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WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE ROLE OF ANGEL MERKEL IN MANAGING MIGRANT CRISIS IN 2015

Abstract

The migrant crisis has caused divisions between the Member States of the European Union more than ever. The number of migrants' mortality at the European borders has shown the world that the European Union has failed to find a common solution for the crisis.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel, on the one hand, plays a central role in the European Union's efforts to formulate a common response. On the other hand, mainly Eastern European groups, led by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, are actively opposed to every aspect of that plan.

This text talks about the response of the European Union and the Federal Republic of Germany to the migrant crisis and the main role that Angela Merkel has in her. The German Chancellor has always been a leading figure in the EU, however, her attitude has become even stronger in the context of the refugee issue. Of course, this position had its political preference in the elections.

Also, there is a brief overview of the position of women in society through history and their activism in political life, which has not changed much nowadays.

Key words: Leadership, Angela Merkel, EU Policy, Germany, Europe, migrant crisis, refugees, role and position of women.

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The role of women has changed over the course of history many times. From a traditional role, mother and housewife, through gender equality, women took on a growing political influence in society. There have been fierce controversies over decades about whether women should have a place in politics. One party defended the point that a woman in politics could introduce something new, fresh and different, while from the opposite camp they thought that without a man's hand, leadership in the government was impossible.

Women's role in politics in the Republic of Serbia is, unfortunately, more often evaluated through the number of her appearances in the media and comments on her style of dressing, but rarely through objective analysis of the program, values that she is committed to and her accomplished goals and activities. Our women also have a certain responsibility for such a petty attitude, as well as women in many other countries, because they still live at a turning point between their traditional role in society and their new political ambitions.

However, the fact is that the bad economic situation in the Serbian state affects the female population the most - the results of the research of the Republic Statistics Office in 2017 show that the employment rate of men is 52.8%, and the woman is 38.1%, which is 14.7% less.³

Studies about the position of women in the labor market of the Republic of Serbia conducted in the last few years point to the presence of gender-based discrimination, which is related to the high unemployment rate, the reduction of economic activity and the return to the traditional role of a housewife.

The unemployment rate in the second quarter of 2018, according to the available data of the Republic Institute for Statistics, amounts to 16.5%.⁴ Constant national tensions do not allow the transition to a democratic society to reach its natural positive end. In such an atmosphere, where the primary concern is how to nourish the household, women put their role in strengthening a democratic society into a second plan. However, the patriarchal society, which still dominates in this country, does not allow women to "raise" the head of these elementary issues and

³ Republic Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, <http://publikacije.stat.gov.rs/G2017/Pdf/G20176008.pdf>, accessed 15.9.2018.

⁴ Republic Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, <http://www.stat.gov.rs/sr-Latn/oblasti/trziste-rada/anketa-o-radnoj-nanazi>, accessed on 10.9.2018.

assume their share of responsibility in political life, nor a new stream of politically conscious women to take on a concrete public political position.

On the contrary, all the potential of public activities is directed towards men, and women are positioned three steps behind a political leader, both on election posters and in reality.

“At the Round Table”, who’s gathering was organized in May by the UN Women and the Ministry of Labor, Employment, Veterans’ Affairs and Social Affairs, concluded that the situation of women position in Serbia is getting worse, or more precisely, there is a “Labor market inequality in Serbia”.⁵ On this occasion, the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, Brankica Jankovic, pointed out that the highest number of complaints that the Commissioner receives is precisely on this market, which is especially evident when it comes to maternity, since woman after the maternity leave are transferred to a lower position or in worst case, they get fired.

The 2003 study measured the indicators of a “fairer gender” (eg women in parliament, women in ministerial positions and women in positions of deputy ministers, etc.) versus measures of liberal democracy (eg rule of the law, freedom of the press, elections) on a sample of 99 countries. The results showed that the presence of women in government and liberal democracy are to a large extent reversed proportionally to corruption, when they are isolated from each other. However, if they were put into the same model, the consequences of women’s political presence on corruption would become insignificant, while liberal institutions would remain a very strong indicator of a low level of corruption. Selecting or appointing more women to leadership positions is a noble and fair goal itself, but it would not “clear” the government by default. Effective checks and balance are needed between the different branches of the government, regardless of the number of politicians.

