

GERMANY'S "SOFT POWER" STRATEGY IN KAZAKHSTAN:
EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

by

Karina Matkarimova

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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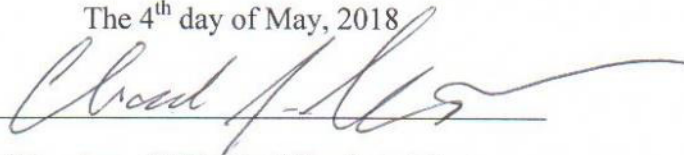
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ГЕРМАНИЯНЫҢ ҚАЗАҚСТАҢДАҒЫ «ЖҰМСАҚ КҮШ» СТРАТЕГИЯСЫ: БІЛІМ
БЕРУ ЖӘНЕ МӘДЕНИ АСПЕКТІЛЕР

СТРАТЕГИЯ «МЯГКОЙ СИЛЫ» ГЕРМАНИИ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ:
ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫЕ И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2. Case-Studies Overview.....	17
Chapter 3. Germany’s “Soft Power” Strategy in Kazakhstan and Worldwide Prestige.....	29
Chapter 4. Role of the German Diaspora in the “Soft Power” Strategy.....	45
Chapter 5. Role of State and Non-State Actors in Germany’s “Soft Power” Strategy.....	52
Chapter 6. Conclusion.....	58
Bibliography.....	61
Appendix A.....	69
Appendix B.....	71
Appendix C.....	75

Abstract

The research represents a case study and explores Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture. Since no research has been conducted before on this matter, the author attempts to provide the key information of the strategy, by analyzing its features, actors and the role of the German diaspora. In terms of the conceptual framework, the research is based on Joseph Nye's concept of "soft power" and its interconnection with the "public diplomacy".

The fieldwork results showed that German officials do not use so-called "soft power" term in their rhetoric, but there is German "cultural relations and education policy". Moreover, the research describes the role of the state, non-state actors and also of the German diaspora, and their level of cooperation in Kazakhstan.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This research focuses on Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly on educational and cultural aspects. The main goal of the research is to answer the questions: Why and how does Germany promote its "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture? At first, I would like to provide a brief overview of the "soft power" concept: what does it mean, how is this concept interconnected with "public diplomacy" and why are Germany and Kazakhstan interesting cases for studying "soft power"? Talking about the concept itself, "soft power" is a comparatively new term, as it was developed in the 1990s by American political scientist Joseph Nye. According to Nye, "soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment."¹ Such attraction is based on three resources: culture (high culture/popular culture), political values and foreign policies.² "Soft power" in its turn is interconnected with another concept "public diplomacy". Joseph Nye explained the close interconnection between two terms: public diplomacy is a tool, which governments use in order to mobilize soft power's resources for attracting a foreign public, rather than mere governments.³ In other words, public diplomacy reinforces existing soft power's resources in order to make a country attractive to a foreign public, and it helps to accomplish soft power's aim to "shape the preferences of others".⁴

Germany is one of the countries, which successfully implements its "soft power" strategy, as the country takes a leading position in the global soft power rating. According to the web site *The Soft Power 30*, in 2015 and 2016, the country took second and the third places respectively in "A Ranking of Global Soft Power".⁵ Due to these achievements, Germany is an

¹ Joseph Nye, "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008):94.

² Nye, 96.

³ Ibid, 95.

⁴ Ibid, 95.

⁵ "Overall Ranking 2015, 2016," *The Soft Power 30*, accessed November 13, 2017, https://softpower30.com/?country_years=2015%2C2016.

interesting case to study in order to understand the “soft power” concept and to determine the instruments, helping the country to reach such results.

In order to trace the roots of Germany’s success, it is necessary to look at its foreign policy. As is stated on the Federal Foreign Office web site (Germany’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs), there are three pillars of Germany’s foreign policy: effective economic policy, European and transatlantic partnership, and cultural relations and education policy.⁶ As my research focuses on educational and cultural aspects, I want to pay attention to the third pillar of Germany’s foreign policy. Cultural relations and education policy is a multitasking direction of Germany’s foreign policy. Apart from aiming at German language and culture promotion, it has the following tasks: “Create stable foundations for international relations with the synergy of knowledge and culture and the dialogue between people”; “contribute to worldwide crisis and conflict prevention”; “promote European integration”; and “preserve cultural diversity in the world.”⁷ Therefore, Germany’s cultural relations and education policy does not solely concentrate on Germany’s cultural promotion, but it also transmits such political values as integration, diversity and conflict prevention.

Joseph Nye in his work “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power” highlights the important role of non-governmental organizations in public diplomacy. Nye mentioned that postmodern publics have little trust in governments and authority.⁸ Due to this, governments work with private actors: “Some NGOs enjoy more trust than governments do, and though they are difficult to control, they can be useful channels for communication.”⁹ In this regard, Germany is not an exception, as the government cooperates with various actors. According to the web site of the Federal Foreign Office, the Office works with various partners from cultural, educational and

⁶ “Germany’s Foreign & European Policy Principles”, *The Federal Foreign Office*, last modified March 13, 2017, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/-/229790>.

⁷ “Cultural relations and education policy”, *The Federal Foreign Office*, accessed December 16, 2017, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/ziele-partner/229306>.

⁸ Joseph Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008):105.

⁹Ibid.

research spheres as, among others, the Goethe-Institut, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (ifa), the Federal Office of Administration – Central Agency for Schools Abroad and various political foundations.¹⁰ Therefore, the Federal Foreign Office is not the only actor in cultural relations and education policy, and has various partners. By looking at this short review, it becomes clear that Germany uses all “soft power” resources, outlined by Joseph Nye: culture, political values and foreign policy, in order to attract others.¹¹ In light of the aforementioned, Germany’s “soft power” is a multidimensional area of study, since it is necessary to take into account various factors such as Germany’s foreign policy, its directions, aims and the role of various actors.

In my thesis, besides providing a general picture of Germany’s “soft power” strategy, I analyze the way the strategy is implemented in Kazakhstan. In my research, I also pay special attention to the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. As keepers of German culture and language, the German diaspora in Kazakhstan could be considered as part of Germany’s public diplomacy and soft power strategies. After the massive emigration to Germany since 1991, the number of Germans in Kazakhstan in 2006 year was about 200,000 people.¹² In terms of the legislative aspect, there is an *Agreement between Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Government of the Federal Republic of Germany about cooperation on support of citizens of Republic of Kazakhstan of German Nationality*, made in May 31, 1996.¹³ There is also a position in the German Bundestag- the German Federal Government Commissioner for immigrants and ethnic minorities- Hartmut Koschyk. That is to say, the existence of such a position in the German Bundestag demonstrates that Germany pays attention to ethnic minorities and diaspora.

¹⁰ “Cultural relations and education policy”, *The Federal Foreign Office*, accessed December 16, 2017, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/ziele-partner/229306>.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² “Minority Rights International”, *Kazakhstan-Germans*, accessed December 16, 2017, <http://minorityrights.org/minorities/germans/>.

¹³ “Ob utverzhenii Soglasheniya mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Kazahstan i Pravitel'stvom Federativnoj Respubliki Germanija o sotrudnichestve po podderzhke grazhdan Respubliki Kazahstan nemeckoj nacional'nosti”, *Adilet*, accessed March 12, 2018, http://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/P970000368_.

In his letter to President Nazarbayev, Hartmut Koschyk assured that “the German Federal Government would continue to cooperate with the Government of Kazakhstan and support representatives of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan and contribute to the political, social and economic development of Kazakhstan.”¹⁴ It indicates that there is cooperation between the two countries in terms of supporting the German diaspora. In this context, Kazakhstan is an interesting case to study Germany’s “soft power” strategy: there is a German diaspora in the country, which is represented by the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Wiedergeburt” (*Vozrozhdenie*). In this respect, one of the major goals of my research is to understand the role of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan from the perspectives of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in terms of education and culture.

In the next section, I provide information about my research questions and the way they help me to understand Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture.

Research Questions

As the “soft power” concept is multidimensional, research questions cover various aspects. Each question aims to reveal one of the aspects of the “soft power” concept: the instruments Germany uses for successful “soft power” promotion, goals the country being pursued by implementing this strategy, the way actors perform and the role of the German diaspora in Germany’s “soft power” promotion. Since no research has been conducted before concerning Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture, the goal of my thesis is to provide general information and to outline the key elements. Thus, by analyzing the concept itself, actors and the role of the German diaspora, I am pursuing the aim to describe the mechanism of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, outlining general features.

¹⁴ “Letter of member of German Bundestag H. Koschyk dedicated to Gratefulness Day,” *KazInform*, last modified March 2, 2016, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2876800>.

My central question asks, *To what extent and why does Germany adhere to a “soft power” agenda in Kazakhstan, particularly with regards to its educational and cultural spheres?*

The purpose of this question is to reveal the reasons driving Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan and how actively does Germany translate it into reality. Any strategy realization is impossible without various instruments. Therefore, my next question is aimed at revealing this matter: *What are the main instruments of German “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture?* By asking this question, I want to examine the way Germany carries out its “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan by means of various actors.

An actor is an essential element of any strategy, as it is an executor, bringing life into a project. Bearing this in mind, the next question comes: *Who are the main actors of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan?* Due to the fact that I analyze the German diaspora in Kazakhstan, question four reads as: *What is the role of the German diaspora in Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan?* Can we consider them as the main actors of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan or are they recipients of it?

By answering these questions, I will have a picture of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture: its aim, instruments, actors and the place of the German diaspora in this process. In other words, I want to understand the mechanism of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan. It is important to analyze it for several reasons. First, as a leader in “soft power” ratings Germany can be a useful case for studying successful strategy and its experience can be an example for international actors. Second, the research also helps to understand better bilateral relations between Germany and Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture. Before moving to the literature review section, I want to uncover the key concepts of my research: “soft power” and “public diplomacy” and dedicate the next sub-chapter to this matter.

Definition of Key Concepts

There are two main concepts used in my research: “soft power” and “public diplomacy”. “Soft power” is a concept coined by Joseph Nye. According to the author, “soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment.”¹⁵ Moreover, the feature of the concept is that in modern times, “power” has a new meaning, and, as Nye stated, “the factor of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power.”¹⁶ It demonstrates that in modern times, “soft power” plays a vital role in international relations, and “power” is shifting from the “hard” to the “soft” one. Another concept is “public diplomacy” and it “is presented as an official policy translating soft power resources into action.”¹⁷ Despite the fact that the concepts are interconnected, they have different natures and aims: public diplomacy is an instrument of soft power. According to Nye, “the resources that produce soft power arise in large part from the values an organization or country expresses in its culture”, while “public diplomacy is an instrument that governments use to mobilize these resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries, rather than merely their governments.” “Public diplomacy tries to attract by drawing attention to these potential resources through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchanges, and so forth.”¹⁸ Thus, while “soft power” is about attraction, and is considered as an “ability to affect other”, “public diplomacy” is an instrument, which could help to reach this aim.¹⁹

Literature Review

My review includes several sub-topics as in my thesis I do not solely analyze the “soft power” concept itself, but look at this from the perspectives of educational and cultural aspects, examining Germany’s strategy and the role of ethnic Germans in this process. Considering this,

¹⁵ Joseph Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008):94.

¹⁶ Joseph Nye, “Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy* 80(1990):154.

¹⁷ Eytan Gilboa., “Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(2008):61.

¹⁸ Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power”, 95.

¹⁹ Nye, “Soft Power,”154.

listed are the following topics of my literature review: *Historical Overview of German diaspora in Kazakhstan, Education and “Soft Power”, and Germany’s “Soft Power” and “Public Diplomacy”*.

As was mentioned earlier, my research focuses not only on Germany’s “soft power” strategy, but also on the role of the German diaspora in this strategy. The majority of academic works are dedicated to history of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan and its role in modern times. Tracing back to the emergence of Germans in Kazakhstan, it is necessary to pay attention to the XVIII century and the history of the Russian Empire. Willard Sunderland underlines that settlement initiatives were introduced during Catherine’s rule, and in 1762 a decree was issued: “inviting all foreigners ‘except Jews’ to resettle to Russia.”²⁰ Resettlement of foreigners was especially encouraged by Catherine “because foreigners created an immediate population increase while filling the state’s ‘empty places’ in the most seemingly natural way.”²¹ As was mentioned in the book, a great number of Germans was among such foreigners.²² Another author - Alexander Diener, provides a historical overview of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. Diener underlines that the first German settlers came to the Russian Empire during Catherine’s rule “to populate territories conquered by Tsarist armies in wars against the Tatars and Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.”²³ The turning point was the deportation of Germans in 1941 and 1942 from Crimea, Volhynia, and the Volga regions to the Kazakh SSR, because they were claimed as a threat and possible supporters of Nazi Germany.²⁴ During the 1950’s “Germans were released from the ‘Special Settlements’”, because of the economic benefits the USSR had from the policy Ostpolitik²⁵ which was introduced by the West German

²⁰ Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), 73.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

²² *Ibid.*, 74.

