONAL FACTORS</b>		
<b>Leader-Follower Relations</b>	<b>Task Structure</b>	<b>Office Power</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Devote more or less time to subordinates.</li> <li>▪ Organize sight-seeing, picnics and other activities outside of work.</li> <li>▪ Request that trusted subordinates work for you.</li> <li>▪ Reward your subordinates.</li> <li>▪ Share information with your subordinates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Resort to horizontal organization.</li> <li>▪ Increase the number of educational activities for service.</li> <li>▪ Develop task instructions, diagrams and schedules</li> <li>▪ Consult others.</li> <li>▪ Define your problems.</li> <li>▪ Take on new tasks and responsibilities voluntarily.</li> <li>▪ Be decisive.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ When necessary use the power provided by your office.</li> <li>▪ Acquire knowledge concerning the jobs of your subordinates.</li> <li>▪ Check what information that reaches your subordinates.</li> <li>▪ Delegate your authority.</li> <li>▪ Let subordinates participate in decision-making and planning processes.</li> <li>▪ Don't hoard information.</li> <li>▪ Do not create traps that demonstrate your power.</li> </ul>

The first of the situation factors is the leader-follower relationship. If followers love, trust and feel bonded to the leader, the relationship is good, and the situation is advantageous to the leader.

Task structure refers to the scope of the work that a certain group is expected to accomplish. If the group has clear goals, and knows how these goals will be reached, then one can speak of good task structure. Good task structure also creates a suitable environment for leadership.

Office power is the formal level of authority possessed by a leader. If a leader has important authority over issues of reward and punishment, then his/her office power is high. It is conducive to leadership for office power to be high.

Various criticisms have been raised regarding Fiedler's theory. These can be summarized as follows (Fiedler and Chemers, 1984):

1. Because they are complex, it is difficult to evaluate situational variables. For example, determining how good the leader-follower relationship and task structure are, and what level of office power a leader has.
2. The theory ignores other situational variables like stress, group culture and homogeneity.
3. The model doesn't consider the characteristics of followers.
4. It was assumed that leaders and subordinates have the same level of technical skill, so this was not taken into account.
5. The correlation with other studies, with respect to the tools used, was low and not statistically significant, which casts doubt on the validity of those tools.

Taking into account these criticisms, Fiedler developed conceptual skill theory, which integrated key variables like intelligence, stress and experience into the leadership process, and linked the theory to his previous works.

#### **2.2.3.2. Conceptual Skill Theory**

After the criticism of his first work, Fiedler developed "Conceptual Skill Theory". He claimed that a leader's level of intelligence could be affected by certain conditions. These conditions were that the leader a) manages the group, b) has the support of the group, c) works in a stress-free environment and d) has a task that requires intellectual effort. According to Fiedler, under these conditions, intelligent

leaders are much better able to develop action plans and effective strategies. Their relationships with followers might also be better. Because it has yet to be tested on a very large scale, this theory is still being discussed. But the main criticism of the theory is that it relies on the findings of studies conducted in a laboratory environment, on transient groups and entry-level military managers. It is thus not clear whether the theory is valid for larger groups, or for higher-ranking managers.

**2.2.3.3. Path-Goal Theory**

In Path-goal theory, the question asked is how, and with which behaviors, leaders can motivate followers to achieve the organization's goals (House and Mitchell, 1975, p.4-5). In the course of developing this theory, expectation theory was used to analyze motivation. Three fundamental principles of the theory, which leaders must adopt, are as follows:

- 1. Clarifying individual goals that the subordinates in the organization are pursuing.
- 2. Rewarding subordinates for successfully achieving these goals, which leads to them displaying high-level performance in the fulfillment of organizational goals.
- 3. Making sure that subordinates believe that they will be able to perform at a high level in pursuing individual goals.

When these fundamental principles are followed, the resultant situation is reflected in the following Figure 2.7

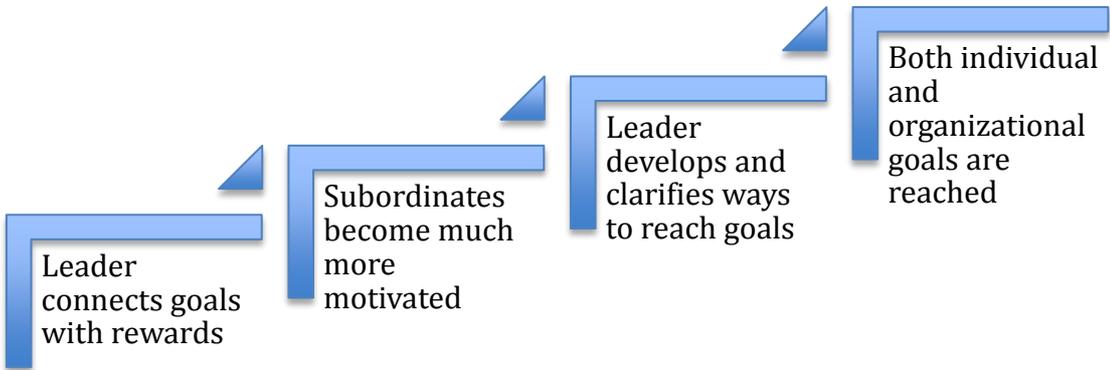


Figure 2.2: The Leadership Process in Path – Goal Theory

The theory envisions four leadership styles, corresponding to directing, supporting, participating and success-oriented leadership processes. Path-goal theory attempts to analyze the leader-follower relationship in terms of the dimensions of leader effectiveness and follower motivation. This analysis, in line with the findings of theoretical work on motivation, makes it easier to recognize chances to establish an effective leadership process by meeting the motivational needs of subordinates.

As mentioned in the beginning, leadership is an interdisciplinary notion. Definitions and approaches to leadership have been related to many major areas such as psychology, management, political science or international relations. All fields have their unique literature regarding the notion of leadership, issuing from this premises, therefore, the next part is going to be about how the notion of leadership has been explored in international relations.

### **2.3. Types of Leadership Styles**

Like the definition of leadership, there are many types of leadership styles brought up by major schools in leadership literature. Types of leadership styles are part of leadership interdisciplinary structure. Just like the evolution of the definition of leadership types of leadership styles have been shaped by social and political movements in history. Leadership style is the combination of traits, skills, and behaviors leaders use as they interact with followers (Lussier and Achua, 2004, p.152). There are over twenty different types of leadership however all of them have not matured scientifically; therefore, throughout this part there will be four types of leadership styles, transformational, visionary, quiet and quantum leadership.

Firstly, transformational leadership was introduced by James MacGregor Burns in 1978 based on his research about political leaders. However, Burns first named the concept transforming leadership rather than transformational leadership. The main idea behind transforming leadership is to emphasize changing and transforming. According to Burns, transforming approach creates significant changes in the life of people and organizations. It redesigns perceptions and values, and changes expectations and aspirations of followers. Furthermore, transforming leadership is a process in which "leaders and followers help each other to advance to a higher level of morale and motivation" (p.20). Organizational transformation generally depends on leadership personality, traits and ability to energize their

followers. On the other hand, Bernard M. Bass took Burns approach to more broad sense and called it transformational leadership. Bass added to the basic concepts of Burns to explain how transformational leadership could be measured, as well as how it affects follower motivation and performance. In terms of measurement, the influence level of the leader is transformational on the followers. The followers of such a leader feel trust, admiration, loyalty and respect for the leader and because of the qualities of the transformational leaders are willing to work harder than originally expected. These outcomes occur because the transformational leader offers followers something more than just working for self-gain; they provide followers with an inspiring mission and vision and give them an identity. A Leader can use his/her charisma or ideals to influence their followers. Because of this, transformational leaders encourage their followers to challenging to THE status quo.

Bass identifies four main elements of transformational leadership in his work following individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation, inspirational simulation and idealized influence (1985).

- Idealized Consideration: Transformational leaders act like a mentor to their followers. Leaders should be aware of their followers' needs. In other words, leaders recognize motivation of each individual, so, leaders behave like in a mentoring and coaching position.
- Intellectual Stimulation: Leader challenges assumptions and solicits followers' ideas. Leaders with this style stimulate and encourage creativity and innovation in their followers. They provide for people who think independently. From this perspective, learning is a value and unexpected situations are seen as opportunities to learn for leaders.
- Inspirational Motivation: Basically, leaders are considered as an inspiration for their followers. The transformational leader must specify a clear vision for the future, and they should motivate followers with about this inspiration to draw expectations of the group and demonstrate a commitment to the goals that have been figured out.
- Idealized Influence: Leaders become role models of society and charismatic icons for their followers. Leaders are seen as risk takers who follow their common goals. Idealized influence can be most expressed through a

transformational leader's willingness to take risks in order to follow a core set of values.

The second leadership type is visionary leadership. Visionary leadership has been one of the controversial leadership styles and has been compared with transformational leadership. Although it can be suggested that being visionary is a *sine qua non* in all types of leadership, visionary leadership has been deemed one of the distinct leadership styles. In order to understand visionary leadership, it is vital to understand what the term of vision means and how it has been used in leadership. Literally vision means something people imagine, a vision is a leader's ideological statement of imagined, long-term future for its country, so, a vision describes the ideal future that the leader wants to create with his/her followers. A vision is sometimes confused with a mission, a strategy or general goals, there is no doubt that both the two notions are related to each other, but are definitely distinct concepts. A mission statement is an explanation of responsibilities. Early studies of visionary leadership were developed under the influence of Max Weber's notion of charisma (Kirkpatrick, 2004, p.1616). It can be said that characteristics of visionary leadership are almost similar to those of characteristics of transformational leadership. In addition to this, visionary leaders are aware of followers needs, dreams and they create a common vision for their followers. This vision can be considered the most vital chemical bond between leaders and followers. According to Robert House and Boas Shamir, followers find themselves meaningful when they try to realize this vision. In other words, followers identify themselves under a common vision (1993, p.97). Another dimension of visionary leadership theories focuses on how leaders communicate with their followers regarding a common vision. Studies show that communicating about vision through verbal and written is effective and important. An experiment by Jane Howell and Peter John Frost showed that charismatic leaders are more effective in persuading their followers towards a common vision (1989, p.250).

Thirdly, introverted leadership can be considered as a new leadership style compared to other types of leadership styles. Generally, as mentioned regardless of the leadership style leaders are expected to be charismatic and risk takers. However, introverted leadership approach suggests that leaders should not be always

charismatic and risk takers. In other words, the approach of introverted leaders can be considered as an antithesis of the classic charismatic leadership (and often transformational). Introverted leadership is also known as quiet leadership. Frances B. Kahnweiler introduced characteristics of introverted leadership in her book called *The Introverted Leader: Building on Your Quiet Strength*. According to her, introverted people should not be understood as shy and fearful people and she defines its characteristics as follows;

- They first prefer to think and talk later. They consider what others have approached in specific issues, then reflect and then respond to them.
- They focus on depth. They like to understand issues and ideas before considering new ones; like meaningful rather than artificial and fast solutions
- They can stay in calm especially when times of crisis they faced and they can manage to maintain an unflappable confidence.
- They prefer writing rather than talking. They are more comfortable with the written word, which helps them formulate their ideas.
- They embrace solitude. They are energized by spending time alone, and often suffer from people exhaustion. They need a retreat, from which they emerge with renewed energy and clarity (2013, p.2-4)

Furthermore, like Kahnweiller, Susan Cain who is the writer of *Quiet: The Power of Introverts in a World That Can't Stop Talking*, suggests that although common culture undervalues introverts, they have made some of the great contributions to society, Chopin's nocturnes and the invention of the personal computer can be considered as the best example of their contribution (2013, p.25). She furthers that when people have face to face interactions with introverted people, they start to trust introverts, because introverted people who have a true and authentic commitment to something as well as and expertise (2013, p.479). So, although introverted leadership has been quite new in the field, it is getting attention in analysis of leadership profiles.

The last leadership style which has been introduced is quantum leadership. It is a very new approach converted from quantum physics to leadership literature. In order to understand assumptions of quantum leadership, understanding of quantum physics is vital and a must to do. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, researchers found

that existing physics notions were not enough to explain new experiments about emissivity and black body radiation. In 1895, Max Planck suggested a solution to this problem and claimed that the existence of black body radiation depends on frequency of radiation and he called it “quanta” which was later considered beginning of quantum physics. Then lots of physicists including Einstein and Heisenberg studied quantum physics and developed some assumptions about quantum physics as presented (Beiser, 1995 ,p.158-167)

- Within Quantum Physics, matter (objects) has both the nature of wave and particle. This means that not only waves have the particle properties, but at the same time particles also have the wave properties. However, these properties become evident depending on the type of observation. If an experiment is conducted by using the wave properties of an object/matter, its wave properties can be observed and vice versa.
- Within Quantum Physics, like wave-particle duality, position and velocity is a characteristic of the system. In other words, position and velocity aren't independent of each other. They both can't be measured simultaneously and precisely. Determining one of them absolutely/precisely makes the other one indeterminate. Even if indeterminacy can be reduced to a certain level, it can't be resolved completely because for the observer, it is impossible to make measurement without affecting the state of the observed system. At the same time, the state of the system which is observed can be changed (p.161-166)

At this point, it is required to specify that Newton Physics is evaluated as an approach of Quantum Physics. This approach is applicable for very big masses and very slow velocity/speeds. Here, it can be said that Newton Physics is deceptive because big masses are made up of individual atoms and the root-mean-square deviation (RMSD) of these atoms can't be easily observed. So, it calls for specific experiments and techniques with advanced equipment and devices. Thus, it is accepted that Newton Physics is only applicable to the macroscopic universe whereas Quantum Physics has a descriptive structure for both the microscopic and macroscopic universes (Townsend, 2010, p.43). Interpretations of quantum physics in social sciences can be formulated as follows; any social movement has a single

dimension and social systems are flexible, interactive and horizontal. As Heisenberg characterized it in the following way; “appears as a complicated tissue of events in which connections of different kinds of alternate or overlap or combine and thereby determine the texture of the whole” (1958, p.107). This approach is also used for formulation of quantum leadership approach. It has four main characteristics; wave and particle interactions-leader and followers interactions zone, possibilities and fuzzy- leadership is full of possibilities, discontinuous energy-discontinuous leadership and impact of leadership depending on interactions. This characteristic of quantum physics is appropriate to strategic planning, decision making and leadership approaches. “Quantum theory and other more recent scientific theories have had a large impact on theories of leadership” (Porter-O’Grady and Malloch, 2003, p.19).

Firstly, quantum physics suggests that objects can be considered as both wave and particle just as a leader and followers form an interaction zone. Leaders consider their leadership as solid with their followers so they don’t ignore followers’ needs and requirements of his/her followers because leaders are aware of their contribution to their leadership. Leaders would try to form a common ground with his/her followers in order to make sure they have a common future and unity. So, leaders need to consider the relationship between their followers as a dynamic that make them valuable and leaders need to realize each follower’s support to feed other followers in a complex connection (Porter-O’Grady and Malloch,2003, p.22-23).

Secondly, probabilities and fuzziness in quantum physics suggest a new way to understand leadership in dynamic and complex social and natural systems and it encourages leaders to be more risk taker. Leaders portray consciousness when they take risky decisions which are impenetrable. However, a leader believes that fuzziness in interaction with his/her followers is also determinant of his/her success and because of this belief a leader would not give orders to their followers, they offer a different course of action which also gives followers a right of initiative and responsibility. “There are many circumstances and variables, including inherent and contextual influences, as well as unplanned factors embedded in the process, that affect the relationship with each follower (Porter-O’Grady and Malloch, 2003, p.21). Leaders know that forecasting is almost impossible in such a dynamic and complex

social systems that's why leaders would try to carefully analyze global, regional and local power relationship and consider those in the decision-making process.

Thirdly, discontinuous energy is a well-known quantum phenomenon. It is a kind of movie film spool because actions of leaders happen in a discontinuous way, so, with this approach it is easy to analyze leadership. Leaders spontaneously compose and decompose interaction zones with their followers and vice versa. Discontinuous structure of leadership also hinders breaking down of notion leaders in the eyes of followers. Furthermore, discontinuous creates awareness of leaders in order to determine their strengths and weaknesses, develop strategy and policies in order to transform their potential power at the right time.

The fourth and last assumption is that the impact of leadership depends on interaction. A leader should provide and promote interaction in order to have new interaction styles. "...leaders will relate to and interact with others in new ways and be challenged to develop a new foundation for their role as leaders" (Porter-O'Grady and Malloch, 2003, p.22). The interaction level should be determined by level and density. This level and density will be determined by shared vision and faith however this interaction zone between leaders and followers is naturally full of risk and uncertainty. The impact of leadership is a result of the interaction zone because no one forces anyone to follow someone. In the next part, types of leadership styles are explained and four of them are selected for expansive description.

#### **2.4. Leadership in International Relations**

The interdisciplinary field of international relations bring more than one perspective to the notion of leadership. It can also be deemed that historical literature of leadership mentioned at the beginning of the chapter is also part of international relations literature on leadership. In international relations literature, the term of leadership has been used interchangeably with term of "political leadership, national leader, hegemony and decision maker". Secondly, power and leadership have been controversial subject. The use of power and leadership in literature is varied with different contexts. From this perspective, the notion of balance of power has been used to contest or attach with leadership in international relations. Balance of power is mainly a policy of a nation for protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side in two ways;

maximizing its power or making alliances with other powerful states. According to Ariel Ilan Roth, it is important to have some conditions to have balance of power policies and national skills of leaders are vital to identify these circumstances and rivalries (2010, p.20).

Also, all modes of power are not suitable for every situation therefore national leaders also should analyze how they differentiate soft and hard power. “Leaders must analyze their own national vulnerabilities as well as those of their would-be rivals” (Roth, 2010, p.19). Furthermore, leaders are considered as an element in nation’s power capacity. Leaders are considered as a sole person in the decision-making process. “Leaders not only instill values and beliefs among people, but can also guide the state towards prosperity and growth, which ultimately enhances national power” (Chatterjee, 2010, p.63). On the other hand, also Joseph Nye also discusses power and leadership relationship in her book called “The Powers to Lead”. Nye focuses on soft and hard power and claims that mixing of both types of power is smart power. In case of leadership, Nye suggests that smart power and power of networks shouldn’t be ignored (2008, p.45-50). Although modes of power and power as a means and an end have been used with leadership, they have been not clearly analyzed. In addition to this, power has been used in both state role of leadership and political leadership. Leadership and power are used in various ways thus political scientists are not always clear about the relationship between the two concepts.

Leadership has been discussed mainly in two ways; state as leadership (state level) and political leadership (individual). First of all, in the macro level, some of scholars focus on state role of leadership in the international system. Most of works at this level contain the word of “hegemony” rather than leadership but transformation of literature shows that hegemony and leadership are not quite synonyms. There isn’t any scientifically mentioned concrete differences between those terms but the notion of hegemony has been mostly used in the domination of hard power. Charles Kindleberger known as the father of Hegemonic Stability Theory suggests a leadership model based on domination. He defines dominance as “one country...dominated another when the other had to take into account what the first entity did, but the first could equally ignore the second” (1981, p.249-250). In

his same article he also redefines state role of leadership as “persuading others to follow a given course of action which might not be in the follower’s short-run interest if it were truly independent” (251).

George Modelski who is one of the pioneer scholars in the international relations defines “world leadership” in his Long Cycle Theory. Modelski uses the notion of “world leadership” to mean a “reciprocal relationship between leaders and followers, diffusion of economic and political innovation, minimal use of coercive means and pursuit of general/systemic interests in order and stability” (Modelski,1987) Equally, Modelski and Thompson suggest that there is a pattern of regularity in world politics. In other words, it is a kind of transition of world powers by succession of five main powers which are Portugal, Dutch, Britain(twice) and USA exercising leadership in the world history (1988, p.330-334). Furthermore, Immanuel Wallerstein as well as Modelski defines Cyclical Patterns of International System Theory. It is basically, interstate relations centered on relationship among core powers, and their ability to control peripheral areas. “If we assume a number of core states, we can assume rivalry as a normal state of affairs, with exceptional periods in which one core power exceeds all others in the efficiency of its productive, commercial and financial activities, and in military strength” (Hopkins and Wallerstein et al, 1982, p.116). In addition to this, there are considerably two new concepts; regional leadership and global leadership. Although both of them can be considered as sub notions of state leadership, regional and global leadership have social and cultural dimensions. Regional leadership is paralleling used as parallel to regional power or middle power. Daniel Flesher and Nolte define regional leadership as follows; geographically delimited region, being ready to assume leadership, display necessary material and ideational capabilities for regional power rejection, to be highly influential in regional affairs (2010, p.7)

Like regional leadership, global leadership is also quite a new term. Brzezinski defines global leadership in his book called *The Choice: Global Domination and Global Leader*, he questions USA’s position and claims that USA should choose to be global domination. America can succeed only if this task is completed with a lot of clarity, moral force as well as comprehension of the needs and aspirations of its allies. USA’s central strategic challenge is to focus more

broadly on the global turmoil. In his book he also formulates how USA can be a global leader in the following ways;

- Have a rational and balanced policy of self-protection;
- Make an effort to pacify the more volatile regions of the globe;
- Make an effort to engage the most vital and friendly parts of the world to contain and eliminate the sources of greatest dangers;
- Recognize globalization as more than just an opportunity for trade and profit, but as a phenomenon with a deep moral dimension;
- Foster a domestic political culture that is aware of the complex responsibilities in the era of global interdependence (2005).

So, state role of leadership approach in international relations generally has been analyzed from hegemony and great power perspective. Although hegemony is basically dominance of the state over others, here hegemonic refers to leading state on the basis of superior structural capabilities such as dominant culture, stability, world order and peace (Helms, 2014, p.265).

