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International Cultural Programme Work
The Case of the Goethe-Institut in Turkey 2005-2015

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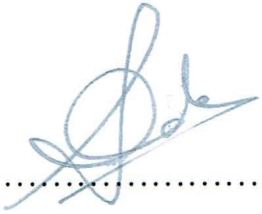
International Cultural Programme Work
The Case of the Goethe-Institut in Turkey 2005-2015

Uluslararası Kültürel Program Çalışmaları
Türkiye'deki Goethe-Institut'un örneği 2005-2015

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ABSTRACT

Foreign cultural policy is an important part of a country's foreign policy. In Germany it ranks equally with foreign trade and security policies. In the name of the Federal Foreign Office, various agency organizations convey the German language and culture abroad. The Goethe-Institut is the main agency organization representing Germany world wide. With its so-called cultural programme work, it provides insights in the German cultural life and creates platforms for intercultural exchange and dialogue. In Turkey, the organization is represented with three institutes in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Turkey being an important partner, it is of utmost importance for Germany to maintain a friendly relationship with it.

The aim of the dissertation is to analyze the cultural programme work implemented by the Goethe-Institutes in Turkey during the period from 2005 to 2015 in order to understand the importance of its presence there and its position within the Goethe-Institut's general strategy. The first chapter of the thesis covers the aim and scope of the research. The following three chapters establish the basis of the dissertation by giving an overview of the history and principles of German foreign cultural policy, the system of agency organizations, in particular the Goethe-Institut, and the history of German-Turkish cultural relations. In the fifth chapter, the three Goethe-Institutes in Turkey and their position within the Goethe-Institut's system are scrutinized. In the sixth chapter finally the three Goethe-Institutes' cultural programme work is analyzed regarding its trends, cooperative efforts and best practice events. A summary of the findings concludes the thesis, confirming the importance of the Goethe-Institut's presence and cultural activity in Turkey and pointing out the location's peculiar position within the general strategy of the agency organization.

Key words: Cultural programme work, German foreign cultural policy, Goethe-Institut, Turkey

ÖZET

Dış kültür politikası bir ülkenin dış politikasının önemli bir parçasını oluşturmaktadır. Almanya’da dış kültür politikası, dış ticaret ve dış güvenlik politikasının yanında eşit şekilde yer almakta, çeşitli temsilci kurumlar dışişleri bakanlığı adına Alman dili ve kültürünü yurt dışında insanlara ulaştırmaktadır. Goethe-Institut, Almanya’yı dünya çapında temsil eden ana temsilci kurumdur. Goethe-Institut, kültürel program çalışmaları olarak isimlendirilen çalışmalarla Alman kültür hayatı hakkında fikir vermekte, kültürlerarası değişim ve diyalog için bir platform oluşturmaktadır. Kurum Türkiye’de Ankara, İstanbul ve İzmir’de üç enstitü ile temsil edilmektedir. Türkiye’nin Almanya için önemli bir ortak olması nedeniyle Almanya’nın Türkiye ile arkadaşça ilişkiler sürdürmesi son derece önemlidir.

Bu çalışmada Goethe-Institut’un 2005 ve 2015 yılları arasında Türkiye’de gerçekleştirdiği kültürel program çalışmaları analiz edilmekte ve böylece kurumun Türkiye’deki mevcudiyetinin önemi ve bu temsilcilerin Goethe-Institut’un genel stratejisi içerisindeki yerinin anlaşılması amaçlanmaktadır. Tezin ilk bölümü bu çalışmanın amacını ve kapsamını içermektedir. Takip eden üç bölüm, Alman dış kültür politikasının tarihini ve ilkelerini, Goethe-Institut başta olmak üzere temsilci kurumlar sistemini ve Alman-Türk kültürel ilişkiler tarihini özetleyerek araştırmanın temelini oluşturmaktadır. Beşinci bölümde ise Türkiye’deki üç Goethe-Institut ve bu temsilcilerin Goethe-Institut’un genel stratejisi içerisindeki yeri incelenmektedir. Son olarak tezin altıncı bölümünde üç Goethe-Institut’un kültürel program çalışmaları, gelişimlerine, işbirliği çabalarına ve en iyi uygulama örneklerine dayandırılarak analiz edilmektedir. Bulguların özeti Goethe-Institut’un Türkiye’deki mevcudiyetinin ve kültürel faaliyetinin önemini vurgulamakta ve Türkiye’nin Goethe-Institut’un genel stratejisi içerisindeki özel yerini belirterek tezi sonuçlandırmaktadır.

*Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültürel Program Çalışmaları, Alman Dış Kültür Politikası, Goethe-Institut,
Türkiye*

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List of Abbreviations

AvH	Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung (Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation)
BKD	Bildungskooperation Deutsch (the Goethe-Institut's teaching advice service department for German as foreign language)
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)
ERI	Ernst-Reuter-Initiative
EU	European Union
GI	Goethe-Institut
ifa	Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (Institute for Foreign Relations)
IJAB	Fachstelle für Internationale Jugendarbeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland e.V. (Specialist Department for International Youth Work of the German Federal Government)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
TDKB	Türkisch-Deutscher Kulturbeirat (Turkish-German Cultural Board)
TÜİK	Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VM	Vivian Makowka
ZfA	Zentrale für Auslandsschulwesen (Central Office for the School System Abroad)

1. Introduction

In its most general sense, the purpose of this work can be summarized as an analysis of how the Goethe Institut Turkey's cultural programme work, and hence Turkey itself, can be positioned in the general strategy the Goethe-Institut¹ (GI) pursues with its international cultural programme work and dialogue.

In times of ongoing crises of worldwide impact in the Middle East and North Africa, international cultural dialogue has a crucial role in terms of crisis prevention, as the German Federal Government underlined 2004 in its action plan *Zivile Krisenprävention, Konfliktlösung und Friedenskonsolidierung* (Civil crisis prevention, conflict resolution and peace consolidation):

“Crisis prevention has a cultural dimension. Intercultural understanding and the respect for other cultures – intra- and interstate – are key requirements for crisis prevention. Part of this is dialogue and exchange, but also a culturally sensitive transmission of the values and instruments of crisis prevention as well as the support of education systems which foster non-violent handling of conflicts and allow different perspectives in particular on contemporary historical teaching contents.” (Bundesregierung 2004: 48)²

With its so-called cultural programme work³, the Federal Foreign Office aims to internationally stimulate such intercultural exchanges and encounters, as well as to foster and strengthen mutual understanding and communication (cf. Auswärtiges Amt 2013). Cultural programme work seeks to do so by introducing Germany internationally through its culture; it “gives the rest of the world an idea of the high quality and great diversity of artistic activity in Germany and projects an image of this country as a highly innovative and creative civilized nation.” (ibid.)

¹ Henceforth referred to as GI.

² All citations originally in German have been translated by the author of the thesis.

³ Compare: The Federal Foreign Office on cultural programmes abroad: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/KulturDialog/10_Kulturprogramme/Kulturprogramme_node.html, Retrieved: 27.05.2016

The main features of cultural programme work, planned and implemented in the name of the Federal Foreign Office by agency organizations are:

- The promotion of exhibitions,
- Exchange and contacts between artists,
- Information and advisory services,
- Support for guest performances,
- Promotion of literature,
- Promotion of film (cf. *ibid.*)

The historic and theoretical background of German foreign cultural policy, as well as the discussion of particular locations or elements of cultural programme work and the GI has been the subject of much research and writing. The cultural programme work of the GI in Turkey however, has not been addressed so far and will be scrutinized in detail in this thesis. The aim of this work is hence to analyze the cultural programme work implemented by the three GIs in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir (Turkey) during the period of eleven years from 2005 to 2015 in order to understand its objectives, processes, dependencies and outcomes.

For this purpose, the three Turkish institutes' work are investigated against the background of the underlying cultural and historical relations between Turkey and Germany, their organizational and legal structures, the impact of local terms and conditions, the decision-making processes in each of the three institutes, their partners, and finally, their works' consensus with the principles for foreign cultural policy.

Turkey, with its three institutes, was chosen as an exemplary location of research for different reasons. With more than 2.8 million residents of Turkish descent living in Germany, there are undoubtedly strong social and political ties shaping the relation between Turkey and Germany.

This relationship with its challenges and benefits, and also the cultural and artistic outcomes emanating from it, have been researched multiple times; its impact on German foreign cultural policy and its cultural programme work in Turkey however, has not been reviewed academically yet.

Secondly, Turkey is an important protagonist on the international stage of current conflicts, both as a partner and bridge in the conflicts in the Middle East. In terms of its refugee policy, the European Union depends fully on Turkey's favor and cooperation, as an agreement was reached that Turkey, in exchange for certain rewards⁴, would take back all refugees crossing to Greece in an attempt to reach Europe.

Regarding its own internal conflicts in the South-East of the country, such as the violent clashes between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)⁵ and military forces as well as curfews and violence against whole towns in the same area however, the developments in Turkey are also worrisome. Together with its gradually radicalizing government over the last years, Turkey, as direct neighbor to the Syrian conflict, has turned to a possible source for further expansive international crises as well. In the face of these international political ties and the observation of the current developments inside the country, cultural programme work there becomes more important than ever for conflict prevention and resolution.

Lastly, Turkey offers a rich culture, which makes cultural exchange and mutual acquaintance with each other a desirable experience for artists, institutions and individuals of both countries.

⁴ Such as accelerating the implementation of visa liberalization for Turkish nationals, opening a new chapter in Turkey's EU accession negotiations, and financial support for Turkey's refugee population (a total of 6 billion €). Also, for each refugee returned to Turkey, the EU has agreed to accept a Syrian refugee from the Turkish refugee camps through legal channels.

⁵ The Kurdistan Workers' Party is forbidden in Turkey and many other states, which have classified it as terrorist organization. Since 1984 it has fought an armed struggle with the Turkish military forces, declaring that it fights for the rights and independence of Kurds and a Kurdish state in the South-East of Turkey.

The conceptual research framework of the thesis was determined by a comprehensive literature review of primary and secondary sources on German foreign cultural policy, the GI, and the history of Turkish-German relations from the last years of the Ottoman Empire to the present. Following this, in the online archives of the GIs in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, archive research was conducted on the cultural events which were realized throughout the research period. Complementarily, field research was conducted with representatives of the GI, through which further detailed information on the three institutes in Turkey, their working structures and their cultural programmes was obtained. In-depth interviews were held with both the former and the current director of the GI in İstanbul, Claudia Hahn-Raabe and Christian Lüffe, the director of the Institute in İzmir, Dr. Rudolf Bartsch, the two local programme coordinators in the GI Ankara, Emel Öztürk and Sibel Ekmekcioğlu, and the director of the Institute in Athens, Dr. Matthias Makowski, who is monitoring the institutes in the region of South-Eastern Europe, to which Turkey belongs. The interviews in Turkey were conducted in person in the respective institutes, whereas the interviews with Claudia Hahn-Raabe and Dr. Matthias Makowski were held as Skype and telephone interviews.

The former director of the GI Ankara, Dr. Thomas Lier, with whom it was also intended to do an interview, had left his office in September 2015 and did not agree to a telephone interview. As his successor Raimund Wördemann only assumed office in the beginning of 2016 and then was also not available for an interview, the in-depth interview was conducted with the two longtime local employees of the cultural programme department in Ankara, Emel Öztürk and Sibel Ekmekcioğlu.

Since the GI treats this data as confidential, no detailed information on the exact annual budget of the three institutes and its allocation to their departments or the different projects could be

acquired. The same applies for the GI's target agreements with the Federal Foreign Office and within the GIs of a region, which were also not made available by the GI's headquarters. The figures and data on these topics used in the analysis are either approximate estimations obtained from the institute directors during the in-depth interviews, or global numbers on the total yearly budget of the GI, provided in the yearbooks⁶ of the association.

The GI's work can be divided into three main areas: language, library/information and cultural programme work. The language department of each institute combines the institute's own language courses and the BKD (Bildungskooperation Deutsch = educational cooperation German), which facilitates education, support, cooperation and advice to schools offering German education. The library and information department aims to provide and spread information on Germany in the form of books, online sources and events. This thesis however, is concerned particularly with the GI's cultural programme work. Hence any kind of library or language work, as well as the local German schools and other educational establishments not related to the institutes' cultural work, have not been considered in the present research.

The thesis, composed of seven parts, follows a structure leading from the general to the specific. Starting with this introductory chapter, the starting point, abstract concept, research methods and the course of action of the thesis are described. In the second part, the historical development of foreign cultural policy in Germany and its bodies and general structure are reviewed, and a conceptual knowledge base for the following parts is established. In the third chapter, the GI as the main agency organization of the Federal Foreign Office's foreign cultural policy is approached. The GI's mission and working structure are analyzed by introducing the different bodies and boards as well as its decentralized management and budgeting system. Lastly,

⁶ With exception of the yearbooks 2006/2007 and 2009/2010, which were not available online or in the catalogue of the GI Istanbul.

the mechanisms and influencing factors for decision-making processes in the cultural programme departments on the individual local institute level are investigated. This part is fundamental to understanding the analysis of the working structures in the three GIs in Turkey later.

To fully comprehend the preconditions determining the work of the GI in Turkey, one also has to consider the given factors shaping the cultural relations of Turkey and Germany. Hence, the fourth chapter of the thesis gives a short overview of the milestones of the historical cultural relations between the two countries. Beginning in the last years of the Ottoman Empire until the present day, mainly based upon mutual migration, the formation of today's relationship between Turkey and Germany is illustrated.

While the analysis in the former chapters highlights the GI and German-Turkish history in general, the fifth part combines both and approaches the GI in Turkey, creating the basis for the analysis of the cultural programmes of the three institutes later. Initially, the GIs' general legal working conditions in Turkey and some background information on their history are given. The determinants for Turkey's position and validation within the system of the GI are then scrutinized. The positioning of the three institutes within the GI's South-Eastern European region and the other institutes comprised within it are then investigated.

Reviewing the characteristics of Turkey and the different factors increasing the importance of the GI's presence there, an attempt is made to position the location of Turkey within the general strategy of the GI. Finally, further aspects characterizing the work of the three institutes in Turkey are introduced, such as the impact daily local events and politics have on the institutes' programme work, the artist residence Tarabya KA in İstanbul, and the funding mechanisms they can benefit from.

The sixth part comprises of the analysis of the three institutes' cultural programme work. In five subchapters, the cultural programme work of the GI Turkey is examined. Firstly, the cultural programme work in Turkey is analyzed as a whole and the three GIs' work is contrasted with the population size and the general local cultural offers according to the Turkish Statistic Institute (TÜİK). The three individual institutes' cultural programme departments and the trends in their work are then scrutinized. In a further analysis of their events, the event and cooperation types and the partners of the three institutes are investigated. Lastly, the institute directors' personal selection of best-practice examples from their work – which were gathered during the in-depth interviews – are reassessed according to their implementation of the GI's mission and the principles of cultural programme work.

The seventh and final chapter of the thesis concludes, confronts and evaluates the findings obtained during the former chapters. The essence of the research is summed up, some follow-up questions are offered for further research and finally, an attempt to answer the initial research question is made.

For further research the chapters two, three and four are complemented by an extended bibliography, which can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

2. German Foreign Cultural Policy from 1945 until today⁷

In Germany today, cultural policy is governed strictly according to the so-called subsidiarity principle. This principle dictates matters to be handled on the most decentralized level possible - preferably locally. Generally, the federal states' (the Länder) governments are responsible for their respective cultural policy and only cultural tasks of national importance are run by the Minister of State for Culture and Media.

For foreign cultural policy, a similar system is in use as Ruderkamp explains: "the responsibility has been in the hands of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that in turn delegated the responsibilities by and large to independent institutions. It is characteristic for the German policy that it consequently pursues an arm's length approach." (Ruderkamp 2012: 123) As the subsidiarity principle directs, this arm's length approach also facilitates decentralization as the government must delegate the execution of cultural policies to independent, non-governmental contracting organizations, as will be addressed later in more detail.

2.1 The main characteristics of German foreign cultural policy from 1933 until today

In the history of German foreign cultural policy, the two world wars and the reconciliation period afterwards, as well as the German reunification played important roles in the formation of today's conception of foreign cultural policy. Before going into the details of the German foreign cultural policy's history, the development it underwent over time can be summarized as follows⁸:

- 1) During the Nazi regime, it was characterized by being centralized and instrumentalized culture for propaganda purposes.

⁷ For further research an extended bibliography can be found in Appendix 1.1, p. 144

⁸ A timeline on the key events in the history of German foreign cultural policy can be found in Appendix 2, p 153

- 2) After the collapse of the Nazi regime in 1945, all political structures were reorganized using the arm's length principle to distance themselves from the earlier totalitarian system. Foreign affairs mainly focused on the aim of restoring Germany's positive image as a cultural state in the world, and so during the 1950's and 1960's foreign cultural policy was distinguished by one-sided transmission of mainly classical German culture.
- 3) In the 1970's, under the government of the Social Democrat Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Willy Brandt, a significant change in foreign cultural policy took place: Culture was announced as "third pillar" of foreign policy, side by side with foreign trade policy and foreign security policy. With dialogue and exchange becoming keywords in the political strategic papers of the time, foreign cultural policy was to be conducted as a "two-way road".
- 4) The late 20th century and the following decades brought about changes of international importance, such as the reunification of the two German states in 1990 and the fall of the Iron Curtain, the development of the European Union, the advancement of the digital revolution, and today's international crises. In the face of these events and the consequences of globalization, international communication and foreign affairs became more significant and hence from 2000 onwards, foreign cultural policy won further importance. Foreign cultural policy has reached a central position in German foreign affairs and is now characterized by keywords like conflict prevention, peace keeping, human rights, partnership, cooperation and dialogue.

2.2 German Foreign Cultural Policy until 1945

Following the First World War, the Department of Cultural Affairs was established in 1920 within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Only five years after that, the first two agent organizations, the predecessors of GI and the *Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*⁹ (ifa), were founded. The *Deutsche Akademie* (German Academy) was responsible “for providing German teachers to spread German language and culture abroad”, and the *Deutsche Auslandsinstitut* (German Foreign Institute), “worked for enhancing the reputation of Germany after the First World War, especially focusing on German speaking minorities in Eastern Europe.” (Ruderkamp 2012: 122).

During the Nazi-era from 1933 to 1945, foreign cultural policy was, like every other political branch, governed in a centralist manner. The degenerate art and culture concept of the Nazi regime as well as the propaganda purpose of the arts led to severe state intervention. The Department of Cultural Affairs of the Federal Foreign Office was assigned to the Ministry of Propaganda and hence foreign cultural policy was instrumentalized and transformed into propaganda (cf. Denscheilmann 2012: 49). The *Deutsche Auslandsinstitut*, for instance during that time, “denounced political opponents, was in close contact with Gestapo and actively developed race politics” (Ruderkamp 2012: 122). The *Deutsche Akademie* continued spreading the German language and culture for propaganda purposes abroad (cf. *ibid.*). In general, however, as stated by Saehrend, arts and culture as a means of representation abroad became less important during that period:

“Arts exhibitions were used relatively seldom for self-projection abroad. [...] Considering foreign cultural policy during the ‘Third Reich’, the assumption seems likely that exhibitions abroad became less important for the NS [National Socialist –

⁹ The Institute for Foreign Relations, henceforth referred to as “ifa”.

VM]-regime, as it established itself internationally and as their preparations for war advanced” (cf. Denscheilmann 2012: 49).

2.3 German Foreign Cultural Policy from 1945 until 2000

As a consequence of the abusive instrumentalization and propaganda which arts and culture were subject to during the Third Reich, after the Second World War the freedom of arts was included in the constitutional law of the Federal Republic of Germany: “Arts and sciences, research and teaching shall be free. The freedom of teaching shall not release any person from allegiance to the constitution.” (Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949: Art. 5.3) The centralist system was also abandoned and replaced by the subsidiary system in all political fields.

Both the *Deutsche Akademie* and the *Deutsche Auslandsinstitut* were reorganized under their new names GI and ifa in the early fifties.

During the 1950’s and 1960’s, the main focus of the foreign cultural policy was to regain Germany’s status as a cultural state¹⁰ in the world. “The central concerns of the foreign cultural policy in this period were the rehabilitation of Germany in the world and the presentation of a positive image of Germany towards the allies” (Denscheilmann 2012: 50), summarizes Denscheilmann. However, she continues, “the concentration on a positive self-portrayal lead to a one-sided export of culture. [...] ‘No interest in the culture and the cultural problems of the partner country were shown and the elements of German culture were transmitted unidirectionally.’ (Kathe 2005: 37).” (ibid.) As the main focus was to recover from the traumas and traces the Nazi-regime left on Germany and its international image, getting to know other cultures and facilitating

¹⁰ A cultural state protects and supports culture, education and science; its opposite would be ‘state culture’ as practised during the NS regime, when culture, education and science were controlled by the state and used for the regime’s purposes, i.e. propaganda.

dialogue had yet to become a priority in Germany's foreign cultural policy in the twenty years following World War II.

Starting in the 1970's, the principles and aims followed by the foreign cultural policy agent organizations built the "foundation of the integration of foreign cultural policy in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany" (Denscheilmann 2012: 52). These were developed and defined in a handful of strategic papers by the Federal Foreign Office. As Denscheilmann puts it,

"these [strategic papers - VM] point out the development of the foreign cultural policy, its allocation of tasks and aims. Furthermore, they are an indicator of the significance of cultural programme work. [...] Overall the historical developments of foreign cultural policy lead to a raise in competencies and allocations of tasks in the cultural programming work, which is on the one hand discussed and fixed on the political level and on the other hand conducted by the independent agency organizations." (ibid.)

With the development of the strategic papers by the Federal Foreign Office, the importance of foreign cultural policy was highlighted and the agency organizations were assigned with more tasks and clearer guidelines to follow.

In 1970, the *Leitsätze für die auswärtige Kulturpolitik* (Principles for the Foreign Cultural Policy) by Ralf Dahrendorf¹¹ described foreign cultural policy as "international cooperation in the cultural field" (Auswärtiges Amt 1970: 5) and as "a carrying pillar of our foreign policy" (ibid.: 6). Denscheilmann quotes: "Culture is also supposed to reach more population groups abroad as 'an offer for everyone' (Auswärtiges Amt 1970); [...] it is about 'understanding and collaboration' (ibid.) Ranking among this new approach is also the principle of exchange: 'What we take is only worth as much as our willingness to give.' (Auswärtiges Amt 1970)" (Denscheilmann 2012: 53)

¹¹ Ralf Dahrendorf (1929-2009) was a German sociologist, political scientist and economist. He was member of the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP) in Germany and was elected to parliament in 1969, during the first term of the SPD (Social Democratic Party)-FDP government under social democrat Willy Brandt as Chancellor. From 1969 to 1970 he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1970 he was made a Commissioner of the European Commission in Brussels.

From 1973 onwards the Committee of Inquiry for Foreign Cultural Policy of the German Bundestag discussed the field and “the structures, instruments and aims of foreign cultural policy” (Denscheilmann 2012: 53). In its final paper of 1975 the committee mainly focused on the evolution of a “world-civilization” (Deutscher Bundestag 1975: para. 20) and suggests: “The German foreign cultural policy therefore has to be guided by the principles of partnership. It must not be a one-sided self-portrayal, but serve the exchange and interaction of cultures” (Deutscher Bundestag 1975: para. 15). For this the committee suggests “[gearing] cultural work to the demand in the guest country and to the communication of ‘sociopolitical topics’ (Deutscher Bundestag 1975)” (Denscheilmann 2012: 54). Both the Principles for the Foreign Cultural Policy in 1970 and the final paper of the Inquiry for Foreign Cultural Policy of the German Bundestag in 1975 initiated a major change in German foreign cultural policy: it now became an offer for everyone, focused on understanding, collaboration and exchange, and considered the demands in the partner country instead of focusing exclusively on the dissemination of a positive image of Germany, as was the case before.

In their 1980 *Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Bericht der Enquete-Kommission des Deutschen Bundestages* (Statement to the Report of the Committee of Inquiry of the German Bundestag by the Federal Government), the German Federal Government underlines the objective “to extend foreign cultural relations as a component of foreign policy equally ranking with economic and political relations.” (Bundesregierung 1980: para. 5). They also add:

“This orientation of the foreign cultural policy on foreign policy objectives should not be misunderstood as the Federal Government’s intention to make the arts become a ‘maidservant’ of politics or even its foreign policies. [...] The sum of all cultural efforts of our people in the past and present is a matter of cultural policy. This matter can not and must not be determined by the federal government. [...] Its politics therefore are

restricted to make those efforts visible in an appropriate way, in the right place, at the right time” (ibid.: para. 7.3, 14).

This statement of the final paper of the Committee of Inquiry of the German Bundestag by the Federal Government adds an important note in the face of the former totalitarian attitude to culture during the Third Reich by stating that there is no intention to instrumentalize arts and culture for domestic nor foreign politics.

2.4 German Foreign Cultural Policy after 2000

2.3.1 The *Konzeption 2000*

In the year 2000 the federal government under foreign minister Joschka Fischer¹² prepared the second written strategy for foreign cultural policies, the *Konzeption 2000*. This paper developed “the idea of peacekeeping and conflict resolution through instruments of foreign cultural policy” (Denscheilmann 2012: 51). As Ruderkamp explains, “the paper takes into account the geopolitical changes after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the media revolution” (Ruderkamp 2012: 123). “An international ‘formative role’ (Auswärtiges Amt 2000: 3) is expected from Germany, as the authors of the *Konzeption 2000* state.” (Denscheilmann 2012: 58) Ruderkamp explains further that the *Konzeption 2000* “states that international cultural policy contributes to the main priorities of foreign policy: security politics, conflict prevention, human rights and partnership cooperation. Additionally, it declares its international cultural policy not to be neutral, but to be value oriented and actively taking a stance in questions of democratisation, human rights, sustainable development, economic growth and protection of natural resources” (Ruderkamp 2012: 123). In

¹² Joseph Martin “Joschka” Fischer (1948) is a German politician and held, as member of the Green Party (Alliance ‘90/The Greens), the office of foreign minister and Vice Chancellor of Germany during the SPD-Green government under Chancellor Gerhard Schröder between 1998 and 2005.

comparison with the former strategic papers, the *Konzeption 2000* takes a much more demanding position in regard to what foreign cultural policy should achieve: it expands the responsibilities of the policy field considerably and includes entirely new aspects, such as the idea of peace-keeping and conflict resolution through foreign cultural policy.

In reaction to the *Konzeption 2000* there were both voices to be heard praising the higher valuation of foreign cultural policy, as well as critics finding fault with “overcharging foreign cultural work with a multiplicity of tasks” (Denscheilmann 2012: 51) and instrumentalizing culture for other political targets. Ruderkamp is one of the latter: “Conclusively,” he writes, “aims of German international cultural policy have turned essentially instrumental. Culture has thus become mainly a tool to reach other policy objectives” (Ruderkamp 2012: 123).

In the *Konzeption 2000* for the first time, there is a separate paragraph on cultural programme work which classifies it as a “core area of foreign cultural policy” (Auswärtiges Amt 2000: 7). It is defined as follows:

“Cultural programme work [...] conveys a prevailing picture of artistic life and creation in Germany abroad and presents our country as a creative culture nation in Europe. Besides the presentation of German arts abroad, in the last years, dialogue with representatives of foreign cultures has been established as an equal task of programming work. [Cultural programme work, VM] hence makes [...] an important contribution to the intercultural dialogue and the fulfillment of the goals of our ‘Konzeption 2000’.” (Auswärtiges Amt 2000: 7)

The fact that this goal is mentioned in a separate paragraph now, further underscores the new importance attached to cultural exchange and dialogue through cultural programme work in opposition to a single-sided dissemination of knowledge as practiced in the past.

2.3.2 Strategic papers after 2000

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, security politics and intercultural understanding gained added significance, importance and attention. “The events of September 11, 2001 brought the importance of strengthening intercultural dialogue and civil society initiatives to the fore” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2011a, 15), writes the GI in the historic overview on its 60th anniversary. Although the aspects of conflict prevention and peace-keeping were answered with criticism at first, they were continuously reinforced in the strategic papers following these happenings. The GI underlines this and positions itself within new targets and work fields:

“Foreign cultural policy tries to contribute its share to conflict prevention. The cultural agency organizations [have] react[ed] to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 with numerous projects which [have] intensifi[ed] the dialogue with the Islamic world. The Goethe-Institut start[ed] initiatives such as ‘Culture and Development’ and creat[ed] more and more platforms for multilateral exchange of intellectuals, artists and actors of the cultural field.” (ibid.)

In 2011, facing the consequences of globalization, the Federal Foreign Office under Guido Westerwelle¹³ as foreign minister published the paper *Auswärtige Kultur- und Bildungspolitik in Zeiten der Globalisierung* (Foreign Cultural and Education Policy in Times of Globalization) to address the challenges of this new world order.