²³ Alexander Diener, “Homeland as Social Construct: Territorialization among Kazakhstan’s Germans and Koreans”, *Nationalities Papers* 34 no.2 (2006):202.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

²⁵ (“German: “Eastern Policy”) West German foreign policy begun in the late 1960s. Initiated by Willy Brandt as foreign minister and then chancellor, the policy was one of détente with Soviet-bloc countries,

government.²⁶ As a result, Germans wanted to return to their previous homeland within the USSR (the Volga, the Ukraine etc.), but it was prohibited by Moscow because such territory was already populated by other nationalities.²⁷ “In response, the budding Soviet German national movement forwarded proposals for the creation of a German republic in the northeast corner of Kazakhstan in April 1988.”²⁸ However, due to the collapse of the USSR the proposal “was terminated.”²⁹

While Alexander Diener provides mostly an historical overview of Germans before and during the USSR period and compared their fate and path with Koreans, Andrew J. Brown points out that the German legacy has a great impact on independent Kazakhstan.³⁰ Moreover, the author provided data concerning the legislative basis for migration and socio-economic conditions, which became the reasons for Germans to leave Kazakhstan: “For Germans in Kazakhstan, the combination of vanishing economic opportunities, the growing sense of unease with Kazakh nation building and the accelerating decline of German-language communities was pushing people out of the country.”³¹ Talking particularly about legislative reasons, the author underlines that “open immigration policies” and social benefits were considered as the main reasons for migration.³² However, after the 1990’s and the collapse of the USSR German migration policy became more restricted.³³ One of the chapters in the book *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants* helps to understand such migration regulations.³⁴ An important point in the chapter is

recognizing the East German government and expanding commercial relations with other Soviet-bloc countries.”

“Ostpolitik”, Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed February 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Ostpolitik>.

²⁶Ibid., 203.

²⁷ Ibid., 203.

²⁸ Ibid., 203.

²⁹ Ibid., 203.

³⁰ Andrew J. Brown, “The Germans of Germany and the Germans of Kazakhstan: A Eurasian Volk in the Twilight of Diaspora,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 no.4 (2005), 626.

³¹ Ibid., 628.

³²Ibid., 628.

³³ Ibid., 629.

³⁴Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger, *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 261.

that since 1990 “the immigration of ethnic Germans to Germany has been declining.”³⁵ This decline is explained by new regulations, one of them being a “mandatory language test”³⁶, and another stating that “since 1993, the unconditional right to immigrate to Germany existed only for ethnic Germans living in the successor states of the Soviet Union.”³⁷ Brown also underlines that despite the fact that Germans experienced “socioeconomic marginalisation and ethnic discrimination” they had two advantages.³⁸ The first was a strong and a prosperous country—Germany, and second—the German diaspora served as a transnational link between Kazakhstan and a prosperous country in Central Europe.³⁹ Thereby, the author considers relationships between Germans who stayed in Kazakhstan, and those who moved to Germany not only as family/ friend ties, but also in terms of politics and economics. By looking through the existing literature about ethnic Germans, I wanted to provide an historical overview of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan and its role and place in the country.

There are several academic works dedicated to the role of education in “soft power” strategy and public diplomacy.⁴⁰ One of the examples is Joseph Nye’s article “Soft Power and Higher Education”.⁴¹ The author describes the role of students’ perceptions and the way educational exchange programs influence them. The main statement in the mentioned article is “because cultural exchanges affect elites, one or two key contacts may have a major political effect.”⁴² So “soft power” is not only about projects, initiatives, which were mentioned by James Pamment, but also about a human factor and interpersonal cooperation. The same point was

³⁵ Ibid., 270.

³⁶ Ibid., 270

³⁷ Ibid., 207.

³⁸ Andrew J. Brown, “The Germans of Germany and the Germans of Kazakhstan: A Eurasian Volk in the Twilight of Diaspora,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57 no.4 (2005), 631.

³⁹ Ibid., 632.

⁴⁰ Jane Wanjira Waithaka and Patrick Maluki, “International Education Exchanges as a Public Diplomacy Instrument,” *International Journal of Science Arts and Commerce* 1 no.3 (2016):1-8.

Aidarbek Amirbek and Kanat Ydyrys, “Education and Soft Power: Analysis as an Instrument of Foreign Policy,” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 143(2014):514-516.

⁴¹ Joseph Nye, “Soft Power and Higher Education,” *Forum for the Future of Higher Education (Archives)*.2005:33-60.

⁴² Ibid., 44.

mentioned by Kristin M. Lord and Vaughan C. Turekian. The authors underline that cooperation in the sphere of education encourages the creation of positive relationships between various countries. Apart from this, the authors consider science and technology (S&T) as a vector of diplomacy: “ultimately civil society-including scientists and engineers-will need to join this diplomacy of deeds in order for the new science diplomacy to succeed.”⁴³ The given examples show that education is interconnected with “soft power” and diplomacy, and could be one of the spheres for cooperation.

Apart from reviewing the existing literature on the interconnections between education and “soft power”, I also underline key articles dedicated to Germany’s “soft power” strategy in general. It should be mentioned that little research has been done on Germany’s “soft power” and public diplomacy concepts. For today, it is possible to underline such authors as James Pamment, Claudia Auer and Alice Srugies, and Oliver Zöllner. One of the articles, written by Pamment is “Time, Space and German Soft Power”⁴⁴, where the author analyzes Germany’s “soft power” strategy from the perspectives of spatio-temporal turn. The main point of the research is that “in contemporary German soft power policies, language and education are considered a key means of introduction to the wider culture.”⁴⁵ The feature of Pamment’s work is that the author provided examples of Germany’s “soft power” initiatives such as “The Year of Germany” and “Invest in Germany” with its campaign “Germany – Land of Ideas”.⁴⁶ It demonstrates the way Germany promotes its culture in the global arena. If Pamment describes Germany’s “soft power” strategy, such authors as Oliver Zöllner, and Claudia Auer with Alice Srugies analyze Germany’s public diplomacy. The authors share the same vision of Germany’s public diplomacy and state that Germany’s public diplomacy is not monolithic. Auer and Srugies argue that “even though the Federal Foreign Office takes on a central role as coordinator

⁴³Kristin M. Lord and Vaughan C. Turekian, “Time for a New Era of Science Diplomacy,” *Science* 315 no.5813 (2007): 769.

⁴⁴James Pamment, “Time, Space & German Soft Power: Toward a Spatio-Temporal Turn in Diplomatic Studies?,” *Perspectives: Central European Review of International Affairs* 21 no.2 (2013).

⁴⁵Pamment, “Time, Space & German Soft Power,” 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

and financial provider, there is neither an overall German PD strategy nor a general PD network.”⁴⁷ Zöllner shares this opinion, arguing that “Germany’s public diplomacy is performed by a number of institutions on different levels, and not always in unison.”⁴⁸ Despite these findings, it is possible to say that uniting factors exist in Germany’s public diplomacy. Zöllner gives a brief overview of the main actors involved in this activity, such as Deutsche Welle, the Goethe-Institut and the German Academic Exchange Service. The important point is that they all are supported/funded by the German government (The Federal Foreign Office). Moreover, Auer and Srugies mention the program “Konzeption 2000”, which is a basis of Germany’s cultural and educational foreign activity.⁴⁹ These two points show that there are connections between German actors involved in public diplomacy.

This literature review showed that there is a lack of academic works in English dedicated to Germany’s “soft power” strategy and “public diplomacy” concepts. The mentioned studies provide us with a general understanding of Germany’s “soft power” and “public diplomacy” strategies and underline some common features. However, no research has been conducted on analyzing Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly with regards to its educational and cultural spheres. Moreover, the existing literature does not reveal the role of the German diaspora in the “soft power” strategy. In view of all that has been mentioned so far, it becomes clear that there are no works about Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly in the educational and cultural spheres, also analyzing the role the German diaspora in this process.

⁴⁷Auer and Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany*, 36.

⁴⁸Oliver Zöllner, “German Public Diplomacy: The Dialogue of Cultures”, in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, ed. Nancy Show & Philip M. Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2009), 267.

⁴⁹Auer and Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany*, 24.

Hypotheses

There are four hypotheses leading my research. They help to underline the main actors, instruments, and aims of Germany's "soft power" strategy, and to identify the driving forces in the strategy.

Hypothesis 1: Germany promotes "soft power" worldwide in order to maintain its prestige in the international arena. By conducting textual analysis, I noticed that Germany cooperates with various countries and regions in terms of education and culture. Moreover, Germany is a leading country in "soft power" ranking, and in order to keep this position and prestige in the international arena, Germany promotes "soft power", particularly in terms of education and culture worldwide. In that case, Kazakhstan is one of the countries where Germany promotes its "soft power", but it is not a "target" of this strategy.

Hypothesis 2: Germany promotes its "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture because of the German diaspora. The idea is that Germany provides educational scholarship and organizes various cultural projects in order to support ethnic Germans abroad and to keep close cultural ties with them. As was mentioned, there is a member in German Bundestag, the German Federal Government Commissioner for immigrants and ethnic minorities, and it shows that Germany pays attention to the German diaspora. Additionally, in Kazakhstan there exists *The Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans "Wiedergeburt"*, representing the German diaspora in the country. As stated on their official web site, this web site works with the financial support of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Germany). Thus, I want to analyze the aim that Berlin is pursuing by supporting the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. By analyzing this factor, I will answer one of my research questions: *What is the role of the German diaspora in Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan?* My next two hypotheses are interconnected and aimed at revealing the driving force of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture.

Hypothesis 3: Both: state and non-state actors cooperate and promote Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan. The point is that Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan exists and functions because of state and non-state actors' cooperation and such interaction drives Germany's "soft power". The interesting point about German actors involved in education and culture promotion is that it is hard to draw the line between state and non-state actors, as a majority of actors are funded by the German government, but work autonomously and independently. *Hypothesis 4: Only non-state actors drive Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of educational and culture, because there is no common network between actors.* In this case, there is no close network between German state and non-state actors. Thus, only German non-state actors with their own resources introduce all initiatives and projects in educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan. The previous research on Germany's public diplomacy conducted by Auer and Srugies, showed that there is no common public diplomacy network.⁵⁰ In my thesis, I also analyze the interconnection and the level of cooperation between different actors. If hypothesis one and two are analyzed and described in the separate chapters, hypothesis three and four are united into one chapter, due to the close interconnection between them. In general, by conducting interviews and textual analysis I try to (dis) confirm hypotheses, and underline those, which mostly reflect the current state of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan.

Methodology

To acquire a deep understanding of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture, I chose qualitative research methods. I have three cases: *the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Kazakhstan, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan and the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans "Wiedergeburt"/"Vozrozhdenie"*. A case study design allowed answering my research questions about the actors, aims and the instruments of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture.

⁵⁰ Claudia Auer, and Alice Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany* (Los Angeles: FIGUEROA PRESS, 2013).

Besides, it helps to analyze the interconnections between actors and to assess the level of cooperation between them. I used purposive (non-random) sampling, as I already knew the organizations/institutions where I sought to conduct interviews. Talking about the recruitment procedures, I mostly used verbal recruitment.⁵¹

The sources of data in my research were semi-structured face-to-face interviews, a highly structured email interview and textual analysis. Yet, in-person semi-structured interview was the main source of data in this research. In general, I conducted nine interviews, three interviews per the organization. It should be mentioned that I did not record interviews, but took notes instead. While conducting my fieldwork, I acted in accordance with the Nazarbayev University IREC Human Subject Protocol. All interviewees are anonymous, however I identify a human subject's city of location, gender and organization. My interview guide consisted of 10 questions, where half of them were general ones (they are the same for all participants) concerning Germany's "soft power" strategy, and the other half was about the activities of one of the abovementioned organizations. This approach helped to assess the awareness of participants with my topic and to understand whether they operate with the concepts and principles of "soft power" strategy in their work. Talking about the interview finding analysis, I was looking for repeating patterns in order to understand Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan. Besides, in order to assess the level of networking between actors, comparison of the answers was used. For supporting my arguments, which based on the qualitative research findings, I provide key quotes.