The second mainstream approach in international relations is individual leadership – political leadership in international relations. Contrast to state role of leadership approach, it puts individuals in a leadership position. Similar to state role of leadership approach, in this approach there are also sub notions to be used in analysis such as decision maker and national leader. Individual leaders have been a vital part of foreign policy analysis especially in the rational actor model. Rational actor model basically comes from realist arguments that's why it considers the state as a unitary actor which differ from other actors by their relative power. Under this theoretical frame, the definition of a leader in the rational actor model is the chief executive of the country whose decisions are coined as decisions of the state. (Neack, 2008, p.30). There are three dimensions of the rational actor model. Hans Morgenthau suggests a group of assumptions about leaders and their decisions. "We assume that statesman think and act in terms of interest defined as power, and the evidence of history bears assumption out" (1978, p.5). Margaret Hermann and Joe D. Hagan take the notion of "leadership" as an individual matter and they have indeed made an eminent contribution to the rational actor model. According to Hermann and Preston, "Single, powerful leaders have been found to act as predominant leaders

under the following conditions”;

- They have a general, active interest in, as well as involvement with, foreign and defense issues;
- The immediate foreign policy problem is perceived by the regime leadership to be critical to the well-being of the regime-it is perceived to be a crisis
- The current situation involves high- level diplomacy or protocol (a state visit, a summit meeting, international negotiations)
- The issue under consideration is of special interest or concern to the leader”  
(2001, p.83-86)

In addition to this, Hermann and Joe D. Hagan claim that leaders are determinant of states’ international and domestic constraints. In other words, based on leaders’ perceptions, they would form strategies and then actions. These perceptions would not be under effect of their experience, goals and beliefs about the world. Also, studies of Hermann and Hagan conclude that there is a direct relationship between domestic politics and decisions of leaders. “Whether and how such leaders judge themselves constrained depends on the nature of the domestic challenges to their leadership, how leaders are organized and what they are like as people” (1998, p.135)

Furthermore, some of scholars tend to focus on factors, which affect their decisions such as their personal background, characteristics and motivations. Although this approach has been criticized as unscientific, it can be considered a different insight into understanding how leaders make their decisions. This approach brought behavioral scientists and psychologists to the field in mid-50s just after WWII. Throughout the literature, scholars use the notion of decision makers in the same mold of leader. From this perspective, they claim that most of the people do not behave rationally or rationality is directly related with its context, that’s why individual differences matter in foreign policy decision-making. Although, Waltz has been an opponent to approach, one of the early works written by Kenneth Waltz examines three images of causes of war in his book called “Man, the State and War”; human nature, the internal structure of state and international anarchy. In human nature dimension, Waltz renounced the idea that war was a result of the “fixed nature of man” only (1959, p.27). This position directly challenged the argumentation of

Morgenthau, who concluded that the root of all evil, meaning the source of human conflict, is hidden within man. Simply, he claims that blaming human nature is a reductionist approach to understanding the reason of war and peace. “Human nature may in some sense have been the cause of war in 1914, but by the same token it was the cause of peace in 1910” (1959, p.28).

On the other hand, Robert Jervis focuses on cognitive foreign policy study to understand how cognitional differences affect the decision- making process. According to Jervis, an actor must try to predict how other actors will behave while trying to decide his/her move. So, each actor automatically develops other actors’ image and intentions which can be miscalculated sometimes (1968, p.454). He continued that history and psychology provide for this view because decision makers generally tend to adjust incoming information into their images, so, actors tend to perceive what they expect. Jervis also claims that people consider rationality within boundaries of decision makers’ beliefs and images. Irving Janis also contributes to cognition approach and claims that every situation has its own decisional conflict which means opposing tendencies within an individual interfere (1989, p.81).

Most of cognitive approach scholars tend to set up belief sets and cognitive structures. A belief set is a kind of set of images composed by decision makers about specific issues. A belief set is used like a filter that eliminates fitting information related to its images. The most well known example of belief set is the enemy image. Although the enemy image is constructed by evil nature with unexpected evil acts, the enemy image can also be deemed as a strategic thinker to survive and destroy its own enemies. Related with the belief sets, decision makers use an analogy to make more reliable guess about other actors. Scholars use a “cognitive map” to explain why specific decisions have been made. A cognitive map contains decision makers’ normative and behavioral beliefs named as operational code. Alexander L. George opened the discussion about operational codes in analyzing of the role of leaders in foreign policy. He explains operational code as “political leader’s beliefs about the nature of politics and political conflict, his view regarding the extent to which historical developments can be shaped, and his notions of correct strategy and tactics” (1969, p.197). Those operational codes lists are prepared based on leaders’

statements and writings. As expected, operational codes are directly linked to the personality of leaders.

Margaret Hermann developed a system called Leadership Trait Analysis(LTA), which shows that six specific personality traits directly affect specific foreign policy behaviors. The six traits in question are the following; need for power, need for affiliation, the level of cognitive complexity, the degree of trust in others, nationalism and the feeling of someone controlling events (1980, p.22-26). For example Margaret Hermann suggests that if a leader has aggressive traits, in behind there is need to manipulate and control others, little ability to consider a range of alternatives, high motive to maintain national identity and sovereignty. Tough, leaders who have characteristics of conciliatory leadership show need to establish friendly relations with others, high ability to consider alternatives, don't have to exaggerate motives to maintain of national identity and sovereignty (1980, p.36). As an example, Stephen Benedict Dyson used LTA to make a comparison between fifty-one world leaders and twenty two previous British prime ministers. For example, the research shows that Tony Blair fits to aggressive leader model that is one of determinant of Iraqi war decision (2006, p.292-295).

As already mentioned, leadership has been a multidimensional, multifaceted and controversial phenomenon. Throughout the history its definition has been evolved and changed. It cannot be bounded by any specific field such as management or political science. International relations is one of those fields which analyze leadership with domestic and international dynamics. Surprisingly, it is not easy to find lots of literature as well as management but there are other terms used with the same meaning of leadership such as hegemony, decision maker and great power. There are two mainstream literature about leadership in international relations. One of them is state role of leadership, which perceives states as a leader in an international system, and are dominant over others in terms of military or culture. On the contrary, some of scholars focus on individual leaders, who are the only decision makers for their countries. Sociology and psychology play an important role in understanding the dynamics behind decisions of leaders. Thus, leadership in international relations has been a conspicuous notion for scholars in order to

determine dynamics between followers and leaders as well as conceptualizing the individual elements of decisions especially in foreign policy.

## CHAPTER 3

### CHAOS THEORY

#### 3.1. Complexity Theory and Complex Adaptive Systems

Chaos and complexity theory have been widely used phenomenon. Chaos theory generally has been studied in physics and mathematics rather than social sciences. However, contrast to perceptions in 18<sup>th</sup> century, the universe and real life are not a clockwork concept anymore. Events in real life are generally complicated and nonlinear, it is made up of various elements and faceted into various aspects. In terms of complex and dynamic structure, there are many physical systems in the real world, such as rainfall systems (Hense, 1987, p.34), chemical reactions (Argoul et al., 1987, p.3331), biological systems (Glass et al., 1983, p.90). In other words, each event is linked to other events however far it is far from the classical clockwork universe because there are too many actors. “It is extremely difficult, therefore, if not impossible, to gain an in depth understanding of them” (Bertuglia and Vaio 2005,p.11). Therefore, conventional (linear) theories are not enough to understand our world. Despite of the linear models, these dynamical models can generate evolutionary models rather than the typical schemes of linear models given that there is a possibility of major changes in predicting certain parameter values.

Chaos theory has its own historical story. In 1890 Henri Poincare found sensitive dependence on initial conditions in a particular case of the three-body problem, and later proposed that such phenomena could be common, say in meteorology. However coining the name of chaos theory and the investigation of chaos in meteorology took almost a century and in 1960s Edward Lorenz tried to make predictions on weathercast with computer simulation. Suddenly Lorenz noticed that any tiny change in the starting point of simulation can completely change the whole prediction. Then this feature would be known as butterfly effect. “His search for aperiodicity had led to sensitive dependence” (Alligood, Sauer and Yorke, 1996, p.360). However, in order to understand chaos theory properly, it is vital to understand complexity theory and its features. Complexity theory has distinct

differences from the chaos theory, actually complexity theory can be considered as umbrella for chaos theory. The two main sources of complex systems are iteration and interaction. Iteration means generating the system many times. “Fractals and chaos result from repetition of simple operations. These generating rules produce complex phenomena” (Bossomaier and Green, 2000, p.2). Contrast to limited diversity of chaos theory, complexity theory contains a number of parts (agents) that interact with and adapt to each other endlessly. Then, interaction as another source is between different independent and adaptive actors. In addition to this, perhaps one of the most important features of complex systems, which is a key differentiator from chaotic systems, is the concept of *emergence*. Emergence “breaks” the notion of determinism because it means the outcome of these interactions would be *naturally* unpredictable. In large systems, macro features often emerge that cannot be traced back to any particular event or agent, so, complexity theory is based on interaction, emergence and iterations. The theory maintains that the universe is full of such systems like weather systems, immune system and of course social systems which are complex and constantly adapting to their environments, so these systems are referred to as complex adaptive systems (CAS). Features of complex adaptive systems that are formulated reflect the following a) a large number of similar, independent and interdependent agents; b) constant responses from these agents to other agents; c) self-organization, in which order in the system forms spontaneously; d) Coevolution (Valle 2000, p.4).

Firstly, complex systems contain diverse, similar, independent and also interdependent agents. It is one of the reasons why social events are a complex and phenomenon because social events naturally include many individual agents. Also, diversity of agents is one of the main pillars of the unpredictability features of complex systems because each agent has its own dynamics in the system and any minor change would result in a new emergence of the other agents and then the whole system. Even incremental changes of actors would cause instability where negative feedback would not work and the system could always be in a deadlock situation. “... The cumulative effects of various small steps could, at some point, reach the moment where the system would just be about to lose its stability (or its seemingly stable position)” (Klijn, 2008, p.305). The second feature is constant

responses between agents. As mentioned in the above, responses of agents which create interaction networks are a source of complex systems composed by constant responses of different and independent actors. This relationship is non-linear relationship where output is unexpected based on input. Nonlinearity relations of different and interdependent agents are increasing unpredictability.

The third characteristic of complex systems is self-organization. Self-organization means that complex adaptive system can evolve to a higher level of complexity. “Self-organization is an inherent operation of living systems” (Erçetin et al., 2012, p.185). Self-organizing can occur many times by responses of actors to given conditions, repeated in the system. All actors in the system have the capacity of adaptiveness to new situations in order to survive. Based on the first and second characteristics, complex systems are open to evolvement. Tiny changes in any agent would lead to reemergence of the whole system because of this each actor has a natural capacity to adapt themselves into new systems thus adaptiveness is consequence of self-organizing which can be considered as an interpretation of iteration as a key source of complex systems. So, self-organizing works as a vehicle of emergence of a new order. The last feature is coevolution which Mitleton- Kelly defined as “the evolution of one domain or entity (that) is partially dependent on the evolution of other related domains or entities, or one domain or entity changes in the context of the other(s)” (2003, p.29). It can be interpreted as mainly in a multi-actor environment in which co-evolution reveals that all independent actors actually very depending on each other and because of this unpredictability is inevitable. Also each actor in the system also represents a subsystem and these subsystems are also part of the whole system, so while agents self-organize themselves all these subsystems and agents also adapt to other agents and self-organizing and patterns of the whole system.

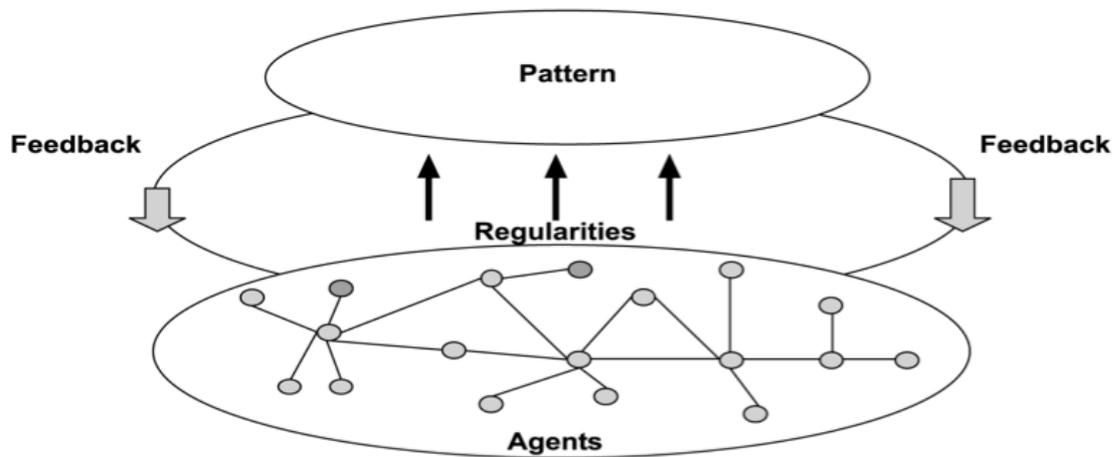


Figure 3.1: Process of Self organizing systems (www.trojanmice.com)

### 3.2. Chaos Theory and Chaotic Systems

As already mentioned, a chaotic system is kind of a subfield of complex systems. Chaos and order are interrelated with each other. Chaotic systems have both similarities and differences with complex systems. It can be said that chaotic systems have all features of complex systems however chaotic systems also have different characteristics. All chaotic systems cannot be considered as complex systems and vice versa. Firstly, chaotic systems are determined by multi-actors with nonlinear structure similar to complex systems. Despite to linear systems, chaotic systems are composed of multi-actors and nonlinear structure. These multi actors have infinite and independent options when they decide how to behave. Also, they show nonlinear structure during their behavior. This characteristic of chaotic systems is also part of their unpredictable mold emphasized by Coveney and Highfield as “getting more than you bargained for” (1995, p.424). Having multi-actors and being nonlinear also proves that natural systems are completely chaotic systems. Thanks to nonlinearity and the newer mathematical tools of chaos theory, it became possible to see more clearly how life works (Capra, 1997, p.112). Thus, chaotic systems have multi-actors and a nonlinear structure that’s why unpredictability is inevitable.

Secondly, in such a nonlinear systems, there is of course expectation of unpredictability. In nonlinear dynamical systems, in a chaotic system, small disturbances can have explosive and nonlinear effects. “In a nonlinear system, the

slightest variation can lead to catastrophic results” (Wheatley, 1999, p.121). This characteristic of chaotic system named as “sensitiveness to initial conditions”(butterfly effect) is one of the unique features of chaotic systems which simply means any smallest events can trigger large and unexpected consequences. Lorenz first coined the term of butterfly effect in his paper titled “Does the flap of a butterfly`s wing in Brazil set off a Tornado in Texas?” He finds a mathematical findings between outputs derived from inputs with minor differences. Lorenz noticed that there would be complete output when he entered 0.561 and 0.5617 as an input. In other words, butterfly effect can highlight small differences between numbers that are very close each other in the continuum of real numbers; differences that may evade the experimental interpretation of data, but that may increasingly amplify in the system`s dynamics (Bertuglia and Vaio, 2005, p.21). It makes it impossible for long-term predictions. Kauffman states that the only reason why the behavior of a chaotic system is unpredictable is that its extreme sensitivity to initial conditions means that one could never identify all of the factors that will play a role in its behavior (Kauffman, 1996,p.115).

The third unique feature of chaotic systems is attractors. Attractors is a set of motions to which a complex system is attracted. “According to Newton`s laws of motion, each attraction or repulsion is accompanied by an equal and opposite reaction. If you are attracted by a force, you will also attract the source of that force with an equal force in the opposite direction” (Erçetin, Açıkalin and Bülbül, 2012, p.94). These reactions compose “strange attractions” in the chaotic system. It is kind of an equilibrium point in the system but definitely a dynamic equilibrium. The interesting point with strange attractors is embedded within their composition. Due to sensitivity to initial conditions, while the orbits are moving further away from each other, they also gather together in a limited space without intersecting or retracing the same path. This contradictory behavior is the most critical property of strange attractors and they have limits in the system and as the limits are getting more clearer in the system, then order seems more closer. That`s why strange attractors have a vital function, which is the only way to understand the structure of chaotic systems because strange attractors are influential elements in the system. Thus, any changes in strange attractors in the system naturally determines the future of a system and it is

obvious that a chaotic system does not emerge randomly but randomness of a system is determined by elements. Wheatley concludes that we need to look at the whole picture in order to understand how order emerges in a system, and defines strange attractors as the form of the whole (1999, p.116).

There are four different types of strange attractors. The first one is point attractors which have only one dimension and outcome in the system. Point attractors are easily found in all systems. For example, the failing of a book or any one outcome resulting from that action can be considered as a point attractor. The place where the book fell is the point. The second form of attractors is cycle attractors. Despite to point attractors, cycle attractors are settled in a cycle. They cycle back and forward from two or more activities. Predators-Prey is the best example of cycle attractors in the nature that when the predators' population increases, the numbers of prey would decrease and it continues in similar cycle patterns. The third form of attractors is torus or selenoide attractors. This type of attractors has three dimensions. Compared to the other two types of attractors, torus attractors have much irregularity and complexity. Similar to the cycle attractors' example, torus attractors can be found in predators-prey relationship. However, with torus attractors it would represent more complex interactions of a numerous of interdependent species: the population of one predator species relates to that of the prey of its prey. For example, the size of the insect population affects the size of the bird population, which affects the size of one of their predators, cat, which in turn effects their predators, the dog. The last attractors are strange attractors, where attractors have fractal structure. It is completely different from all other forms of attractors. Strange attractors are also the basis of self-organization characteristics of a system. The strange attractor never repeats itself. Sensitivity to initial conditions is directly related to strange attractors. When a system moves according to the chaotic pattern of the strange attractor, it is highly sensitive to initial conditions, so, it makes it impossible to be predicted (Stacey, 2007, p.190).Lorenz fractals are the most important examples of strange attractors which derived from a natural phenomenon- weather. There are more than three variables such as pressure, temperature, wind speed and humidity that are linked to each other with non-linear relations. The vital point is that they do not have internal capacity to regenerate themselves. They need to have external force to

change internal parameters in the system. “It requires some external force to manipulate the parameters for the system to move from a point attractor to a cyclical one and then to the strange attractor” (Stacey, 2007, p.191)

The fourth and last characteristic of chaotic system is that generating a new order would take a long time. Behaviors of systems can be seen as an abstract mathematical space that is known as phase space. Phase space shows how the system being studied changes with the respect to time and various other variables (Erçetin, Açıkalın and Bülbül, 2012, p.95). In other words, phase space shows evolution of a system and how the system has been generating to a new system. For example, strange attractors are the most influential elements in the chaotic systems with the effect of sensitivity to initial conditions. They are able to angle systems to new directions with almost a million possibilities. While orbits of strange attractors are flowing in the system, they would never clash in the same point, so, all mentioned behaviors of chaotic systems occur in long term because although behaviors in chaotic systems are not periodically repeated, they are not random as mentioned. Randomness of chaotic systems is determined by strange attractors in the system. Based on this, Wheatley point out that in order to understand generating of new order, there is need to look at the whole picture which emphasizes an amazing feature of chaotic systems where individual motions looks like a chaos but the whole system is order. Thus, generating a new order in chaotic systems takes a long time because whole system is composed of chaotic behavior of its elements. “...dynamical systems are historical systems they can reveal many types of behavior over time”(Kiel and Elliott, 1996, p.2).

As emphasized above, all chaotic systems are complex systems but not all complex systems are not chaotic systems. So, chaotic systems` features are the following a)sensitivity to initial conditions(butterfly effect) b)multi-actors with non-linear structure c) system is deterministic(strange attractors) d)generating of a new system takes a long time. Chaos theory also has application in social sciences and international relations. The next part will be about how chaos theory has been applied to international relations.

### **3.3. Application of Chaos Theory in International Relations**

The 1990s might be remembered with the end of the Cold War but the 90s onwards have been full of developments in every field. The world met the notion of “globalization” and its implications which triggered new paradigms in science. Applications of natural science to social sciences became a new phenomenon because it was understood obvious that dynamics of social life cannot be understood and predicted with traditional approaches. Although linear models can also be used to understand social phenomena, with contemporary developments they become inadequate. “Linear dynamical models are able both to provide stable solutions and to predict situations of instability, but the solutions of such models can be reduced to just four very general types” (Bertuglia and Vaio, 2005, p.6). Because of this generalization of the multi-actor structure of society, scholars had to reconsider society as dynamic structure. “The emerging paradigm of chaos thus has profound implications for the previously dominant Newtonian view of a mechanistic and predictable universe” (Kiel and Elliott, 1996, p.2). In other words, life is not a static process and each individual have power and capacity to change whole system that’s why it is impossible to predict the future. Last twenty years, chaos theory was started to be used in social science and especially international relations because linear system is not enough to define such a dynamic systems. From this perspective, chaos theory can be considered as a new way to understand our life and its application can be found in economics, business, political science and international relations. Most of the applications have been used to make predictions and mathematical modeling.

Application of chaos theory especially in the international relations can be used in different dimensions of chaos theory, which can be theoretical perspective, case study or modeling. It can also be said that features of chaos theory vary in application of chaos theory. Actually, application of chaos theory in international relations was not mentioned directly however it is partially implemented in some literature. For example, Clausewitz indirectly mentioned nonlinear systems and interdependence of actors but not named with features of chaos theory in his book “On War”. At the beginning of the book, Clausewitz defined the war as a result of an "interaction" (Wechselwirkung) of two living forces. In other words, it "is not the action of a living force upon a lifeless mass (complete nonresistance would be no

war at all) but always the clashing of two living forces” (p.15). From this starting point, Clausewitz discussed unpredictability within interaction in the definition of war. According to him, interactions of both sides (Zweikampf) are completely a matter of human mind and set of emotions that’s why the will of two sides is equally related with their subsequent reactions. Any kind of action will produce not a single reaction but many unexpected reactions, so, unpredictability is core of in his war definition (p.19-20). Equally, Clausewitz emphasized unpredictability in friction of real war vs. war on the paper and the notion of chance. For the friction, Clausewitz claims that there are undeniable large effects of minor actors or reactions. “Friction conveys Clausewitz's sense of how unnoticeably small causes can become amplified in war until they produce macro effects, and that one can never anticipate those effects”(Osinga,2006,p.119). Furthermore, on the notion of “chance” is very related with his perception of friction because he suggests that there are numerous variables which are directly linked with the chance and unpredictability. Then, the notion of chance is also related with sensitivity to initial conditions that determine the whole system by chance.

Thus, Clausewitz based his book on nonlinearity, unpredictability and complex interactions of actors. It is clearly mentioned that no two reactions are the same and any of two wars are not the same either, so, chance and complexity are dominant in real life. “In war, as in life generally, all parts of the whole are interconnected and thus the effects produced, however small their cause, must influence all subsequent military operations and modify their final outcome to some degree, however slight. In the same way, every means must influence even the ultimate purpose.” (Clausewitz, p.109)

After the 90s application of chaos theory in international relations became much more explicit and controversial. Robert Jervis suggests that system effects and actor behaviors are highly complex and unpredictable in international relations. In his book “System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life”, he gives WWI as an example of how complex and interconnected events triggered the war. “International history is full of interconnections and complex interactions” (1997, p.8). According to Jervis it is impossible to limit the reasons of WWI to only Turco-Greek aggression or Britain and German problem. There had been multiple

interconnected events that were unpredictable for the whole system. In addition to this, Jervis continued that since social and political life is full of interconnections and unpredictability, it is hard to catch all effects of actions.

