

Perceptions of Women in Public Leadership – Discussing the Imposter Phenomenon in the German News Media

by Charlotte Rettig

S2194031

c.c.l.rettig@student.utwente.nl

Profile: Corporate Communication

First Supervisor: Dr. Ringo Ossewaarde

Second Supervisor: Dr. Peter Stegmaier

Abstract

Powerful female politicians are featured in the news often. Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are especially scrutinized and have an image portrayed by the news media. This thesis looks at the discourse in the news media of female leaders in public offices and the way they are perceived and their images are reproduced. The perception, attributes and stereotypes, of the women discussed in the thesis, are put in the context of the discourse held about the Imposter Phenomenon (IP). The Imposter Phenomenon is a psychological condition that has the person affected by it, have low self-esteem, low self-efficacy, believing that their achievements are up to chance and not ability and thus feeling like an Imposter in their professional life. The thesis hypothesizes that the discussion of the IP focuses primarily on women being affected and that this fact translates to the image of women in public offices and women in general not being able to withstand the pressures of leadership. This manifests in accusations of lack of decisiveness and taking positions in the news media. The thesis furthermore considers politics being dominated by hegemonic structures catering to male politicians and women fitting into these structures in order to gain success. In order to fit they have adapted into having attributes that are usually associated to typically male and concealing their femininity. The analysis shows evidence in behaviors that have been categorized as being cold, calculating and being professional. Theory has shown that behaviors that are not typically female can be penalized which manifests in derogatory characterizations. The analysis shows that there seems to be a negative image of Merkel and von der Leyen. This negative perception is reflected in the way the narrative of the IP is constructed that contributes to the narrative that women are weaker leaders.

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1 Introduction

She is not human and not machine,
What she doesn't know is feelings
she doesn't have any hobbies – a little bit of Bayreuth is not enough
she only knows work and power
the end

Sie ist nicht Mensch und nicht Maschine
Was sie nicht kennt, das sind Gefühle
Hobbys hat sie keine – das bisschen Bayreuth reicht nicht aus
Sie kennt nur Arbeit, Macht – und aus
Anonymous Source (published by Fleischauer, 2018)

This poem about Angela Merkel is representative of how women in public leadership are often perceived, not just by the news media but by society as a whole. The cold, calculating women without a personal life that made it to the top is a common stereotype (Schlehofer et al., 2011). In general, the attributes associated with leadership are attributed to male stereotypes (Koenig et al., 2011). The way that the idea of leadership is formed is characterized by hegemonic practices. The discourse around the Imposter Phenomenon offers a unique perspective on women in public offices and fits as a hegemonic practice. Therefore, although Merkel is not to be ascribed to be affected by the Imposter Phenomenon (IP), she is, in this poem, a shining example of how women in power are perceived by the public, and portrayed by the media. This portrayal can be rooted back to male hegemony in politics (D. Beck, 2016). Investigating these practices, in light of the rise of the IP discourse in the news media, sheds additional light on these power structures. This poem can be seen as an example of discourse about women in power. It dehumanized her in her power, despite her indisputable success in politics. The acknowledgement of power in the poem is purely negative because of the ambience of the poem.

In recent years the Imposter Phenomenon has become a talking point outside of the academic field, it has come to the field of mainstream media, opening up the discourse with different effects. Shanna Slank offers a hypothesis about the Phenomenon that sheds new light on the way women are portrayed and their image is perceived. Slank writes that the Imposter Phenomenon is harmful to women as leaders. They are portrayed as unable to be good leaders because their skin is not thick enough and they are psychologically not fit to lead (Slank, 2019). Most research concerning the Imposter Syndrome or Phenomenon is in the field of Psychology. The Imposter Syndrome was first introduced and researched by Clance and Imes, as a predominately female psychological condition. This condition resulted in the lack of self-confidence in one's ability in the work and furthermore a fear of being found out as an Imposter in the workplace. The research was focused on treating women for that Syndrome and the possible origins of it. In further research the distribution of the Syndrome among men and women is examined.

As of yet there have not been any studies done which consider gender stereotyping, in the news media, in connection to the Imposter Phenomenon. This paper is looking to add the aspect of Imposterism as part of the narrative about gender stereotyping of women in public offices. There have been plenty of studies on Angela Merkel and how her campaigns running for German Chancellor have changed over the years (Dülcke & Futh, 2015; Merkle, 2015). But the discourse of the Imposter Syndrome has not yet been considered to be connected to the narrative of reporting on her. Most studies about the portrayal of women have been concerned with the

portrayal in comparison to men in times of election and in connections to campaigns. The research in Public Administration and Gender has been focused on leadership styles and how they are perceived by their employees in certain areas of the world, like Korea (Lee & Park, 2020). Though the leadership perceptions is reliant on the cultural background and thus varies from area to area. The focus of leadership perceptions in public organizations often considers employees rather than the wider public.

This study aims to give a deeper insight of the societal background that the narrative of the Imposter Phenomenon and how this builds a certain type of societal framework which women in leading political positions are seen in. The effects that the discourse has on a society are important to get awareness of the effect that the male hegemony has on the way women are portrayed in the news media. By uncovering the hidden practices there is an opportunity to improve the patterns of behavior. It is no point of discussion that gender equality in leading positions is a necessity. Being aware of the narratives around women in leading positions in politics as much as in the business world is needed in order to combat that narrative. Therefore, this study looks at unmasking this narrative.

Further exploring characteristics of public leadership can have a multitude of benefits, thus this paper looks specifically into the portrayal and perception of female public leadership. Crosby and Bryson have dissected the meaning of public leadership and thus concluded that there are different ideas of what public leadership means but that citizens are following leaders that have a vision and qualities to make that vision reality (Crosby & Bryson, 2018).

Often the way I personally perceived the description of the female leaders were more negative, or focused on outer appearance or their cold professionalism, which has been shown to be true for most people (Schlehofer et al., 2011). The description of their cold professionalism gave me as a reader the impression that it has to highlighted that she is able to lead in a professional manner. The imposter Syndrome and its implications for the portrayal of women in leading positions and future female leaders are intriguing to me. Gender equality in every sphere of society remains a topic of concern for social sciences. The obstacles that yet have to be overcome to ensure gender equality are diverse. One part that is still an area of concern is the image of women in leading positions (Koenig et al., 2011). A topic that has come up a lot in the discourse around successful women is the Imposter Syndrome, which is also referred to as the Imposter Phenomenon (Clance, 1986). In short suffering from this Phenomenon means that the person is well-educated and trained in their line of work, but do not believe that they are doing good, are qualified enough and generally suffer from low self-confidence in their professional life. In the media and in public discussions it has been portrayed that especially women suffer predominately from the Syndrome, which often implies that they are less fit to fulfill the duties of a high ranking official in politics or in the business sector (Slank, 2019). Whether or not a gender plays a role on how prominent the Imposter Syndrome is, has not yet been conclusively determined. Though newer studies found that both genders are affected by the phenomenon (Badawy et al., 2018).

The Imposter Syndrome first was discovered in the 1970s and was recognized in the field of psychology and firstly described to be a predominately female “condition”(Clance & Imes, 1978). People that have the imposter syndrome do not experience a feeling of professional success, even though they have good grades, graduated with good grades and objectively do good at their jobs. Often they feel that their achievements are based on luck or that some kind of mistake was made when they got a job. The research about the syndrome has started and then focused a lot on women that are affected by the syndrome and thereby created a narrative

that women are seemingly less suited to be leaders (Slank, 2019). This focus on women being predominately affected has had the effect that it is often being talked about in terms of gender.

Every human is judged constantly by its environment, meaning by other people around them (Ferguson & Zayas, 2009). This evaluation is not always conscious and happens without intent. Politicians have chosen to always be under scrutiny and are constantly evaluated. This is one vital part of democracy and keeps politicians in check. But the way that especially female politicians and women in public offices are perceived differs from the way their male counterparts are perceived and evaluated (Schlehofer et al., 2011). The news media is vital when it comes to shaping opinions and their portrayal of events and people have an influence on the way people think about issues and people. From observation, women in powerful public offices like Angela Merkel are not highlighting their femininity. Feminine attributes rarely play a role. This thesis seeks to investigate the discourse that is enforced by narrative of the Imposter Syndrome that women are not suited to be in positions in leadership and how this relates to femininity.

1.1 Research Question

Analyzing the way Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are portrayed in the discourse and how they are affected by power structures. even though they have had enormous success in their careers. As Slank has described the IP d discourse among other contributing factor has an influence on how women in public leadership positions are viewed. Uncovering these hegemonic practices using the CDA allows to create a more visible picture of sexist power structures and the ways that women conform to and change these leadership perceptions.

This thesis investigates:

How is the leadership of women in public leadership is portrayed in the German News Media?

- a. Which stereotypes and attributes of politicians Ursula von der Leyen and Angela Merkel are used in the news media to describe them?

How do hegemonic practices influence the way women in public office are portrayed?

- b. How is the narrative of the Imposter Syndrome in its discourse constructed?
- c. Which hegemonic practices present in the Imposter Syndrome discourse reflect on Ursula von der Leyen and Angela Merkel?

In order to determine the way women in public leadership are portrayed in the news media news reports from the last legislature of Merkel and von der Leyen in relation to their leadership are considered. By uncovering the stereotypes and attributes that are described to Merkel and von der Leyen leads the full image that is portrayed by the news media. The second seeks to explore the hegemonic practices apparent in the news articles about von der Leyen and Merkel. The discourse of the IP is considered to be one of the hegemonic practices. Thus, exploring the construction of the narrative of the IP, leads to a fuller picture of the practices apparent in the discourse in general. By analyzing the portrayal of Merkel and von der Leyen conclusions about the perception of women in public leadership can be drawn. These questions seek to further explore public leadership perceptions in Germany and the narrative of the IP that is constructed and part of the hegemonic practices that have become apparent.

Investigating the Imposter Phenomenon discourse by using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows to also grasp how the narrative is reproduced by the mainstream media and

reproduced to the broad public and therefore influences the public take on the IP. So far, the effects of talking about the IP itself have not been researched. Looking at the way the IP discourse is conducted allows to draw important conclusions about the way society conceives and reproduces the discourse. I expect, that even though that there is conflicting evidence on which gender is effected by the IP to what capacity, that the discourse will mainly focus on women in high pressure careers. Thus, adding to the narrative of women being unfit leaders and showing that the hegemonic practices favoring men are still intact. By showing that this might actually be the case it allows corrective measures and also allowing further research into the origins of the IP.

The paper investigates the way Ursula von der Leyen and Angela Merkel are portrayed in the news media, and investigates the stereotypes and attributes they are described with in the broader context of the IP, in order to explore the hegemonic practices that they are subject to, despite their successful political careers. Both women work successfully within the political systems and their leadership is under scrutiny. Since weaker leadership of women is a substantial part of the IP discourse in the media, investigating the portrayal of two female successful politicians reveal the underlying power structures that they are still subject to. Meaning, exploring possible impacts of the IP discourse on other areas such as the way successful female politicians are portrayed. This combines exploring Slanks hypothesis of the IP discourse leading to perceiving women as female leaders and other scholars such as Koenig, Merkle, Dülke and Futh, Holtz-Bacha and Beck who explored the way female leaders are perceived and gender stereotypes play into the perception of gender in leadership (D. Beck, 2016; Dülcke & Futh, 2015; Holtz-Bacha, 2007; Koenig et al., 2011; Merkle, 2015; Slank, 2019). The aim is to investigate the specific cases of Merkel and von der Leyen and explore the tools that are used to perpetuate the idea of weaker female leadership that are furthermore promoted by the IP discourse.

In the first part of the paper the concept of the IP as hegemonic practice is explored. The further it is explained why this method is applicable for the case of finding out which image of female political leaders is portrayed in the German News Media. Furthermore, the concept of the Imposter Syndrome, synonymously Phenomenon is explained. After that the perception of women as political leaders is described. Which stereotypes have been researched and how these stereotypes apply to Germany. In the third part the Case is further described and the way the sample has been selected. In order to describe the way, the sample has been taken the German Media landscape is characterized. The analysis sheds light on how the discourse of the IP in the news media is conducted. Furthermore, the analysis describes how the news media has portrayed Merkel and von der Leyen, and them striving to do things right and the role femininity plays. Lastly the analysis looks into the the way the ideal politician is described in Germany and ways Merkel and von der Leyen seem to adapt to that role, and how that effects their public portrayals.

The discourse analysis provides a framework and background in which the cases of women in higher office are embedded. The second part basically investigates the stereotypes around women with political power and how their narrative connects to the narrative of the Imposter Syndrome. The main aim of answering these question is to unmask the hidden narrative of women being unfit for political offices and to show the aspects that add to this narrative. The Imposter Phenomenon is thereby the framework that the cases of female politicians Angela Merkel and Ursuala von der Leyen are embedded in. Part of the analysis of this narrative furthermore is the sexual objectification of women in politics and how that harms the credibility of women (Funk & Coker, 2016).

1.2 Scientific Relevance

Public leadership perceptions in general and in relation to gender has been a field that has been called on to be further explored (Crosby & Bryson, 2018). Thus leading to different considerations of public leadership in recent research. Among those is the call to introduce more feminist intersectionality in future research, as it considers more aspects than gender into the research (Breslin et al., 2017). Recent research has also considered differences in leadership styles due to gender and how it is perceived by their employees (Lee & Park, 2020).

The literature and research on the Imposter Syndrome itself which is often also referred to as the Imposter Phenomenon is mostly conducted in the field of Psychology. Most studies, when it comes to the impact of the Imposter Syndrome are made with students or career starters and are conducted in an experimental fashion. Furthermore, there is research on the societal impact of the phenomenon for example how the phenomenon influences career choices. Therefore, the studies focus mostly on the individual and how it personally affects them. Because a lot of the studies exploring the Imposter Syndrome are of experimental fashion, the results vary on whether or not gender plays a role in it.

Kevin Cokly and colleagues found in their study that discrimination plays a big role in the degree of the Imposter Syndrome. They conducted a study with students that belonged to a minority on their university campus. The study found that the syndrome has been more prominent in people that are discriminated against, meaning ethnic minorities. The study also tested whether female students of African American, Asian American or Latin American descent are more likely to feel effects of Imposterism. The study found that gender was no factor in these feelings (Cokley et al., 2018). The background for this research is founded in Gender Studies. Important influences are Pierre Bourdieu. Other important concepts are provided by theories about the glass ceiling (Bihagen & Ohls, 2006) and the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002).

There are also studies in German and from Germany that go in depth of how women are portrayed when running for election. Since Angela Merkel has been successful in running for chancellor four times there is plenty of data of media coverage about her. Angela Merkel throughout her political career has been notoriously private about her personal life. When she then revealed certain particularities from her personal life, they are covered by the media. An interesting example for this has been an interview in a women's magazine, about the way her husband bickers about a lack of crumble on her apple pie, that she enjoys her vegetable garden and likes to cook potato soup (Merkle, 2015). Susanne Merkle investigated whether the media coverage in 2013 during her run for election portrayed Merkel as an exceptional case or if she is portrayed as a typical woman. Holtz-Bacha examined in detail her run for chancellor in 2005 and found that during that time she focused on her media production and on her function and role as a politician. They elaborated that she neglected the role of a women completely in her own media production.

When it comes to Gender Research there are plenty of analyses on the portrayal of female politician during campaigns for public offices in Germany. These studies though mainly focus on the run for office, which means that politicians are usually under even more scrutiny. When female politicians run for office they are often in direct comparison to their male counterparts (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). These studies during campaigns focus on the way media reports on female politicians and explore the media frames that are concerned with gender stereotypes.

The further, gender role expectations are considered (Eckes, 2008) and how and why women in public office are not fulfilling their gender role expectation and what repercussions it has for women running for office not to fulfill their gender role expectation. There has been a lot of research on the subject of Angela Merkel as a candidate for chancellor and that the character traits she portrays on the outside are predominately male traits. She behaves more like a man and is described with male traits of a politician rather than female traits (Holtz-Bacha, 2007).

There has also been plenty of research describing the inequality of men and women in society in different ways. Depending on the field of research there are more philosophical approaches like Pierre Bourdieu's "Male Dominations" (Bourdieu, 2001) which focuses on the dominance of men in all parts of society. But there is also plenty of empirical data and numbers highlighting the inequality.

Leah Sheppard researches the impact on attractiveness on how business women and men are perceived. She and her colleagues found that attractiveness in women has a negative effect on how truthful the women is perceived, while attractive men are still perceived as truthful. Sheppard labels this mistrust in attractive women the "femme fatale effect" and leads this effect back on the women posing a sexual threat. She further describes how studies have found that while attractive women are perceived as more feminine, they are also associated with a load of negative traits, like dishonesty, vanity, sexual disloyalty and snobbery (Sheppard & Johnson, 2019). In regards to the discourse Sheppard's research is interesting, because women considered for the cases have an influence on their appearance to some degree and therefore can influence this part of their public image.

2 Theory

This chapter aims to provide the theoretical background to the analysis. In practice it explores the concept of hegemonic practice and how that practice affects the narrative constructed about the IP and women in leading political positions. The concept of hegemony masculinity is not just limited to sex role expectations but also reproduced as practice and allows men to continuously dominate women (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In relation to the IP, hegemonic practices mean that because men have and still dominate politics female politicians have to comply with these hegemonic practices. Thus adding to the narrative of weaker female leaders. Analyzing the IP discourse these hegemonic practices are uncovered. This chapter furthermore conceptualizes the Imposter Syndrome or Phenomenon, shows its dimensions. Lastly this chapter is concerned with the way women and German female politicians are perceived and framed, and how it is important to the analysis.

2.1 The concept of Hegemony

In this thesis the theoretical orientation that underlines the critical discourse analysis are power and hegemony. Whoever controls the flow of knowledge has control over the narrative. In the past men have mostly dominated the political and professional sphere. “By functioning as the “flow of knowledge” – and/or the whole of stored societal knowledge- throughout all time’ discourse creates the conditions for the formation of subjects and the structuring and shaping of societies” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Because of this type of storage in societies power structures manifest. Ultimately the discourse creates in the form of the stored societal knowledge collective symbols, which “all the members of a society know, a repertoire of images is available with which we visualize a complete picture of societal reality and/or the political landscape of society, and through which we then interpret these are provided with interpretations – in particular by the media” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Teun van Dijk highlights the importance of social cognition. He defines social cognition with “socially and culturally shared beliefs, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values” (Dijk, 2009). These have great impact on the context of the discourse. Van Dijk’s definitions also tie in with the definition of gender stereotypes, which are ultimately a set of shared beliefs of the attributes ascribed to women and men (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979).

Power and dominance relations play an important role in the discourse. Men have had a monopoly on leadership positions. Their power is evident in all instances of life, especially though in the male dominated field of administration and politics. This is highly influenced by the image of the optimal administrator described by Max Weber (D. Beck, 2016). Men were able to dominate the narrative, which led to the ultimate assumption of this paper that the hegemonic position of men has led to the narrative within the IP discourse that women are psychological not equipped to be leaders (Slank, 2019, 2019). Fairclough writes that “inherent to discourse is the dialectical relation of structure/event discussed above: discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them, to reproducing and transforming them” (Fairclough, 2003). The structure the discourse is built upon is ideological in nature, writes Fairclough, and makes them orders of discourse, which include codes, conventions, political and economic structures and in this case importantly gender relations (ibid.). That constant reproduction of the discourse also implies that powerful groups are dominant and remain dominant due to the nature of the discourse and the fact that the dominating groups have a strong impact on the collective symbols that are created (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Foucault and Wodak established that discourses are dominated by powerful

groups and legitimated by ideologies (Foucault & Konersmann, 2017; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Using the CDA, power relations and pressures from certain groups can be understood and described. One premise of the CDA is not only the importance of language but that language and text “gain power by the use powerful people make of it” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). When it comes to images and stereotypes portrayed of women collective symbolism is an important notion. Collective symbolism is described as the transfer of cultural stereotypes through generations. These societal mechanisms have therefore shaped which attributes and power dynamics have been passed down through generations and shaped the way women and men are perceived in their perspective roles. The discourses rarely stand alone. Often they are connected to other discourses. In this case the discourse around the Imposter Syndrome is intertwined with the general discourse and discussion of gender equality in leading positions (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). This includes all societal spheres including women in public offices and politics. Furthermore, discourses are constantly in motion, because of its constant reproduction (ibid.).