In regards to the textual analysis, the basis for my research was content analysis of the speeches published on the Federal Foreign Office website from 2012 to 2016. The aim of the textual analysis was to study Germany's "soft power" strategy in educational and cultural

⁵¹ I used two verbal recruitment methods in my research: phone calls and personal visits. I had a verbal recruitment form describing the topic and providing general information about the research. After expressing interest in my research, a participant received a consent form before the interview. The consent form included detailed information about the terms and conditions of my research. Concerning the email recruitment, a possible participant received an email with the recruitment form. After expressing interest in my research via email, I sent back a consent form to the respondent.

aspects. I analyzed words' absence, frequency, and tone in these speeches. At first, I purposively searched for words and phrases relating to the topic of my thesis: "soft power", "public diplomacy", "education", "culture", "academic exchange", and "German language". I analyzed all the available speeches from the period from 2012 to 2016 in order not to miss valuable data, even though the topic of the speech did not fit into my search criteria. Secondly, I searched for speeches/notes concerning Kazakhstan or Central Asia. Due to the fact that I take into account such factors as words' absence, I examined all the speeches related to Kazakhstan. The aim was to understand if Kazakhstan is a "target" of Germany's "soft power" and in what context the country or Central Asia were mentioned. Third, I analyzed how frequently the term "soft power" was used and what was the speech's tone concerning cooperation in the field of education and culture. In general, I read through 607 speeches/addresses/welcome remarks made by representatives of the Federal Foreign Office (sometimes other officials such as the State Secretary) for the period from 2012 to 2016. After looking through 607 speeches, only 73 were related to the "soft power" (including education/culture) and mentioned Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Thesis Structure

Each of the chapters corresponds to one or two hypotheses (hypothesis three and four are united into one chapter). In addition, results of the interviews and textual analysis will be included in the chapters to support my arguments. The Third chapter corresponds to hypothesis number one, where Germany's prestige is considered as the main reason for expanding its "soft power" promotion to Kazakhstan. This chapter provides information about Germany's "soft power" concept, but with the worldwide account and some universal approaches. The main attention is paid to the description of Germany's "soft power" concept and the role of Kazakhstan in this strategy.

Chapter Four focuses on the role of the German diaspora in Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan. This chapter includes responses from the representatives of the

Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan and the DAAD Kazakhstan employees. The reason is that the representatives of the abovementioned organization also received questions about the role of the German diaspora in Germany’s “soft power” strategy and it could help to assess the level of communication between different actors.

Chapter Five is dedicated to the analysis of the driving forces of Germany’s “soft power” in Kazakhstan and the way actors communicate with each other. This chapter corresponds to the hypothesis three and four, where the driving force of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan is questioned. This chapter analyses the role of state and non-state actors. Besides, it describes the level of cooperation between state and non-state actors. Additionally this chapter reveals features of non-state actors’ activities in terms of Germany’s “soft power” promotion in Kazakhstan. Moreover, I underline the contribution that state and non-state actors make to Germany’s “soft power” promotion, the instruments they use, and the way in which they cooperate with each other. Chapter Six is the final one, where I provide an overview of my findings and suggest the possibilities for the further research.

Chapter 2

Case-Studies Overview

This chapter provides an overview of the organizations, which are presented as the cases in my research: the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Kazakhstan, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan and Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Wiedergeburt”. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the abovementioned organizations and to provide general information concerning their activities. In terms of the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut, the overview includes data from both: central web sites and local ones. The DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan web sites provide data about local projects and activities, while central web sites help with obtaining general information. In summary, this chapter includes the main aims and principles of the abovementioned organizations, historical overviews and the way they operate in Kazakhstan.

German Academic Exchange Service

According to the organization’s web site, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is one of the biggest organizations in the world, supporting the international exchange of students and scientists.⁵² The following section provides an historical overview of the DAAD, outlining the roots of the organization and the key moments of its development.⁵³ The organization was established in 1925:

The “Akademischer Austauschdienst e.V.” (Academic Exchange Service, AAD) was founded in Heidelberg on 1 January. The idea originated from a student named Carl Joachim Friedrich who studied Social and Political Studies in Heidelberg. On a visit to the United States in 1922 and 1923, he, together with the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York, organised scholarships for 13 German students of Social and Political Studies. Shortly thereafter, a “Political Studies Exchange Office” was opened in Heidelberg in affiliation with the university’s Institute of Social and Political Studies. This became the AAD, which was initially limited to granting scholarships to students of Social and Political Studies. In October, the new organisation

⁵²“O DAAD”, *DAAD Kazakhstan*, accessed November 12, 2017, <http://www.daad.kz/ru/14871/index.html>.

⁵³ More detailed information about the history of the DAAD is available on the official web site:

“From the very beginning”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/ueber-den-daad/portrait/en/32996-from-the-very-beginning/>.

transferred its operations to Berlin, changed its charter and declared its mission to organise student and academic exchange in all disciplines.⁵⁴

From 1926 to 1930, the Academic Exchange Service established relationships with Great Britain and France and opened its offices in London and Paris. One of the important events happened in 1931 when “the Academic Exchange Service, the German Academic Foreign Office of the Association of German Universities and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation merged to form the “Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst e.V.” (German Academic Exchange Service).”⁵⁵ In 1935, the DAAD launched new activity- trainee programme, and the first exchange agreements were signed with Finland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland.⁵⁶ In 1943, files of the DAAD and the German Student Association for Foreigners were destroyed, and in the period from 1946 – 1948 steps to re-establish the organization were taken by the Allied occupational forces.⁵⁷ On August 5, 1950, the DAAD was re-established and in 1952 the country became a part of “the Fulbright Program.”⁵⁸ In terms of international cooperation, from 1959 to 1985 the organization’s network was growing, as the DAAD opened new offices in Cairo, New Delhi, Berlin, New York, Tokyo and San José. Moreover, in 1959 “the representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to promote cultural and technical-economic exchange.”⁵⁹ Talking about the DAAD’s key moments in XXI century, it is possible to outline a couple of them. In 2002 the DAAD introduced measures for intensifying dialogue with the Islamic world, as a reaction to the terror attacks of 11 September 2001. The key component was “Afghanistan Stability Pact” launched by the German Federal Foreign Office. “The DAAD was commissioned to coordinate efforts to rebuild Afghanistan’s higher education infrastructure.”⁶⁰ Moreover, a new campaign “Go East – Study, Research, Internships

⁵⁴ “From the very beginning”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed November 12, 2017, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/ueber-den-daad/portrait/en/32996-from-the-very-beginning/>.

⁵⁵ “From the very beginning”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed March 25, 2018 <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/ueber-den-daad/portrait/en/32996-from-the-very-beginning/>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

in Eastern Europe and CIS Countries” was launched in June. In XXI century the DAAD continues develop its international network, as in the period from 2005 to 2012 the DAAD intensified its cooperation North America, China, South Africa, Iraq, Tunisia and Egypt.⁶¹

This section describes key moments for the DAAD in terms of its activity and structure. Thus, one of such moments took place in 2013, when the organization presented its “Strategy 2020”:

By the year 2020, the DAAD envisioned 50% of each year’s graduating class gaining substantial academic experience abroad during their studies. Furthermore, it aimed to increase the number of foreign students at German universities to 350,000 by the year 2020.⁶²

The second event was in 2015, when the DAAD introduced a new organizational structure, with the following departments: “Scholarships”, “Strategy”, “Communications”, “National Agency for EU Higher Education Cooperation” and “Central Administration”.⁶³

After providing the key moments from the history of the DAAD, the next section outlines the main activities, principles and directions of the organization. First, it is necessary to describe the DAAD in more detail. The DAAD considers itself as:

- The independent organisation of German higher education institutions and their student bodies, devoted to internationalising the academic system;
- An experienced intermediary between university systems and a worldwide network of external partners;
- A German institution in Europe, which contributes to shaping the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area and promotes European interests throughout the world;
- A professional organisation which fully supports and relies on its employees, whose competence and international expertise are vital to its operation.⁶⁴

Moreover, the German Academic Exchange Service has its motto - “change by exchange”, bearing a special meaning:

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴“Motto”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/ueber-den-daad/portrait/en/29145-motto/>.

Exchange promotes understanding between countries and individuals and helps secure the peace. New scientific findings enable us to meet global challenges. Cooperation contributes to political and social progress.⁶⁵

It is also necessary to provide the direction of the DAAD for understanding its field of activity. The organization has three main directions and “strategic fields of activity”⁶⁶ for academic exchange promotion: *Scholarships for the Best*, *Structures for Internationalisation* and *Expertise for Academic Collaborations*. Each of the direction has its own specifics and aims. Thus, *Scholarships for the Best* supports local and foreign students and researchers, with great academic results, *Structures for Internationalisation* creates and maintains the structures, making academic exchange possible, and *Expertise for Academic Collaborations* makes expertise in “educational cultures and academic systems available in order to facilitate collaboration between academics and institutions”.⁶⁷ In terms of the goals the DAAD is pursuing, they are multidirectional and closely interconnected with education and research:

- Educate future leaders, who are connected internationally and act in a globally responsible manner
- Provide access to the best study and research opportunities available, thereby strengthening the quality and competitiveness of the universities
- Meet the challenges of the future through the vibrant exchange between academic systems
- Help developing countries establish effective university systems which, in turn, promote social, economic and political development
- Bridge divides and lines of conflict and encourage open dialogue between cultures
- Stimulate interest in Germany, its culture and language and preserve language diversity in research and academia.⁶⁸

The German Academic Exchange Service has a wide international network, with 15 regional offices and 57 Information centers in 60 countries.⁶⁹ Moreover, as is stated on the official web site of the DAAD, it also has “about 450 ‘Lektors’ and language assistants, 20 Centres of

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ “Strategy”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/ueber-den-daad/portrait/en/29146-strategy/>.

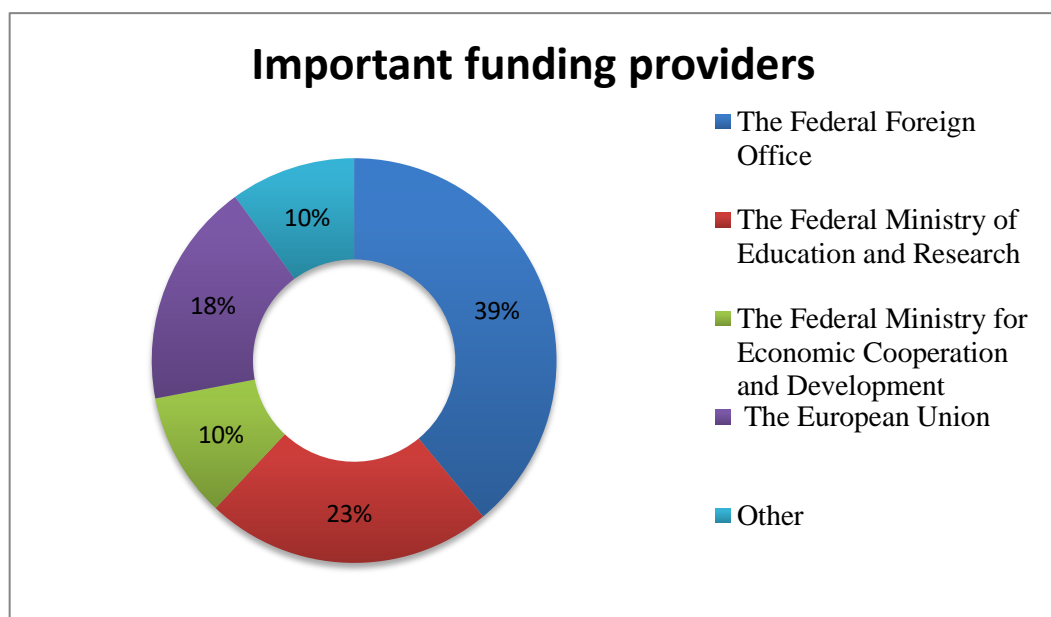
⁶⁷ “Motto”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/ueber-den-daad/portrait/en/29145-motto/>.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ “The DAAD network – Regional offices & Information Centres”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed November 12, 2017, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/das-daad-netzwerk/en/29886-the-daad-network-regional-offices-information-centres/>.