“As ‘cultural diplomacy’, the Foreign Cultural- and Education Policy [...] can more than ever before make a substantial contribution to [securing Germany’s influence in the world and shaping globalization responsibly - VM]. With the instruments of education, exchange and dialogue, and with the partnership approach which is shaped by mutual respect to the culture of the other, we reach humans directly and win them

¹³ Guido Westerwelle (1961-2016) was a German lawyer and member of the German Bundestag. As member of the FDP, he was in office as foreign minister and Vice Chancellor of Germany during the CDU (Christian Democratic Union)-FDP coalition under Chancellor Angela Merkel from 2009 to 2011.

for our country, our values and our ideas. Hereto belong also questions of religious liberty and of tolerance.” (Auswärtiges Amt 2011: 2)

Accordingly, the new goals of foreign cultural diplomacy are to “strengthen Europe, to secure peace, to foster old friendships, [and] to establish new partnerships.” (ibid.: 3) Eleven years after the *Konzeption 2000*, the Federal Foreign Office seems to concentrate especially on how the objectives should be accomplished, as it emphasizes the importance of dialogue and partnership, mutual respect, freedom of belief and tolerance and stresses the term ‘cultural diplomacy’.

After Westerwelle, who did not put such a strong emphasis on the political dimension of foreign cultural policy during his term of office, his successor as foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier¹⁴ became more engaged with the subject, recognizing its importance: “Foreign Affairs are far more than classic diplomacy. Foreign cultural and educational policy is more important than ever before. Today, it is about getting our foreign affairs in all of its facets ready for the 21st century, to adjust it to the requirements and possibilities of our time.” (Steinmeier 2014). Hence, in 2015 Steinmeier presented the “Review”-Process “*Außenpolitik Weiter Denken*” (Thinking Foreign Affairs Ahead), which he had initiated in 2013 to determine new tasks and responsibilities of foreign affairs in the 21st century. As a result of the review process, today foreign cultural policy is mainly required to focus on “the establishment of and the collaboration with civil societies [...] [and take] a more active role in times of crisis and in crisis regions” (Deutscher Bundestag 2015: 5).

The goals defined in the strategic papers above are under the purview of the foreign minister. The Federal Foreign Office is also the main financial source of foreign cultural and educational

¹⁴ Frank-Walter Steinmeier (1956) is the current social democrat foreign minister and Vice Chancellor of Germany during the grand coalition government (CDU-SPD) under Angela Merkel as Chancellor since 2013. He used to already hold these offices before between 2005 and 2009, as well in a grand-coalition government under Chancellor Merkel.

policy. “The ministry spends almost a quarter of its budgets on this policy field, which is almost 0.5 percent of the federal budget and totaled almost 1.5 billion Euros in 2011” (Ruderkamp 2012: 128).

The Department of Foreign Cultural and Educational Policy and the Department for Political Public Relations were united under Steinmeier in his first mandate as foreign minister in 2007 as the Department for Culture and Communication, where they are organized into subdivisions.

2.5 The decentralized and independent system of agency organizations

As the political field of foreign cultural policy is organized differently in various political systems around the world, the approaches to it vary considerably. As Maaß puts it, “foreign cultural policy can, in its structures and programmes, either be implemented merely via state-control or through institutions which are financed by the state, but organized under private law” (Maaß 2015: 263). Mostly, he claims however, mixed forms of the two systems are used (ibid.). France, for instance, affiliates the foreign cultural policy work done by its national institutes more or less directly with the government by subordinating it to the French embassies. Germany, on the other hand, has “realized the model with the most comprehensive non-intervention by the state” (ibid.) through its system of agent organizations, which provides independence to cultural work abroad and a distribution of tasks among various actors.

Thus in Germany the Federal Foreign Office is not the executive body of foreign cultural policy. Due to the formerly mentioned arm’s length principle of the German Federal Government, the tasks and responsibilities in the field of foreign cultural policy are delegated to agent organizations working under the mandate of the Federal Foreign Office. The most important partners of the Federal Government are the GI in Munich, the German Academic Exchange Service

(*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD*) in Bonn, the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation (*Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, AvH*) in Bonn, the ifa in Stuttgart, the Central Office for the School System Abroad (*Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen, ZfA*) in Cologne, the Pedagogic Exchange Service (*Pädagogische Austauschdienst*) in Bonn, the Specialist Department for International Youth Work of the German Federal Government (*Fachstelle für Internationale Jugendarbeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland e. V., IJAB*) in Bonn, the German Commission for UNESCO (*Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission*) in Bonn, the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsche Archäologische Institut*) in Berlin, the Federal Institute for Vocational Education (*Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung*) in Bonn and the House of the Cultures of the World (*Haus der Kulturen der Welt*) in Berlin, as well as political foundations, other civil society organizations and the private sector (cf. Auswärtiges Amt 2015).



Fig. 1, The location of the main agency organizations' headquarters in Germany (Auswärtiges Amt 2015; EnchantedLearning.com)

The decentralized nature of the agency organizations becomes visible in the locations of their respective headquarters, which have been marked on the Germany-map in Figure 1 above.

The agency organizations are independent and largely free in their decisions; however, they act under the mandate of the Federal Foreign Office and are responsible for both reporting back to it and fulfilling its general goals. “The cooperation of the Federal Foreign Office and the agency organizations”, notes Hennefeld, “is formally regulated in different ways” (Hennefeld 2013: 139). Either the agency organization files individual applications for its activities, or – which is increasingly done – the agency organization and the Federal Foreign Office negotiate a strategic target agreement regarding content. As Hennefeld specifies: “These target agreements apply to the

predominant part of the agency organizations' activities, but do not preclude the possibility of other individual grants being awarded or further agreements being made." (ibid.) This method of collaboration endeavors to provide for evaluation and assessment of the organizations' work, and hence aims for transparency in the allocation of funds by the Federal Foreign Office as well as the legitimization of activities by the agency organizations (cf. Hennefeld 2013: 139f.). Within this practice of creating common strategic targets, "the funding recipients are free in the selection of instruments they use to reach targets" (Hennefeld 2013: 156) and the efficiency of their work is increased, "as they can react more freely and flexibly, and hence respond more quickly to current events: They can decide themselves about the adequacy of measures and so in the best case scenario, positively influence their efficiency" (ibid.). Regarding the arm's length approach practiced in German foreign cultural policy, the use of target agreements further facilitates the independence and autonomy of agency organizations' decision making by providing them free and flexible deployment of financial resources according to a framework of very broadly formulated general targets.

With regards to the regulation of finances between the Federal Foreign Office and the agency organizations, Hennefeld concludes that

"while [...] in some cases [the regulation of finances is governed - VM] by grants, in other cases this is carried out via contractual agreements and budgeting. The Goethe-Institut's funds, for instance, have been budgeted since the year 2008, whereas ifa and the German UNESCO-commission receive grants." (Hennefeld 2013:139)

3. The GI as main agency organization¹⁵

3.1 The GI's mission and its main departments

“The Goethe-Institut is the cultural institute of the Federal Republic of Germany with a global reach.” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016h). The institution’s mission is stated on its web page as follows: “We promote knowledge of the German language abroad and foster international cultural cooperation. We convey a comprehensive image of Germany by providing information about cultural, social and political life in our nation. Our cultural and educational programmes encourage intercultural dialogue and enable cultural involvement. They strengthen the development of structures in civil society and foster worldwide mobility.” (ibid.) In comparison with the formerly described strategic papers for foreign cultural policy, it is evident that the GI acts in line with the German foreign cultural policy, as it perfectly reflects the above stated objectives set by the Federal Foreign Office.

The GI is represented with 159 institutes worldwide in 98 countries, including Germany itself, where 14 institutes are located. Its mission as well as its responsibilities, freedoms and commitments are set out in a basic agreement¹⁶ that “governs the cooperation between the Goethe-Institut and the Federal Republic of Germany, represented by the German Foreign Office” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016i).

Since 2008, a target agreement has been renewed every four years between the Federal Foreign Office and the GI and is reassessed once a year by the department managers of both the Federal Foreign Office and the GI regarding possible variations due to current events. The targets are built on the mission stated in the Institute’s articles of association and on general objectives of the

¹⁵ For further research an extended bibliography can be found in Appendix 1.2, p. 149

¹⁶ For the whole document see: https://www.goethe.de/resources/files/pdf17/Goethe-Institut_Basic-Agreement.pdf, Retrieved: 28.03.2016

German foreign cultural policy (cf. Hennefeld 2013: 150). “The strategy is like a cascade”, explains Secretary General of the GI Johannes Ebert: “Its basis is built upon eight targets, five of which deal with the contents, for instance with cultural exchange, the German language, information on Germany or educational topics. At the location, these targets are acted upon, but the local scenes are always taken into consideration.” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 196). Hence, the targets are formulated quite generally and the interpretation and execution in terms of actual measures is within the purview of the regions and individual institutes.

To fulfill this mission, in each institute the tasks are divided within departments according to three main areas and their subdivisions: language education (including language courses, teacher education, cooperation with local schools for German as foreign language, etc.), information and library service (providing both online and print information through the library and offering an extensive research platform regarding questions on German contemporary history and trends and topics as well as historic data) and cultural programming.

The focus of this thesis is on the work and decision-making processes in the area of cultural programming. The aim of this cultural work is to moderate dialogue and exchange between artists, academics and actors in the cultural field from the host country and Germany, as well as to present exemplary events from the German cultural scene in order to convey its current trends and streams in the host country. The aim of cultural programming work is to reach both multipliers like artists, actors, musicians and academics as well as people interested in Germany and its cultural scene.

3.2 The GI's organizational structure

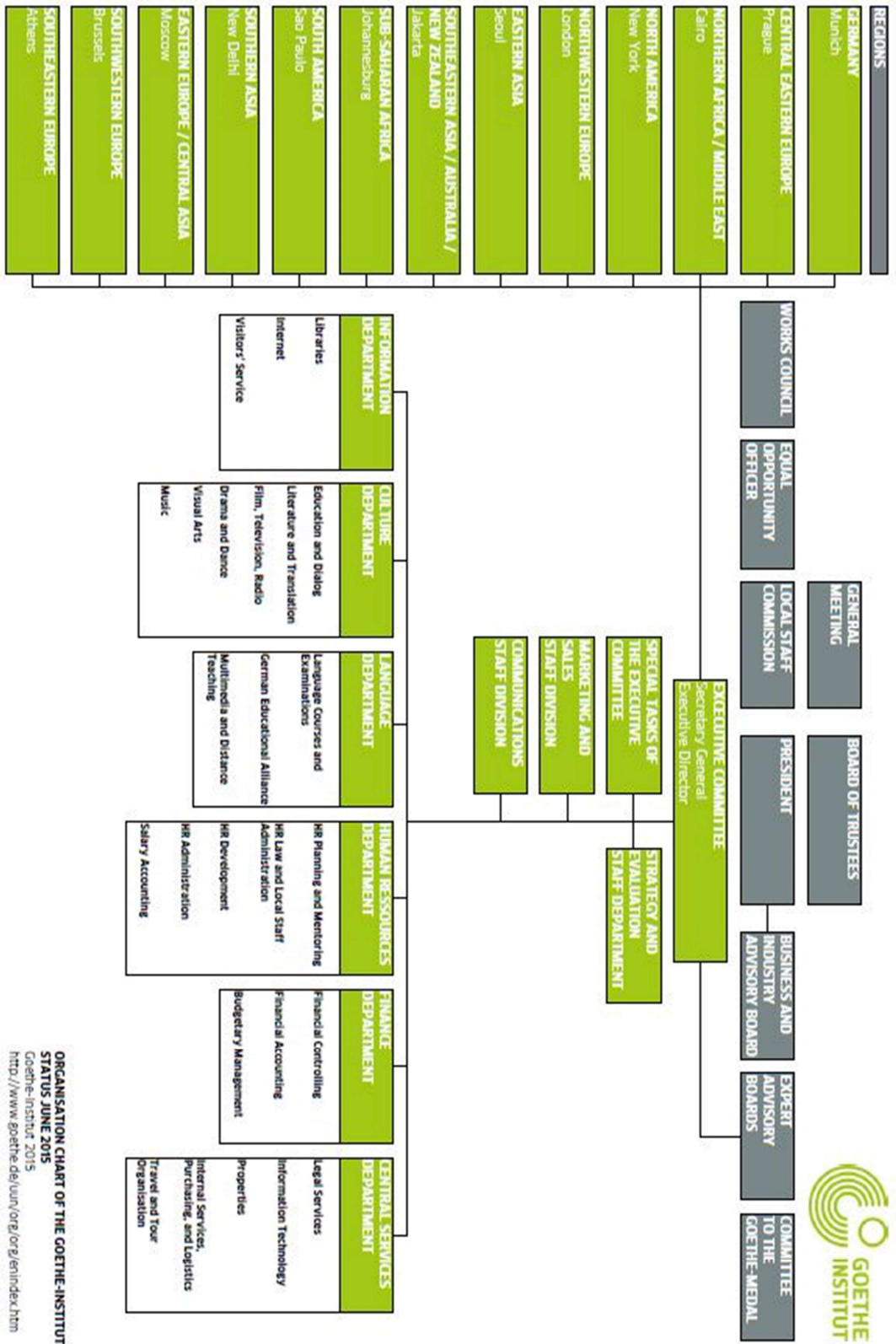


Fig. 2, Organization chart of the Goethe-Institut (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016g)

ORGANISATION CHART OF THE GOETHE-INSTITUT
 STATUS JUNE 2015
 Goethe-Institut 2015
<http://www.goethe.de/ua/n/org/en/index.htm>

3.2.1 The association's bodies

The GI is organized as a registered association according to the German Civil Code; as such, its non-profit mandate is defined in its articles of association¹⁷. The Institute is governed and managed by a board of trustees, an executive committee and the general meeting¹⁸. The head office of the association, home to the executive committee, the departments and the president's office, is located in Munich, Germany.

Both the board of trustees and the general meeting are composed of representatives of cultural and social life in Germany, such as artists, academics and board members of notable socially and culturally engaged German institutions. The board of trustees is further complemented by three employee representatives of the Institute, two representatives from the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Finance, and the President of the GI. The general meeting's further participants are employee representatives of the Institute, representatives from the Federal Foreign Office, the President of the German Bundestag and the President of the GI as well as special members; namely, representatives of the governing political parties and of the State Governments.¹⁹

The board of trustees, among other tasks, “adopt[s] resolutions for guidelines on the work of the Institute and long-term conceptual planning” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016b) and “is responsible for supervising the business conducted by the Goethe-Institut as well as making decisions in matters of fundamental importance” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016j). The board of trustees elects its

¹⁷ For the whole document see https://www.goethe.de/resources/files/pdf17/Goethe-Institut_Articles-of-association.pdf, Retrieved: 18.03.2016

¹⁸ The association's bodies and their connections with each other as will be explained in this chapter are displayed in the organizational chart in Figure 2, p. 24.

¹⁹ For a detailed list of the members of the boards and the general meeting, see: <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/org/gre.html>, Retrieved: 13.04.2016

head, the president of the association, for a period of four years at a time; currently Prof. Dr. H.C. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann²⁰ has held the office since 2008. The general meeting takes place biannually and discusses “conceptual issues of the work of the Goethe-Institut” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016b).

Besides the board of trustees and the general meeting which are concerned with more conceptual issues and questions of principles, the executive committee is the third management organ of the association, which “manages the Goethe-Institut's business affairs and represents the association externally together with the President” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016j). The executive committee is composed of the Secretary General of the association, currently Johannes Ebert²¹, and the Business Director, who is in charge of finances and administration, presently Dr. Bruno Gross²². Both are elected respectively for a period of five years.

In addition to these management organs of the association, there are six main departments all located in the head office: The Information Department, the Culture Department, the Language Department, the Human Resources Department, the Finance Department and the Central Services Department. These departments are assigned basic organizational tasks and regularly consult with the respective departments of the Federal Foreign Office in compliance with the target agreement.

²⁰ Prof. Dr. H.C. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann (1940) is a German librarian. He was Director General of the Deutsche Bibliothek (German Library) and later the Director General of the united German Library Leipzig, Frankfurt, Berlin. From 1998 he acted as president of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation until he took his office as president of the Goethe-Institut in April 2008.

²¹ Johannes Ebert (1963) has studied Islamic Studies and Political Science. He has been a staff member of the Goethe-Institut for many years and has held the office of Secretary-General since March 2012.

²² Dr. Bruno Gross (1969), an experimental physicist, was management consultant at McKinsey & Company, chair of the management board of Menlo Systems GmbH, managing director of Zett Optics GmbH and chancellor of Munich University of Applied Sciences. Since 2011 he has been Managing Director and member of the board of the Goethe-Institut.

3.2.2 Advisory boards

Various advisory boards guarantee a constant level of quality and provide expert knowledge in all subject areas, consulting with individual directors and programme coordinators to provide “expert advice to the Goethe-Institut in questions of principles and for individual projects” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016b). Particularly where programming decisions are concerned, the Institute holds ten specialized advisory boards: Fine Arts; Film, Television and Radio; Information and Library; Literature and Translation Grant Programme Department; Mobility and Migration; Music; Music II; Language; Theatre and Dance; Science and Current Events (cf. *ibid.*). Besides these ten, there is an additional Business and Industry Advisory Board, dealing with “projects and events designed in collaboration” which “aim to present Germany internationally with its interaction between politics, industry and culture” (*ibid.*). Finally, the Committee to the Goethe Medal, “consisting of persons from the fields of science, literature, art and theatre, pre-selects the awardees which have to be affirmed by the Board of Trustees.” (*ibid.*)

The Committee to the Goethe Medal and the specialized advisory boards are composed of representatives involved in the cultural and social life of Germany, such as artists, artistic directors, chairs or board members of notable socially and culturally engaged German institutions, academics, as well as representatives from the government and the GI’s board of trustees. The Business and Industry Advisory Board, however, is composed exclusively of representatives from the German business and industrial sector, as well as having a single representative from both the Federal Government and the GI’s board of trustees.

3.3 Decentralization and the regional budgeting system

3.3.1 The GI's decentralized regional structure

“Innovation comes from the periphery”, claims the GI's president Prof. Lehmann in his 2010 Essay on the Future Role of Foreign Cultural Policy (*Innovation, Interaktion, Inspiration* section, para. 2).

As illustrated by the Institut's organizational chart,²³ GI governance is federal rather than central, with all departments and boards located at the head office in Munich. The GI's executive branches are spread around the world in the form of the individual institutes, which are partitioned into 13 different regions that serve as management cells, each with a regional office. Dr. Matthias Makowski, the director of the regional institute of the region South-Eastern Europe in Athens²⁴, uses the metaphor of ‘a fleet’ to describe this structure: “The Goethe-Institut”, he summarizes, “is a big ship, which consists of a fleet unit of 13 frigates with their institutes” (cf. Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016). The regional institute thereby has the role of a controlling unit, allowing the fleet to function and maintain easy communication with the executive board in Munich. This federalist structure is being used to provide more clarity, as “a region with eight to fifteen institutes is a significantly more homogeneous unit than a network of 159 institutes” (Ebert in: Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 196).

The regional institutes have a predominantly administrative function, as one of their numerous tasks is to allocate the institutes' annual budgets and monitor and moderate the compliance of the

²³ Organizational chart, compare Fig. 2, p. 24

²⁴ The region of South-Eastern Europe covers 12 Institutes in Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sofia in Bulgaria, Zagreb in Croatia, Nikosia in Cyprus, Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece, Skopje in Macedonia, Bucharest in Romania, Belgrade in Serbia and Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir in Turkey respectively.

individual institutes with the target agreement and certain aspects considered important by the executive committee.

Concerning the institutes' work in regard to content, the regional institutes establish an additional annual target agreement which specifically reflects the regional conditions and themes of prime focus. Like the general target agreement with the Federal Foreign Office, these regional objectives are also phrased openly as an attempt to both allow for freedom in the daily programme work of each of the individual institute directors, while also providing for administrative clusters according to content and thus creating transparency as to which target measures were carried out and how the budget was spent.

3.3.2 Budgeting as a source of autonomy

Whereas the Federal Foreign Office previously used to exercise some control on the work of the GI by budget allocations to certain areas, starting from the year 2008 its approach was changed to more content-oriented budgeting. Beforehand, the budget allocated to one area – for instance, film – could only be used for that assigned aim exclusively.

Today, the budget is divided according to strategic targets, which can be implemented by any discipline or format considered appropriate by the respective institute (cf. Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 196). In this way, local needs and conditions can best be evaluated according to the respective institute's location, leading to more flexibility and effectiveness in the individual institute's work, as well as the GI's strategy in general. Budgets are channeled to the individual institutes through the regional institutes, whose directors are in regular contact with the institute directors of their region; the institutes' directors in turn report to their regional directors about current affairs, and the yearly undertakings of the institute in its location and country.

3.3.3 Contribution of the local GIs to the budget

The GI's budgeting system requires the institutes to combine the Federal Foreign Office's grants with their own income. The main funding source of the Institute is the Federal Republic of Germany through the Federal Foreign Office. However, in every institute's yearly budget, a predetermined amount of the total income is generated through language courses and examinations according to size and local circumstances. In the event that an institute reaches a budgetary surplus through its own income, it is free to use these additional funds as it deems appropriate; however, if the surplus is very high a percentage of it is redistributed to institutes with monetary shortages within the region. The budget allocations an institute receives from the Federal Foreign Office's resources, some of which are earmarked for certain purposes, are hence additional to their own income.

Furthermore, there are additional funds from the Federal Foreign Office which the institutes can apply for when they have certain extensive projects or activities. "Even though we are a non-profit organization under public law", argues Gross, "we act economically and in a performance-oriented way. That is no contradiction. For us, budgeting means that we navigate in accordance with our conceptual targets" (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 196).

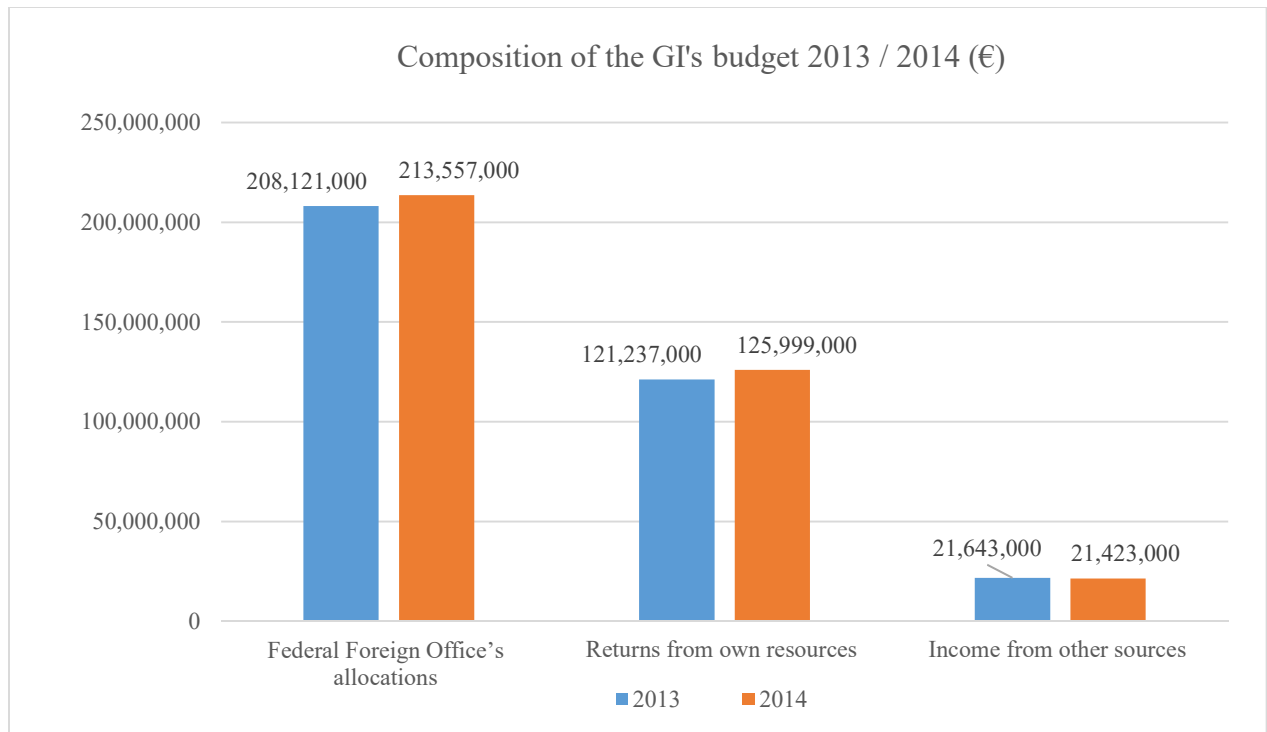


Fig. 3, The composition of the GI's total budget 2013/2014 (€) (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 192)

As illustrated in Figure 3, the Federal Foreign Office's allocations to the GI amounted to 208.121.000 Euro in 2013 and 213.557.000 Euro in 2014 (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 192). The income generated through the language department totaled 121.237.000 Euro in 2013 and 125.999.000 Euro in 2014 (ibid.). Income from other sources came to 21.643.000 Euro in 2013 and 21.423.000 Euro in 2014 in the full settlement of the GI (ibid.).

3.4 Decision-making processes at local level

3.4.1 The role and influence of the regional director

Regional institute directors can exert some influence on local programming decisions through relevant quarterly discussions with the individual institute directors. As regional directors can neither prevent nor enforce any decision however, they have no direct impact on the decision-

making, but can only provide guidance by monitoring and moderating in respect to general and regional target agreements.

As projects are done considering a certain budget, one way the regional institute director can exert some influence on an institute's actions is through the assignment of funds. If an institute plans to do a large scale project it needs an extensive budget, over which the regional institute director has control. However, these budgetary deliberations and decisions on which projects can be realized generally happen in consultation with the institutes (cf. Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016). Moreover, each institute is free to apply for additional funds from third parties (with the exception of political foundations and EU funds), which further minimizes the interference of the regional director.

3.4.2 The institute director and local programme coordinators

As explained above, the institutes themselves are largely free in their decision-making and in the use of their budget, as far as they comply with the principles and targets agreed upon with the Federal Foreign Office and the regional offices. "The quality [of the cultural programming work - VM] is assessed by brain trusts (advisory boards) of the agent organizations; relevance and sustainability are, amongst other [factors], to be estimated by the local institutes" (Denscheilmann 2012: 59). Hence, generally speaking, the main decision making power lies with the respective institute directors, as they are responsible for all actions taken by the institute.

Every cultural programming department is run by local programme coordinators with the institute director as department head. The quadrennial rotation of the institute directors requires counselling in respect to local questions, and hence the obtaining of grassroots information from local specialists. As the individual institute directors always come to an institute with different

backgrounds and interests, the cultural programming scheme might change with a new director. The programme coordinators hence provide for stability and knowledge about the local cultural scene in an institute.

3.4.3 Specialized advisory boards

Specialized advisory boards provide additional consultation support, dealing with questions of quality and compliance to the Institute's principles, as well as providing general programming advice. Experts from the respective cultural fields are appointed on an honorary basis and hold annual meetings in the German head office to discuss inquiries from institutes around the world. The specialist advisory boards give advice and suggestions, but even when consulted, an institute director is not obliged to uphold the boards' opinion, as they might overlook the local situation. Therefore, in particular cases the institute director may decide differently according to local demands or interests.

3.4.4 Local demands and collaborations

Cultural programming decisions must not only adhere to the GI's principles and the high standards of the expert advisory board, but must also prioritize local needs and conditions as assessed by program coordinators and local partners. In a location in which the area of classical music is widely represented, there might be no interest in another classical concert, whereas events from another cultural branch would be in high demand. Hence for cultural programme work to be sustainable, programming decisions must be made in dialogue with the local program coordinators and cultural scene. Otherwise the interaction is not approached as a reciprocal exchange, and there is the

potential for the GI to dominate the dialogue, as was previously condemned by the Committee of Inquiry Foreign Cultural Policy of the German Bundestag (cf. Deutscher Bundestag 1975).

4. The historical background of German-Turkish cultural relations²⁵

As groundwork for the following analysis of the GI in Turkey and its cultural programme work in chapter 5 and 6, the historical context of the bilateral cultural relations between Turkey and Germany will be briefly described below.

4.1 German-Turkish relations during the Ottoman Empire

In the late 19th century, the German Empire with its emerging economy, and the weakening Ottoman Empire developed closer relations through a friendship of convenience:

“While for the Ottoman Empire a closer relationship with Germany was mainly about increasing their political sphere of influence and freeing themselves from fickle British, French and Russian paternalism, Germany was keen on winning a secure market for its increasing economical expansionism.” (Kochwasser 2014: 106)

Beginning in 1903 with the joint construction of the Baghdad Railway, Ottoman-German political and economic relations intensified and in the First World War the Ottoman Empire joined the German Empire as brothers-in-arms. In 1914 the two parties signed an alliance agreement, which took effect following the entrance of the two German battleships *Goeben* and *Breslau* into the Bosphorus and the subsequent entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war.

The construction of the Baghdad Railway also led to an intensification of the cultural relations between the two great powers, becoming particularly apparent in a 1915 project initiated by the German Empire. The scope of this project was to provide apprenticeships and education in the German empire for Turkish pupils, volunteers and trainees. German-Turkish associations, established in several cities of the German Empire in the early 20th century, were involved in the

²⁵ For further research an extended bibliography can be found in Appendix 1.3, p. 151

project and acted as agents for the young Turkish guests. According to reports, “in early 1918, 300 Turkish pupils of higher schools were placed in German high schools and as volunteers in factories” (Leidinger 2014: 26). From 1917 on, besides trainees who were accepted for apprenticeships, “about 350 elementary educated boys from orphanages in Constantinople and Anatolia [...] were received as industrial apprentices” (ibid: 27). The project was continued until the end of World War I with the 1918 Treaty of Versailles which led to large political and social changes in both countries and made it impossible for many of the Turkish teenagers to return to their home country. As Leidinger notes, “some of the Turkish youth might have stayed in Germany after their apprenticeship, as a civil war prevailed in their home country until 1923” (ibid.: 28). Unfortunately, there is no data on the whereabouts of the Turkish youth in Germany after the end of the programme.