In a system, the chains of consequences extend over time and many areas: The effects of action are always multiple. Doctors call the undesired impact of medications “side effects.” Although the language is misleading—there is no criterion other than our desires that determines which effects are “main” and which are “side” —the point reminds us that disturbing a system will produce several changes(1997, p.10)

The 2000s can be considered as more fruitful years for chaos theory and its application in international relations. In 2006, just as Clausewitz, Ingo Piepers focused on chaos theory and war from the perspective of their effect on the international system in his works titled “The International System: At the edge of Chaos”. He makes research on possibility to apply the notion of being edge of chaos which means in a unique condition between system restriction and the system’s capacity to adopt new circumstances in the international system. Based on his previous research called *The Dynamics and Development of the International System: A Complexity Science Perspective*, he has argued that the dynamics of the international system showed self-organized critical characteristics during the period 1495-1945. To Piepers, as a result of this, stable periods were periodically punctuated by system-sized Great Power wars (called punctuations) then the international system reorganized itself. “It seems that chaotic war dynamics contribute to the development of an anarchic international system: non-chaotic dynamics result in more intense Great Power wars and in a delay of an (unavoidable) fundamental reorganization of the international system. The assumption that complex systems function more optimally at the edge of chaos, seems valid for the international system as well” (2006, p.1)

Dylan Kissane might be one of the persons who explicitly theorized chaos theory and its application in the IR. Kissane in his work "A Chaotic Theory of International Relations? The Possibility for Theoretical Revolution in International Politics" outlines that chaos theory would be considered a new alternative to both realism and liberalism and he redefines the international system as chaotic. Kissane puts three elements of application of chaos theory in international relations which

are; the international system is naturally chaotic, actors within in the international system seek security and while seeking security actors are interacting with each other (2007, p.93-94). According to him, international systems as naturally chaotic- might be the most divergent characteristic of the chaotic international system which means there is high interdependency between actors. Secondly, all actors in the system seek security and when they seek the security they are interacting with each other (2007,p.93). Kissane also adds that predictability in such a chaotic system is almost impossible. On the other hand, Kissane also discusses the limitations of chaos theory and its application in international relations in terms of interdependence and the problem of explanation. In such a chaotic international system, Kissane accepts that high interdependency that implies actors from individuals to sovereign states causes problems at the level of analysis. Also, explanation is another problem which is derived from sensitiveness to initial conditions. There are no concrete effects of actors' actions and millions of possibilities will have an effect on the whole system. Kissane has overcome the limitations of chaos theory and its application in international relations. In his "Mapping International Chaos" article, most of his attention and focus is devoted to how the limitation of chaos theory can be overcome. (2010,p.18-22)

### **3.4. Eurocrisis as a Chaotic Environment**

As earlier on discussed, applications of chaos theory in international relations can be varied. It is possible to analyze social and economic events with chaos theory or it can be used to challenge classical IR theories. Eurocrisis has been one of the biggest economic and social crises experienced in Europe and the world at large. Especially after the 2008 Global Financial crisis, it obviously showed that there is demand for recovery in the global economy with a new perspective. At first sight, Eurocrisis looks like a reaction of markets to over borrowing by individuals and governments in periphery countries. However, roots and consequences of the Eurocrisis have been different and consistent which is not easy to understand with conventional approaches. Matthieu Cristelli points out the contrast between classical perspective of economics and agent-based model that realize financial markets (2014, p.5-7). Agent-based model is directly linked to complex adaptive systems. Classical theory of economics has the following elements;

- Situation of equilibrium with equal (representative) agents that are (quasi) rational, have the same information, and process it in the same way
- Important price changes correspond to new information that arrives on the market. The fact that this information is random and independent leads to the random walk model and the corresponding Black and Scholes equations.
- This new information modifies the ratio between offer and demand and then also the price. This corresponds to a mechanical equilibrium of the market.
- These concepts also imply a cause–effect relation, in which large price changes are due to the market reaction to the arrival of exogenous important news. Therefore a large price change is supposed to be associated with an equally large exogenous event.

However, especially after globalization today's global economy is composed of various agents such as MNCs, rating agencies or banks. Each agent has its unique characteristics and ability to move in the economy. Any kind of predictions about agents' possible behavior is almost impossible. Various agents cannot be generalized under the effect of panic, fear and economic bubble especially in crisis time. So, classic theory of economics would become useless even completely wrong to understand dynamics of crisis. Meanwhile an agent based model is an insight into more realistic ways of understanding the dynamics of economic crisis. Cristelli put three different elements of the agent-based model;

- The agents are heterogeneous with respect to their various properties such as strategies, wealth and time scale.
- The interaction between them is a fundamental element and, of course, it can have many different characteristics
- Price dynamics depend on the balance between offer and demand but the specific implementation can be different (2014, p.7)

Cristelli's focus on global financial markets as complex systems perspective is a very detailed analysis but it is important to understand basic differences from the classical perspective on economics and how complexity theory is applied in economics. Related with his point of view throughout the chapter Eurocrisis would be analyzed with chaos theory as a holistic event with major focus on the political economy and in particular Merkel's leadership profile. So Eurocrisis would be redefined as a

chaotic environment and firstly, there will be history of the Euro as an insight for common currency, secondly roots of Eurocrisis would be analyzed broadly with the chaos theory perspective and the third part will be about multi-actors, interdependency and nonlinearity in Eurocrisis.

#### **3.4.1. Roots of Crisis: Sensitivity to initial conditions**

“For want of a nail the shoe was lost.

For want of a shoe the horse was lost.

For want of a horse the rider was lost.

For want of a rider the message was lost.

For want of a message the battle was lost.

For want of a battle the kingdom was lost” (Gleick, 2008, p.53)

Immediately after the crisis emerged in Greece, the group led by France and Germany, the main supporters and creditors of Eurozone blamed the failed states not to complying with the Stability and Growth Pact. The other group including Greece and Spain, blamed the main group for not supporting them to compensate their deficit. This broken picture of union pushed to scholars to rethink the roots of crisis and future of EU. Some of scholars directly linked Eurocrisis to the 2008 Financial Crisis as the main reason. Although it was an important element in the evolution of the Eurocrisis, it is not the only one reason. As Jackson summarized, the 2008 Global Financial Crisis basically started with loss of confidence in financial markets because of high mortgages while housing markets experienced downturn however it easily turned into a liquidity problem (2009, p.9). Just before Lehman Brothers declared its bankruptcy, Eurozone countries have kind of contradictory picture of weak economies as follows; thanks to low interest rates there was high domestic consumption including government, weak competitiveness ability, rising of public debt and noncompliance to Maastricht Criteria. In a very short time, as expected crisis spread to European banks which had toxic mortgages too. “The financial crisis that began in the United States as a result of downturn in residential property values quickly spread to European banks through effects felt in the market for asset-backed commercial paper” (Jackson, 2009, p.9). The first reaction from EU was given by Jean Claude Juncker who emphasized that EU should stick with its economic policies and would never imitate US in terms of rescue plan. However, optimism in

Europe was not long because German Hypo Real State Bank had liquidity problems and other British banks too. Germany and national governments had to make a rescue plan for Hypo with worth of 50 billion Euro, so, the crisis officially spread to Eurozone. When individual rescue plans of member countries were not enough to recover crisis, EU decided to take common decisions by ECB. Influence of financial crisis to Eurozone was of course inevitable however it is impossible to reduce reasons of Eurocrisis to one variable.

A very simple definition of any economic crisis can be summarized as following the view that both endogenous and exogenous factors can drag a financial system to non-equilibrium. The butterfly effect in Eurocrisis can be analyzed in four stages in blemish design of European integration in terms of lack of fiscal policies, inefficient banking system, inconsistency with optimal currency area theory and the last one is Maastricht Criteria. Four different stages of integration are also part of the butterfly effect on Eurocrisis. In other words, small details in designing of integration resulted in fragile and unstable Eurozone with traumatic crisis entrapped in the 2008 Financial Crisis. Eurocrisis is not only provoked by exogenous causes, but also by the very dynamic nature of the system itself. If Eurocrisis is considered as a chaotic system then initial conditions are hidden in the roots of the crisis because the main reasons behind Eurocrisis are embedded in economic integration. Economic and political design are the starting point of analyzing of Eurocrisis with chaos theory with sensitivity to initial conditions or well-known butterfly effect. As mentioned, initial conditions in the chaotic system will affect the whole system in the long run. Any change in initial conditions would lead to a different outcome in the system. Reasons for the Eurocrisis should be searched in integration process itself and exogenous events outside of the Eurozone system. In order to estimate the influence of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and its butterfly effect on the Eurozone, there is need to understand how the Euro has been a fragile currency since its evolution. Throughout the analysis, Greece's facts and figures would be used as a concrete example of butterfly effect because Greece was the first country to declare national bankruptcy and became a symbol of the Eurocrisis.

Firstly, the most important and vital problem started with the integration itself. "The European crisis is rooted in a failure of institutional design"(Bergsten, 2012,

p.1). Actually, this problem is not new a phenomenon since many economists have explored this problem and possible effects before the crisis. “The crisis has exposed a structural problem of the Eurozone that has been analyzed by many economists in the past” (De Grauwe, 2010, p.3). Actually, at the beginning evolution of Euro as a common currency was designed mostly for economic projects and integration and it thus neglected political dimensions such as common fiscal policy and other common areas. This neglect caused an incomplete structure of the common currency. Theoretically and as expected, monetary unions have generally three main features; economic integration and the ability to manage external and internal shocks, a common fiscal framework that allows collective transfer, debt and lastly strong central bank (Godby, 2014, p.31). However, European monetary union was not built up consistent with these characteristics. Integration policies as a reason of crisis can be analyzed in two sub-dimensions, which are integration process and its implementation in national economies. Firstly, due to the establishment of Eurozone, the Eurozone member countries shifted their sovereignty to supranational level about monetary policies on the contrary fiscal policies were left to national authority decisions. Basically, Eurozone countries have common currency but they don’t have common fiscal policies, which means Maastricht Treaty set up monetary union but there has been no economic union. Öniş and Kutlay developed a thesis for this contradiction in EMU called “Economic Integration Political Fragmentation Paradox”. They claim that the lack of common fiscal policies with a common currency was the main cause of the crisis (2012, p.9). Maybe the strongest words of this diagnosis were said by Chancellor Merkel “We need more Europe. We don’t only need monetary union, we also need so-called fiscal union”. So, the wrongly designed Maastricht Treaty and lack of common fiscal policies compose first sub-dimension of endogenous reasons, which led to Eurocrisis in the long run.

Secondly, another problematic element of Eurozone integration is the banking system. Instead of shifting sovereignty of national banks to upper institutions, EU created a new central bank. European Monetary Institute was created in 1994 and was to be responsible for ERM. After that, there was an adoption of process of ECB and European System of Central Banks, which was composed of all national banks and would replace EMI. Compared to other central banks, ECB is only responsible

for price stability-inflation and national banking regulations which were under responsibility of nation states. Furthermore, according to legal basis of ECB, the ECB cannot be a lender of last resort, and is not able to purchase national debt. Inefficient banking system is another element in integration process and its butterfly effect. This inefficiency and undefined responsibilities led to a more unstable and fragile banking system for any shock and crisis. “If a major banking crisis, triggered by events inside or outside the EU, catches Europe unprepared, the risk would be an extraordinarily costly outcome, possible regulatory overreaction and the rushed adoption of poorly prepared reforms” (Veron, 2007, p.8)

Thirdly, the Euro as a common currency also has inconsistencies with Mundell’s theory of Optimal Currency Areas. Mundell points out both economic and social criteria for optimal currency area which are degree of trade openness and integration, product diversification, labor mobility, wage flexibility, level of debt, fiscal transfers possible, homogenous policy references, high degree of solidarity with other nations and relation with Eurozone conditions (Baldwin and Wyplosz, 2012, p.424-425). Compared to OCA criteria, Eurozone economic conditions had had potential for instability because in Eurozone labor mobility and wage flexibility are low, level of debt is varied and fiscal transfer is limited. Furthermore, in terms of social criteria policies in Eurozone were left as regional. “The European countries could agree on a common piece of paper, they could then set up a European monetary authority or central bank...This is a possible solution, perhaps it is even an ideal solution. But it is politically very complicated, almost utopian” (Mundell, 1973, p.157). Actually, some of scholars urged that Euro would not be efficient as planned in the beginning. Criticism of the project was also common among American economists in both the Federal Reserve and academia voicing their skepticism over prediction for the Euro’s success (Jonung and Drea, 2009, p.27-28). Eurozone conditions have been far from a stable currency area.

Fourth and lastly, the convergence criteria in Maastricht Treaty generalized diverse countries. In Moravscik word, it caused “fundamental equilibrium within single currency zone, which applies a single monetary policy and a single exchange rate to a diverse group of economies” (2012). Then Eurozone countries signed the Stability and Growth Pact in order to force countries to adopt the criteria. Even in the

first years of Euro, some countries including Germany and France violated Maastricht and SGP. For example, in 2002 and 2003 France and Germany violated 3% deficit rule and 60% debt/GDP rule. That's why each country had to develop practical ways to attach a criteria to public debt and budget deficit. It made economic integration much more complex and problematic economic integration. "...its use in the absence of common fiscal and budgetary policies in countries with highly diverse socioeconomic structures leads high costs" (Sapir 2011, p.234). Similar to generalization of Maastricht Criteria when member countries joined the Eurozone, investors also considered weak economies as equal with strong economies such as Germany and France. Precisely put, the role of rating agencies cannot be ignored in influencing confidence in the global economy. "The rating agencies take a central position in the destabilizing role of the financial markets"(De Grauwe, 2010, p.1). For example, Moody's, Fitch and Standart&Poor rated Greece with AAA+ and then interests rate fell almost instantly. In other words, just because weak economies started using the Euro, they were found as a safe place to invest. While, interest rates were rapidly falling down, there was capital flow in those countries and as expected it resulted in excess domestic consumption, increment in of public and private debt and rising of labor costs especially in weak economies. Increasing domestic consumption and labor costs led to less competition among companies in the long run which is completely butterfly effect process that triggered the next and next one until the whole system become edge of the chaos. Firstly, large consumption as a result of structure of integration happened as follows "...it triggered large inflows of capital from core into non-core countries that financed rising consumption, partly encouraged by rising wages, as well as a real estate boom" (Lin and Treichel, 2012, p.37). For example, Greece, had a high growth rate between 2001 and 2007, the annual growth rate was 4.3% in contrast to 3.1% of the Eurozone average.

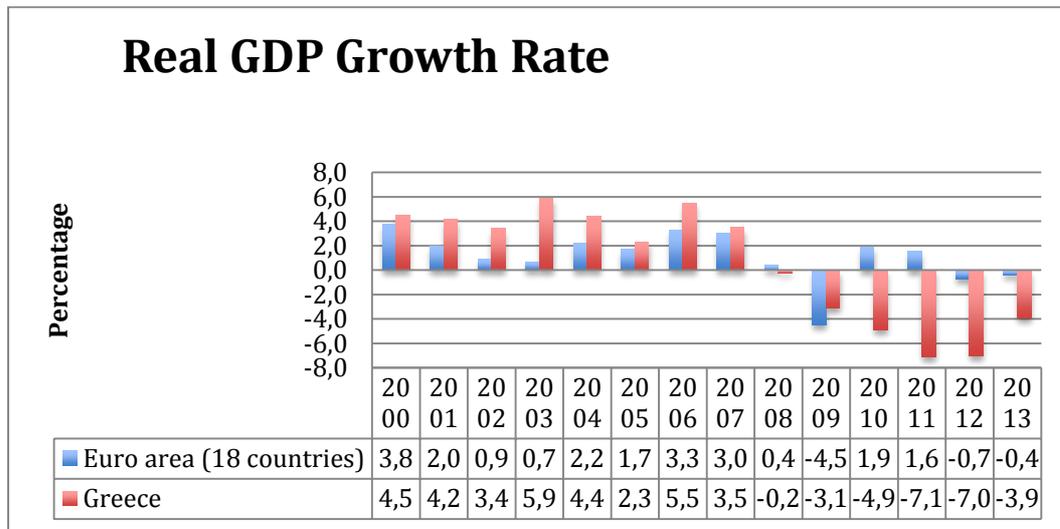


Figure 3.2: Real GDP Growth Rate of Euro Area and Greece

However, this growth rate was mainly driven by household consumption and government investment. At the same time, interest rates were decreasing affected by ample liquidity in the global scale. Large domestic consumption was high compared to the average of Eurozone countries in 2007 and 2008. Because of high percentage of domestic demand, it led to an imbalance between import and export percentage. According to WTO indicators, there was a huge gap between imports and exports percentage in 2009 a year before the crisis broke out in Europe officially. Also, while strong Eurozone countries completed their social policy reforms, weak economies failed to do and labor costs were rapidly increasing.

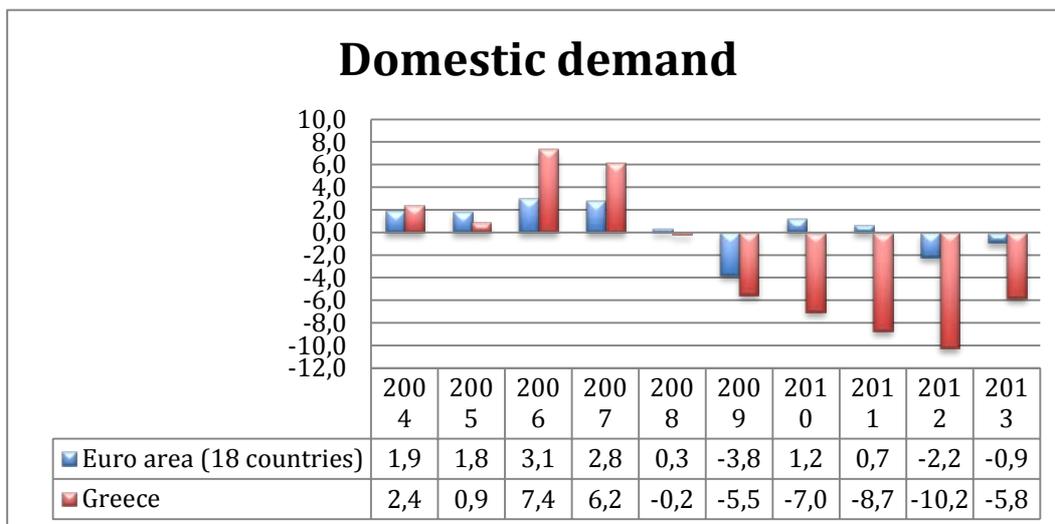


Figure 3.3: Domestic Demands of Euro Area and Greece

When Greece’s national sovereign debt crisis broke out especially after 2009, domestic demand sharply decreased as expected. Based on large domestic consumption in domestic directly affected the competitive power of companies in exporting. “Yet, with growth increasingly driven by unsustainably high domestic consumption, periphery countries lost export competitiveness and the manufacturing sector declined” (Lin and Treichel, 2012, p.14). The butterfly effect resulted in high unemployment rate and huge public debt.

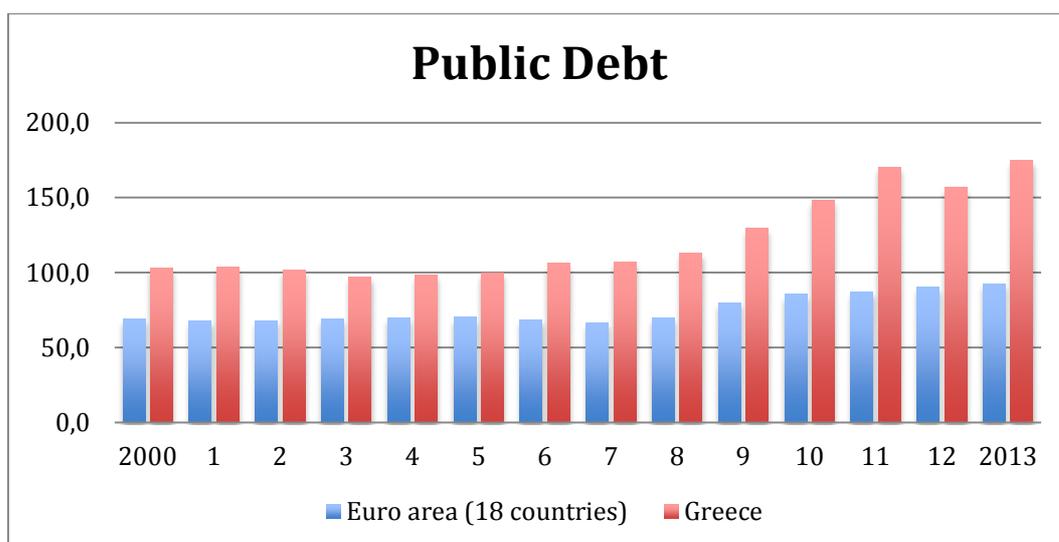


Figure 3.4: Public Debt of Euro Area and Greece

### 3.4.2 Multi-actors, Non-linear Relationship and Interdependency in Eurocrisis

As mentioned at the beginning, among the characteristics of chaotic systems are multi-actors structure, interdependency and nonlinear relationship between actors. According to the chaos theory, in chaotic systems from minor interactions at individual level in international relations to system level interactions in chaotic systems, it seems completely independent but would be interdependent in the long run. It should be highlighted the differences between independency and interdependency. Complex interdependence is almost a new phenomenon in international relations, brought by Joseph Nye and Keohane. They basically define complex interdependency as the various and complex transnational connections and interdependencies between states and societies which are increasing and decreasing at the same time by use of balance of power. Interdependence is naturally part of

chaotic systems because of its sensitivity to initial conditions as briefly explained in the above. It covers all individuals and their effect on the system but which also make impossible to analyze that's why in this part, there will be an analysis of interdependency and nonlinear relationship of major actors, in the Eurocrisis such as national actors, EU institutions and IMF as international actors.