German and European Studies, 29 German-language degree programmes in Central and Eastern Europe, a diverse range of DAAD-funded university projects abroad, ranging from individual courses to establishing new universities, and a pool of 335,000 alumni.”⁷⁰ Such network provides a comprehensive view of economic, political, social and educational picture in the country.⁷¹

In terms of the budget, for 2015 the DAAD’s operating budget was about 471 million euros. The following pie chart is based on the DAAD web site’s information, showing several important “funding providers”:⁷²



Moreover, there is also the administrative budget, which is financed by the Federal Foreign Office, and for 2015 it was 24 million euros:⁷³

The sixteen states of the Federal Republic of Germany are responsible for covering the tuition costs of the foreign scholarship holders. Other sponsors include foreign governments, companies, foundations and the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid.

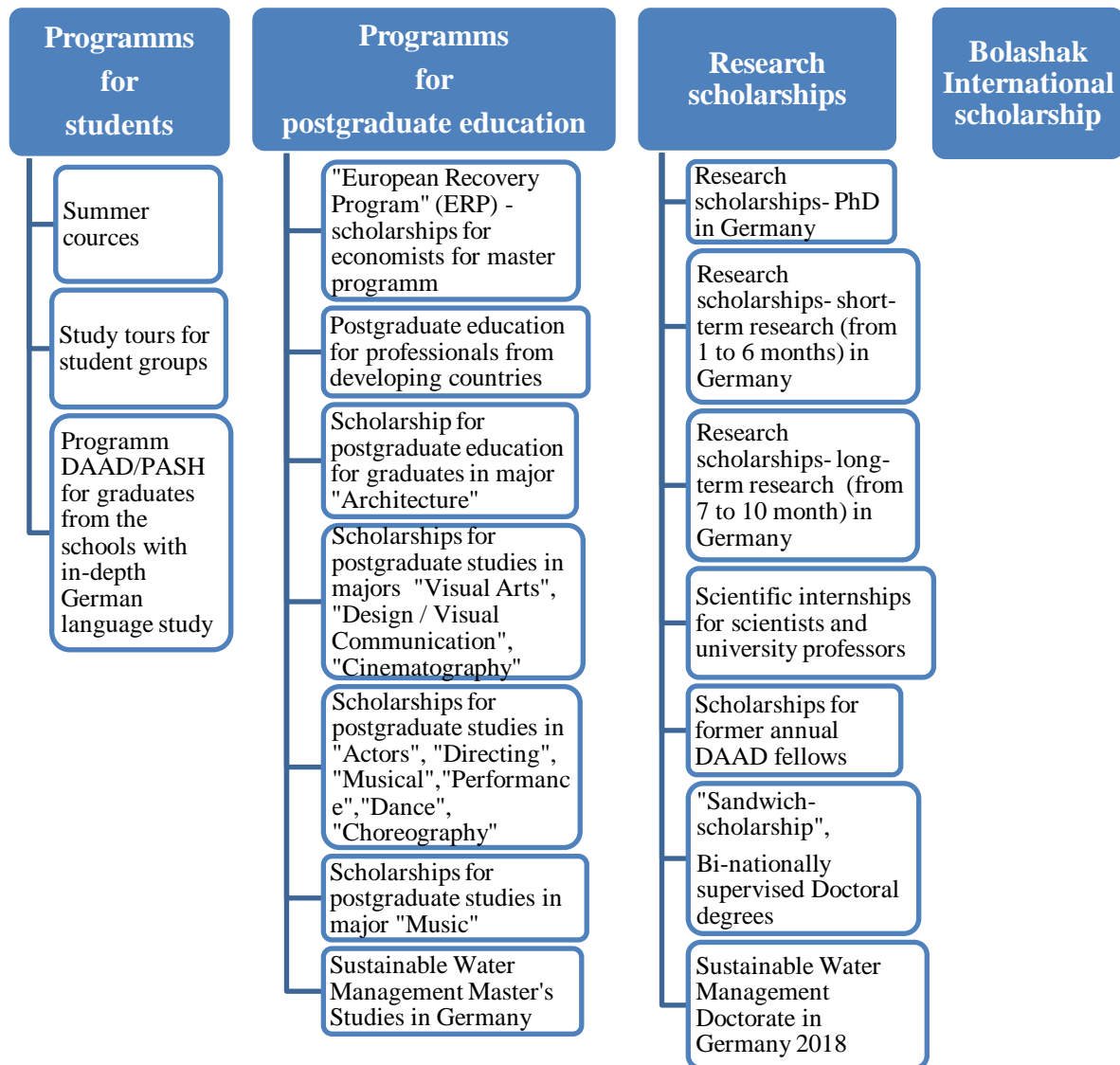
⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² This chart is created by researcher and is based on the information available on the following link: “Budget and funding bodies”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/zahlen-und-fakten/en/30736-budget-and-funding-bodies/>.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Next sections aim at describing the DAAD in Kazakhstan. There is an Info-Center in Kazakhstan, which is located in Almaty. Moreover, the DAAD also has its lecturers and language assistants in Almaty and Astana. In terms of its activities, the DAAD Kazakhstan provides various scholarships. Based on the information available on the official web site of the DAAD Kazakhstan I created a chart with the scholarships the DAAD is offering in Kazakhstan:⁷⁵



The organization was chosen as a case in my research because it is one of the biggest German educational organizations with the worldwide network and with the aim to promote German education. As education and its promotion are essential parts of my research, I included the organization in the list. Additionally, as the DAAD has offices throughout the world, I could

⁷⁵“DAAD-Information Centre Kazakhstan”, *DAAD Kazakhstan*, accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.daad.kz/ru/>.

find out whether there are specific programs and initiatives provided only in Kazakhstan, or if they have a universal character. It should be noted that the DAAD focuses more on German education, rather than culture, as its main aim is the promotion of education.

Goethe-Institut

The organization promotes German language and culture worldwide.

The Goethe-Institut is the cultural institute of the Federal Republic of Germany with a global reach. 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.⁷⁶

Talking about the history of the Goethe-Institut, it was founded in 1951, with the task “to provide further training for foreign German teachers in Germany”.⁷⁷ Another important historical event for the Goethe-Institut was “in 1976 The Foreign Office and the Goethe-Institut signed a general agreement governing the status of the Goethe-Institut, henceforth an independent cultural organization.”⁷⁸ In 2011, The Goethe-Institut celebrated its 60th anniversary.⁷⁹

In terms of the network, the Goethe-Institut has 159 branches, four “language course and examination institutes” in 98 countries, including the 12 the Goethe-Institut branches in Germany.⁸⁰ Moreover, as it stated on the official web site, last year the Goethe-Institut organized 32,000 cultural events with an auditory of 16 million visitors.⁸¹

With our network of Goethe-Instituts, Goethe Centres, cultural societies, reading rooms and exam and language learning centres, we have been the first point of contact for many with Germany for over sixty years. Our long-lasting partnerships with leading institutions and individuals in over ninety countries create enduring trust in Germany. We are partners for all who actively engage with Germany and its culture, working independently and without political ties.⁸²

⁷⁶ “Organization”, *the Goethe -Institut*, accessed November 12, 2017, <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/org.html>

⁷⁷ “History of the Goethe -Institut”, *Goethe- Institut*, accessed November 12, 2017, <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/org/ges.html>.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

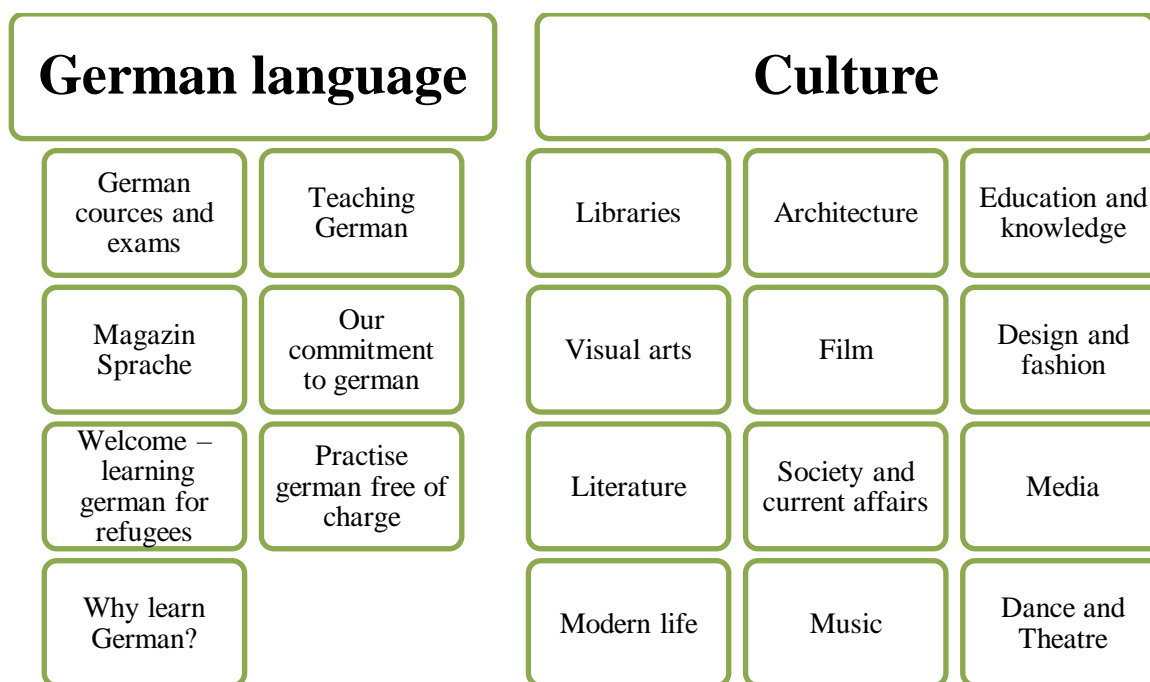
⁸⁰ “Supporters”, *Goethe -Institut*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/foe.html>.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “Organisation”, *Goethe- Institut*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/org.html>.

Among the Goethe-Institut strategic partners are Anna-Lindh Stiftung, British Council, Deutsche Welle, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (the DAAD), Deutsche Kultur International, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Instituto Camões and Instituto Cervantes.⁸³

There are two main activities of the Goethe-Institut posted on the official web site: “German language” and “Culture”. Each of it also has the following directions:⁸⁴



Moreover, these directions are overlapping with the Goethe-Institut’s responsibilities:

Goethe-Institut sets internationally recognised standards in the teaching and learning of German as a foreign language. It runs language courses, compiles teaching materials, trains teachers, contributes to scientific research and participates in politicolanguage initiatives. Goethe-Institut monitors trends in Germany and encourages cultural collaboration across the globe by organising programmes of events and making contributions to various festivals and exhibitions in the fields of film, dance, music, theatre, literature and translation. Libraries and information centres, forums for discussion, diverse print-, audio- and video-publications and our visitors’ service aim to paint a contemporary portrait of Germany, promoting international discourse on the key concerns of what is becoming an increasingly global society.”⁸⁵

Thus, the abovementioned responsibilities are directed to the following aspects:

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴The chart is created by the researcher, and is based on the information from the official web site of the Goethe-Institut.

Goethe-Institut. <https://www.goethe.de/en/index.html>.

⁸⁵“Responsibilities”, *Goethe-Institut*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/auf.html>.

- Education;
- Cultural education and discourse play;
- Visual arts;
- Film, television, radio;
- Music;
- Theatre and dance;
- Literature;
- Learning German;
- Libraries;
- Information tours.⁸⁶

The Goethe-Institut is also one of the key organizations promoting German language and culture with worldwide offices. In Kazakhstan, there are two of them: head office in Almaty, and Info-Center in Astana.

The Goethe-Institut Almaty organizes and supports various cultural events, representing German culture in Kazakhstan and contributing to the Kazakh-German exchange in cultural sphere. Apart from providing German language courses, Language department of the Goethe-Institut Almaty organizes workshops and seminars for German language teachers, carries out a number of German language exams. Info center/Library of the Goethe-Institut Almaty provides current information about Germany's cultural, social and political life. Infocenter/Library offers an extensive fund of reference and periodical literature, and also offers information on request, concerning Germany and German language for studying and teaching.⁸⁷

The Goethe-Institut is one of the biggest organizations, promoting Germany's culture and language worldwide. Thus, I cannot ignore such a big organization, as the aim of my research is to analyze the main actors involved in Germany's "soft power" promotion in Kazakhstan in educational and cultural spheres. Thereby, as the DAAD is involved in educational activities, the Goethe-Institut is aimed at the promotion of German culture and language.

Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans "Wiedergeburt"/"Vozrozhdenie"

The Association provides assistance to ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan in various projects and directions, such as social activity, education, German language and culture. Thus, the key aims of the Association are preservation of national identity, culture and German language and

⁸⁶ Ibid. <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/auf.html>.

