



GERMAN EXTERNAL CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN TURKEY: COOPERATION AS EQUAL PARTNERS?

Elena Dück

Executive Summary

This policy brief analyzes German External Cultural and Educational Policies (GECEP) in Turkey. It focuses on the successful implementation of “fair cooperation,” based on the self-proclaimed goal of reciprocal cooperation and encounters as equals rather than a hierarchical donor-recipient relationship. It is based on an analysis of the activities of the German Cultural Academy Tarabya, the German-Turkish Youthbridge, German Schools in Turkey, and the Turkish-German University (TAU). The analysis is enriched by interviews with representatives of German institutions in Turkey as well as students of the TAU. The guiding questions of this policy brief examine the long-term orientation of the activities and to what extent the parties are able to implement the goal of cooperation between equal partners. It addresses the most pressing issues of GECEP in Turkey and closes with examples of best practices and recommendations to further strengthen cooperation between Germany and Turkey in the field of culture and education.

Turkish-German Relations in Times of Crisis

The year 2021 marks the 60th anniversary of the German-Turkish labor agreement that facilitated labor migration from Turkey to Germany. This agreement marked the beginning of a change in German-Turkish relations as well as German society. Today, approximately 2.9 million¹ people of Turkish descent are living in Germany. Moreover, approximately 400,000 Turkish labor migrants returned from Germany to Turkey in the 1980s.² In light of a booming Turkish economy, between 2005 and 2015 more people migrated from Germany to Turkey than the other way around. This trend has since held.³ While the German and German-Turkish population living in Turkey is smaller than the one of Turkish descents living in Germany, it is by no means small. In addition to the transnational migration of Turkish-Germans between Turkey and Germany, there is also “lifestyle migration”⁴ of German pensioners to Turkey. Due to these close ties between Turkey and Germany and the interwovenness of their populations, the classical distinction between domestic and foreign policy is challenged. While this holds true for both countries, it is more pronounced in Germany, as discussions about Turkish electoral campaigns⁵ and Turkish nationalist organizations⁶ in Germany illustrate. One could expect relations to be a high priority in both countries and easier to facilitate due to a large pool of “cultural ambassadors” that know both countries well and promote good relations. However, Turkish-German relations since 2016 have been tense. On the domestic level, Turkish immigrants and their descendants in Germany are confronted with racism and discrimination,⁷ which cumulate in terrorist attacks against them and other minority groups.⁸ At the same time, internal developments in Turkey since 2016 have raised concern in Germany.⁹

On the international level, Turkish-German relations since 2015 have focused on the highly contested EU-Turkey Deal, aimed at regulating irregular migration from Syria to the EU. In 2020, Turkey briefly opened its borders, accusing the EU of not complying with the agreement.¹⁰ Meanwhile, the agreement was scrutinized in the EU and Germany for further externalizing the Union’s migration policies. Thus, the deal “has played a toxic role in the overall EU-Turkey relationship”¹¹ as well as in

German-Turkish relations. The refugee agreement is the most recent example of a problem-driven German foreign policy toward Turkey¹² rather than a long-term oriented approach.

In contrast to these current approaches, Germany’s External Cultural and Educational Policy (GECEP) aims at promoting a long-term orientation through creating mutual understanding and dialogue in times of crisis. GECEP is conceptualized as a “foreign policy of societies, which makes the ties between countries tangible,”¹³ an approach especially fit for the Turkish-German context with already close ties between people. Academic research stresses that GECEP should be based on “fair cooperation,”¹⁴ meaning that countries should act as equal partners and the hierarchies between them should be reduced.

This policy brief aims at evaluating the impact of German External Cultural and Educational Policy on Turkish-German relations. How long-term oriented are the projects? To what extent is the goal of cooperation between equal partners realized? This policy brief answers these questions by first offering a comprehensive summary of GECEP in Turkey. Secondly, it addresses the challenges faced by the organizations and institutions implementing these policies. Finally, it discusses best practices and recommendations for improvement.