4.2 Academic migration 1928-1945

In the more recent past, Germany and Turkey look back on a reciprocal migration history which connects them closely from prior to World War II:

In 1928, shortly after the founding of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk had promising students of architecture and other disciplines sent to Europe (mainly Germany) in an effort to foster modernistic architecture in the young Turkish Republic. Students received further education at the leading German universities in the field, to return as pioneers of the new architectural education in Turkey. Among them were the notable Turkish architects Seyfi Arkan and Sedat Hakkı Eldem, who both joined the office of architecture professor Hans Poelzig at the Technical University of Berlin (cf. Tekeli 2010).

During the Second World War, on the other hand, hundreds of scientists, humanists, artists and architects facing persecution in Germany immigrated to Turkey. Among them were notable personalities such as Ernst Reuter²⁶, Bruno Taut²⁷ and Barrister E. Hirsch²⁸. In Turkey, the young Turkish Republic under Atatürk was offering these immigrants employment at universities and public institutions and they contributed significantly to the development of the new republic. As Katoğlu summarizes: “Today, the universities, the scientific and cultural life of the country owe the level they have reached to the 1933 [university - VM] reform and the real driving force behind it: the German teaching staff and the organizations established by them.” (Katoğlu 2009, 36) He specifies as follows:

“The role German teaching staff played in the systematic formation of Turkey’s modern scientific life must be candidly acknowledged. Among their many achievements, it suffices to mention here the various research and methodological studies published by the foreign professors during this period, as well as the establishment of libraries and laboratories for the training of Turkish researchers and scientists. [...] The initiation and first systematization of true university life in Turkey – and not just its improvement seen in the quality and quantity of scientific publications – started with the appointment of German professors” (ibid., 34).

²⁶ Ernst Reuter (1889-1953) was a German politician and scholar. Before the National Socialists seized power, he held the office of mayor of Magdeburg and was an elected member of the Reichstag. After being held for two years in the concentration camp (KZ) Lichtenburg, he immigrated to Turkey in 1935, where he taught at Ankara University and established Urban Planning as a university discipline. After the end of World War II, he returned to Germany and was elected Oberbürgermeister (Lord Mayor) of West-Berlin in 1948. He held this office until his sudden death in 1953.

²⁷ Bruno Taut (1880-1938) was a German architect, urban planner and author. He was active in Germany during the Weimar Republic and later, from 1933 until 1936 in Japan, before he relocated to Turkey in 1936, where he became head of the department for architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul and in the same time head of the Department for Architecture at the Ministry of Education in Ankara.

²⁸ B. E. Hirsch (1902-1985) was a judge and professor for business law in Germany before he immigrated to Turkey in 1933 and was appointed to the ‘Ankara Law School’. By Hasan Ali Yücel, the Minister of Education he was put in charge of preparing the new Universities Law (Law 4936 from 1946), which granted autonomy to universities and faculties for the first time and was (with a renewal in 1973) effective until 1982 (cf. Katoğlu 2009, 37-38).

Although being relatively unknown in Germany, the refuge given to academics and experts forced to leave Germany and their contributions in the young Republic of Turkey had an important impact on the Turkish-German relationship.

4.3 Labor force migration 1960-1970

During the 1960's and 70's, in need of a labor force during the economic boom following the Second World War, the West German Federal Republic signed bilateral *Anwerbeabkommen* (Labor Recruitment Agreements) with different southern European countries as well as Morocco and Tunisia²⁹. Within the framework of this *Gastarbeiterprogramm* (formal guest worker programme), Germany received a great number of foreign workers from these countries³⁰ who made a significant contribution to the labor force in the industrial sector. The German government intended for these guest workers (hence the formulation “guest worker”) to return back to their home countries when no longer needed in Germany.

In 1973, when the employment of foreign labor had reached its peak with about 2.6 million foreign employees, the Federal Government issued a ban on foreign labor recruitment in fear of an economic slowdown. During the following recession phases in 1974 and 1975 and from 1981 to 1984 however, far less foreign workers returned to their home countries than in the years before³¹. From 1974 onwards, within the framework of family reunion, the predominantly male *Gastarbeiter* started to bring their families to Germany, which consequently prolonged their duration of stay (cf. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2011): “In 2004 more than 73 percent

²⁹ Bilateral recruitment agreements were signed between Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) respectively.

³⁰ The proportion of foreigners in the residential population of Germany grew in the course of the labor recruitment policy from 1.2% in 1960 to more than 4.9% in 1970 (cf. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2011)

³¹ Afraid of being denied a permit to return again to the Federal Republic of Germany and in the face of the poor prospects awaiting them in Turkey, they chose to stay despite the economic recession.

of the Turks lived in Germany for more than 10 years, 20.5 percent of those even more than 30 years” (ibid.).

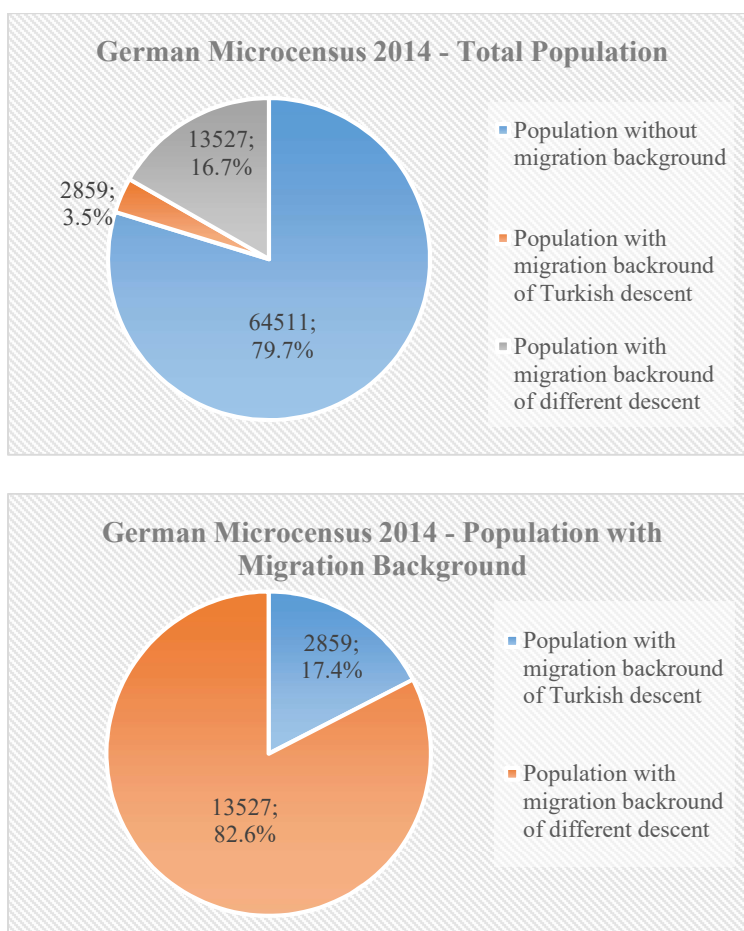


Fig. 4+5, The population in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015)

As a consequence, 2.86 million residents with Turkish background were living in Germany in 2014, amounting to 3.5 % of the whole German population³². At 17.4%, they make up the biggest segment of the population with a migrant background, as depicted in the charts in Figure 4 and 5 (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt 2015: 82).

According to the analysis of Hoßmann and Karsch for the *Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung* (Berlin-Institute for Population and Development) Germany, however, “did not see

³² The total population of Germany amounted 80.897 million citizens.

itself as a country of immigration. As the foreign workers were not going to settle down in Germany, [...] no types of integration policies were created” (Hoßmann, Karsch 2011: 2). Due to the German Federal Government plan to send guest workers back home when the labor shortage was over, integration measures were taken too late and, as a consequence, the lack of integration efforts became visible particularly in the education sector:

“For the first generation of immigrants there was a lack of training and continuing education courses since there was no pre-existing integration policy. [...] Already in the 1980s studies showed that children from families of migrant backgrounds did worse in school than children of long-time residents” (ibid.: 4)

This trend only began to change within the last few years. Due to the lack of inclusive education and training, many of the guest workers and their families never properly learned the German language and weren’t appropriately integrated in the society; they were excluded from social life, an outcome which continues to have an impact on successive generations.

“The lack of integration opportunities allowed the development of social hotspots and parallel societies, in which the children of migrants grew up. [...] Identity problems and disorientation between the culture of their country of origin, which they barely knew, and the German daily routine caused many to have a hard time finding their place in society” (Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung 2009: 13).

As this study by the Berlin-Institute for Population and Development notes, due to the social exclusion they experienced, the descendants of Turkish migrants often face questions of identity and belonging. These problems are only amplified by the way they are seen by others: The development of parallel societies mentioned in the study is colloquially often referred to as “ghettoization” and is met with further ostracization by the Germans who face this phenomenon in their cities. In Turkey however, the Turkish migrants in Germany³³ are oftentimes confronted

³³ They are called “*Alamanlar*” in Turkey, a demeaning play on words for German-Turks.

with equal rejection, as they are seen as outsiders in German society and also accused of being 'less Turkish' by Turks for their efforts at integration. These conflicts lead to German Turks being perceived as a bad reflection on the Turkish culture and people.

5. The GI in Turkey

5.1 Legal basis: bilateral cultural agreements between Germany and Turkey

To allow for the work of the agency organizations abroad, the Federal Foreign Office has signed bilateral cultural agreements with a total of 94 countries³⁴ since 1954. The agreements' objective is to facilitate cultural and educational exchange, to convey an up-to-date image of the countries in question and to lower conflict risks by facilitating better understanding between the signatories.

Italy, Spain and Greece, who were among the first to sign cultural agreements with the Federal Republic, were also the first three countries to sign bilateral Labor Recruitment Agreements with Germany in the face of the labor shortage following World War II; Italy in 1955 and Spain and Greece following in 1960. Taking this into account, we might view the cultural agreement as a factor in easing the requirements for subsequent recruitment agreements³⁵.

The legal basis of international cultural cooperation between Turkey and Germany – and hence the work of the GI in Turkey – was provided by a 1957 bilateral cultural agreement³⁶ and succeeding supplementary agreement³⁷ signed in 1986. Also in Turkey, the cultural agreement took effect only four years before the former mentioned bilateral Labor Recruitment Agreement was signed between Germany and Turkey.

³⁴ For a chronological list of the cultural agreements, see: <http://www.kooperation-international.de/detail/info/verzeichnis-der-kulturabkommen.html> (Retrieved: 26.04.2016). With the USA, instead of a cultural agreement, a cultural understanding was signed in 1953, which is why this document is not to be found on the list of cultural agreements.

³⁵ In the literature however, no confirmation of this assumption is to be found.

³⁶ For the full Cultural Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Turkey, see: <http://www.tuerkei.diplo.de/contentblob/4239758/Daten/3800101/kulturabkommen.pdf>, Retrieved: 24.05.2016

³⁷ For the full Supplementary Agreement to the Cultural Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Turkey, see: <http://www.tuerkei.diplo.de/contentblob/4360458/Daten/4801930/zusatzabkommen.pdf>, Retrieved: 24.05.2016

5.1.1 The bilateral cultural agreement of 1957

The 1957 Cultural Agreement between the Turkish Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany was the ninth to be signed in the series of cultural agreements since 1954. Its aim was “to achieve an amicable agreement as vast as possible between the two countries in the intellectual, artistic and academic fields, as well as to foster the understanding of the institutions and social life of the other country [...]” (Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Turkey 1957: 1).

The articles paving the way for the GI’s further cultural work in Turkey read as follows: “Each contracting party will be keen to support cultural institutions of the other contracting party in their own country within the framework of the existing local law.” (Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Turkey 1957: art. 2) and

“The contracting parties will be keen to support each other through conveying knowledge about each other’s cultural assets to their people by using

- a) books, magazines and other publications;
- b) lectures and concerts;
- c) art and other cultural exhibitions;
- d) theatre performances;
- e) radio serial programmes on the cultural life of the other country, films, records and other technical means of expression and distribution.” (ibid: art. 12)

The first article is of particular importance, as it allows a German institution like the GI to act in Turkey according to the local Turkish law (and vice versa) with the acceptance and support of the local government. While the first article relates to the institutional work, the second cited article deals with the content of those institutions’ cultural programmes. This article sets out the nature of what will be conveyed (knowledge about the cultural assets of the country) and the means of execution (through publications, concerts, exhibitions, performances and broadcasting). Again, it

is notable that the contents and means of the 1957 agreement are in some ways already parallel with today's strategic papers on Foreign Cultural Policy.

The implementation of the agreement is guaranteed by the establishment of a Committee of Permanent Representatives. This six-person committee is comprised of three Turkish and three German representative authorities appointed by the respective foreign ministers (in agreement with the Ministries of Culture of the Länder in Germany and by the Turkish ministry of education in agreement with the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey). The committee meets at least once a year or more frequently if needed, with the location of the meeting alternating between the two countries (cf. *ibid*: para. 16/17).

5.1.2 The supplementary agreement of 1986 against the background of Turkish migration

Adding to the cultural agreement of 1957, a supplementary agreement was signed in 1986

“out of the belief that an improved knowledge of the German language and culture in the Turkish population would make a contribution to the further consolidation of the cultural relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Turkish Republic, in particular the Turkish citizens already having this knowledge who had stayed in the Federal Republic of Germany and then returned afterwards to Turkey” (Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Turkey 1986: 1).

It is striking that this objective is formulated with regard to the political situation of the time concerning the high numbers of guest workers in Germany. Obviously, this 1986 supplementary agreement specifically references the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* returning to their home country and the growing cultural relationship with Turkey arising from the guest worker presence. The supplementary agreement facilitates further exchange while taking into account the intensified cultural relations of the Turkish population with knowledge of German culture both in Germany and Turkey.

Apart from the quoted paragraph, the paper does not elaborate further on cultural relations but concentrates entirely on the exchange and nomination of German teachers in Turkey³⁸ and the regulation of their employment (cf. *ibid.*). The aim is “to cooperate with reintegrating the children of returning Turkish citizens by placing German teachers in Turkish schools for support.” Hence, the agreement is not of further importance for the cultural programme work of the GI. It does, however, show us how the interest in strengthening the relationship with Turkey through culture and language grew in importance during the thirty year period from 1957 to 1986.

Both agreements are valid today and build the contractual basis of German-Turkish cultural relations. The regular meetings of the Committee of Permanent Representatives still take place to ensure the compliance and topicality of the agreement³⁹.

5.2 Historical and institutional background of the institutes in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir

5.2.1 Foundation of the three Turkish GIs (1954 – 1961)

The GI has been represented in Turkey since shortly after its formation in 1951. Founded in 1954, the GI in İzmir was the first to be opened in Turkey. In 1955 it was followed by the “Turkish-German Cultural Board” (*Türkisch-Deutscher Kulturbeirat* TDKB), the precursor of the GI in

³⁸ German was taught in Turkey since the second half of the 19th century. The German High School İstanbul (Deutsche Schule İstanbul - İstanbul Alman Lisesi) was founded in 1868. In the late 19th century, in the face of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the increase of sympathizers with Western countries, German and French began to be taught in some schools. In the beginning of the 20th century, with the political convergence and further alliance during World War I with Germany, in some, mainly military schools, German lessons were provided. In 1928, the formerly taught foreign languages (Arabic and Farsi) were replaced by Western languages like German, French and English in general primary and middle schools. During the first years of the Republic, qualifying institutes for teachers began foreign language education. In the 1950's, some educational establishments began to hold their lessons exclusively or mainly in a foreign language, such as the İstanbul Erkek Lisesi (İstanbul Boys High School), whose classes are still taught both in German and Turkish. Within the framework of intensifying relations with Europe and in cooperation with the Council of Europe, new reforms in foreign-language education were introduced in 1968 which further developed the foreign-language education. Today, certain school types called Anadolu High Schools (Anadolu Lisesi) focus on foreign-language education and offer French and German either as obligatory or elective subjects (cf. Alicigüzel 2012).

³⁹ The last meeting of this kind took place in November 2014 in Ankara (cf. Die Deutschen Auslandsvertretungen in der Türkei 2016a).

İstanbul, which pursued an aim of “revitaliz[ing] German-Turkish cultural relations and initiat[ing] language courses” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2005b). Next, the institute in Ankara was founded in 1956. Initially it functioned as a German library only, but was transformed into the cultural institute as it exists today one year later in 1957. The institute in İstanbul followed last in 1961, replacing the TDKB’s work almost ten years after the foundation of the first GI in İzmir. The former head of the TDKB, Robert Anhegger⁴⁰, became the first director of the GI İstanbul (cf. *ibid.*).

It is interesting to note that the first institute to be established was located in the less central and culturally, politically and economically less important city of İzmir, rather than the country’s capital or in İstanbul. The director of the Institute in İzmir, Dr. Rudolf Bartsch describes this as “pure coincidence” (Bartsch, in-depth interview, 27.01.2016).

The opening of the GI İstanbul coincided with relations between Germany and Turkey strengthening due to the migration wave of so-called guest-workers from (mostly Eastern) Turkey during the 60’s. Until today, all three GIs’ basic language courses still play an important role in the context of Turkish-German migration with respect to Turkish migrants’ family reunification. The exam for the A1 German language certificate “*Start Deutsch I*”, which became obligatory for the reunification of spouses in 2007⁴¹, can only be taken at GIs (cf. Ekmekcioğlu, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016)⁴².

⁴⁰ Robert Anhegger (1911-2001) was a German Turkologist and member of the German Communist Party (KPD). He emigrated to Turkey in 1939, where he worked in the German Archeological Institute until 1942. After the Second World War, he became director of the Turkish-German Cultural Board, later Goethe-Institute (1961-68) in İstanbul and lastly, of the Goethe-Institute in Amsterdam. The Turkish architect Mualla Eyüboğlu Anhegger was his second wife, who he stayed with until his death.

⁴¹ The reasons given by the German Federal Government for this 2007 law were the fight against forced marriage and the facilitation of integration (cf. Gerichtshof der Europäischen Union 2014).

⁴² According to a resolution of the Higher Administrative Court Berlin-Brandenburg in 2015, this law will be removed for the family reunification visa for spouses of Turkish citizens who live as workers in Germany. As stated by the GI İstanbul however, this enactment to remove the law has not been approved by the Federal Government and hence has not been implemented yet (cf. Goethe-Institut İstanbul 2016).

While most migrants come from the economically weaker Eastern Turkey, all three Goethe Institutes are located in the three major culturally important cities of the more wealthy West. This supports the thesis established in the research “Goethe is not everywhere” (*Goethe ist nicht überall*) by Schneider and Schiller (2000) on the locations of GIs. The study suggests that decisions on the geographical location of GIs are dictated mainly by factors such as power, cultural importance and economic influence of the cities in question (cf. Schneider, Schiller 2000: 28f.).

5.2.2 The Turkish-German Cultural Board

Until recently, Turkish law stipulated that any foreign institution wanting to operate in Turkey should be linked to a local partner association. For this reason, a TDKB was founded in all three cities (or in the case of İstanbul, perpetuated) to support the GI’s work.

As Emel Öztürk, local programme coordinator for GI Ankara notes, the building the GI Ankara used since 1981 still officially belongs to the local TDKB: “According to the contract the building belongs to the TDKB, the advisory board, and they rented it to us for 99 years.” (Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016). Until 1996, all staff working at the Ankara GI were officially employed by their partner association (cf. *ibid.*).

All three cultural boards are still operating today. Associations’ members are high ranking personalities from public life⁴³ including academics, lawyers and architects, who continue to work together with their local GI’s in providing expertise and counselling (cf. Deutsches Generalkonsulat İstanbul 2015).

⁴³ Members in İstanbul are, for instance: Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Tapan (president of the TDKB İstanbul and former professor at İstanbul University for German language teacher training), Prof. Dr. Mete Tapan (architect, former professor at İstanbul Technical University) and Ali Ülkü Azrak (lawyer and academic at İstanbul University, Marmara University and Maltepe University, member of the high education board YÖK) etc.

5.3 Turkey's position within the regional system in South-Eastern Europe

As explained above, the GI operates throughout the world on a decentralized regional governance system. Turkey, with its three GI's, is part of the South-Eastern European region, together with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Macedonia⁴⁴, Romania and Serbia. The regional institute is located in Athens, Greece.



Fig. 6, The South-Eastern European region (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015a: 168)

This classification of Turkey as a European country is interesting, especially when viewed in light of discussions arising in the context of its EU membership bid as to whether it should both culturally and geographically be considered European. Other agency institutions such as the DAAD and the ZfA, which also use a regional system, have classified Turkey differently.

⁴⁴ In Macedonia there is no actual Goethe-Institut, but a liaison office. It works like a GI and also follows the same funding and organizational principles, only on a smaller scale.

The DAAD made a much broader classification according to continents: Africa, America, Asia, Europe and Oceania (cf. DAAD 2016). While making allocation of countries far easier, this classification could not be achieved to the same degree while upholding the GI's target of decentralization. In the DAAD classification, Turkey is also located in Europe.

The ZfA on the other hand, has a more detailed division (though not as detailed as the GI) consisting of eight regions: Africa, South America, North and Middle America, Asia/Far East, Southern and South-Western Europe, North-Western and North-Eastern Europe, Middle Eastern Europe/Commonwealth of Independent States, and Turkey and Middle East (cf. Bundesverwaltungsamt 2016). Unlike the other two institutions, the ZfA associates Turkey with the Middle East and not Europe, underlining the ambivalence with which Turkey is perceived.

However, as İstanbul institute director Christian Lüffe emphasizes, the GI's regional division simply followed administrative deliberations without considering cultural togetherness: "Regions had to be formed which culturally and historically don't actually have anything in common. For example, what does Thailand have to do with Australia?" (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016)

Turkey is historically interlinked with other countries in the region of South-Eastern Europe through their shared history during the Ottoman Empire. However, this might not be the most positive association these countries could have with Turkey, as they suffered from their annexation by the Ottoman Empire. Another historic event connecting most of the countries in the region (though excluding Turkey) are the Balkan Wars of independence in the beginning of the 20th century.

The former director of the GI İstanbul and regional director of the South Eastern European region Rüdiger Bolz stressed the socioeconomic transformation process the region's countries are experiencing as a connecting factor (cf. Goethe-Institut e.V. 2011b: 111). He remarks:

“Thereby the states tend to look towards Brussels – and ignore their immediate neighbors. There are no intact neighborly relations. The countries of South-Eastern Europe are only learning to perceive themselves as a common region and to accept a culture of appreciation as a basis for integration into Europe.” (ibid.)

With this assessment of the South-Eastern European countries’ neighborly relations to each other and their lack of togetherness, Bolz stresses a point which his successor as institute director in İstanbul Claudia Hahn-Raabe experienced in her cultural practice. She points out that “in South Eastern Europe the focuses are very different between Turkey and Greece or the Balkans, Serbia, Croatia or in former Yugoslavia, as they had totally different problems” (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016). While Bolz advocates for the development of their perception as a region, she stresses that this must happen naturally (cf. ibid.). She emphasizes furthermore that the regions are mainly administrative units divided simply regarding their geographical formation, not following any cultural directives:

“Regions are administrative units for the head office, for creating responsibility in a certain area, for example in South-Eastern Europe, since you cannot direct all the institutes from the center.” (ibid.)

Turkey, within the South-Eastern European region, is the only country with three institutes. The aim, claims Dr. Matthias Makowski, director of the regional institute in Athens, is to harmonize the three institutes with each other so that they perceive themselves together as the GI Turkey rather than individually as GI İstanbul, GI Ankara and GI İzmir. He admits this vision is something the directors of the three institutes don’t necessarily see as a benefit (cf. Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016):

“It is a challenge as the conditions at the three locations are different, but we still have to try to provide the same basic conditions in Turkey. On the one hand, we have the legal regulations like how one is allowed to work there, how to get a work permit or how it is possible to register a car for the institution and questions like these, which are

generally the same throughout Turkey. But on the other hand, the three cities are very different regarding their profile.” (ibid.)

Hence, twice a year a GI Turkey meeting is held to discuss this exceptional situation of Turkey with the aim to coordinate and balance these conditions and the administration of the three institutes. For this purpose, a team from the regional office composed of the regional director and the regional managers of the different departments and the administration meet with the institute directors from Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir.

5.4 The position of Turkey in the GI’s strategy

“Turkey, like every country, has its distinctive features. When asking for the conception of the programming work, you always have to take up certain elements which match both German and Turkish interests” (Bartsch, in-depth interview, 27.01.2016). These features will be analyzed in this chapter, evaluating Turkey’s position within the GI’s general strategy, pointing out its peculiarities and highlighting why the GI’s presence is needed in Turkey.

5.4.1 Historic cultural relations between Turkey and Germany

As already mentioned previously in chapter 4, the history of cultural relations between Turkey and Germany has been shaped by mutual migration. The directors of the Turkish GIs and Makowski at the regional institute in Athens see this aspect as the most important feature characterizing the particular position of Turkey within the GI’s strategy: “Considering the particular bilateral relations with Turkey, mainly against the background of migration and the many Turks who live in Germany, Turkey is one of our most important focus countries.” (Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016). Bartsch in İzmir agrees: “The key characteristic of cultural relations between Turkey and Germany, in my view, is of course the already existing

cultural exchange through decades of migration, particularly of the Turkish so-called *Gastarbeiter*” (Bartsch, in-depth interview, 27.01.2016). As Öztürk in Ankara describes her experience however, the existence of a historical relationship does not necessarily imply that the topic is always met with interest:

“We have an important position due to the guest workers, but we realized that it is not really required of the Goethe Institut to work on this guest worker-question. We have conducted many projects on the topic which generated only minimal interest. This showed us that the local population here is not interested in the guest worker topic, as they are not affected by it themselves” (Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016).

Nonetheless, the bilateral migration history between Turkey and Germany constitutes a significant cultural background that connects both countries and builds an important foundation for their political and cultural relations today.

5.4.2 EU membership negotiations with Turkey

Turkey’s EU membership bid has added a new aspect to the German-Turkish relationship with Germany finding itself in a position of power, holding significant influence in the decision making process as the largest country of the European Union.

Since 2005, membership negotiations for Turkey’s accession as member of the European Union have been officially pursued. However, the process began in 1987 when Turkey first applied for accession. In 1995, a Customs Union was created with Turkey and subsequently, in 1997 it was declared eligible to become an EU member by the Luxembourg Council. Finally, in 1999 Turkey was given the status of Candidate Country (cf. European Commission 2016: European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations. Turkey). Although the negotiations for the accession of Turkey were officially opened in 2005, they almost immediately came to a standstill in 2006 as Turkey refused to apply the Additional Protocol of the Ankara Agreement to Cyprus.

According to the Agreement Creating An Association Between The Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community⁴⁵ of 1963 (known as Ankara Agreement), as a customs union, all ports and airports should be opened to the members of the agreement, which Turkey rejected in relation to Greek Cypriot vessels⁴⁶.

Since then the process has stopped and started anew several times, however still without any foreseeable positive outcome. Turkey's continuing human rights violations concerning freedom of speech and expression as well as women's rights, in addition to its unresolved conflict with the Republic of Cyprus continue to be barriers to entry.

Turkey is currently experiencing a continuously increasing inflow of refugees from Syria, which to date have exceeded 2.2 million, making it the country hosting the highest number of refugees worldwide according to the European Commission (cf. *ibid.*). "The Commission", they state on their website, "has engaged with Turkey to step up their cooperation on support of Syrians under temporary protection and migration management in a coordinated effort to address the crisis created by the situation in Syria" (*ibid.*). To provide Turkey with support, as well as set out expectations for what would be required of it in relieving the European countries from the influx of irregular migration, a Joint EU-Turkey Action Plan was activated at the EU-Turkey Summit in November 2015. Although Germany's approach under Merkel as Chancellor was always to keep Turkey at a distance by not agreeing to its full accession, Merkel is now at the forefront in advocating for collaboration with Turkey as solution in the context of the Joint EU-Turkey Action Plan for the refugee crisis. As she predominantly pursues this course of action and has no

⁴⁵ For the agreement, see: http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/december/tradoc_115266.pdf, Retrieved: 24.05.2016

⁴⁶ Since the division of Cyprus in 1974, when Turkey occupied a part of the Island following a coup in order to annex it to Greece, Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus have struggled with an unresolved crisis. Turkey declared its occupied region as Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983 and refuses to officially recognize the Republic of Cyprus as the exclusive authority on the island.

alternative solutions to show, her position might easily create dependencies and shifts of power in the political and cultural relations between Turkey and Germany.