⁸⁷ "Tseli I zadachi", *Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/kz/ru/ueb/auf.html>.

the equality with other nations of the country.⁸⁸ Moreover, “it plays the role of a "bridge" in the establishment and development of Kazakh-German relations, contributes to the development of civil society and the strengthening of Eurasian ties.”⁸⁹

In 1992, the first congress of Germans took place, and it was decided to create a public organization “Vozrozhdenie” in order to unite all regional cultural organizations of the Germans.⁹⁰ Two years later, Council of the Kazakhstani Germans (later became Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”) was registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan.⁹¹

At the beginning of 90’s self-organization strengthened, was recognized at the international level and began to receive financial support from Kazakhstani government and the German Federal Government. Supported by the state structures of both countries, the German movement developed towards creating centers of German culture throughout the country that had a huge consolidating influence on the German people. The organization Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland played a big role in the formation of the organization, and its representatives having visited all regions of Kazakhstan, providing support to kindergartens and schools with educational literature, technical equipment, and teaching textbooks.⁹²

Moreover, the Association received support from the BMI (Germany’s Federal Ministry of the Interior), particularly equipment for agriculture and food production.⁹³ One of the important points in the history of the Association is the *Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany about cooperation on support of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan of German Nationality*. “On August 25, 1994, APUKG received the German House at the disposal and got the opportunity to implement various projects in language, social, educational, and youth spheres.”⁹⁴ For today, the

⁸⁸ “Associaciija obshhestvennyh ob’edinenij nemcev Kazahstana «Vozrozhdenie»”, *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev*.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

official web site of the Association, works with the financial support of the Federal Ministry of Interior (Germany).⁹⁵

As it is stated on the web site, the Association cooperates with public authorities, the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan and public organizations.⁹⁶ There are about 20 regional German communities across Kazakhstan. According to the web site of the Association, there are regional centers in such cities as Shymkent, Kyzylorda, Taraz, Almaty, Taldykorgan, Astana, Semey, Karaganda, Zhezkazgan, Arkalyk, Petropavlovsk, Kokshetau, Kostanay, Aktobe, Uralsk, Aktau and Atyrau. Nevertheless, the head office is located in Almaty.⁹⁷

According to the Association's website, there are six directions (activities) of the association: social work, education, German language, education and information center (BIZ), youth and culture.⁹⁸ The following chart illustrates the main directions and activities of the Association, which are described on its official web site:⁹⁹

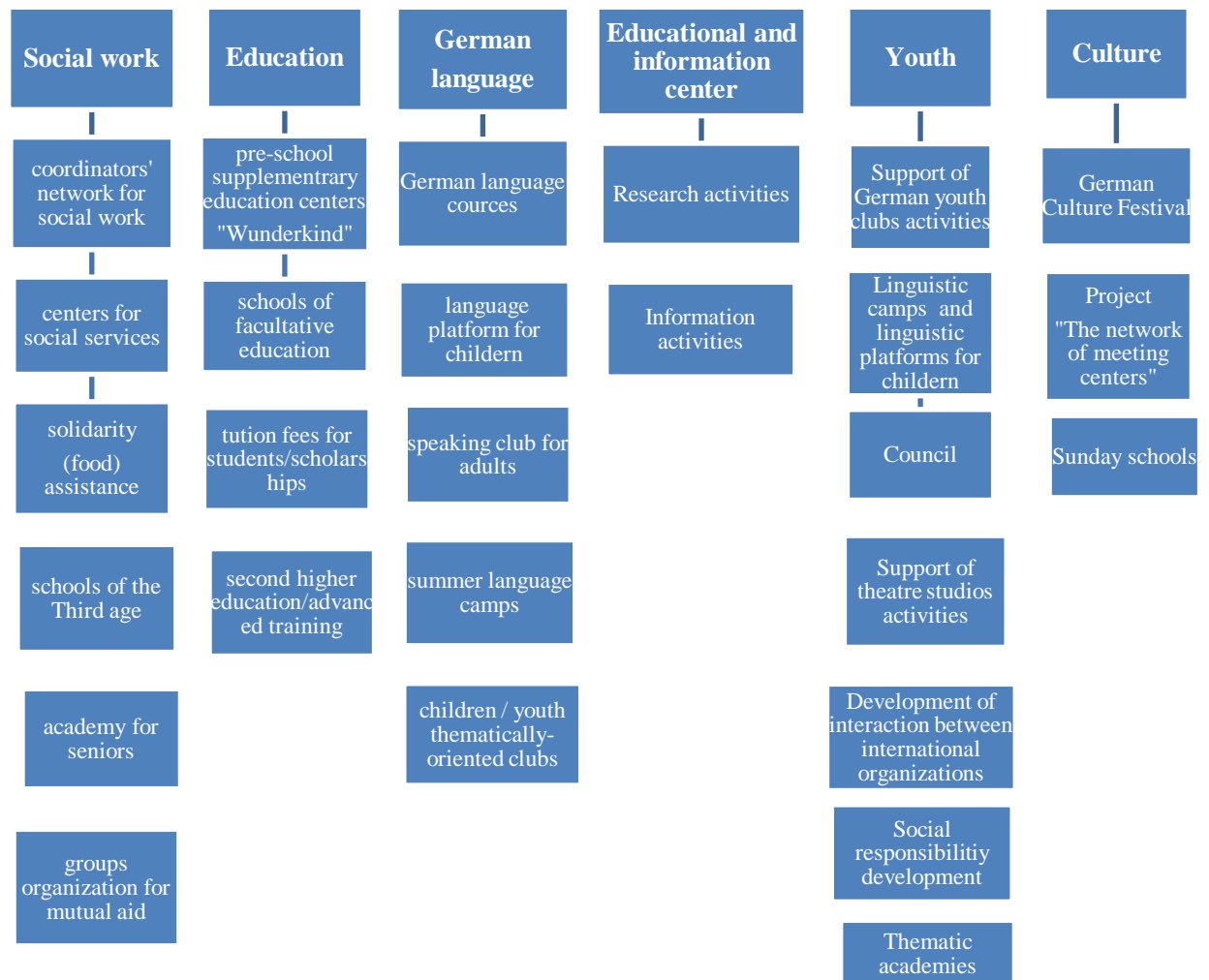
⁹⁵ *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev.* , accessed November 13, 2017, <http://www.wiedergeburt.kz/>.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ "Regional'nye obshhestva nemcev 'Vozrozhdenie'", *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev.*

⁹⁸ *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev.* accessed March 26, 2018, <http://www.wiedergeburt.kz/>.

⁹⁹ The chart is created by researcher, based on the information from the official web site of the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans "Vozrozhdenie", *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev*, <http://old.wiedergeburt.kz/>.



Moreover, there is also German Youth Union of Kazakhstan, which was established in February 1996 as a republican public association.¹⁰⁰ The main aims of the German Youth Union of Kazakhstan are:

- “educational work on the revival and development of national traditions, the preservation of culture, the study of the history and language of the German ethnic group”
- “formation of civic identity, responsibility and active position among young people among the German ethnos”
- “development of cooperation with state bodies and international organizations”.¹⁰¹

Due to the fact that in my research I pay special attention to the role of the German diaspora in Germany’s “soft power” strategy, the Association was included in my list of case studies.

¹⁰⁰ “Sojuz nemeckoj molodezhi Kazahstana (SNMK)”, *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev*. accessed March 26, 2018, [http://www.wiedergeburt.kz/index.php/youthwork/info](http://www.wiedergeburt.kz/index.php/youthwork/info;);
<http://old.wiedergeburt.kz/index.php/youthwork/info>.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Chapter 3

Germany's "Soft Power" Strategy in Kazakhstan and Worldwide Prestige

This chapter is dedicated to a general overview of Germany's "soft power" strategy and the place of Kazakhstan in it. Before moving to the analysis of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, I will provide a general picture of Germany's "soft power". The first part of this chapter unpacks Germany's "soft power", while the second part includes an analysis of the reasons behind Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan. The research question, particularly relating to the second part of this chapter, is: *To what extent and why does Germany adhere to a "soft power" agenda in Kazakhstan, particularly with regards to its educational and cultural spheres?* In terms of the theoretical framing, this chapter corresponds to one of my hypotheses: *Germany's wish for maintaining its worldwide prestige is considered as the main reason for expanding its "soft power" in Kazakhstan.*

For the beginning, it worth mentioning the data sources and the way I used them for answering the research question. There are two data sources of the research: textual analysis and interviews (in-person and email). The aim of the textual analysis is to provide a general analysis of Germany's "soft power", therefore I analyzed speeches made by the representatives of the Federal Foreign Office from 2012 to 2016. All speeches were available on the web site of the Federal Foreign Office in English and German languages in the web archive.¹⁰² Due to the fact that this chapter is dedicated to the general overview of Germany's "soft power", I heavily rely on the textual analysis to (dis) confirm my hypothesis. Even though my research topic and research questions are focused on a particular country, Kazakhstan, textual analysis is needed to construct a general picture of Germany's "soft power" strategy. In terms of the textual analysis methodology, I used content analysis. I purposively searched for the following words: "soft power", "public diplomacy", "education", "culture", "academic exchange", and "German

¹⁰²"Speeches", *The Federal Foreign Office*,
<https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/Newsroom/web-archiv-node/archivreden-node>.

language”. While searching for these words, words’ absence, frequency, and speech’s tone were taken into account. In other words, I analyzed what are the terms that German officials are using and how frequently these words appear in their rhetoric. Additionally, for supporting arguments I used quantitative research methods, as I counted repetitions of the terms “soft power” and “public diplomacy”.

For interviews, the questions were designed to understand Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan. Moreover, all participants received general questions on Germany’s “soft power” strategy. Therefore, both textual analysis and interview findings include general data on Germany’s “soft power” strategy and its implementation in Kazakhstan. I chose both textual analysis and interviews as data sources for several reasons. First, it helps to increase credibility and validity of the data. Second, my goal in conducting interviews was to obtain information about the strategy in Kazakhstan, while the task of textual analysis was to provide a general picture of Germany’s “soft power” strategy. Thereby, I implemented data triangulation for improving my research.

“Soft Power” in a German Way

In this sub-chapter, I provide detailed information about Germany’s “soft power” strategy and its features. I analyze the strategy: its principles, elements and features. As textual analysis is the main source of data in this sub-chapter, I will mention the main findings of the analysis. My key finding is that German officials (representatives of the Federal Foreign Office) do not use such terms as “soft power”. Instead, Germany has “cultural relations and education policy” as a part of its foreign policy. In other words, Germany’s cultural relations and education policy is an analogy of “soft power”. Such conclusion is based on the results of the quantitative analysis, which was aimed at counting repetition of a “soft power” term. The quantitative analysis showed that “soft power” almost is not used in official rhetoric. The representatives of the Federal Foreign Office used the term “soft power” only once in the period from 2012 to 2016. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2013 said:

As you know, I have always advocated strengthening cultural relations and education policy and I will continue to do so with the same emphasis in my second term in office. In tomorrow's world we need to make ourselves understood in a different way, we need to translate our values into other languages, into other cultural codes. Soft power is of course no replacement for hard power, but without it hard power will not get you very far!¹⁰³

In this regard, during my textual analysis I had to move my attention from looking for a “soft power” term to the “cultural relations and education policy”. Additionally, my textual analysis revealed that as in the case of “soft power”, German officials do not use the “public diplomacy” term. One of the participants shed light on the reason why German officials do not mention “soft power”, saying that due to the circumstances of World War II, Germany prefers not to use the word “power” in its rhetoric.¹⁰⁴ Instead, as my textual analysis reveals, German officials refer to “cultural relation and educational policy” describing “soft power” and “public diplomacy” particularly in regards to education and culture.

The fact that German officials do not use “soft power” as a term in their rhetoric does not mean that such concept and its principles are not present in Germany's foreign policy. After the close textual analysis of the speeches, it is possible to say that Germany uses principles of the “soft power” concept, which is presented in its “cultural relations and education policy”. By describing and talking about cultural relations and education policy, representatives of the German government refer to the features of “soft power” and “public diplomacy”.

In this section, I analyze the way principles of “public diplomacy” are presented in the speeches. According to Nicholas J. Cull there are several elements of “public diplomacy”: *listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting*.¹⁰⁵ *Listening* is collecting data about public and its opinion, and then using it in order to correct public diplomacy accordingly. *Advocacy* “is an actor's attempt to manage the international

¹⁰³ Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Rede von Außenminister bei der Amtsübergabe im Auswärtigen Amt am 17. Dezember 2013 (speech, December 17, 2013), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/131217-bm-antrittsrede/258728>

¹⁰⁴ Andrew, DAAD Kazakhstan, September 2017, Almaty.