Methodological Remarks

This policy brief is based on an analysis of German policies and the self-proclaimed aims of executive organizations: for instance, the Goethe Institute or the German-Turkish Youthbridge. Moreover, I conducted 18 semi-structured interviews with representatives of the German Embassy, the Turkish-German University, the Goethe Institute, the German-Turkish Youthbridge, the German Association “Brücke,” and students of the Turkish-German University.¹⁵

German External Cultural and Educational Policies in Turkey

German-Turkish cultural relations are based on a bilateral cultural agreement from 1957.¹⁶ GECEP in Turkey focuses on the following institutions and projects: The Cultural Academy Tarabya, the German-

Turkish Youth Bridge, the Turkish-German University in Istanbul (TAU), German Schools in Turkey in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir, and the project “Spaces of Culture,”¹⁷ which cooperates with other European partners. GECEP is mostly conducted via intermediary organizations: The Cultural Academy Tarabya is a cooperation of the German Foreign Office and the Goethe Institute, the German-Turkish Youth Bridge is a project of the Mercator Foundation, the TAU is organized via the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and Spaces of Culture is initiated by the Goethe Institute, the Alliance Française, the Netherlands, and Sweden. As Spaces of Culture is a program organized with European partners and this policy brief focuses on purely German activities, it will be excluded from this analysis. This decision was made for the sake of analytical clarity and in no way intends to downplay the importance or value of cooperation with European partners in the field of GECEP.

External Cultural and Educational Policies can be realized either in state-centric or through state-financed private organizations. While the organizational forms vary in Europe, the most common form is a mix of state-centric and private organizations.¹⁸ Germany has established a model that is mostly based on private intermediary organizations that function as independent foundations but receive federal funds.

The Goethe Institute is the largest German intermediary organization worldwide. Its mission is to promote the German language abroad, to foster international cultural cooperation, and to convey a current and comprehensive image of Germany.¹⁹ Its activities in Turkey are not limited to the projects mentioned above and also include German language classes, the organization of additional cultural events, and the PASCH initiative, which works with local partner schools to introduce German classes into schools’ curriculum. It is largely financed by federal funds. The DAAD organizes German universities abroad with the goal of fostering international exchange. It is financed through German federal funds and the EU. In contrast to the DAAD and the Goethe Institute, which play a special role as intermediary organizations in GECEP, the Mercator Foundation is an independent, private foundation and not an intermediary organization. In the following section, the core institutions and programs of GECEP are briefly summarized.

The Cultural Academy Tarabya

The Cultural Academy Tarabya has provided scholarships for artists living in Germany who wish to work and live in Istanbul since 2011. The academy is a joint project of the German Consulate and the Goethe Institute, which curates the program. The Cultural Academy Tarabya provides living and working spaces for artists in the Tarabya neighborhood of Istanbul. Artists live and work in Tarabya for four to eight months, providing them with the opportunity to work independently. As of 2021, the program also offers artists the opportunity to jointly apply for an exchange program between one artist living in Germany and one artist living in Turkey within the scope of its “Tandem Program,” which is co-financed by the Allianz Kulturstiftung. Previously, there was no program that allowed Turkish artists to apply for a residency program in Germany. The reason for this is the structure of German budgetary laws, which does not allow for funding foreign artists or scholars abroad. The new cultural exchange program within the Cultural Academy was realized via the organization of networking events. The public-private partnership with the Allianz Kulturstiftung, a private foundation, allows the program to be more inclusive of Turkish artists and foster exchange that goes beyond networking.

The German-Turkish Youthbridge

The German-Turkish Youthbridge organizes youth exchanges between school classes in Germany and Turkey as well as projects between young people from Turkey and Germany. It started its activities in 2014. Funded by the German Federal Office, the Youthbridge organizes model projects that enable young people to work on a project together in Turkey or Germany. The Youthbridge supports student exchanges between German and Turkish schools. It also offers Youth Ambassador trainings that enable young people from Germany and Turkey to organize and find funding for their future projects.