Firstly, national actors are one of the major players in multi-actors structure of Eurocrisis from architecture until now. Using a common currency by different national states creates unavoidable interdependency between them. Any shock and crisis inside would have domino effect on other countries too. National actors can be divided into three main groups, which are core countries, periphery countries(GIIPS) and UK in terms of their economic performance and political discourse. Core countries led by Germany and France are seen as the engine of Euro and have relatively better economy. Periphery countries are Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain known as periphery countries after crisis broke out. The last group is UK and other countries, which are generally opposed to politics of Euro. These three groups have both interdependent and nonlinear relationship together. After legitimization of Euro as a common currency, there was a massive increase in financial interdependence between countries as a result of capital liberalization thanks to Single Market and common currency then it resulted into explosion in interbank lending: French banks have lent \$904 billion to their GIIPS counterparts, while German banks have lent \$834 billion. Not only, Eurozone countries but also UK, the leading third group is part of financial interdependence. UK is a host of the biggest finance companies. For example, Spain as one of the periphery countries which really suffered from the crisis, has had strong financial ties with UK and The Spanish Banco Tender is the third largest UK financial organization. It obviously reveals that not only Eurozone but also all members of the union have complex interdependence on each other. Mustafa Kutlay summarizes the how Eurozone member countries have deep interdependence as follows, the level of financial interdependence is deeper and more complex in the EU than in other parts of the world economy because the Eurozone countries are further bound to each other by geographical proximity and Single Market regulations (2011, p.96-97). However despite their interdependency, those three groups definitely have a nonlinear

relationship expected to be full of compromise, threat, instabilities, opportunities and discontinuities.

This nonlinear relationship between national actors is definitely matched with the chaotic system perspective. Throughout the integration history, the relationship between member nations is composed of instabilities, opportunities, discontinuities and compromises. Germany has been always been a supporter of more supranational structure in Eurozone despite to France's support of intergovernmentalist approach. Although, they pretended to be agreed in some points during the Eurocrisis, they have had very different economic policies and national interests. When seeking solutions to Eurocrisis, divergence between Sarkozy and Merkel became so public. Sarkozy supported the idea that ECB should act as a lender of last resort contrary to Merkel's objection on possibility of increasing of inflation. Even most of the public opinion blamed France and Germany not to agree on any solution and wasting time. On the other hand, position of UK has been always against joining to Euro especially after Eurocrisis, UK emphasize their strong point as anti-Euro and even Cameron announce possibility take their membership to referendum. Despite their all differences, end of the day for the sake of union and their national interest they reached a compromise. Also, there is no doubt national actors have also influence on finance companies and EU institutions through decision making process.

Secondly, EU institutions are definitely part of complex bureaucratic structure. Actually, this complex structure was getting thicker and interdependent after The Rome Treaty. Functioning common market evolved into thick and paradoxical complex structure of European Union within years. Its complex structure rooted in clashing of intergovernmental and supranational approach. All treaties in the EU cover three types of governance; supranational, national and local and there are three types of policies; common, shared between Europe and national and national politics. "In the EU, political authority is distributed in a rather complex way. It begins with the split between national and supranational policy levels" (Rhinard and Boin, 2009, p.8). Interdependence and nonlinear relationship embodied in context of EU institutions. Firstly, many actors involved in European integration process such as all the institutions and organizations involved in EU decision-making system, and the rules and their limitations shape their strategies. This paradoxical

structure naturally makes its complexity. Eurocrisis once more showed that intergovernmental institutions have influence over supranational institutions that make harder to take decisions during crisis. For example, some of Eurozone countries insisted to pursue their national agenda contrast to Germany's and France implication on more supranational body. Thus, because of integration design, there is high interdependence between institutions each other and nation states. This interdependence is generally experienced ups and downs in nonlinear relationship but compensated with compromise of nation states, which sometimes takes a long time.

Thirdly, international actors are undeniable actors in Eurocrisis. They are definitely important part of the web of nonlinear relationship and interdependent relations. It is obvious that there are lots of international actors in Eurocrisis however, only IMF is subject to our analysis. International Monetary Forum is definitely one of the key players during Eurocrisis and policy making during recovery period. Frankly, in the beginning of the crisis, any European countries especially Germany is not willing to have IMF in solution seeking process however any legal documents have or even implies bail out clause made Cooperation between IMF and EU seemed imperious. "...Germany and the ECB first tried to steer the IMF away from European involvement, on the misguided grounds that Europe could look after its own problems" (Marsh,2013,p.96). The first bailout plan was implemented by Troika composed by the European Commission, European Central Bank and IMF only six months later crisis broke out. The plan was not only financial aid but also it has basically three pillars, which are fiscal reductions, creating of financial market stability and structural reform. It is mainly focused on Greece's recovery in first hand. The structure of the bailout plan has been important part of IMF's nonlinear and interdependent relationship. Before bailout plan with Troika, IMF was mainly responsible with short-term credit to countries with prerequisite of conditions or on the country's commitment to implementing economic policies that will restore equilibrium. Second responsibility is periodic consultations about exchange rate arrangements and macroeconomic policies.

Although before the crisis IMF was not seen as lender of last resort, the financial crisis drag IMF into center of the crisis as lender of last resort. Tirole

suggests that IMF did not have to play role of lender of last resort (2002, p.111). However, after bailout plan historically IMF expanded its lending power almost ten times bigger than some quotas and created The Flexible Credit Line in 2009. In other words, the new role of IMF as lender of last resort has been questioned because its expanding role in lending completely affects relationship with other actors. It created intense interdependence between debtor countries and IMF and in this plan, debtor countries directly represent EU itself. In 2010, “The IMF Executive Board has had to decide about financial assistance programs and conditionality could only follow and approve the general decisions that were made by the heads of governments of the EU” (Seitz and Jost, 2012, p.15). After crisis, IMF and EU institutions would have more complex and interdependent relationship and as expected new institutions mechanisms need to be established. In other words, new role IMF is more influential and complex than before with members of EU and EU institutions. The other side of coin is directly related with nonlinear relationship between IMF and other countries, which are located outside of Eurocrisis continent. A total 27 members of EU has 32% of voting power in IMF Executive Board and generally all directors are European. After the Eurocrisis coupled with the changing role of IMF along with the dominance of European patterns in the IMF, there may be an effect on future funding for other countries because the prospective funds for Greece and other crisis countries is almost half of the total quota of IMF. It also means that IMF cannot raise new funds in near future and there will be less funds for other countries from Asia, Africa and former CIS who specifically benefited from tasks of IMF. This can be result into a nonlinearity relationship with other countries’. Thus, the new role of IMF completely changed its relationship with EU and other countries. This role of IMF would also create a new dimension of full of interdependence with debtor countries and it became structurally linked to main players of Eurozone. The influential role of IMF as a lender of last resort will affect its own relationship between other countries who are potential debtor to IMF funds. So, IMF is definitely one of the key components of complexity and nonlinear relationship in Eurocrisis.

Consequently, having multi actors, nonlinear relationship and interdependency between actors is the determinant characteristics of chaotic systems

that's why it is impossible to ignore Eurocrisis due to its unique characteristics in terms of multiactors, nonlinearity and interdependency. Multi-actors within Eurocrisis can be counted as million with individuals however effective and main actors will be analyzed in three categories as; nation states, EU institution and IMF as an international actor. It can be said that each actors has an interdependent and also independent relationship with each other. Due to intensity of globalization, nation states in Eurozone have deep financial interdependence, the number of financial investment proves that any kind of sovereign crisis would led to domino-effect within Eurozone countries. While they have had such interdependency, it can be said that member states of Eurozone have a nonlinear relationship during decision making which experiences instabilities and compromises. The contradictory in structure of union is one of the important proofs of this nonlinearity- battle between intergovernmentalist and supranationalist approach. Not only nation states and EU institutions but also IMF is the key player of this chaotic environment.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ANGELA MERKEL**

Germany has had quite different and interesting story after devastating WWII. The Allied forces occupied Germany. Following the Potsdam Conference in 1945, officially Germany was officially divided into American, British, French and Soviet zones. However, in a short while there was mistrust between Allied forces. At the end of 1949, three Western zones formed one new state called the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet zone became German Democratic Republic. West Germany was governed by USA. West Germany had better economic conditions thanks to assistance from the Marshall Plan as an American effort to provide money and goods. However East Germany was governed by Soviet Union and life conditions in East Germany were really tougher than West Germany. Following years after the division, there was flow of migration from East to West and by the end of the 1950, almost 15 million people moved to West Germany. In May 1955, the American, French and British forces officially withdrew from West Germany. Then West Germany became member of NATO. This hindered the last chance of reunification of Germany and it was also beginning of 35 years of painful division. Flow of migration from East to West and tension between Soviet Union and Western allies ended up with the physical barrier called Berlin Wall which was built in 1961. Berlin Wall was not physical barrier between East and West, East Germany also cut is remembered as Iron Curtain between capitalism and communism or Iron Curtain between democracy and autocracy. So, until reunification of Germany, Germans and Europeans suffered from divided Germany. German Chancellor Willy Brandt's words will always be remembered when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989; "Now what belongs together will grow together"(Noack, 2014).

Reunification was costly for Germany to reconcile economic differences between East and West Germany. It had not been easy as imagined, following years after reunification almost 96% of industrial jobs disappeared in East Germany. As Alexander Pirivetra says that "Trying to digest reunification in the 1990's provided

quite a severe shock for Western Germany's economy, which basically had to shoulder the weight of reunification”(2014). Despite high costs of reunification, thanks to severe and long term economic policies, Germany has had successful economic growth and became the most powerful country in the European Union.

Through 25 years since reunification, there have been remarkable Chancellors who paved way to powerful Germany such as Willy Brandt and Gerhard Schröder. Although women leaders are not unusual on the European continent, especially Scandinavian countries and United Kingdom which have experienced women leadership for long years, women leadership in the German politics is not so often. Hence, the rise of Angela Merkel as a leader of Germany surprised everyone. Being Mutti or Madame Non, regardless of her nickname, Chancellor Merkel has been considered as one of the distinct and interesting political figures in both Europe and the world. She has unique features such as being first women Chancellor, being an East German and of course having different leadership attitudes. “Angela Merkel is unique among post-war German Chancellors in that she is a woman, she is from the former East German Democratic Republic, and she is the first with a background in the natural sciences” (Yoder,2011, p.360). Similar to her personality, she has had unique agenda for Germany and Europe. “Chancellor Merkel leads her government has changed dramatically, both domestically and internationally” (Ferree, 2006, p.93).In the last five years Merkel has been considered one of the most powerful women in the world hence her biography and milestone of her life will enlighten and give a hint to analyzing her leadership attitudes. In this part, Angela Merkel's biography and her political career will be analyzed in three phases. First section will be about early life of Angela Merkel in East Germany, second part will be about her early political career after reunification. Last part will be about Merkel as a party leader and Chancellor of Germany.

#### **4.1. A Physicist Girl From East Germany**

Her leadership style is highly influenced by having grown up in a communist regime, by her analytical training as a research scientist, by her tutelage... (Steckenrider, 2013, p.242)

Angela Dorothe Krasner was born in Hamburg, which was part of West Germany in 17 July 1954. She has a brother and a sister named Marcus and Irene,

Marcus was born in 1957 three years after Angela and her sister Irene was born ten years after her. Weeks later from 17 July, her family moved to East Germany and then to Templin which would later shaped her major parts of her life. Angela Merkel's father-Horst Krasner was a Protestant Pastor in the local church and also teacher of young protestant pastors. Also, Herlind Krasner-her mother was English teacher but she became housewife after marriage which was uncommon in East Germany where regime had worker class tradition (Crawford and Czucka, 2013). It should be noted that Ludwig Kazmierczak who is Angela Merkel's grandfather came from Posen with Polish roots. Later this situation would be effective in Merkel's political life. In 2000, Merkel gave a speech in the Congress of Poland and described herself as a one quarter Polish (Kornelius, 2013, p.15). Since her early education life, almost in all levels of her education she got the highest marks. "Angela was unrivalled at school in Russian and mathematics and even in her early teens was good enough to compete in the national Russian-language Olympiad" (Kornelius,2013,p. 18). Even in one of her interviews, she said the following about school "School presented absolutely no difficulties and learning really was fun for me" (Langguth, personal interview, 5.2.2005). Her family was also effective in her education. She has been always impressed by physics and chemistry that's why she took Marie Curie as an idol for her, who had two Nobel Prizes from chemistry and physics.

She has been always curious about life and politics of outside of East Germany. Although she was living in an oppressive environment, she liked travelling and meeting new people from different countries. "She was regarded as someone with keen appetite for life, ready to try anything, outgoing and positive" (Kornelius,2013,p.24). Angela Merkel and her friends travelled to Prague, Budapest, Sofia and even Batumi. Also, she was not far from political events outside of East Germany. When she was 14 years old she listened to the radio broadcast of a West German presidential election secretly (Crawford and Czucka, 2013, p.29). From her childhood Angela Merkel and her family had very sad but vivid memory about the Berlin Wall. Merkel remembers with feelings of powerlessness August 13, 1961 when the construction of Wall started. Later she explains these days; "Everybody was shocked, there is nothing to do, all of my family feel powerless" (Kornelius,

2013, p.19)

There are two different aspects of her East German life. One of them is her father as Protestant pastor and his ethic and morality perception would be effective in her early political career because it was not easy to be Protestant pastor in such an atheist structure of East Germany. It can be argued that her father's high expectations fuelled her later political ambitious (Stock, 2005). The second aspect is that despite her fathers' influence on her political career, being an East German pushed Angela to be impolitic in her university choice. Natural science was a prestigious, non-ideological subject, providing her with the greatest possible academic freedom. Also, she prefers to study physics because as Kornelius wrote that she did not want to expose herself politically. (2013, p.31). In 1973, she started studying physics at Karl Marx University in Leipzig. A year later in 1974 when she was travelling with a friends group to Soviet Union would she met with first husband Ulrich Merkel. Studying on physics or in general sense natural sciences has been another important element, which shaped her personality, leadership and attitudes. She assumed a very different approach to political events compared to other politicians who had social sciences background. She has had much more comprehensive attitudes towards crisis and political events. In her political life, she compares political systems, events and solutions as a whole. As natural scientist, her brain is working like a clockwork or computer that works based on order and predictability. "I always wanted to know what I'd face next, even tough that was maybe a bit detrimental to spontaneity" (Merkel and Müller-Vogg, 2003, p.51). After her studies in Leipzig, she had continued her studies in Academy of Sciences in Berlin. During her studies in Berlin, she got married with Ulrich Merkel in 1977 and five years later they divorced and she still use his surname. After finishing her Ph.D in 1986 she started to work at there. It is obvious that Merkel had no political intent in her university times albeit Merkel always followed developments in West German politics.

There is no doubt, GDR was not so politically friendly environment for opposition groups because East Germans lived under restrictions and there was common fear from Minister of Security of State. Later on in her interview, as Kornelius noted that Merkel said once more showing low profile- pretending to be not so clever and discrete was the only way to survive in East Germany (2013, p.30).

In other words, quietness and not being risk taker became the characteristics of East German people according to Merkel. In later years, Merkel has never been a visible political figure directly, she always prefer to keep a low profile. If there is one thing Merkel is good at, even today, it is keeping quiet (Stefan Kornelius, personal interview, 04.02.2014). Merkel has also been known as a no risk taking attitude kind of person. Furthermore, East Germany and its political atmosphere influenced Merkel's perception of democracy and freedom that later became indispensable values of her. Kornelius stated in his book, Merkel has always been ambitious supporter of democracy and freedom during reunification and later (p.28-30). Because of this, Angela Merkel admires United States and its democracy promotion role she has never forget her first summer holiday with her Joachim Sauer in San Diego and later she conceded in Congress that her experience, it was completely different for her. Even in 2011 when Merkel was awarded with a Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Obama, during the award speech Merkel remarked thus;

I grew up in the part of Germany that was not free, the German Democratic Republic. For many years, I dreamt of freedom, just as many others did. Also the freedom to travel to the United States. And I already had planned this out for the day that I would reach retirement age (Jackson, 2011).

So, although she had no incentives to have political stands in East Germany, naturally social and political atmosphere in East Germany shaped her personality, political life and even her leadership profile.

#### **4.2. An Eastern German Women in Politics**

We believe that the most effective leaders are synthesizing and integrative thinkers who resiliently adapt to the opportunities, luck and paradoxes that confront every venture (Cronin and Genovese, 2012, p.59).

As mentioned, in her early years of her life she never directly engaged political groups. Even she consciously chose physics as a professional field to stay away any political engagement. However, her political life started as a complete coincidence. In 1989 when Berlin Wall came down, there was a chaotic environment in Berlin. By chance, Merkel contacted Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, after this meeting she found herself into Democratic Awakening Party. "She liked the name and the fact that she found so much there that was incomplete, waiting to be shaped" (Kornelius 2013, p.32). So, in February 1990, she became press officer for the

Democratic Awakening Party. The Democratic Awakening was a small center-right party, they formed a coalition called “Alliance for Germany”. It was first and last election of German Democratic Republic. During her duty, she had chance of travelling and having close relationship with Lothar de Maiziere who would be effective in her political life later. She had three aims in her early political life – reunification, market economy and a sit in Bundestag. She accepted a position in Lothar de Maiziere government and she started work as deputy to Matthias Gehler, which opened new doors to Merkel. She had chance to have experience in international forums and discussions in her first position, she travelled to most of the European capitals and Moscow. Historically, GDR collapsed during these years, but GDR’s influence on Merkel’s personality, her early political experience in GDR government left remarks in next years in a unified Germany. Hence, in her 35 years in GDR can be considered as an effective element in her political orientation, personality and future expectations. “The Merkel mystery is rooted in the failed East German Republic. This explains the fascination for her as a person, especially in her second term as Chancellor and particularly abroad” (Kornelius, 2013, p.44).

She had always been keen on meeting Helmut Kohl who was Chancellor of West Germany. After reunification, she met him in Hamburg, she was invited to Bonn to talk with him. This invitation showed that Helmut Kohl already thought to give a position to Angela Merkel in his cabinet. As expected, she was appointed as Minister for Women and Youth. With her appointment as minister, Merkel became known as “Kohl’s Madchen (girl). Merkel later admitted she had mixed feelings about this nickname” (Thompson and Lennartz, 2006, p.104). Years later, Merkel said that actually she didn’t know anything about her first ministry and its politics. As same as other women politicians in Germany, Merkel also started her career with Women and Youth ministry. However, despite other women politicians Merkel successfully used this ministry as a springboard for her political life. She used her chance wisely to travel with Helmut Kohl and she had wide range network from media to foreign politicians. Not only having a network but also she learned political maneuvers and games. “Most importantly, she also learned how to deal with political rivals and even former friends” (Thompson and Lennartz, 2006, p.105). At the same time, she started to become influential within the party. In September 1991, she

became deputy party leader instead of Lothar de Maiziere. One year later, she had met with Beate Baumann, who was introduced by Christian Wulff who was 10<sup>th</sup> President of Federal Republic of Germany would become personal secretary and one of the closest person to her. “Except perhaps for her husband Joachim Sauer, no one knows Merkel better, no one else knows exactly where to find her or to keep track of her political activities so meticulously” (Kornelius, 2013, p.47). Beate Baumann still has been considered the second most powerful women in the country. Richard Hilmer said that “Mrs. Baumann is certainly one of the least known yet most important people in the Berlin landscape” (Delfs and Czuzka, 2013).

In 1994 when Helmut Kohl formed a government again, Merkel was appointed to Ministry of Environment. One can say that Ministry of Environment shined her career. This ministry had more sophisticated and cautious responsibilities in that time because Germany hosted Climate Summit in 1995. Helmut Kohl gave importance to this conference he had even proposed to be hosting country for this conference in previous Rio De Janeiro Conference. Then he said “This was the most important international conference that would be held on German soil for foreseeable future” (Kornelius 2013, p.53). Merkel was the chairwomen and had tough duty to negotiate between various countries. This conference ended up with Berlin Mandate which included Kyoto Summit and obligation for developed countries to sign binding rules. Berlin Mandate not only changed climate policies in world but also Merkel’s image and popularity abroad especially in developing countries. Berlin Summit revealed unexplored personality and leadership character of her, she is completely pragmatic when it comes to negotiate and as Stefan Kornelius said “A new characteristic emerged, one that she hadn’t previously acknowledged :the pleasure of competition, the excitement of victory” (2013, p.55). So, Merkel was able to transform herself from unfledged politician to leader of Germany.

### **4.3. Angela Merkel as CDU Leader**

In 1998 when Wolfgang Schâuble became the president of CDU, Merkel was the secretary general of the party. However, within a year, the most dramatic scandal of CDU became public. Helmut Kohl brought campaign contributors’ money illegally to party bank account to the tune of 2 million DM. More clearly, Helmut

Kohl financed CDU campaign by secret bank accounts and hidden donations. Kohl admitted these affirmatives and said that “If the consequence of this action was a lack of transparency and, perhaps, violations of rules on party financing, then I regret that. I did not want this, I wanted to serve my party” (Karacs, 1999). Just after this scandal Merkel made a political maneuver to distance herself from Helmut Kohl. Although she was criticized by Kohl’s loyalists within the party, this maneuver increased her visibility in the German public. In the middle of scandal, Wolfgang Schäuble was pushed to resign from his office, and resultantly the party needed rescue from this scandal. Angela Merkel was the right person to survive in a corruption scandal. In such a conservative and traditional atmosphere, extraordinary situations where male politicians were blamed for the scandal, the clean and mother image of women leaders were preferred (Kane, 2001, p.36). In 2007 when Angela Merkel became president of CDU, was turning point for not only CDU but also Germany. In order to understand her rise to party leadership, it is vital to explore the internal dynamics of CDU. Firstly, CDU structure and its political traditions are key to understanding the internal dynamics. CDU is actually a catch-all party which means party directly aims to catch all votes in election (Wiliarty, 2008, p.83). Being catch all party was the result of historical transformation of the party. After reunification West and East Germany, CDU unified too and it caused catastrophic revisions in party structure. “Attitudes toward gender, child rearing, and sexuality had changed over the postwar decades, 17 million East German citizens had joined the republic, and the CDU needed to be catch up” (“Hockenos: Merkel Transformed the CDU”, 2009). Basically, Helmut Kohl is considered as the father of party and has been definitely one of the most popular politicians. However, numbers in polls after corruption scandal were very low for CDU that’s why CDU needed a “clean” image. Merkel as a women politician directly fits into a clean image demand of CDU. It partially changed party structure and Merkel directly fulfilled three important criteria within the party. She is a woman, she came from Eastern Germany and she is protestant. Another and most important factor is also related with structure of CDU. As mentioned, as a catch all party, CDU should host different political interest group. Of course it led conflict within the party, so party needed a leader who could actually manage and manipulate all interest groups together. It seems that

from every perspective Merkel was the right person to become party leader. “Merkel was just the person for the job: a woman, an Easterner, and a Protestant” (“Hockenos: Merkel Transformed the CDU”, 2009)

Merkel’s leadership was a seminal moment for both CDU and her political career. There are two dimensions of her uniqueness in CDU; transformation of party policies and her extraordinary leadership. “Most of experts were surprised when Merkel who has been reformist, Protestant and women became leader of CDU dominated by conservative Catholics” (Portre: Angela Merkel, 2014). Merkel changed traditions and even the structure of CDU which was a reason behind her unexpected success in election. Angela Merkel transformed CDU step by step. Since 2000 when Merkel became party leader, there were two different changing waves in three main policies that is; gender and family policies, economic and immigration policies. Firstly, naturally as a woman Merkel changed gender perception within the CDU. Although the 1990 unification treaty included improving gender equality under Families and Women section, conservative politicians generally favored of classical family model representing women as responsible for house works. It is obvious that Merkel was not prototype of CDU. Specifically, the party shifted their focusing policies towards not housewives but women who actively work and have children. In addition to this, after Merkel’s chairwoman in CDU, the number of women in CDU increased especially in executive positions. In her first term, women dominated one of third positions in CDU and government. In 2013 election, 229 out of 630 members of Bundestag were women, which is the highest rate in the history of the Federal Republic (Germany: record numbers of female representatives elected, 2013). “Having Merkel as chair of the CDU, however, has made a significant difference in the kind of access that women have to informal channels of political power” (Wiliarty, 2010, p.178). Also statistical data showed that %44 of women voters chose CDU (McTernan, 2014).