¹⁰⁵ Nicholas J. Cull, “Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616(2008):32.

environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea, or that actor's general interests in the minds of a foreign public."¹⁰⁶ *Cultural diplomacy* is about "to promote and transmit culture abroad", while *exchange diplomacy* is to send citizens abroad and accepting foreigners "for a period of study and/or acculturation."¹⁰⁷ In the end, there is also an *international news broadcasting*, which "is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and the Internet to engage with foreign publics."¹⁰⁸ With this concept in mind, I analyzed speeches of the representatives of the Federal Foreign Office.

As my textual analysis showed, the representatives of the Federal Foreign Office mostly mentioned principles of "soft power" and "public diplomacy" concepts regarding exchange programs and the alumni's role. Thereby, German officials actively refer in their speeches to such elements of "public diplomacy" as *cultural diplomacy*, *exchange policy*, and *advocacy*.

This part is dedicated to the analysis of *cultural diplomacy* and *exchange policy* in Germany foreign affairs. The Foreign Minister talking about alumni and exchange programs usually provides the following message:

Around the world, DAAD alumni – who have gotten to know, and grown fond of, Germany – are helping to shape and spread the reputation of our country. I travel all over the world. Whether it be in Warsaw, Brussels, or Tunis: I am always surprised how often I am addressed in German – by Tunisia's former Minister of Tourism Amel Karboul, or by Poland's Ambassador to the EU Marek Prawda. Both are DAAD alumni! And both are here this evening. Very warm greetings to you. Why is this network so important? Because everyone who decides to travel abroad brings with them, and contributes, a small part of their cultural and intellectual traditions.¹⁰⁹

Thus, ideas expressed by the Federal Foreign Office resemble Joseph Nye's statement from the article "Soft Power and Higher Education." Nye argued that "because cultural

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.,32.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.,33.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.,34.

¹⁰⁹Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Rede von Außenministeranlässlich der Veranstaltung "90 Jahre DAAD" , (speech, Germany, June 17, 2015), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/150617-bm-daad/272560>.

exchanges affect elites, one or two key contacts may have a major political effect.”¹¹⁰ Additionally, perception is also one of the words, mentioned in regards to cultural relations and education policy, and is interconnected with both: *cultural diplomacy* and *exchange diplomacy*.

Henry Kissinger once said that foreign policy was all about perception. We have to try and think with the minds of others, or at least to try and view things from their perspective. To this end we need cultural relations and education policy. This includes the exchanges organised by the Goethe-Institut, the interaction of the many students brought together by the German Academic Exchange Service, and many other initiatives.¹¹¹

It shows that for Germany cultural diplomacy and exchange policy is an essential part of Germany’s “public diplomacy” and “soft power”, and it is not only about culture and education itself, but also about interpersonal relations and perception. The given examples show that even though representatives of the Federal Foreign Office almost do not use directly the “soft power” and “public diplomacy” concepts, they talk about them in a descriptive way and understand the importance in terms of foreign policy.

Textual analysis also revealed that apart from using such elements of “public diplomacy” as *cultural diplomacy* and *exchange policy*, Germany actively uses such element as *advocacy*-promotion of particular policy and ideas. After analyzing more than 70 speeches, it is possible to say that in the case of Germany *advocacy* includes the following ideas and policies: establishing understanding, connecting civil societies, promotion of peaceful and humane world, and *new global order*.

Establishing understanding is considered as one of the principles of Germany’s cultural relations and education policy. Moreover, understanding is important for finding a way out of conflicts:

¹¹⁰ Joseph Nye, “Soft Power and Higher Education,” *Forum for the Future of Higher Education (Archives)*.2005:44.

¹¹¹ Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Rede von Außenministerim Deutschen Bundestag anlässlich der Haushaltsdebatte zum Einzelplan 05 am 9. April 2014 (speech, April 9, 2014), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/140409-bm-haushalt-bt/261482>.

Using cultural relations and education policy instruments, the Federal Foreign Office works around the world to promote interreligious and intercultural dialogue. Fighting causes of religious hatred and discrimination is a task that is as important as it is laborious. It is worth every effort.¹¹²

Secondly, cultural relations and education policy help to establish ties with civil societies, and civil society plays an important role in bilateral relations:

Exchange between the citizens of our countries is the key to further intensifying our bilateral relations. A thriving network of civil society contacts has blossomed in recent decades.¹¹³

The given example shows that cooperation between civil societies is carried out by means of exchange and it is increasing. Third principle is promotion of peaceful and humane world:

Culture and education give people hope that they can participate and play a shaping role. They offer the promise of freedom and humanity. We want to fulfil these hopes and keep these promises. We are convinced that strengthening the social power of culture and education is the best way to achieve a more peaceful world. A world in which differences do not generate misunderstandings, misunderstandings do not lead to conflicts, and conflicts do not turn into wars.¹¹⁴

Representatives of the Federal Foreign Office mention these ideas not only separately, but also in one speech. The Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier at the event in the Akademie der Künste celebrating the 90th anniversary of the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) underlined all these ideas of *advocacy*: “promoting understanding and communication through exchange and cooperation”, “assuming responsibility during times of crisis...”, and “striving to promote a peaceful order in a world that is not at peace”.¹¹⁵ Taking this into account, *advocacy* as an element of “public diplomacy” is also used by Germany.

There is also a term of *new global order*, which is a part of *advocacy*. This concept- *new global order*, was mentioned by the representatives of the Federal Foreign Office. In terms of

¹¹² Guido Westerwelle, Religions- und Glaubensfreiheit in außenpolitischer Perspektive (speech, Germany, Berlin, June 11, 2013), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/130611-bm-religionsfreiheit/256282>.

¹¹³ Cornelia Pieper, Grußwort von Staatsministerin zur Eröffnung der Wissenschaftsausstellung Science Tunnel in Moskau (speech, Russia, Moscow, April 10, 2013), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/130410-stm-p-science-tunnel-rus/254324>.

¹¹⁴ Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Closing speech by Federal Foreign Minister Steinmeier at the forum 'Menschen bewegen' / 'Inspiring People' (speech, April 15, 2016), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/Newsroom/160415-menschen-bewegen/280034>.

¹¹⁵ Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Rede von Außenministeranlässlich der Veranstaltung "90 Jahre DAAD" , (speech, Germany, June 17, 2015), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/150617-bm-daad/272560>.

the *new global order*, representatives of the Federal Foreign Office underlined the role of civil society, culture and education. It should be mentioned, that *new global order* concept was mentioned in 2015 several times, however before this term was not used in the context of education and culture. Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier described this concept:

When I talk about a new global order, I am not being naive. I'm not talking about us politicians standing at a drawing board, as if we were architects, and designing a huge global building with our compasses and rulers. That's not what I mean. Staying with this metaphor, it would already be a major achievement if we could reach agreement internationally on the fundamental ideas, such as on what function a shared building should have in the first place. There is no doubt in my mind about what this function should be, namely to safeguard peace and a system based on rules.

We will not achieve this at a drawing board, but rather through dialogue, exchange, debate and understanding. And of course it is up to diplomats and foreign policymakers to work on new rules in the first instance. However, I am certain that cultural relations and education policy has a role to play.¹¹⁶

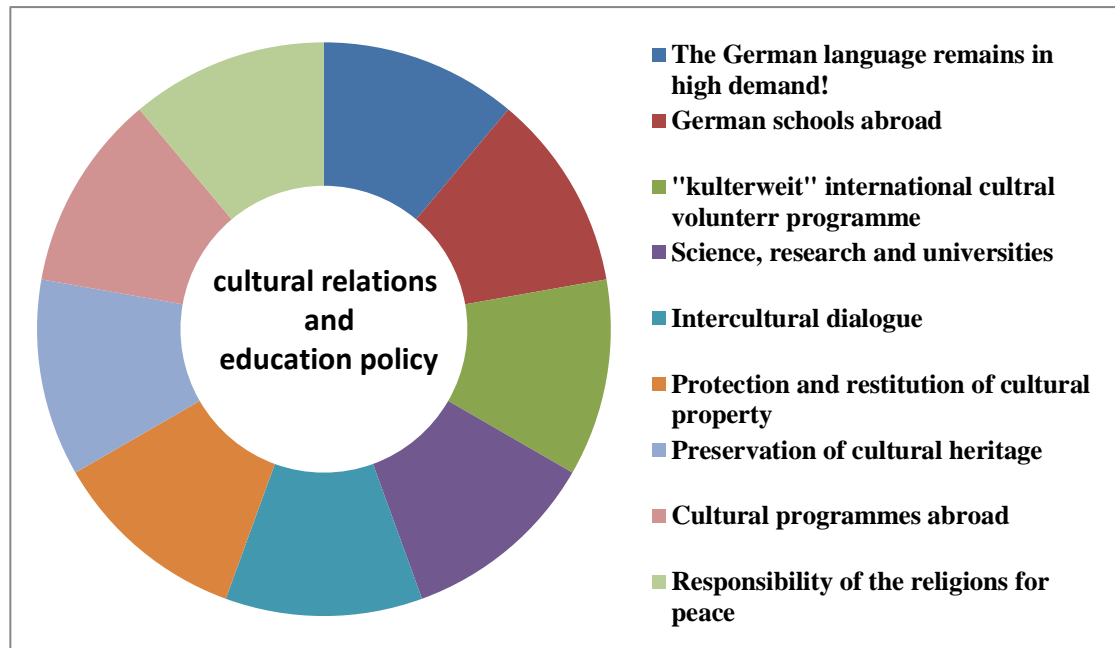
Thereby, Germany's public diplomacy and soft power also includes the promotion of particular ideas and policies, where education and culture also play an important role.

This section showed that even though German officials do not use in their speeches such terms as "soft power" and "public diplomacy" the principles of these concepts are still present. Therefore, cultural relations and education policy is an analogy of "soft power" concept, where public diplomacy is its instrument. Based on Cull's conceptual framework, it is possible to say that Germany uses such elements of "public diplomacy" a *cultural diplomacy*, *exchange diplomacy*, and *advocacy*.

Based on the abovementioned findings, it is necessary to analyze Germany's "cultural relations and education policy" as it is analogy of "soft power". Talking about Germany's cultural relations and education policy, it is focused on several aspects and elements¹¹⁷:

¹¹⁶ Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Rede von Außenminister bei der Konferenz des Goethe-Instituts "Dialog und die Erfahrung des Anderen" (speech, February 23, 2015), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/150223-bm-konf-gi/269548>.

¹¹⁷ The chart is created by researcher and is based on the information from the official web site of the Federal Foreign Office, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog>.



By looking at the elements of cultural relations and education policy, it becomes clear that it is a multidimensional direction of Germany's foreign policy. Moreover, each of the elements has its own aims and tasks. For example, "Cultural Programme work" promotes art, music, theater, dance, literature and film.¹¹⁸ Apart from the elements, cultural relations and education policy has its instruments: "academic exchange and cooperation schools abroad; cultural programme, promoting German as a foreign language and intercultural dialogue."¹¹⁹ Abovementioned instruments of the cultural relations and education policy correspond to the textual analysis findings. Furthermore, the instruments correspond to such public diplomacy's elements as *cultural diplomacy*, *exchange diplomacy* and *advocacy*. This coherence and congeniality between the Federal Foreign Office's web site information about cultural relations and education policy and speeches made by the representatives of the Federal Foreign Office shows that there is a common vision of Germany's cultural relations and education policy within the Office. The fact, that the Federal Foreign Office has a common vision of its cultural relations and education policy can also be supported by the document *Konzeption 2000* (Conception

¹¹⁸ "Cultural Programme abroad", Culture, *The Federal Foreign Office*, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/kulturprogramme-node>.

¹¹⁹ "Cultural relations and education policy", *The Federal Foreign Office*, accessed December 16, 2017, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/ziele-partner/229306>.

2000), issued by the Office. The document is available in German,¹²⁰ and its summary is in the research made by Claudia Auer and Alice Srugies.¹²¹ The authors mentioned that Germany's cultural and education political efforts are focused on four core areas: "1) fostering German foreign cultural and educational political interests abroad; 2) establishing and maintaining a positive, modern image of Germany abroad; 3) furthering the European integration; 4) preventing conflicts by setting up a dialogue on values."¹²² Considering abovementioned facts, it becomes clear there is a unity within the Federal Foreign Office concerning Germany's cultural relations and education policy, as key points from the speeches, web site and official document overlap.