The exchange between Turkey and Germany is also fostered through the organizational structure of the Youthbridge: the advisory board is made up of German and Turkish representatives, including representatives of the Turkish Foreign Office and the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSIAD), and civil society organizations like Anadolu Kültür and the Istanbul Foundation for Art and Culture.²⁰

The Turkish-German University

The Turkish-German University was founded in 2010, based on an international treaty between the governments of Turkey and Germany. It is a “lighthouse project” with the goal of strengthening and deepening Turkish-German relations.²¹ Located in the Beykoz neighborhood of Istanbul, the TAU opened its doors to students in 2013. It aims at establishing itself as a research university with close ties to German and Turkish companies and institutions.²² There are currently 3,089 students studying at the TAU, about half of the target figure once the university has opened all the planned bachelor and master degree programs. While the university operates under Turkish law, Germany supports the TAU on an academic level via a consortium of 38 German universities. Each of these universities is responsible for a faculty at the TAU or a BA/MA program. Cooperation with additional German universities is planned. In most programs, dual degrees with the German partner university are already offered or planned. Financially, while Turkey is responsible for the administrative organization and the building, Germany is funding part of the teaching staff via the DAAD. The BA programs are taught in German, with the exception of law, which is taught in German and Turkish. The master and PhD programs are taught in German or English. In order to earn a dual degree, depending on the program, students have to spend one or two semesters at the German partner university responsible for their program. The rest of the program is completed in Istanbul. While most programs offer this opportunity to the best 10% of the class, there are exceptions like the Master in Intercultural Management, in which all students are eligible to study in Germany if they choose to do so. However, funding for a YÖK-DAAD scholarship to study in Germany is limited to the top 10% of the class. As a public university, there are no fees for Turkish students, and tuition for international students is relatively inexpensive.

German Schools in Turkey

The organization of German schools in Turkey is a rather complex topic. There are six German schools in Turkey: three of them (the Özel Alman Lisesi that cooperates with the Private German School of the Embassy, the Istanbul Lisesi, and the IELEV

School) in Istanbul, the Private School of the German Embassy in Ankara, and the Private School of the German Embassy in Izmir. The private Özel Alman Lisesi offers the possibility to gain both a Turkish and a German university entrance diploma.²³ The Istanbul Lisesi is a public Turkish school that offers both a German and a Turkish diploma to its students. Students that decide not to complete the German diploma (*Abitur*) can gain an official German language certificate (Deutsches Sprachdiplom der Kultusministerkonferenz (DSD) II). As it is nearly impossible to prepare for the Turkish university entrance exam and the German *Abitur* at the same time, students mostly opt for either the German or the Turkish diploma.²⁴ At the private IELEV School, students can gain a Turkish high school diploma and an International Baccalaureate as well as an official German language certificate (DSD I/II) that enables them to apply to German universities.²⁵

This policy brief focuses on the Private German Schools of the Embassy in Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. The German School in Istanbul only offers primary education on its own; secondary education is provided in cooperation with the Özel Alman Lisesi. The German Schools in Ankara and Izmir offer students a German *Abitur*. Hence, their diploma is treated as a foreign diploma in Turkey. The Private German Schools of the Embassy do not have full legal status in Turkey. Both the German School in Ankara and the first German School in Istanbul were originally founded as bottom-up initiatives of the German-speaking communities in Ankara and Istanbul, respectively. The shared history of the German School in Istanbul and the Özel Alman Lisesi dates back to 1867 and thus predates both the Turkish as well as the German Federal Republic. In the 1950s both schools became official schools of the German Embassy. Representatives of Germany in Turkey stress that the socio-political context today is vastly different than the one in which the schools were (re-)founded. In the 1950s global mobility was comparably low, and the schools’ target students were children of German diplomats. Today, increased global mobility has changed which groups of people are interested in sending their children to a German School. Currently, German Schools can only be visited by students whose parents are German, whose parents work at the Turkish foreign ministry and hence move abroad more

frequently for their job, or children whose parents have strong connections to Germany, for instance, because they worked in Germany for a long time.

Evaluation of German External Cultural and Educational Policies in Turkey

The broad spectrum of GECEP in Turkey and the significant differences in their activities complicate the general assessment of them. Overall, all projects integrate a long-term perspective, while the criteria of cooperation as equal partners cannot fully be met.

Assessing the program at the Cultural Academy Tarabya, the program has so far been long-term oriented, as it aspires to build a network among former residents. However, it is questionable if residents at Tarabya develop strong ties to Turkish artists and society during their stay at the academy. As artists living in Germany are at a relative advantage compared to artists in Turkey when it comes to receiving funding for their projects, the goal of cooperation as equal partners has not been fully realized. The constraints that German budgetary law imposes on the effective implementation of GECEP are evident in this case. The public-private partnership with the Allianz Kulturstiftung is hence a best practice example of overcoming this obstacle and creating genuine collaboration between artists in Germany and Turkey. A disadvantage of such cooperation is a certain dependency on third-party actors that might withdraw their funding.