Hegemony is an important concept and part of the theory Fairclough developed for the CDA. The term originates in Marxism and is taken into a new context by Fairclough. A part of hegemonic practices also implies that the less powerful consent to the unequal power relations (Richardson, 2007). Discourses are not only a simple use of language but hegemonic practices imply “speaking and writing in the exercise, reproduction and negotiation of power relations, and in an ideological processes and ideological struggle” (Fairclough, 2003). With that introduction of hegemony social conventions are cemented and reinforced. Because of the constant reinforcement breaking pre-existing conventions, in Fairclough’s words “denaturalize” them in order to replace them is hard (ibid.). The notion of hegemony explains why not just men have negative stereotypes of women in power, but also women have them. The beliefs are deeply engrained and have been passed down through the generations. Not only men can be sexist, but women can also be sexist. In the power dynamic of men and women, men have held the upper hand for centuries and had the advantage of influencing the narrative in their favor, which in turn has led to women also contributing to the negative narrative in their own way.

2.2 The Imposter Phenomenon as Hegemonic Practice

The original hegemonic masculinity constitutes in theory that in all social structures women are subordinated to men (R. Connell, 1987). However, since then female empowerment has enabled women to break through a lot of barriers and become successful in all different kinds of sectors. Political leadership is one of them. Even though women have had a breakthrough into politics the structures of the political system still cater to a male ideal of a politician. As Beck describes even though women have had tremendous successes in politics, they are still subject to structures that do not cater to them (D. Beck, 2016). Which leads to the overall impression that women are weaker leaders. The attributes that are associated with leadership are attributes commonly associated with men (Koenig et al., 2011) The mechanism of masculine hegemonic power leads to structures that favor men as leaders over women and the way the discourse of the IP is held. The main hypothesis of the thesis in references to Shanna Slank that is to be tested by answering these questions is whether the discourse of the Imposter Syndrome adds to the narrative of women being psychological unfit to be good leaders. (Slank, 2019). This narrative that describes women as unfit leaders is varied and has many different components. The first question seeks to provide a framework and describe the background of how women in the workplace in general are perceived and test if the hypothesis of a narrative that Slank describes.

H: The Imposter Syndrome discourse adds negatively to the narrative that women are not equipped to be leaders.

The narrative of the IP adds thus to the hegemonic practices that have been exercised favoring men in leading positions over women. The image of women elected or appointed in higher political office is particularly interesting because they are under constant public scrutiny. And the image that is created through the news media has a strong impact on the way women in public offices are perceived by the society (Schlehofer et al., 2011) Discourses are multi-faceted, there is not just one reason, why there are not as many women in senior positions as men (Frear et al., 2019). Though an analysis of the discourse can give an insight on the underlying social indications of the discourse of the Imposter Phenomenon.

Imes and Clance were among the first that did research on the syndrome and described the syndrome and its predominance in high achieving women (Clance & Imes, 1978). They described the symptoms as “anxiety, lack of self-confidence, depression, and frustration related to inability to meet self-imposed standards of achievement”. One of the symptoms of the syndrome is the feeling of being discovered as an imposter anytime and therefore losing credibility. These women in the 1970s started to break into very male dominated fields. Women in the professional sphere used to take rather subordinate positions, like secretaries or factory workers. During the time of Clance and Imes these former structure became looser and more women started to get into more leading positions that required skills and education. The work and societal sphere is dominated by the structures that men have dominated. Men have mostly been in leading positions and thus the structures are favoring male attributes. The hegemony of man allows them to shape the form a successful leader takes and which attributes these leaders possess. Women that take leading positions often lose their femininity in order to fit that mold that successful male leaders have characterized (R. Connell, 1987).

Imes and Clance conducted a study with undergraduate and graduate students, PhD faculty members and normal faculty members in the fields of medicine, law, anthropology, nursing, counseling, religious education, social work and teaching. They found that women attributed their success rather to luck than to effort and attribute failing to a lack of ability, while men attributed failing to a lack of luck. They furthermore discussed reasons for the Imposter Syndrome in women and connected it with societal factors and the upbringing in their family. The work of Imes and Clance is recognized as the beginnings of the research of the Imposter Syndrome and very important when discussing the syndrome. Though their research has been important, there have been changes in the world and worldview since the 1970s and the research on the topic has been advanced in the field of psychology and also has spread on to other fields such as Business Studies and Administrative Studies. The Imposter Syndrome or Phenomenon in academia has mostly been regarded from a psychological standpoint or when it comes to research in Higher Education and students. When it comes to Higher Education of students it mostly concerns the impact the phenomenon has on the individual.

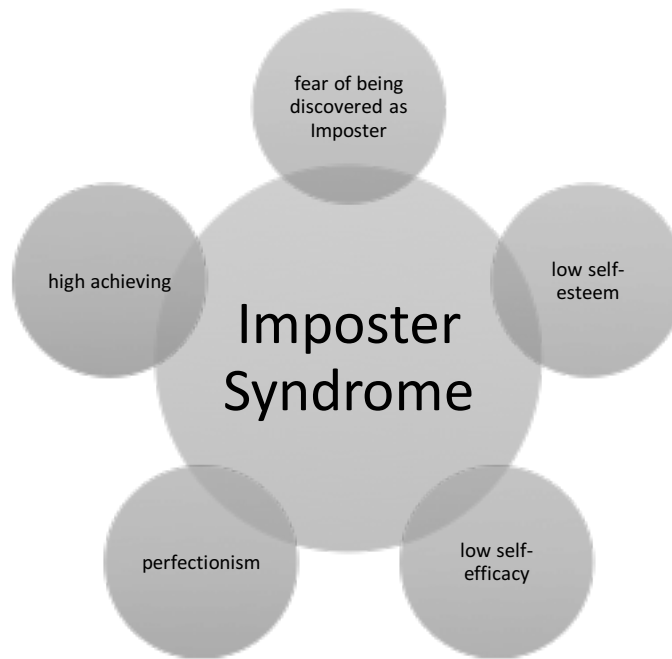


Figure 1: Conceptualization of the Imposter Syndrome (Cokley et al., 2018)

1. Perfectionism: perfectionism in a harmful way, meaning chronic dissatisfaction and failing to meet unrealistic standards
2. High Achieving: ambitious people in positions with a lot of responsibility
3. Low-self efficacy: little conviction and expectation to implement tasks independently
4. Low self-esteem: lack of believe in the skills and personal ability to fulfill task
5. Fear of being discovered as an imposter
(Badawy et al., 2018)

Efficacy is defined as “the belief that one could be successful on a non-specific, global task and specific self efficacy as the belief that one can complete a task specific behavior” (Green, 2003). Considering a lack of self-efficacy and the origins thereof can be found in the way that a person is socialized. Having a lack of confidence into their abilities can be traced back to hegemonic practices and the surrounding system. Meaning that men are built up and socialized in a way that expects them to be leaders, and the system with these hegemonic practices has evolved to accommodate that notion. The concepts of self-esteem and self-efficacy are closely related in the context of the IP. When a female Politian lacks self-efficacy that can be detected by certain behaviors. Generally, the level of efficacy can be measured on how effective and well plans are produced and subsequently implemented. To further break it down in this case in relation to the discourse and the way the female politicians are described and perceived. This feature somewhat shows how effective and well implemented their policy plans are.

Recent research has found that the Imposter Syndrome is not only predominant in women (Badawy et al., 2018). The research about gender as an indicator for the Imposter Syndrome/Phenomenon has not been conclusive. Badawy, Gazdag, Bentley and Brouer in 2018 attribute these conflicting outcomes to the sample taken in those conflicting studies. Badawy, Gazdag, Bentley and Brouer investigated the link between the Imposter Syndrome, gender and performance in University students. They have found in the study that both genders are equally as affected by the IP. Though the study is of self reporting nature, and can be limiting in a way that good performance to some degree lays in the eye of the beholder. Furthermore, the study

considers only students and not people already working (Badawy et al., 2018). Conell and Messerschmidt have found that hegemonic masculinity and the behavioral patterns they induce not just negatively effect women but men as well. That means that they discussed the topic from an organizational viewpoint in contrast to Clance and Imes that focused in 1978 mainly on the psychology behind and the treatment of the syndrome. In their study they found that female students were affected more by the Imposter Phenomenon, but that their performance was not affected by their negative feelings. They traced that back to the socialization of girls and the conditioning of societies as mainly consider men in leading positions. Neureiter found that the Imposter Phenomenon can have an impact on career planning and decision-making when it comes to occupation self-efficacy and education (Neureiter & Traut-Mattausch, 2017). So therefore the Imposter Phenomenon can have an impact before even achieving a senior position.

Clance finds the origin of the IP in the upbringing and in societal expectations. Ultimately meaning that the origins of IP are in traditional expectations of binary gender roles and the deviation from them. One of the reason someone might develop IP Clance leads back to living up to the parent's expectation, which is ultimately also linked to the way the parents perceive gender roles. The children are thus conditioned to certain behaviors in order to fulfill their parent's expectation. When the children are conditioned to be perceived as socially skilled and attractive they are more proud of themselves when they display these qualities. When they are on the other hand praised for agency and intelligence they value these qualities more. Simplified, Clance explains that young girls are conditioned and raised to be socially skilled and warm, and boys are more likely to be raised to have agency. "The very qualities which are recognized as essential to success and achievement-independence, assertiveness, power, self-confidence, and directness-are the qualities against which a woman must defend if she is to maintain an image of herself as feminine by the societal standards which she has most likely internalized and over-learned by a very early age" (Clance et al., 1995).

Shanna Slank writes that "In public discourse, the belief that women "suffer" [from the Imposter Syndrome] has been absorbed into the familiar narrative where women are dispositionally unsuited to the pressures of competition and achievement, which explains why they on average do not succeed to the extent that their male counterparts do" (Slank, 2019:208). She implies with this that the discourse around the Syndrome actually strengthens the societal believe that women are weaker leaders, and naturally not suited to be in leading positions. Thus the positons hegemonic societal practices have put men in in the past. This hypothesis links also to the notion that men and women possesses different behavioral attributes that are advantageous or disadvantageous in senior positions. Certain male and female attributes have been linked to more or less success in leading positions (Frear et al., 2019). Another contribution to the discourse that goes hand in hand with the Imposter Phenomenon is the general demeanor of female high-level managers.

The use of the world syndrome more often than the use of the word phenomenon, puts a further negative connotation on people that are suffering from it. Syndrome insinuates that the people that have the symptoms associated with it, are suffering from a serious illness (Slank, 2019). Framing feelings of Imposterism as a Syndrome, insinuating a serious illness highlights the perceived severity of these feelings.

2.3 The IP and women in leading political positions

The IP is a manifestation of the male hegemony and thus shows how women in public leadership are discounted and subjected to these hegemonic practices. Even very powerful

women are subject to these patriarchal structures and therefore also subject to the narrative of the IP. Women like Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are counted as one of the most powerful women in the world, but they are still not immune to the scrutiny of the narrative of women being not as good leaders, which is perpetuated by the discourse of the IP. Which feeds in the overall status quo of women being considered weaker leaders. In order to analyze the social position male and female leaders are in today a look into the history of feminism and role of misogyny, patriarchy and male domination and the position of women in society. What are gender stereotypes exactly and why might these stereotypes be negative for the building narrative for women in politics? Gender stereotypes have been defined as “the structured set of beliefs about the personal attributes of women and men” (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979).

Patriarchy and male domination have been widely characterized and defined as the domination of men over women in all social spheres. Including public management and leadership. To give a background: “Patriarchy in its wider definition means the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general” (Lerner, 1986). This has led to a masculine hegemony, that not only affects women but also men (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Gerda Lerner researched the development and creation of the modern patriarchy dating it back to 2500 years ago and originating in patriarchal families. The way western societies since then have defined gender had a direct impact in the way modern states are formed. She writes that “[T]he roles and behavior deemed appropriate to the sexes were expressed in values, customs, laws and social roles” (Lerner, 1986). These roles led to a male power, dominance and hegemony that led to an evolution that instilled certain behavioral patterns that build the narrative of the weak leading women as well as led to the development of stereotypes.

In Gender Studies literature it is often differentiated between the biological sex and the socially constructed gender (Lerner, 1986). Pierre Bourdieu writes that people are programmed by social principles that are entirely constructed. First and foremost, they focus on the biological differences of men and women and construct therefore attributes that contribute to the biological differences, the derived place in the division of labor. “The biological difference between the sexes i.e. between the male and female bodies, and, in particular, the anatomical difference between the sex organs, can thus appear as the natural justification of the socially constructed difference between the genders, and especially in the social division of labor” (Bourdieu, 2001). Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that the social construction of this biological or anatomical difference is used as a justification that the division of labor that then is the root of the male domination. The widely and throughout all spheres of the society present cases of sexual harassment of women in a professional environment that were discussed among other media on twitter, brought to light the extent of the male domination in professional and organizational contexts. It thereby highlighted the structural sexism in organizational context and how much more change is needed in order to achieve gender equality in the work sphere (Bell et al., 2019). “Feminism can also be interpreted as a response to sexist attacks on women in positions of leadership and visibility in public life. Media representation of women in leadership continue to focus on their bodies in ways that suggest ‘unfitness’ for work and leadership” (Bell & Sinclair, 2016).

Studies have shown that women in leadership positions either in the public or private sector are constantly scrutinized and held to a stereotype of their male counterparts (Eagly & Wood, 2011). Female politicians are under constant observation by the public, and are constantly evaluated. That makes female politicians aware of their gender reflect that in their behavior while male politicians perceive themselves without their gender. That further reflects on women

in a way that they have to constantly prove their competency a study found (Sauer, 1994). Media messages have a considerable influence on the way that politicians are perceived. Schlehofer elaborates that the people's opinion towards female politicians is hard to change and studies suggest that people rather believe something when it fits in their existing belief system. So the confirmation bias feeds further in the already made up mind of the society. All this powers into the perceived image that people hold and their stereotypes of women in public offices (Schlehofer et al., 2011). This is not limited to women, men are also expected to adhere to their gender stereotypes and thus also subject to a variety of hegemonic practices that they suffer from (Jewkes et al., 2015). Part of the perception of women in politics is highly based on their appearance. General appearance proves to be an important factor on the perception of a woman as a good leader. Goffman analyzed the way women were portrayed during campaigns and found six different dimensions in which gender relations are shown in advertisements. One of the major factors he discovered to be important is the physical size of women. Showing photos or videos of women beside men highlights their height difference and underlines their supposed weaker social status (Sanghvi & Hodges, 2015).

When it comes to the dimension to be measured in social judgment there are a variety of dimensions to be analyzed. Andrea Abele summarized them and concluded that the most important dimensions right now are communion against agency and warmth versus agency, because they encompass the core challenges of our time. "The first key challenge concerns social acceptance and connection, clearly critical to survival. The second key challenge concerns the manifestation of skills, competencies, and status, and the pursuit of goals, given available opportunities" (Abele et al., 2008). Fiske and Cuddy argue that the combination of competence and warmth create a universal emotion of prejudice among a group (Fiske et al., 2002). Therefore, the primary dimension to be measured in determining the image the German news media creates of female politicians are warmth and competence. The dimension of competence also plays a vital role in the discourse around the Imposter Syndrome, since it mostly focuses on the trust and confidence in the own abilities (Clance, 1986). The dimensions in order to categorize and evaluate humans that has been stated as the most important are warmth and competence. This has been established in all different kinds of studies including social psychology laboratories, experimental studies and cross-cultural comparisons. Fiske, Glick and Cuddy write "that people everywhere differentiate each other by liking (warmth, trustworthiness) and by respecting (competence, efficiency)" (Fiske et al., 2002). This research is also partly based on the social and intellectual desirability dimensions by Rosenberg, which includes 60 different traits (Rosenberg et al., 1968). When designing the Code in order to analyze the articles these traits and dimension are considered.

Schlehofer found in an experimental study that high profile female leaders are often described as competent but cold. This ties in with the Pierre Bourdieu ideas on how women are commonly described and which traits are commonly considered to be desirable for men and women (Bourdieu, 2001). Muhr has found that certain women in high level positions behave cold and get attributed characteristics that are usually described as typically male (Muhr, 2011). Ordering certain behavioral attributes to a certain gender goes back to scholars like Pierre Bourdieu, who describes the masculine domination of societies (Bourdieu, 2001).

Fiske and Glick furthermore differentiate between positive attributes that encompass sexism and negative attributes that women are ascribed to. On the one hand sexism is generally divided into hostile behavior and opinions towards women and on the other hand the support of traditional gender roles. Both types of sexism are used to solidify and maintain traditional gender rules. In order to measure sexism Fiske and Glick introduced a new scale which is based

on the ambivalence between positive and negative attributes that are ascribed to women. The feelings towards women are benevolent and hostile at the same time. They define that “Hostile sexism seeks to justify male power, traditional gender roles, and men’s exploitation of women as sexual objects through derogatory characterizations of women. Benevolent sexism, in contrast, relies on kinder and gentler justifications of male dominance and prescribed gender roles; it recognizes men’s dependence on women (i.e. women’s dyadic power) and embraces a romanticized view of sexual relationships with women” (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Fiske and Cuddy describe furthermore that stereotypes are consistent over time and stress thus that they are worth investigating. They “argue that different combinations of stereotypic warmth and competence result in unique intergroup emotions – prejudices – directed towards various kinds of groups in society” (Fiske et al., 2002).

Another issue that comes up in the political field, like mentioned above is that women constantly have to prove their competency, because there is an awareness of their gender. Their male counterparts are rather seen without their gender, while women in higher public office have to show and prove their competency despite their gender (D. Beck, 2016). In Germany Beck dates the idea of the ideal politician as being male back to Max Weber. Weber’s ideas of ideal professional politician are designed to fit male attributes and stereotypes. These expectations on which attributes are connected to politicians have a long tradition and thus through the male hegemony have been carried over into the now (D. Beck, 2016).

Another important aspect, when considering women in political power, is the sexual objectification of female politician and candidates. The credibility of women in political power is damage, when she is perceived as sexual desirable. Often nevertheless the sexualization by the media is part of the media coverage of women in office (Funk & Coker, 2016). Especially Angela Merkel has often been referred as “Mutti” in the German news media, which means as much as mummy but is more often ascribed to an older woman (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). Furthermore, Dülcke and Futh report on gender stereotypes and how it has been shown that usually the departure from typical behavior according to the respective gender stereotypes is sanctioned. Gender stereotypes are usually linked to an expectation of behavior in men and women. When there is a departure from that expected behavior, it is met by its audience with rejection and or sanctions (Eckes, 2008). Women are thus almost inherently met by these sanctions and rejections, because the political arena is perceived to be patriarchal and incompatible with female gender stereotypes (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). The narrative in relation to Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are analyzed according to certain attributes they are described with in the articles. Male power and hegemony have led to a system that ascribes attributes to women in higher political office.