Democratic values, human rights and the development of civil society are all elements foreign cultural policy seeks to facilitate, which are also taken into consideration during accession negotiations. Hence the negotiation process of Turkey's EU membership also plays a role in German foreign cultural policy in Turkey. If Germany takes Turkey's application seriously, it must support it in achieving these goals, argues Claudia Hahn-Raabe. Referring to the importance of cultural exchange during the membership negotiations, she speaks about her first year as director in İstanbul back in 2006 when first initiating projects in the (still politically very fragile) East and South-East of the country:

“I stood up for this decision in front of the central administration and the regional institute as well as the Federal Foreign Office, stating that it was urgently necessary to work in Eastern Anatolia if the accession negotiations to Europe were to be taken seriously” (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview 26.01.2016).

Hence as a medium to facilitate cultural exchange and mutual understanding, foreign cultural policy plays an important role in respect to the EU membership negotiations – underlining the essential nature of the GI's presence in Turkey.

5.4.3 Common NATO membership as binding link

Both Germany and Turkey are NATO⁴⁷ members and are bound together through their obligation to the values of the Alliance, which “promotes democratic values and encourages consultation and cooperation on defense and security issues to build trust and, in the long run,

⁴⁷ NATO is an alliance of countries from Europe and North America, providing a link for consultation and cooperation in the field of defence and security, and the conduct of multinational crisis-management operations (cf. NATO 2016).

prevent conflict” and “is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes” (NATO 2016). These objectives of the alliance imply a peaceful interaction and cooperation between its members, as well as the implementation of democratic values in their own countries, which according to the stated aim, will prevent conflicts and solve them peacefully. If a diplomatic resolution is not possible, however, the alliance will support its members in the form of military crisis management (cf. *ibid.*).

It is in the interest of the member states to keep up friendly and peaceful relations with each other, which is also a contributing factor in the relationship between Turkey and Germany as alliance members.

5.4.4 Turkey as a bridge to the Muslim and Arab world

Upon its foundation in 1923, the Turkish Republic represented the idea of modern Islam throughout the Islamic and non-Islamic world. Under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic and its first president, comprehensive political, economic, social and cultural reforms were undertaken. Atatürk pursued principles distancing the new Republic’s policies from the former Ottoman Empire, such as secularism and westernization. This became apparent particularly in the extensive reforms of the language and alphabet: many words were replaced with new ones, often derived from Western languages (mainly French) and the Arabic alphabet, which was used in the Ottoman Empire, was banned and replaced with the Roman alphabet. Through ongoing reforms during the years after the creation of the Republic, women were granted equal rights, such as full political participation (decreed in 1934).

The major changes introduced by Atatürk are still in effect today, although current political developments and the attempt to adopt a new constitution may lead to a new chapter of Turkish history.

Due to its western orientation, Turkey is often perceived as an exceptionally modern Muslim country and for several years has served as a popular destination for holidays and investments for many Arabs.

Turkey's geo-strategic position on the threshold of both Europe and the Arabic world, in addition to its secular government structure, its relatively moderate interpretation of Islam⁴⁸ and its relations with the Arab countries long held the promise of connection between East and West, through functioning as a moderator between the Orient and Occident. The fact that in İstanbul, two continents are connected by a bridge only strengthens the symbolic image of Turkey as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East.

Regional director Matthias Makowski stresses this point by stating that "Turkey is also as a bridge to other countries very important for us. Consequently Turkey, or the institutes in Turkey, are of immense importance for us" (Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016).

Especially in the face of the world's struggles with fundamentalist Islamic groups and the steadily increasing immigration of people from Muslim countries to Europe and Germany, the West seeks a dialogue with the Islamic world, which puts Turkey as neighbor and gateway to the Arabic countries in a powerful and important position.

With the increasing numbers of refugees (in particular from Iraq and Syria) passing through Turkey on their way to Western Europe, Turkey's role as bridge between East and West has taken on increased importance.

⁴⁸ This has been changing however, due to the more radical Islamic political path the leading AKP party has adopted in recent years.

“The Goethe-Institut”, remarks Öztürk, “is obligated to work with regard to politically relevant topics such as the current refugee question” (Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016). Under the label Cultural Relief Program, the GI İstanbul thus conducted several projects and took measures in two areas: “Education programmes, in particular for language instruction” and “Various trauma therapy measures, especially art, dance and music therapy programmes” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015b). Their main focus in this work, as Christian Lüffe affirms, is to try “to do trauma relief mainly through creative means” (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016), such as the use of art therapy, “as we believe that beyond alleviating purely material misery, it is particularly the experience of joy while expressing oneself creatively which makes the human become human (again).” (Lüffe in: Goethe-Institut e.V. 2015c)

In the framework of this Cultural Relief Program, the GI İstanbul has conducted four major projects:

- 1) In the refugee camp in Nusaybin (Mardin) a stilts and circus workshop, and
- 2) a music workshop were realized with local and refugees’ children and youth.
- 3) In İstanbul, an art therapy workshop was held for both Syrian refugees and Turkish children in the neighborhood of Balat,
- 4) and an educational workshop for workers in refugee aid programmes on trauma therapy has been offered.

The reason the GI İstanbul is the main actor in Turkey’s cultural relief program for refugees, states Christian Lüffe, results from the better transportation infrastructure from İstanbul to Eastern Turkey, where a part of the projects are conducted: “It is simply easier to reach. There are more flights from İstanbul to Mardin than from Ankara” (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016).

5.4.5 Exchange between German-Turkish artists

There is a vibrant cultural environment in Turkey, especially İstanbul, and it possesses an active and very young contemporary art scene. The two countries are connected through long-standing collaborations and friendships between cultural and art scene actors. The GI hereby acts as partner for facilitating existing and initiating further cultural and artistic exchange, by bringing together artists from both countries to work together and by building new networks.

There are several German residency programmes for artists in İstanbul for instance, such as the GI's *Kulturakademie Tarabya*⁴⁹, the “Cultural exchange stipends of the federal state of Berlin – Visual arts”⁵⁰ of the Senate Chancellery Berlin in cooperation with Diyalog Derneği⁵¹, the “Atelier Galata”⁵² under the patronage of the Arts Foundation North Rhine-Westphalia (Kunststiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen) and the Academy of Fine Arts Braunschweig.

The growing significance of German-Turkish artists⁵³ is mentioned by the director of the GI İstanbul, Christian Lüffe: “In the cultural field, German-Turkish artists play a very prominent role. There are authors, movie makers, also visual artists in Germany” (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016). The local programme coordinator Öztürk in Ankara highlights the interest shown in the work of these artists in Turkey: “Artists with a Turkish background who live in Germany are

⁴⁹ For further information, see: <http://www.tarabya.diplo.de/>, Retrieved: 25.05.2016. The GI's residency programme *Kulturakademie Tarabya* will furthermore be issued in chapter 5.6.

⁵⁰ For further information, see: <https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/en/funding/funding-programmes/international-cultural-exchange/artikel.236165.en.php>, Retrieved: 11.06.2016

⁵¹ For further information, see: <http://www.dynamic.diyalog-der.eu/>, Retrieved: 11.06.2016

⁵² For further information, see: <http://www.kunststiftungnrw.de/presse.php?piid=26&lang=en>, Retrieved: 25.05.2016

⁵³ For instance, Şermin Langhoff (1969) who was curator at the Berlin Theater *Hebbel am Ufer (HAU)* from 2004 until 2008, then founded the post-migrational *Theater am Ballhaus Naunynstraße* in the Berlin neighborhood of Kreuzberg. Since the 2013-2014 season she has been director of the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin. She has conducted many projects and productions dealing with topics of migration and identity.

highly in demand for local projects here [both by the audience and partners in the cultural field – VM]; in this respect we are very active” (Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016).

5.4.6 Positioning the GI Turkey within the general strategy of the GI

Due to the historic, economic and political relations with Germany summarized above, there is an underlying connection and interest to be found within the people in Turkey: many of them have business relationships or relatives living in Germany, and the political ties between the two countries have – within the framework of the EU accession negotiations – an impact on the international political status of the country and the worldwide mobility of Turkish citizens.

As for Germany, not only because of its high population of Turkish nationality of origin or descent, the relationship with Turkey is of particular importance especially for the last 50 years, due to the political and cultural circumstances regarding the EU and NATO.

In its role as bridge to the Muslim world and to its Arab and Middle Eastern neighbors, Turkey certainly holds a singular position, especially in respect to the current refugee crisis and the precarious situation in its neighboring countries Syria, Iraq and Iran.

The mutual interest of the two countries’ artists and art lovers towards each other and the cultural exchange and networking between their cultural scenes establishes important professional and personal bonds between the two countries.

The general strategy of the GI aims to increase international interest in Germany by conveying information, knowledge and German culture, lifestyle and science as well as the German language. The goal is to sustain existing ties and friendships between countries and peoples and to establish new ones to help prevent and overcome conflicts by fostering dialogue and collaboration. The Goethe Institute wants to further strengthen civil society and democratic developments in the

world. Hence, the above factors both ease the work of the GI in Turkey significantly (as a basic interest in Germany is already a given) but also increase the importance of its presence there. Especially during times of increasing worldwide crises and growing political difficulties (including within Turkey itself), it is of great significance to maintain and deepen the friendly relationship between the people of the two countries, foster values of peace and democracy and provide channels for dialogue and cooperation.

Turkey can be distinguished from many other countries within the Goethe-system by its geographical, cultural and ideological position between East and West. The peculiarity of the German-Turkish relationship is determined by their mutual migration history and the large German population of Turkish descent.

5.5 Cultural programme work in Turkey: Local events and the politics of the day

Since all GIs are managed locally, they can and must react to contemporary political and social events through culture and arts. As there is no universal plan to be applied, the institute directors decide by themselves what will be done. In situations that may endanger the security of the institute's employees and visitors, the regional institute works together and supports the respective institute in its proceedings and, if necessary, with additional financial means. With the danger of terrorist attacks rising, this was recently the case in Ankara. As Makowski reports, there was a question as to what could be done to provide for more security while still remaining an open and welcoming house to everyone (cf. Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016). As a consequence, metal detectors and shatterproof windows were installed, which, as Makowski states, were things that were not originally taken into consideration in the ongoing renovation of the GI-building in Ankara (cf. *ibid.*).

Lüffe refers to another incident concerning security, in which their cultural programming had to be cancelled. As part of its programmes in Eastern Turkey, the institute in İstanbul had planned a film screening programme in Diyarbakır in November 2015. Because of the general elections and the related protests and riots in the area beforehand, the programme was restricted to three days and finally had to be cancelled due to security concerns following the murder of the Kurdish lawyer Tahir Elçi (cf. Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016).

Even though the GI is an independent agency organization, as an institution acting in the name of the German Federal Foreign Office, it also has a de facto representative role. This means that in the event of social or political incidents in the host country, the director of the respective institute has to deliberate on whether or not to take a stand.

The individual opinion of the institute directors on this subject varies greatly: The institute director in İzmir, Bartsch, resolutely refuses to take any position as “Culture cannot be instrumentalized for such political reasons” (Bartsch, in-depth interview, 27.01.2016). He continues: “It is not tenable that the Goethe-Institut interferes in political events. This is the task of the diplomatic representatives, if anything” (ibid.). Hahn-Raabe on the contrary emphasizes “we certainly answer to the political events of the time and take position to them – but via the arts” (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016). As examples, she mentions the Gezi protests and the murder of Hrant Dink⁵⁴, in response to which the institute conducted several events. She recalls for instance, the GI İstanbul’s reaction to the assassination of Hrant Dink:

“One answer from our side to this was a strong collaboration with Armenia. In the language department for example, we had a project which brought together specialists

⁵⁴ Hrant Dink (1954-2007) was a Armenian-Turkish journalist and the editor-in-chief of the newspaper Agos. He stood up for minority and human rights in Turkey and was criticized by Turkish nationalists for campaigning for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. He was shot and killed in front of the Agos head office on January 19, 2007.

in German studies from Armenia, Turkey and Germany. So it surely had impacts on our work as we took a stand by making it visible that we back Armenia.” (ibid.)

With several events on Armenians and the Armenian Genocide, the GI İstanbul underlined this position again during the year of commemoration for World War I in 2014.

In the capital Ankara, the German-Turkish politics of the day have only a slight impact on the GI’s events: “The governmental or political side has to distance itself when there is a crisis between the two countries. When that happens, there are signs of distance not from the German, but from the Turkish side” (Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016). This political distance is manifested by the representatives of the Turkish government avoiding contact with the GI Ankara temporarily. However, Öztürk adds, this does not happen regularly due to the good diplomatic relations between the two countries, which is in any event not the responsibility of the GI, but of the German Embassy (cf. ibid.).

5.6 The German artist residency programme in İstanbul: Tarabya KA

In 2012, the artist residency programme of the Federal Republic of Germany, the *Kulturakademie Tarabya* (Cultural Academy Tarabya - Tarabya KA) was inaugurated in İstanbul. The residency is located at the historic summer residence of the German ambassador in the Tarabya neighborhood in İstanbul. From the period of September 2012 until October 2015 it has already hosted 35 artists in seven artist apartments. The scholarship is awarded to artists and cultural actors from all cultural fields, nominated by the Federal Foreign Office, which follows the suggestions of an independent jury.

The mission of the residency programme, whose establishment was initiated by the German Bundestag in 2008 with the support of Hahn-Raabe, is to contribute to German-Turkish cultural

exchange, to provide for inspiration and for the opportunity to further develop the artists' work (cf. Tarabya KA 2016).

Unlike the other artist residencies run by the Federal Republic of Germany (for instance the Villa Aurora in New York or the Villa Massimo in Rome) which are led by the Federal Ministry for Culture and Media, the Tarabya KA is the only residency programme which is the responsibility of the Federal Foreign Office.

The academy is hence run by the German Embassy Ankara, which transferred the curatorial duties to the GI İstanbul, where a new post was created for its curatorial management exclusively. The function of this position is to bring scholars together with local artists and figures from the cultural field, introduce them to new networks, organize events with them and present their work.

Rather than a part of the GI's programme work, Tarabya KA is a prestigious project of the Federal Foreign Office and its foreign cultural policy, Makowski observes (cf. Makowski, in-depth interview, 24.02.2016). Like Makowski, Hahn-Raabe also perceived both as different fields of activity and divided the GI's cultural programme work from the events featuring the academy's residents (cf. Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016). Her successor Lüffe, on the other hand, integrated the resident artist's works into the GI İstanbul's regular cultural calendar of events. He claims that "it is important for us not to let them only work alone on their works, but to provide a connection with the host country. This is also one of our exceptional features in comparison to the other residency programmes" (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016).

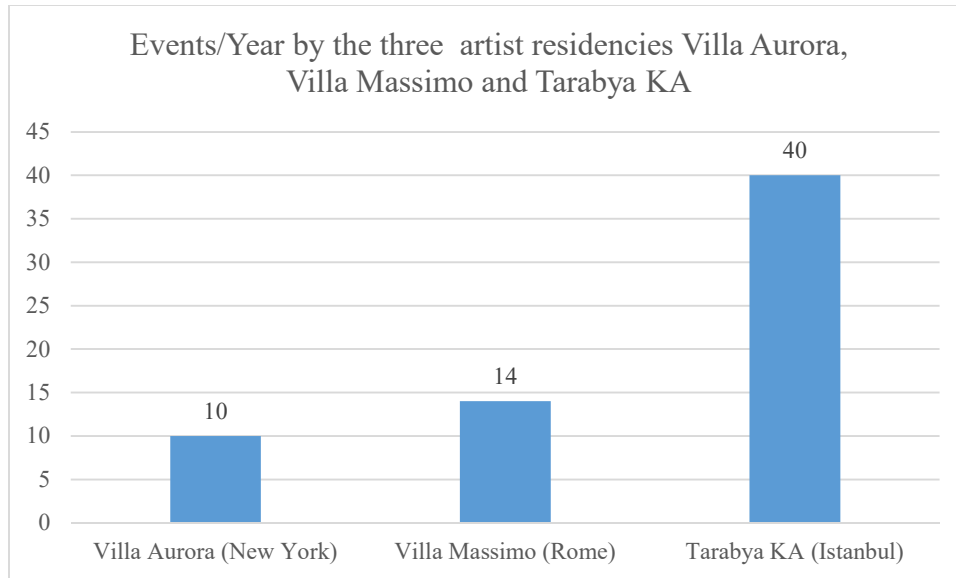


Fig. 7, Comparison of the events/year conducted by the three artist residencies Villa Aurora, Villa Massimo and Tarabya KA (cf. *ibid.*)

Concerning the work of GI İstanbul, Lüffe realizes that the residency means a much larger work load and that they are, in comparison to other residency programmes, relatively badly endowed in terms of personnel. Nonetheless, as depicted in Fig. 7, compared to Villa Aurora and Villa Massimo, which realize approximately 10 and 14 events per year, Tarabya KA is, with approximately 40 events annually, by far the most productive of the three in respect to cultural programming.

5.7 Funding of the GIs in Turkey

As explained above, the budget of each GI is composed of its own income and the Federal Foreign Office's funds, which are allocated by the regional offices. The division of the budget within each institute is done individually on the authority of the institute director

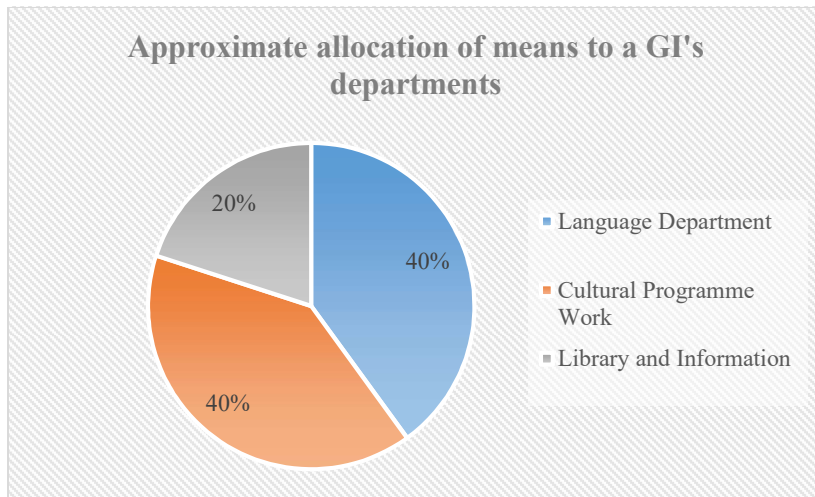


Fig. 8, Break-down of the approximate allocation of means to the three GI departments (cf. Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016)

. As Hahn-Raabe estimates, this division generally is done by allocating approximately 40 % to programme work, 40 % to the language department and 20 % to the library and information department, as is broken down in the diagram in Fig. 8 (cf. Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016).

All three institutes in Turkey raise 60 % to 70 % of their budget through self generated income (cf. Bartsch, Öztürk, Lüffe, in-depth interviews 27.01, 28.01. and 29.02.2016), which is a comparatively high share, as the average self generated income is about 50% within the institutes in the South-Eastern European region and about 40% in the GI's worldwide (cf. Bartsch, in-depth interview 27.01.2016).

Additional grants can be obtained from other funding institutions, such as private foundations. To sustain their independence from party politics, applying for funding from political foundations is not an option (cf. Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016). Applications are filed, for instance,

with the German *Robert Bosch Stiftung*⁵⁵ and the *Stiftung Mercator*⁵⁶, which are active in Turkey, or with the European Union. When applying for EU project funding however, proposals are processed with the GI in general as applicant, regardless of the filing institute; as this leads to too many bids in the name of the GI, it is common for the institutes to apply through their respective project partners, to increase their chances for receiving a grant (cf. Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016).

The GIs in Turkey further benefit from an additional governmental fund, the *Ernst-Reuter-Initiative* (ERI). The grant is based upon an agreement signed in 2006 between the foreign ministers of Germany and Turkey of that time, Steinmeier and Gül⁵⁷. The Initiative aims to support German-Turkish cooperation in arts and culture, policy and media, economy, education and science, as well as intercultural dialogue (cf. *Die Deutschen Auslandsvertretungen in der Türkei* 2016b). Thanks to this programme, another 250 000 € are granted to the GI Turkey yearly, which is split between the three offices (cf. Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016). According to Hahn-Raabe, “generally about 100 000 € goes to İstanbul, 100 000 € to Ankara and 50 000 € to İzmir, according to their current respective infrastructures and programmes” (ibid.).

One of the major cultural programming measures facilitated by the ERI is the Translators Award Tarabya “for extraordinary translations from Turkish to German and from German to Turkish” (*Die Deutschen Auslandsvertretungen in der Türkei* 2016c). Since 2010 the award is

⁵⁵ The Robert Bosch Stiftung is one of the major German foundations associated with a private group of companies and has managed the philanthropic bequest of company founder Robert Bosch for over 50 years.

⁵⁶ Stiftung Mercator is a private and independent foundation brought into being by the Schmidt family, who is one of the three main shareholders of the METRO Group. One of Germany’s leading foundations. It is active both nationally and internationally. Through its work, the Stiftung Mercator strives for a society characterized by openness to the world, solidarity and equal opportunities.

⁵⁷ Abdullah Gül (1950) is a Turkish politician who was in office as the 11th President of Turkey from 2007 to 2014. Before that, he served as Prime Minister from 2002 to 2003, and then both as Deputy Prime Minister and as Foreign Minister between 2003 and 2007. Currently he is a member of the Advisory Panel for the President of the Islamic Development Bank.

granted annually⁵⁸ by the Turkish Ministry for Culture and Tourism, the GI İstanbul, the *Robert Bosch-Stiftung*, the *S. Fischer-Stiftung*⁵⁹ and (since 2014) by the Yunus Emre Foundation⁶⁰ (cf. Die Deutschen Auslandsvertretungen in der Türkei 2016b).

⁵⁸ In 2015 the recipients were Barbara Yurtdaş, who won the grand prize, Eric Czotscher, who was granted the advancement award, and Wolfgang Riemann, who received a working scholarship.

⁵⁹ The S. Fischer-Stiftung is a German foundation, which is committed to international cultural and particularly literary exchange since its foundation in 2003. With its SCHRITTE (steps) programmes, it supports the translation of German contemporary literature in Russia, Poland and Turkey.

⁶⁰ The Yunus Emre Foundation was founded in 2007 as basis for the Yunus Emre Institute. The institution's mission is to promote Turkey, the Turkish language, history, culture and arts across the world and to provide information and services to those interested as well as to develop Turkey's relations and cultural exchange with other countries.

6. Analysis of the GI's cultural programme work in Turkey (2005-2015)

In this chapter, the cultural programme work of the three GIs in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir within the period from 2005 to 2015 will be examined in five sub-chapters:

1. Firstly, the cultural programme work of the GI in Turkey at large will be examined with regard to significant changes occurring over the years and according to the art disciplines which were covered in the programmes. To set the GI's work in Turkey within a greater context, the cultural programme work of the three GIs will be positioned in relation to the local population and cultural offers according to the Turkish Statistical Institute.
2. In the next step, the three institutes' cultural programme departments and their directors' leadership and working dynamics as well as their productivity will be outlined.
3. After this, the three GIs' cultural programme work will be scrutinized individually according to the nature of their cultural programme work by firstly analyzing the trends in each institute's main cultural disciplines.
4. Then, the three GIs' approach to cooperation and their partners will be investigated.
5. Lastly, the institute directors' personal evaluation of their outstanding events will be reassessed according to the events' compliance with the Federal Foreign Office's principles for foreign cultural policy.

As the count and contents of events and projects for the analysis were compiled and retrieved from the institutes' online archives, although they are substantial in number, it is possible that individual events are missing as they may not have been documented within this system. However, they do give us an overview and an approximate idea on the trends of how many events were conducted throughout the years and which cultural fields were the most dominant and helped to shape the respective institute's profiles.

6.1 Overview on the GI Turkey's cultural programme work 2005-2015

6.1.1 The GI Turkey's cultural programme work in numbers

The sum of the cultural programmes conducted by the three institutes in Turkey throughout the 11 years' research period from 2005 to the end of 2015 totals 1221 events. The total average of cultural activities was approximately 111 events per year in all of Turkey.

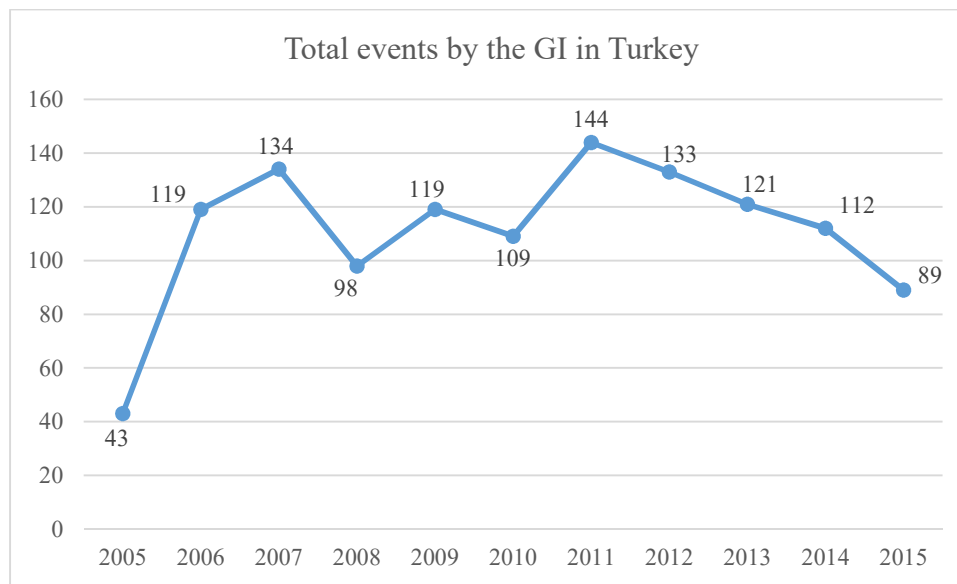


Fig. 9, Total events of the GI in Turkey throughout the research period (2005-2015)

As can be seen in Figure 9 which displays the annual trend of events, only in the years 2005, 2008 and 2015 did the yearly number of activities significantly fall below this total average with 43, 98 and 89 events per year. At the peak of the research period in 2011, the figures exceeded the total average by nearly one third with 33 additional events. In 2007 and in 2012, the event numbers also went markedly beyond average with respectively 22 and 23 events extra. The low in the very beginning of the research period can be simply explained by the new establishment of the GI online archives around that time and the likelihood that not all conducted events were registered in the system yet. The likelihood is also high that in 2015 a lack in documenting the events in the system, as well as changes on the administrative level of the individual institutes may have caused of the

low. The low event count in 2008 coincides with the general economic crisis which also affected the cultural field and hence can be seen as an underlying reason for the GIs' decreased activity rate.

6.1.2 The GI Turkey's cultural programme work in art disciplines

Listed under the categories *Architecture, Dance, Design, Economy and Social life, Environment, Europe, Film, Literature, Media, Modern Life, Music, Philosophy and Religion, Politics and Contemporary History, Science and Education, Theatre, and Visual Arts*, one can find a short description of all the events in the online event calendar and archive⁶¹. Complying with the GI's objective to convey a comprehensive image of German cultural life, this classification of the cultural programmes shows the GI's broad understanding of culture: not only the classical art disciplines are included, but the categories comprise also sectors from the creative industries, such as architecture and design, as well as humanities and social topics like environment, modern life, philosophy, and politics.

To provide for more clarity in the following analyses, the 16 disciplines of the GI were once again gathered in six main categories: *Visual Arts, Film, Performing Arts and Music* (including Music, Theatre and Dance), *Literature, Design and Creative Industries* (including Architecture, Design and Media) and *History and Humanities* (including Economy and Social Life, Environment, Europe, Modern Life, Philosophy and Religion, Politics and Contemporary History, and Science and Education). In some cases where the complete breakdown is not necessarily required for the analysis, the respective disciplines with a count under 10% are combined in the category *Others* to increase the legibility of the figures.

⁶¹ For the online archive of the GI İstanbul see: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/de/ist/ver.cfm> (Retrieved: 09.05.2016)

As illustrated in Figure 10, the cultural programme work at the three institutes in Turkey can be divided in the four main categories of Film (with 30%), Performing Arts and Music (with 29%), followed by Others⁶² (with 20%) and Visual Arts (with 20%). With almost 60%, the disciplines of Film and Performing Arts and Music clearly dominate the GI's programme work in Turkey.

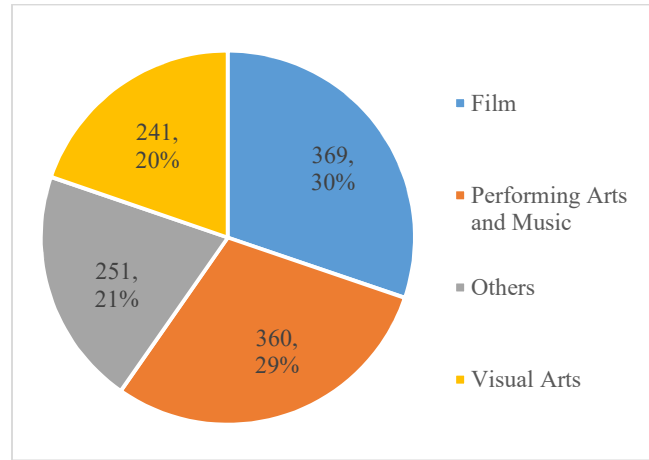


Fig. 10, The cultural programme work in Turkey 2005-2015

The clear predominance of the area Film is easy to explain, as it is the easiest and cheapest to display and present to the public as well as to obtain in a readymade form from Germany. Considering that in other cultural disciplines artworks or persons have to be brought to Turkey, be stored and accommodated, and furthermore local production and venues are needed, not least with regard to the organization efforts film screenings are the most uncomplicated event format for the GI. From the perspective of the audience, the medium of film is convenient as it meets the taste of larger target groups. Through carefully chosen movies, the present and the past of the German society, culture and life can be successfully displayed. Film is therefore an excellent tool for fulfilling the GI's objective of conveying a comprehensive image of Germany⁶³.