In a “civilized” society, the Constitution guaranties women’s rights and equality with male sex, but in practice it does not exist, so we can legitimately raise the issue of gender equality.

⁵ <http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/drustvo/3130813/ekonomsko-osnazivanje-vazno-za-vecu-rodnu-pravpravnost-na-trzistu-u-rada.html>, accessed on 22.9.2018.

In order to establish the cause of women's rights inequality, it is necessary to consider the historical development of women's role in a society. Woman's social role is determined by social relationships and as social relationships are determined by the economy of each society, we can look at the historical role of women in parallel with economic development, as the key and most influential factor. Since family is the basic unit of a society, and marriage is a reflection of family relationships, it is also the most appropriate to observe the role of women through different forms of marriage, which are characteristic to certain periods of human society development.

The "fall" of a woman, actually her position in a society begins with the emergence of private property as a result of the surplus in production. The emergence of private property and the desire for its magnification works trade and personal wealth, led to new social relations, and thus influenced the marriage and role of women in society.

Today's society is full of democracy, freedom and equality, and in practice we can see that gender relations have changed very little, among other things. Although apparently different on the surface, they always maintain exploitation, without suggesting that the situation will fundamentally change for the benefit of women. The accent is maintained on small rights, which do not change the situation significantly.

Feminist movements, although emphasizing the unfavorable position of women, do not essentially have an effective solution to improve this position, as they fail to recognize the real causes of subordination. As we have determined that the economic and, therefore, the political system that supports it is a cause of the unequal position of women, a solution should also be sought in that direction.⁶

One of the most important aspects of women's liberation is their education - firstly to learn about their rights, and then with educational work on their liberation and organization. Economic development, democratic institutions and the legal framework are necessary but not sufficient conditions for improving the position of women in public life. Political culture, party and media culture, public opinion

⁶ National Strategy for Gender Equality for the Period from 2016 to 2020 with the Action Plan for the Period from 2016 to 2018, available at http://aler.rs/files/NACIONALNA_STRATEGIJA_za_rodnu_pravpravnost_za_period_od_2016_do_2020_godine_sa_akcionim_planom_za_period_od_2016_do_2018_godine_SI_gl_RS_br_4_2016.pdf, accessed 25.9.2018.

and the state of social awareness are important factors that influence the preparation and training of women for political life.

Today, the number of women elected in parliament is higher in some less developed countries (South Africa, Mozambique, Venezuela) than in America, France or Japan, where the number of women at universities, management positions in private firms and traditionally male professions has increased rapidly.

The index of the development of society and the level of democratization of institutions are directly related to the number of women in parliamentary life, but examples of China and Cuba, where the number of women politicians are significant, point to the influence of other parameters, above all the value-normative framework of society and patterns of cultural life. Some research suggests that women in Protestant societies are more politically active than in Catholic, because the position of women in Catholic countries is different because of the hierarchical and authoritarian nature of that religion.⁷

An example of the long tradition of government interventions in the implementation of gender equality in the Scandinavian countries is known, which contributed to the formation of awareness of the public opinion on the necessity of equal status of men and women. Since women are the main beneficiaries of state social programs and are most often employed in the public sector and state administration, the quality of relations between the population of women and the welfare state has resulted in their better integration into the political system. All this points to the fact that the problem of gender equality is much more complex than can be assumed at first.

There are two types of marginalization of women. The first one is functional and it concerns the vertical and horizontal division of labor in politics, which results in a reduction of the number of women in representative places and in the decision-making process, ie women excluded by influential men. Women are more present in bodies dealing with social programs, culture, education and administration, and men in financial, transport, foreign policy and economic spheres. The second type of marginalization is hierarchical and follows the “law of increased

⁷ Inglehart Ronald, Norris Pippa, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*, Cambridge University Press, 2003 available at : https://www.hse.ru/data/2013/02/20/1306830406/Inglehart&Norris_Rising%20Tide.pdf, , accessed on 25.9.2018.

disproportion” or the supra-presence of educated men, a better social status, in the higher spheres of the political system. This phenomenon manifests itself as an “iron law in politics”, which points to a rule that when the power is growing, the number of women is declining.