In contrast, the German-Turkish Youthbridge, due to its organization as well as the projects it funds, provides more opportunities to achieve reciprocity, and its projects are designed to meet the criteria of making “the ties between countries tangible.” The time frames of the projects that are financed varies from a few days to several years. Nevertheless, a long-term perspective is visible, especially in the Youth Ambassador Training, which enables young people to become active in German-Turkish Civil Society exchange themselves, by teaching them about project management, fundraising, and intercultural learning.²⁶ Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, in-person exchange has been put on

hold since 2020, but virtual formats like “Creative Swap,” a program aimed at enhancing the social media competencies of German and Turkish youth, have been introduced. Furthermore, during recent years the organizations have observed a growing need to advise parents and young people regarding the security and political situations in Turkey and Germany. While Germans worry about Islamic terrorism and political instability in Turkey, Turks are concerned about right-wing terrorism and racially motivated attacks in Germany. While these programs have not been directly affected by violence, these worries show the level of awareness of the political and social difficulties in the other country as well as the overly negative perception of the overall security situation there.

As a public Turkish university, the Turkish-German University is free of charge for Turkish students and provides them the opportunity to learn German fluently, first, through a one-year preparation class and then throughout the course of the remainder of their studies. It also provides students the opportunity to study in an international environment with German and Turkish-German students and to earn a dual degree. Hence, the TAU is long-term oriented, and its organizational set-up ensures ongoing cooperation. At the same time, as the TAU operates as a university under Turkish law, German influence is limited in comparison to the German Schools in Turkey. As mentioned, many programs at the TAU offer the possibility to earn a dual master’s degree by spending a semester at a German university. This is a great opportunity for all students, Germans and Turks alike, and was repeatedly mentioned by students as one of the main benefits of studying at the TAU. However, given the median income in Germany compared to Turkey, the public funding opportunities for students in each country, and the current exchange rate between the Turkish lira and the euro, it is much more affordable for German students to come to Istanbul to live and study than it is for Turkish students to come to Germany. While the top 10% of each class is eligible for a scholarship, overall, the financial burden on Turkish students is higher in comparison to German students. The TAU is aware of this problem, but a solution has not been found yet. Moreover, the TAU not only faces the difficulty of integrating two different educational systems in order to implement dual degrees, but it

also faces tension when it comes to the question of how open and vivid discussions at public universities should be. This not only refers to discussions on campus but also extends to public statements by professors and students on social media. This has led to increased scrutiny in the German press and by students of the TAU, who are advocating for less tolerance of homophobic, anti-Semitic, and sexist public comments by teaching staff²⁷ and more freedom of expression when it comes to expressing criticism of Turkish authorities. Neither the German government, the DAAD, nor the German Consortium at the TAU have publicly responded to these demands. Regarding cooperation as equal partners, this project is remarkable in so far as it is the only forum for cooperation in which Turkey has more influence than Germany on the realization of the programs due to the university operating under Turkish law.

Like the TAU, the Private German Schools of the Embassy in Turkey operate within a long-term framework. However, in contrast to the TAU, their target students are not Turkish students but Germans living in Turkey. While the German embassy covers the tuition fees for children of its employees and some German companies chose to do so for the children of expatriates, Turkish families have to cover the cost themselves. While a representative of a German School in Turkey considers the schools' fee to be in the mid-range of the average costs of private education in Turkey, he nevertheless admits that some Turkish families "scrimp and save" to send their child to a German School. Given the annual cost of approximately 9,000 EUR, plus an additional admission fee of over 2,300 EUR in the case of the German School in Ankara,²⁸ an average family would not be able to afford this education. While it is not surprising or unusual that private education is only available to the financial elite, the goal of the German Schools to illicit the "encounter of cultures" is limited through this financial framework. German Schools operating under Turkish law also face the difficulty of integrating two very different school systems, which results in high pressure on the students that do not always opt for a German diploma, as they also need to prepare for the Turkish university entrance exam. In the past, students that did not have the financial resources to study in Germany had an additional