The frequent use of the disciplines Film, Music⁶⁴ and Visual Arts can be explained by the fact that, in contrast to cultural branches such as theatre, literature or participative events and conferences in the humanities, language barriers do not play an important role. Movies are easy to

⁶² The category "Others" is composed of the disciplines Literature (with 9%), History and Humanities (with 8%) and Design and Creative Industries (with 3%).

⁶³ Comp. Appendix 3: The principles and criteria for cultural programme work and the work of the GI. P. 154

⁶⁴ With 242 events almost 70% of the area Performing Arts and Music can be attributed to the category of Music.

caption and can be re-screened as often as desired, and concerts or exhibitions can usually even do without any need of words.

6.1.3 The three GIs' cultural programme work in relation to the local population and cultural scene

The size and importance of the three institutes is reflected in the number of their employees as well as in the count of cultural events they conducted throughout the research period (2005-2015).

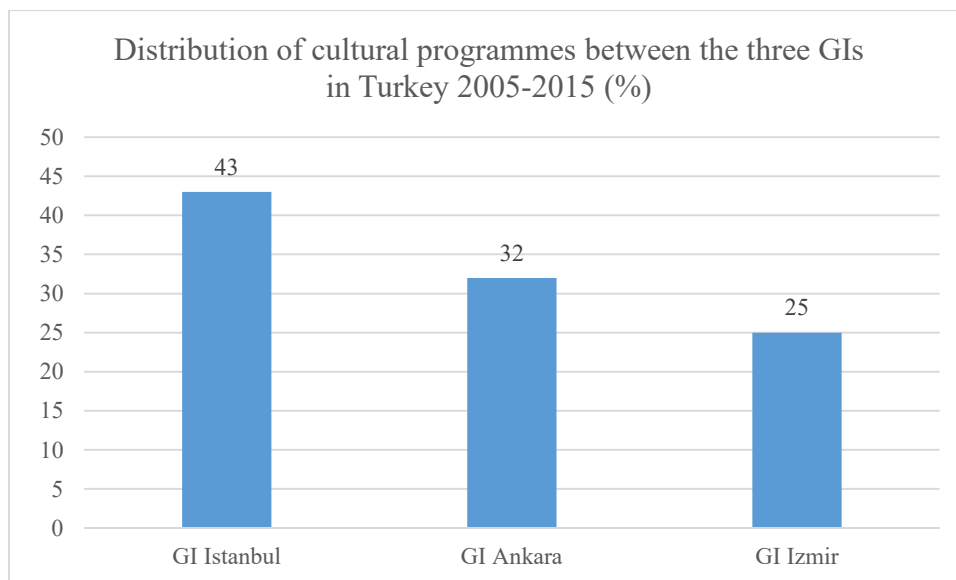


Fig. 11, Distribution of cultural programmes between the three GIs in Turkey 2005-2015 (%)

As visualized in Figure 11, with a total of 530 events, the GI İstanbul covered 43% of the total amount of events during the research period. With this event count and its 33 employees, it is the largest of the three institutes. The GI in Ankara is, with 24 employees and 32% of the events (386 cultural activities), the second in line. Lastly, with 12 employees, İzmir accounted for 312 cultural events, which covers 25% of the three institutes' events during the research period.

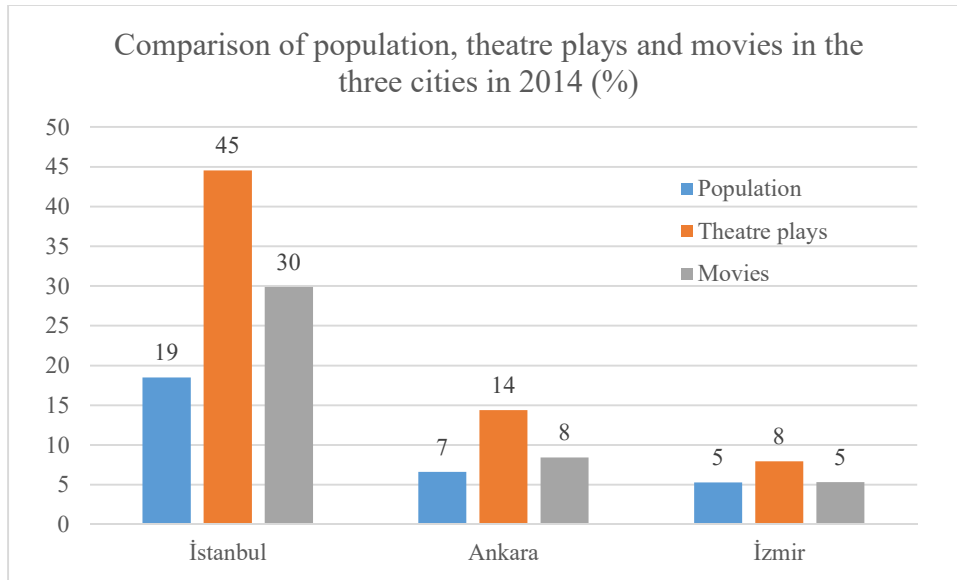


Fig. 12, Comparison of population size and the count of theatre performances staged and movies screened in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir 2014 (%) (TÜİK 2016)

Taking into consideration the size of the three cities in terms of their population and their respective theatre and cinema statistics obtained by the Turkish Statistical Institute TÜİK for the year 2014, as can be seen in Figure 12, different observations can be made. With a count of 14,377,018 registered residents in 2014, İstanbul covered 19% of the nationwide population. Concerning the cultural scene however, at 45% İstanbul provides for almost a half of the country's theatre performances and for 30% of the movies screened in 2014. Especially regarding the theatre plays, this is an exceedingly high amount, considering that there are 81 provinces in Turkey of which İstanbul is only one. These statistics show the monopolistic role İstanbul still plays in the country with respect to cultural offers.

In comparison to İstanbul, both the population and cultural statistics in Ankara and İzmir seem low: with a bit more than 5 million residents, 7% of the Turkish population lived in Ankara in 2014, where 14% of the nation's theatre performances were staged and 8% of the movies were screened in that same year. İzmir, as the smallest of the three cities, accounted for 5% of the

Turkish population with a bit more than 4 million residents and for 8% of the theatre performances and 5% of the movie screenings.

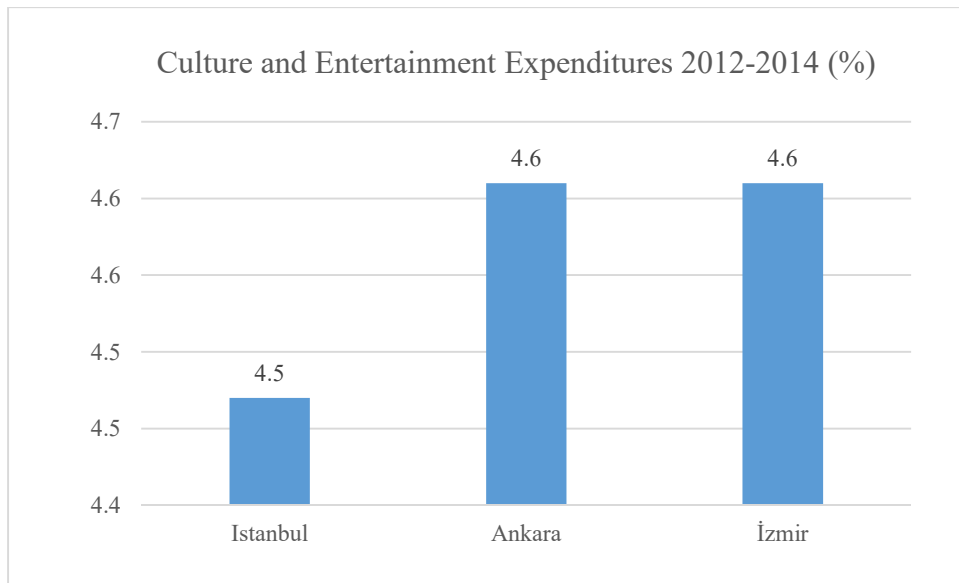


Fig. 13, The three cities' distribution of Culture and Entertainment expenditures in Turkey 2012-2014 (%) (TÜİK 2016)

When reviewing these statistics in the context of the actual distribution of expenditures for culture and entertainment in Turkey, as depicted in Figure 13, it becomes clear that the demands – reflected in the expenditures the people are willing or able to incur for culture – don't correlate with the offers: other than in the statistics given above, in the case of cultural expenditures İstanbul ranks the lowest of the three cities with only 4.5% of the nationwide expenditures for culture and entertainment. Ankara and İzmir rank equally with 4.6% culture expenditures. These results show that the interest in cultural offers is, relatively to their population size, in fact just a bit higher in İzmir and Ankara than in İstanbul. This is an important observation, as the TÜİK statistics on cultural offers above show that offers such as theatre performances and films are very much centered in İstanbul with differences of between 31% and 22% compared with the other two cities. This comparison indicates a big gap between the cultural offers in Turkey, even though the demand

for culture in the three cities is not that unequal. The numbers hence indicate a greater need for cultural offers beyond İstanbul.

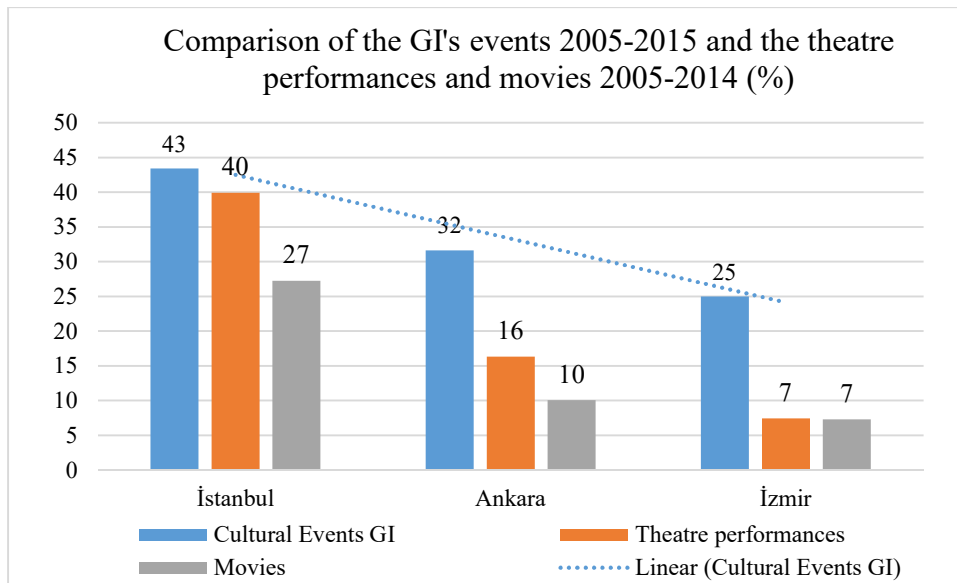


Fig. 14, Comparison of the cultural events by the GI 2005-2015 and the theatre performances staged and movies screened according to TÜİK in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir 2005-2014 (%) (TÜİK 2016)

As illustrated by the trend line in Figure 14, the count of events conducted in the years from 2005 to 2015 by the GI in Turkey is quite evenly spread between the three institutes according to their size. Figure 14 furthermore shows that the gaps between the counts of the institutes' events are not as significant as in the general theatre and cinema statistics: The counts of theatre performances and movie screenings in Ankara (with 16% and 10%) amount for less than half of those in İstanbul (with 40% and 27%), and even for less than a fourth of the them in İzmir (with 7% each). This illustrates the strong concentration of cultural events in İstanbul which causes the significant gap between İstanbul and the other two cities. That the GI's distribution in the three cities differs significantly from the local theatre and cinema scenes can be seen also in a direct comparison of their event counts: In İstanbul the difference between the theatre performances and the event counts of the GI is (with 3%) almost nonexistent and also the GI's events and the count

of movie screenings according to the cinema statistics differ with only 16%. In Ankara however the GI conducted two times more events than the theatre statistics registered and three times more than displayed in the cinema statistics. The GI İzmir exceeded the local theatre and cinema scene with even four times the event counts.

Recalling the population size of the three cities in comparison with the theatre and cinema statistics from Figure 12, it becomes clear that the work of the three institutes is much more evenly spread according to the size of the three cities. Considering the distribution of culture and entertainment expenditures in the three cities as given in Figure 13, the GI follows the overall trend of İstanbul holding the cultural monopoly in Turkey. Compared to the general theatre and cinema statistics however, the GI provides for a more balanced distribution of the cultural events between the three cities and hence is more likely to meet the higher demand for culture in İzmir and Ankara. The slightly higher demand in İzmir however, as indicated in Figure 8, is also not answered by the GI İzmir's size and event count. This might be due to the politically and economically greater importance of the two other locations of the GI for Germany, or by outside factors such as a smaller cultural partner network in the city.

6.2 Leadership and working dynamics at the three GIs in Turkey

As described in chapter 3.4.2, each cultural programme department is comprised of local programme coordinators reporting to the institute director. The respective director's leadership approach therefore characterizes the institutes' working dynamics.

According to Hewison and Holden, there are "three broad types of leadership style" (2011: 28): Transactional, transformational and relational leadership.

1. A transactional leader “takes responsibility by making sure that everything is running smoothly, that everyone knows what they are supposed to do, and that the organization does what it has set out to do on time and on budget. In return, the team makes this happen” (Hewison, Holden 2011: 29). For an organization to be creative however, they recommend one of the other, less managerial leadership styles (cf. *ibid.*), as “[the team members] are not engaged in the operation by being motivated to be creative themselves.” (*ibid.*)
2. As a transformational leader, one “has an open vision, not a fixed target. That vision inspires and motivates people in the organization to want to make the vision a reality, and the leader is there to urge them on” (*ibid.*: 30). One way to proceed with this method according to the authors, is with a certain charisma that persuades the team that change is needed (cf. *ibid.*). In the case of transformational leadership the employees then “get their greatest personal satisfaction from the success of the organization as a whole” (*ibid.*).
3. The relational leadership style is built on the relationship between the leader and their team (cf. *ibid.*: 31). “That relationship is seen in terms of a group of people moving forward together, rather than a group following an individual, as in transformational leadership” (*ibid.*). Relational leadership leads to “a much more stable organization, where people do not just feel proud of the success of the organization, they feel they own it” (*ibid.*). Differentiating between the leadership styles, Hewison and Holden conclude: “Whereas a transformational leader is definitely seen as being out in front of the organization, the relational leader will be at the centre of it.” (*ibid.*)

Considering these three leadership styles after Hewison and Holden, in the following a short overview will be given on the size, working structure and leadership approach in the three institutes.

6.2.1 The cultural programme department of the GI İstanbul

The cultural programme department of the GI İstanbul combines both the cultural programme work of the Institute itself and since September 2012, also the curatorial work of Tarabya KA. Three programme coordinators work on the cultural programming of the Institute and there is one programme coordinator for the artist residency. The tasks of the GI's cultural programme work are split between the three local programme coordinators. "As my employees unfortunately don't have fulltime positions," Lüffe asserts, "we also have to obtain experts on a per project basis from outside" (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016).

Under the management of both Hahn-Raabe and Lüffe, programming decisions, the allocation of tasks and the evaluation of events were done in regularly held programme meetings of the programme department at the GI İstanbul. On his approach to leadership and the way decisions are made in the programme department, Lüffe elaborates: "I generally like to be informed about everything, but I have employees in the programme department who come up with so many interesting proposals that I rarely have to turn something down" (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016). Hahn-Raabe on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of collaboration and consensus, regardless of whether a project proposal originated from within the department or was sent from partners from outside the institute:

"The decisions were always made through dialogue. For me this is very important: no matter if the idea comes from me or from my counterpart, both have to agree" (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016).

According to this short review of their approaches, both Hahn-Raabe and Lüffe seem to fit the criteria for the relational leadership style, as they involve their employees and partners in their decision making processes.

6.2.2 The cultural programme department of the GI Ankara

The cultural programme department of the GI Ankara is comprised of the institute director and two local programme coordinators. As in the GI İstanbul, regular programme meetings are also held in Ankara. Decisions on the cultural programmes are ultimately made by the institute director, however in consultation with the programme coordinators, as Öztürk emphasizes: “This is inevitable, as we know the Turkish scene better than the institute directors and have direct contact with the partners and the audience. The local employees are an important factor of the programming department” (Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016).

In addition to the cultural programme meetings, weekly meetings take place with all departments in which they present their activities and exchange ideas. As Öztürk elaborates:

“It might be the case, for instance, that the director of the language department knows an artist and says that he or she is not suitable for Ankara. [...] [Hence] you should see the institute in Ankara as a whole, not each department individually” (ibid.).

As a further means of pre-evaluating their programmes, the GI Ankara consults the cultural department at the German Embassy in Ankara in certain cases: “We never do self-censorship, but concerning certain risky or explosive topics which deal in some way with political issues, we obtain the opinion of the cultural department of the embassy” (ibid.).

Since no in-depth interview could be held with the former institute director in Ankara, Lier, a personal self-assessment of his leadership style or his approach to decision-making in cultural programme work could not be obtained. According to the results from the short survey of the working dynamics and decision-making processes in the cultural programme department of the GI Ankara however, in his approach of considering the opinions and expertise of the employees from all departments, he also appears to most likely be a relational leader.

6.2.3 The cultural programme department of the GI İzmir

In İzmir, the cultural programme department of the GI is only made up of the institute director and one local programme coordinator. Hence, here no division of responsibilities or cultural branches takes place. Bartsch thus also proceeds differently than his colleagues in İstanbul and Ankara: no programme meetings are held and he does not discuss many of the cultural programme decisions with his staff, as he reasons, “there is no one with whom I could discuss this” (Bartsch, in-depth interview, 27.01.2016). Rather, he deliberates on the institute’s programming decisions with his partners from the local cultural scene:

“Wherever I have done programming work over the last 20 years, I always had something like an unofficial advisory board to whom I presented my ideas. If you trust each other, they can also advise you that it is better not to do something or to modify it, if it does not make any sense in the location. The decision itself is not the important part, but the process of deciding is” (Bartsch, in-depth interview, 27.01.2016).

His approach to decision-making in cultural programme work is to try to find niches and demands in the local cultural scene and to address these, instead of adding more events of the same format: “To repeat something which others are already doing, in my eyes does not really comply with the goal of the Goethe Institut. You have to come up with different formats and create something out of the ordinary, which is not common yet” (ibid.). As Bartsch sums up, the key criteria in the decision-making process for cultural programme work are innovation, sustainability, the involvement of partners, and the relevance of an event for both the hosting country and Germany (cf. ibid.). “You have to consider [these aspects] to some extent [...] during the evaluation and creation of cultural programmes” (ibid.).

Born from the lack of personnel, Bartsch approaches his leadership in İzmir less communicatively, but tends to take the lead. Thus, as illustrated by his statements during the in-

depth interview, he seems to pursue a rather transactional leadership style with his employees. Given his interaction with cooperative partners however, it becomes clear that in a different setting – for instance with a bigger team to work with – he would tend to be a relational leader, too.

6.3 The cultural programme work of the three GIs in Turkey

The GI in Turkey has been investigated as a whole and an insight in the working structures and annual outcomes of the three institutes elaborated upon. In this and the following two chapters, the cultural programme work of the three institutes will be explored in more detail.

6.3.1 The cultural programme work of the GI İstanbul

During the research period from 2005 to 2015, the GI İstanbul had three different institute directors:

Dr. Rüdiger Bolz: 2005-2006 (1 year)

Claudia Hahn-Raabe: 2006-2013 (8 years)

Christian Lüffe: 2014-2015 (2 years)

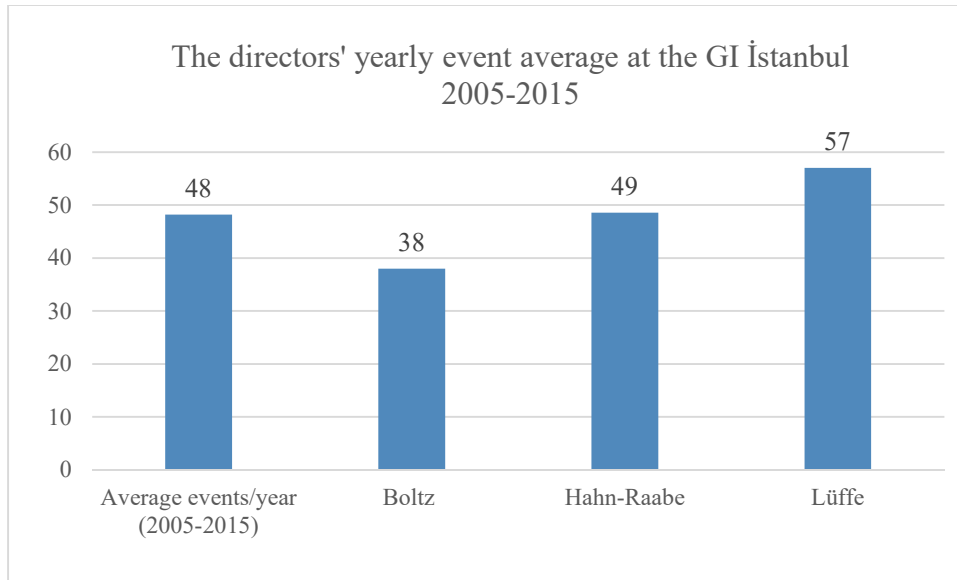


Fig. 15, The directors' yearly event average at the GI İstanbul 2005-2015

With 530 events in total at the GI İstanbul throughout the eleven year period, an average of 48 events were conducted per year. As Figure 15 depicts, Hahn-Raabe's work with 49 annual events approximately corresponded with the general annual average of the whole period. Boltz, who left İstanbul shortly after the beginning of the research period, only conducted 38 events per year and Lüffe, in his two years of office exceeded the general yearly average by 9 events per year. The reason for his remarkable increase of event counts in only two years could be that Hahn-Raabe, together with the everyday cultural programme work, was furthermore also occupied with the establishment of the artist residency Tarabya KA between 2008 and 2012. Moreover, unlike his predecessor, Lüffe included the additional events from the residency in the general cultural programme work.

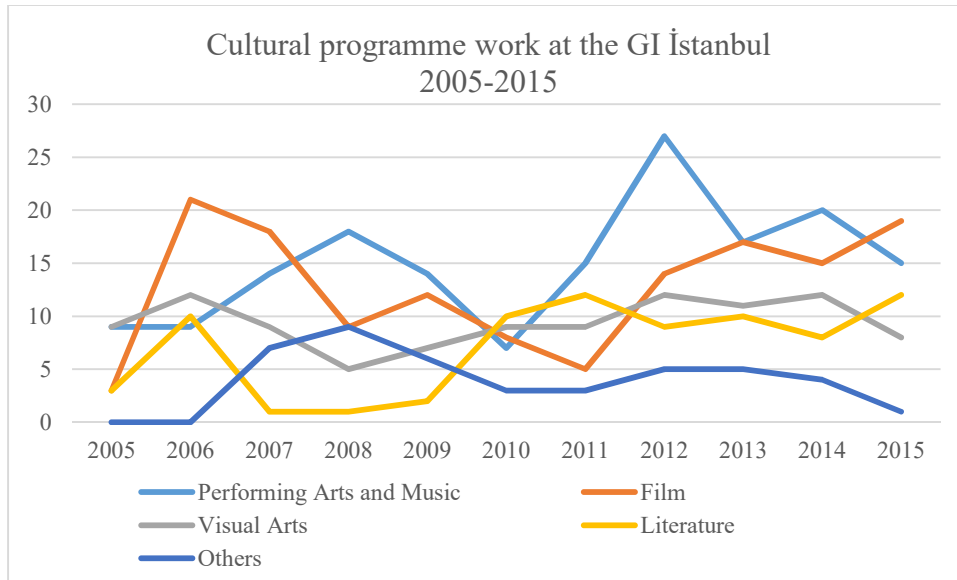


Fig. 16, Cultural programme work at the GI İstanbul 2005-2015

The main categories of the events at the GI İstanbul from 2005 to 2015 were Performing Arts and Music (with 31%), Film (with 27%), and Visual Arts (with 19%), followed by Literature (with 15%). The trends these disciplines went through over the years are illustrated in Figure 16 in an overview on the cultural programme work conducted by the GI İstanbul from 2005 to 2015.

As clearly visible in this chart, the count of events reached a general low in the year 2010 at the GI İstanbul. The only discipline showing no such effect, but on the contrary going up and having its peak in 2011, is literature. Both the high in the area of literature and the low in the other disciplines can be explained by their concurrence with the celebration of İstanbul’s nomination as the European Capital of Culture “İstanbul 2010”: the GI İstanbul contributed the large scale European literature project *Yollarda – European Literature Goes to Turkey/Turkish Literature Goes to Europe*⁶⁵ to “İstanbul 2010”. The project, which continued until 2011 with various literature events, increased the event count in the discipline significantly and, due to its work load,

⁶⁵ The project *Yollarda – European Literature Goes to Turkey/Turkish Literature Goes to Europe* is introduced and analyzed in chapter 6.5.3.

is likely to be the cause for lower event counts in the other areas. Another reason for lower figures in the years 2010 and 2011 could be the pending launch of the artist residence Tarabya KA in 2012 and the connected preparation work⁶⁶.

The two main categories of Performing Arts and Music and Film are clustered both towards the beginning and the end of the research period, causing the major gap between 2010 and 2011. The peak of the category of Film with 21 events in 2006 can be traced back to two factors: With Hahn-Raabe newly assuming office in that year, events in the area of film were both the easiest for the former director Bolz to plan ahead and also for Hahn-Raabe to realize without planning much in advance. The second factor increasing the event count in the category Film, is the implementation of the large scale short movie project *Kısa ve İyi/Kurz und Gut*, which toured Eastern Turkey under the management of Hahn-Raabe⁶⁷. The peak in the discipline of Performing Arts and Music in 2012 and its high counts from then on can be related to the launch of the artist residency Tarabya KA, which featured particular projects of its residents in the field of performing arts and music. The category of visual arts is the steadiest of the five categories, shifting between a high of 12 and a low of 5 events per year throughout the eleven year period.

6.3.2 The cultural programme work of the GI Ankara

During the research period, the office of the institute director changed twice:

Sabine Hagemann-Ünlüsoy: 2005-2009 (4.5 years)

⁶⁶ The preparatory work to allow for the artist residency Tarabya KA's establishment started in 2008 and continued until its launch in 2012. Hence, Hahn-Raabe accomplished this additional task during most of her term of office together with the everyday GI business and cultural programme work.

⁶⁷ The project *Kısa ve İyi/Kurz und Gut* is introduced and analyzed in chapter 6.5.1.

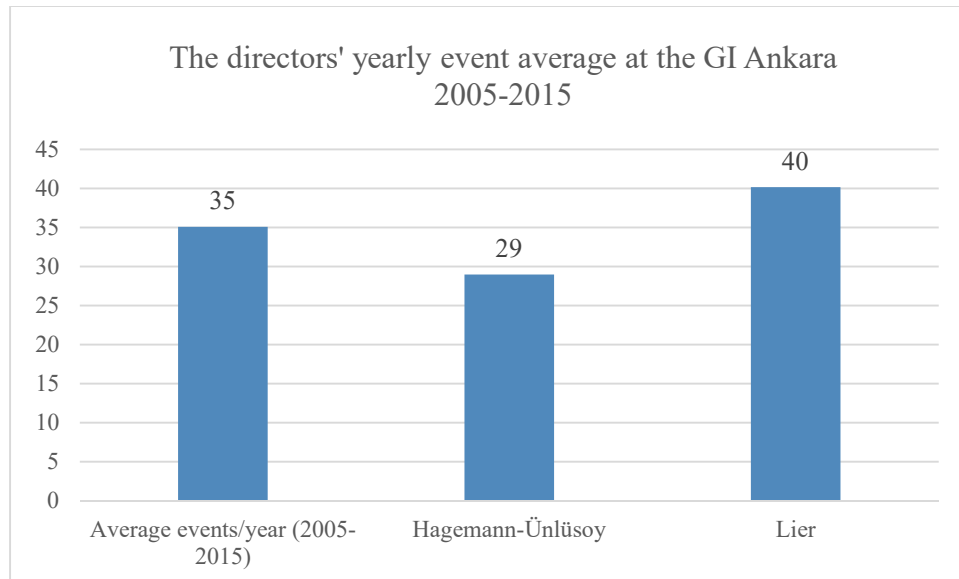


Fig. 17, The directors' yearly event average at the GI Ankara 2005-2015

With a total of 386 cultural events throughout the research period, the annual event average in Ankara amounts to 35, which is only about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the average in İstanbul. As illustrated in Figure 17, the comparison of the two directors' average shows a clear domination of events under Lier, who exceeded the total yearly average by 5 events. With an average of 29 events per year Hagemann-Ünlüsoy on the other hand, only met 83% of the total average of 35 events. This could be caused both by the negative effects the financial crisis in 2008 had on the cultural sector during Hagemann-Ünlüsoy's term of office, and simply Lier's more productive approach to the field of cultural programme work.