2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion there are different concepts that allow to analyze the way women in public leadership are evaluated, perceived and portrayed. The following conclusion chapter will be divided by the key concepts relevant for the analysis It will summarize the concepts and show the limits that the theory can provide.

The key hypothesis of this thesis is that male domination of the societal and political sphere has led to a discourse of the IP that portrays women as weak leaders, which developed through the evolution of hegemonic practices which favor male leaders over female leaders. Men as well as women are subject to a set of expectancies in behavior that they have to adhere to and as a

result suffer from. The key concepts that are important to the later analysis are the Imposter Phenomenon in terms of hegemonic practices and stereotypes of leadership. There have been a lot of conflicting studies in relation to the IP and often been of experimental nature. Also, feelings of Imposterism are subjective and hard to measure. Which makes ultimate conclusions hard.

The features of the IP that can be observed from the outside as an observer are indicators of perfectionism and therefore low efficacy because of constant self-doubt and an inability to make decisions. The IP is not to be diagnosed from a far and thus the discourse of the media is the relevant to the analysis, which thereby limits it to how the discourse itself is perceived and a narrative created. Men are dominating politics and the IP discourse leaves society with the impression that women are not as capable leaders thus forcing women into non-feminine behavior or loss of femininity on the one side. Since more and more women are successful in the political arena, the way politicians are viewed and portrayed may be subject to change. Thus far the outcomes of investigating the gender and ethnic distribution of the IP has not been concluded so the impact the discourse has can be changed by however the academic discourse may change in the future.

The stereotypes ascribed to leadership are predominately described to typically male stereotypes. This concept is limited by the perception of its audience and can change. The connotation of a stereotype can change over time and become negative or positive for either gender. Public leadership perception is highly dependent on its audience (Lee & Park, 2020). Something that has been perceived widely as negative for one gender can become positive. Women in politics are often sexualized. Stereotypes of women in leading political positions can range from sexual objectification to focusing generally on the outer appearance and typical female characterizations. There is furthermore, the ideal of a politician that has been described and which has attached a variety of stereotypes and attributes. Adhering to this ideal for female politician has shown to sometimes have negative outcomes. Generally, these concepts that are based on public perception need to be revisited constantly since public perceptions is always subject to change. All these concepts are parts of hegemonic practices.

3 Data and Methods

Ultimately it is interesting to know why to this day, there are less women in leading positions in the private sector as well as the public sector, even though women have been empowered for a couple of decades. The reasons and the impact for this development are questioned and researched in a variety of fields. To get closer to the answer why there are less women and how women can be empowered in public leadership, which means to find solutions, there has to be awareness of the underlying societal structures. So awareness of the societal issues that hinder women to push through the glass ceiling and achieve higher level political office. For the analysis specifically the case of Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen have been chosen. Both of these women have reached success in Germany and within the European Union. Thus considering the portrayal of these powerful woman allows a view of how the news media within Germany sees and portrays them. With the approach of the CDA this allows to draw conclusion for the image that is perceived and reproduced by the wider society and how women in public leadership in general are portrayed and perceived. This chapter aims explain the approach to the analysis and the grounds on which the data is selected and analyzed. In detail that means a descriptions and overview of the selected articles, the time frame of the cases of Merkel and von der Leyen and the topic. Furthermore, the method of data selection is elaborated on and the coding scheme is explained.

This thesis aims to connect the societal view on the Imposter Syndrome and female political leadership in Germany. Analyzing the text that are published about the IP shows descriptions of leadership portrayed in different news outlets. Then searching out the stereotypes and attributes that are used to describe Merkel and von der Leyen an overview how female leadership in general is perceived. Allowing a more nuanced picture of the narrative and relating to women in political office. Thus, specifically articles that are concerned with leadership of Merkel and von der Leyen are sought out. Again not trying to diagnose the IP from the outside rather than investigating the narrative of women in leading positions by looking at the attributes and stereotypes they have been described with. Leading back to the theory of how leadership in general and political leadership is generally perceived by society. Which allows a more general insight of the narrative of women in leading positions. Thus connecting the portrayal of the IP with the portrayal of von der Leyen and Merkel. Since text is open to interpretation there is room for different interpretations.

By considering the IP as a facet of the narrative of women in political offices hidden power dynamics can be uncovered. The narrative being that the psyche of women hinders them to be good leaders or that in order to be good leaders they adopt all supposed positive traits of their male counterparts. Leadership is an important keyword when it comes to the discourse around the Imposter Syndrome because it is directly concerned with positions of power. Therefore, looking at the way that the style of leadership is portrayed in the news media is of interest. The review of literature has shown that there is a scientific gap in how the Imposter Syndrome and the image of women in public offices connect.

3.1 Episodes of the Imposter Phenomenon Discourse and German Female Leadership in the current legislative period

In 2009 the Süddeutsche Zeitung describes how successful women often have low self-esteem and seem to not be able to be proud of their success. They explain that this phenomenon is called the Imposter Phenomenon and is predominant in women. After the initial introduction to

the broader public the news media did not publish articles talking about the IP. The interest seemed to spark again in 2014, where multiple newspapers reported on the symptoms of the IP and possible ways to combat feelings of Imposterism. The voices that contribute a lot to the discussion are different authors of the “Süddeutsche Zeitung”, especially Larissa Holzki and author of the “Die Welt” Gabriele Voßkühler. Larissa Holzki is also a part of the episode of Angela Merkel, discussing power and leadership (Holzki, 2018).

The topic came up in 2009 and later in relation to the lack of women in leading positions in general and that women are socialized and raised in a way that leaves them with lower professional self-esteem (Pezzei, 2009). In 2014 a wave of articles came out which discussed the IP in context of women not asking for a raise of promotion, in context of students lack of self-esteem and general fear of failure in their profession. The articles are published in different news outlets by different authors and also feature personal accounts of people, that describe their personal feelings of imposterism. In 2015 and 2016 the discourse quiets down and there is a lack of coverage about this topic in general. In these 2 years only two different articles are published. Towards the end of 2017 the topic of IP reappears and news outlets steadily put out articles that feature the topic and its implications for women in particular. In 2018 the big study of is published and often referenced by the news outlets (Badawy et al., 2018). That study concludes that there are many conflicting studies on the distributions of the IP among the gender and that men may be affected as often as women.

The cases of Angela, Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are especially interesting because women have not held these positions before. It is furthermore of interest to look into women in political power rather than women in business, because every day politics is constantly in the news. The scrutiny these women are under is just more than business women are exposed to. Furthermore, Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are on a lot of levels very different and which reflects on the way they are reported about. Angela Merkel for example does not have children, is married and very private about her personal life. She grew up in the East of Germany, and has been in politics for a long time. Ursula von der Leyen on the other hand entered politics relatively late in life after having seven children and also becoming a gynaecologist. Even though Merkel is often referred to as “Mutti”, which is a term mimization for the word mother, she is portrayed as the mother of the nation with a somewhat belittling term.

The timeframe the selected articles are collected from is the the current government, meaning from the last election in September 2017 on. This period is the most recent and there have been a lot of changes during this time. In 2018 Merkel resigned as the head of the German Christian Democratic Party. Which meant a big shift in power of the party, that is currently the most influential within Germany. This lead to a power struggle within the party and the new leader Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer was elected, being somewhat of a protégée to Angela Merkel. In May 2019 the new European Parliament was elected and controversially Ursula von der Leyen, former Minister of Defence became controversially the President of the European Commission.

In 2016 Merkel announced that she was going to run for the last time as chancellor of Germany. During the campaign there was a lot of talk about Germany needing a change of leadership because times have moved on from Merkel’s style of leadership. Merkel famously is not taking a lot of position or if she does then they are usually, with exceptions, not take controversial positions. This often results in Merkel being criticised for a lack of reform and investment into the social sector. In order to shorten her work load, she resign as the head of the conservative party in 2018. Prior to that the chancellor always held also the chair of the conservative party.

That and some apparent spells of shivering during state events have led to the questioning of her physical fitness for office. So besides the longing for change in leadership and reforms there have also been voices, mostly from the more right winged media that have questioned her leadership.

The time frame featured for this paper includes a time, where Ursula von der Leyen is still the Minister of Defence in Germany. Von der Leyen was involved in a couple of scandals featuring her ministry. In order to make the German troops more efficient, she hired non-state consultants to evaluate the structures of the troop and give recommendations on how to move forward. It has been alleged that von der Leyen has close personal ties to these consultancy firms and that the ministry therefore spends too much money on these consultants without receiving helpful advice. This even led to a formal parliamentary investigation into the affair. Furthermore, there were cases of right winged soldiers being discovered to have plans for terrorist attacks within Germany. The news media therefore has often questioned her competency in leadership. With all these scandals under her belt von der Leyen was then surprisingly nominated for the position as the EU Commission president. In Germany this choice was highly controversial, because the new EU election campaigns were led by Manfred Weber and the EPP did not respect the lead of their own campaign. The further the scandals of the Ministry of Defence were still very present.

3.2 Method of Data collection

Germany is considered for analysis because currently has with Angela Merkel a female political leader in its executive and is often considered one of the most powerful women in the world. The way Merkel and von der Leyen are portrayed in the media in relation to the Imposter Phenomenon is of special interest, because they are considered very powerful and competent and at the same time even though they are more powerful than many men are still subject to sexism. These two women have been selected because the way they are portrayed shows the societal impact the syndrome has. The further Germany has the biggest population in Europe (Forbes & Vuleta, 2018). “Female political leaders spend considerable time in the media spotlight, and thus media messages about them might have an important influence on how warm and competent they are perceived” (Schlehofer et al., 2011). Therefore, the image that is created by the media is very important for the perception of these female political leaders in the society. The language of the articles is therefore, also because it is my mother tongue, German.

The articles for the Imposter Syndrome have been found using UniNexia, a platform that allows to find news articles from all over the world and filtering them according to time, the kind of outlet, and allows to search for keywords within the search. The first search query was conducted in order to find the data for the analysis of the Imposter Syndrome discourse. The keywords in order to look for it were “Imposter Syndrome/Phänomenon” (Hochstapler Syndrome/Phänomen), since the phenomenon can be addressed in both ways. Furthermore, besides the German name, the query was also searched for in English, since some articles only addressed the phenomenon in English. For the data collection of the articles about Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen, the articles were selected by sorting by including parts about their leadership and style of leadership. The IP affects the leadership, therefore the leadership of Merkel and von der Leyen are of special importance. The search terms, were therefore narrowed down to their respective names in addition to the term leading and leadership.

For the first part of the analysis the discourse of the Imposter Syndrome in the German News Media is analyzed. The articles from the news media are researched with the help of UniNexis,

which is a platform that allows to internationally research news articles in a specific time frame, in a specific region of the world. In total there have been 291 articles selected.

The selection of the articles for the case analysis of Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen has been limited to articles from national news agencies, or agencies that are read nationally, while regional news outlets are neglected. Though limited to national news outlets, different outlets are considered. Regional news outlets have been downsized a lot in recent years and have therefore very little national news that have not been obtained from agency like the Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa) (K. Beck, 2018). When the publish articles about national politics they often buy in texts from agencies, which are then similar or the same in different outlets. Though articles from the agencies themselves are considered, since they have been published to a larger audience in likely multiple news outlets. The articles have been obtained by the news side Spiegel Online, Zeit Online, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Bilanz.de and Welt. News from the tabloid media have not been included, because news outlets that are taken more serious allow for a more accurate picture of the case and the public trusts these outlets a lot more. Tabloids like die Bildzeitung furthermore also rely more on headlines and Photographs and provide little text. Though, the tabloids are not included, the articles come from newspapers that have been associated with different sides of the political spectrum. The newspaper “Die Welt” and “Bilanz” is published by the Axel Springer publishing company and generally considered a more conservative and nationalistic newspaper. The news outlet “Der Spiegel” and “Spiegel Online” as well as “Die Süddeutsche” are usually associated with the political middle, with some tendencies to the left. While “Die Zeit” and “Zeit Online” are usually placed in the middle to left in their reporting (Mitchell et al., 2018). More conservative outlets have a more conservative audience and thus portray more conservative views. While more centrist outlets cater to a more centrist audience with the opposite effects. Which has also been apparent in the analysis.

3.3 Method of Analysis

In order to put these categories into the context the the Imposter Syndrome the dimensions of character, the situational element and most importantly their professional competency are considered. The way the media discusses this narrative of the Imposter Syndrome, when reported often used with women as examples or with women giving their testimony of their story with the Imposter Syndrome.

The first part of the analysis is focused on the most basic dimension: The pure analysis of the text. In order to analyze the text there are to aspects to consider. Firstly, the events and the people associated with the specific event are described. Which are in this thesis the way Merkel and von der Leyen sre described on the most basic level. The second step in that is that the whole text and its phrases are considered. So the analysis proceeds from the small scale, meaning words, to the meaning of sentences to the meaning of the whole text and what it thus implies The analysis is not limited to vocabulary, grammar, semantics etc. but also considers the relation to the existing system of social power and ideology (Richardson, 2007). Meaning that the instances in which Merkel and von der Leyen are considered and put into a societal context in order to put the message transported by the authors into context. Furthermore, the addressed themes are summarized and themes that are absent in the evaluations are described, this includes the description of subthemes. In the next step the material is sorted in a way that shows whether a certain newspaper or magazines has a series of articles that shows the same discourse position to the newspaper. Which in this case means the news reports are sorted in a chronological order and the events and persons portrayed are evaluated, compared with one

another and compiled by how they portray Merkel and von der Leyen implicitly. Lastly the themes within the articles and possible overlapping themes are analyzed. When it comes to the rhetoric of the texts the argumentation and the strategies used in the argumentation are considered. The further logic, composition, implications, insinuations, collective symbolism in the form of symbols and metamorphisms, idioms, sayings, clichés and scientific references are analyzed. Since the texts are in German, there is a lot of collective symbols that are being explained, especially in case of derogatory characterizations. Finally, the ideological statements are considered. So the underlying notions, the understanding of society and the future perspective the article conveys (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Meaning that the underlying understanding of Merkel and von der Leyen are explained and how they the news reports interpret signs they are portraying to the outside.

The second dimension of the analysis is the consideration of discursive practices. “Discursive practices – through which text are *produced* (created) and *consumed* (received and interpreted) – are viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the *constitution* of the social world including social identities and social relations. It is partly through discursive practices in everyday life (processes of text production and consumption) that social and cultural reproduction and change take place. It follows that some societal phenomena are not of a linguistic-discursive character” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The analysis of the discursive practices is observed by looking at the general political orientation of the news outlets and their respective audiences, since different outlets cater to different audiences. News outlets that traditionally cater to more conservative audiences display different more conservative values. Which is reflected in the way they portray the IP as well as Merkel and von der Leyen. Thus the news outlet that publishes the article plays a role in providing an institutional context for the analysis. Context of the articles may also be provided the story the articles tell themselves. Furthermore, in order to determine the severity of a statement made in the articles the context is considered. By determining whether or not a statement is important for the overall conclusions the context matters.

Thirdly and lastly the social practices that influence the production of text are analyzed. Which implies basically an analysis of the societal background in which the texts are produced and if conclusions can be drawn of the society the texts are produced in and for. This refers to the German society and how women in public leadership in general are portrayed and perceived. Especially important for this analysis is questioning whether the text “continue inequalities and other undesirable social practices, or will it help to break them down” (Richardson, 2007). In this case do the text help to break down stereotypes of women in leadership position, or does it weaken their position. “The study of social practices of news discourse assumes a dialectical relationship between society and journalism” (ibid.) Which means both dimensions impact each other and have an influence on one another. When the texts are analyzed using the code, and important part of the analysis is the consideration of the political orientation the readership and circulation of the news media outlet (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The further the orientation and gender of the journalist conveying the image.

According to Dülke and Futh a departure from gender stereotypical behavior is punished. The typical politician is characterized by being assertive, aggressive and self-confident. These character traits are usually ascribed to be male traits. While typically female traits are described to be sensible, warm and empathetic. This characterization leads also to women being more likely to become Ministers of Family Affairs and Education, while men take offices like ministers for defense, economy and police (Holtz-Bacha, 2007). Therefore, when referring to the attributes including external or internal attributes as described above indicators of such punishment are

being detected (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). Even though the departure from gender stereotypes is penalized, von der Leyen and Merkel especially have reached enormous success in their political careers. Which in turn means a shift in the interpretation of stereotypes associated with leadership, reshaping the discourse. This is observed by the way the professional competency is described and perceived.

In order to embed the Imposter Phenomenon into the analysis of the media of the three cases, the articles look for the overlapping keywords used to build the narrative of the Syndrome. Meaning the symptoms and feature constructed in the discourse of the Imposter Syndrome are looked for in the articles about the three politicians. Meaning the traits of the IP that can be detected: perfectionism, efficacy and high achieving.

Key concepts	Features	Keywords
Imposter Phenomenon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perfectionism - low efficacy - high achieving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> unentschlossen, nicht positionieren (undecided, not taking positions) -> perfektionistisch (perfectionistic) -> ineffektiv, unfähig, incompetent (ineffective, incompetent) -> ehrgeizig, ambitioniert (ambitious)
Gender stereotypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sexualization - focus on outer appearance - typical female characterization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> Kinder (emotional, married, children, child free, single) -> Kleidung, Äußerlichkeiten, (Clothes, appearance) -> Weiblichkeit (highlighting femininity) -> Wärme, sozial, offen (warmth) -> emotional, impulsive
Male Power and Hegemony	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non- stereotypical feminine behavior - concealment of femininity - derogatory characterizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -> unemotional, kalt, kalkulierend (unemotional, cold, calculating) -> professionalism, competency -> männlich (manly) -> schwach, Schwäche (weakness) -> Mutter, mütterlich, Mütterlichkeit, Mutti (mother, motherliness)

Table 1: Coding Scheme (Source: own compilation)

There are features of the Imposter Phenomenon, that are associated with certain keywords that are playing into the gender stereotypes and the way leadership is perceived. In terms perfectionism is chronic dissatisfaction with results and furthermore avoiding to make decisions or take action in order to avoid making mistakes or not meeting the unrealistic standards. People that have perfectionistic tendencies have been reported to struggle with making decisions and taking on clear positions (Frost & Marten, 1990). Low self-efficacy is another feature of the IP that plays into the narrative of having trouble making decisions. In a professional setting low efficacy means that people are doubted themselves a lot and therefore seek a lot of guidance and are ineffective. Meaning consulting a lot of people before making a decision. Another typical feature of the IP is that it effects ambitious people that are very high achieving.

The concept of gender stereotypes comes with a variety of different expectation and perceptions of gender and how people are supposed to behave. Women are scrutinized in a way that often highlights their womanhood and also focusing on their appearance and thus sexualizing and

reducing them to their biology. This can be detected by description of their personal life and whether or not they are mothers. There are also phrases that specifically highlight that they are women and how extraordinary it is to have a woman in a position of power. Furthermore, there is a variety of features associated with gender typical behavior such as, warmth and the desire to be and behave social.

Lastly the concept of male power hegemony that is overarching overall leads to certain features. In order to fit into the male organizational structures, women in power have resorted to adopting certain male behaviors, and as a result have been called cold and calculating or very professional. Lastly there is a number of derogatory terms that have been used in order to characterize women in power. Among those are *Mutti* and calling their behavior impulsive and overly emotional.