There is no empirical evidence that the presence of women in parliament somewhat reduced its political effectiveness or led to a decline in the competence of the elected bodies. Therefore, political mobilization of women must take place at different structural levels and be directed towards greater power and participation. The presence of women in political life is a confirmation of the legitimacy of the political process and diversity as an axiom of a modern democratic society.

The main question in this part of this paper is why women are not in representative democracy and how to explain the barriers for greater engagement of women in the political arena?

In the literature, several hypotheses have been developed so far to explain the lack of a representation of women in politics. One of the most common ones is that women are less interested in politics than men and rarely identify with the interests of governing politics. It is related to conservative ideas about a woman, which directly defines voter behavior.

The current division of labor and the ruling social structure are obstacles that primarily prevent women from being active in political life. Party loyalty is a key requirement for the selection. Direct discrimination is manifested by men interacting and excluding women from the channel of political promotion. Indirect discrimination is reflected in the wrong perception or delusion that a woman is less capable than a man to perform leading political functions. These systemic obstacles, to a greater or lesser extent, create an aversion in women and a hardly bridge a distance towards political activism.

All the theories of political representation of women find their point in the classical division defined by Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, where the difference between formalistic, descriptive or symbolic and consistent representation is established. More recently, in the literature there is a debate about three concepts: gyroscopic, surrogate and anticipatory representations.⁸

⁸ Fenichel Pitkin, Hanna, „*The Concept of Representation*“University of California Press, Los Angeles, London, 1967.

The gyroscope is tied to a situation where a representative in the parliament thinks in accordance with his own understanding of his experience. It is a concept when a representative represents a voter's opinion from his constituency and shares their values and interests, independently of his own, and the third type focuses on an opinion that the representative assumes would be approved by his voters in the next election, rather than what they have promised on the previous one.

The first division is criticized because it is based on static interests, while the other one implies that representatives and those whose interests are always present in constant interactive communication. Representation is not a passive procedure for accepting attitudes from the bottom, but a dynamic, performative and constitutive process. Therefore, the central issue is not how to present women's interests, but how to constitute gender relations within representative democracy.

The three most commonly referred to are the arguments for the equal representation of women in politics. The first advocates the principle of justice and relates to the thesis that the absence of women from politics and public life raises the question of the democratic nature of a society. The other one is pragmatic in nature, because it implies that women can best represent their own interests. The third stops in the defense of diversity, because women's experience and quality are significantly different from men's.

The basic question from which different concepts are based is: how should women be represented in politics?

The political representation unites three dimensions: ideological (ideas and beliefs), functional (interests) and social (identity). An Interparliamentary Union survey (IPU) of the obstacles women face when entering politics has shown that:

In the first place, private, cultural, psychological and material reasons, such as domestic and family obligations, prejudices about the place of women in society, lack of family support, lack of confidence and financial resources. The second group is made up of political reasons, such as lack of political party support, lack of experience in public activities, lack of support from electoral bodies and other women politicians. The third group of reasons concerns corruption in politics, insufficient education, security conditions and security.⁹ Of course, it should be

⁹ Equality in Politics: A Survey on Women and Men in Parliaments, 2008. <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2016-07/equality-in-politics-survey-women-and-men-in-parliaments>, accessed 22.9.2018.

noted that there are women like Margaret Thatcher, Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto, who, in spite of that gender inequality, entered history for everything they achieved.

Also, we should omit the fact that now we have a new generation of educated and smart women, who are at the forefront of countries around the world. Unfortunately, not so much, because of the 190 countries in the world, we have female president and prime minister in only 19 countries.

The largest number of women leaders is in Europe, and today it has five prime ministers on the ground, including, in addition to German Chancellor Angela Merkel, British Prime Minister Theresa May, Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg and Romanian Prime Minister Viorica Dancila, is also our Serbian Prime Minister Ana Brnabic. The President of the Government has Iceland, Bangladesh, Peru, New Zealand and Namibia. Women's presidents exist in nine countries: in neighboring Croatia, Estonia, Lithuania, Malta, the Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Taiwan, Chile and Nepal.