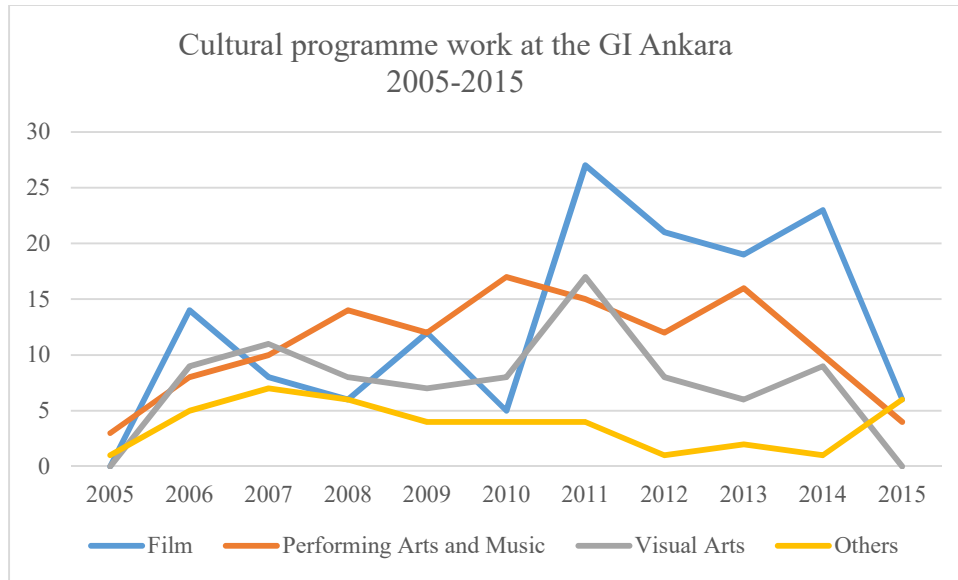


Fig. 18, Cultural programme work at the GI Ankara 2005-2015

The events at the GI Ankara from 2005 to 2015 were composed of the main disciplines Film (with 37%), Performing Arts and Music (with 31%), and Visual Arts (with 21%). In Figure 18, the trends and developments of the disciplines from 2005 to 2015 are depicted.

Congruent with the above examined institute directors' productivity rates, the first half of the research period in Ankara is characterized by lower event counts in the three major categories, without showing any big highs and lows. The second half from 2010 onwards however, shows peaks in all three disciplines. In particular in the area of film the figures increase significantly after a low point in 2010, with its peak of 27 events in 2011 and continuing high counts until 2014. The higher event counts in the second half of the 11 year period coincide with the change of the institute director shortly before. Under Lier, who held the office in the second half of the period from on 2009, a new focus in the area of film and dance films was developed and the dance film festival *SinemaDansAnkara*⁶⁸ was established. The events in the field of dance film and in the framework

⁶⁸ The festival *SinemaDansAnkara* is introduced and analyzed in chapter 6.5.8.

of the festival partly contributed to the sudden increase of event counts in the film area. In addition, in the area of Performing Arts and Music, more events are recorded from its peak in 2010 on. This increase of events was certainly supported by the theatre play *Warten, dass das Leben beginnt*⁶⁹, which under the organization of the GI Ankara toured through Turkey in 2011 and the following years.

6.3.3 The cultural programme work of the GI İzmir

During the eleven years of the research period, four directors were in office at the GI İzmir:

Heike Müller: 2005-2006 (1 year)

Dr. Hans-Werner Schmidt: 2006- 2009 (3.5 years)

Roland Schmidt 2009-2014 (5 years)

Dr. Rudolf Bartsch 2014-2015 (1.5 years)

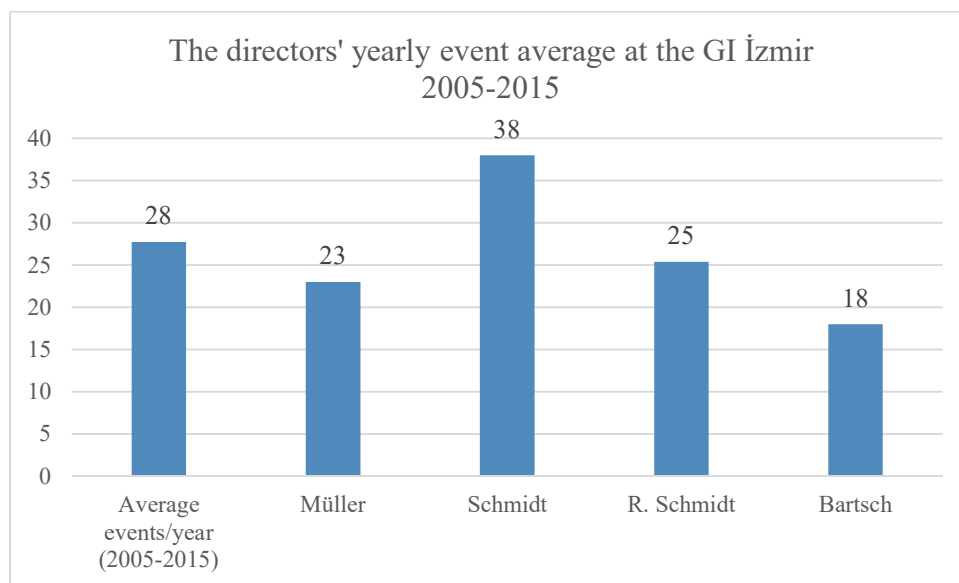


Fig. 19, The directors' yearly event average at the GI İzmir 2005-2015

⁶⁹ The programme *Warten, dass das Leben beginnt* is introduced and analyzed in chapter 6.5.10.

In İzmir with a total of 305 cultural programmes, a yearly average of 28 events were realized throughout the research period. Figure 19 allows for a comparison of the four institute directors' respective productivity. The only one of the four directors in İzmir to do so, H.W. Schmidt exceeded the annual average with 38 events per year. R. Schmidt with 25 events per year, Müller with 23 and Bartsch with only 18 annual events all stayed below the average. The low event count of both Müller and Bartsch can be explained by their short term of office at the beginning and end of the research period. The incomparable high outcome of H.W. Schmidt between 2006 and 2009 may disprove the former theory of the financial crisis' significant negative impact on the cultural programme work for the case of the GI İzmir.

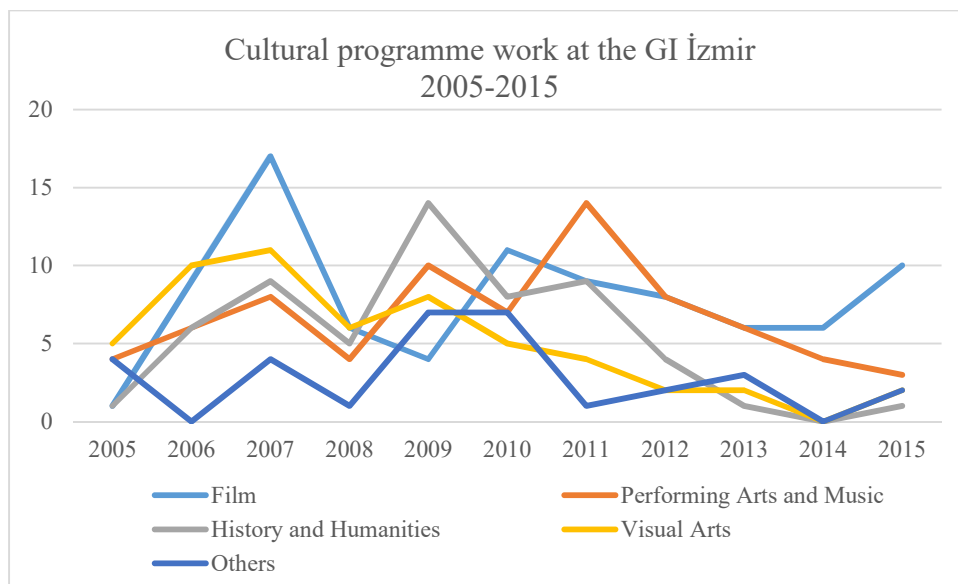


Fig. 20, Cultural programme work at the GI İzmir 2005-2015

At the GI İzmir, cultural programme work consisted of the main art disciplines Film (with 29%), Performing Arts and Music (with 24%), History and Humanities (with 19%) and Visual Arts (with 18%). It is notable that İzmir is the only of the three institutes in which History and Humanities finds its way into the main disciplines of the GI's cultural programme work.

As displayed in Figure 20, the cultural disciplines were much more varied and volatile throughout the years than in the two other institutes. The first half of the research period at the GI İzmir is characterized by steep ups and downs: A general upwards trend in all categories without exception just after the accession of office by H.-W. Schmidt leads to the GI İzmir's highest yearly event count in 2007. The areas of Film and Visual Arts reach their peaks of respectively 17 and 11 events in that year. However, a significant decline in all disciplines is recorded in the following year, when the total event count falls from 49 events in the prior year to 22 in 2008. The sudden fall in all categories could be caused by the impact of the economic crisis as previously suggested. In 2009, the event counts rise again in all disciplines (except for Film) to another high of 43 events, with History and Humanities reaching its peak of 14 events. The analysis of this fluctuating three year period, which coincides with H.-W. Schmidt's term of office, reveals that he oversaw the peak of three out of four main cultural disciplines at the GI İzmir during his tenure. The high event counts in 2007 and 2009 explain the high annual average during his time as institute director – and the drop in 2008 proves the former presumption wrong, the economic crisis had no significant impact on the cultural programme work of the GI İzmir.

In the second half of the research period however, shortly after the assumption of office by R. Schmidt, a continuous decline of event counts in all disciplines can be observed. The only exemption is found in the area of Performing Arts and Music, which reaches its peak of 14 events in a singular notable increase in 2011, before its counts also decline. The decreasing figures reach their low in 2014 with 15 events, after which under Bartsch a slight upwards trend becomes visible again in all categories except for Performing Arts and Music. The reasons for the exceedingly high figures under H.-W. Schmidt as well as the continuously declining counts under R. Schmidt can only be speculated upon, as no obvious cause can be distinguished.

6.4 Approaches to cooperation at the three GIs in Turkey

To collaborate with local and international partners is one of the main principles of foreign cultural policy: The *Konzeption 2000* calls for “partnership cooperation” (Auswärtiges Amt 2000: 1), in the strategic paper *Auswärtige Kultur- und Bildungspolitik in Zeiten der Globalisierung*, the Federal Foreign Office urges fostering “cooperation between people and cultures” (Auswärtiges Amt 2011: 3), and the GI itself states in its mission “We [...] foster international cultural cooperation” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016i). In this chapter the three institutes’ approaches to cooperation and their collaborative partners will be contemplated. For this purpose the data was also obtained from the GIs’ online archives. A very minor and hence negligible amount of events which could not be categorized as no information on their partners, cooperation approaches and locations were given, has not been considered in the analysis.

6.4.1 The three GIs’ cooperative efforts and event types

Events have been analyzed in relation to the way they were conducted: if they were realized by the GI alone, without cooperation; in cooperation with partners in Turkey, in Germany, both or other countries; as co-productions with other GIs; by acquisition of another GI's production or of events of other German institutions; or lastly, as a contribution by the GI to a project or festival organized by other local institutions.

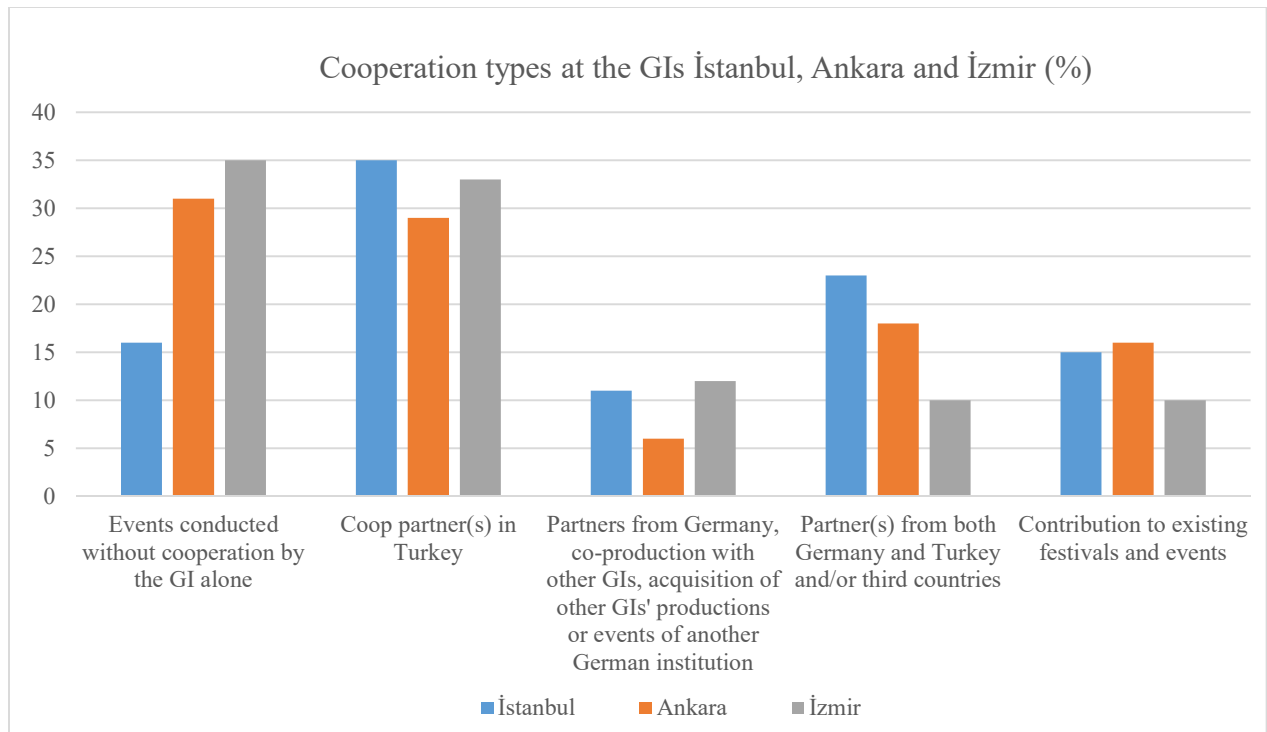


Fig. 21, Cooperation types in the cultural programme work at the GIs in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir 2005-2015

Figure 21 depicts the comparison of the three GIs' respective share in each category regarding their cooperation approach. With the highest shares in cooperative events with partners in Turkey and multi-party cooperation with partners from both Germany and Turkey and possibly third countries, the GI İstanbul thus most closely meets the intercultural cooperation agenda of foreign cultural policy. Both the GI Ankara and the GI İzmir have quite high shares of non-cooperative events, with 31% and 35% of their events being conducted solely by themselves, without any collaboration. All three institutes show very low rates in events organized with partners in Germany, co-productions with other GIs, and acquisitions of other GIs' productions or of events of other German institutions. One example for the latter is for instance the repeated collaboration with ifa, from which selected touring exhibitions are obtained to display them in Turkey. The GIs in all three cities regularly collaborate with renowned international film-, theatre- and also music festivals by providing ideas which artist or production could be shown as German festival

contribution, and by in-kind support, such as providing the artist's travel expenses and accommodation. However, as the number of festivals is limited and also this way of cultural export from Germany does not fully answer to the GI's agenda of intercultural collaboration and exchange, events with other cooperation types prevail, as can be seen in the chart. Aside from co-productions with other GIs, the collaboration forms in these two least represented categories however don't imply very much cooperation efforts anyways, which speaks to the three institutes' overall willingness to collaborate.

Most of the collaborations with local partners both in İstanbul and Ankara were done in the area of Performing Arts and Music (55% and 50%), followed by Visual Arts (42%) in İstanbul and Film (17%) in Ankara; in İzmir most local cooperation took place in the field of History and Humanities (52%), followed by Performing Arts and Music (30%). Both in Ankara and İstanbul most festival contribution took place in the area of Film, followed by Performing Arts and Music. In İzmir festival contributions are first and foremost done in the field of Performing Arts and Music. Leading events conducted without any cooperation is the area of Film, which can be realized by all three institutes in their own facilities without relying on a partner's venue, and can be easily be sent from Germany.

The biggest share of events in all three institutes were conducted locally, in large part taking place within the framework of already existing local festivals, biennials or fairs. Very few events were touring events or took place in cities outside the three major centers where the GIs are located. The GI Ankara conducted most touring events (12%) and events in other cities in Turkey (3%). Overall however, these amounts are negligible and thus, to reach Turkey's more peripheral areas, all three institutes must be expected to become much more active in creating touring events and thereby making culture accessible throughout the country.

In the cases of the GIs Ankara and İzmir, a slightly higher rate of collaboration could be suggested to create a better balance with the events conducted only by themselves. In general however, the overall results on the cooperative efforts of the three GIs in Turkey indicate that the requirement of collaboration, as stated in the principles for foreign cultural policy by the Federal Foreign Office, was met.

6.4.2 The three GIs' cooperation partners

For their analysis, the three GIs' partners were categorized according to the following criteria: international contributions, which includes internationally active partners as well as partners from another country; other GIs and European national cultural institutes (EUNIC); German-Turkish institutions, including the three cities' TDKBs; governmental institutions; cultural or arts organizations and projects; universities; venues; and lastly partners from the private sector.

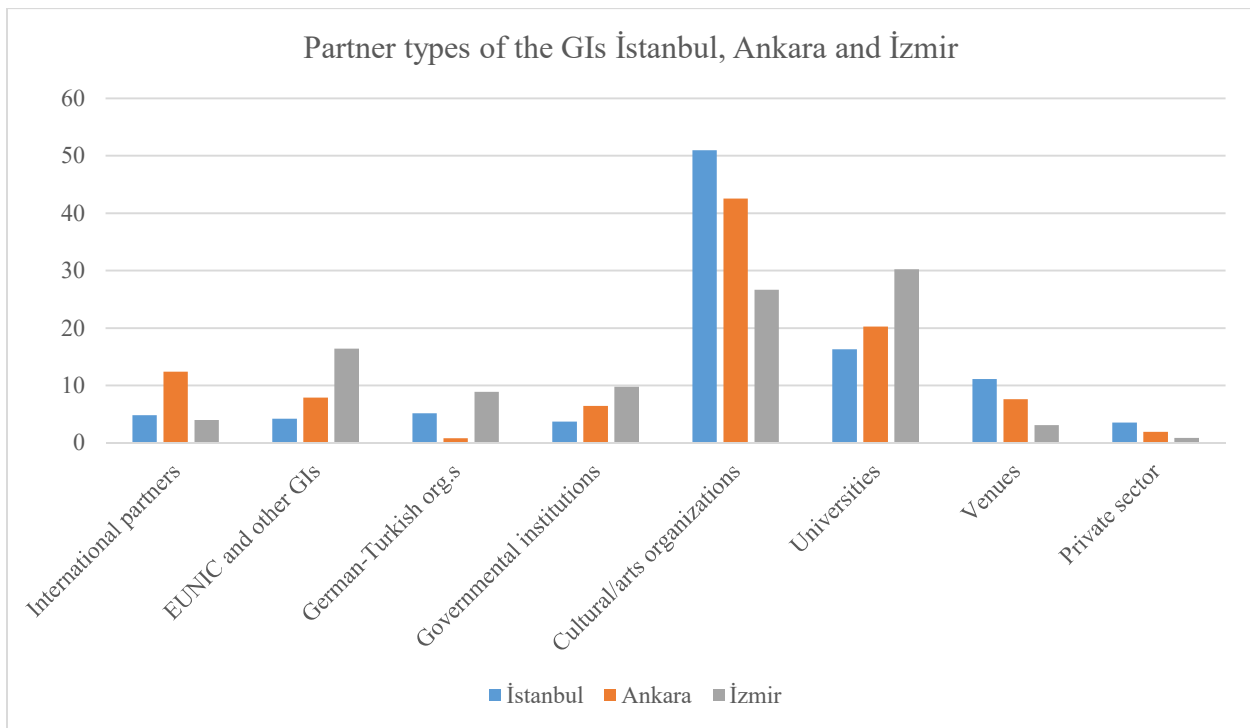


Fig. 22, Partner types in the cultural programme work at the GIs in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir 2005-2015

As illustrated in Figure 22, in İstanbul and in Ankara the highest share of events was done in cooperation with cultural or arts organizations and projects (51% and 43% respectively), while the GI İzmir collaborated the most with universities (30%).

According to Turkish law nonprofit organizations are not admissible, hence cultural enterprises which would be organized that way in Germany or the US have to be organized as association or foundation here. As it is at the same time very difficult to found a foundation in Turkey, most of the cultural institutions are associations. Organizations are free to use the profit they create again for the use of culture, such as for instance the NGO Anadolu Kültür⁷⁰, a long-time partner of the GI İstanbul, proceeds. Due to this legislation, partners from cultural NGOs, foundations and possible other types cultural institutions or projects were united under one category without further differentiation. While the GIs in İstanbul and Ankara conducted approximately half of their events with partners from cultural- and arts organizations (the GI İstanbul with 51% slightly more than half, and the GI Ankara a bit less with 43%), the GI in İzmir conducted with 27% only almost a quarter of its events with partners from that category. This outcome might have arisen due to the potentially fewer number of cultural and arts organizations and projects in İzmir when compared with the cultural hub of İstanbul and the capital of Ankara. On the other hand, it may also be a simple preference by the institute directors in İzmir to work more with the local universities than cultural- and arts institutions, as according to Bartsch, “there seem to be some very capable people at the private universities here” (Bartsch, in-depth interview 27.01.2016). In Ankara and İstanbul, universities were the second most common partners with 20% and 16% respectively.

⁷⁰ The NGO Anadolu Kültür was founded with the aim to support the production and sharing of culture and art in cities across Turkey and abroad. It works in the field of cultural and artistic exchange to develop mutual understanding and overcome prejudices and differences and tries to create discourses on topics like citizenship, identity and belonging (cf. Anadolu Kültür 2012-2013). For further information see: <http://www.anadolukultur.org>, Retrieved: 26.08.2016

Whereas the other two institutes concentrated most of their events on partners from cultural- and arts organizations and universities (67% of the events in İstanbul and 63% of the ones in Ankara were done only with partners from these two categories), the GI İzmir's selection of partners is slightly wider spread, as it cooperated more with partners in other categories. More than the GIs in İstanbul and Ankara it works with partners from EUNIC or other GIs (including the other two institutes in Turkey however), governmental (cultural) institutions (such as state museums) and German-Turkish organizations (mainly the local TDKB). The GI Ankara worked significantly more with international partners, than the other two, mainly cooperation for festivals taking place in their venue, such the Ankara Japanese Film Festival or the *Sinedans* Ankara Dance Film Festival. At the GI in İstanbul higher counts were reached in the cooperation with event venues and with partners from the private sector. As it can only host readings and film screenings in its own facilities, the GI İstanbul is obliged to work together with partner venues, which explains its high level of cooperation⁷¹. The GI İstanbul's slightly greater shares in collaborations with the private sector can be attributed to the higher numbers of companies located in İstanbul than in the other two cities.

According to these observations, all three institutes could further diversify their selection of collaboration partners. Each of the GIs has a main partner category it predominantly works with and which hence influences their cultural programme work. Only with a wide range of various partner types can a GI sufficiently fulfill its mission and reach as many audiences as possible.

⁷¹ The GI İzmir is in a similar position as the GI İstanbul as it has no sufficient event space of its own. Compared with the other two institutes however, it shows the lowest cooperation rate with venues. The reason for this could be that it conducts events in cooperation with institutions that have their own venue (for instance Universities), so that it does not collaborate solely with venues for its events. The institute moved to a new location in İzmir in 2013, where a small auditorium to be part of the GI's facilities is still under construction.

The GI Ankara on the other hand, is located in a building which has its own venue it can use for most events. In 2015, due to renovation works in their building, the GI Ankara was temporarily based in different offices and hence during this period the institute's cultural programme events were hosted by partner institutions.

While cooperation with their partners generally takes place on an institutional basis at the GIs Ankara and İzmir, in İstanbul this seems not to be the case. When asked about their partners during in-depth interviews, both Hahn-Raabe and Lüffe mostly addressed an individual institutional head instead of naming the institution alone as partner. An illustrative example mentioned by both as partner is Osman Kavala,⁷² one of the founders and the chairman of the NGO Anadolu Kültür. Instead of naming the institution, both Hahn-Raabe and Lüffe first referred to Osman Kavala as their partner. This phenomenon is not only how both institute directors comprehend their partners, but reveals something typical for the cultural scene in İstanbul: the major cultural institutions in İstanbul are associated with the individuals standing for them, such as is the case with Osman Kavala and Anadolu Kültür, or the cultural institution SALT⁷³ and its director Vasıf Kortun⁷⁴. As a consequence, the cultural scene in İstanbul is mainly built on a few capable and charismatic figures. Hence, to develop a more diverse and balanced cultural scene that is not dependent on a selected number of individuals, it would be advisable to encourage a restructuring of İstanbul's cultural scene by approaching institutions differently.

6.5 Best practice analysis of the three GIs' cultural programme work in Turkey

During the in-depth interviews with the institute directors and programme coordinators of the three GIs in Turkey, they were asked to name the events during their term of office which they

⁷² Osman Kavala (1957) is a prominent Turkish business man. He took over the management of the Kavala Group of Companies in 1982. He is the Chair of the Board of Anadolu Kültür, a non-profit organization based in İstanbul, and is a board member of various business and social organizations and the founder and sponsor of various cultural organizations – for instance DEPO in İstanbul and DSM (Diyarbakır Sanat Merkezi) in Diyarbakır.

⁷³ The cultural institution “explores critical and timely issues in visual and material culture, and cultivates innovative programmes for research and experimental thinking” (SALT 2011). It disposes of exhibition- and event space, a library, and an extensive archive on contemporary art and architecture in Turkey. For further information, see: <http://saltonline.org/en/home>, Retrieved: 26.08.2016

⁷⁴ Vasıf Kortun (1958) is a Turkish curator, writer and lecturer in the area of contemporary art, exhibition spaces and practices and art institutions. He is the founder and director of the Platform Garanti Contemporary Art Center, later SALT.

considered to be the most outstanding. In the following, these examples will be introduced and analyzed on whether they can be confirmed as best practice examples, according to the GI's general principles and the German Federal Foreign Ministry's strategic papers⁷⁵.

6.5.1 Kısa ve İyi / Kurz und Gut (GI İstanbul 2006)

When Claudia Hahn-Raabe started her term of office in İstanbul in 2006, as previously mentioned (see chapter 5.4.2), she was the first to open the GI's cultural programme work to the Eastern part of the country and in particular to the then still politically fragile, predominantly Kurdish South-East of Turkey. With *Anadolu Kültür* as partner, the short movie series "*Kısa ve İyi / Kurz und Gut*"⁷⁶ was organized. Thanks to the good local knowledge and the network Osman Kavala provided (as *Anadolu Kültür* was already active in that area) the program of 27 short movies was screened in 16 cultural centers in 13 different cities.

Hahn-Raabe recalls: "Some of the films dealt quite outspokenly with sexuality. So the question was of course, how the people would react to that" (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016). With the help of a translator, each film was followed by a talk and a Q&A session with the audience, mediating the cultural differences:

"For some parts, the people were shocked, but at the same time open and curious. I never had as big an audience as in Eastern Anatolia: from the little boy to the grandfather, everyone came. There were very few cultural offers existing there at the time we started, and so we realized that there was a great hunger for arts and culture and that we could work very well in Eastern Anatolia." (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016)

⁷⁵ The analysis of the events are drawn from the principles and criteria for cultural programme work and the work of the GI, sourced from the institute's mission statement and the Federal Foreign Office's different strategic papers which were introduced in chapter 2.4 of this thesis and can be reviewed separately in Appendix 3, p. 154

⁷⁶ In English: "Short and Good"

Considering the guidelines and principles for foreign cultural policy and the GI's cultural programme work, *Kısa ve İyi /Kurz und Gut* fulfilled several of their parameters:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: The strategic paper *Auswärtige Kultur- und Bildungspolitik in Zeiten der Globalisierung* 2011 names “fostering dialogue, exchange and cooperation between people and cultures” (Auswärtiges Amt 2011: 3) as one of foreign cultural policy's most important features. By creating a platform for intercultural dialogue with the audience through its Q&A sessions after the screenings and conducting the project in cooperation with *Anadolu Kültür* and local cultural centers, the programme complies with this principle in every respect.

- Conveying a realistic image of Germany and its values: The presentation of Germany and its culture abroad is another fundamental element in the strategic papers for foreign cultural policy. The instrument of film is a very rewarding medium to convey the elements and characteristics of a culture. In this project, a multitude of German short movies were shown to a quite diverse audience, as described by Claudia Hahn-Raabe. With the help of Q&A sessions, possible questions from the audience could be answered after the screening and hence an even more comprehensive image of Germany and its culture could be created.