To answer the question how the narrative of the Imposter Syndrome is constructed the discourse is analyzed according to the way gender is of importance in the discourse, which words are used to describe the syndrome and who is affected. The articles for the analysis are collected according to discussing the syndrome in German national newspaper in a time frame of 2014 until February 2020. For the question which gender news frames are used in order to describe Ursula von der Leyen and Angela Merkel the articles are collected from the point on of the last German election on. This time has been interesting for all the three women because since then there have been a lot of changes in the political field. Furthermore, that time frame has not been researched yet in terms of an analysis of media coverage. Angela Merkel has resigned in that time as head of the Christian Democratic Party, she was head of since 2000 (Gathmann & Wittrock, 2019), Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer became her successor and has since also resigned and Ursula von der Leyen became Minister of Defense and then President of the European Commission. All these offices have put their leadership under a lot of public scrutiny and media coverage.

3.4 Conclusion

The key steps in order to answer the question is to collect the news articles from newspapers that are trusted by the public. The articles from the Imposter Syndrome in a time range from the last 10 years, while the cases of Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are especially considered since the last election in Germany in 2017 and a 6 months before the election in order to cover the running time. The next step is to analyze the articles that are in depth concerned with the Imposter Syndrome with the help of the coding scheme and set the framework for the analysis of the the articles of Ursula von der Leyen and Angela Merkel. This means looking for the key words in the articles. The next step involves using the coding scheme on the articles about Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen. The results from analyzing the different episodes of the case then discussed and the differences in reporting of the Merkel and von der Leyen are described. The last step in order to answer the question is putting the findings in a societal background and drawing end conclusion about the way the IP has an impact on the societal view of women in leading political positions.

4 Analysis

In the following chapter the tendencies of the discourse are illustrated. Overall, the analysis is organized by the way the IP is discussed in the news media to answer the question how the IP is discussed in news outlets. Then the analysis is concerned with the way Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are described and which attributes and stereotypes are ascribed to them. Focusing first on the desire to get things right. Which in are features of the IP and are recognized as having trouble making decisions, being a perfectionist and showing ambition. In the second part the femininity of Merkel and von der Leyen is explored and also the lack of femininity that is portrayed by the media. Lastly, this chapter delves into how Merkel and von der Leyen seem to have adapted to the image of the ideal politician as Beck describes it (D. Beck, 2016). And further the consequences of this adaptation in form of derogatory characterizations. This chapter revisits the hypothesis that was constructed by Slank linking the way the discourse of the Imposter Syndrome is held to a negative perception of women as leaders. This chapter is also seeking to show that the political structures are constructed in accordance to male hegemony and that women in political offices have adapted certain mechanisms in order to fit into these structures. Though the mechanism Merkel and von der Leyen are using are often described in the news media in an ambiguous fashion.

4.1 The way the News Media discusses the Imposter Phenomenon

The IP is mainly portrayed as an issue of management and within the world of work life and university life. One thing that becomes apparent when only looking at the way the IP is discussed in the news articles is, that 27 out of the 53 selected articles heavily relied on a female protagonist in order to get their point across. The rest of the articles refrain from mentioning gender specifically and only 6 articles have male protagonist in order to explain the IP. This creates, even when some articles mention that it is not yet concluded whether women are more effected by the IP, the impression that they are more effected. It shifts the narrative into focusing one women specifically when talking about the IP. That focus is specifically created by generalizing. An article by the Stuttgarter Nachrichten starts out an articles saying

“Women like to make themselves smaller, they accuse themselves of being incapable of a lot of things, no matter how successful they are, also when and often in leadership positions” (248:1)

The author interestingly uses the “like” in order to describe that women make themselves smaller. This makes it seem as a reader that the behavior is voluntary and the fault of the women in a position of power, that shows that behavior. This article is written by a woman, which furthermore shows that these opinions are not just held by men but also by women, so they are equally as affected by the narratives created.

The rhetoric tool of generalization is used a lot in the descriptions of the IP. Articles describe the IP as “an illness that silently occurs and often is described to be the opposite of male bragging” (Schmid, 2017). As Slank discusses calling the IP an illness has its implications of weakness and therefore creates a notion of unfit female leaders. Calling it an illness makes it sound infinitely more severe and explains that it can be discouraging for individuals to overcome obstacles because they “suffer” from IP (Slank, 2019). There are numerous other examples of authors using generalizing and hyperboles in order to strengthen their point of the severity of the IP like the Rheinische Post writing “a lot of successful women believe that they

are not that intelligent and that their achievements are overestimated” (Rheinische Post, 2014). Generalizing these ideas has the danger that the reader assumes that all women in positions of power suffer from the low self-esteem and suffer in some form of the IP. These statement perpetuate the narrative of a self-doubting women, feeding into the idea of women not being able to withstand pressure.

Another point that is interesting to observe in the discussions of the IP is that the women portrayed in the articles often are very powerful business women or generally women that to the societal standard are seen as successful. A lot of the articles thus rely on anecdotal descriptions of the syndrome in order to connect the research of Clance and Imes, which is referenced in almost all articles, emotionally to the reader. The women chosen to highlight the points are often start-up founder (277:2), famous actresses and singers like Akwafina and Ellie Goulding or famous female authors (116:1).

Number of IP selected articles	53
Female Protagonists	27
Male Protagonists	6
Neutral	20

Table 2: Number of Articles about the IP with male/female/neutral protagonists (Source: own compilation)

The feature of the IP that are often discussed are low self-esteem, meaning non believing in one’s abilities, perfectionism and that the people affected are often in positions of power. In order to show how the IP can negatively affect employees There has been numerous detection of features important to the IP found in the way Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are described. One of the features of the IP that came up the most is a lack od self-efficacy and therefore a lack of taking positions and making decisions. In the articles specially just about the IP more women were referenced and protagonists of the articles. In summary the main points of the articles about the IP, women have a lack of confidence in themselves, hindering them in working. In detail, they have issues making decisions and make themselves and their achievements smaller than they are. Thereby, it can be concluded that the hypothesis that Slank voices is indeed reflected in the news media.

Overall the way the discussions are held about the IP in the news media reinforces a narrative of women not being able to withstand the pressure of leading positions. Even though not all articles focus on women as the primary focus in the discussion of the IP, the majority does focus on women.

Summary:

- IP discussion focus on women having low self-esteem and confidence in decision making
- the narrative of weak female leaders is reinforced by the way IP is discussed in news media

4.2 Desire to get things exactly right

One of the major elements that have surfaced during the analysis is the how many news articles are critical of von der Leyen and Merkel in their leadership style. And how they have attributed this lack of effective leadership to ambition, perfectionism and an overall to not being able to take meaningful positions and make impactful decisions and the right time. And when the strong decisions have been made these decisions are called to be made impulsively and emotionally. This can be summarized as Merkel and von der Leyen are portrayed to have a strong desire to get things right to a fault. Getting things right means to summarize policy decisions, handling of public debate, handling scandals and negative scrutiny. The lack of change or decisions due to a lack of leadership is one of the major themes of this section. This theme is explored by multiple examples.

The causes for the lack of leadership have been found in low self-efficacy and perfectionism. Low self-efficacy is one of the indicator and symptoms associated with the IP. It often refers to people having issues in making controversial decision because they crave positive approval and not being able to deal with criticism. Which in turn makes them inefficient and ineffective. According to Fiske effectiveness is a major part of how leadership is perceived and plays majorly in the expectation that the public has for leaders (Fiske et al., 2002). This section investigates the ways the articles have described Merkel's and von der Leyen's failures in their positions. The political environment in Germany and Europe is laced by patriarchal structures that Merkel and von der Leyen have to adhere to, leading to characterizations of the both of them often being unflattering highlighting their failures. Perfectionism in the IP discourse this feature is important because as a person may struggle to take positions, and is highly reliant on others for advice, and thus is indecisive. Von der Leyen and Merkel have both been called indecisive and called out for their lack of taking controversial positions, sitting out scandals and taking a lot of outside advice. This is one of the attributes that are associated with them. The articles feature how the need for perfectionism is weighing on them and are part of their individual styles of conducting politics. This sections considers perfectionism as something negative, meaning trying to be perfect in a degree that it becomes crippling rather than something to aspire to.

Ursula von der Leyen has been a controversial figure not just now as head of the European Commission but especially as the Minister of Defense. The Ministry of Defense in Germany is infamous for its difficulty to lead and its mass of scandals over the years. Von der Leyen has been called perfectionist and overly ambitious is the way she intends to form the European Commission. In general, the trust within Germany in her abilities was rather low, after her rocky time in the Ministry of Defense. One major instance that highlights the way the news media has perceived von der Leyen to be unable to make decisions cumulated in 2018 with her consultancy scandal. She had hired a string of outside consulting companies in order to increase the German troops, which notoriously were ineffective. The contracts with said consulting companies were very expensive and cost over 40 million Euros. This is highlighted by Spiegel article writing "During the tenure of ex-Minister Ursula von der Leyen (CDU) dozens of advisory contracts were placed without a tender, according to the Federal Court of Audit in several cases illegal." (2:1) This scandal follows any discussion held about von der Leyen. It is one of the main ways that failures of hers have been characterized. Relying on outside consultant to that degree is an indicator for perfectionism and weak decision making and low self efficacy on von der Leyens part, concluded multiple news outlets. Needing consultant to that degree often resulted in outlets attested her incompetency. One of the major criticism in her scandal of hiring consulting firms, is the lack of transparency in the investigation into the

case by the governmental channels. The tactic that she is accused of using in process is basically being silent in order to make the investigation go away (53:3).

The way von der Leyen left the ministry in general was not well received. Beside, leaving with the consultancy scandal there seemed to have been numerous decision that have not been made. Which in turn was furthermore interpreted as a lack of effective leadership stemming from her inability to make meaningful decisions on her own. She apparently “[...] [...] has left a large number of construction sites, and there is a decision backlog.” (11:4) in the Ministry. Again highlighting her lack of decision making strength, reinforcing the notion of women not being able to lead under pressure. The media portrayed how she apparently left the Ministry in chaos and now needed someone to clean up. This put her tenure in the ministry in a negative light and highlighted her inefficient decision making.



Figure 3: Characterizations of leadership of Merkel and von der Leyen by news media (Source: own compilation)

During the period the image of von der Leyen is involved in numerous controversies in the Ministry of Defense, in which von der Leyen had to justify her actions in the media directly. Her public relations management itself becomes thus under scrutiny and is analyzed in detail. Overall most outlets attest von der Leyen to be too concerned with her public image, rather than caring about the actual causes. It makes her look vain and reinforces the notion of trying to do everything right all the time. This then only results in her being perceived as unsure of her decisions, weak leadership and finally resulting in being perceived as ineffective.

Von der Leyen’s appointment as Commission President was controversial. She was neither a top candidate nor particularly successful in Germany. With one article noting: “Odd world: The woman of all places, who ends up reliably in the lowest ranks in Germany evaluating the performance of their politicians, could now receive the most powerful post in Europe” (61:1). Her appointment in Germany was met with surprise since her levels of public approval had been decreasing, due to the accusations of poor leadership in her ministry. With articles saying that her policy ideas are non-binding and thus ineffective. The lack of democratic principals in her appointment is characterized as her “original sin”. And thus already lacks trustworthiness not just in her – but subsequently in the system. The ineffectiveness of her leading ministries in Germany led also to general concerns of von der Leyen merely being a puppet to Merkel and Macron and Merkel (36:1). Characterizing her as a puppet, deprives von der Leyen of her own political abilities and is perceived by the reader as derogatory. Her ability to deal with the diverse group of political leaders within Europe is questioned multiple times, since she does not have a lot of experience doing so unlike someone that has worked in the EU political arena for a long time. Even though von der Leyen did not have the best standing at the time of her appointment to the EU in Germany, she is not universally portrayed as ineffective. By arguing she was born in Brussels and speaks English and French, she is described to be a qualified candidate (3:4). More left and centrist leaning news outlets have ascribed her abilities like being a resolute negotiator and having experience.

Merkel is not perceived as perfectionist her style of politics is famously perceived as trying to be non-controversial and trying not to take position. Merkel avoided to take a controversial decision is one of the major themes of the analysis. It comes up constantly in articles. In the scope of male hegemony that translates into Merkel being perceived as weak for that behavior. Political scientists have even named Merkel's style of politics "asymmetrical mobilization" (138:2). Merkel often sits out controversial topics and avoids taking positions if she can. Thus, making her appear very indecisive. Members of the Conservative Party have been speaking up and quoted in newspapers saying that "Everything around us is changing, but us" (4:1). One of the biggest critics of the chancellor and a competitor of hers Friedrich Merz is quoted very often. He tends to be especially critical of Merkel's initiative saying "The Chancellor's inactivity and lack of leadership have been covering the country like a blanket of fog for years," (Rossmann, 2019). The frequent use of this quote is interesting since he is a competitor, but it nonetheless creates a narrative of an ineffective chancellor. In light of a governmental crisis Merkel was highly criticized by Merz who attested her "The main person responsible for the CDU crisis is Chancellor Angela Merkel, who lacks "political leadership and clear statements", said Merz. He furthermore says that: "German politics lacks personality, vision and shows willingness to risk their political career [...] in light of climate change the abstention from positions shows the lack of leadership of the chancellor" (147:2) Summing up, statements that affirm the believe that there is a lack of leadership created in Germany by an inability to make strong decision due to avoid being controversial, make mistakes or have little confidence in their decisions. This lack of controversial positions and change is not the only theme that comes up often. Another reason that has been attributed to the lack of change is the long time Merkel has been in office. Which is summarized by a Zeit commentator: "The critics always mocked the Union parties for this culture of balance. For their bowling laps, the stubborn party conventions, the programmatic lack of ambition" (139:1) This basically mocks Merkel as being old, conservative and resistant to change and innovation. The choice of words is specific to bowling in Germany being perceived as a sport of the elderly, conservative and backwards. This perception can be led back to Merkel being in office for her fourth term. Naturally, since Merkel has been chancellor for 15 years, the public is used to her and also harder to surprise.

Merkel's being predictive is not always portrayed to be negative as it is highlighted by one commentator that remarks that "The cartel of silence Merkel undisputedly has its strengths" (224:3) Since she is usually quiet and does not directly respond to criticism it often just bounces off of her. It is also a reason why Merkel has been successful for so long. Her lack of controversial opinions makes it possible for her to build coalitions on all sides of the political spectrum and remain in power, because she appeals to voters from all sides. In general, more left and centrist leaning news outlets portrayed her lack of strong positions in a more positive light, while more right oriented news outlet characterized it as a weakness. So, even though Merkel's leadership is attacked on numerous occasions there are instances that acknowledge that despite the criticism her approach has proven to be successful for her since she has stayed in her positions of power since 2005.

Figure 3 describes the reasoning and main point of this section, highlighted by different examples. Most examples being aligned with this reasoning, with a couple of exceptions. Summarizing the picture painted of von der Leyen as being very reliant on outside opinions and outside knowledge in order to make decision. This accumulates to a degree that an official inquiry is launched in order to comprehend the amount of money that was being spent on consults and the way the consults were hired. This notion fits into the features that are described in discussions of the IP. The ability of making decisions is questioned. What is never questioned however is von der Leyen's ambition and strive for perfection. Merkel is being accused of being

dormant and by her lack of innovative ideas that Germany is in a standstill. Her leadership style has been attacked on numerous occasions above, calling her monotonous and question her ability to lead.

Summary:

- von der Leyen portrayed to to be perfectionist and focused on her image to reliant on consultants, unable to make decisions on her own, thus lacking leadership
- Merkel's political strategy is characterized as trying to avoid controversial opinions and positions
- one one side Merkel's political strategy portrayed as being a lack of leadership
- one other side Merkel's strategy portrayed as an advantage for successful building of building coalitions and maintaining power
- Merkel political strategy is considered to be reason for her success effective from the more left to centrist leaning media outlets

4.3 Female Politicians and femininity

This section is giving an overview of the ways that feminine gender stereotypes have and attributes have been ascribed to Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen. The overview is given over inner characteristics, as well as characteristics of outer appearance. As there have been studies into which attributes are considered to be important to be leaders (Fiske et al., 2002). Naming trustworthiness, warmth, competency and efficiency as the most crucial once. Trustworthiness and warmth are usually more associated with the female gender, while efficiency and competency are more widely associated with the male gender (Bourdieu, 2001). Women in high level political power need all of these attributes to be successful. And as Dülke and Futh outline, when female politicians stray from expected behavior they can be penalized (Dülcke & Futh, 2015).

The fact that Angela Merkel and Ursula von der Leyen are women is highlighted very often in news articles about them. That they are specifically women in politics is referenced in a third of the articles. Interestingly, there is fairly little evidence of Merkel and von der Leyen being sexualized. The analysis has shown that that has been chronically avoided. The only times where even the fact that von der Leyen has children comes up is in a quick recounting of her biography. “The trained doctor and mother of seven children was born in Brussels” (62:1). The lack of mentioning von der Leyen’s motherhood is very apparent, which is surprising. Not acknowledging the children at all, makes it seem as if it would not be professional to do so. As if her motherhood does not matter at all to her professional life. Even though raising seven children could be interpreted as an achievement. Contrary to the expectation, von der Leyen is not reduced to her motherhood, she is deprived of it. Family and personal life of politicians often only plays a marginal role in the media, thus female and male politicians are considered without their personal life. This adds however to the notion that female politicians are considered the exact same way as male politicians which makes them lose their femininity entirely. For Merkel there were no apparent signs of her being sexualized in the context of leadership. Her personal life also never plays a role in the news media.

Focusing on the outer appearance rather than political abilities is one way of detecting whether or not female politicians are taken seriously. A prominent feature that comes up is age. Announcing the age in a prominent way is quite uncommon. Though age does not play a role in how experienced a politician is or what she did before her political career, it could be neglected, but it is still included in numerous instances for von der Leyen and Merkel. Merkel’s long time in power has led to an expression of tiredness in news outlets. When she however deviates from the expected it is written that “Angela Merkel can still surprise at 65” (129:1). Phrasing it in this particular fashion insinuates, that women stop being surprising at a certain age. This furthermore ties into the notion that Merkel makes few impactful and strong decisions and when she does it is news worthy.

Merkel’s outside appearance is not talked about a lot, since she is very careful and continuous in her clothing choices. On the one hand the continuity and stability that Merkel portrays with her hand gesture and colorful pantsuits is mostly interpreted in a positive way. The German public can somewhat depend on these signs of her. These gestures seem to be a vital part to her public image and are perceived as such. The pantsuits and gesture are thus an important part of the attributes that are associated with Merkel.

“She has developed her own style, looks like a statesman. The outfits are not always advantageous, longer jackets would flatter her figure more, but she uses colors well.

This makes her stand out as a woman. Her short hairstyle is fashionably styled, that is what she has in recent years she has worked visibly, mostly with subtle make-up, only when visiting Russia does she put on more blush and lipstick - that is what society demands from women” (169:2)

Merkel’s outfits make her stand out among other heads of governments and her use of color is well received. Nonetheless, there are clear undertones of judging the fit of her suits and the amount of make-up she uses, reinforcing that women have to take great care of their appearance.

However, on the other hand this has also been used against her by again highlighting her lack of innovation through the same gesture and clothing style, writing:

“In fact, the woman who is now applying for the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th year of the Chancellor is almost pushily predictable: The same diamond gesture that should center her body around a stable center, the same pantsuits that monotonous government statements and rhetorically unambitious speeches: Everything is as usual at Merkel” (109:4)

So her lack of innovation that has been discussed in the previous section is not just apparent in her decision making but also apparent in her outer appearance. Again, on the one hand her continuity and reliability in her outer appearance are appreciated. On the other hand, that continuity is also interpreted as a lack of innovation and change. Her inner lack of change is reflected on the outside.