Furthermore, gender perception of CDU shaped its family policies. “The CDU vision of these families was quite specific. A normal family had a husband, a wife, and at least two children, preferably more. The husband worked outside the home for a wage that was large enough to support himself and his dependents. The wife cared for the children and the household” (Williarty, 2010, p.72). Merkel

seemed not to work on gender issues directly however Angela Merkel had a statement about CDU respecting unmarried couples, single parents, family with adopted children and even same sex relations, so, CDU announce its respect to untraditional lifestyles (Clemens, 2009, p.127-128). “The modernisation of the party’s position on working mothers has helped the CDU appear much less backwards than it would otherwise and has likely contributed to the party’s increasing popularity among female voters” (Wiliarty, 2013, p.184). This major policy shift reflected on female population of Germany. According to the statistics, within 16 federal states of Germany in 1991 North Rhinea and Westphalia had the lowest percentage of CDU women members with %16.1, it increased almost %39,5 in 2000 (Wiliarty, 2013, p.184).

The second issue was immigration policy, traditional CDU generally preferred to ignore immigrant issues and focus on not being an immigrant country. Merkel retained the commission within the party to reconsider immigration policy of CDU. For her, there shouldn’t be anymore “ignorance” policy towards Germany’s reality. Peter Müller who was chair of commission said that “CDU no longer saw immigration as a matter of “whether”, but of “who and how many” this conversion remained halfhearted” (Clemens, 2009, p.128). Thanks to Angela Merkel, CDU became aware of immigration issue is more than a single policy area. It is much linked to social and economic issues too. In other words, migrants are indispensable part of Germany. “The CDU understood long ago that the defensive position it had previously adopted on immigration policy is ancient history. Migrants were an economic necessity in the old federal republic, and still are now, for demographic reasons” (Wagener, 2014). Moreover, immigration issue had another controversial dimension for CDU which is multiculturalism in terms of religions. As a Christian conservative party, CDU had been cautious towards multiculturalism and supported full integration of foreigners without forming any parallel societies. However Angela Merkel as consensus builder aimed at more moderate party policy towards immigration. Despite CDU’s 2005 election manifesto, emphasizing Christianity as a value-based system for individuals and society, the participation of Islam in German society is mentioned explicitly. Even, Angela Merkel and new CDU were ready to pass a bill about immigration with SPD.

Third and last one is economic policies. From the very beginning of her leadership in CDU, she had been very insistent on making reforms of CDU's economic policies. However, it was not easy as she had imagined. Although Merkel's demands on policy change on unemployment which were envisioned by tax reform, individual social insurance accounts and combined welfare-jobless benefits because of resistance within the party failed until 2002 (Clemens, 2009, p.128). She was so tenacious especially about the unemployment issue. "New social market economy" which included tax reform, social insurance and welfare benefits. "Her 2001 congress speech thus remained vague on 'what was new in the new social market economics, and disavowed any plan for a 'revolution' in CDU policy, in any direction" (Adam, 2001). Between 2002 and 2005, Merkel expanded her power within the party and also cooperated with CSU and within three years she backed and insisted on a new plan about investment and job creation. It was completely against the plan for Schröder's 2010 agenda. Despite all appeals within party, she managed to have this new plan pass through.

In terms of her economic policies, 2005 was sparkling year for Merkel and CDU because SPD-Green coalition government collapsed. Until election, polls showed that CDU/CSU coalition would defeat SPD. However, unexpectedly CDU got defeated and it created shock within party that encouraged radical reforms in party. This election also showed that whether German people support their economic plan or not. "As the social consequences of the radical tax reform proposed by CDU candidate Angela Merkel's tax expert, Prof. Paul Kirchhof, became clear, the CDU/CSU increasingly lost support" (Henning, 2005). Also, 2005 election results revealed that voters did not favour harsh capitalism so the economic plan should be revisited. Although under this negative atmosphere for CDU, Merkel still maintained her powerful position then economic performance which automatically abandoned the CDU economic plan. There is no doubt that Merkel and CDU constantly showed changes during the years as response to national and international challenges but the period between 2000 and 2008 can be considered a catastrophic changing process in CDU was fuelled by Merkel. That's why Merkel and her influence within party of leadership can be summarized in two ways. Actually, for many years CDU was generally marked with traditional and conservative notions. Merkel brought not only

changes in policies but also changed the perception within party. In other words, Merkel broke down the barriers of traditional conservatives in the party. CDU started to talk more modern issues with untraditional ways. It started to open its doors to the modern middle class in the society. In other words, paralleling to external and also internal changings, CDU had to be changed. Naturally, Merkel's rising to power encourage the transformation of 'modernisation' of CDU. So, in this case the new CDU has been open to Catholics and Protestant Christians, conservatives, liberals and Christian-socials, women and men from different regions, from all social classes and democratic traditions of Germany.

The federal CDU's new cultural profile aimed at the upwardly mobile urban middle class did not prevent Land and local functionaries from adopting traditional, often hardline, even chauvinistic, rhetoric meant to placate long-time supporters or woo the socially marginalised lower middle class (Clemens, 2009, p.134)

Another major effect of Angela Merkel on CDU can be considered to be the questionable style of her leadership which is known as 'collecting cards' of her rivalrs. In other words, she managed to take best political cards of each party such as environmental policy from Green, more liberal politics from Social Democrats and so on. Actually, she has been really good at taking political cards of her rivals, at least it is one of the reasons behind her victory in last election. Her background has definitely been effective in this radical change within CDU. Not only the political background but also her personal perception and background can be considered as effective ingredient in these reforms. Especially, reforms in gender and family policies and economic reforms completely reflect her personality and ambitions. "She rejuvenated a party that had grown stodgy, and she stole the thunder from her main rival, the Social Democratic Party, which never dreamed that German conservatives would ever invade its long-held turf so boldly" (Hockenos, 2013).

Transformation of CDU can be considered as a successful transition in terms of expanding profiles of voters and its reflection on election results in 2009 and 2013. It can be said that German people have had more different perceptions about CDU. CDU is no more political party of traditional conservatives who ignore other parts of society. Definitely success of CDU in the last elections- 2013 elections' victory is historically dependent on modernization of CDU and Merkel's power of

transformation. Although Merkel has undeniable effect on CDU, there are also other elements that catalyzed its success. “The combination of these changes seems to be contributing to a renaissance in female electoral support for the Christian Democrats” (Wiliarty, 2013, p.188).

#### **4.4. Angela Merkel as Chancellor of Germany**

With the 2013 election, Chancellor Merkel took oath for her third term. There is no doubt her second term was remarkable with Eurocrisis which is discussed in a separate part. In this part, Chancellor Merkel’s main domestic and foreign policy areas between Chancellor Merkel’s first term until 2009 the year marked with beginning of Eurocrisis are going to be analyzed. Understanding the first term of Chancellor Merkel is significant to understanding her leadership profile during the Eurocrisis. The flow of domestic and international events changed her approach and attitudes towards crisis, it also revealed that how Germany and her perception changed. There won’t be brief policies and their implications as this is not gist of the thesis but mostly focus on how her leadership attitudes changed towards specific cases in general. Hence there will be two separate parts focusing on emerging political in domestic and foreign policy between 2005 until 2009.

##### **4.4.1 Chancellor Merkel in Domestic Politics**

After the first women leadership in CDU, in 2005 she took an oath as first woman Chancellor in German history under second grand coalition of CDU, CSU and SPD. Angela Merkel’s first term as Chancellor can be found to be controversial in terms of her effectiveness within Germany. Constitutional reforms of federal system, welfare and tax system were the main issues of her first term domestically. Actually, Chancellor Merkel’s consensus builder personality has played very vital role in first term because at the very beginning she clearly said that “Foreign policy is my thing”(Kornelius, 2013), she had to make consensus with not only coalition partners but also other actors in German politics such as Bundestag and member of parliament. “The Chancellor thus becomes a mediator, seeking to find consensus and solutions among the different positions”(Olsen, 2011, p.348).

Therefore during her first term Chancellor Merkel generally left domestic issues to their coalition partners. However, she still had influence on some issues. Firstly, she could make important revisions in federalism law as she set her agenda.

“For example, Merkel’s government made some important reforms in the area of federalism (itself a legacy of the 1966–69 coalition) that were seen as absolutely necessary to help overcome the familiar problem of Reformstau that has plagued German governments since Helmut Kohl” (Olsen, 2011, p.350). Furthermore, she achieved one of her main goal of reducing unemployment and improving the economy which were the main problems of Germany when she came to power. Almost 5 million people officially registered as unemployed and public debt was almost 70% of GDP that definitely violated Maastricht Criterias (Botman and Danninger, 2007, p.3). Basically, she raised VAT and reduced the corporate taxes that would make more easier to create employment. “Merkel was able to reach agreement with her coalition partner on raising VAT, giving the government more financial wherewithal to operate” (Olsen, 2011, p.350). The 2008 global financial crisis sourced from USA hit Germany too however once more thanks to future based reforms of Merkel government Germany had no catastrophic effects.

Although Chancellor seemed more effective with foreign policy rather than domestic politics, her leadership attitudes had a huge impact on making of reforms. Because of her background in East German, she put individuals as central actors in the political and economic life. “It is individuals who generate goods and ideologies and come into competition with one another. The role of politics is to manage competition to make it as efficient as possible while ensuring that the state is able to support the weakest” (Benoit, 2005). In addition to this, Chancellor Merkel has the ability to mediate between coalition partners and she considers issues in a pragmatist’s way. With the words of Der Spiegel, “Merkel was the ‘harmony Chancellor’, the ‘queen of allowing the unwanted to happen” (Kurbjuweit and Neukirch, 2009).

Despite her consensus builder characteristic, there were times of high tension under coalition government. She had serious problems especially with Foreign Minister Frank Walter Steinmeier’s speech regarding President Obama in front of Brandenburg. Although she had tough times with Steinmeier, she has always been open to all voices from all political views which is directly related with her East Germany background where people never wanted to talk. “Angela Merkel has successfully guided Germany into a thriving economic powerhouse and propelled

herself into leader” (Steckenrider, 2013 p.226). So, Chancellor Merkel’s first term was not so exciting in domestic policy but thanks to her consensus building and pragmatism, she was relatively successful.

#### **4.4.2 Chancellor Merkel in Foreign Policy**

As mentioned in the above during the first coalition period, Chancellor Merkel preferred to be an active player in foreign policy relations with US, European Union affairs and Russia as Chairwoman of G8 and European Council. In her initial statement when she became Chancellor in 2005, her speech’s 15 pages out of 18 were about foreign policy (Kornelius, 2013, p.87). Before focusing on main areas and her influence in German foreign policy, it should be noted that she had a completely unique and challenging profile as a leader in terms of foreign policy. “Merkel is unique among post-war German chancellors in that she is a woman, she is from the former German Democratic Republic, and she is the first with a background in the natural sciences.” (Yoder, 2011, p.360). Hence her background shaped her foreign policy with two elements which are values and pragmatism. Firstly, once more the personal background of Chancellor Merkel can be considered as determinant factor in foreign policy approach based on values. Due to oppressive regime of East German, she has always been supporter of values of “freedom, democracy and human rights”. “Merkel is a liberal, she deeply believes in western values of freedom, human rights, and democracy” (Hacke, 2008, p.1). It can be said that she has stuck to those core values in foreign policy making contrast to her predecessor Chancellor Schröder. Chancellor Merkel considers any conflict and violence in the world as humanitarian issue. In 2007, she strongly emphasized that since 2005 when she has been in office, she has built her foreign policy based on values and they shaped her rhetoric and actions (Hammerstein, Neef and Neukirsch, 2012).

Secondly, as well as domestic politics she can be described as pragmatic leader in foreign policy largely viewed as a consensus builder, rational and positivist. In other words, Chancellor Merkel is always seeking for consensus while she is completely rational and considers concrete analysis. Thanks to her scientific background, she generally prefers to stay calm and make decision step by step, she also deems reports and analysis as vital source when she is making decision.

“Merkel’s scientific training can also be expected to shape her style of foreign policy making. The chancellor herself describes her political motto as ‘think, consult, decide’ or ‘step by step’” (Muller-Hârlin, 2007, p.2). Parallel to the pragmatist approach, teamwork is also part of her foreign policy making. She heeds ideas and suggestions of her advisory and regional experts. Core characteristic of her foreign policy style is teamwork, transparency, dialogue, and discretion (Hacke, 2008). These unique principles and values of Chancellor Merkel have praised her as world leader. In her first inaugural address on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2006 she stated that foreign policy strategy would be based on defense of these values. (Dempsey, 2006).

There are some key areas of German foreign policy which Chancellor Merkel focused on, which are USA, EU and Russia. Firstly, her approach to USA as a Chancellor has actually two dimensions; personal and publicly. As mentioned that in her youth times, America was kind of idealized place for freedom and democracy. It is possible to say that her professional approach to USA in case of foreign policy has been affected by her personal ideas. Two years before she became Chancellor, she wrote an article in Washington Post titled “Schröder does not speak for all Germans” and emphasized her support on the Iraqi war. Hence, especially after Gerhard Schröder, Chancellor Merkel’s era was expected as reconciliation for German-United States relations. However just after her oath as Chancellor she directly criticized Guantanamo. “An institution like Guantanamo can and should not exist in the long term. Other ways and means must be found to deal with these prisoners” (Milne and Dinmore, 2006). Her strong position against Bush’s methods on war of terrorism was actually very pragmatist maneuver because White House had no more place to hide because of isolation. Consequently, White House hesitantly accepted her criticism. Equally, Chancellor Merkel has been clear that the new relationship between Germany and US had never been implied as unlimited in practice in any way. “Consultation cannot mean US guidance, and that common analysis does not automatically lead to common action in the end” (Guerot, 2006, p.5) However, Chancellor Merkel always believed that Germany’s transatlantic counterpart is basis of foreign policy. “U.S.-German bilateral relations remain strong, anchored not only by deep economic ties, but by a shared commitment to democratic values” (Belkin, 2009, p.16).

The second key area of Chancellor Merkel in her first term was the European Union. It should be made clear that European Union affairs can be considered as domestic politics however Chancellor Merkel has considered them as foreign policy matters. From this perspective, there are two major issues concerning European Union affairs; reforms on specific policy areas and enlargement. Regarding economic integration just four weeks after her election in 2005 she assumed a stage in European affairs and encouraged budget negotiations and became the main player. Then in 2007 she became chairwoman of the European Council and she definitely put pressure on other members to have further integration. Chancellor Merkel introduced a new action plan called “Sharp Approach” based on each member country sending two representatives to negotiate reforms in treaty (Kurpas and Riecke, 2007, p.45). Furthermore, during her presidency Eastern Neighborhood Plus (ENP) was introduced that brought the Eurasian region closer to European Union through integration agreements. Energy was also an important area for Chancellor Merkel in her presidency. Chancellor managed to have an agreement on an action plan for Energy Policy for Europe, which contains commitment to 20% of renewable energy, 20% reduction of Greenhouse gas emission by 2020 (Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet et al., 2010, p.260).

The second major issue regarding European Union was enlargement. Turkey’s membership was especially a very controversial issue in Germany which constitutes the main position of CDU, was generally in favor of privileged partnership rather than full membership. “Her political suggestion that Turkey should accept a privilege partnership with European Union was rejected by the Justice and Development (AK) Party” (Bağcı, 2008, p.386). However, during her election campaign before 2005, she never explicitly said any negative arguments towards Turkey’s membership process. In 2006, she explained her ideas on Turkey’s membership as Chancellor as follows;

Turkey has been promised EU accession negotiations by a former German government, and that is why these accession negotiations are now being continued. ... Negotiations are open-ended, but are being led in a fair manner. While the CDU and I personally prefer a privileged partnership of Turkey to membership, we are still reliable partners (ZDF TV, personal interview, 28.9.2006)

Chancellor Merkel and her party criticized Turkey especially in terms of democracy, human right and freedom. Through the years, it can be said that Chancellor Merkel's attitude did not completely change however at least it has been transformed. "Nobody expects her to change her political position yet but the more she deals with Turkey the more one would expect Turkey and Germany to come a common understanding both on bilateral and EU level" (Bağcı, 2008, p.387).

Last but also one of the most controversial policy area is Russia. As mentioned at the beginning, Angela Merkel is not the same as previous Chancellors because she can speak fluent Russian and she had experiences in East Germany. In other words, Chancellor Merkel has been aware of strengths, weakness and sensitiveness of Russian politics (Müller-Hârlin, 2007, p.3). It also provided a common interaction zone between them which no European leaders had before. It was obvious that Germany and Russia had no longer had a special relationship during the times of Schröder. There are two main tendencies in Germany-Russia relations; human rights and energy. As expected on her first visit to Moscow in 2006, she met with opposition and human right groups. The same year, she had a meeting with President Putin and directly criticized human rights issues in Russia just after the murder of journalist Anna Politkovskaya.

Energy is the most vital issue between Germany and Russia. Germany takes one of third of their energy demand from Russia. This makes foreign policy making more dependent and tough. The Northern Europe Gas Pipeline Project(NEGP) signed by Schröder was also a major issue between Germany and Russia in Merkel's era too. She said regarding NEGP "We want this project to be accessible to everyone and interest of all involved parties should be taken into account" (Shesternina, 2005). Albeit in 2008 when Georgian crisis caused dispute between Russia and Germany, in 2009 German Russian Energy Agency was founded with aim to develop efficiency of energy market. Thus, the relationship between Chancellor Merkel and Russian President Putin relationship has always been complicated and interesting. Because of personality differences Putin cannot be considered as favorite politician of Chancellor Merkel and vice versa. However not only energy dependence but also mutual respect of each other's leadership style has been effective in their relationship. She has therefore had a balanced and counterweight relationship with Russia.

#### **4.5. Gender as Factor in Merkel's Leadership**

Women's presence has and continues to play an increasingly critical role in the process of growth and development, not to mention shaping major trends for strategic future change. Recent research concurs that women contribute immensely to the making of society and continue nonetheless to play a vital role in the future direction of the world. Participation of women in politics has been discussed by scholars in last twenty years. Most of the studies and research focus on how gender differences are reflected in the leadership question as well as implications of gender differences in decision-making process. "Though studies presented by several psychologists validate that women's leadership styles differ from their male counterparts—as being more democratic, inclusive, participative, and transformative" (Perkins et al, 2013, p.86). In other words, gender has been widely discussed as a determinant factor in analyzing leadership. Although there are disagreements on effectiveness of women leadership in politics, there is no doubt number of women in leader position has been increasing. "The number of female national leaders in a given year has quadrupled since the early 1950s, growing from four queens in 1950 to eighteen female leaders—with a growing representation of elected prime ministers and presidents—in 2004" (Perkins et al, 2013, p.87). Women leaders have played a sound role as a leader and catalysts of society transformation.

Angela Merkel as first woman Chancellor has been one of the most powerful leader and women in the world since she came to power. Her influence has not been ignored both in Germany and world politics. Whether gender can be considered as a factor in Merkel's leadership became the main question in analyses. Throughout her political career, Angela Merkel has got many gender based nicknames such as Mädchen of Helmut Kohl or Mutti (mother) in Germany. Some scholars claim that gender is not so much important as an element in her political career. On the other hand, being woman was an important factor in her rise to power because depending on CDU's and Germany's political culture, it was not usual to have women leaders like Angela Merkel. Although Merkel never emphasized her gender as a play card and even implies that she doesn't like the nickname of Kohl's Mädchen, no one really can ignore the effect of "women as clear and reliable leader" image helps her to increase her visibility in public after Kohl scandal. "Merkel had a clean hands

image, having been helped to prominence through her willingness to condemn Kohl's behavior in the party financing scandal" (Wiliarty, 2010, p.175). Then in the 2009 election she never officially used "mutti" as election motto but never denied German's perception of "mutti" as well. Furthermore, she never defined herself as feminist in her politics, she even never directly works on women policies. "She wasn't a feminist politician, nor was economic parity for the former East her cause. She had no political agenda at all" (Packer, 2014). Despite all these discussions, it should be agreed that after Merkel, women have had more visibility in all positions in politics, as well known German Bundestag approved imperious quota to secure numbers of women in each company's board of directors. Although it is hard to say Merkel use the notion of gender as advantage or disadvantage and put strong political assumption in her political campaigns, it has been obvious that both visibility and participation of women has been increased. Also, it can be said that gender and its reflection have been effective on Chancellor Merkel's public image. "For Merkel, being female is neither an advantage nor disadvantage, no matter how often she has been underestimated by the opposition, by media or by men in her own party who saw her as merely 'accident of history'" (Mushaben, 2009, p.33).