I would give special attention here to the key European leader of the 21st, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Angela Merkel. By joining her fourth term, she became one of the world's most democratically elected leaders. Although she is part of the coalition government, which by definition makes the decision process more complicated, she not only persisted in her principles, but despite the public's opinion and the possibility to gain cheap political points, she has shown how a real statesman is thinking, and not a classic politician of the modern era. The daily campaign follows the password, set by Bill Clinton in the nineties, arguing that "every day is a fight for votes".

German Chancellor Angela Merkel has been nominated several times on the European and Global Lists as the "most powerful woman in the world." Given the complexity of the decision that Merkel faces daily, it's interesting to examine her personality and leadership style.

Angela Merkel was born on July 17, 1954. She grew up in Germany and spent the first thirty years of her life behind the Iron Curtain. She has been the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany since 2005 and has been the leader of the Christian Democratic Union since 2000. In addition to her political career in Germany, she was also the "unelected" leader of the European Union. The concepts of "Common Humanity" and "moral responsibility" marked her work in 2015. When

we look at the problem of migration more closely, the challenge was to understand how to slow down the flow of refugees, without sacrificing the humanitarian side.

Although some claim that she is not transformational rather than a transactional leader, the big question is whether transformative leaders are something that separates statesmen from ordinary politicians?¹⁰

Given the growing wave of populism, as well as the crisis that the European Union has undergone since the outbreak of the 2008 economic and financial crisis, her very rational approach to things has preserved not only the FR Germany but also the European Union from the dangers they were exposed to.

The next part of the paper will examine Angela Merkel, as the leader and characteristics of her leadership, especially in the light of the results she achieved so far, but also what she didn't manage to do.

According to Jurriaan Middelhoff, Petronella Schijvenaars and Christ De Landtsheer from the University of Antwerp, what guides Angela Merkel's motivation is "to the greatest extent pragmatism. After everything she does, she approaches political problems in a pragmatic way, visibly carefully and methodically. She does not take risks and tries out solutions before she can contribute." ¹¹

In addition to pragmatism, they also distinguish both the power and the desire for control, as an important factor in her leadership, because, according to one of her early official photographers, "even when she was clumsy and shy, you could feel her energy, you could feel her power, from the beginning."¹² Although a person who knows how to adjust greatly, she knows clearly what she wants, even if it does not meet the consent of everyone with whom she cooperates.

¹⁰ Transactional leaders are simply spoken by those who "do the job" without causing too much reaction to the follower, and certainly not those who "move the borders", and transformational ones that give strong feelings to the followers play a card of charisma and with very strong moral principles. See more about it in James McGregor Burns, *Leadership, Open Road*, New York, 2012.

¹¹ Jurriaan Middelhoff, Petronella Schijvenaars, Christ'l De Landtsheer "The psychological profile and leadership style of Angela Merkel, the world's most powerful woman", accessed on 01.08.2018.

¹² Jurriaan Middelhoff, Petronella Schijvenaars, Christ'l De Landtsheer "The psychological profile and leadership style of Angela Merkel, the world's most powerful woman", page 16., accessed on 01.08.2018.

Her “naturalistic background”, which was very clearly seen in resolving the Euro crisis, contributed to the whole thing being guided “methodically step by step”.¹³ She knows very well that the goal is important, but also the process leading to the goal, and that with “her work ethic, she wants to demonstrate that the government functions as a well-oiled machine. As they further point out, as a transactional leader, she lacks “imagination and is often a bit rigid, which makes her political choices monotonous.”

I MIGRANT CRISIS

The migrant crisis has brought great concern to both the German population and the entire European society, primarily because of the burden on social services, and then in comprehensive security. At the same time, the possibility of a loss of Christian identity due to massive arrivals of migrants of the Muslim religion is also loudly spoken about. This religious element is a key thing in politics, and Germany as the largest country of Europe is the “key to survival” of the same. All these arguments served the opposition parties to firmly take part in the pre-election campaign for the parliamentary elections in Germany in 2017 and receive great support from the citizens.