Figure 4: Reaction of public to female perceived traits (Source: own compilation)

When it comes to the inside characteristics, gender stereotypes and attributes that are used to highlight Merkel’s and von der Leyen’s femininity there are positive ones and negative ones. Attributes like being social, warm and open are positive, while attributes weakness, too emotional and acting impulsive are negative. On the one hand her strategy of ignoring drama has been characterized as an advantage, but on the other it is characterized to be too nice and interpreted as weakness. As Dülke and Futh described typical female behavior is seen as a disadvantage, while male behavior may be penalized (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). So often it female politicians are found in a lose-lose situation.

One of von der Leyen’s trademarks is her progressiveness which often clashes with some values of her party which leads to an article that says: “[...] she forces her party into making changes that, from the point of view of some, seemed like a betrayal of conservative Union principles - the expansion of daycare centers and the fathers' months” (58:1). Universally, the policy changes towards more family friendly policies that von der Leyen made in her time as Minister of Family Affairs and Defense implemented were well received. Even though these changes were important to the German social system she received criticism that these policies do not match up with the conservative values of her party. This shows the paradox of the lose-lose situation. On the one hand the policies are well received, but they do not match her party’s values.

There are few instances where newspapers characterize Merkel as emotional and use tools to do so. When her emotions are being described she is rarely warm or empathetic. Rather, she is often portrayed to be defiant. Defiance in these instances are not used to flatter her as being persevering. But used to portray as being childishly defiant and unprofessional (177:1). In whole, strong will is portrayed to be defiance in a negative way. This also relates back to Dülcke's and Futh's observation that male behaviors are penalized (Dülcke & Futh, 2015).

The rare occasions of her showing emotion seems to be taken as a lack of humanity. She is portrayed to be only emotional in extraordinary moments, like when Obama's term as US President came to an end. At the same time Merkel has also been characterized as someone that is in touch with the general public's opinions and emotions. Therefore, also being able to change her opinion quickly. An author noted that "The Chancellor always turns around with the mood of the population. This head of government does not rule against the gut feeling of the people - the Germans can rely on that" (109:6). Merkel has made many decisions that have been perceived as being abrupt over the years. These decisions often reflected public opinion, which gives the impression that Merkel makes decisions reflecting the gut feeling of the public. Even though she acted along with public opinion, which is a strategy. This strategy is also described to be a reason for her success. Her long time as a chancellor contributes to reshaping the idea of what leadership looks like and changing the discourse of leadership.

Another typical characterization in the portrayal of women is their impulsiveness. When Merkel and von der Leyen are making decisions that seem to be not well thought through and quickly made there seems to be a way of showing that these decisions are impulsively:

"In fact, von der Leyen raises his hand wherever NATO has new tasks to assign. A new training mission in Iraq? The Bundeswehr should be there. More soldiers for Afghanistan? It's clear. Building a NATO logistics center for Europe? Let's get to the Rhineland. In addition, the soldiers are said to be ready for a possible UN mission in Ukraine, to advance the European Defense Union together with France and to continue their missions in Africa" (56:1)

This creates another paradox. On the one hand they are criticized for not making meaningful decisions efficiently enough or radically enough. On the other hand they are criticized, when they make these decisions for making these decisions impulsively. Implying this impulsiveness leads to the assumption like shown above that these decisions are not well thought through.

When Merkel made the decisions to open the borders for refugees in 2015, this decision has been highly criticized from all sides. She has often been made responsible for the things that went wrong in the process. The critic often insinuates that she acted rash and impulsive. Her response to the refugee crisis was not just quickly made, but also showed a lot of empathy and warmth, which are deemed typically female (Bourdieu, 2001). Besides the handling refugee crisis having many layers, the harsh criticism Merkel received for her decisions in the crisis can be also interpreted as punishment for showing empathy (Dülcke & Futh, 2015).

Another part of perpetuating gender stereotypes in politics is highlighting the fact that the politician is female in a certain way. Thereby, making it abundantly clear that the reporter talks about a woman and thus insinuating a variety of things that perpetuate the idea of stereotypes that are associated with a certain gender. Femininity is often highlighted in the news media in context of highlighting that Merkel and von der Leyen are in positions of power. And that a woman as a head of state is extraordinary. One commentator writes: "that none of the top

candidates comes into play, that a woman has a better chance of getting the necessary votes in the European Parliament. Because a woman at the head of the EU Commission has never been there” (3:5) This commentator insinuates that von der Leyen’s chances have been enhanced by the fact that she is a woman. Her gender has been characterized as an advantage over others. Which also means that her political abilities are in the background and less important, which discredits them. Backlash like that was to be expected in the context of the theory. The accusation that von der Leyen had enhanced chances, because she is a women is of no surprise given the benevolent sexism in the political arena (Schlehofer et al., 2011). By remarking that von der Leyen is “the first woman to make it to the top of the EU” (14:1) her femininity stands out and is highlighted. Which proves the point Beck made, that women in politics can not be observed without their gender in mind (D. Beck, 2016).

A trend observed in analyzing the attributes ascribed to Merkel and von der Leyen is the overall lack of feminine attributes and stereotypes. When feminine attributes are used they are often in the processed by harsh criticism for their decisions and policies, creating paradoxes. Furthermore, there is an absence of outer appearances in general at least in so far as the pure text is concerned. Which leads to the third concept in the analysis which is the concealment of outside femininity. This concealment has also become more apparent in the case of von der Leyen’s motherhood, which is only mentioned in one article. The degree to which femininity, outside of being portrayed as being a political advantage in some cases, does not play a role at all. According to some research from femininity in female politicians is often highlighted thus these findings are counter intuitive (Schlehofer et al., 2011).

Summary:

- lack of focus on outer appearance in both women
- female attributes such as emotions, social side, openness and warmth rarely highlighted
- decisions that that are linked to feminine attributes like being social or empathetic are met with harsh criticism
- motherhood and personal life’s do not play any role whatsoever
- analysis of female side has mainly shown that it is not that prominent, making male attributes more important

4.4 Adapting to the ideal of a Politician

As discussed in the theory the German political is structured to fit the male politician and the attributes and stereotypes that come with that in mind. Thus structure leads to a male hegemony in the political system. The female politician thus has to adapt in order to fit that tradition, which leads to efforts to conceal the femininity and behaving in ways that would be societally seen as non-typical feminine behavior (Schlehofer et al., 2011). Beck describes the ideal German politician that has been shaped by Max Weber, as a father, head of the houses that is charismatic rational and independent. As described above female politician often result in behaving in a particular non-feminine way in order to fit into the structures of modern politics. They are keen on highlighted their professional achievements and want to be perceived as competent. That leads to them almost covering up their femininity in order to fit in and only focusing on their professionalism (D. Beck, 2016). At the same time Schlehofer has found that the female leaders when competent are lacking in warmth and thus have a reputation of being cold and calculated (Schlehofer et al., 2011). Besides just not acting feminine there is evidence if Merkel and von der Leyen to almost conceal their femininity by acting extra harsh and thus showing extra professionalism and competency. As Beck describes female politicians have to prove their competency and effectiveness, unlike their male counterparts (D. Beck, 2016). The following analyses the way Merkel and von der Leyen have adapted to the ideal of a politician and which attributes are used to describe them.



Figure 5: Reaction to deviating from typical female behavior (Source: own compilation)

There is an image of professionalism and competency that follows Merkel von der Leyen, otherwise they would not be found in such powerful positions. There are instances where Merkel's reactions are praised and valued. However, the admission that Merkel and von der Leyen have acted competently rarely comes without contrasting it to other instances, where they did not react right in their eyes, or had not made the right decision at the right time. This again shows the lose-lose situation female politician are found in.

To prove that von der Leyen can act with strength and efficiency she has been reacting to certain issues extra harsh. Von der Leyen uses words that are rather sharp and rather severe. It makes her seem like she wants to prove that she is taking the issue very serious, and can deal with it in a competent manner. The author in his article frames it in way, that she wants to resolve the issue with to harsh of tools. This instance further highlights Beck's findings of proving competency. Another way of detecting von der Leyen trying as being as professional as possible, especially since her election to the Commission was shaky, is the fact of her presenting her plans fairly quickly. The speed with which she presented her first plans have been interpreted as her trying to prove that she will be competent and professional even though her

election has been shaky. It seems to be a medial counter measure to ensure that she is taken seriously.

The way von der Leyen is often characterized is as cold negotiator that carefully constructs her public image through a meticulous public relations strategy. The Spiegel magazine writes about von der Leyen: „First of all: Ursula von der Leyen probably has everything she needs to become a successful EU Commission President. She has many years of government experience, she can mediate politics, she can negotiate resolutely, she is respected abroad, maybe more than in Germany. And the cold, which is sometimes said to have to be no disadvantage at the top of the Commission. “(26:1) This characterizes her as a cold, calculating professional and absolutely able to lead the EU. Again referring to Schlehofer, von der Leyen is seen as professional and competent and thus cold (Schlehofer et al., 2011). Even though in this instance it is not necessarily to be interpreted to her disadvantage. To highlight von der Leyen’s cold and calculating manner her strength in PR management are often used. By writing that she produces good news and has a good PR strategy the reporter hints and her being calculating and thus manipulating the public. Even though a good strategy is very important in the age of fast news media and social media.

One main point von der Leyen has been characterized as is that she would be too soft and weak to rule in the EU. Von der Leyen’s candidacy is getting devalued in other ways as well as this reporter attributes her success to mainly President Macron of France, because they are friends, writing: “. A similar concern was voiced saying “There are real doubts as to whether she has enough political character and courage to shape European politics or whether she will simply be a puppet of the French President and the German Chancellor who made her what she is” (36:1) This comment doubts von der Leyen’s abilities in their core, basically characterizing her as weak and calling her a puppet. Describing her as a puppet take all her professional knowledge and past achievements. It also further implies that she only achieved this position, because she is a woman.

Merkel famously shows very little emotions. Which often leads to bystanders characterizing her as cold. Her style of politics includes waiting out scandals and staying neutral. (“Her method of avoiding confrontation wherever possible has not only defeated the political opponent; It has also provided peace in its own ranks for long stretches - a calm, however, which is bad for the CDU” (188:1)) This often leads to news articles calling her treating people coldly. Especially the way she has treated ministers in the past is commonly broad up to show her cold and calculating manner.

A poem with unknown sums up the way Merkel is perceived often:

"She is not human and not machine/What she doesn't know is feelings / she doesn't have any hobbies - a little bit of Bayreuth is not enough / she only knows work and power – the end” (134:1)

The author that reported on the poem, called it “abusive”, since it is meant to hurt and reduces Merkel to work and power and dehumanizes her. The poem summarizes the perception that is build of Merkel through the news media. The poem reflects mostly what the public believes Merkel to be. Merkel’s reputation of being cold goes so far that even poems are written about is. Which somewhat highlights the severity. The absence of humanity has also been attested to The statement further highlights Merkel’s cold style of politics and is thus interpreted rather as a lack of social commitment. Again this proves the lose lose situation female politicians can

find themselves in. If Merkel would react to certain situations emotional and lash out unreasonably she would be likely characterized as a person that does not have her feelings under control. And probably deemed too unstable for politics. Because of Merkel's lack of notable emotion, she has also been characterized as not being passionate about her job, thus policies. This lack of passion is then also transferred to her leadership as a whole. Describing the lack of passion as a handicap and thus she is unable to lead a country.

Together Merkel and von der Leyen have been described as the "Two iron ladies are now in power in Europe. (...) Von der Leyen is without doubt the second most powerful woman in Germany, and she has always been less popular than the most powerful - also because of mistakes that Chancellor Angela Merkel would never have made" (42:2). To be described as Iron ladies in this instance is hardly a compliment. It rather seems to be a universal way of calling women cold, unemotional and calculating. Which is yet another example of the lose-lose situation.

Not only are Merkel and von der Leyen a victims of the system that perpetuates the negative image of them, but there are instances that show that they are also acting according to the system. Which perpetuates is further. Merkel is very respected among the other mostly male heads of government in the EU. A reporter noted that "The fact that Merkel's desire for fresh ideas is shared and taken seriously by the "bosses" is shown by the fact that the start of the summit is postponed several times" (3:3). Which shows that she has great power over the decision making process as a whole. It also can be interpreted as Merkel demonstrating her power and thus perpetuating power plays and hierarchies. Both power play as well as demonstrating superiority in hierarchy are strongly associated with male leadership styles and male hegemony in organizational structures. The further Merkel seems to be perpetuating hierarchies between herself and her female Party leader Kramp-Karrenbauer. An author noted that "Merkel [sits] in the middle, the CDU leader on the edge. Power relations" (194:4). Patriarchal hierarchies are a feature of western politics and Merkel seems to perpetuate and follow along this notion. Showing that in order to function in that system she plays by the same rules. Merkel's has been described numerous times as being calculating and cold. Mostly due to her style of politics and trying to be non-confrontational. This has also led to the remarks that she perpetuates old power structures with symbolic gestures, or the way she treats some of her confidantes and ministers. The examples given in these sections show the way that Merkel acts rather in a way that is typically unexpected for a woman.

There are lastly as described above derogatory characterizations and descriptions used in order to penalize the deviation from expected behavior from woman. Using their gender in order to characterize them in a derogatory way. Which includes describing them as weak, calling Angela Merkel "Mutti" or calling her a girl and not taking them seriously. These characterizations tie into the notion of punishment when not behaving according to the stereotypes associated with the female gender (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). Thus breaking out of the expectation that is set for women universally. These derogatory ways of descriptions can be seen as the ways that the women are punished for not fitting these expectations.

Merkel has been referred to as a girl as well as "Mutti", which is an older motherly type. Two very contrasting concepts, directly opposite from one another, both unflattering and meant in a derogatory fashion. Calling her a girl takes away all possible professionalism and experience. But also Merkel does not fit into any type of girly behavior or appearance. "Merkel was visibly happy about that, even laughing at her little girl laugh" (195:2). The nickname Mutti for Angela Merkel has been following her for almost the entirety of her chancellorship. The nickname is

derogatory and comes hand in hand with her leadership style. Both characterizations, even though they are on opposite sides have the same effect of taking away competency, independence and professional experience.

All in all, Merkel has been characterized as extremely powerful and high achieving, but in the German press often in comparison to her failures. Her style of leadership is nevertheless one of the reasons for her success. While von der Leyen has a fully constructed public image that she conserves and further perpetuates and never really uses the fact that she is a woman. And neither does Merkel. Femininity is so unapparent in their own constructed personas, that it seems to be concealed.

Summary:

- professionalism and competency of both described and valued
- cold and calculating nature of both women highlighted in great detail in comparison to typically female attributes
- von der Leyen being characterized as cold in her negotiating and calculating in her PR strategy tying in with the theory
- numerous examples for Merkel's calculating nature, including derogatory poem calling her cold and only interested in work
- further perpetuating hierarchies, fitting into the sexist structures of politics

4.5 Conclusion

The analysis of articles within the discourse of the IP have shown that the protagonists are overwhelmingly female. Which gives the impression to readers that this reflects in real life, meaning that women are more effected by the IP, despite inconclusive literature. In addition to this, the image that the articles of the IP paints of women in positions of power is one of women that struggle with success, break under pressure. So, answering the first sub question, how are women in the workplace portrayed in the discourse, how is the narrative constructed. They are portrayed as not being able to withstand pressure, thus not being resilient to stress. Furthermore, they are described to have issues making decisions and suffering overall from low self-esteem, meaning they also doubt the decisions they made. In this case the expectation from the beginning has been fulfilled.

In the question on how von der Leyen and Merkel are portrayed in the news media there are a couple of different findings. Both of them are attested a lack of leadership due to being unable to make meaningful or impactful decisions. Merkel's entire style of politics is one the one hand criticized for its lack of innovation and new and radical ideas. The major contradiction that is apparent in the analysis of the articles is that on the one hand there seems to be a public appreciation for the stability, continuity and calmness Merkel and her style of politics shows. On the other hand she is widely criticized for not being innovative enough, putting Germany in a standstill and being not enough of a strong leader. In contrast the main criticism often for von der Leyen is the lack of independent decision making. She is shown to be highly reliant on outside opinions.

There are very little references to family life, meaning children or lack thereof, marriage, divorce. Their femininity plays a minor role in news articles about them. In Merkel's case being social is only portrayed when it seems to be helpful politically. The attributes of competency and effectiveness seem to be more important, resulting in a reputation of both women being rather cold and calculating. Thus, adopting attributes and perhaps behaviors that are considered to be more male, like Beck as found in her studies, as well (D. Beck, 2016). Interestingly, von der Leyen's motherhood comes up relatively seldom, even though having seven children in itself is an achievement. It could be interpreted as her having great management skills and compassion Which disproves the expectation of the theory that the femininity is highlighted and women are reduced to their reproductive qualities (D. Beck, 2016).

The last part of the analysis looks at the ways that Merkel and von der Leyen adapted to the male hegemony of modern politics. Showing of competence and efficiency in order to be perceived as professional. These efforts are sometime recognized and portrayed in a positive manner. But often they are portrayed as cold. Often the efforts result in a lose-lose situation, where they are penalized in form of harsh criticism or even derogatory characterizations. Lastly surprisingly there have been instances where Merkel has been observed perpetuating and reinforcing the system she somewhat is suffering from herself.

Overall, in order the last sub question how the IP reflects on Merkel and von der Leyen there are a few points to make. The way the IP is discussed reflect negatively on the way the society sees women in leading positions. It reinforces a stereotype. The hypothesis of the way the narrative of the IP is told in the news media harms women striving to obtain leading positions has shown to be true. Low-self esteem, problems to make decisions and ambition are commonly featured in these articles. Though factors like the ideal politician being formed by a male

stereotype, the structures of politics being characterized by male hegemony and negative gender stereotypes of weak women play a role in how women in public offices are perceived as leaders.

Summary:

- IP discussion reinforces narrative of female leaders being not equipped to deal with pressures of leadership
- Female politician being too focused on getting everything exactly right (-> perfectionism, inability to make impactful decisions) resulting in being portrayed as lacking leadership
- Surprising lack of portrayal of femininity, outer appearance as well as personal characteristics, women in public office being deprived of their femininity
- cold nature and lack of emotion portrayed in order to adapt to the ideal of a politician, which is typically male and being penalized for not fitting in mold of male politicians
- perpetuating old hierarchies by calculating manner

5 Conclusion

This last chapter gives a broad overview about the thesis. It is answering the research question and sub questions; it sums up the key insights that have been found in the analysis. It furthermore discusses future research and limitations. Lastly it provides policy advice. The analysis aimed to find out how women in leadership positions in public offices are portrayed in the media. Overall the analysis has shown that there are a couple of points to make. Firstly, a common narrative of weak decision making and a lack of positions has been prominent. It equates the instances of lacking decisions to lacking leadership in general. On one hand the lack of strong positions has been interpreted in Merkel's case as an advantage and reason for her success. And on the other hand it is her biggest criticism. Overall, though the criticism has been more prominent. The image of women in public office is presented in a way that leads to the public perceiving the women as focused on their image and a willingness to do everything right to a fault. Secondly, attributes and stereotypes that are usually attributed to women are not specifically prominent. If they play a role, outlets often highlight how it is out of the norm. The lack of these stereotypes can also be interpreted as a change of general perception of what leadership means. And subsequently weakening the ideas of which gender possessing specific attributes. Thirdly, the cold and calculating nature of Merkel and von der Leyen is detailed in great lengths.