Steckenrider suggests that Angela Merkel's story of success rely on serendipity, luck and set of qualifications. However, it is hard to limit Merkel's success with serendipity and luck (2013, p.227). Firstly, there is no doubt, Angela Merkel has definitely unique background within German politicians. She was born in East Germany as a daughter of Pastor, she lived her childhood and her early years of her adolescence. She had been always successful in school life. She got the highest marks in math, science and language. "Merkel's impolitical childhood yields no indication she aspired to someday be chancellor of Germany"(Steckenrider, 2013, p.228). She was neither active nor opposed to the status quo in East German. Then she got physics education which is also another factor in her leadership style. It can be said that preferring of physics as a specialization field is an indicator of impolitic orientation in her early life. She even completed her Phd in 1986. During these years, she married and then divorced from her first husband Ulrich Merkel. Oppressive and politically unfriendly environment of East Germany made Angela Merkel a more encouraging supporter of democracy, freedom and human rights. Years later, she

mentioned her life in East Germany and emphasized that these values have been guiding principles of her ideology. For a footnote, it is hard to define Merkel's politics in boundary between any ideologies. She has never been blindfold on ideologies, always standing for rational decision making and pragmatism.

On the other hand, her political career actually started with fall of the Berlin Wall. Cultural and political differences of the East and West caused tough unification process, so, the reemergence of political landscape after fall of the Berlin Wall opened political path for Angela Merkel who was perfect model as East German and woman. "The combination of her background and experience was a strong asset she brought to the transition and to face the economic and social challenges of a unified Germany" (Steckenrider, 2013, p.234). Within years, Merkel's rise to power continued in both CDU and Germany. She became The Ministry of Women and Youth which had small authority but right place to be sparkled and then she was appointed as Minister of Environment, Conservation and Reactor Safety. Organizing Climate Summit Berlin was definitely turning point of her career. She showed that she has string ability as consensus builder and persuasive politician. Day by day, her special status next to Chancellor Kohl and two ministerial position made Merkel more visible in politics.

The economic scandal of Helmut Kohl once more unexpectedly opened the new chance to Merkel. Merkel was considered as savior of CDU after such huge scandal and she became the chair of CDU in 2000. Just 3 years later from her only defeat of her 2002 election, in 2005 she was appointed first women Chancellor of Germany. Through her first term, she has tremendous economic reforms in domestic and proactive foreign policy. She was chairwoman of G8 and European Council. As mentioned in the above the key elements of her leadership have always been realized. However, her leadership style became both eminent and successful in the time of Eurocrisis which was in her second term as Chancellor. Her leadership in Eurocrisis as a chaotic environment will be analyzed within the next part. To sum up, her leadership style has many roots and dimensions. East Germany background and being a physicist are considered the main factors behind her leadership profile.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **MULTIDIMENSIONAL LEADERSHIP OF ANGELA MERKEL in EUROCRISIS**

The sovereign debt crisis of Greece and its' shaking domino effect on the Eurozone shocked the public. Economists, politicians and even ordinary citizens started to discuss what would happen and which steps should be taken to save Euro. Especially most of people believe that common market and common currency are the main pillars of European integration and this unexpected (for economists footsteps of Eurocrisis have been already on the stage) crisis encouraged people to rethink the future of European Union. Although some integration field is left to intergovernmental conferences, unique features of the European Union are supranational, both characteristics of union are composed of more consensus based decision making process. It also hinders domination of any member country. Generally the European Commission has played leadership roles especially monetary integration, which is highly supranational institution of EU. Monetary integration can be seen as one area where the European Commission—and its president and its commissioner for economic and financial affairs—has performed an important, and potentially vital, leadership role (Hayward, 2008, p. 28). However, in times of crisis, people expect to see strong will and determination that's why "Europe without leaders" or "Leaderless Europe" have been popular headlines in newspapers not only in Europe but the world over. The day after Greece's announcement of its bankruptcy, it was obvious that nothing would be the same within the European Union again. There were no more equal member states; there were simply creditors and debtors at all. The main question arising was "who will take responsibility for crisis?"

As already mentioned Eurocrisis is a chaotic environment due in part to its

sensitivity to initial conditions, multi-actors, non-linear relationship of actors and interdependency. Turning to the matter of leadership, how can we deal with this concept? Which types are appropriate for which conditions? Notions of chaos and leadership have been explored together in scientific researches in the last 10 years. Leadership and chaos are interconnected concepts. As mentioned in the previous chapters, understanding and analyzing of leadership since 1900s has resulted in almost 350 different definitions and 5000 studies. In 1900's, understanding of leadership had been shaped by personality, influence, consent, followership, beliefs, action and behavior. In other words, between 1900s and 2000s, leaders were defined with very limited adjectives such as charismatic, authoritative or participative. However, after 2000's approaches about leadership has been evolved. Main tenets of leadership shifted to more flexible definitions focus on common goal, organizational culture or teamwork. Today, the notion of leadership has still evolved, different factors reshape the analysis of leaders. So, it is obvious that chaos and leadership are dynamic process which remerge itself when the system generate itself. Any chaotic environment is not static. Its' motion and dynamism are result of complex interaction of actors in the chaotic system. The only dependency in chaotic systems is actually instability and it makes analyses even more ludicrous and impossible with a sole leadership style. The way one person influence the other develops as in interrelated, non-linear systems. Initial conditions are numerical data about a physical system' state, such as position, speed, direction and forces (Erçetin, Açıkalın and Bülbül, 2012, p.93).

Back to the reality, Europe in crisis without leader dragged Europe to seek an answer as mentioned above to the question of which country and leader will take responsibility during crisis. At first sight, citizens believed that Franco- German alliance would deal with crisis. However, weakened economy of France coupled with reluctance of President Sarkozy seemed impossible to allow France become a leader in the crisis. So history driven leader Merkel and Germany became the main player in the crisis. That's why as aimed of this thesis, in this part Angela Merkel's leadership is to be analyzed with multidimensional leadership approach based on four types of leadership that discussed in leadership chapter. There is no doubt there are more than four styles of leadership and Chancellor Merkel's leadership profile is

not limited with those four styles of leadership. However, the multidimensional approach of Chancellor Merkel's leadership in Eurocrisis based on introverted transformational, visionary and quantum styles of leadership are completely new and fresh perspective in literature. It is called a multidimensional approach because Eurocrisis has been evolving and transformational process and it requires an analysis based on a separate era and different leadership styles.

In order to analyse Chancellor Merkel's leadership, roots and stages of Eurocrisis based on a composed timeline of crisis have to be explored. It started in 1999 when beginning of common currency and 2001 Greece participation to Eurozone. First era is thus between 2009 and 2010 which can be named as the announcement of sovereign debt of Greece until austerity measures. The second era starts in 2010 with first aid package to Greece and austerity measures up to 2011 when crisis deepened. Third era is between 2011 and 2013 reflecting Chancellor Merkel's vision for containing crisis. Tellingly, a timeline of the main events in crisis as well as hints of Chancellor Merkel's leadership has been shown to the following figure.



Figure 5.1: Milestone of Eurocrisis and Chancellor Merkel

Firstly, according to figure 5.1 the first era was started in October 26<sup>th</sup> of 2009, when Greece announced a budget deficit reached 10% of GDP. Just two weeks later, Greece informed Brussels that budget deficit had become almost 12,7% of GDP. In the following months especially in December Fitch, Moody's and Standard&Poor's downgraded the credit rate of Greece. This can be considered as the beginning of nightmare for European Union. Within six months after the crisis official declaration, its social consequences had not been felt yet, but then the crisis split to Ireland and Portugal who asked for help from EU. "A vicious circle set in, and no one could break out of it in hurry. High debts, a high demand for credit, high surcharges with even more expensive loans- a chain that could be broken only if the state reduced its debts" (Kornelius, 2013, p.214). So, the period between 2009 and end of 2010 would be remembered as a period of unpredictability and chaos for Eurozone. No country knew what they are going to do because in the formal design of Eurozone there were no formal procedures for crisis time. Scholars and people started talking about possible scenarios such as controlled Greece exit from Eurozone, introduction of new currency for Greece or new agreement for Euro. One thing everyone can agree there is no simple and easy solution to this crisis. At the same time, issue of leadership within European Union started being questioned. Actually the public awaited the first reaction and rescue plan form European Commission however there was not any concrete approach; consequently the public directed their expectations towards individual leaders. Unfortunately, none of Eurozone countries' leaders wanted to take responsibility for the whole crisis. "More rarely, good Commission leadership could help get member states to assume their responsibilities...Ultimately, however, troubles happened. We get crises when we – the member states together – do not understand clearly what is happening" (Ross, 2011, p.29).

The Franco-German alliance has always been engine in European integration that's why most of people especially expected a solution from Germany and France. Although in December 2009 France declared that they would be solidarity over the Eurozone, President Sarkozy's popularity was decreasing in France and national economy of France was also damaged by the 2008 global financial crisis. It seemed

thus that Germany was expected to be only problem fixer in the Eurozone with its strong economy and being one of the biggest country. It can be deemed the beginning of Chancellor Merkel's adventure in a messy chaotic crisis. In December 2009 the EU leaders met for the first time after Eurocrisis revealed. On the way to Brussels, Angela Merkel said to the reporters about Eurocrisis "If something happens in one country then all other countries are affected as well" (Crawford and Czuzka, 2013, p.69). She also continued that common currency also means common responsibility. Although any classical leaders reaction to such a big scale crisis could be risky and largely momentary, it is not officially declared or documented. Her wait and see policy would be main pillar of her leadership styles up to 2010.

### **5.1. First Phase of Eurocrisis : Introverted Chancellor in crisis**

In the first phase of crisis, Chancellor Merkel's leadership marked with quiet leadership. Newspapers were full of offensive headlines blaming Angela Merkel for choosing a wait and see policy rather than take any concrete steps. "...so on 2nd November Merkel was playing for time" (Kornelius, 2013, p.201). As mentioned in Merkel's biography in previous chapter, Angela Merkel has a physics background and even having a PhD so she has different stand towards social and political issues, no doubt that the economic crisis was unique in European history and thus it was one of the serious crisis she had ever faced in her political life. The best example of how she feels and thinks about the Eurocrisis can be seen in one of her speech when she remarked thus; "There is no possibility for a quick fix. There is not one last shot, as some say before every summit. This is not my language nor my thinking. There are no easy and fast decisions. The debt crisis is a process. It will take years" ("One problem two visions (Part II)", 2011). "She wants to understand, to test her limitations, in the Eurozone crisis as in everything else" (Stefan Kornelius, personal interview, 04.02.2014). There is no doubt, it was impossible to take decision without consider many options as much as Chancellor can. "Her leadership strategy focus on possibles" (Prof.Josef Janning, personal interview, 24.02.2014). That's why she set up a commission to be work on possible models for the crisis. According to Kornelius, on one occasion Merkel described her situation in this crisis like being in a dark room, so dark that you couldn't see your hand in front of your face and having to grope your way forward. One false step and you would never find the way out

(2013, p.201). Even almost six months later Greek tragedy and finance ministers of Eurozone countries accepted 110 billion Euros as a rescue package, at a Victory Day Parade in Moscow on 8<sup>th</sup> May but Chancellor Merkel objected to this decision and she demanded time to think about this solution. “She is staying out any fast decisions” (Prof. Josef Janning, personal interview, 24.02.2014)

That wait and see policy and cautious attitudes of Merkel’s are matched with characteristics of quiet leadership. As noted in leadership chapter, quiet (introverted) leaders first prefer to think and talk later. They consider how others have approached specific issues, then reflect and then respond to them. It completely fits into her attitudes in the first phase of Eurocrisis. Even Chancellor Merkel did not speak about facts and roots of until middle of 2011. Secondly, quiet leaders focus on depth. They like to understand issues and ideas before considering new ones; like meaningful rather than artificial and fast solutions. As a physicist Angela Merkel has questioned different dimensions of Eurocrisis and tried to understand its roots and long term consequences. Different internal and external factors in Eurocrisis were examined by a group of experts in the Chancellor’s office. Thirdly, quiet leaders can stay calm especially when in times of crisis and they can manage to uphold unflappable confidence. Journalists and public found attitudes and physical reactions of Merkel (being calm and full of confidence) during Eurocrisis as largely controversial. She almost became a symbol of placidity and confidence in Germany with her famous hand gesture called “Merkel’s Rhombus”. Deutsche Welle said that “She is also viewed as trustworthy and many Germans especially appreciate Merkel’s placid approach to decision-making. Also, polls ensured the confidence of Germans to Chancellor Merkel. According poll by public broadcaster ARD after Eurocrisis, 60% of all Germans feel Merkel is the best person to save the euro. A similar survey by news magazine Stern confirmed her popularity; if they could vote for their head of government directly, 49% of all Germans would choose Merkel (“Merkel at most popular since 2009”, 2012)

On the other hand, public opinion and scholars criticized Merkel’s introverted leadership style at the beginning of Eurocrisis. Firstly, especially citizens of Greece, Portugal and Ireland blamed Chancellor Merkel for not taking fast and efficient decisions because they claim that the delay in a decision for possible rescue plan

only made social and economic situation worse. When Wolfgang Schauble said that Germans could not pay debts of Greece in December 2009, there is no doubt trust and confidence within Eurozone countries was damaged. This mistrust between Eurozone countries then resulted in the rise of both right wing anti-EU and radical left. “Yet even institutional innovation was not enough to stem the crisis and the lack of confidence in the Eurozone’s determination to deal with the problem” (Tsarouhas, 2012, p.92). Some of scholars then claimed that indecisiveness was part of power politics of Chancellor Merkel. Ulrich Beck called Merkel’s policies as Merkiavelli and Beck suggested that there are four pillars of Merkiavelli. He criticized that her all policies based on unclear stand about bailout plan “This is Merkiavelli’s first principle: on the subject of German money to assist the debtor nations, her position is neither a clear Yes or a clear No but a clear Yes and No” (Beck, 2012). Then Beck continued that Chancellor Merkel used hesitation as a political card to debtor nations and completely criticized her for not deciding of Chancellor Merkel. “Germany has become simply too powerful to be able to have the luxury of not deciding” (Beck, 2012). In addition to this, Young and Semmler affirm that inefficient and uncoordinated crisis management in Eurocrisis was related with Angela Merkel and her wait and see policy and because of late decision making, rescue packages would be more expensive than they expected (2011, p.8).

Although there have been harsh criticisms towards Angela Merkel for being too slow and hesitant to act and find common solutions, her introverted leadership attitudes were a determinant factor of Germany’s fate, Eurozone and even European Union. There is no doubt, might be Eurocrisis was an expected but its large scale effect economically and socially had been unexpected. However, Angela Merkel can be considered as definitely a pragmatist, a good chess player, in other words she chose to evaluate almost all possibilities rather than taking risky and fast decisions.

## **5.2. Phase Two in Crisis: Transformational and Visionary Chancellor**

The second phase of crisis started in official confirmation of Greek rescue package in May 2010. Although Germany accepted Greece’s rescue package, the Commission set strict rules for Greece with pressure of Germany, and well known austerity measures became legalized. The agreement about the amount of the Greek bailout package and the establishing of a permanent rescue mechanism was

determine (Lange, 2012, p.1). Then discussions about “new divided Europe” just started after few days later the rescue package, within those discussions there was an agreement that “Europe would be never ever the same”. There were debtors and creditors members in Eurozone, which completely changed power politics in institutions in European Union.

In such a new Europe, thanks to strong economy and ideal German institutions, Chancellor Merkel found herself in an unrivalled leadership position. Chancellor Merkel was no more introverted leader, since May 2010 until the end of 2011 Angela Merkel showed transformational and visionary leadership profile. As mentioned in leadership chapter Bass formulated transformational leadership with four elements. Idealized consideration is the first element of Bass’s transformational leadership suggests that leaders are aware of followers’ needs and they know their motivation. Since the Eurocrisis started, Chancellor Merkel was concerned with not only the Europe Union future but more specifically what German people thought about the crisis and what they wanted? Eurobond then rose as one of the strong rescue plans for Eurocrisis, but this also revealed Merkel’s idealized consideration. Eurobonds basically refer to common bond within Eurozone countries. In other words, Eurobonds are kind of a new European debt instrument planned to gradually replace national public debts (Manessa, 2010). Chancellor Merkel clearly stated that “No Eurobond as long as I live” there are two reasons behind her attitude; mainly it is legally impossible according to treaties forbidding bonds or liability that means states cannot finance each other then more importantly even if creation of Eurobonds is allowed by treaties, Chancellor Merkel concerned about what Germans would think financing debtor countries. According to Handellblat polls, 57% of German people rejects Eurobond as a solution (Röder, 2011). There is no doubt Merkel was good at know what their citizens want. “She seems to realize that important segments of Germany’s elite and a large part of the general population no longer want to serve as Europe’s paymaster without more say in what is done with their money” (Engelen, 2011, p.68). It is not by coincide that Chancellor Merkel has been unrivalled in almost every election. German people feel confidence to her in terms of Eurocrisis and priorities of German people. The living standard is one of the important indicators of society for satisfaction of economic policies. Gallup polls in 2011 about

Germans' attitudes about their living standard showed that Germans have remained relatively positive during Eurocrisis. In 2011, 31% of Germans said their standard of living was getting better and Germans' satisfaction with their standard of living has remained remarkably stable in recent years, at 88% (Sonnenschein, 2012).

Secondly, Bass define intellectual stimulation as another dimension of transformational leadership. Intellectual stimulation refers to opportunities for leaders to learn and challenge different ideas. Albeit Chancellor Merkel was unprepared to crisis as well as other European leaders, but while seeking for solutions to the Eurocrisis, it can be said that she transformed the crisis into a opportunity to challenge structure of Eurozone and showed encouragement to have completely new and strong Europe together (Stefan Kornelius, personal interview, 4.02.2014). It is very vital to understand especially after Eurocrisis, followers of Chancellor Merkel is not limited with German citizens but also other countries and their citizens can be considered as her follower. From this perspective, Eurocrisis was kind of opportunity to transform Eurozone structure, European Union and even perceptions of Europeans. Throughout the integration history, Germany had preferred to be backstage which also has some kind of consideration of their roots dating backed to WWII. However, Eurocrisis was chance for reconsideration of Germany itself and Merkel's crisis leadership. "The German self-criticism and self-loathing are part of the success story—getting strong by hating yourself," Mariam Lau, a political correspondent for the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*, and then continues with "Merkel had to reeducate herself, too. She's part of the self-reeducation of Germany" (Packer,2014).

Inspirational motivation is the third dimension of transformational leadership that refers to setting the vision for followers. As mentioned before, Germans and other Europeans naturally became followers of Chancellor after Eurocrisis. Basicly, Chancellor Merkel had a vision for economically strong Germany. During 2009 election she promised tax cutting and revocation of nuclear power plants. Compare to other Eurozone countries, this vision can be deemed as an important and transformative one. On the other hand, it was hard to talk about any clear vision for Europe defined by Chancellor Merkel. Actually before Eurocrisis she had no attention and interest about Europe and there has been nothing about the future of

European union in her election campaigns that's why things cannot be the same again because on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2011 Angela Merkel made historical speech in Bundestag outlining German's vision for new Europe. She mainly called for new treaty with more strict economic rules. "We aren't just talking about a fiscal union, rather, we have begun creating one. We need budget discipline and an effective crisis management mechanism," she said. "So we need to change the treaties or create new treaties." She finished her speech with following words, "The future of the euro is inseparable from European unity. The path ahead is long and it is difficult but it is the right path for the joint good of a strong Germany in a strong European Union, for the benefit of people in Germany and in Europe" (Chibber, 2011)

Last dimension of transformational leadership is idealized influence suggesting that leaders are charismatic role model of their followers and leaders set core values towards a common goal with their follower. From the beginning, Chancellor Merkel's leadership was both praised and criticized however she became a role model and charismatic leader for German and European citizens. Her coolness and confidence during Eurocrisis became the new way of dealing with crisis. There has been lots of comparisons between Thatcher and Merkel, despite Iron Lady's tough style Chancellor Merkel always prefers discussion and consensus. Having Mutti(Mommy) as a nickname shows how she is different from Thatcher. German people think that Angela Merkel takes care of German people and she likes them. (Prof. Josef Janning, personal interview, 24.02.2014). Allensbach Institute Survey reveals that a third of German women see Merkel as a role model. Merkel seems to have become role model in both Germany and outside of the country (Mösken, 2013). Even Chancellor Merkel has been compared with two German political figures Helmut Kohl and Schmidt in terms of statemanship and length of office run. Furthermore, based on her vision for Germany and European Union as a transformative leader, she sets core values to reach these visions. Low inflation, competitiveness, employment, more social Europe, low tax and common fiscal union are main values in her vision. Equally, her economic and political values can be considered as main pillars of her solution to the Eurocrisis. "The German crisis management is guided by its self-perception that economies can overcome even deepest troubles if they follow through with harsh austerity measures that improve

international competitiveness and thus result in rising exports” (Hübner, 2012, p.171).

Furthermore, just like Merkel’s transformational leadership profile, she equally exhibited visionary leadership. As noted in leadership chapter, transformative leadership has similarities with visionary leadership. In other words, transformational leadership and visionary leadership are nested with each other. Visionary leaders are generally defined by their vision. Angela Merkel had always been one of most powerful leaders in the world after Eurocrisis, Chancellor Merkel has been crowned as a “queen of Europe”. Her political engagements are now not only limited with Germany but also concern the whole European Union. Forbes magazine ranked her the second of the world’s two most powerful people of the year in December 2012 after President Obama, “Merkel is the backbone of the 27-member European Union and carries the fate of the euro on her shoulders,” Forbes said (“The world’s most powerful people”, 2012). The last characteristic of visionary leadership is how leaders communicate with their followers about their vision. As Kohl state that Chancellor Merkel is not good at rhetoric but her speeches are generally clear and well prepared, there is no place for uncertainty. However, as mentioned in the beginning Merkel didn’t speak about the Eurocrisis and possible solutions for a long time. However when she addressed the public, she was completely clear what she thought about Germany and future of Eurocrisis more and strong Europe. “Europe succeeds when it acts together and, I would add, Europe succeeds only when it acts together” she said (“Merkel stands firm, but German parliament split over Eurocrisis”, 2010). In terms of communications, her sharp and clear way of communication with her followers is one of the most important components of her charisma.