disincentive to pursue the German *Abitur*.²⁹ Thus, the TAU fills an important gap by providing the opportunity for Turkish students who cannot afford to study in Germany to continue their education in German. A fixed number of places at the TAU are reserved for the alumni of German Schools. In terms of achieving a long-term orientation and cooperation as equal partners, this is a positive development. In the case of the German Schools in Turkey, the issue of reciprocity is most prominently raised: While Germany aims at achieving a legal status for these schools in Turkey, it is not willing to allow the opening of Turkish schools in Germany in exchange, as Germany would not have any influence on the methods of teaching and the content of the classes. At the same time, it is this freedom from interference and the differences in the curriculum as well as pedagogical style that Germany strives to uphold in its schools abroad.

Summary of Challenges to GEDEP in Turkey

In my interviews, representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany stressed that they perceive their Turkish counterparts to be highly interested in cooperation in the realm of Cultural and Educational Policies. However, the following issue areas were frequently raised:

- At the participant level, the issue of income inequality between Germany and Turkey was prevalent. While German Schools have the self-proclaimed goal to be places of cultural encounters, few Turkish students have access to these schools, and with the exception of the Istanbul Lisesi, they are rather expensive. Thus, there are social and financial barriers in place regarding who can attend. Although this inequality is reduced at the TAU, nevertheless, university education is in itself aimed at a social/educational elite.
- A key question for Turkish-German cooperation in the realm of Cultural and Educational Cooperation are the conditions under which cooperation is realized. According to German actors, the Turkish side is asking for more reciprocity ("tit for tat"). This indicates that the

Turkish side does not always perceive itself as an equal partner.

- This highlights another issue: differing approaches to culture and education in general. While Germans stress the need for independence and freedom in the realm of culture and education and favor bottom-up approaches that include civil society actors, the current Turkish government prefers a centralized cultural and educational policy. These differences also limit the leeway of German actors when it comes to more reciprocity as there is frequent tension between GECEP's goal to foster the freedom of arts and academia and the Turkish top-down approach.

Best Practices and Recommendations

Due to the strong ties between Germany and Turkey and the special nature of Germany's Cultural and Educational Policies, which are conceptualized as a form of foreign policy but operate on the domestic level, the issues that have been raised in many cases also need to be addressed on the domestic level in Germany. Furthermore, while this brief concentrates on GECEP, some of the issues cannot be addressed by German policy makers alone but either require cooperation with Turkish actors or reforms of German laws and policies on the domestic level.

In order to address the persisting issues, the following steps should be considered:

- Reforms of the German budgetary laws are necessary to address the issue of economic imbalances between Turkish and German citizens that make reciprocal exchange harder and hinder Turkish citizens from participating in student and cultural exchanges. Therefore, German lawmakers should create additional possibilities to fund foreign students, artists, and members of civil society. In the meantime, working with private foundations as in the case of the Cultural Academy Tarabya is a way of ensuring that both Turks and Germans benefit from GECEP.
- Germany is already actively engaging with Turkish civil society organizations. The German-Turkish Youthbridge and Spaces of Culture are examples of best practices. These collaborations also best reflect the bottom-up approach to art and culture that Germany wants to take, which is not always in line with the more centralized approach of the current Turkish government.
- In the context of educational cooperation at the TAU, mixed classes are also an example of best practices. Turkish students reported that they were able to learn from the German students, while German students benefited from the help of Turkish and especially Turkish-German students when it came to everyday bureaucratic challenges.
- GECEP has aimed to shift its focus from the urban centers of Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara to Eastern Turkey. However, there are still few programs operating there (namely Spaces of Culture). In order to be more inclusive and create additional opportunities for exchange with Turkish people all over the country, this deficit needs to be addressed.
- In the long run, the issues surrounding the Private German Schools in Turkey and the possibility of opening Turkish Schools in Germany need to be solved. On the one hand, this could lead to a more diverse group of students and increased intercultural encounters at the German Schools. On the other hand, it could also enhance the possibilities of Turkish-German children living in Germany becoming fluent in Turkish.
- Germany needs to address the threat of right-wing terrorism as well as the underlying racism in its society that fosters such acts. While this is not a challenge that can be solved by GECEP, it is nevertheless a pressing issue that also affects international exchange.
- Both countries need to ensure that freedom of expression and academic freedom are not unduly restricted at their joint educational institutions.