The thesis furthermore questioned on how hegemonic practices influence the way women in public offices are portrayed in the German News media. There are a variety of hegemonic practices that have been prominent including the narrative that women have weaker leadership skills. The analysis showed a lose-lose situation when it comes to the image of leadership. The question on how the IP discourse is constructed has shown that it primarily focuses on women. Women are overwhelmingly perceived as primarily affected by the IP in the selected articles. Even though there is little evidence that women are more often affected, most articles focused in women. Descriptions of the IP relied often on female protagonist and cemented the idea of women not being able to deal with the pressures of leadership. Furthermore, it painted an image of women having low self-esteem and do not believe in themselves and their abilities. The second question aimed at the stereotypes and attributes that have been used in order to describe Ursula von der Leyen and Angela Merkel in the news media. Negative stereotype that are prominent in descriptions is usually related to weak leadership. Both women are often described as being cold and behaviors that describe a calculating nature play a major role in the narrative around them. They do not often display emotions which is often perceived negatively. The last question is concerned with the reflection of the Imposter Phenomenon on Merkel and von der Leyen. Overall, features that are part of the IP are often part of the criticism on the leadership of both women. Efficient and competent decision making is a major part of leadership and both women have been criticized for their lack of impactful decisions.

In summary the IP discussion reinforces narrative of female leaders being not equipped to deal with pressures of leadership. The media portrayed female politician as being too focused on getting everything exactly right. Meaning that they are too concerned with pleasing everyone. This desire is rooted in the fact that politics is characterized by male hegemony. In Merkel's case she lacks innovative, controversial and impactful decisions in favor of building possible coalitions. In von der Leyen's case, she is portrayed as being too perfectionist and lacking confidence in her own decisions, which result in being reliant on consultants. Either way the image of both of them lacking leadership is a common theme. One of the unexpected outcomes of the analysis is the lack of portrayal of femininity, outer appearance as well as personal characteristics. The lack of feminine attributes described in a positive fashion leads to the

conclusion that women in public office being deprived of their femininity. Their social, warm, and open side plays no role in descriptions. Furthermore, their cold nature and lack of emotion portrayed in order to adapt to the ideal of a politician, which is typically male. This is again rooted in male hegemony the political routine. In some instances, where Merkel and von der Leyen have deviated from behavior typically associated with women they are being penalized for not fitting in mold of male politicians. This creates a lose lose situation, where typical female behavior like being emotional, warm, social and open is interpreted negatively and typical male associated behaviors are penalized as well. There have also been instances where Merkel has been perpetuating old hierarchies and patterns that are to her disadvantage. Even though they do not benefit from the negative perceptions they are so much part of the system that they reproduce and reinforce it. To add some nuance, the success of von der Leyen and Merkel shows that there has been a change in how leadership is viewed. Otherwise, their tenure would not have been possible, which reshapes the narrative of leadership.

The hypothesis Slank made in *Rethinking the Imposter Phenomenon*, which considers more the societal implications of the IP, has mostly been shown to be true in this sample. Indeed, never and older articles portrayed women struggling with the high pressure leading positions. Female politicians are always aware of their bodies, in comparison to male politicians, according to Beck (D. Beck, 2016). Thus the theory predict that clothing and body should play a role for not just for the female politician, but also the media. There a surprisingly very few instances were clothing and outer appearance plays a role. Generally, the notions that femininity plays a bigger role in female politicians. The findings furthermore reinforce Fiske's finding that female politicians are perceived as competent but cold (Fiske et al., 2002). Merkel has been successful for such a long time, because she is perceived as competent. Her lack of passion and show of emotion in some instance have even been interpreted to her disadvantage and to her advantage. There has also been more evidence that show derogatory characterization in order to penalize typically non-feminine behavior.

5.1 Discussion, Future Research and Limitation

The aim of this analysis was to investigate and explore the image that is portrayed of women in public office in different news media outlets in the context of the Imposter Phenomenon and on their own. This idea is new, because the Imposter Phenomenon in particular has not been studies from the angle of organizational studies. As of yet most research has been focused on which groups are mostly affected by IP (Cokley et al., 2013), how it manifests and how it can be treated. Even though Shanna Slank has discussed the perceptions of women in leading positions that have been negatively influenced by the IP discourse, there have not been deeper investigations into the matter. As discussed in the scientific relevance above, the thesis aims to look at the male centric political arena and how women in leading positions are adapting to it. The societal impact of discussing the Imposter Phenomenon has not been investigated yet. The image of women in public offices has been researched from different angles. Dülke and Futh regularly research the ways women have been portrayed during candidacies for different office (Dülcke & Futh, 2015). Holtz-Bacha has discussed the role of gender portrayed in the media in the relations to the chances in elections (Holtz-Bacha, 2007). The leadership perception in relation to male and female attributes have not been thoroughly discussed yet. Recent Public Administration scholars have called for including more research into gender and leadership in administrations and public organizations (Crosby & Bryson, 2018; Lee & Park, 2020). This thesis allows a view on how women in public leadership are viewed b the media and how this image is further reproduced and forms. Thus presenting a view of a societal audience rather than a review of leadership by employees like Lee and Park (Lee & Park, 2020).

The results presented though should be considered in light of limitations. The impact of the IP has not yet been researched well on an institutional level. Most studies focus on individuals. That also means there is limited information about societal effects of people suffering from IP. Furthermore, the study is based on text, which is always open for interpretation and certain personal biases, even with careful conscience of that fact. This study has been focused on the way the news media portrays the women in public offices and discusses the Imposter Phenomenon. Though the print and official media outlets are still an important source of information in Germany, there have been other media channels that have become more prominent that have not been considered. Younger generations are using more and more social media for gaining information. The mental health debate has been avid in recent years and the Imposter Phenomenon is an often talked about topic, and might be presented in a different way than the news media does. The image presented thus only focuses on the news media. The political arena is an ever changing playing field and perception can change quickly, this thesis considers a specific point in time. Big events can change the way perceptions and images are shaped, this thesis is thus also limited by the selected time period. For the analysis certain keywords and main attributes and gender stereotypes have been selected. This selection reflects only a few attributes and stereotypes. More attributes and stereotypes could refine the results presented.

There are different areas future research could be considered. First and foremost, more research into the societal impact of the Imposter Phenomenon and discourse surround it. Meaning broader studies in the way the IP shapes the image of women on the labor market as well as in public offices. Not just that but more studies in how the IP shapes decisions on profession and study decisions. As of yet there are very little considerations of the societal impact. Thus, exploring societal impacts such as job outcomes like Frear or how different ethnic groups are effected like Cokly (Cokley et al., 2013; Frear et al., 2019). Furthermore, leadership styles and perceptions of people of color in public leadership positions can give a closer insight in how public organizations into how more marginalized groups are viewed and portrayed, which introduces the notions of intersectionality into the scientific discussion (Breslin et al., 2017).

In order to give a broader image of how women are considered in light of the IP broader media channels, such as Influencers and Social Media could be considered. While this thesis looked at the specific ways that women are suffering from stereotypical portrayals, looking into how men are affected as well. Thus, looking into behavioral patterns men have adapted and the ways that they are penalized for maybe not behaving stereotypically manly enough. Even though this thesis focuses especially on how women are oppressed by the societal structures, the research on the IP and its common distribution also among men, show that men suffer as well from the hegemonic practices of the IP. The structures are equally forcing men in certain behavioral patterns and they are often being perceived as not being masculine enough or not being feminine enough. When it comes to the perception of leadership at the attributes attached to it asking further how these attributes have changed because of more female leaders in public offices, thus continuing the work of Koeing (Koenig et al., 2011).

5.2 Policy Implications

Perceptions and systems that favor a gender over the other or reinforce stereotypes and penalize deviation from typical behavior are deep rooted, and have evolved through constant reproduction. Breaking away from these roots is a longer process. Achieving improvements

nonetheless can come from a variety of actions that are rooted in achieving more gender equality in general. More gender equality in households and childcare are on the lowest end, while systemic actions like quotas for an amount of woman in certain positions are on a higher level.

In order to improve the issues that have been discovered in the analysis there are different levels of policy makers that can be addressed. In general, in order to normalize the occurrence of women in high level public offices, there needs to be a normalization of women working in general without having to conceal their femininity and have negative stereotypes attached to them. Gender equality in the work life is linked to equality in all other respects and in order to achieve more equality and even more normalize women working the question of childcare has to be solved (De Graaf & Wiertz, 2019). Thus policies that lead to equal splits in childcare time are a solution. Policies like this are giving equal access to all families to kindergartens, making them completely free and giving every child the opportunity to go to a kindergarten. Since 2013 every parent has a right to have their child in a Kindergarten in Germany, it is a federal law. Tough in theory everyone has the right, the reality is that there are not enough places in kindergartens and they are not free. The cost of kindergarten varies from region to region because municipalities are responsible for administrating everything around kindergartens. This leads to financial incentives of mostly mothers giving up their jobs or going part time. Which hinders the normalization of working women and evolving their careers. Men have thus more opportunities to raise up on their career paths. A good integration of mothers in the world of work is vital in order to normalize it. Making sure that a working mother is not giving a financial disadvantage to the family is vital for gender equality. Federal law has created this right to kindergartens, while municipalities often lack the funds to put this into action. Thus aiding municipalities financially into creating more childcare faculties is one way to give women better access to the working world.

Another policy solution involves paternity leave. Paternity leave in some way already exists in Germany and has been implemented on the federal level. Instead of only mothers receiving financial aid, there has been an official introduction of parental financial aid, that allows parents to take time off work in order to care for their children. Even though the tendency of fathers taking advantage of the parental financial aid is raising, the time they take advantage of the aid is significantly shorter than the time mothers take advantage of it. In numbers, 37 percent of fathers have used the financial aid to stay at home for an average of 3 months in the first three years of their child's life. In comparison almost 100 percent of mothers use the parental aid for an average of one year. Meaning that fathers seem to take more care of their children, but the amount of time is significantly less than their female counterparts (Samtleben et al., 2019). Which means incentives to take this paternity leave could help. Taking care of the children needs to be as attractive financially as working. Comparisons with different countries have shown that raising the level of financial aid is vital, and countries with higher levels have higher rates of fathers taking advantage of parental leave. Changing the culture by financial incentivizing towards more equal amounts of childcare is another way to promote gender equality in families.

In 2016 a policy of "care aid" has been introduced, which is a financial aid that is giving to a parent that stay at home rather than putting their children into kindergarten. The policy has universally been criticized for creating negative incentive. Rather than giving their children into kindergarten, which has more advantages than just allowing parents to work, it incentivized mothers to stay home. Using the funds that have been allocated for this financial aid, it could

be put towards raising the parental aid thus alleviating financial stress of families and incentivizing more fathers to take advantage of parental aid.

Lastly, public organization should act as role models when it comes to women in leadership positions. The public sector should reflect gender equality in their staff and promote a culture, where fathers feel like they can take longer paternity leaves without repercussion for their career. Quotas for women in leading positions in public administrations exists on different levels. Some quotas aim for 30 some for 40 percent of women in leading positions. The reality is also different on the levels. In total the quotas have not been met. Meaning that public organization need to make more efforts in order to meet their quotas and in the future achieve complete equal numbers.

Overall, policies that allow women to move freely in and reenter the labor market easier promote gender equality and change the culture that leads to women in leadership hiding femininity. The perception of women in the labor market in public offices or not can be changed by more equality of both genders.

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7 Appendix Selected Articles

No	Title	Author	Source	Date
1	Der Schaden kommt von rechts; Statt über die Verteidigungsministerin sollte man über Hakenkreuze reden	Marini, J.	taz	10.05.17
2	Die Paten	Becker, S.	Der Spiegel	05.10.19
3	EU-Gipfel - die Fortsetzung	Beisel, K., Kolb, M.	Die Süddeutsche Zeitung	03.07.19
4	Am Freitag steht die Wahl in den Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen an; Vor Deutschland steht eine neue Reifeprüfung	Michael Fischer	dpa	04.06.18
5	Kostspielige Instandhaltung; Wie bei der Bundeswehr systematisch Geld versickert	Bergermann, M., Becker, B.	Wirtschaftswoch e Online	12.12.19
6	Zukunft der Nato; "Trump hat bessere Resultate erzielt als jeder seiner Vorgänger"	Jungholt, T.	Bilanz.de	06.10.18
7	"Die Truppe macht, was sie will"; Ex-General kritisiert Führung der Bundeswehr	lem/ame	Der Tagesspiegel	15.04.19
8	"Spiegel"; Personelle Konsequenzen wegen Kasernen-Skandals	dpa/lsw	Welt Online	11.02.17
9	"Kernwerte' der Kandidatin; Ursula von der Leyen erklärt in zwei Briefen ihr Regierungsprogramm als EU-Kommissionspräsidentin. Am Tag vor der Abstimmung verspricht sie mehr Klimaschutz und mehr Parlamentsrechte	Beisel, K., Kolb, M., Mühlauer	Die Süddeutsche Zeitung	16.07.16
10	"Schon Monate davon gewusst"; Im Bundeswehr-Skandal kritisieren Abgeordnete die Informationspolitik von der Leyens		Die Süddeutsche Zeitung	30.01.17
11	Bundesregierung; Von der leyen weg - aber in der Bundeswehr geht eine Sorge um	Jungholt, T., Schweppe, C.	Bilanz.de	03.07.19
12	Bundeswehr; Die zwei Welten der Ursula von der Leyen und ihrer Soldaten	Jungholt, T.	Welt Online	20.02.18
13	Das Berliner Politik-Patriarchat	Gathmann, F.	Spiegel Online	29.03.18
14	Die Persönlichkeit der Woche; Die Mutmacherin	Berschens, R.	Handelsblatt	29.11.19
15	Die Sensationskandidatin; Mit ihr hatte niemand gerechnet, doch nun könnte Ursula von der Leyen nächste Präsidentin der EU-Kommission werden. Die Gewinner und Verlierer einer	Crolly, H.	Die Welt	04.07.19

	denkwürdigen Brüsseler Nacht, die lange Schatten wirft			
16	Ehrgeizige Ziele - und eine harte Realität; Von der Leyen hat große Pläne. Manche davon sind altbekannt und schon einmal gescheitert	Crolly, H.	Die Welt	22.07.19
17	Eine Frau, zwei Großbaustellen	Gathmann, F.	Spiegel Online	18.07.19
18	Entrüstung über Aufrüstung; Opposition kritisiert geplante Anschaffung von Kriegsschiffen	Hickmann, C.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	17.10.16
19	EU-Klimagipfel; Keine Einigkeit, aber alle fühlen sich als Sieger	Kaiser, T.	Welt Online	13.12.19
20	EU-Kommission; Mahnung an von der Leyen	Greive, M.	Handelsblatt	14.10.19
21	EU-Kommission; Warum sich die Wirtschaft nicht auf Ursula von der Leyen freut	Greive, M.	Handelsblatt	14.10.19
22	EU-Kommission; Warum Ursula von der Leyen vor einer schwierigen Aufgabe steht	Berschens, R.	Handelsblatt	28.11.19
23	Führung in der Bundeswehr; "Von der Leyen war schon immer eine Fehlbesetzung	Triesch, A.	Welt Online	04.05.17
24	Frühjahr des Ärgers; Der Fall Franco A., Rechtstextremismus in der Truppe, Verzögerung bei Rüstungsprojekten: Verteidigungsministerin von der Leyen muss derzeit viel Kritik einstecken. Das erinnert an die Zeit von vor vier Jahren	Hickmann, C.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	18.05.17
25	G36-Sturmgewehre gestohlen; Abgeordnete kritisieren von der Leyen nach Waffenklau scharf	Flade, F.	Welt Online	12.05.17
26	Hinterzimmer mit Aussicht	Becker, M.	Spiegel Online	03.07.19
27	In der Warteschleife; Ausgerechnet unter Rüstungsreformerin von der Leyen verzögern sich mehrere Großinvestitionen der Bundeswehr. Ihre Gegner werfen ihr vor, heikle Projekte vor der Wahl nicht mehr anfassen zu wollen - die Ministerin kontert	Hickmann, C.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	14.03.17
28	Internationale Presse; Russland sorgt sich vor von der Leyen - "Kein leichter Partner"		Welt Online	04.07.19
29	Kompetenz oder Charisma?; Die Erfolgsformel für Minister	Breyton, R., Vitzthum, T.	Bilanz.de	03.03.18
30	Kontrollverlust im Bendlerblock; Rechnungshof kritisiert den Umgang des Verteidigungsressorts mit Steuergeld. Auch bei den Auslandseinsätzen gibt es Ärger.	Jungholt, T.	Die Welt	01.10.18

	Und Ministerin von der Leyen? Lobt sich selbst			
31	Kramp-Karrenbauer; Das ist der entscheidene Vorbehalt gegen die neue Ministerin	Jungholt, T.	Welt Online	17.07.19
32	Nach von der Leyens Bundeswehr-Debakel; So übersteht man als Chef einen Skandal	Dämon, K.	Wirtschaftswoch e Online	10.05.17
33	Neuer Finanzminister; Wer kann Schäuble	Dams, J.	Bilanz.de	01.02.18
34	Nicht einmal im Panzer sind die Sturmgewehre der Bundeswehr sicher; Diebe stehlen mehrere G36, Pistolen und Funkgeräte vom Truppenübungsplatz. Der Bundestag wird erst drei Monate später unterrichtet- und hat "die Nase voll"	Jungholt, T., Flade, F.	Die Welt	13.05.17
35	Political Animal; Leyen - ja, sie ist noch da. Die Wehrministerin rührt sich nicht, trotz desolater Lage	Casdorff, S.	Der Tagesspiegel	09.04.19
36	Presse zu SPD und von der Leyen; "Traurig, einsam. Eine Partei in totaler Konfusion"		Welt Online	17.07.19
37	Rücktritt auf Raten statt Big Bang	Raab, K.	Spiegel Online	02.11.18
38	Regierungschefs nominieren von der Leyen als EU-Kommissionschefin	Sarovic, A.	Spiegel Online	02.07.19
39	Schräge Antworten, klare Kante: Neue Kommissionspräsidentin, neue Verteidigungsministerin, nur die Kanzlerin ist ganz die Alte: Zum Abschied in die Sommerpause gibt es Lakonie - und eine Ohrfeige für Donald Trump	Fried, N.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	20.07.19
40	Selbstkritische Offensive; Das Verteidigungsministerium bemüht sich um Transparenz im Bundeswehr-Skandal	Braun, S.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	15.02.17
41	Sprengers Spitzen; Die Vertrauenskrise der Verteidigungsministerin	Sprenger, R.	Wirtschaftswoch e Online	14.05.17
42	Stimmen Weltweit		Handelsblatt	04.07.19
43	Straßburg; EU-Parlament wählt italienischen Sozialisten Sassoli zum Präsidenten		Welt Online	03.07.19
44	Talk bei Will; "Angela Merkel wird nicht mehr zu alter Macht zurückfinden"	Düringer, C.	Welt Online	04.12.17
45	Ungarn; Merkels überraschend neuer Ton bei ihrem Orban- Besuch	Kálnoky, B.	Welt Online	19.08.19
46	Ursula von der Leyen weist Vorwürde vorsätzlicher Datenlöschung zurück, Von einem Hand der Ex-Verteidigungsministerin sind sämtliche Daten gelöscht worden. Das wirft Fragen auf. Sie habe jedoch nichts damit zu tun, sagt von der Leyen nun.	Eydlin, A.	Zeit Online	27.12.19