- Conflict prevention/resolution: Raised for the first time in the *Konzeption 2000*, this element has been an ongoing aim of foreign cultural policy. During the time the project was conducted, the Eastern and South-Eastern part of Turkey was politically still instable due to the ongoing conflict between the Kurdish PKK and the Turkish Armed Forces. As one of the first international cultural projects in the area during the time, *Kısa ve İyi* made an important contribution. As quoted above, due to a lack of cultural offers there, Hahn-Raabe perceived a great hunger for cultural events in the audience. The programme was an

important step, as its success paved the way for further programmes in the area and it marked the opening of the GI İstanbul's policy towards the East and South-East of Turkey.

- Establishment of and collaboration with civil societies: The GI İstanbul conducted the project in close cooperation with *Anadolu Kültür* – an important representative of Turkish civil society – and worked together with local cultural centers in the East and South-East of the country. The programme was based on a network of contacts provided by Anadolu Kültür and its chairman Osman Kavala, and together with strengthening these existing partnerships, additional partnerships for later programmes had the opportunity to be established during the project.

Considering only the key findings mentioned here, the exemplary nature of the programme and its sustainability is evident – particularly in being the forerunner of more projects in Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia. Thus, Claudia Hahn-Raabe's personal assessment of *Kısa ve İyi / Kurz und Gut* as an example of her best work at the GI İstanbul can be affirmed according to the institute's mission and the principles of foreign cultural policy.

6.5.2 Yakın Bakış / Einblicke (GI İstanbul 2008)

In 2008, Turkey was guest of honour at the Frankfurt Book fair and the GI İstanbul cooperated with *literaturhaus.net*⁷⁷ to create an international authors' exchange project. As "city-writers" in residence, 16 authors from Turkey, Germany and Austria⁷⁸ were sent to eight different cities in the

⁷⁷ Literaturhaus.net is a network of 14 literature houses in Austria, Germany and Switzerland, which organize various joint projects.

⁷⁸ Participating writers from Turkey: Jaklin Çelik, Şebnem İşigüzel, Sema Kaygusuz, Roni Margulies, Şener Özmen, Mahmut Temizyürek, Ayfer Tunç and Özen Yula.

Participating writers from Austria (A) and Germany (G): Barbara Frischmuth (A), Björn Kuhligk (G), Sabine Kückler (G), Petra Morsbach (G), Klaus Reichert (G), Thomas Rosenlöcher (G), Wolfgang Schorlau (G) and Franz Schulz (G).

three participating countries⁷⁹ where they wrote for four weeks about their experiences. Their texts were published on the project website as blog-diaries as well as in local newspapers. The Turkish authors presented their works within the format of the book fair on the TV channel ARTE's book fair programme, as well as in the local literature houses of their respective host city.

The project was a co-production by the literature house network *literaturhaus.net*, the GI İstanbul, the Turkish Organizing Committee of the Guest of Honour at the Frankfurt Book Fair 2008 and *Anadolu Kültür*.

Hahn-Raabe reflects on *Yakın Bakış* and on including participating cities from the South-East of Turkey as follows:

“This was a wonderful project – here again we came to the decision to include the Eastern and the South-Eastern parts of the country and hence also the Kurdish area more in the cultural exchange. As [culturally speaking] everything takes place in İstanbul, it is not so special there. This [opening of the cultural programmes to the Eastern and South-Eastern parts of the country] was a fundamental change in the institute's policy we made during that time.” (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016)

Revisiting *Yakın Bakış* in relation to the principles for foreign cultural policy, the following elements stand out in proving the programme a successful example of cultural programme work:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: In the project *Yakın Bakış*, both of these elements built the foundation of the programme: As the core of the project, intercultural dialogue could be only furthered through international cooperation (of the two countries' governmental bodies, representatives from the cultural scene and civil society).

⁷⁹ The German and Austrian writers stayed in the following eight cities in Turkey: Ayvalık, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, İstanbul, Kars, Mersin, Şanlıurfa, and Trabzon. The Turkish writers were hosted by eight local literature houses in the following cities in Germany and Austria: Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Köln, Leipzig, München, Salzburg, and Stuttgart.

The time frame of one month provided a sufficient window for the writers to connect with the local population and cultural scene, to build networks and establish contacts. This programme didn't spare the Eastern and South-Eastern areas, but spread the residency cities across the entire country. The selection of host cities showed an openness and willingness for dialogue, overcoming certain previous internal political issues which had segregated those areas from cultural inclusion in the past.

- Conveying a realistic image of Germany and its values: The best way to convey an authentic image of a culture and a country is through personal experience and depictions of personal impressions. In the case of this project, both a realistic image of Turkish culture was transmitted to Germans as much as an image of Germany was conveyed to Turkish people. To reach a wider target group, the programme combined personal experience with the intermediary power of the media by having the writers record their impressions in the foreign culture in blog-diaries and local newspapers.

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: Fostering exchange between people and cultures “wins partners and friends in other countries, builds and strengthens networks with people who are interested in Germany, our ideas and values and who are our long-term partners in politics, economy, science, arts or media in their countries” (Auswärtiges Amt 2011: 3). *Yakın Bakış* met this criteria in several ways: Turkish and German writers not only stayed for some time as writers in residence in the other country; as the project took place within the framework of the Frankfurt book fair, the Turkish writers were also given the opportunity to extend their exchange by participating at the international book fair.

As a lasting memory of the programme, Hahn-Raabe describes the great hospitality of the Turkish hosts towards the German writers: “I never experienced anything like that. The writers

were accommodated so comfortably and they were each given a translator for the whole four weeks. That was really outstanding” (Hahn-Raabe, in-depth interview, 26.01.2016). This positive experience and long-lasting memory demonstrates the success of the exchange and particularly the openness and the effort put into it. This case is an example of a truly mutual exchange and dialogue project and hence can also be considered an example of best practice of the 11 year period.

6.5.3 *Yollarda* – European Literature goes to Turkey/Turkish Literature goes to Europe (GI İstanbul 2009-2010)

From May 2009 until June 2010, the GI İstanbul conducted “*Yollarda*⁸⁰ – *European Literature Goes to Turkey/Turkish Literature Goes to Europe*”⁸¹, “one of the largest literature projects the Goethe Institute has carried out anywhere in the world in recent years” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016e). *Yollarda* means “on the roads” and accordingly, 48 authors from eight European countries visited 24 university cities throughout Turkey to read from their works while 14 writers from Turkey gave readings in eight European cities. The bilingual reading programme was, both in Turkey and in Europe, complemented by a framework programme of concerts, talks and exhibitions to provide insights into contemporary European and Turkish culture. The first part of the project took place in Turkey, ending in İstanbul as part of the celebrations of İstanbul as European Capital of Culture 2010. In the second part of the project, the Turkish authors toured through Sofia, Bucharest, Vienna, Venice, Zürich, and the two other 2010 European Capitals of Culture, Pecs and Essen, before the project ended with a gala in Brussels for all participating authors.

⁸⁰ For English: “On the Roads”

⁸¹ For the event website see: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/lp/prj/cub/deindex.htm?wt_sc=yollarda, Retrieved: 15.05.2016

As the president of the GI, Lehmann, evaluates: “What was immediately impressive about this project was the large number of direct personal encounters which developed a unique momentum of their own” (Lehmann in: Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016f). He underlines the importance of projects like this for the EU, and in particular for the South-Eastern European region:

“The Goethe-Institut implements its policy of EU neighbourliness with the help of close partnerships and projects in the areas of education, culture and social policy. Here, even more than in other regions, what counts is the task of bringing people together across geographic and political borders.” (ibid.)

The project was supported by the European Union as part of the “Cultural Bridges” program⁸². Composed of multiple partners, the project included consulates, embassies and cultural institutes of the participating countries, *Anadolu Kültür*, İKSV, the İstanbul 2010 – European Capital of Culture Agency and İstanbul Bilgi University. Sponsors of the project were Mercedes Benz and Turkish Airlines.

When analyzing this programme with regard to the strategic parameters set by the Federal Foreign Office and the GI’s management, the following aspects stand out:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: As a cooperative project with the support of numerous other GIs, cultural centers, embassies and other institutions of the participating countries, *Yollarda* was based on an extensive international network. This network between the contributors from the cultural sector, civil society, political and economic sphere of the participating countries built the foundation for new partnerships and a diverse network for future projects. Furthermore, the project stimulated intercultural dialogue between the writers, other contributing artists and the respective local populations.

⁸² For further information on the program, see: <http://avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/eu-funded-programmes/success-stories/success-stories-single-view/article/cultural-bridges-brings-turkish-and-european-people-together.html> , Retrieved: 01.08.2016

During readings, discussions, workshops, and events in the framework programme, the authors and other artists met with the audiences and engaged in various forms of intercultural dialogue.

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: Impressive in its sheer dimensions and logistics, the project stands as a great example of international cultural exchange and of fostering artists' mobility. By featuring such a diverse and large group of writers and other artists, *Yollarda* allowed both Turkish and European audiences to get insights in the diverse contemporary culture of Europe. In particular, the project strengthened the exchange of literature and writers in and between Europe and Turkey and the audiences' awareness and interest in literature from the participating countries.

- Conflict prevention/resolution: Collaborative international cultural projects best support intercultural understanding and a friendly and peaceful exchange. Cultural exchange can provide a way to deal with former and existing conflicts, as well as prevent latent or upcoming crises. Furthering mutual understanding, particularly within the South-Eastern and Southern European countries and celebrating their cultural diversity, *Yollarda* supported their common process of overcoming a history marked with conflict.

Considering the cultural policy parameters and wide reach of the international literature project *Yollarda*, it can also be acknowledged as one of the GI İstanbul's flagship projects in terms of mediating culture(s) and facilitating dialogue, understanding and mobility.

6.5.4 Schlachtfeld Erinnerung (GI İstanbul 2014)

In 2014 the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War was commemorated in various events by the GI. The three South-Eastern European institutes in Belgrade, İstanbul and

Sarajevo organized the joint project “*1914/2014 Schlachtfeld Erinnerung*”⁸³ (Battlefield Memory). For this, the theatre director and important representative of documentary theatre, Hans-Werner Kroesinger and the film director and film maker Regine Dura spent about one year of preparation and research on the topic of ‘the Eastern front of the First World War’. They collected photos, letters, film excerpts, post cards, etc. which became part of a final documentary theatre, in which five actors told about the war from different perspectives and narratives from Bosnia, Serbia, Turkey, Austria and Germany.

In the process of research and putting together the elements for the final theatre play, several workshops and performances were held, one of which was a performative location inspection by the two artists at the German military cemetery in Tarabya, İstanbul. The research of Kroesinger and Dura was displayed in an exhibition and the final documentary play was performed at the German military cemetery in Tarabya.

The project was co-financed through additional funds by the Federal Foreign Office and conducted with HAU *Hebbel am Ufer* as co-producer. In İstanbul, further financial support was also received from the Mercator Foundation. The project was presented in Belgrade, İstanbul and Sarajevo by the GI and in Berlin by the project partner HAU *Hebbel am Ufer*.

As an example of collaborative cultural programming work between three different GIs, *1914/2014 Schlachtfeld Erinnerung* fulfilled several criteria for foreign cultural policy:

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: As a cooperative effort on the part of three South-Eastern European GIs, the project aimed to foster the exchange of artists, artworks and people from the neighboring countries of this region. By conducting the different project stages and the final presentation in the three GIs’ different locations and in Germany, the

⁸³ For the project website, see: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/gr/lp/prj/eri/sch/deindex.htm>, Retrieved: 15.05.2016

programme provided both for the exchange of the artists as well as local audiences and multipliers.

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: In the context of historic events and wars, nations build their own narrative, the truth they henceforth believe in. As is showcased in this project, common history of different countries can lead to conflict and accusations due to these different national narratives. On the other hand, as this collaborative programme shows, the memories of common historic events can also be a subject leading to dialogue and intercultural understanding if approached sympathetically. The aim of the project was, as per the GI's statement on the project website: "To make the experiences of others easier to comprehend and to understand why different personal experiences lead to equally different expectations with regard to the present and the future" (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016a). Hence, the project encouraged and stimulated dialogue and different approaches to mutual understanding in various workshops and performances. The manifold presentations of the results tried to lead to deeper understanding, stimulate dialogue and promote a sensibility of the origin of disparities in the perception of history and the similarities in each other's stories.

- Enabling cultural involvement: During the project, several workshops and performances invited local partners and audiences to get involved, both receptively and participatively, in exploring common history, national narratives and cultural remembrance techniques. In İstanbul, this offer particularly addressed film and theatre students interested in the subject who were trained in different research techniques for documentary theatre and techniques for telling historic narratives cinematically.

Being a regional programme on a common historical event, the project *1914/2014 Schlachtfeld Erinnerung* was met with great international attention and interest. Its wide and substantial reach and recognition in the three South-Eastern European countries and in Germany, as well as its compliance with important principles for foreign cultural policy prove this project another successful best practice example of the GI İstanbul's cultural programme work.

6.5.5 Ein Volksfeind (GI İstanbul 2014)

A significant event from 2014 Lüffe mentions, was the performance of Ibsen's "*Ein Volksfeind*"⁸⁴ at the 19th İKSV Theatre Festival by the ensemble of Schaubühne Berlin under the direction of Thomas Ostermeier. Its particularity originates not only in its high artistic quality, but especially in the play's social criticism and the production's contemporary political and social themes. The production, which invites the audience to join the play in an open discussion, "suits the current post-Gezi community very well" (Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016). Including citations and references to current issues in Turkey⁸⁵, the play was a courageous statement by the festival host İKSV and the GI İstanbul, as it faced so much criticism that even an early departure of the ensemble and the cancellation of the third performance were considered⁸⁶ (cf. Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016). Hence, the socio-critical performance won even more political importance and became a statement for democratic values and freedom of expression.

⁸⁴ For the programme announcement, see:

http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/tr/ist/ver/acv.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=12774919, Retrieved: 17.05.2016

⁸⁵ Such as the translation of the line "*Du hirnverbrannter Idiot!*" (you harebrained idiot) with the phrase "Çapulcu" (marauder), which was what Turkish Prime Minister (at the time) Erdoğan called protestors during the Gezi-Park protests, or the visual citation of the Prime Minister's advisor Yusuf Yerkel violently kicking one of the bereaved after the mining tragedy in Soma in May 2014.

⁸⁶ The host finally decided however, that a cancellation of the performance would create even greater controversy and so the play was shown a third time – although to the exclusion of the above mentioned visual citation of the infamous kick of the Prime Minister's advisor Yusuf Yerkel.

Being a festival contribution, the programme differs from those previously evaluated as to its event type. Nevertheless, it meets important principles for foreign cultural policy:

- Conveying a realistic image of Germany and its values: As the GI states on its website, one aspect of its mission is, to “convey a comprehensive image of Germany by providing information about cultural, social and political life in our nation” (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016h). Touring theatre performances such as Ibsen’s “*Ein Volksfeind*” by Ostermeier and Schaubühne Berlin can, as part of the GI’s cultural programme work, serve as examples and insights into German social and cultural life. In this particular case, the socio-critical nature of the production not only conveyed an impression of the German cultural scene, but a much broader image of the German society and its values.

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: The GI supports the mobility of artists and performances by allowing successful and outstanding German theatre companies to perform at international festivals. In this way, an insight into the high quality of the German culture and art scene is provided to the international audiences in other countries. With the choice of this particular production and its interactive audience discussion and opportunity for exchange of ideas and opinions on the socio-critical topic of the play, the programme furthered cultural exchange on an intellectual level as well.

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: By including references to the current political and social happenings in Turkey in the production, the play aimed to stimulate critical thinking and the comparison of the ideas and critiques in the production with the audience’s own ideas and values. The audience discussion brought these considerations and opinions into the play and thus stimulated not only critical thinking and dialogue, but made both a part of the production.

The parameters noted above confirm the successful alignment of the programme with the principles for cultural policy. Its artistic quality and the relevance of the production through hinting at current Turkish socio-political issues, as well as the integration of a general value-discussion reflect favourably on the programme. A deduction however can be made regarding the sustainability of the programme – as a simple festival contribution in the form of three performances it is questionable what long-term effects it could have besides being remembered as a good play.

6.5.6 Cultural Relief Programme (GI İstanbul 2014 onwards)

With regard to the GI's objectives to work on conflict resolution and peacekeeping, the previously described Cultural Relief Program, which was initiated by the GI İstanbul in 2014, should not stay unmentioned. In the framework of this programme different activities in Mardin/Nusaybin and İstanbul have already been conducted in cooperation with international and local partners. For the GI's work with young refugees, its principles of displaying German culture and its standards for high artistic quality are put aside. The goal is to bring joy back into the refugees' lives and to create methods of nonverbal dialogue and understanding between the Turkish and refugee children through cultural education and cultural practice.

The programmes in Mardin and Nusaybin are organized in cooperation with the local association *Her Yerde Sanat*⁸⁷ and will continue in the future.

The sustainability of the programme has already become apparent after its initial phase: The association houses the circus school *Sirkhane* in Mardin, which offers circus and other cultural education programs. A great focus lies on performances with stilts and with the organization of

⁸⁷ For the association's website, see: <http://www.heryerdesanat.org/>, Retrieved: 18.05.2016

the GI, the initial stilt theatre workshop was given by the German organization *Die Stelzer*⁸⁸. Since the first workshop was held as a training for trainers, the participants were able to carry on the programme with the sole support of the *Sirkhane*. Trainers were already sharing their skills and performing at festivals and events as “*Mardin Giants*”⁸⁹ very successfully.

Praised high by Christian Lüffe, the ongoing programme meets several of the parameters for foreign cultural policy:

- Conflict prevention/resolution: “To contribute to security politics, conflict prevention, human rights and partnership cooperation” (Auswärtiges Amt 2000) has been established as a task for German foreign cultural policy since the *Konzeption 2000*. Although the goals of conflict resolution and security politics as they relate to culture may seem far-fetched to some and were initially criticized⁹⁰, such approaches have subsequently been reestablished in foreign cultural policy strategic papers. Most recently, the “Review” process from 2014 asked for foreign cultural policy to play “a more active role in times of crisis and in crisis regions” (Deutscher Bundestag 2015). The GI İstanbul’s Cultural Relief Programme is an excellent example of how culture and the arts can be applied in questions of conflict resolution and crisis management. The project connects local and refugee teenagers and children with each other and fosters friendships and understanding beyond language. The common joyful and creative experiences are helpful in integrating the refugees in the local society. Friendships are made and both the local participants as well as the audience of their performances get an impression of the young refugees beyond the established prejudices.

⁸⁸ For further information, see: <http://www.die-stelzer.de/#/home/>, Retrieved: 18.05.2016

⁸⁹ For further information, see: <http://artanywhere.weebly.com/>, Retrieved: 18.05.2016

⁹⁰ As elaborated before in chapter 2.3.1, p. 15

- Enabling cultural involvement: Making it possible for the refugee children and teenagers to express themselves creatively and getting involved both socially and culturally, the project has a big impact on their integration and their quality of life. Not only for the refugee children, but also for the local youth, the project provides a chance to get involved with arts and culture. Many of the local and refugee children have already left school at an early age and through the *Sirkhane* have the opportunity to receive some general Turkish and cultural education. The cultural involvement offered through the circus school can give these children and teenagers new perspectives and allows them to experience feelings of success, achievement and joy.

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: The programme is conducted in cooperation with several international partners from the cultural field, in particular the circus. The project has been accepted as a partner project within the framework of the European Union Erasmus+ programme at the end of 2015 and works with international volunteers. Hence, the programme not only furthers dialogue and interaction between the local and refugee youth as described above, but also stimulates intercultural dialogue and exchange between the cooperating and participating partners and volunteers.

- Establishment and collaboration with civil societies: As the work of civil society is not fully recognized in Turkey, the organizations oftentimes depend on funding and support from other countries. By collaborating and creating networks between similar institutions in Germany, the GI can support the consistency and recognition of their work. In the framework of its Cultural Relief Programme, the GI İstanbul cooperates with the local NGO *Her Yerde Sanat* in Mardin and Nusaybin. It furthers their work both by supporting them financially as

well as through actual collaboration, allowing artists and circus groups to come from Germany and participate in the education programme.

The Cultural Relief Programme by the GI İstanbul in Mardin and Nusaybin differs greatly from the more conventional exemplary cultural programmes described before. In its approach and with the important goals it meets through its work, The Cultural Relief Programme constitutes one of the most significant cultural programmes of the GI İstanbul in recent years.

6.5.7 Torunlar / Enkel (GI İstanbul 2015)

“Grandchildren - New Geographies of Belonging” is the title of an exhibition by 13 Armenian artists, which was displayed at Depo⁹¹ in 2015. The artists approached the Armenian genocide during the Ottoman times (1915) from a new perspective which “goes beyond the idea of a nation being geographically or genetically defined” (Depo 2015). Since 2006, the artists maintain an exchange of ideas and an artistic dialogue on “the potential to build identities beyond national borders, traditions and languages, the relevance of new media as a field to experiment with different affiliations, [and] art as an expression of new tendencies” (ibid.). As a result of this artistic and intellectual discourse, the exhibition “intends to look more closely at personal and communal affiliations in the Armenian transnation, the mechanisms that empower and nurture the diasporic identities and its patterns of representation as well” (ibid.).

The exhibition did not focus on the stories of the displaced – of the ancestors – but on their grandchildren’s identity and affiliations. Reflecting on the exhibition, Lüffe concludes: “In artistic form, history is told best through biographies” (cf. Lüffe, in-depth interview, 29.02.2016).

⁹¹ DEPO is a culture and debate center serving as a platform supporting the collaboration of artists, artist collectives, civic and cultural organizations in Turkey, the South Caucasus, the Middle East and the Balkans. It was founded by formerly mentioned businessman and sponsor in the field of culture and civil society in Turkey, Osman Kavala. For further information see: <http://www.depoistanbul.net/tr/>, Retrieved: 26.08.2016

“Grandchildren - New Geographies of Belonging” hence brought history into the present and addressed how displacement and a life in the diaspora have affected the young generation, as well as their sense of identity and belonging.

The exhibition was conducted in cooperation with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Federal Foreign Office of Germany, *Anadolu Kültür*, the *Kulturakademie* Tarabya and the *Heinrich Böll Stiftung* Turkey.

Reviewing this exhibition with its exceptional concept as per the parameters of foreign cultural policy, the following facets stand out:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: The exhibition has been planned and composed by a quite large group of 13 artists. The collaborating artists are connected by their families’ past, being all descendants of Armenians who survived and lived on in the diaspora. Living in different countries around the world, the artists started to collaborate beforehand and maintained an artistic and intellectual dialogue, overcoming physical borders and distances.
- Exchange and worldwide mobility: The gathering of such a large group of Armenian diaspora artists in İstanbul to address the topic of the Armenian genocide is greatly symbolic, particularly in the context of the genocide’s 100 year anniversary. Making it possible for artists and their art works to come to Turkey and join the project is an important contribution to worldwide mobility as well as to arts and culture from a global perspective. The fruits of the cultural exchange of these artists which share a common history, but live in different corners of the world could be seen in the exhibition. The personal exchanges of the artists and contacts established through the project will certainly continue and hence a sustainable, growing network of artists and actors in the cultural field will be maintained.

- Conflict prevention/resolution: By addressing the Armenian genocide in Turkey in a reflective, artistic and non-accusatory way, the project raised the discourse to a new level. The topic focused not on the sufferers of the genocide, but the generations after – those living with the consequences of history. By creating this new perspective on dealing with the happenings of the past, the concept of the exhibition worked to dissipate conflict.

The parameters illustrated above demonstrate that the project not only fulfilled, but went above and beyond several political standards for foreign cultural policy. Although performances and a film screening also took place in the context of the exhibition, when analyzing the program, the element of exchange and dialogue with the audience – their cultural inclusion and involvement in the form of workshops or discussions is missing. Hence, even though it was undoubtedly a very interesting and meaningful project and a great success, due to the mentioned shortfalls it is questionable if it should be considered as a best practice example of the GI İstanbul’s last years’ cultural programming work.

6.5.8 *SinemaDansAnkara* (GI Ankara 2009 onwards)

“During a meeting in 2009,” the festival director of the *SinemaDansAnkara* Dance Film Festival Mehmet Şafak Türkel remembers, “Dr. Thomas Lier, Director of the Goethe Institute, Sibel Ekmekçiöğlü, Events Manager at Goethe Institute, and I, discovered a mutual field of interest: ‘Dance Film’” (Türkel in: *SinemaDansAnkara* 2014). In 2010 a first “Dance Film Week” was organized together⁹² and, as the event was met with great interest, it was repeated and established as the annual *SinemaDansAnkara* Dance Film Festival⁹³ in 2014. The festival includes

⁹² See for instance: Şafak Türkel Dans Filmleri:

http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/tr/ank/ver/acv.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=6589200, Retrieved: 21.05.2016

⁹³ For further information, see: <http://www.sinemadansankara.org/>, Retrieved: 21.05.2016 and <http://www.sinemadans.com/>, Retrieved: 21.05.2016

an extensive programme composed of free of charge lectures, talks, workshops, performances, exhibitions, and a large number of film screenings. In 2015, the *SinemaDansAwards* were established in nine categories. Türkel elaborates on the idea behind *SinemaDansAnkara*:

“The festival was established [...] with the aim of creating awareness about the dance film genre, [...] forming a platform for artists who produce new dance films, and providing access for the aficionados of dance film to the most recent samples of this genre from all around the world.” (Türkel in: *SinemaDansAnkara* 2015)

The festival was co-founded by Ares Production. The festival coordination is conducted by programme coordinator of the GI Ankara, Sibel Ekmekçiöğlü. Besides other sources, the festival receives funding from the ERI. As international film coordinators, the two Netherlands and Berlin-based dance film festivals *Cinedans*, *Dance on Screen*⁹⁴ and *POOL, Internationales TanzFilmFestival Berlin*⁹⁵ support the festival by providing the content.

The fact that the festival is supported by the ERI speaks to its recognition as a worthy venue for furthering German-Turkish relations. Accordingly, analyzing the programme in terms of its foreign cultural policy parameters, the following are the main outcomes:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: Cooperating with different international dance film festivals and dance institutions, the festival brings together international artists and actors from the cultural field in Ankara. With its multiple events on dance and dance films, the festival invited both the artists and the public to engage in intercultural dialogue with each other. By including participative elements such as lectures, workshops and talks in the festival programme, a platform of intercultural dialogue was

⁹⁴ For further information, see: <http://cinedans.nl/en/>, Retrieved: 21.05.2016

⁹⁵ For further information, see: <http://www.pool-festival.de/>, Retrieved: 21.05.2016

created through which the local and the international participants could encounter one another and interact.

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: As an international festival, *SinemaDansAnkara* brings international artists to Turkey. Perhaps even more importantly, the festival creates an international network, drawing international attention to the Turkish contributors' and participants' works and potentially leading to additional international projects, festivals or collaborations in the future.

- Enabling cultural involvement: In Turkey, cultural education and cultural involvement are not as common as in Germany and often considered luxury goods. Festivals and other events calling for cultural participation offer the public the oftentimes rare opportunity to get culturally involved. In the case of *SinemaDansAnkara*, workshops and lectures invited interested festival goers, film and dance students and dance enthusiasts to get practical and theoretical insight into the field of dance film beyond the film screenings.

The *SinemaDansAnkara* Dance Film Festival is a significant project, as unlike the festivals the GI Ankara normally contributes to, is an independent initiative of the institute. The festival is the only of its kind in Turkey and thus distinguishes the Ankara cultural scene from the cultural landscapes of the other big cities, setting high standards in the area of dance-related events. Considering these outstanding aspects in addition to the festival's success and its compliance with the standards of foreign cultural policy, it becomes clear that Ekmekcioğlu and Öztürk rightly described the project as one of their best.

6.5.9 Das Werden einer Hauptstadt (GI Ankara 2010)

In 2010, the GI Ankara highlighted the German architectural heritage of the city with the research and photography project “*Das Werden einer Hauptstadt - Spuren deutschsprachiger Architekten in Ankara*”⁹⁶ (The Becoming of a Capital – The Traces of German-speaking Architects in Ankara). The project investigated the role German-speaking architects played in the development of the new capital during the young Turkish Republic. The project website and an exhibition⁹⁷ displayed pictures of buildings and memorials built by German architects captured by the photographer Çetin Ergand together with a site plan, short texts on the architects and the era. As Lier elaborates in his introduction to the project, the project’s aim was not to obtain new research results, but to focus on images which “convey a lasting impression of the activities of these architects which evolved during that time in Ankara” (Lier in: Goethe 2016c).

The project was conducted in collaboration with the chamber of architects’ Ankara branch, which contributed information and research on the architects and the era.

The “Becoming of a Capital” project is particularly outstanding in its concept. The photographs by Çetin Ergand, taken using a 360° panorama technique, allow the visitor of the website to move around in the rooms and get an almost three dimensional feeling of the buildings. This technique combined with the website concept make the buildings and the styles of the architects come to life on the computer screen even in Germany or elsewhere outside of Ankara.