Second phase of crisis can be translated as full of transformation and compromises. Chancellor Merkel accepted bailout plan for Greece with following conditions; debtor states must obey the whole reform package to make their economy more competitive and penalty system to hinder any other debt crisis. However, she got agreement about only reform package requirement. Nevertheless, it was not end of the story for Chancellor Merkel and Eurocrisis because unfortunately more dramatic situation was on the way. The third and last phase of Eurocrisis is described as a chaotic environment and Chancellor Merkel had more responsibilities than she

has ever had.

### **5.3. Phase Three: Quantum Leadership in Chaos**

As mentioned before, phase three of Eurocrisis is the last but most complex and complicated part of the crisis. Third phase started in the summer of 2011 until summer 2013. In summer of 2011, the big picture was as follows; a second wave of Eurocrisis, no strong support for Chancellor Merkel in Germany, social meltdown and huge protests in debtor countries and as expected rising of radical right and left wing especially filled with anti-EU sentiments. In other words, crisis evolved into more multi factors driven, multidimensional, dynamic and nonlinear system. “Chaos and leadership are dynamic processes that emerge when a system’s state changes, causing changes in the newly arisen” (Erçetin, Açıklan and Bülbül, 2012, p.92). So, such a chaotic situation revealed that Chancellor Merkel had multi task to solve at the same time that’s why during for years until today, she has showed quantum leadership characteristics.

Firstly, quantum physics suggests that objects can be considered as both wave and particle depend on this a leader and followers would form interaction zone. In such a difficult situation, Chancellor Merkel seemed far from her nickname as queen of Europe. Second wave of Eurocrisis and its domino effect in Portugal, Ireland was considered as the failure of her policy and vision. Once again and more strongly Chancellor had to restore her leadership perception. According to quantum leadership, leadership is not solely about the leader, in contrast followers are part leadership perception. In order to restore her leadership, Chancellor formed a common interaction zone with her followers based on awareness of their new demands. Chancellor tried to get attention and explain that liquid aid was no longer workable, Eurozone as a system became problem itself. The interaction zone between Chancellor Merkel and her followers based on how they renew the system or reinvite the system better. When this second crisis began, according to research group Wahlen German people have paradoxical feelings about Greece. They responded with anger to Greece and were happy to see Greece out of Eurozone while they were sorry for Greeks (Kornelius, 2013, p.227). She strongly called her followers to stick with her strong European policy and emphasized in her speech “If the Euro fails, Europe will fail”. Merkel once more stressed her common future

vision.

Secondly, as already mentioned quantum leadership suggests that probabilities and fuzziness in quantum physics suggests new way to understand leadership in dynamic and complex social and natural systems. Leaders believe that fuzziness in interaction with their followers is also determinant of their success because of this belief leaders would not give order to their followers and other actors, they offer a different course of action which also gives them right of initiative and responsibility. In seeking for a more permanent solution to the Eurocrisis, although Chancellor Merkel does not seem to like fuzziness, it would later become a factor of her success. Since the beginning of Eurocrisis, she had considered numerous suggestions of both domestic and international actors. Her economic team, which composed of Eva Christansen, Jörg Assmussen, Christoph Heusgen, Uwe Corsepius, was the most influential domestic actor group set up by Jens Weidmann- Chief Economic adviser of Chancellor. Actually, Chancellor favored this scientific brainstorming working and making future models for economics. “Merkel always took charts with her to support her argument, brightly coloured curves illustrating...” (Kornelius, 2013, p.228). The team suggested probably more than five possibilities and model as a solution to her. While these suggestions increased fuzziness and probabilities, it can provide to see models in comparative manner and conclude in the best solution. In addition to this, through intergovernmental summits and meetings of both leaders and especially minister of finance brought Eurobonds up again and raising of money support for Greece.

Various suggestions of economic team of Chancellor Merkel and international actors dragged second wave of crisis to more chaotic situation economically and politically. Although Chancellor Merkel had victory with her argument to have haircut in second aid package, this battle resulted in resignation of Papandreu in Greece and Berlusconi in Italy as well as government change in Spain. It was very obvious that Chancellor as a quantum leadership profile was careful to realize regional balance of power and she became the determinant of fuzziness towards a successful path.

Thirdly, discontinuous energy is a well known quantum phenomenon. It is kind of movie film spool because actions of leaders happen in discontinuous way.

Interaction zone between leaders and followers is spontaneously composed and decomposed. Leaders should benefit this discontinuous relationship with their followers in order to determine their weakness and strengthens. After haircut in second rescue package to Greece and more strict austerity measures, political and social meltdown overhauled economic crisis and anger towards Chancellor Merkel became mirror of this meltdown. As Kornelius stated that Chancellor Merkel became crisis itself. Huge protests gathered in Athens, Rome and Madrid during Chancellor visits, even 50,000 people protested her in Athens with throwing stones and Molotov cocktails. At the beginning of Eurocrisis Angela Merkel has risen as leader of both Germans and citizens of member countries but her policy choices caused discontinuous in her leadership from the eyes of citizens of other member countries. However, as quantum leadership claims Chancellor Merkel had chance to realize her weak and strengthen thanks to discontinuous relations with her followers. Focusing of long term economic plans and somehow perception of ignorance of social dimension of crisis has been considered as weakness in her decisions. “Troubled countries such as Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain started pushing through austerity and reform, including labour market deregulation, cuts in civil servant salaries, pension benefit freezes, retirement age rises, and retrenchments in social transfers and services” (Hemerijck and Vandenbroucke, 2012, p.201) .On the other hand, her strong vision for more integrated Europe was still her political strengthen. Not only her vision but also Germany’s strong economy, which composed of low unemployment, low inflation and high competitiveness, became role model for debtor countries. In other words, Germany’s economy as a living example of her model and vision has been her main source of power.

The 28<sup>th</sup> June 2012 Summit in Brussels could be end of the Eurocrisis however it would be remembered as both end and beginning of new era in European integration not only Eurocrisis. Although long negotiations did not give any concrete results, Monti announced that Chancellor Merkel accepted to ease availability of aid package to Italy and European banks. “She has been forced by the markets and by political maneuvering among her peers to ease up on the Teutonic discipline” (Traynor, 2012). Was Chancellor Merkel defeated? Did she give up on her vision for a strong Europe? Obviously all questions answered “no”. As Erçetin and Kamacı

emphasized in quantum leadership, discontinuity in leadership would strengthen creativity, academic dimension and practical capacity to develop a more strong vision and interaction zone with leaders' followers (2009, p.866). Based on Erçetin and Kamacı's suggestions, it can be deemed as a break in her leadership. Later summits and developments showed that her retreat was just reason to compose new interaction zone between followers with more concrete and strong vision.

The fourth and last one is impact and power of leader based on interaction as well as vibration from interaction of two waves rather than one wave vibration. Furthermore, impact of interaction zone suggests that leaders should set up a system, which is stronger against any crisis or break point, stable, fluid and flexible enough to be renewed and reconstructed easily. Furthermore, three months between June Summit and October Summit was era of realization for Chancellor Merkel. Disappointment in June Summit encouraged Chancellor Merkel to compose a new interaction zone with high density before October Summit in the same year. Chancellor Merkel emphasized her decisiveness on "stability union" as only long term solution for Eurocrisis. First in Bundestag then in European Parliament she strongly restated Germany's position and vision for Europe. Chancellors' suggest an outline to have stability union depend on four main pillars; common policy for financial markets, common fiscal policy, common economic policy and democratic authority and control accepted by four presidents (Hacker, 2013, p.3). In other words, Chancellor described a stable but fluid and strong Eurozone system as her vision. Chancellor Merkel seemed as a winner of October summit. Although December 2012 Summit didn't fully interpret October's decisions, they agreed some limited steps within next 18 months and creation of supervision to Eurozone banks. It can be said that, new Europe would be shaped under Chancellors' leadership, imagination, belief and common vision of her follower.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

For the last six years, Chancellor Merkel has been on the cover of Newsweek, Times and Economists and there are countless news about her. Someone called Chancellor Merkel as “Mutti” while others gave her a nickname of “Queen of Europe”. Regardless of her nickname, there is no doubt she has been one of the most powerful leaders in the world. Chancellor Merkel’s unique background and her controversial leadership during Eurocrisis make her more interesting and conspicuous. The days between 2009 when Eurocrisis started with announcement of Greece government for having sovereign debt equal to 113% of GDP until the beginning of 2013 were the most dynamic and extraordinary times in Eurocrisis. It is not easy to understand Angela Merkel’s leadership with a simple and shallow analysis. Therefore, main components of leadership field were introduced, these are definitions, approaches and types of leadership styles first. Then, chaos theory was introduced as new way to explain social systems and Eurocrisis was taken as a chaotic system. Last part alluded personal and political background of Angela Merkel and an analysis of her multidimensional leadership profile in the Eurocrisis.

Leadership has been interdisciplinary and ever changing field in terms of its definitions, approaches and types of leadership. Definitions of leadership have been evolving since beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Culture, history and politics of time are key determinants of definitions of leadership. Based on definitions, it can be said that through the years, perception of leadership changed from autocratic to more democratic and participative. Similar to the definitions of leadership, approaches to leadership have been also changed. From characteristics approach to path and goal theory, there is wide range of approaches to make contribute accumulation of the field. Debates concentrating on leadership in international relations have been categorized in two; state role of leadership and political leadership. State role of leadership is mainly related with notion of hegemony, regional leadership and global

leadership. Political leadership has been examined under foreign policy analysis. Specifically, there are important studies to explain effect of personal background in decision making process. Similar to definitions and approaches of leadership, types of leadership styles have varied. There are almost twenty types of leadership styles however not all of them are scientifically studied. Transformational, visionary, introverted and quantum leadership were taken as core to the analysis of leadership profile.

Human nature is full of unpredictability therefore natural and social systems are not linear and predictable systems. Social systems are living and dynamic system which makes it unattainable to explain social systems with linear theories anymore. Chaos theory, which comes from mathematics is a novel approach to analyzing dynamic social systems. Chaos theory suggests that there are indefinite variables (actors) in social systems. Although they have non-linear relationship, they have interdependency to each other. In other words, a tiny variable in system is bound to change the whole system completely; hence sensitiveness to initial conditions or well-known butterfly effect, multi actors structure, nonlinearity and interdependency are the main features of chaos.

Due to unique construction of Euro, Eurozone crisis is completely peculiar economic crisis, ergo, Eurocrisis is taken as a case of chaos theory. Firstly, sensitiveness to initial conditions can be found in structure of Eurozone, which builds on lack of common fiscal policies, inefficient banking system, inconsistency with optimal currency area theory and Maastricht Criteria. Like in case of Greece, debtor countries had enjoyed high growth rate between 2001 and 2007, however this growth rates were mainly based on household consumption and government investments. When problematic structure of Eurozone met with global liquidity problem in 2008, there was inevitable imbalance between import and export rates in debtor countries. Secondly, multi actors structure of Eurocrisis composed from three groups of sovereign states in European Union; creditor, debtor and UK, EU institutions and IMF as an international actor. Intense web of financial political relations between actors made them both independent and interdependent on each other hence complex interdependency between actors increased friction between

member countries in decision making and unpredictability of consequences of Eurocrisis in the long term.

All crisis environments call for a leader however chaotic environments need beyond classical leaders profile. As already pointed out, Chancellor Merkel is unique, unrivalled leader. Angela Merkel was born in West Germany but lived most of her life in East Germany later it turned out as the most effective factor in her life and Angela Merkel's career started as a physicist with a PhD in Democratic Awakening Party which was really uncommon in politics. Then she became first woman chair of CDU and then first woman Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany. Although Angela Merkel seems as quiet persons compare to former leaders of CDU and Germany, she has been transformative power in both CDU and Germany. Since 1991 when she became Minister of Women and Youth until 2000 the date Angela Merkel became the first female leader of CDU she had established a wide range network from media to foreign politicians. CDU was not familiar with a Protestant women leader from East Germany. After Angela Merkel, CDU was transformed in terms of structure and policies. CDU was not dominated by traditional, Catholic and males anymore. In addition to this, immigration policies, gender policies and economic policies have been revised in Merkel's leadership. CDU has had complete transformation of economic policies especially after the 2005 election.

Merkel's first and second term as Chancellor were credential to understanding her leadership in Eurocrisis. In domestic politics, she had an agenda on constitutional reforms of federal system, tax system and unemployment. Chancellor Merkel reduced corporate taxes and healed Germany's economy after 2008 Global Financial Crisis. Besides domestic politics, Chancellor has been very active in foreign policy. Pragmatism and values have been determinant of her policies in foreign policy. In other words, Chancellor Merkel always looked after Germany's interest in foreign policy with a strong belief in freedom, democracy and human rights. USA, European Union and Russia have been the main areas during her terms. Although she had criticism towards Guantanamo, Chancellor Merkel established strong ties with USA. For European Union, she has been naturally a vital player in Brussels and reshaped Germany's relationship with Eastern neighbors. The relationship between Chancellor Merkel and President Putin has been a controversial

one. Despite their policy differences on energy and security, Chancellor Merkel had balanced and cautious approach towards President Putin and Russian politics.

Eurocrisis is by far the most challenging problem in Chancellor Merkel's political career. It is not only foreign policy issue but a domestic one for Germany. As mentioned already, Eurocrisis as chaotic environment requires more comprehensive and transformative leadership. Due to dynamic structure and momentary changes in Eurocrisis, Chancellor Merkel's multidimensional leadership is analyzed within the three periods as quiet, transformational and visionary and quantum leadership. During the first phase of Eurocrisis between 2009 to May 2010, Chancellor Merkel's leadership had been criticized because of her cautious policies however from the very beginning, she insisted that there is no not short term and easy way to fix the crisis. Similar to introverted leadership; she did not speak in most hot times of crisis until mid of 2011, she preferred to understand the depth and dimension of crisis. Chancellor had been quite calm during first months of crisis where public was in fear and panic. Polls in Germany though proved that Chancellor Merkel perceived as symbol of calmness and confidence in crisis times.

During the second phase of crisis, Chancellor Merkel turned into a transformational and visionary leadership. Merkel always mentioned that solutions should be found step by step. There was only one way to give rescue package to debtor countries is austerity measures and Germany's strong economy became the unofficial role model consequent to which she started to leading not only Germany but also Eurozone public. Chancellor Merkel came to stage with "More Europe" vision, which means there should be a more integrated European Union and Eurozone. She promoted her main vision through transformational leadership assumptions, which are idealized consideration, intellectual stimulation, inspirational motivation and idealized influence. In addition to this, as visionary leader Chancellor Merkel has been clear and tenacious about her vision and as a result, her publicity has been crowned by unrivalled vision for Europe.

The last but most chaotic phase of Eurocrisis was between 2011 and 2013 when second wave of crisis threatened fate of Euro and social and political imprints of crisis peaked. In plain, Eurocrisis turned into multidimensional, more dynamic and nonlinear and Chancellor had to be multitasked. Hence forth, quantum leadership is

the only suitable types of leadership style to describe her profile in third phase. Like quantum leadership suggests, Chancellor Merkel once more established an interaction zone with her followers with consideration of their needs. Chancellor Merkel convinced her followers about the urgency to rebuild the Eurozone system. Her words “If Euro fails, Europe will fail” will be never forgotten. Secondly, Chancellor Merkel alluded to elements of probabilities and fuzziness which are coined in quantum leadership as an advantage to show that her vision was the best within different models. Thirdly, Chancellor Merkel used her discontinuous interaction zone with her followers to determine her political weakness and strengths. Albeit Merkel’s assertion to strict austerity put her in tough position in the eyes of public, “More Europe” vision had been still her strengths. Her political defeat in June 2012 Summit was not a retreat per se but a definite encouragement to insist on her vision “More Europe or stability union”. It is one of the last interpretations of quantum leadership assumption of impact and power of leader based on high density of interaction zone. Between June 2012 Summit and October 2012 Summit, she designed and explained outline of her vision through interaction zone and it made more strong and solid ties between her follower.

Realistically, Eurocrisis can be considered as an ongoing crisis however from its beginning until 2013 was taken as a scope of this thesis. It can be considered as limitation of this thesis but it is impossible to analyze her leadership during the whole crisis. Chancellor Merkel as a leader of one of the most powerful country in Eurozone exhibited multidimensional leadership during those times. In other words, both Chancellor’s leadership style and fate of Germany as well as Europe had evolved drastically. Eurocrisis as a chaotic environment and Angela Merkel’s leadership would have been reminisced as *sui generis* in world history.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **TURKISH SUMMARY**

20. ve 21. Yüzyıl, dünya tarihinin ve buna yön veren sıradaşı liderlerin Büyük Buhran, Asya Ekonomik, 2008 Küresel Finans ve 2009 Avro Bölgesi Krizi gibi çok kritik ekonomik krizlere tanık olduğu bir zaman dilimidir. Bunların içinde Avro Bölgesi krizinin pek çok nedenle benzersiz olduğu söylenebilir. Bu nedenler arasında Avro Bölgesi'nin siyasal ekonomik oluşum açısından bir başka örneğinin olmayışı; krizin ortaya çıkış ve başlangıç koşullarının karmaşıklığı; domino etkisiyle büyüyen ölçeği; ekonomik, politik, sosyal, psikolojik çok boyutlu sonuçlar üretip evrilerek devam etmesi sayılabilir. Avro Bölgesi Krizi farklı kronolojik düzlemlerde, farklı boyutlarda, farklı yaklaşımlarla ele alınıp yoğun biçimde tartışılmakta; hatta “Avrupa Borç Krizi”, “Avro Krizi” “Avro Bölgesi” vb. gibi farklı kavramlarla tanımlanmaktadır. Bu tezde de Avro krizi kavramı benimsenip; kullanılmıştır. Avro krizini benzersiz kılan yukarıda sadece bir kısmı vurgulanan her ne varsa doğal olarak bu konuyla ilgili çalışmaların kuram ve uygulama bağlamında malzemesini oluşturmaya devam etmektedir. Yapılan ve sürdürülen çalışmaların kendi kurguları, sınırlılıkları kapsamlarını ve konuyla ilgili alana katkılarını şekillendirmektedir.

Bu tezde Avro Krizi doğası itibariyle doğrusal olmayan düşünce sistematığı ile anlaşılması ve irdelenmesi gereken çok boyutlu kaotik bir olgu olarak değerlendirilmiş ve kaos teorisiyle açıklanmıştır. Avro Krizi, üyelerin ve adayların ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve psikolojik bağlamda bütünleşmekten ulusal ekonomik öz yönetime dönülmesi gerektiğine ilişkin tartışmalarının içinde aldıkları kararlar, uyguladıkları politikalarla çok boyutlu ve sıra dışı profiller ortaya koyan liderleri ve liderlik süreçlerini ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Bu liderlerden biri Angela Merkel'dir. Angela Merkel tıpkı Avro Krizi'nin benzersizliği gibi sahip olduğu kişilik özellikleri,

krizin her aşamasında ortaya koyduğu liderlik profiliyle Avro Krizinde başat aktörlerden biri olarak görünmektedir. Bu noktada Avro krizinin de Merkel'in liderlik kariyerindeki etkisini, liderlik kariyeri için önemli olduğunu vurgulamak gerekir. Avro Krizi sadece Angela Merkel açısından değil aynı zamanda süreçte var olan rol oynayan tüm liderler, aktörler açısından liderlik, kaotik olguların yönetimi anlamında önemli deneyimlerin edinildiği uzun soluklu bir sınav süreci niteliğindedir. Liderlik alanyazınında “liderleri krizler yaratır”, “liderler krizlerle sınanır” gibi farklı söylemlerde de aslında bir bakıma vurgulanan da budur. Bu tezin ana teması kaotik bir olgu olarak Avro Krizi'nin her aşamasında Angela Merkel'in liderliğini anlamak, açıklamak ve tartışmaktır. Krizin her aşaması ve Merkel'in her aşamada çizdiği liderlik profili irdelendiğinde kendisinin özgün nitelikleri ve krizin doğası bağlamında sessiz, dönüşümcü, vizyoner ve kuantum liderlik tiplerinin uygun olacağı düşünülmüştür. Krizin her aşamasında farklılaşan profillerle Angela Merkel'in sessiz, dönüşümcü, vizyoner ve kuantum liderlik tiplerinden oluşan çok boyutlu bir liderlik modeli ortaya koyduğu söylenebilir.

Tez kuramsal olarak Avro krizi bağlamında kaos ve karmaşıklık teorisi, liderlik ve Angela Merkel'in ortaya koyduğu profiller bağlamında sessiz liderlikte kişilik tipolojileri, dönüşümcü ve vizyoner liderlikte çağdaş yaklaşımlar ve kuantum liderlikte kuantum fiziğinin başat varsayımlarıyla temellendirilmiştir. Bu anlamda tez ele aldığı konu ve ele alınışında benimsenen çoklu disiplinler yaklaşımlar itibariyle özgün ve ilham vericidir. Tez altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. Tezin birinci bölümü giriştir. Bu bölümde teze ilişkin bütüncül bir perspektif sunulmuş; tezin nasıl kurgulandığı bilgisi verilmiştir. Bir bakıma özetle bu aşamaya kadar sözü edilenler giriş bölümünün de içeriği olarak değerlendirilebilir. Tezin ikinci bölümünün başlığı liderliktir. Bu bölümde liderlik tanımları, yaklaşımları, tipleri ile uluslararası ilişkilerde liderlik başlıklarına yer verilmiştir. Liderlik, 20. ve 21. yüzyılda yönetim alan yazınında belki de en fazla tartışılan ve akademik çalışma yapılan konulardan biridir. Gelecekte de liderlik kavramsal ve olgusal olarak anlaşılmaya, açıklanmaya çalışılacak başat konulardan biri olacaktır. Liderliğe yüklenen anlamlar, geliştirilecek yaklaşımlar geçmişten günümüze kadar nasıl değişti, farklılaştıysa gelecekte de evrilerek genişleyecek ve zenginleşecektir. 1900'lü yıllardan itibaren yapılan tanımlar 10-15 yıllık dönemler itibariyle gözden

geçirildiğinde günümüze dek liderlik kavramına yüklenen anlamların ne kadar farklılaştığı görülebilir. 1900'lü yıllarda yapılan ilk tanımlar, liderliğe o dönemde sosyal hareketlerin özeğinde olmak; sosyal hareketlerin kontrol edilmesi sürecinde grubun içinden ön plana çıkmak gibi daha çok rastlantısal ve kişisel anlamlar yüklediğini ortaya koymaktadır. Daha sonraki zaman dilimlerinde liderlik kişilik ve etkileri, uyma ve izlemeye ikna etme sanatı, inancı biçimlendirme, amaçları başarmanın aracı eylem ve davranış, etkinin kullanılması etkileşim, başlatıcılık, güç şekli olarak ele alınmıştır. Liderliği tanımlamak ve açıklamak o kadar da kolay görünmemektedir. Buna rağmen, en yalın haliyle liderliğin yöneticilikten farklı, kültürel, politik bir olgu, kişisel ve durumsal faktörlerin etki ettiği bir süreç olarak algılandığı söylenebilir. Liderlikle ilgili tanımlar bir bakıma liderlik konusundaki yaklaşımları yansıtmaktadır. Yaklaşımlar, özellik, davranışsal, durumsal ve daha yeni yaklaşımlar olarak dört ana başlıkta tartışılabilir. Özellik yaklaşımlarında liderlik daha çok liderin kişiliği, kişilik özellikleri ile açıklanmaktadır. Davranışsal yaklaşımlarda ağırlıklı olarak liderin davranışları, davranışlarının bir örüntüsü olarak liderlik biçimleri ve bunların grup üzerindeki potansiyel etkileri incelenmiştir. Durumsal yaklaşımlarda liderlik, izleyenlerin, liderin özelliklerinin, biçiminin ve içinde bulunduğu durumun bir bileşkesi olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu yaklaşımlarla ilgili çalışmalar liderlik ve kişilik özelliklerinin ilişkili olduğunu; bu ilişkide durum, görev, zaman gibi durumların göz önüne alınması gerektiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Ayrıca çalışmalarda tek ve etkili liderlik davranışının olmadığı; davranışlarda, toplumsal, kurumsal kapasitenin, teknoloji, kültür, iklim ve içinde bulunulan durumun göz önüne alınması gerektiği vurgulanmıştır. Liderlikle ilgili daha yeni yaklaşımlarda dönüşümcü, kültürel, sessiz, algısal, vizyoner, kuantum liderlik gibi yeni liderlik tipleri çoklu disiplinler anlayışlarla tartışılmaktadır. Bu tezde de dönüşümcü, vizyoner, sessiz ve kuantum liderlik tipleri çözümlemelerde esas alınarak kullanılmıştır. Dönüşümcü liderlik liderin karizması, izleyenleri bilişsel ve duyuşsal bağlamda etkileyerek; esinlendirerek ve destekleyerek bireysel, kurumsal ve toplumsal olarak dönüşümü sağlaması anlamında tartışılmaktadır.