The result was a voter’s favor in Germany, where right-wing populists entered the Bundestag for the first time after the Nazi Germany, as the third force in the Bundestag, and they were the second-placed party even in the eastern provinces, and ranked first in Saxony. Thus, Angela Merkel’s German voters issued her a bill after a refugee crisis for the past two years. With the policy of “open borders”, Chancellor Merkel left enough space for the right party, which resulted in Germany’s policy orientation to the right, as the big coalition went into history.

Populist parties with the arguments they made and pledged contributed to their voting body giving them a priority. The Alternative for Germany (AFD), precisely the right-wing party, continues to make people feel that the borders are crowded with refugees. This is because the traumatic shock has proved effective.

The question arises as to whether the “arguments” of the right bloc are justified?

¹³ Jurriaan Middelhoff, Petronella Schijvenaars, Christ'l De Landtsheer "The psychological profile and leadership style of Angela Merkel, the world's most powerful woman", page 16., accessed on 01.08.2018.

If they gave results in the elections, figures show it is unjustifiable to believe that 1.3 million migrants with 2.4 million German residents of Turkish origin could upset the Christian identity, which has more than 80 million inhabitants of Germany. Statistics released by Interior Minister Horst Seehofer say Germany is one of the safest countries in the world. Over the past 25 years, it has recorded the highest drop in crime, but this was not enough for the right-wing voters, because bad news were the ones they were running in the last elections.

From 2015, the number of refugees coming to Greece and Italy has fallen sharply by about 75%. The policy towards migrants has become much more restrictive, and the reason lies in the fact that the assessment and the statement by Chancellor Angela Merkel from the beginning of the migration crisis was that the influx of asylum seekers is actually an opportunity for Germany to receive highly qualified labor, which has proved to be a bad estimate and that they really are people with lower professional qualifications.

On the other hand, without the German “yes” and her steam in the migration crisis, Europe would be rather “shaken” and would have great negative consequences for its society, and a lot of control over migrants would be lost. By actively participating in this crisis, Germany preserved Europe, and hence itself, and thus maintained its place in world politics. Compared with Konrad Hermann Joseph Adenauer, who joined the West Germany, and Helmut Josef Michael Kohl, whose time is united Germany, Angela Merkel lacks a historical synthesis that she remembers, and this is not a “green light” for the settlement of Europe, nor sanctions against Russia.

Empowered right-wing populists and the unresolved issue of migrants could lead not only to the crisis of the government in Germany, but could jeopardize the unity of the European Union. They are gaining more and more supporters in Germany, France, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands, all because of the common enemy - Islam. The main reasons for the strengthening of these parties and the growing number of their supporters are in fact terrorist threats, a migrant and economic crisis, and a comprehensive uncertainty in the future. The data shows that more and more members of the European Union, more precisely from 15% to 20% of citizens, came to the extreme right.

Whether Germany will succeed in integrating migrants into its population is the question on for which time will show the answer. For now, only one in eight

migrants is integrated into society in Germany. Success in this direction is important for Angela Merkel's survival in power.

II THE ROLE OF ANGELA MERKEL IN THE MANAGEMENT OF MIGRANT CRISIS IN 2015

During 2015, a series of crises that Europe has faced over the past few years, have been followed by a migrant crisis. Once again, the strategic views of German Chancellor Angela Merkel have been intensively discussed. The migrant and refugee crisis that the world, and especially the countries of the European Union faced, in mid-2010, experienced the greatest wave in 2015. Migrants, who have left their country due to a poor economic situation, joined the refugees who fled the war, primarily from Syria. In addition to refugees from Syria, EU countries have also arrived migrants from Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Eritrea, as well as from countries from the Balkans. First of all, from Albania, but also from Kosovo and Metohija. Italy and Greece are the first EU countries to enter the Mediterranean through the migrants. Balkan countries received refugees from Greece, passing through Macedonia and Serbia, further through Hungary or Croatia. The aim of the migrants is the countries of Western Europe, but above all Germany.

After the Second World War, Germany pledged to protect the Jews, as well as all people fleeing the war. It is Merkel's policy towards migrants that is based on this obligation. The popularity she enjoyed until the moment of the outbreak of the crisis was great. At a meeting held by her party in 2010, she stated that everyone who comes to Germany must integrate, and first of all learn German, because without it, they better not come. The statement that "the so-called multicultural concept according to which people happily live next to each other"¹⁴ is gaining even greater trust and popularity among the Germans.