With regard to the principles of foreign cultural policy, the following stand out in the analysis of the project:

⁹⁶ For more information, see: *Das Werden einer Hauptstadt – Spuren deutschsprachiger Architekten in Ankara*: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/deindex.htm>, Retrieved: 21.05.2016

⁹⁷ For the programme announcement see: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/de/ank/ver/acv.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=6583223, Retrieved: 21.05.2016

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: Exploring the exiled German architects' contribution to the construction of Turkey's new capital Ankara in the 1930s, the project *Das Werden einer Hauptstadt* dealt with a topic exemplary for the long standing friendly relationship both countries maintain. Although both countries played a mutually important role for each other during that time, these events are not well known in either country or even within Ankara. On the contrary, the dialogue between the two countries is mainly determined by the later history of Turkish-German migration and its rather negative connotations, as well as by current political issues. The project hence sought to awaken interest and convey knowledge on the topic by introducing the architects as well as their buildings in Ankara, giving insight into urban planning, putting together a city map with the buildings and presenting 360° pictures of a selected number of the buildings. This kind of deeper knowledge on common historic events, the role each country played for the other, and the impacts on both countries can help in mutual understanding and furthering intercultural dialogue and interest.

- Enabling cultural involvement: Enabling cultural involvement or cultural access is a main task of the GI worldwide. As other GI projects have done in the past, *Das Werden einer Hauptstadt* was mainly presented online, using a project website as exhibition-format. In this way the GI Ankara reached a far wider audience than only with a conventional local exhibition. By presenting the project additionally through a physical exhibition however, local attention was also sought and the older generation of local audiences without internet access was also considered. The architectural city map prepared for the project also invited cultural involvement. Visitors of the website and the exhibition whose interest had been awakened could visit the architectural sites throughout Ankara on their own initiative with

the help of the map. In this way, the GI offered an option to get involved and active without forcing it upon their visitors.

This example seems to be rather different from the former ones, as it has a very impersonal design: there was no direct interaction with the audience, and no cooperating artists took part, but the whole project was based on the aim of conveying knowledge and insights in architectural heritage. As this topic is not intrinsically a very interactive one, the way it has been displayed – and still is on its website – could be considered the most adequate way to present the project.

Combining the historic and connecting thematic with qualitatively high intellectual and artistic contents and their innovative presentation, the project certainly is an outstanding example of the GI Ankara's cultural programme work.

6.5.10 Warten, dass das Leben beginnt (GI Ankara 2011)

In the context of the 50th anniversary of the Labor Recruitment Agreement between Germany and Turkey in 2011, the GI Ankara conducted a number of events. The most outstanding of these events was certainly the documentary puppet theatre play "*Bavuldaki Hayatlar – Yaşamayı Beklerken*"⁹⁸ ("Lives in Suitcases - Waiting for life to begin").

The German journalist and playwright Anja Tuckermann and the Turkish director and actor Haluk Yüce produced the play on the occasion of the anniversary of the latest chapter of Turkish-German migration history. Through in-depth interviews with Turkish migrants, Tuckermann collected biographical material telling the stories of families being separated by the bilateral agreement. In the play, she focusses on these personal stories and on the aspect of family separation that took place within the framework of the agreement.

⁹⁸ For the programme announcement see: "Yaşamayı Beklerken..." Kuklalı Belgesel Gençlik Oyunu: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/tr/ank/ver/acv.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=8548478, Retrieved: 22.05.2016

In its Turkish translation and directed by Haluk Yüce, the play was staged by the theatre ensemble *Tiyatro Tempo* in Ankara, which does mainly puppet theatre with a focus on children's plays. It was performed by seven actors and with the use of puppets who incorporated different roles into the play.

The play took place with the support of the GI Ankara and the German Embassy Ankara within the framework of the ERI and toured different cities in Turkey such as Eskişehir, Antalya, Kayseri, Mardin and İzmir. In İstanbul as closing event of the anniversary week of the Labor Recruitment Agreement the play received an enthusiastic response from the audience. "Although it didn't tour through the whole country," Ekmekcioğlu reflects, "it was staged in five or six cities where many returned guest workers live today, and from where many of the guest workers originated." (Ekmekcioğlu, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016). In 2013, after the play had been awarded with the Kathrin-Türks-award⁹⁹, a guest performance exchange with the *Landestheater Burghofbühne Dinslaken*'s¹⁰⁰ production of the play took place¹⁰¹.

This project is – as the analysis of the foreign cultural policy parameters will show – another flagship project for international cooperation, dialogue, and exchange:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: The theatre project connects both Germany and Turkey not only via the topic of their common history, but through high quality artistic cooperation. The playwright of *Warten, dass das Leben beginnt*, Anja Tuckermann, based the play on her research interviews with Turkish migrants in Germany

⁹⁹ The Kathrin-Türks-award is granted for youth theatre plays by female authors by the German city Dinslaken.

¹⁰⁰ For further information, see: <http://www.burghofbuehne-dinslaken.de/>, Retrieved: 22.05.2016

¹⁰¹ For the programme announcement see: *Warten, Dass Das Leben Beginnt* - Landestheater Burghofbühne Dinslaken, Almany: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/tr/ank/ver/acv.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=10376529, Retrieved: 22.05.2016

and with family members who were left behind. In Ankara, she conducted the play in cooperation with the director and actor Haluk Yüce and his theatre company *Tiyatro Tempo*.

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: Touring through these cities the play was performed in several locations. Telling personal stories and taking the perspective of the family members who were left behind, on this tour the play was received by many audiences who had personal experiences with the topic. After the exchange with people who experienced similar stories themselves throughout Turkey, the play was invited for an exchange with the theatre in Dinslaken, Germany. This performance exchange allowed for a comparison of both plays' respective accentuations. The theatre ensembles thus also got to compare the reactions from the different audiences in Turkey and Germany.

This project has been celebrated throughout Turkey for stimulating dialogue not only between the artists but on various other levels, accomplishing several of the GI's objectives, and convincing with a high quality artistic product. It is hence no overstatement to consider *Warten, dass das Leben beginnt* an example of the GI's best practice cultural programme work.

6.5.11 Hadi Tschüss (GI İzmir 2015)

The film "*Hadi Tschüss*"¹⁰², which was produced with the support of the GI İzmir, approaches the subject of return migration from Germany to Turkey. The growing trend of reverse migration, particularly of highly qualified residents of Turkish descent influence the German demographics. The movie tells five personal stories and gives insight into the motives, hopes and experiences of the returnees. The notable feature of the documentary film project is that it scrutinizes an issue of current relevance to both Turkey and Germany and lifts the abstract discourse to another level of

¹⁰² For further information, see: <http://www.hadi-tschuess.de/>, Retrieved: 23.05.2016

understanding by telling personal biographies. With the support of the GI İzmir, the documentary was screened for the first time in June 2015 in their partner venue DESEM¹⁰³ in İzmir.

Although being “only” a documentary movie, the project complies in an unusual way with several aspects of foreign cultural policy:

- Conveying a realistic image of Germany and its values: Although not originally conceived as such, “conveying a realistic image” is certainly what the film does. *Hadi Tschüss* addresses and investigates a phenomenon that is an issue concerning both Turkey and Germany. This trend of highly qualified persons leaving the country and going back to the country of their families’ origin naturally has a rather negative impact on Germany. While politicians and analysts of the German demography often tend to jump to conclusions and reasoning, the producers of the documentary engaged in conversations with the returnees and talked with them about their decisions. Hence, the film might be more capable of displaying a comprehensive and realistic image of Germany than any other cultural programme or film would do by virtue of explicitly pointing out a significant problem common to the two countries.

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: The topic of the documentary – being of particular concern in Turkey and especially in İzmir, where many of the returning migrants settle down – offers plenty of connections for dialogue. The more common theme of Turkish migration to Germany and its consequences is not an issue in the discourse of the film; the focus of discussion has been shifted to a new aspect of the old topic, making way for new ideas and positions. Accompanied by a panel discussion, the premiere of the

¹⁰³ DESEM (Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sürekli Eğitim Merkezi) is the Lifelong Learning Center of the Dokuz Eylül University in İzmir. The center provides education in various fields to everyone interested, even without a highschool degree. It includes a cinema salon, which the GI İzmir has used frequently in collaborative events.

documentary in İzmir sought to inspire the audience to further thoughts and dialogue on the theme. The production team itself, which consisted exclusively of Germans with no Turkish background, engaged in various situations of intercultural dialogue and international cooperation during their shooting programme. To understand and illustrate the protagonists' decision to return to the country of their parents' origin, the production team went to Turkey and met individuals who had taken this journey.

The medium of film in general and documentaries in particular is one of the easiest, most comprehensive and least cost-intensive ways to convey the culture and lifestyle of a country. Hence, film is one of the main cultural disciplines the GI supports – both by screening German films abroad and by facilitating the production of projects they see worth funding. In the case of *Hadi Tschüss*, the GI İzmir chose to support a project that socially concerns both Germany and Turkey and allows the audience to get insight into one part of the German population – the so-called German Turks, whose decision it is to leave Germany behind. Although the movie deals with an important issue and was met with interest, the film project does not meet enough of the criteria for foreign cultural policy. To support innovative film projects is certainly an important part of cultural programme work, but cannot stand alone as a best practice example of the GI's work.

6.5.12 Kunstprojekt mit Stefan Bohnenberger (GI İzmir 2015)

In 2015, the GI İzmir hosted the art project “*Kapalı Kutu*”¹⁰⁴ (“Closed Box”) by Stefan Bohnenberger¹⁰⁵. The German artist is a representative of poetic conceptual art. For the last 20

¹⁰⁴ For the programme announcement see: Stefan Bohnenberger ile Sanat Projesi: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/tr/izm/ver/acv.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=20503304, Retrieved: 23.05.2016

¹⁰⁵ For further information on the artist, see: <http://www.stefanbohnberger.com/>, Retrieved: 23.05.2016

years Bohnenberger has worked with a focus on ‘peep boxes’: small art installations inside of balls and boxes which are only visible through a peephole.

On invitation of the GI İzmir Bohnenberger curated an art project with the participation of 26 local Turkish artists, in which they created their own peep boxes. The project was organized as an open studio in the K2 center for contemporary art, in which artists worked on their boxes and exchanged ideas on their work for two weeks, before the results were presented in an exhibition at the art center. The project and its results were documented in a catalogue which was published in German by the *Salon Verlag* publishing house.

The project was met with great interest in İzmir, although the advisory board of the GI did not support it at first. As Bartsch notes:

“Bohnenberger is an artist and curator that has a peculiar and distinct concept in his work, but the advisory board did not approve the project because they argued he was not a good representative of the contemporary German cultural scene. I however, invited him nevertheless, as I have known him for many years and know from experience that it is always a success to work with him.” (ibid.)

In the end the project was funded through means of the ERI and also received great attention in Germany where it was highlighted in the February 2016 edition of the renowned art magazine *Kunstforum*¹⁰⁶.

While conducted against the advice of the GI’s advisory board, the project nonetheless met various other criteria for foreign cultural policy:

- Intercultural/International cooperation and dialogue: In his project, the German artist Stefan Bohnenberger invited local artists to join him in the creation of an exhibition.

¹⁰⁶ See the article in the magazine’s online-aecheive:
<http://www.kunstforum.de/login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2fintern%2fartikel.aspx%3fz%3div%26a%3d238205%26li%3di&z=iv&a=238205&li=i>, Retrieved: 23.05.2016

For the period of two weeks an open workshop was created in which he would introduce his peep box concept and the artists could come together and work on their own peep boxes for the final exhibition. The peep box format of the art and exhibition invited viewers to interact with the objects by picking them up and peeking into them. The abstract artworks themselves inspired the viewers to interpret and discuss their individual experiences. Through creating this space of artistic development and dialogue and through the interactive nature of the art, the project's actual importance did not lie within the final exhibition and the catalogue; the significance and noteworthiness of the project was in fact manifested in the way it initiated artistic international collaboration and intercultural dialogue.

- Exchange and worldwide mobility: To bring a German artist to another country to display their artworks is a traditional approach of foreign cultural policy. Traditionally, in dialogue with the audience, the artist would convey comprehensive aspects of German culture while giving an insight into the contemporary German art scene. In this particular example however, the advisory board did not agree that the artist would be a good example of the German cultural scene. Inviting him nonetheless showed that it is not necessarily aesthetics that count the most in international cultural programme work, but often rather the artist's ability to communicate and interact with international partners and audiences. The creative and intellectual exchange of the participating artists opened the way for new friendships, networks and potential future project ideas.

- Enabling cultural involvement: The project enabled cultural involvement in two different ways: The open call for local artists to join the open studio and create artworks for a common exhibition facilitated the involvement of interested artists in an international art project. Secondly, by calling on the visitors to interact with the art works, the exhibition

concept created a setting in which the audience had to become involved to a certain extent instead of passively examining the exhibition.

Inviting the local art scene to interact with the foreign artist and thus stimulating artistic exchange and discourse, the GI İzmir's art project with Stefan Bohnenberger was an outstanding example of the GI's cultural programme work.

6.5.13 Short evaluation

Considering the above analyses, it becomes clear how multifaceted, comprehensive and rich the cultural programme work of the GI in Turkey proved to be during the research period of the last 11 years.

It appears that the principles of foreign cultural policy which were applied most in the cultural programmes were the "International/intercultural cooperation and dialogue", "Exchange and worldwide mobility", and "Conveying a realistic image of Germany and its values". The aspects of "Enabling cultural involvement", "Conflict prevention/resolution", and "Establishment of and collaboration with civil societies" on the other hand, found only limited implementation.

"Conflict prevention/resolution" has only been pursued by the GI İstanbul, which was also more active than the other two institutes in the conflict prone Kurdish East and South-East of the country and in the refugee camps close to the Syrian border.

"Enabling cultural involvement" was a rather neglected parameter by all three institutes. In a country like Turkey, where cultural education has a low significance and is oftentimes considered as a luxury, this aspect cultural policy is especially important and should be given more attention by the three GIs.

“Establishment of and collaboration with civil societies” is also a very important task for the GIs in Turkey, as the role and importance of civil society is not as recognized by the authorities. As the analysis shows however, collaborating with civil society is done far too little. The institute engaging the most in with civil society is the GI İstanbul. As Öztürk and Ekmekcioğlu noted when asked about the GI Ankara’s non-institutional partners, this may be explained by the fact that most of the corporations and foundations of civil society are located in İstanbul (cf. Ekmekcioğlu/Öztürk, in-depth interview, 28.01.2016).

7. Conclusion and evaluation

Mutual intercultural understanding and respect are key targets the German foreign cultural policy aims to reach through its international cultural programme work. In its numerous establishments worldwide the GI acts out the mission of the Federal Foreign Office in fulfilling this task and furthering intercultural dialogue. As every location brings about different preconditions and cultural, political and legal differences, each GI has to adapt to the respective circumstances and adjust its cultural programme work accordingly while still accomplishing its mission. Each of the establishments hence faces different challenges and difficulties as well as potentialities and opportunities, and develops their own profile and position within the GI as a whole. When analyzing an institute’s cultural programme work within the framework of these parameters and the GI’s mission, the efficiency of its work as well as the particular significance of its presence becomes apparent.

The GI’s cultural programme work in Turkey as well as its importance and position within the GI’s general strategy constitute an exceptional case. The peculiarities influencing the relationship

between Germany and Turkey, which form the foundation of the GI's work there, consist of the following factors:

- The two countries are interlinked by a mutual migration history: during the last years of the Ottoman Empire boys were sent to Germany for education and apprenticeship purposes. With the establishment of the young Turkish Republic under Atatürk, selected students attended to universities in Germany to receive their higher education there. During the first years of World War II, German intellectuals sought refuge in Turkey, where they played an important role in the development of the young Turkish Republic. Finally, in the 1960's the most well-known chapter of the two countries' common migration history took place, with the Labor Recruitment Agreement bringing thousands of Turkish workers to Germany. As a result, today there are more than 2.8 million residents of Turkish descent living in Germany, connecting the two countries with many personal and family bonds.
- A lack of integration efforts for Turkish migrants and their descendants on the part of German politics led to social and cultural consequences such as ghettoization, which generated – in both the German and Turkish communities – persistent prejudices and negative images about German-Turks. On the other hand however, friendships and a curiosity about the other's culture and country were also created as a result of the many residents of Turkish descent in Germany.
- Turkey's geopolitical position places the country in a bridging role between Europe and the Arab world, even more so when its image of a westernized Muslim country is taken into consideration. With the current conflicts in Turkey's neighboring countries and the large number of refugees making their way through Turkey into Europe, this characteristic has gained even more importance.

- The political relations between Turkey and Germany which reach back to the late 19th century, are today mainly characterized by the ongoing EU membership negotiations on Turkey' full accession, and its role in the current worldwide crises. As partner of the EU in the refugee crisis, Turkey seems to have gained power recently. European countries are dependent on Turkey's cooperation in keeping refugees within its borders and hindering them from entering Europe through Greece or the Balkan states. Turkey is both a central protagonist in the resolution and prevention of further conflicts in the Middle East, but also has its own conflicts smoldering within its borders, making it another possible trouble spot. For Germany this makes it crucial to maintain an intact and friendly relationship.

The characteristics shaping the relationship between Germany and Turkey underline several aspects of importance for the GI's work in Turkey. The interest as well as prejudices people of both countries show for each other make the GI's presence in Turkey essential. With its cultural programme work the GI can provide insights to the German cultural scene, and foster mutual understanding through intercultural exchange and dialogue. Featuring cultural events on topics interlinking the two countries and highlighting the commonalities between them rather than their differences, the GI tackles common stereotypes and helps to overcome prejudices.

It is a basic principle of foreign cultural policy to prevent further escalation of cultural conflicts. After a rather stable period, Turkey's political situation has gradually become more fragile over the past few years. Causes for this include the ongoing conflict with the Kurdish PKK, the repressive proceedings of the Turkish Armed Forces against the Kurdish population in the South-East of the country, the increasing danger of radical Islamist terror, a failed coup and the continuously radicalizing government. With its directly neighboring countries Syria and Iraq currently war zones and refugees seeking shelter in Turkey, it is of particular importance for the

country to provide for stability by resolving its own conflicts. Thus the GI's presence is necessary, not only in the main cultural centers but throughout the country, creating forums of intercultural dialogue, understanding and togetherness through arts and culture to help maintain and restore peace.

In the 2014 Review Process "*Außenpolitik Weiter Denken*" (A Fresh Look at German Foreign Policy) the German Bundestag called for foreign cultural policy to take "a more active role in times of crisis and crisis regions" (Deutscher Bundestag 2015). In view of this task, the GI İstanbul's involvement in local refugee programs furthering integration and trauma relief through cultural activities is another aspect underlining the importance of the GI being active in Turkey.

In Turkey the GI is represented by three institutes that are located in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The cultural programme work of the three GIs from 2005-2015 can be distinguished as follows:

- The leadership personality of the director influences the diversity of each institute's cultural programme work. If the director is deciding individually on each and every programming detail – as is the case at the GI İzmir due to a shortage of personnel – the events might not distinguish themselves too much from one another. When the local programme coordinators are involved in the creative process such as in Ankara and İstanbul however, the events vary and contrast with each other as created by different persons.
- Local preconditions and challenges influence the institutes' cultural programme work, in particular incidents such as terror attacks and other events having an impact on the security of the GIs' guests and employees. This was the case when a film program in Diyarbakır had to be cancelled, as the security situation there significantly deteriorated before the general elections in November 2015. The same applies to extraordinary political

or social events that call for a response. In such cases, the institutes react through their cultural programme work, as for instance with the guest performance of *Der Volksfeind* by Thomas Ostermeier in 2014, which critically commented on the Gezi Park protests.

- The cooperative efforts an institute undergoes and the partners it collaborates with make a big difference in the cultural programme work of a GI. The prevalence of collaborative efforts particularly shapes an institute's cultural programming profile. The GIs İzmir and Ankara both tend to conduct a big part of their cultural programme work without engaging in any cooperation, while the GI İstanbul registers high cooperation rates. A lack of cooperation not only contradicts foreign cultural policy criteria, but can also limit the potential for diversity in long term cultural programming. Most of the collaborations done by the GIs in Turkey are examples of actual cooperation, which means that the institutions actually organize events together and engage in dialogue and exchange. Hence, the requirement of cooperation is met by all three institutes. Insufficiency is shown by all three GIs however, with regard to touring events and such events taking place in another city in Turkey. To reach the periphery of Turkey and meet with audiences not already satisfied or even oversaturated with cultural offers (as is the case in the three cities of the GIs' locations) the institutes need to reach out and invest more in touring events.

- The analysis of some of the three GIs' most outstanding cultural activities reveals decent compliance with the Federal Foreign Office's criteria for foreign cultural policy. All three institutes engage in the key aspects "International/intercultural cooperation and dialogue", "Exchange and worldwide mobility", and "Conveying a realistic image of Germany and its values", while the other principles for foreign cultural policy are only met partially. In İzmir and Ankara more commitment could be shown in the area of "Conflict

prevention/resolution”, as the GI İstanbul so far covers most of the events in this area. All three institutes should be equally further engaged with “Enabling cultural involvement” and the “Establishment of and the collaboration with civil societies”, which are both of great importance to Turkey and its cultural scene.

- Overall, the three Turkish GIs successfully consider both the local preconditions and challenges and foreign cultural policy requirements in their cultural programme work.

When examining these findings, we see that the position of Turkey and its three institutes within the GI’s general strategy is a very peculiar one. The country’s importance for Germany – both for political and social reasons – together with its current political situation and the interest and demand for the offers of the GI make Turkey a No. 1 strategic location for the institute. The three GIs’ cultural programme work for the most part comply with the principles for foreign cultural policy and have generated exceptional events that can exemplify successful cultural programme work worldwide.

For further research, a comparison of the cultural programme work with that of other countries’ GIs and other national cultural institutes could be conducted. By contrasting their different approaches and principles with each other, more comprehensive results could be obtained. A deeper qualitative and content-oriented analysis of the GI Turkey’s cultural programme work would furthermore allow for more detailed and elaborate results on the three GIs’ cultural programming profiles, reaching beyond event and partner counts.

Even though not subject to this research, the findings regarding the importance of the GI’s presence in Turkey and positioning the location within the GI’s general strategy are also valid for the GI’s language- and library work. As mentioned initially, the thesis focused on the cultural programme work of the institute and thus the importance and the dimensions of the other two

departments' work were not addressed throughout the research. However, the GI's language and library work should not be disregarded and through further research their impacts and outcomes (which are easier to obtain, as quantitative data is already existing on both departments' turnouts) could be compared with the data obtained in the present research on cultural programme work.

The methodology of this research on the GI's work could also be applied for an evaluation of other European national cultural institutes' cultural programme work, for which a similar approach would be recommended. In the first step of the present research, the strategic papers on German foreign cultural policy and Germany's relation with the host country were reviewed to understand the requirements the institute's cultural programme work is supposed to meet. In addition to this, representatives of the institute were interviewed about the conduct of their cultural programme work and a personal assessment of their best practice events. Through archive research, both qualitative and quantitative data were obtained on the institute's cultural events, regarding art disciplines, cooperation efforts, trends, best practice, etc. Finally the institute's cultural programme work was analyzed considering all the information acquired through the preceding researches.

As a final prospect, the importance of this research shall once more be underlined: an inventory as it has been done on the cultural programme work of the GI in Turkey for this thesis helps to evaluate an institute's work, and to understand what possible changes are needed. If this research were to be conducted for every country worldwide, the efficiency of the GI's work would further increase and the obtained data would provide for more transparency both in theory and practice. The individual GIs could document their events, taking note of their collaborations and the criteria for foreign cultural policies that were met with each event, instead of simply uploading them to the online archive. In this way, without much further effort a valuable database on the GI's worldwide cultural programme work could be obtained.

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Dr. Rudolf Bartsch, director of the Goethe-Institut İzmir: 27.01.2016

Sibel Ekmekcioğlu and Emel Öztürk, local programme coordinators of the Goethe-Institut Ankara: 28.01.2016

Dr. Matthias Makowski, regional director, Goethe-Institut Athens: 24.02.2016

Christian Lüffe, director of the Goethe-Institut İstanbul: 29.02.2016

Appendix 1: Extended bibliography

Appendix 1.1: Extended bibliography – German foreign cultural policy

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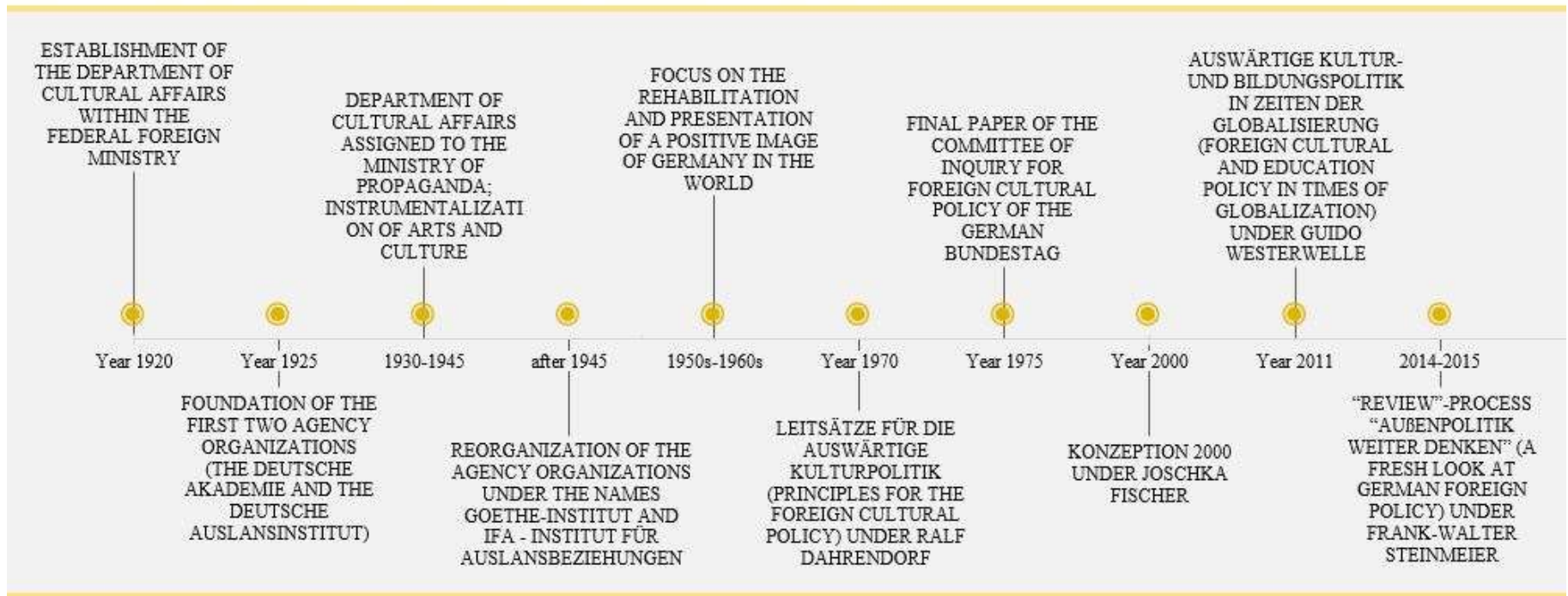
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Appendix 2: Timeline of the key events in the history of German foreign cultural policy

Timeline on the key events in the history of German foreign cultural policy



Appendix 3: The principles and criteria for cultural programme work and the work of the GI

1. The mission of the GI (Goethe-Institut e.V. 2016i) [author's emphasis and sectioning]:

- **“We promote knowledge of the German language abroad and**
- **foster international cultural cooperation.**
- **We convey a comprehensive image of Germany by providing information about cultural, social and political life in our nation.**
- Our cultural and educational programmes **encourage intercultural dialogue** and
- **enable cultural involvement.**
- They **strengthen the development of structures in civil society** and
- **foster worldwide mobility.”**

2. The principles set in the *Konzeption 2000* (Auswärtiges Amt 2000) [author's compilation]:

According to the *Konzeption 2000* the task of foreign cultural policy is

- to contribute to security politics, conflict prevention, human rights and partnership cooperation;
- to be not neutral, but value-oriented;
- to actively take a stance in questions of democratization, human rights, sustainable development, economic growth, and the protection of natural resources;
- to represent Germany abroad;
- and to facilitate dialogue, exchange and cooperation between peoples and cultures.

3. The principles set in the strategic paper “*Auswärtige Kultur- und Bildungspolitik in Zeiten der Globalisierung*” (Foreign Cultural and Education Policy in Times of Globalization) (Auswärtiges Amt 2011: 3):

The Federal Foreign Cultural and Education Policy contributes to reaching the aims of German foreign policy, by

- fostering dialogue, exchange and cooperation between people and cultures: it wins partners and friends in other countries, builds and strengthens networks with people who are interested in Germany, our ideas and values and who are our long-term partners in the politics, economy, science, arts or media of their countries,
- conveying a positive and authentic image of Germany abroad, promoting Germany as location for economy, science and innovation,
- contributing to the solution of regional and local conflicts, in particular when they are caused by cultural, religious or ideological differences, and
- bringing people to Germany who want to stay here temporarily or permanently.

4. The principles established in the “Review”-Process “*Außenpolitik Weiter Denken*” (A Fresh Look at German Foreign Policy) (Deutscher Bundestag 2015):

In close collaboration with the German Bundestag, the following prevailing key tasks evolved for the Foreign Cultural and Education Policy in particular [from the so-called “Review-Process” under foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier]:

- The establishment of and the collaboration with civil societies [...];
- A more active role in times of crisis and in crisis regions [...]