Vizyoner liderlik, ortaya koyduğu gelecek tasarımı, düşleri ve değerlerinde gönül gücüyle bütünleşmeyi, kurumsal, toplumsal dönüşümünü sağlamayı başat

görev olarak algılayan liderleri tanımlamaktadır. Sessiz liderlik daha çok içe dönük, risk almaktan kaçınan ancak dışa dönük ve risk alabilen kişileri, grupları ustalıkla yönlendiren; yönetebilen liderleri tarif etmektedir. Kuantum liderlik ise kuantum fiziğinin dört temel varsayımına dayalı olarak liderlik olgusunu açıklayan bir paradigmadır. Bu varsayımlar şöyledir: 1. Parça-dalga ikilemi- liderlik lider-izleyenler ikileminde bir etkileşim alanıdır. 2. Belirsizlikler ve olasılıklar-liderlik yapılandırılmaz ve kestirilemez 3. Enerjinin kesikliği- liderlik olgusunun kesikliliği ve 4. Kuvvetin belli bir yere kadar uygulanması- liderliğin etkisi etkileşime dayalıdır. Liderlik olgusunun uluslararası ilişkilerde iki ana akım kapsamında tartışıldığı söylenebilir. Bunlardan birinin özeğinde devletler, diğerinde kendi ülkelerinde karar alıcı pozisyonlarda bulunan, politika yapan bireyler yer almaktadır. Aslında lider olarak sadece devletleri ya da sadece karar alıcıları ve politikacıları tartışmaya başladığımızda her ikisiyle ilgili durumları birbirinden çok keskin çizgiler ayırt etmek kimi zaman hem zor hem de doğru olmayabilir. Devlet olarak liderlik süreçlerinde liderlik olgusu kişilerde ve kişilerle gerçekleştirilmektedir. Karar alıcılar, politikacılar anlamında düşünüldüğünde arka planda devletlerin toplumların varlığını yoğun bir biçimde hissetmek söz konusudur. Her iki ana akımda ya da karma analizlerin söz konusu olduğu çalışmalarda elbette sosyal bilimlere tüm diğer alanlarından yararlanıldığı söylenebilir.

Tezin üçüncü bölümünün ana başlığı kaos teorisidir. Bu kapsamda, karmaşıklık teorisi ve karmaşık uyarlanan sistemler ile kaos teorisi ve kaotik sistemler önce genel olarak ele alınmış daha sonra uluslararası ilişkilerde kaos teorisi tartışılmıştır. Kaos ve karmaşıklık yaygın olarak kullanılan iki kavramdır. Kaos teorisi sosyal bilimlerden daha çok fizik, matematik gibi alanlarda tartışılmıştır. 18 Yüzyılda hakim olan ve oldukça uzun bir zaman diliminde evrenin kurulmuş bir saat gibi işlediğine ilişkin mekanistik görüşlerin aksine evrende ve gerçek yaşamda olaylar karmaşıktır ve doğrusal değildir. Fiziksel sistemlerin pek çoğu ve kimyasal reaksiyonlar karmaşık dinamik davranışlar gösterirler. Çok sayıda aktörün var ve birbiriyle etkileşim içinde olduğu bir evreni anlamak için doğrusal düşünce sistemleri yeterli görünmemektedir. Bunun için daha derinlikli bir bakış açısına sahip olmak gerekir. Karmaşıklık teorisi kaos için bir şemsiye olarak tanımlanabilir. Kaos teorisinin sınırlılıklarına karşın karmaşık sistemlerin tekrar ve etkileşim olmak

üzere iki önemli özelliği vardır. Tekrar sistemin pek çok kez oluşması anlamına gelmekte, bu basit işlem fraktalleri ve kaosu üretmektedir. Kaos teorisinin sınırlı çeşitliliğine karşın; karmaşıklık çok sayıda birbiriyle etkileşen; biri diğerine sınırsız bir biçimde uyarlanma potansiyeli olan parçalardan oluşmaktadır. Ve karmaşık sistemleri, kaotik sistemlerden farklı kılan en önemli özelliği “oluş” kavramıdır. Oluş etkileşimlerin bir doğurgusu olup; kestirilemez. Bu anlamda karmaşıklık teorisi etkileşim, oluş ve tekrara dayalıdır. Teori aynı zamanda evrenin biyolojik, sosyolojik ve diğer tüm sistemlerinin karmaşık ve çevrelerine uyarlanma özelliği gösterdiğini savlar ve bu sistemlere de karmaşık uyarlanan sistemler olarak tanımlar. Bu anlamda sistem tüm aktörleriyle varlığını sürdürebilmek için daha yüksek bir karmaşıklık düzeyine evrilir.

Kaos ve düzen birbiriyle ilişkilidir. Kaotik sistemlerin karmaşık olanlarla benzer ve farklı özellikleri vardır. Kaotik sistemler karmaşık olanların tüm özelliklerine sahip olmakla birlikte tüm kaotik sistemler karmaşık değildir. Kaotik sistemlerde karmaşık sistemler gibi çoklu aktörlerle belirlenir. Doğrusal sistemlerle kıyaslandığında kaotik olanlar, çoklu aktörlerden ve doğrusal olmayan yapılardan oluşur. Bu çoklu aktörler nasıl davranacaklarına karar verecekleri zaman sonsuz ve bağımsız seçeneğe sahip olup; doğrusal olmayan bir yapıda davranırlar. Bu da onları kestirilemez yapar. Kaotik sistemleri en önemli özelliklerinden biri de başlangıç koşullarına hassasiyettir. Başlangıç koşullarındaki en ufak bir değişiklik, farklılık çok büyük sonuçlar üretebilir; uzun dönemli kestirimleri imkansız hale getirebilir. Bu durum Kelebek Etkisi olarak bilinmekte ve tanımlanmaktadır. Kaotik sistemlerin bir başka kritik özelliği çekicilerdir. Newton’un hareket yasalarından biri olan siz eğer bir güçle çekilirseniz siz de karşı yönde eşit güçle sizi çeken gücün kaynağını çekersiniz. Bu reaksiyon kaotik sistemlerde “ garip çekerler” oluşturur. Bu durum sistem bir tür dinamik denge oluşturur. Başlangıç koşullarına hassasiyet nedeniyle yörüngeler birinden diğerine hareket ederken birbirlerinden uzaklaşırlar; aynı yolda, kesişmeksizin kesişmeden sınırlı bir alanda toplanırlar. Sistemdeki garip çekerlerdeki herhangi bir değişim sistemin gelecekte ne olacağını belirler. Kaos teorisi sosyal bilimlerin hemen her alanına uygulanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Alan yazın tarandığında çok az sayıda çalışmaya rastlanmasına rağmen bu alanlardan birinin de uluslararası ilişkiler olduğu söylenebilir. Ulaşılan çok az sayıda yayında kaos

teorisinin daha çok uluslararası sistemin tanımlanması, açıklanması anlamında kullanılmaya çalışıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Uluslararası ilişkiler alanının kapsamı ve niteliği kaos, karmaşıklık teorilerinden çok boyutlu yararlanmaya uygundur. Bu teorilerin analizlerde kullanılması uluslararası ilişkiler alanını geliştirip zenginleştireceği gibi olguları çözümlmeyi kolaylaştıracaktır.

Kaotik bir olgu olarak Avro Krizi tartışılmıştır. Bu bölümde Avro'nun tarihçesi, krizin temelleri başlangıç koşullarına hassasiyet bağlamında açıklanmıştır. Avro Krizi'nde birbirine bağımlı ve doğrusal olmayan ilişkileriyle çoklu aktörler irdelenmiştir. Avro Krizi dünyada ve Avrupa'da yaşanan en büyük sosyal, ekonomik çalkantılardan biridir; bu olguyu kökleri ve sonuçları itibariyle klasik yaklaşımlarla anlamak; çözümlmek kolay değildir. Avrupa entegrasyon tarihini değiştirecek ilk önemli adım olarak tanımlanan Maastricht Anlaşması 1992'de imzalandı. Anlaşma ülkelerin ortak para birimine geçişte için beş temel kriter belirlenmiştir. Bunlar: 1. her üyenin yıllık ortalama enflasyon oranının, fiyat artışının en düşük olduğu üç üye devletin yıllık enflasyon oranı ortalamasını en fazla 1.5 puan geçebilmesi, 2. Üye devletlerin planlanan, ya da fiili kamu açıklarının gayri safi yurtiçi hasıllarına oranının yüzde 3'ünü aşmaması, 3. Üye devletlerin planlanan, ya da fiili kamu borç stoklarının, gayri safi yurtiçi hasıllarına oranının yüzde 60'ı geçmemesi, 4. Her üye devletin fiyat istikrarı bakımından en iyi sonucu sağlayan üç üye devletin ortalama nominal uzun vadeli faiz oranını en fazla 2 puan aşabilmesi, 5. Üye devletlerin ulusal paraları, Avrupa Döviz Kuru Mekanizmasının izin verdiği "normal" dalgalanma marjı içinde kalması. Avro 1999 yılında ortak para birimi olarak kullanılmaya başlandı. 2011 yılına kadar 17 ülke para birimi olarak kullandı. Kuşkusuz bu durum sadece Avrupa'nın değil tüm dünyanın ekonomik, kültürel, tarihi koşullarını değiştirecek sonuçlar üretti ve üretmektedir.

Krizin temelleri, kaosun başat kavramlarından başlangıç koşullarına duyarlılık bağlamında irdedeğinde bütünleşmenin doğrudan kendisi ve kurumsal deseni, Avro bölgesindeki bütünleşmenin sorunlu boyutlarından biri olan bankacılık sistemi, ortak para birimi olarak Avro'nun, Mundell'in Optimal Para Alanı Teorisi ile tutarlı olmaması, Maastricht Anlaşması'ndaki kriterlerin farklı niteliklere sahip ülkelere genellenmesi gibi durumlar farklı ama aynı düzlemde başlangıç koşullarının duyarlılığını oluşturmaktadır. Üye ülkeler de bu koşulların yarattığı

simetrik ve asimetrik şoklar; döngüsel ve yapısal etkiler elbette kendine özgü duyarlıklar oluşturmaktadır. Sadece bu durum bile üst düzeyde bir karmaşıklıkla işaret etmekte; aynı zamanda kaos teorisinin diğer başat kavramlarından birbirine bağımlılık ve doğrusal olmayan ilişkileriyle çoklu aktörler bağlamına dikkat çekmektedir. Ortak bir para biriminin kullanımı kaçınılmaz olarak devletler arasında birbirine bağımlılık anlamına gelmektedir. Avrupa Birliği'nde tüm anlaşmaların uluslar üstü , ulusal ve bölgesel üç yönetim düzeyini kapsadığı göz önüne alındığında tüm düzeylere ilişkin çok sayıda hükümet, devlet, kurum ve birey olarak tüm aktörler karmaşık çok boyutlu doğrusal olmayan etkileşimler ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Diğer uluslararası aktörlerin de bu bağlamda Avro Krizi'nin kaçınılmaz bir parçası olduğu yadsınamaz. Tüm bunlar Avro Krizin kaotik bir olgu olduğunu ve doğrusal yaklaşımlarla yapılacak çözümlerinin güdük kalacağını göstermektedir.

Tezin dördüncü bölümünde bir lider olarak Angela Merkel, biyografisi ve politik yaşamı ile ele alınmıştır. Merkel Avro Krizinde bir lider olarak başat aktörlerden biri belki de en önemlisidir. Angela Merkel sahip olduğu pek çok niteliği ile sıra dışıdır. Bunlar arasında Batı Almanya'dan daha farklı bir bağlamı ifade eden Doğu Almanya'dan gelmesi, Almanya'da bir kadın lider olarak yükselişi, ikinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana alman şansölyesi olan en genç politikacı; kuantum kimyası üzerine yazılmış teziyle doktoralı bir fizikçi olması; politik olaylara diğer politikacılarla kıyaslandığında oldukça farklı yaklaşımlar sergilemesi sayılabilir. Angela Merkel'in biyografisi incelendiğinde başlangıçta pek de fazla politikayla ilgilendiği söylenemez. Yaşamında gelişen bazı olaylar onun sadece politikaya girmesini sağlamamış aynı zamanda kendisini bir dünya liderine dönüştürmesini sağlamıştır. Örneğin deneyimli ve önemli bir politikacı olan Helmut Kohl ile birlikte çalıştığı dönem bir yandan parti içinde daha etkili hale gelmesini sağlarken diğer yandan çok geniş ve etkili bağlantılar kurmasını kolaylaştırdı. Kohl'le ilgili skandal ortaya çıktığında ise sahip olduğu sıra dışı tüm özellikleriyle parti için ideal lider olarak ön plana çıktı. Merkel liderliğinde parti hem yapısal olarak ve hem de kadınlar, aileler, göçmenler ve ekonomi konusundaki politikalarıyla farklılaştı; dönüştü. Şansölye Merkel'in 2005-2009 yıllarında odaklandığı konular, biri iç diğeri dış politikada olmak üzere iki boyutta analiz edilebilir. İç politikada en önemli konular olarak anayasa değişikliği, vergiler ve işsizlikle ilgili ekonomik ve sosyal

sorunlar ön plana çıkarken; dış politikada ise başta Amerika, Avrupa Birliği ve Rusya olmak üzere üç bölgede ve diğer tüm uluslararası ilişkilerde pragmatizm ve değerler üzerine kurgulanmıştır.

Tezin dördüncü bölümü Avro Krizinde Angela Merkel'in çok boyutlu liderliği krizdeki üç aşama esas alınarak dört liderlik tipiyle irdelenmiştir. Yunanistan'ın iflası ve bu olgunun Avro bölgesinde yarattığı domino etkisi karar alıcılardan sıradan vatandaşlara, akademisyenlerden spekülatoörlere hemen herkesi hem şok etmiş hem de sonrasında nelerin, nasıl olacağı konusunda çok boyutlu tartışmaların bir parçası haline getirmiştir. Bu noktada hemen herkesin güçlü, krizin sorumluluğunu kimin ve nasıl üstleneceğini açıklayacak ve gereklerini yerine getirecek; kişi ve devlet bağlamında bir lider arayışında olduğu söylenebilir. Böyle bir arayışı vurgulayan belki de en kritik söylemler "Lidersiz Avrupa", Lider Olmaksızın Avrupa" gibi başlıklarla medyada yer almıştır. Gerçekten Avrupa bu süreçte lidersiz kalmış mıdır? Yoksa kaotik bir olgu olan Avro Krizi'nin farklı aşamalarında Fizikçi bir liderin, Angela Merkel'in ortaya koyduğu farklı liderlik profilleri özellikle başlangıçta yeterince fark edilmemiş midir?

Tezin beşinci bölümünde bir anlamda bu soruların yanıtları yer almıştır. Avro Krizi'nin birinci aşaması olarak ele alınan 2009-2010 yılları arasında Angela Merkel'in ortaya koyduğu liderlik tipinin "sessiz liderlik" olduğu söylenebilir. Merkel, krizin başlangıcında çok yoğun ve ağır baskılara rağmen ani kararlar almaktan kaçınmış; bekle, gör politikalarını tercih etmiştir. Çözüm konusunda bir yandan farklı senaryolar üzerinde çalışırken diğer taraftan ortak para birimi ortak sorumluluk bağlamında diğerlerinin oluşturacağı politikaları bekledi. Krizin ikinci aşaması olarak düşünülen 2010- 2011 yıllarında Angela Merkel dönüşümcü ve vizyoner lider olarak hem Almanya'nın hem de tüm Avrupa'nın Avro Krizi ve çözümü konusunda algısını, yaklaşımını dönüştürdü. Bu dönüşüm aynı zamanda Yeni Avrupa Vizyonu' nu ve bunu besleyen temel değerleri ortaya koyuyordu. Angela Merkel artık sadece Almanya'nın Mutti'si yani annesi değil aynı zamanda Avrupa'nın kraliçesiydi. Krizde de gelinen nokta üçüncü aşama olarak ele alınan 2011-2013 yıllarıydı. Bu dönemde büyük resme bakıldığında Almanya'da ve Avrupa'da kriz çok daha fazla aktörün var olduğu; çok boyutlu dinamik ve doğrusal etkileşimlerin gerçekleştiği daha üst düzeyde bir karmaşıklığa doğru evrildi. İşte bu

kaotik durumda Merkel kuantum liderlik özelliklerini ortaya koydu. Kuantum üzerine en üst derecede öğrenim yapan fizikçi bir hanımefendinin ortaya koyduğu bu profile şaşırılmamak gerekir.

Kuantum fiziğinde ışığın hem dalga hem parçacık olduğuna ilişkin sav, ilk olarak liderlik bağlamında “liderlik, lider ve izleyenler arasından bir etkileşim alanıdır” biçiminde tartışılmıştır. Nasıl dalga ve parçacık olma bütünlüğünde ışık tanımlanıyorsa; lider ve izleyenlerin ortaklaşa varlığı ve etkileşimi de bütünde liderliği ifade etmektedir. Bu aşamada Avrupa’nın Kraliçesi olarak Merkel bir kez daha çok etkili biçimde liderliğe ilişkin algılarını farklılaştırmıştır. İzleyenlerin yeni beklenti ve taleplerine ilişkin farkındalıklarını hissettirdiği ortak bir etkileşim alanı oluşturdu. Bu etkileşim alanında özellikle Almanya’da öfke ve kızgınlık içeren paradoksal duyguları “Avro başarısız olursa; Avrupa başarısız olacaktır” söylemleriyle bir kez daha ortak gelecek vizyonunda bütünleşme enerjisine dönüştürmeyi denedi. Kuantum fiziği olasılıkları ve belirsizlikleri vurgular. Bu vurgu ikinci varsayım olarak değerlendirildiğinde; dinamik ve karmaşık sosyal sistemleri anlamak ve algılamak anlamında liderliğe yeni bir anlayışla bakmak gerektirir. Bu ikinci varsayımın izdüşümü liderliğin kestirilemeyen bir eylem alanında riske girmeyi gerektiren bir olgu olduğunu algılamaktır. İzleyenlerle etkileşmek, bir etkileşim alanı oluşturmak belirsizliği; aynı zamanda daha başarılı daha iyi bir yol bulma olasılığını artırmaktadır. Krizin birinci aşamasında riske girmeyen; riskten kaçınan sessiz lider olarak Angela Merkel krizin bu aşamasında da birlikte çalıştığı ekip üyelerine ve krizin uluslararası aktörlerinin tümüne farklı boyutlarda önerilerde bulunma; sorumluluk alma; inisiyatif kullanma fırsatı sunmuştur. Böylece fizikçi bir hanımefendi ve kuantum lider olarak kuantum dünyasının tüm seçeneklerini Avro Krizi’nin üçüncü aşaması bağlamında yerel, bölgesel ve küresel boyutta algılama, anlama değerlendirme konusunda işe koşmuştur. Kuantum fiziğinde ışık kuantum adı verilen kesikli, küçük enerji paketleri halinde yayılmaktadır.

Bu üçüncü varsayım, liderlik olgusunda olayların tıpkı bir sinema filminde olduğu gibi kesikli geliştiğini bilmek anlamına gelmektedir. Bunun farkında olan Angela Merkel tüm bağlamlarda izleyenleri ile değişen zaman dilimlerinde kendiliğinden gelişen bir durumda, bir olguda birleşip; ayrılma süreçlerini

kendisinin ve politikalarının zayıf ve güçlü yanlarını değerlendirmek anlamında bir şans olarak kullanmıştır. Kuantum fiziği kuvvetin belli bir yere kadar uygulanabileceğini savlar. Bunu dördüncü varsayım olarak liderlik bağlamında irdelediğimizde liderliğin etkisinin etkileşime bağlı olduğu söylenebilir. Daha önce de vurgulandığı gibi liderliğin etkisi ve gücü izleyenlerle etkileşime ve etkileşimlerin niteliğine bağlıdır. Angela Merkel fazdaki iki dalganın birbiriyle etkileşiminin yarattığı titreşimin çok daha fazla olduğu bilerek izleyenlerle etkileşimleri kolaylaştıracak; artıracak yeni etkileşim biçimleri oluşturacak politikalar izlemektedir.

Tezin altıncı bölümü tümünün özetidir.

## APPENDIX B

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