47	Ursula von der Leyen; "Meine Botschaft ist einfach: Lasst uns an die Arbeit gehen"		Welt Online	27.11.19
48	Verteidigungsministerium; Wenn breitbeinige Berate auf beharrende Beamte treffen	Riedel, D.	Handelsblatt	28.06.19
49	Von der Leyen als Bundeswehr-Chefin; "Wir nennen diese Typen Karrieristen"	Hansen, K.	Handelsblatt	01.06.17
50	Weber stellt sich hinter EU-Personalvorschlag von der Leyen	dpa	Welt Online	02.07.19
51	41 Prozent Frauen in Führungspositionen	Gontek, F.	Spiegel Online	22.10.19
52	Auf Weltkrisen noch nicht vorbereitet; "Diskursivens Wachkoma": Außenminister Heiko Maas kritisiert fehlende Debatte über Sicherheitspolitik in Deutschland und wirbt für stärkeres Engagement	Monath, H.	Der Tagesspiegel	18.08.18
53	Bundeswehr-Berateraffäre; Mehr Macht für den Auklärungs-Verhinderer	Jungholt, T.	Bilanz.de	16.01.20
54	Bundeswehr-Skandal; Haltung annehmen	Birnbaum, R.	Der Tagesspiegel	31.01.17
55	Bundeswehr; AfD wirft von der Leyen "Hexenjagd auf Wehrmacht" vor	Czarnitzki, J.	Welt Online	23.05.17
56	Bundeswehr; Von der Leyens Trugbild von der Einsatzbereitschaft	Jungholt, T.	Bilanz.de	15.02.18
57	Die neue Freundschaft zwischen Orban und Merkel; Die Bundeskanzlerin erwähnte beim Treffen mit Ungarns Regierungschef weder Rechtsstaatlichkeit noch sonstige Kritik, nur Positives. Ein Neuanfang?	Kálnoky	Die Welt	20.08.19
58	Erfolg im Amt: Charisma schlägt Fachwissen; Bildungspolitiker schäumen, dass Angela Merkel eine Fachfremde zur Ministerin machen will. Dabei wird Expertentum überschätzt	Vitzthum, T., Breyton, R.	Die Welt	03.03.18
59	Es ist eine Frau!	Rosenfeld, D.	Die Welt	11.09.19
60	EU-Kommission; Frauenpower? Die gibt's eher in Jane Fondas Videos als in der Politik	Rosenfeld, D.	Welt Online	10.09.19
61	EU-Kommissionsvorsitz; Sensationsnominierung von der Leyen - die Gewinner und Verlierer	Crolley, H.	Welt Online	03.07.19
62	EU-Parlament bestätigt von der Leyen als Kommissionschefin	Hagen, K.	Spiegel Online	27.11.19
63	EU-Parlament wählt Italiener Sassoli zum neuen Präsidenten	Hagen, K.	Spiegel Online	03.07.19
	Europas Sündenfall	Alemanno, A.	Handelsblatt	16.08.19

64				
65	Fordert die Frauen-Union Kramp-Karrenbauer heraus?; Parteitag; Weibliche CDU-Mitglieder streben Kampfabstimmung über interne Quoten an	Alexander, R.	Die Welt	21.11.19
66	Franzosen freuen sich auf von der Leyen	Blume, G.	Spiegel Online	15.07.19
67	Gewalt-Skandal in der Bundeswehr; "Lasst die liegen, die sind nur ohnmächtig, nicht tot!"	dpa	Handelsblatt	30.01.17
68	Ideen für den Neustart; Reformen in der Migrationspolitik hat Ursula von der Leyen von der Leyen versprochen. Brüsseler Beamte basteln an einem Plan	KMB	Süddeutsche Zeitung	24.08.19
69	Inzenieren, emotionalisieren, die Realität ausblenden	Lobo, S.	Spiegel Online	03.07.19
70	Kampf um die IWF-Führung; Lagarde, Georgiewa, von der Leyen - Marionetten von Macrons Gnaden?	Crolly, H.	Welt Online	08.08.19
71	Kommentar; Ursulla von der Leyen hat erkannt, dass die EU eine starke Führung braucht	Berschens, R.	Handelsblatt	10.09.19
72	Lasst sie machen; die Kritik an der deutschen Armee nimmt mittlerweile bedenkliche Züge an. Ja, die Bundeswehr ist in keinem guten Zustand. Aber daran sind viele Faktoren schuld, nicht nur von der Leyen und fehlendes Geld	Kamp, K.	Die Welt	16.02.18
73	Merkel und die großen Egos; Die Kanzlerin erntet Lob und Dank, doch zeigt sich bei der Konferenz: Die Großmächte geben den Ton an. Deutschland und die Europäer haben dabei nicht viel zu sagen, zumindest bislang	Brössler, D.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	20.01.20
74	Neues Kabinett; Die Politiker könnten Minister unter Merkel werden	Alexander, R.	Bilanz.de	29.01.18
75	Niedersachsenes CDU-Chef gratuliert von der Leyen	dpa	Welt Online	16.07.19
76	Parteiübergreifende Gegenfraktion; Ursula von der Leyens gespräch mit EU-Parlamentariern in Brüssel zeigen bisher nicht die von ihr erhoffte Wirkung	Beisel, K., Brössler D.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	12.07.19
77	Pläne als Kommissionschefin; Ursula von der Leyens Pläne im Realitätscheck	Crolly, H.	Welt Online	21.07.19
78	Ursula von der Leyen; "die ganze Welt wird sich an der Green-Deal-Philosophie orientieren"	Bonanni, A.	Bilanz.de	29.12.19
79	Ursula von der Leyen; Barley kündigt Widerstand an, Söder spricht von "Niederlange für Europa"		Welt Online	03.07.19

80	Ursula von der Leyen; Fassungslosigkeit im Haushaltsausschuss	Jungholt, T.	Bilanz.de	24.01.19
81	Ursula von der Leyen: Temporäre Beförderung	dpa/HB	Handelsblatt	10.04.19
82	Verteidigung; Nie wieder ein Gorch-Fock-Debakel - Bundeswehr will Beschaffungswesen verbessern	Riedel, D.	Handelsblatt	07.03.19
83	Verteidigung; Sündenfall K130	Murphy, M.	Handelsblatt	22.05.17
84	Vulkanisches Temperament; Der spanische Außenminister Josep Borrell soll Federica Mogherini als EU-Außenbeauftragter nachfolgen. Er gilt als kompetent und erfahren, aber hat er die Kondition für den Job?	Kolb, M., Schoepp, S.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	05.07.19
85	Wehrressort zahlte bis zu 150 Millionen Euro jährlich an Berater	Gebauer, M.	Spiegel Online	15.09.18
86	Zeichen der Entfremdung; Die Skepsis der Wirtschaft gegenüber der EU sitzt tiefer als gedacht. Die designierte Kommissionspräsidentin Ursula von der Leyen muss beide Welten wieder vereinen	Kaiser, T.	Die Welt	14.10.19
87	Zukünftige EU-Kommissionspräsidentin; Von der Leyen: "Werde entschlossen Tempo machen"		Handelsblatt	27.11.19
88	Beherzt führen	Krauel, T.	Welt Kompakt	31.08.18
89	Besorgt über den Schwächeanfall; Vor dem EU-Ost-Gipfel macht sich in Brüssel neue Stimmung bereit: Deutschlands Probleme und Merkels Machtverlust drohen plötzlich auch die Europäische Union und ihre Reformpläne zu lähmen	Brössler, D., Klimm, L.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	24.11.17
90	Besuch in Harvard; Merkels Anti-Trump-Rede mit vielen Botschaften	Stumm, D.	Welt Online	01.06.19
91	Bundeskanzler brauchen Zeit; Die Amtsperioden von Spitzenpolitikern zu begrenzen gilt vielen als Allheilmittel der Politik. Doch es wäre falsch. Führungskraft beruht auch auf Erfahrung. Und Entscheide dürfen nicht immer unter Zeitdruck stehen	Krauel, T.	Welt Kompakt	18.09.19
92	EU-Gipfel - die Fortsetzung	Beisel, K., Kolb, M.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	03.07.19
93	Eu-Gipfel; Noch immer gibt es keinen greifbaren Fortschritt		Welt Online	17.10.18
94	Falsche Asylbescheide; "An der Chronologie des Scheiterns hat Frau Merkel erheblichen Anteil"	Sturm, D.	Welt Online	28.05.18
95	Leitartikel; Charisma für Europa	Berschens, R.	Handelsblatt	12.09.18
96	Leitartikel; Supermacht im Abseits	Koch, M.	Handelsblatt	25.01.18

97	Merkels Rückhalt schwindet; 47 Prozent läuft Umfrage für vorzeitigen Rückzug der Kanzlerin/FDP-Vize Kubicki: Der Regierungschefin fehlt "jede Idee)	Haselberger, S., Monath, H.	Der Tagesspiegel	28.12.17
98	Rede bei Junger Union; Wer eine angeschlagene Merkel erwartet hatte, wurde enttäuscht	Graw, A.	Welt Online	06.10.18
99	Stimmen weltweit		Handelsblatt	18.07.19
100	Vielfalt und Vorurteil	Obmann, C.	Handelsblatt	08.02.19
101	Zwei gegen Merz	Greive, M.	Handelsblatt	26.02.20
102	Ich bin eine absolute Verehrerin von ihr	Abott, A.	Spiegel Online	26.02.20
103	"Narzissen trauen wir Führungspotenzial zu"; Warum legen inkompetente Männer so häufig steile Karrieren hin?	Mast, M.	Zeit Online	21.10.19
104	"Plötzlich war ich in der Psychathrie"; Eine Frau, Mutter und Managerin hat hohe Ansprüche an sich. Und wird ihnen lange gerecht. Bis sie eines Tages zusammenbricht. Wie aus zu viel Stress eine Krankheit wurde	Simmann, J.	Zeit Online	12.08.19
105	"Zeugen der eigenen Machtlosigkeit"	Hassenkamp, M.	Spiegel Online	18.02.19
106	Asylkompromiss; Was bleiben wird	Sirleschtov, A.	Der Tagesspiegel	07.07.18
107	Bei den jungen Mildern; Angela Merkel tritt auf dem Deutschlandtag der Jungen Union als weltlenkende Staatsfraz mit einer Prise Selbstkritik auf	Burghardt, P.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	08.10.18
108	Bloß keine Massage; Schöne Geste der Nähe oder Grenzüberschreitung? Wann der Körperkontakt bei der Arbeit zulässig ist	Wilke, F, Wulf, V.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	08.12.18
109	Bundestagswahl 2017; Ist Merkel wirklich die Kanzlerin der Stabilität? Von wegen!	Alexander, R.	Bilanz.de	17.07.17
110	CDU-Krise nach Thüringen-Wahl; Merz zählt Merkel an - Junge Union hält Spahn für kanzlertauglich		Welt Online	29.10.19
111	CDU; Stürzen oder stützen	Rossmann, R.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	30.10.19
112	Das Versagen der Eliten	Römmele, A.	Spiegel Online	06.02.20
113	Deutscher Pessimismus; "Cheer up, Germany"	Gasteiger, C.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	04.06.18
114	Die Fremde; Angela Merkel weiß jetzt, dass sie viele Menschen nur noch schwer erreicht. Zum Beispiel in ihrer Fraktion	Rossmann, R., Fried, N.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	27.09.18
115	Die Tops und Flops im Kabinett; Die dritte schwarz-rote Regierung unter Merkel ist ein Jahr im Amt. Wie haben	Klaus, J., Otto, F.,	Zeit Online	14.03.19

	sich die Minister geschlagen? Wer hat positiv überrascht und wer hat enttäuscht?	Schuler, K., Steffen, T.		
116	Führung; "Macht ist kein Hut, der einem aufgesetzt wird"	Holzki, L.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	01.11.18
117	Fünf Tage im Januar; Am Sonntag beginnen die Sondierungen von Union und SPD. Bleiben dem Land Neuwahlen erspart?	Haselberger, S., Monath, H., Woratschka, R.	Der Tagesspiegel	05.01.18
118	Gekommen, um zu gehen; Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer sollte die CDU in die Zukunft führen, jetzt hat sie selbst keine Zukunft mehr in der Führungsspitze. Wie sich eine Volkspartei nach dem Ende der Ära Merkel selbst zerlegt	Rossmann, R., Fried, N.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	11.02.20
119	Gesamttitle: Die Shopping-Queen	Schattauer	Focus Magazin	28.01.17
120	Geschäfte auf Gegenseitigkeit; Kanzlerin empfängt afrikanische Staatschefs, verspricht eine Milliarde Euro für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Kontinents - und hat dabei auch Deutschlands ureigene Interessen im Blick	Ludwig, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	31.10.18
121	Herr Pofalla wird Mensch	Osang, A.	Der Spiegel	11.02.17
122	Internationale Presse zu Hessen; "Horror mit Ansage"		Welt Online	29.10.18
123	Kanzlerin der Kehrtwende; Noch 92 Tage bis zur Bundestagswahl: Angela Merkel hat mit dem Satz "Sie kennen mich" für sich geworben. Ist sie immer noch die Altbekannte oder wirkt sie nur wie eine alter Bekannte?	Alexander, R.	Die Welt	24.06.17
124	Kanzlerin; Angela Merkel ist eine halsstarrige Führungskraft	Meier, R.	Welt Online	10.02.17
125	Merz vor Parteitag: "Es geht nicht um meine Person"	dpa	Welt Online	15.11.19
126	Modern; Die CDU ist erst mit Angela Merkel ganz in der Gegenwart angekommen: Wer immer ihr nachfolgt, tut gut daran, dieses Erbe nicht zu verspielen	Frei, N.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	10.11.18
127	Nach von der Leyens Bunderswehr-Debakel; So übersteht man als Chef einen Skandal	Dämon, K.	Wirtschaftswoch e Online	10.05.17
128	Die Grottopia; Normal? Von wegen! Einem erneuten Bündnis von Union und SPD wont etwas Unwirkliches inne	Ulrich, B.	Die Zeit	18.01.18
129	Sie dreht sich mit; Angela Merkel wird heute 65 Jahre alt. Sie wirkt erschöpft, aber nicht alt: Denn den Anschluss an	Alexander, R.	Die Welt	17.07.19

	einen immer schneller wechselnden Zeitgeist hat sie nie verloren			
130	Sie spalten zusammen	Wittrock, P.	Spiegel Online	25.03.18
131	So wie früher wird's nicht mehr	Duhm, L.	Spiegel Online	15.10.18
132	Warum Düfte tabu sind	Sack, A.	Welt am Sonntag	11.06.17
133	Was den Unterschied ausmacht; Martin Schulz will Kanzlerin Angela Merkel zum Streit über Inhalte zwingen. Kann das gelingen?	Monath, H.	Der Tagesspiegel	17.07.17
134	Weint Angela Merkel heimlich	Fleischhauer, J.	Spiegel Online	27.09.18
135	Wer will schon Chef sein?	Wille, R.	Spiegel Online	08.11.19
136	18 Jahre Chefin	Hagen, K.	Spiegel Online	07.12.18
137	Angela Merkel; Die überschätzte Kanzlerin	Alexander, R.	Welt Online	20.11.16
138	Angela Merkels linksliberale Erbe; Die Kanzlerin machte die CDU für Frauen, Junge, Akademiker attraktiv. Viele hoffen nun auf die Rückkehr zum Konservativen. Das könnte der Partei mehr schaden als nutzen	Schlieben, M.	Zeit Online	06.12.18
139	Aufbruch in die Ratlosigkeit; Die CDU war stets die Machtmaschine der Bundesrepublik, Pragmatismus war ihr oberstes Prinzip. Doch inzwischen ist sie ein gärriger Haufen. Was ist passiert?	Pausch, R.	Zeit Online	26.09.18
140	Das Ende der deutschen Stabilität; Die Konservativen in der Union kündigen Angela Merkel die Gefolgschaft auf mit dramatischen Folgen für das Parteiensystem, die Regierungsmehrheit und für die Europa	Naß, M.	Zeit Online	20.06.18
141	Die Falsche oder nicht?	Seibel, A. Crolley, H.	Die Welt	14.10.19
142	Die Kanzlerin als Covergirl; Ein Portrait von Angela Merkel zielt das Cover der amerikanischen "Vogue". Was sagt es uns? Eine Bildbetrachtung	Woeller, M.	Die Welt	27.10.17
143	Edmund Stoiber; "CDU braucht mehr emotionale Wärme"	Afhüppe, S.	Handelsblatt	29.11.18
144	EU-Kommission; Frauenpower? Die gibt's eher in Jane Fondas Videos als in der Politik	Rosenfeld, D.	Welt Online	10.09.19
145	Für Merkel wird es Zeit	Krauel, T.	Die Welt	16.05.19
146	FDP-Politiker Theurer wirft Merkel Führungsversagen vor	dpa	Welt Online	29.10.19
147	Friedrich Merz wirft Angela Merkel Führungsschwäche vor; Das Wahlergebnis	Finkenwirth, A.	Zeit Online	29.10.19

	vin Thüringen werter Friedrich Merz als Misstrauenvotum gegen die große Koalition. Er fordert das vorzeitige Ende der Kanzlerschaft von Angela Merkel			
148	Friedrich Merz: "Die Politik ist nicht gut genug"	Afhüppe, S., Sigmund, T.	Handelsblatt	15.11.19
149	Gehen, um zu bleiben; Als Angela Merkel von den CDU-Vorsitz abgab, glaubten viele, dass auch ihre Zeit als Kanzlerin bald vorbei sei. Stattdessen regiert sie weiter - und schaut zu, wie andere um ihr politischen Überleben kämpfen	Fried, N.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	23.05.19
150	Große Koalition; Für Angela Merkel wird es Zeit	Krauel, T.	Welt Online	15.05.19
151	GroKo; Worum es bei Kramp-Karrenbauers Alleingängen wirklich geht	Krauel, T.	Welt Online	08.11.19
152	Große Koalition; Es fehlt Führung	Prantl, H.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	13.09.18
153	Herfried Münkler; Kanzlerin zur rechten Zeit	Münkler, H.	Handelsblatt	07.12.18
154	Inszenierter Frohsinn beim "Finale dahoam"	Clauß, A.	Spiegel Online	24.05.19
155	Internationale Presse; "Merkel hat keine Kraft und keine Autorität"		Welt Online	21.11.17
156	Internationale Presse; "Von der Leyen ist für Merkel eine bittere Pille"		Welt Online	03.07.19
157	JU-Deutschlandtag; Merkel hat die Jungen alt aussehen lassen	Rosenfeld, D.	Welt Online	07.10.18
158	Königsmörder muss sie nicht fürchten; Angela Merkel will im Fall einer Neuwahl erneut antreten: Euphorie Ist das in ihrer Partei nicht aus. Aber auch keinen Widerstand. Warum eigentlich nicht?	Schuler, K.	Zeit Online	22.11.17
159	Kanzlerin in der Ukraine; Wo sich Merkel noch gebraucht fühlt	Vitzthum, T.	Welt Online	01.11.18
160	Kanzlerin; Angela Merkel führt - man muss nur mal genau hinschauen	Krauel, T.	Welt Online	25.01.18
161	Kanzlerkandidatur; Diese Zahlen zeigen das Personalproblem der Union		Welt Online	06.11.19
162	Kleines Amt, große Ziele	Waschiniski, G.	Handelsblatt	07.10.19
163	Kramp-Karrenbauer bei der JU; Die Enttäuschten schießen aus dem Hinterhalt	Crolly, H.	Welt Online	13.10.19
164	Merkel; Danke, das war's	Prantl, H.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	30.10.18
165	Merkels Personalpolitik; Schwimmen lernen	Kister, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	18.07.19
166	Merz: Merkels Untätigkeit wie Nebelteppich über dem Land	dpa	Welt Online	29.10.19