Considering everything, there are several conclusions: Germany uses "soft power" and "public diplomacy" in its foreign policy, but the name of it is "cultural relations and education policy". Secondly, cultural relations and education policy include various aspects and it is not only about exchange and cultural relations (i.e. *cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy*), but it is a way to build understanding via the "new global order" (*advocacy*). Thirdly, there is a common vision of cultural relations and education policy within the Federal Foreign Office, as web sites, speeches and the document *Konzeption 2000* transmit similar messages and ideas concerning the role of education and culture in foreign policy.

International Prestige and Germany's "Soft Power"

In this sub-chapter, I analyze features of Germany's attraction and the role of Kazakhstan in the strategy. First, I want to underline factors, which make Germany attractive according to the respondents who participated in the research. As was noted, Germany successfully implements its "soft power" strategy (cultural relations and education policy) and takes a leading position in

¹²⁰ Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, "*Auswärtige Kulturpolitik – Konzeption 200*", accessed March 17, 2018, https://www.ifa.de/fileadmin/pdf/aa/akbp_konzeption2000.pdf .

¹²¹ Claudia Auer, and Alice Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany* (Los Angeles: FIGUEROA PRESS, 2013).

¹²² Auer and Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany*, 24.

the soft power ranking. In order to understand such success, the respondent received a question: “*How is Germany maintaining its status (Top-3) in the mentioned ranking*”? It is important to know what factors are considered as key to Germany’s success. By asking this question, two goals are achieved: to highlight the key factors, which led to Germany’s success in a “soft power” rating, and to understand local respondent’s perception of it. Thus, the most frequently mentioned factors, which are helping Germany to maintain its status in the soft power rating are:

- Germany is a leading actor in Europe and international arena;
- Germany has developed economy;
- Germany has good and affordable education;
- Germany known as a country with high standards (technology, production);
- Germany has good social climate and economic/social stability.

One of the respondents from the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” answered this question from the view of education:

I did not analyze, but I think it is due to the economic and social stability, and education system... I think that these factors [explain] why children want to study- high level of education; many people would like to leave for a permanent residence [to Germany]. There are social and economic stability even for those, whom Germany is not a motherland. Hence, there is an interest in the [German] language, and many [people] are learning German language for studying there.¹²³

Another participant from the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan also mentioned that German stability and good education attract people and students:

I think that it is German stability-social stability and attractive education. [Education] is considered to be prestigious, all [people] are going there[in Germany] in order to get good knowledge, diploma is valued. In addition, there is a high level of medicine, which also affect on Germany’s leading position in the rating.¹²⁴

The participant’s reply indicates that there are various factors, influencing on the country’s attraction, and attraction is not always about culture, but also includes such factors as social and

¹²³ Barbara, the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, December 2017, Astana.

¹²⁴ Charlotte, Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan, October 2017, Astana.

economic stability, and the country's role in international politics. Taking into account the theoretical framework, Nye mentioned: "the resources that produce soft power arise in large part from the values an organization or country expresses in its culture".¹²⁵ The results of the research showed that apart from culture, education and economy, political and social aspects are also important for maintaining the leading position in a soft power ranking in the case of Germany.

Talking specifically about the role of German culture for the country's attraction, soft power can come not only from the modern culture, but also can take sources from the past: "There is strong [German] culture, it is the age-old, stable, and the soft power from the past... we know a lot of great writers and musicians".¹²⁶ Thus, the "soft power" is not only about the present, and it also can take sources for attraction from the past, particularly in its rich culture.

Second, I analyze Germany's "soft power" from the perspective of the international prestige. While conducting textual analysis I noted a pattern: the majority of the speeches, related to education and culture were made during meeting with foreign partners. After the detailed analysis, it is possible to say that Germany tries to cooperate with various states and regions in educational and cultural spheres. There is a wide range of countries and regions, which are considered as partners in educational cultural spheres: USA, Russia, China, Turkey, Mexico, India, Greece, Israel, Thailand, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, Hungary, Romania, African Region, countries of Eastern Partnership, Asia-Pacific region, Armenia, South-Caucasus countries, Kazakhstan. Despite the fact that Germany considers transatlantic cooperation as one of the prioritized direction of its foreign policy, the abovementioned list of the countries-partners shows that Germany has a lot of partners in terms of education and culture. Additionally, it also means that Germany wants to spread its education and culture worldwide and such approach shows that Kazakhstan is not a target for Germany's cultural relations and education policy, but one of its

¹²⁵ Nye, "Soft Power," 154.

¹²⁶ Barbara, the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans "Vozrozhdenie", December 2017, Astana.

directions. The results of my textual analysis support this hypothesis. From 2012 to 2016 Central Asia and Kazakhstan particularly were mentioned six times. Central Asia and Kazakhstan were topics only during region-related meetings/events:

- Speech by Minister of State Cornelia Pieper on the occasion of a lecture by Kazakh Foreign Minister Erlan Idrissov at the German Council on Foreign Relations (31.01.2013);
- Speech by Minister of State Cornelia Pieper at the fourth Central Asia Economic Conference: “Germany and Central Asia – Progress through Cooperation” (23.04.2013);
- Speech by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle at the conference “Water Diplomacy in Central Asia” at the Federal Foreign Office (07.03.2012);
- Speech by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle on the conference "From a nuclear test ban to a nuclear weapons-free world" in Astana (29.08.2012);
- Speech by Minister of State Cornelia Pieper upon the presentation of the 2012 Goethe Medal to Irena Veisaitė, Dževad Karahasan and Bolat Atabayev, Weimar, 28 August 2012 (28.08.2012);
- Speech by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle at the CDU/CSU conference on “Asia’s new global players” (13.06.2012).

Titles of the abovementioned speeches indicate that education and culture were not the key topics during meetings with Central Asian and Kazakhstani representatives. Moreover, by looking at the regional network of the Goethe-Institut and the DAAD, there is a common pattern- Central Asia does not stand as a separate direction. In case of the Goethe-Institut, there is an “Eastern Europe and Central Asia” direction, while in Central Asia offices are located in Almaty (Kazakhstan) and Tashkent (Uzbekistan). The DAAD has a so-called “Eastern Europe, Central Asia, Caucasus” direction, and in Central Asia the DAAD cooperates with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.¹²⁷

Nevertheless, Germany is present in Central Asia and particularly in Kazakhstan in terms of cultural relations and education policy. However, even though that Central Asia and Kazakhstan particularly are not the targets of Germany in its global “soft power” promotion, Kazakhstan is still one of the directions. The main point is that such actors-promoters of Germany’s education and culture as the Goethe-Institut and the German Academic Exchange

¹²⁷“DAAD country statistics”, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/zahlen-und-fakten/en/29263-daad-country-statistics/>.

Service (DAAD) are located on the territory of Kazakhstan.¹²⁸ Moreover, these institutions play an important role in German culture and language promotion:

I am particularly pleased to see the keen interest people in Kazakhstan have in the German language. Over the years the Goethe-Institut in Almaty has been very effective in fostering interest in Germany's language and culture. Through our successful Partner School Initiative, the Federal Foreign Office is supporting eleven schools in Kazakhstan that offer German language teaching.¹²⁹

In addition, cooperation in higher education, particularly with Nazarbayev University, The German-Kazakh University in Almaty, and the Ust-Kamenogorsk Technical University was noted. Based on the provided evidence, it is possible to say that Germany does not have special educational/cultural program in Central Asia.

The same conclusion could be made based on the results of conducted interviews. None of the participants mentioned a document or a strategy of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan. Majority of the participants while talking about Germany's "soft power" answered the question "*Could you please tell me what are the directions of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, and what is the role of education and culture in this strategy?*" from the perspectives of their personal or working experience. Moreover, one of the participants said that there is no officially published strategy for Central Asia in terms of a "soft power" strategy.¹³⁰

Another respondent from the DAAD Kazakhstan also holds the same opinion:

In terms of the Goethe-Institut and the DAAD, education is offered for the whole world, Kazakhstan is not a target country. If there is a strategy Kazakhstan, it is only a part of it and it does not divide into countries.¹³¹

Moreover, the participant takes the view that "maybe there is no "soft power" strategy in Germany, in terms of the strategic planning".¹³² Instead, as Ivan mentioned that it can be named as a "soft power" policy, but not a strategy.

¹²⁸ "Kazakhstan", Bilateral Relations and German Missions, *The Federal Foreign Office*, Last updated in April 2017, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/laenderinformationen/kasachstan-node/kazakhstan/218898>.

¹²⁹ Ibid .

¹³⁰ Andrew, DAAD Kazakhstan, September 2017, Almaty.

¹³¹ Ivan, DAAD Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

So answering my research question - *To what extent and why does Germany adhere to a “soft power” agenda in Kazakhstan, particularly with regards to its educational and cultural spheres?* The evidence shows that there is Germany’s “soft power” strategy implementation in Kazakhstan, because such big organizations with worldwide network as the Goethe-Institut and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) are present and working actively in the country. In regards to the aim of Germany’s “soft power” promotion in Kazakhstan, it is possible to say that Germany wants to promote its education and culture worldwide. A bright example of such approach could be found on the web site of the Federal Foreign Office, where Minister of State Maria Böhmer stated that promotion of German language abroad is a focus of cultural relations and education policy.¹³³ Moreover, in case of cooperation with Central Asia and Kazakhstan, more attention is given to economy, even though culture is one of the directions of cooperation:

Both for Germany and for Europe the Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Mongolia are important partners.

Partners in many different ways, politically, economically and in the cultural realm.

...

This is why we believe the right course for Europe is to build on its economic integration at home and with the wider world to expand and strengthen its economic links with other regions.

Here Central Asia has a special role to play. For one thing, by reason of its strategic location between Europe and East Asia. For another, because Central Asia has raw materials which German industry urgently needs. With Kazakhstan and Mongolia Germany has forged its first raw materials partnerships.¹³⁴

Based on that, it is possible to say that Central Asia and Kazakhstan are not the key “targets” for Germany’s cultural relations and education policy. For instance, with Russia, China, and the USA representatives of the Federal Foreign Office had more meeting and speeches, dedicated to the development of educational and cultural ties.

¹³² Ivan, DAAD Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

¹³³ “Promotion of the German language”, *The Federal Foreign Office*, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/03-sprache>.

¹³⁴ Cornelia Pieper, Rede von Staatsministerin bei der vierten Wirtschaftskonferenz Zentralasien: Deutschland und Zentralasien – Fortschritt durch Zusammenarbeit, (speech, April 23, 2013), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/130423-stm-p-zentralasienkonferenz/254562>.

Nevertheless, as my fieldwork finding shows, there is a big interest in Germany's education, as all 9 participants of my research said that there is high interest among students in Germany. Moreover, the respondents mentioned that scholarships are quite popular among pupils and students. Additionally, one of the participants mentioned that the demand in German language is high, and many students would like to learn this language.¹³⁵ Such picture indicates that even though Kazakhstan is not a target in the international context for Germany in terms of the education and culture, Germany seems attractive, particularly for pupils and students.

We can consider Germany's cultural relations and education policy as an analogy of a "soft power" strategy. Cultural relations and education policy is a vital direction for Germany's foreign policy. The direction helps to establish understanding between countries, to support and to reinforce bilateral relations with foreign partners. Moreover, Germany considers education and culture as element for creating a peaceful and humane world, and cultural relations and education policy also can help to establish *new global order* and to strengthen Germany's prestige worldwide by means of a "soft power". The Federal Foreign Office understands importance of a "soft power" concept, even though does not use this term directly. However, active promotion of German language and culture abroad, worldwide network of institutions, working in these sphere show that Germany uses "soft power" strategy. Additionally, such active promotion of German culture, language and education abroad (with a worldwide coverage) shows that "soft power" promotion is about prestige, as the country tries to spread its influence throughout the world. In that case, Kazakhstan is one of the directions, but not a "target" of Germany's cultural relations and education policy. However, it does not mean that Germany does not promote "soft power" strategy in the country. On the territory of Kazakhstan such cultural and educational organization as, for example, the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut are located. Presence of the abovementioned organizations already shows that Germany is aimed at promoting its culture, language and education in Kazakhstan. Moreover, as the fieldwork results

¹³⁵ Amanda, DAAD Kazakhstan, November 2017, Astana.

indicated, German is attractive due to the economic and social stability, its role in international politics and good level of education.