Endnotes

- 1 | S. Schührer, "Türkeistämmige Personen in Deutschland. Erkenntnisse aus der Repräsentativen Untersuchung 'Ausgesuchte Migrantengruppen in Deutschland 2015,'" (RAM), *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*, Working Paper 81 (2015).
- 2 | Y. Aydın, "Heimat Almanyaa. Die deutsch-türkische Migration," 2018, accessed May 24, 2021, <https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/tuerkei/253189/heimat-almanya>.
- 3 | It is estimated that 335,000 people have moved to Turkey from Germany, but half of them have returned to Germany since. See, Kristina Karasu, "Deutsch-Türken in Istanbul. Rückkehr an den Bosphorus," (2018), accessed May 2021, https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/deutsch-tuerken-in-istanbul-rueckkehr-an-den-bosporus.795.de.html?dram:article_id=436660.
- 4 | M. Fauser, "Emigrant citizenship, privileged local belonging and the option to return: Germans on the Turkish coast," *Comparative Migration Studies* 7, no. 8 (2020).
- 5 | J. Vergin, "Türkischer Wahlkampf in Deutschland - was ist erlaubt?" 2017, accessed May 24, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/de/t%C3%BCrkischer-wahlkampf-in-deutschland-was-ist-erlaubt/a-37914291>.
- 6 | Handelsblatt, "Studie warnt vor Einfluss der Grauen Wölfe in Deutschland," 2020, accessed May 24, 2021, https://www.handelsblatt.com/dpa/politik-studie-warnt-vor-einfluss-der-grauen-woelfe-in-deutschland/27135928.html?tp=cpm_sea_042020-fp-&gclid=Cj0KCQjwna2FBhDPARIsACAEC_U6-h08zrUXBt1dyOTTLJilwpbfpNoiPzOWM8MN215gDwSquygW_PsaAj2gEALw_wcB&ticket=ST-2983571-e5qpBLWnCnZia02KV9Wc-ap6.
- 7 | E. Arslan, "Der Mythos der Nation im Transnationalen Raum. Türkische Graue Wölfe in Deutschland," VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften (2019): 27–38.
- 8 | Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, "Annual Report 2019," (2019): 12.
- 9 | Deutscher Bundestag, "Abgeordnete wollen Signal gegen Menschenrechtsverletzungen in der Türkei," 2021, accessed April 30, 2021, https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2021/kw12-de-aktuelle-stunde-menschenrechte-tuerkei830102?fbclid=IwAR24lnG_Aob_m8Uadsiv7l4lgl_k0lyFfadjCibTXN90mcGKRYn85yG_kw.
- 10 | Die Zeit Online, "Wir haben die Tore geöffnet!" November 29, 2020, accessed April, 30, 2021, <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2020-02/tuerkei-recep-tayyip-erdogan-eu-grenzen>.
- 11 | S. Aydın-Düzgit, E. F. Keyman, and K. S. Biehl, "Changing Parameters of Migration Cooperation: Beyond The EU-Turkey Deal?" *IPC-Mercator Policy Brief* (Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center, 2019).
- 12 | Germany's shifting position on the general possibility of Turkey entering the European Union and the future of EU-Turkey relations being the most notorious one.
- 13 | Federal Foreign Office, "Cultural relations and education policy: A basis for strong international relations," accessed April 30, 2021, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/cultural-relations-and-education-policy/229306>.
- 14 | A. Hampel, "Fair Cooperation. Partnerschaftliche Zusammenarbeit in der Kulturpolitik," Springer VS (2014): 66.
- 15 | Some of the students that I interviewed knew me prior to the interviews, as I have been managing the master's program "Intercultural Management" at the University of Passau, Germany, and the TAU.
- 16 | Deutsche Vertretungen in der Türkei, "Deutsch-türkische Kulturbeziehungen," accessed April 30, 2021, <https://tuerkei.diplo.de/tr-de/themen/kultur/-/1666856>.
- 17 | Federal Foreign Office, "Germany and Turkey: Bilateral Relations," accessed April 30, 2021, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/turkey/228290>.
- 18 | K-J Maaß, "Das deutsche Modell – Die Mittlerorganisationen," in "Kultur und

Außenpolitik. Handbuch für Studium und Praxis," *Nomos* (2015): 263.