167	Nach Merkels Überraschung hat "AKK" Tränen in den Augen; Die Kanzlerin kündigt an, nicht mehr als Parteivorsitzende zu kandidieren. Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer und Jens Spahn wollen sie beereben. Und vielleicht auch Friedrich Merz	Alexander, R.	Die Welt	30.10.18
168	Noch keine Lust auf Abschiedstour; Die erste Auslandsreise nach ihrer Rückzugsankündigung führt die Kanzlerin in die Ukraine. Das Land ist wohl ein Grund, warum Angela Merkel, nur den CDU-Vorsitz aufgeben hat	Vitzthum, T.	Die Welt	02.11.18
169	Outfit-Check; Zehn Punkte für Ivanka Trump, neun für Angela Merkel	Abdel-Latif, A.	Welt Online	19.03.17
170	Prien: Personaldebatten schaden dem Land und der Partei	dpa	Welt Online	29.10.19
171	Sehnsucht nach Führung	Buch, H.	Die Welt	11.11.19
172	Stübgen: Kramp-Karrenbauer ist "einigermaßen stabil"	dpa	Welt Online	12.11.19
173	Unionsabgeordnete kritisieren Attacken auf Kanzlerin und Parteichefin; Mehrere CDU-Parlamentarier haben sich entsetzt über die parteiinterne Debatte geäußert. Das sei "selbstzerstörerisch", heißt es in einer gemeinsamen Erklärung	Schuler, K.	Zeit Online	30.10.19
174	Unionspolitiker stellen sich hinter die Parteiführung; Im CDU-Machtkampf fürchten Unionspolitiker eine "Selbstzerfleischung" wie bei der SPD Vizekanzler Olaf Scholz kritisiert "Pöbeleien" gegenüber Kanzlerin Angela Merkel	Hofer, S.	Zeit Online	31.10.19
175	Von der "Klimakanzlerin" ist nichts zu spüren; Auf dem Klimagipfel hält Kanzlerin Angela Merkel eine schwache Rede im Gegensatz zur leidenschaftlichen wütenteden Greta Thunberg. Die Führung übernehmen nun andere	Wimalasena, J.	Zeit Online	23.09.19
176	Was Europa über Ursula von der Leyen denkt; Supermama, vielseitig, begabt, Merkels Ersatzreifen oder Viktor Orbans Kandidatin; Wie in der EU über die Frau berichtet wird, die Kommissionspräsidentin werden will	Finkenzeller, K., Kokot, M., Mihai, S., Braun, M. Macher, J.	Zeit Online	15.07.19
177	Was nun, Knazlerin?: Auf dem Parteitag in Leipzig wirkt Angela Merkel nur noch eine Statistin in der eigenen Partei. Und	Vitzthum, T.	Die Welt	25.11.19

	ein Redner wagt sogar eine explizite Anspielung auf das Ende der Ära Kohl			
178	Wie die Welt auf Merkel blickt; International ist Deutschland gleich Angela Merkel - doch was genau denken Russen, Amerikaner, Inder und andere über die Kanzlerin? Antworten aus acht Ländern	Bota, A., Kohlenberg, K., Weise, Z., Kokot, M., Gasser, F., Lee, F., Blume, G., Roß, J.	Zeit Online	11.09.17
179	Wird Markus Söder Kanzlerkandidat der Union	Mestermann, M.	Spiegel Online	30.10.19
180	Zukunft der Christdemokraten; "Ausmaß der Unzufriedenheit im Osten größer"	Malzahn, C.	Welt Online	12.11.18
181	"Überfall aus den Reihen ihrer eigenen Partei"	Schröder, A.	Spiegel Online	26.09.18
182	"Frau ist für ihr Glück selbst verantwortlich"; Eislaufstar Katarina Witt über das Älterwerden, Gleichberechtigung in Ost und West und die Notwendigkeit von Quoten	Frommann, S.	Die Welt	08.03.19
183	"Kein weiter so" - das unmögliche Versprechen; Union und SPD haben angekündigt, eine neue große Koalition würde die Arbeit der bisherigen so nicht fortführen. Das klang gut, ist ein politische Bumerang	Vitzthum, T.	Die Welt	12.01.18
184	"Merkel hat die eigene Regierung destabilisiert"; Niedersachsens Ministerpräsident Stephan Weil (SPD) zweifelt am Bestand der großen Koalition in Berlin und erwartet einen Rechtsruck der Union	Exner, U.	Die Welt	05.11.18
185	"Penetranz schafft Akzeptanz"; Familienministerin Franziska Giffey (SPD) sieht bei der Gleichstellung von Frauen noch viel Handlungsbedarf - auch in anderen Ministerien		Die Welt	31.08.18
186	CDU-Chefin: Parteispitze und Kanzleramt besser in einer Hand	dpa	Welt Online	25.06.19
187	CDU-Politiker fordern Ende der Personaldebatte; Nach der drastischen Kritik von Friedrich Merz wird in der CDU weiter um den Kurs gestritten. Julia Klöckner warnt vor einer verfrühten Debatte um den Kanzlerkandidatur	Nietfield, K.	Zeit Online	31.10.19
188	CDU; Merkels Ruhe	Forudastan, F.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	12.12.17
189	Daniel Günther will Hälfte der Führungsposten für Frauen	dpa/Ino	Welt Online	16.04.18

190	Dann eben Schwarz-Not	Gathmann, F.	Spiegel Online	11.06.19
191	Dann nennt uns doch Lügenpresse!	Atamann, F.	Spiegel Online	06.10.18
192	Debatte über Kanzlerschaft; AKK bald Kanzlerin? Teile der SPD würden "Amok laufen"		Welt Online	09.03.19
193	Der Pate, der keiner sein will; Wolfgang Schäuble mag Friedrich Merz, schätzt Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer und beriet Jens Spahn. Viele halten ihn für den Königsmacher in der CDU, doch ganz so einfach ist die Sache nicht	Braun, S.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	05.11.18
194	Die CDU allein zu Haus; Angela Merkels Teilrückzug zwingt ihre möglichen Nachfolger, programmatisch Farbe zu bekennen. Doch viel Neues fällt ihnen nicht ein. Wer der Merkelianismus am Ende doch nicht so schlecht	Herzinger, R.	Die Welt	14.11.18
195	Die Legenden einer Nacht; Merkel hatte nur die Funktion einer Moderatorin. Aber die Union schreibt ihr eine ganz andere Rolle zu	Vitzthum, T.	Die Welt	21.11.17
196	Dieser Rücktritt löst gar nichts; Andrea Nahles gibt als SPD-Chefin auf eine große persönliche Niederlahe. Und die Partei findet keine Antwort auf die Krise. Das könnte auch die große Koalition beenden	Caspari, L.	Zeit Online	02.06.19
197	Ein bisschen besorgt; Auch wenn in der Öffentlichkeit ein anderer Eindruck herrscht; Die Deutschen beweisen in der Flüchtlingskrise Augenmaß. Sie wollen einen starken, entschlossenen Staat - und sind zugleich für eine europäische Politik der Hilfe	Schmid, T.	Die Welt	21.07.18
198	Ende einer Ära	Rossmann, R.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	08.12.18
199	Es ist eine Frau!	Rosenfeld, D.	Die Welt	11.09.19
200	Europas neue Schlafwandler	Baverez, N.	Die Welt	11.06.18
201	Familienministerin Barley; "Viele Menschen haben Merkel satt"	Menkens, S.	Welt Online	30.07.17
202	Frauen und Macht; Ein flotter Vierer - Schwan, Schwesig, Barley und Dreyer	Nolte, P.	Welt Online	20.07.19
203	Gleichstellung; Giffey und die Frauenquote - "Penetranz schafft Akzeptanz"	Menkens, S.	Welt Online	30.08.18
204	Hat die große Koalition noch eine Chance verdient?; Ich will nüchtern sein	Seibel, A.	Die Welt	26.09.18
205	Internationale Presse; "Merkel weigert sich, die Augen zu öffnen"		Welt Online	22.11.16

206	Internationale Pressestimmen; "Merksels Autorität ist schwer beschädigt"		Welt Online	26.09.18
207	Kanzlerin unter Druck; Die CDU ist erkennbar von sich selbst abgeturnt	Poschardt, U.	Welt Online	13.02.18
208	Kein Schatten, keine Kontur	Poschardt, U.	Die Welt	22.11.17
209	Konservatismus; Nestwärme als Lockmittel für die Frustrierten führt in die Irre	Herzinger, R.	Welt Online	15.10.17
210	Kramp-Karrenbauer; "Frauen haben ein Gespür für Authentizität"	Alexander, R.	Welt Online	01.03.17
211	Kretschmer kauft seiner Parteichefin Zeit	Gathmann, F.	Spiegel Online	02.09.19
212	Macron bewirbt sich um Merkel-Nachfolge	Kaiser, S.	Spiegel Online	24.01.18
213	Medienrummel um CDU-Bundesparteitag zur Merkel-Nachfolge	dpa/Ino	Welt Online	05.12.18
214	Merksels-Rückzug; Gemischt Gefühle	Leserbriefe	Süddeutsche Zeitung	13.11.18
215	Merkel, May - und Clinton?; Sind Frauen die besseren Staatslenker	dpa	Wirtschaftswoch e Online	08.11.16
216	Merksels härteste Prüfung; Die CDU-Vorsitzende hat ein Problem; Ihren potenziellen Partnern CSU, FDP und Grünen kann sie nichts anbieten, was alle zufriedenstellt. Die Kanzlerin muss um ihre Macht kämpfen	Rossmann, R.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	18.11.17
217	Presseschau zum Bierzelt-Satz; "The Times" wirft Merkel mangelnde Sensibilität vor		Welt Online	30.05.17
218	Pudels Kern	Marquart, M.	Spiegel Online	09.03.19
219	Röttgen fährt harte Attacke gegen Merkel	Titz, C.	Spiegel Online	15.02.18
220	Regiert euch doch selbst	Augstein, J.	Spiegel Online	05.03.18
221	Samstagsessay; Von Männern und Frauen; Anders als in der Wirtschaft scheint die Gleichberechtigung in der Politik bereits erreicht - jedenfalls an der Spitze. Doch die Krise der etablierten Parteien gefährdet den Erfolg. Aber es gibt einen Ausweg	Beise, M.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	08.06.19
222	Schlechtes Abschneiden der EVP; Webers letzte Hoffnung heißt Merkel	Crollly, H.	Welt Online	27.05.19
223	Schmidt-Schnauze fehlt; Die Politik in Deutschland steckt in einer Führungskrise. Am Ende der Ära Merkel fehlt ein Staatsmann, der Orientierung geben und Zusammenhalt stiften könnte	Heisterhagen, N.	Zeit Online	31.10.19
224	Schwache Politik, starke Wirtschaft	Berschens, R., Sigmund,	Handelsblatt	05.01.18

		T., Specht, F.		
225	SPD-Politiker Oppermann; "Für eine Präsidential-Kanzlerin ist kein Platz"	Sturm, D.	Welt Online	03.03.18
226	Teilen und herrschen	Poschardt, U.	Die Welt	13.02.18
227	Und jetzt wieder Politik	Poschardt, U.	Die Welt	11.05.19
228	Union; Merz contra Merkel	Hildebrand, J., Sigmund, T.	Handelsblatt	30.10.19
229	Wer berät die nächsten Kanzler?	Alexander, R.	Die Welt	29.08.19
230	Wo ist Merkel?	Weiland, S.	Spiegel Online	12.01.18
231	Zweifel an Merkel	Rossmann, R.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	10.02.18
232	Gleichberechtigung; So war die feministische Party im Kanzleramt	Lühmann, H.	Welt Online	18.07.17
233	Schwesig zweifelt an Merkels Führungsfähigkeiten	Roth, A.	Spiegel Online	08.12.17
234	Das Phänomen		Rheinische Post	21.08.14
235	"Hochstapler-Phänomen"; "Jeder kleine Fehler hätte meine Inkompetenz offenbart"	Voßkühler, G.	Bilanz.de	06.04.18
236	"Sie sabotieren sich selbst"; Viele glauben, dass sie nicht so gut sind wie andere denken. Die Psychologin Birgit Spinath sagt, was man dagegen tun kann	Piegsa, O., Seifert, L.	Zeit Campus	08.04.14
238	Gefühlte Schwindler: Warum fähige Menschen sich selbst für Hochstapler halten	Herrmann, S.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	11.06.18
239	Resilienz-Traning; So lernen Sie die Kunst des klugen Versagens	Voßkühler, G.	Bilanz.de	01.06.18
240	Eltern, die erfolgreiche Kinder großziehen wollen, begehen oft einen Fehler mit lebenslangen Folgen	Gaulhiac, N.	Business Insider	25.05.19
241	"Es gibt genug Geld auf dieser Welt"	Stern, W.	Die Zeit	07.11.19
242	unIQate-Gründerin Nicole Gerecht; "Wir sind auch unglaublich gerne Klugscheißer"	Kontio, C.	Handelsblatt online	14.06.19
243	Hochstapler Syndrom; "Das hab ich nicht verdient"	Pezzei, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	19.06.09
244	Och nööööh! War doch nur Glück!; Erfolgreiche Studenten reden ihre Erfolge klein. Warum eigentlich		Die Welt	08.07.14
245	Hochstapler-Syndrom; "Sonst wissen sie, dass ich nichts drauf habe"	Lubbadeh, J.	Bilanz.de	01.10.19
246	Zu selbstkritisch: Manche Frauen leiden am Hochstapler Syndrom		Computerwoche	23.04.18

247	"Nichts hat mich auf die Höhen und Tiefen vorbereitet"	Optensteinen, C.	Spiegel Online	15.10.19
248	Der Kampf gegen die Selbstwerträuber	Rutschmann, E.	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	16.02.18
249	"Die Frauen sind verdammt"; Die Autorin Emily Chang über Sexfeiern im Silicon Valley, Gründerinnen, die glauben alles mitmachen zu müssen und Männer die nicht merken, dass sie Teil des Problems sind	Werner, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	29.05.18
250	Gefühlt ein Schwindler; "Das war bloß Glück!": Mancher Student macht die eigene Leitung schlecht. Was bescheiden klingt, kann krankhaft werden		Aachener Zeitung	27.01.15
251	Das Ich als Marke	Wenk, S.	Plan W	30.11.19
252	Aus dem Netflix Drehbuch	Volkmann, I.	Stuttgarter Zeitung	02.11.19
253	Die müssen doch merken, dass ich nichts kann		Spiegel Online	07.11.14
256	Awkwafina: Hochstapler-Syndrom am Set		Newtex Blog	17.11.19
257	Sprengers Spitzen; Die Furcht der Manager vor dem Absturz	Sprenger, R.	Wirtschaftswoche online	30.07.17
258	Am Ziel; Vor Manuela Rousseau hatte Beiersdorf keine Aufsichtsrätin - die 63-Jährige ist gut im Überwinden von Hürden	Werner, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	11.11.19
259	Die Liebe zum Laufen	Engel, S.	Spiegel Online	18.10.19
260	Persönlichkeit		Maschinenmarkt	24.07.19
261	"Wann merken sie, dass ich nichts kann?": Die schlimme Denkfalle sorgt dafür, dass ihr euch selbst sabotiert	Gaulhiac, N.	Business Insider	27.11.18
262	Warten auf den Moment, in dem es auffliegt; Zugezogen, eingebürgert, aufgestiegen. Manche Menschen müssen sich alles erarbeiten. Und bekommen dann das Hochstapler-Syndrom: Sie zweifelt an ihrem Erfolg	Güngör, D.	Die Zeit	16.07.18
263	Preisgekrönte Schwabbelwesen; Das Kinder-Computerspiel des Jahres kommt aus München; "Shift Happens". Ein Besuch bei den Entwicklern von Klondike Games	von Au, C.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	15.04.16
264	Bildung Kompakt; Numerus Clausus: Bei schlechtem Abi verwandte Fächer prüfen		Die Welt	12.04.14
265	"Ich muss mich verstecken, sonst wissen sie, dass ich nichts drauf hab": Es gibt Menschen, die ihre Leistungen nicht anerkennen können und sich selbst als Betrüger sehen. Was gegen das Hochstapler-Syndrom hilft	Lubbadeh, J.	Welt am Sonntag	29.09.19

266	Das Hochstapler-Syndrom		Kölner Express	02.04.19
267	Bewerbung als Führungskraft; Warum Frauen sich nichts trauen	Janker, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	28.05.14
269	Wenn der Erfolg nur Zufall sein soll	Dankers, A.	Stuttgarter Zeitung	06.04.19
270	Viel Lärm um nichts; Und eines Tages kommt einer, der dich durchschaut	Hirschmann, A.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	21.01.13
271	Die große Angst vor dem Versagen	Kruthaup, K.	Rheinische Post	21.08.14
272	Kurz notiert		Aachener Zeitung	14.04.14
274	Ellie Goulding bedankt sich bei Ihren Fans		Newtex Blog	29.10.19
275	Das schlechte Gefühl, Erfolg nicht verdient zu haben; beim sogenannten Hochstapler-Syndrom führen Betroffene eigenes berufliches Vorankommen auf äußere Umstände zurück		Aachener Zeitung	15.04.19
277	Eine Frage des Selbstvertrauens; Beförderung, Jobangebot oder Mitarbeiter des Monats: Einige Menschen hatten ihre beruflichen Erfolge für Zufall oder Glück	Voßkühler, G.	Welt Kompakt	06.04.18
279	Das Imposter Syndrom ist wenig bekannt; Hilfe, ich bin ein Hochstapler		Nürnberger Zeitung	27.08.19
280	Ellie Goulding: Hochstapler-Syndrom		Newtex Blog	25.10.19
281	"Oh Gott, dann checken alle, dass ich keine Wissenschaftlerin bin"	Kafka, L.	Spiegel Online	19.10.19
282	Ich bin doch nur ein Hochstapler		Spiegel Online	14.07.14
283	Hochstapler-Syndrom; Bis einer merkt, dass Sie nur Glück hatten	Holzki, L.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	20.07.18
284	Hochstapler-Syndrom; Trauen Sie Ihren Fähigkeiten?	Katsidou, O.	Wirtschaftswoch e online	09.11.17
285	Wenn Erfolg Angst macht; Manche Arbeitnehmer bekommen Anerkennung im Job und fürchten trotzdem ständig zu versagen. Sie leiden am Hochstapler-Syndrom. Wie man die unangenehmen Gefühle loswird	Holzki, L.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	31.03.18
286	Jobpsychologie; Wenn der eigene Erfolg Angst macht	Holzki, L.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	13.03.18
287	Freunde helfen gegen Selbstzweifel	dpa	Rheinische Post	24.04.14
288	Hochstapler Syndrom; Quälende Angst vor dem Auffliegen	Janker, K.	Süddeutsche Zeitung	08.07.14
289	Diagnose: Hochstapler-Syndrom: Das war nur gutes Timing, einfach nur Glück oder das Wohlwollen des Chefs	Dankers, A.	Rheinische Post	04.05.19
290	Hey, Boss, ich brauch mehr Geld		Spiegel Online	14.11.14

291	Die subjektive Hochstapelei der Erfolgreichen	Anderl, S.	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	01.11.12
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