Initial policy towards migrants changes over time. Hungary, a member of the EU, closed borders with Serbia and Croatia for migrants. She lifted the fence along the entire border with Serbia. The problem also arose because all EU member states have a different political view of the problem and how to solve it. Britain fenced off the same reciprocity of refugee care and offered the care of 20,000 Syrians.

¹⁴ <https://www.dw.com/sr/merkel-propao-multikulturalni-koncept-apps/a-6119843>, accessed on 20.9.2018.

Poland, Czech Republic, Austria, Croatia and the aforementioned Hungary are against the receipt and care of refugees.

After stopping trains in Hungary, Angela Merkel opened the boundaries for migrants in September 2015, and pronounced the famous sentence “We Can Do It”¹⁵ a little before that.

With the opening of the borders, inviting migrants to freely arrive in Germany, she changed the course of her previous policy. She neglects the “Dublin Agreement”, which provides for migrants to be returned to the original country of entry until the issue of their asylum is resolved.

The migrant crisis brought the Chancellor, in addition to the dissatisfaction of her people, and a drastic decline in her popularity among them. The situation that hit the country, which is, among other things, the influx of over one million migrants in 2015, led to the ravages of the right-wing parties, as well as the fear of awakening fascism.

The Alternative for Germany (AfD) is one of the parties whose migration crisis has brought popularity and voices. Their policies are based on the anti-Islamic and anti-immigration platform. They want “pure” Germany, that is, to actually return Germans to Germany. The worrying fact is that this party entered the Parliament in 2017. For the first time since the Second World War, an ultramodern party managed to win enough votes and find it in Parliament. People are looking for a culprit in Angela Merkel, who she thinks that her policy has led to a stir and create an atmosphere for the rise and populism of such parties.

The problem that is also encountered is the disagreement in her party, as well as the sister party - the Christian Social Union (CSU), headed by Horst Seehofer. Xenophobia and Islamophobia are key to manipulating these parties. The head of the CSU party and Interior Minister Horst Seehofer, one of Angela Merkel’s greatest anti-critics and critics in the migrant crisis, shook the public when he said in an interview that “Islam does not belong to Germany,”¹⁶ and clearly gave the knowledge of his attitude towards the influx of migrants. This statement gave Seehofer additional voices and political points.

¹⁵ <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/svet/noc-kada-je-angela-izgubila-kontrolu-kako-je-jeden-recenica-promenila-politicku/08lgs53>, accessed on 23.9.2018.

¹⁶ <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/horst-seehofer-der-islam-gehört-nicht-zu-deutschland-geschichte-eines-satzes-a-1198520.html>, accessed on 23.9.2018.

Angela Merkel opposed this statement, commenting that in Germany live more than four million Muslims, that in addition to the tradition associated with Germany, which is a Christian-Jewish, it has become a Muslim tradition. The numerous attacks facing her pose the most important question, first of all is: *why does Angela Merkel, despite the decline in popularity, disagreement in her party and the eruption of ultra-party parties, does not change the policy towards migrants?*

In addition to the pressures the EU member states have on it, she has continued to pursue “open door” policies, trying to help other countries give more help to migrants, with the aim of maintaining the stability of the EU. The labor force that is a country like Germany, with a constant growth of the economy, is very necessary, migrants are someone who needs it.

The first wave of refugees from Syria who came to the Federal Republic of Germany were largely educated and expert people who came to the country with a certain capital. A more educated stock, besides the need for a job, is more easily assimilated into society. For years, Germany has seen birth defects. The Islamic countries from which migrants come are countries with an increase in birth rates, which corresponds to the chancellor and her politics.

Germany as an economic giant in the world, records large exports annually, spread across all continents. Islamic countries have recorded a high population rate and as such are excellent markets, and as proven “friends” of Muslims, they open their doors to that market.