- 19 | Die Bundesregierung, "22. Bericht der Bundesregierung zur Auswärtigen Kultur- und Bildungspolitik für das Jahr 2018" (2018): 200.
- 20 | Die DTJB im Überblick, "Organisation," accessed May 3, 2021, <https://jugendbruecke.de/dtjb-im-ueberblick/organisation/>.
- 21 | DAAD, "Türkisch-Deutsche Universität (TDU)," accessed May 4, 2021, [https://www.daad.de/de/infos-services-fuer-hochschulen/weiterfuehrende-infos-zu-daad-foerderprogrammen/tdu/sitaet \(TDU\) - DAAD](https://www.daad.de/de/infos-services-fuer-hochschulen/weiterfuehrende-infos-zu-daad-foerderprogrammen/tdu/sitaet-(TDU)-DAAD).
- 22 | TAU, "Wir über Uns," accessed May 3, 2021, <http://www.tau.edu.tr/de/hakkimizda>.
- 23 | DSI, "Unsere Schule. Über uns," accessed May 5, 2021, <https://www.ds-istanbul.net/>.
- 24 | Istanbul Lisesi, "Deutsche Auslandsschule. Schulprogramm. Stand Schuljahr 2016/17," accessed May 6, 2021, https://www.istanbullisesi.net/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Schulprogramm-2016_17.pdf.
- 25 | Lehrer Weltweit, "IELEV Gymnasium in Istanbul," accessed May 5, 2021, <https://www.lehrer-weltweit.de/schule/ielev-gymnasium-istanbul-tuerkei/>.
- 26 | Deutsch-Türkische Jugendbrücke, "Youth Ambassador Training," accessed May 3, 2021, <https://jugendbruecke.de/austausch/youth-ambassador-training/>.
- 27 | A.-S. Schneider, "Menschenverachtende Tweets eines Dozenten lösen Protest an Türkisch-Deutscher Uni aus," accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.spiegel.de/ausland/tuerkisch-deutsche-universitaet-istanbul-protest-gegen-homophobe-tweets-eines-dozenten-a-1a539954-14be-4cdb-8b43-56a8127c9ecc>.
- 28 | Privat Schule der Deutschen Botschaft Ankara, "Gebühren des Deutschen Schulvereins Ankara für das Schuljahr 2020/2021," accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.ers-ankara.com/download/formulare/Gebuehrenordnung-2020-2021.pdf>.
- 29 | A. Klever, "Deutsch an der Deutschen Schule Istanbul," 125 Jahre Deutsche Schule Istanbul Festschrift (1993): 58.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all participants for taking the time to talk to me. I would also like to thank the IPC interns Gülin Özcan, Robin Lockyer-von Dorrien, and Melissa Nil Özkarakaya for their help with this research project and Megan Gisclon for her editing work on this policy brief. Finally, thanks to Pelin Oğuz and Gülcihan Çiğdem Okan for providing guidance throughout the research project.

About the Istanbul Policy Center-Sabancı University-Stiftung Mercator Initiative

The Istanbul Policy Center-Sabancı University-Stiftung Mercator Initiative aims to strengthen the academic, political, and social ties between Turkey and Germany as well as Turkey and Europe. The Initiative is based on the premise that the acquisition of knowledge and the exchange of people and ideas are preconditions for meeting the challenges of an increasingly globalized world in the 21st century. The Initiative focuses on two areas of cooperation, EU/German-Turkish relations and climate change, which are of essential importance for the future of Turkey and Germany within a larger European and global context.

Elena Dück is a 2020/21 Mercator-IPC Fellow at Istanbul Policy Center (IPC), Sabancı University.

The interpretations and conclusions made in this policy brief belong solely to the author and do not reflect IPC's official position.

German External Cultural and Educational Policies in Turkey: Cooperation as Equal Partners?

10 p.; 30 cm. - (Istanbul Policy Center-Sabancı University-Stiftung Mercator Initiative)

Cover Design and Page Layout: MYRA

2021

Istanbul Policy Center

Bankalar Caddesi Minerva Han No: 2 Kat: 4
34420 Karaköy-İstanbul
T +90 212 292 49 39
ipc@sabanciuniv.edu - ipc.sabanciuniv.edu