A large number of migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany lead to the fact that they can control them and keep control in their hands. They are accommodated in reception centers and are obliged to learn German. They will try to assimilate them into society and direct them in the direction they need. Migrants who arrived in Germany are all listed and she has a clear control over them. Religious freedoms are important and it stands for them, contrary to the Germans’ fear that the Islamists will become the majority in their state.

When member states began to close their borders, it was clear that such a situation would lead to anger, impotence, and an endless situation for migrants. Lack of jobs and money would lead to looting, kidnapping, robbery, where it was the case in several countries. With the opening of the borders, Angela gave them the opportunity to work and work, and thereby bought social peace and stability in the region.

The concern of the Germans does not take place in 2018. The solution to the migrant crisis is still being sought. Interior Minister Horst Seehofer gave Merkel a request to change politics and stop the arrival of migrants to Germany, because otherwise he would leave the government, which would make it fall.

At the beginning of July 2018 in Berlin, an agreement was reached to set up shelters for migrants near the border, from where they would be transported to the EU countries to which they first entered.

Angela Merkel has also signed cooperation with 14 countries for accepting migrants who arrived in Germany. Among the countries signatories are not Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland, because they do not want to be part of this cooperation. As closer to the Bavarian elections, the move by Minister Seehofer should not be surprising, especially since anti-immigration policy is always a good ‘recipe’ in achieving votes. It became clear that not solving the migrant crisis only led to the strengthening and “flutter” of the right-wing parties, but to the European values themselves, their strengthening must be stopped.

For the first time since the outbreak of the crisis, Angela Merkel was in the position of having to change the policy of “open doors”. She remained consistent with her principles despite criticism, pressure and direct consequences for the post of Chancellor. In order to maintain peace and stability, she is nevertheless forced to change her attitudes. Refugees in the camps, which will be stationed in Greece and North Africa, will wait for an answer from the EU, whether they will receive asylum, thereby preventing the entry and influx of migrants into the Federal Republic of Germany.

After so many years in politics, the question arises: *will Angela Merkel be able to sail in this crisis?!*

III CONCLUSION

Although the migrant crisis in the European Union has reached its peak in 2015, its consequences are felt even today. It turned out that German Chancellor Angela Merkel played a key role in resolving the crisis. Her betting as well as practical moves have shown how a statesman behaves in opposition to a politician, or how principles follow against the views of public opinion and the price of elections. However, the last elections in the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as public opinion polls, show that this price has come to be paid and it remains to be seen how Merkel will deal with the biggest political crisis so far.

However, whatever her political story ends, what she has done as a politician and as a woman during these four mandates in the position of Chancellor of the most powerful country of the European Union, remains an important reminder that it is possible to conduct a principle-oriented policy in the world, in which permanent election campaigns become the way politics works, and in a world where the position of women in political life, and in general in a society, is very difficult and insufficiently appreciated.

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ŽENE U POLITICI: ULOGA ANĐELE MERKEL U UPRAVLJANJU MIGRANTSKE KRIZE U 2015. GODINI

Apstrakt

Migrantska kriza izazvala je podele između država članica Evropske unije više nego ikad. Broj smrtnih slučajeva migranata na evropskim granicama pokazao je svetu da Evropska unija nije uspela pronaći zajedničko rešenje za krizu. Nemačka kancelarka Angela Merkel, s jedne strane, igra centralnu ulogu u naporima Evropske unije da formuliše zajednički odgovor. S druge strane, uglavnom istočnoevropske grupe, koje predvodi mađarski premijer Viktor Orban, aktivno se protive svakom aspektu tog plana. Ovaj tekst govori o odgovoru Evropske unije i Savezne Republike Nemačke na migrantsku krizu i glavnu ulogu koju Angela Merkel ima u njoj. Nemački kancelar je uvek bio vodeća figura u EU, međutim, njen stav je postao još jači u kontekstu pitanja izbeglica. Naravno, ova pozicija je imala i političku ulogu na izborima. Takođe, postoji kratak pregled položaja žena u društvu kroz istoriju i njihov aktivizam u političkom životu, koji se danas nije mnogo promenio.

Ključne reči: liderstvo, Angela Merkel, politika EU, Nemačka, Evropa, migrantska kriza, izbeglice, uloga i položaj žena.