The way these organization work, promote German “soft power” and the level of communication between them will be described in the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Role of the German Diaspora in “Soft Power” Strategy

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the German diaspora’s role in Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly in terms of education and culture. Based on that logically comes my research question: *What is the role of the German diaspora in Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan?* In terms of the framework, it corresponds to one of the hypothesis, stating that: *Germany promotes its “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture because of the German diaspora.* The analysis showed that the German diaspora in Kazakhstan is not an active actor in “soft power” strategy, but it is a bridge between Kazakhstan and Germany. Additionally, one of the key goals of the German diaspora is to preserve German culture and traditions.

The analysis of the German diaspora’s role in a “soft power” strategy is based on the results of the textual analysis and the in-person/email interviews. I also reviewed the web sites of the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, the DAAD, and the Goethe-Institut for finding information concerning the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. I want to emphasize that I analyzed interviews obtained not only from the representatives of the Association, but also from representatives of the DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan. The reason is that all participants received questions about the role of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan.

My main finding, which is based on the results of textual analysis and interviews, is that the German diaspora in Kazakhstan is considered as a bridge between two countries:

Here a special role is played by the around 200,000 people of German descent in Kazakhstan, who serve as bridge-builders between our two countries.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Cornelia Pieper, Grußwort von Staatsministerin anlässlich des Vortrags des kasachischen Außenministers Erlan Idrissow bei der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (speech, January 31, 2013), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/130131-stm-p-dgap/253400>.

The representatives of the Association also consider themselves as a bridge between Germany and Kazakhstan, and as the keepers of German culture and traditions. In response to the questions “*What makes your Association unique: its aims, directions of activity, structure or its role in the cultural promotion of Germany in Kazakhstan? What is the role of ethnic Germans in terms of the bilateral relationship between Germany and Kazakhstan*” a representative of the Association said the following: “The main aim of support program is that the German minority self-represents own interests in the country of residence, and also functions as a bridge between two states. Sub-goals of the program are: revival and preservation of German national identity”.¹³⁷ All representatives of the Association, who participated in my research, mentioned that the organization’s aim is to preserve Germany’s culture. There is also a statement on the web site of the “Vozrozhdenie” that the key goal of the Association is: “preservation of national identity, culture and German language, and the equality with other nations in the country”.¹³⁸ Based on that, it is possible to say that the German diaspora is aimed at preservation of German culture and language among the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. Moreover, such overlap of answers among representatives of the Association, web site’s statement and representatives of the Federal Foreign Office shows unity of vision concerning the role of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. Thus, such solidarity indicates clear vision of the German diaspora’s role and aims.

In terms of the German diaspora’s role in “soft power” promotion, the analysis showed that we cannot consider the German diaspora as an active actor in this process. At first, two out of three representatives of the Association who participated in my research, asked to clarify the term “soft power”. Third participant from the “Vozrozhdenie” participated in an email interview, thus I cannot evaluate respondent’s awareness of the “soft power” term. Considering this, not all representatives of the Association (my respondents) clearly understand the “soft power” concept. Additionally, as was already mentioned, the representatives of the Association of Public Unions

¹³⁷ Rosa, the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, January 2018, Almaty.

¹³⁸ “Associaciya obshchestvennyh ob"edinenij nemcev Kazahstana «Vozrozhdenie»”, *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev*.

of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” consider themselves as a bridge between Kazakhstan and Germany and as keepers of German culture and traditions. Thus, none of the participants of my research from the Association and other organizations as the DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan identified the German diaspora as an active actor in Germany’s “soft power” promotion.

Nevertheless, representatives of the DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut consider the German diaspora in Kazakhstan as one of the factors, influencing bilateral relations between Germany and Kazakhstan. One of the participants in my research, Ivan from the DAAD Kazakhstan, by answering the question: *How does the presence of ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan influence Germany’s “soft power” strategy?* answered that the presence of ethnic German has its influence, but it is not a determining factor.¹³⁹ Moreover, Ivan mentioned that when a diplomat or representative of a German firm speaks, they would mention German diaspora and emphasize the link: “Presence of the German diaspora allows to carry out projects and make them more significant, but in terms of the following projects- not very important”. This reply shows that the presence of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan is a connecting factor during the initial steps for German diplomats or businessmen, which allows them to create a link between Kazakhstan and Germany. That is to say, it proves that the German diaspora in Kazakhstan is a bridge between two states. However, as the respondent mentioned, the presence of the German diaspora provides ground for creating relations in various spheres in Kazakhstan, but is not the only target.

In order to assess truthfulness of my hypothesis: *Germany promotes its “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture because of the German diaspora* it is necessary to look closer at the educational and cultural aspects and to analyze relations between the German diaspora in Kazakhstan and German government. As analysis showed, the Association

¹³⁹ Ivan, DAAD Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” is supported by the Federal Ministry of the Interior (FMI).

In May 31, 1996 (approved by the Government of Kazakhstan March 19, 1997 № 368) Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of The Federal Republic of Germany about cooperation on support of citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan of German nationality was signed. In frame of the agreement, FMI (Germany) and the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” regularly cooperate in the educational, cultural and social spheres.¹⁴⁰

Another participant, by answering the question: “*What makes your Association unique?*” mentioned that the German diaspora is one of the few diasporas, receiving funding from the historical homeland.¹⁴¹ Thus, German state actors, particularly the Federal Ministry of the Interior, support the German diaspora.

In terms of the Goethe-Institut, it supports ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan by means of various projects:

There is bit program for the diaspora, because historically big number of Germans lived and lives in Kazakhstan. As well in the other countries where German diaspora lives, the Goethe-Institut conducts certain programs for the ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan.¹⁴²

For example, as it is stated on the official web site of the Goethe-Institut:

Upon the instructions of the Federal Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany the Goethe-Institut Almaty carries out various projects in support of Germans, living in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, in the spheres of German language, cultural programs and spreading of current information about Germany.¹⁴³

In case of the Goethe-Institut, it provides the following support for the German diaspora in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan:

- “External courses”:

Extracurricular language courses of German language are provided for ethnic Germans for free. Nevertheless, as it stated on the web site, the courses should be available not only for ethnic

¹⁴⁰ Rosa, Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, January 2018, Almaty.

¹⁴¹ Barbara, Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, December 2017, Astana.

¹⁴² Laura, Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

¹⁴³ “Nemcy, Prozhivayushchie v Kazahstane i Kyrgyzstane”, *Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/kz/ru/spr/eng/min.html>.

Germans from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, but also for everyone who is interested in German language. One of the conditions for the language courses is that minimum 40% of listeners should be representatives of the ethnic Germans.¹⁴⁴

- “Language assistants”:

“Goethe-Institut sends language assistant-Germanists to the educational institutions in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Ukraine. The Goethe-Institut promotes intercultural and interlingual exchange in the world on behalf of the German Foreign Ministry.”¹⁴⁵

- “Scholarships” (Kazakhstan):

The Goethe-Institut offers to the representatives of the ethnic Germans to take the German language courses (a semester) in one of the German Language Centers in Kazakhstan.¹⁴⁶

- “Youth Exchange 2018”:

It is a competition among pupils and youth groups from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan with an opportunity to become a participant in the “Youth Exchange” program and visit Germany.¹⁴⁷

Thus, the Goethe-Institut gives opportunity to learn the German language and to learn more about German culture for all citizens of Kazakhstan, but there are also some programs specifically designed for ethnic Germans. Moreover, the programs for ethnic Germans, provided by the Goethe-Institut, are carried out under the instructions of the Federal Foreign Office. Considering this, various state actors including the Federal Ministry of the Interior and of the Federal Foreign Office support ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan.

In the case of DAAD the situation is quite different. The organization does not specifically provide scholarships for ethnic Germans. There is a list of the scholarships on the

¹⁴⁴ “Nemcy, prozhivajushhie v Kazahstane i Kyrgyzstane”, *Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/kz/ru/spr/eng/min.html>.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

daad.kz, and none of it has a requirement to be a representative of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan. Moreover, the respondents from the DAAD Kazakhstan also mentioned that the organization does not have special scholarships for ethnic Germans. Thereby, there is support of the German diaspora in terms of providing educational opportunities, however not all organizations have projects specifically designed for the German diaspora in Kazakhstan.

Nevertheless, there is a connection between with the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, the DAAD Kazakhstan, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan and German Embassy in Kazakhstan. One of the participants from the Association mentioned that the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” has close ties with the German Embassy, as they participate in and visit common projects. For example, the German Embassy held an event- organ music concert, and the representatives of the Association were guest there. One of the examples is a conference “Create future together: education in Kazakhstan and Germany”, which took place in March 16, 2018 in Kazakhstan, Astana. The conference was organized by the German Embassy in Astana and the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, and in cooperation with Kazakhstan Ministry of Education and Science.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” also invites guests from the German Embassy for Christmas events.¹⁴⁹ In terms of the other organizations, as a respondent from the DAAD mentioned, representatives of the German diaspora are invited to the events organized by the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut.¹⁵⁰ While representatives of the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan said that, German diaspora invites them to participate in their events.¹⁵¹ Thus, it shows that there is communication between the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie” and such

¹⁴⁸ ““Vmeste sozdaem budushhee: obrazovanie v Germanii i Kazahstane ””, *Elektronnoe Samoupravlenie Etnicheskikh Nemcev*.

¹⁴⁹ Barbara, Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”, January 2018, Astana.

¹⁵⁰ Andrew, DAAD Kazakhstan, September 2017, Almaty.

¹⁵¹ Laura, Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

organizations as the DAAD Kazakhstan, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan and the German Embassy in Kazakhstan.

Based on the abovementioned findings, the hypothesis *Germany promotes its “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture because of the German diaspora* is not completely truthful. The evidence shows that Germany promotes its “soft power” in Kazakhstan, and also provides support for ethnic Germans. Nevertheless, these processes are not interchangeable. Thus, as it was mentioned, Germany promotes its “soft power” in Kazakhstan for the reason of maintaining its prestige, but not solely because of the German diaspora. First, as the results of the research showed, the German diaspora does not seem as an active actor of Germany’s “soft power” promotion, but it is considered as a bridge between Germany and Kazakhstan and also keepers of German language and culture. Even if Germany promotes its “soft power” because of the German diaspora, it is for supporting them by some educational and cultural projects. Second, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan has projects for all citizens of Kazakhstan, who are interested in German language and culture, not only for the German diaspora, while the DAAD Kazakhstan does not have specifically designed scholarships for ethnic Germans. In other words, even if Germany promotes its “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture because of the German diaspora, the German diaspora is not the only target of the strategy, as there are scholarships and events available for all citizens of Kazakhstan.

Chapter 5

Role of State and Non-State Actors in Germany's "Soft Power" Strategy

Chapter Five analyzes the role of state and non-state actors in Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly in educational and cultural spheres. This chapter unites two hypotheses: *Both: state and non-state actors cooperate and promote Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan;* and *Only non-state actors drive Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of educational and culture, because there is no common network between actors.* Due to the fact that both hypotheses are aimed at revealing the driving forces of Germany's "soft power" strategy, they are analyzed in one chapter. In terms of the research questions, chapter Five answers: *Who are the main actors of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan?* Additionally, there is one more question, helping to understand the way Germany's "soft power" is implemented: *What are the main instruments of German "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture ?* Considering this, in chapter Five I am finding out the main actors in Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan and what are the instruments the actors use.

First section of the chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the actors involved in Germany's "soft power" promotion in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture. All participant of my research received the following question: *Who are the main German actors in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?* The most frequently mentioned organizations were the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut. Moreover, participants also mentioned political foundations as the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation Kazakhstan, such educational organizations as Central Agency for Schools Abroad (ZfA) and PASCH initiative, and also the Embassy of Germany in Astana, German-Kazakh University, Deutsches Theater (German Theater) Kazakhstan. In my research, I particularly analyze role of the DAAD Kazakhstan, the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan, and state actors, including Embassy of Germany in Astana and German ministries. Thus, this chapter is

concentrated on the activities of the abovementioned organizations and their level of communication.

This sub-section describes the communication between various German actors involved in Germany's cultural relations and education policy-“soft power”. Auer and Srugies in their research about Germany's public diplomacy (PD) stated that “an overall German network of PD actors does not exist.”¹⁵² One of the main findings in my research is that state actors play an import role in Germany's “soft power” promotion in Kazakhstan, particularly in terms of the education and culture. The point is that the German ministries support both the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut. As it was mentioned in chapter Two, the DAAD has several key funding providers, including the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.¹⁵³ In case of the Goethe-Institut, it is stated on the official web site “the Goethe-Institut is the cultural institute of the Federal Republic of Germany with a global reach”.¹⁵⁴ Thus, state actors and such organizations as the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut are interconnected. The same point was made by Auer and Srugies:

Even though an overall German PD strategy cannot be detected, many organizations place the Federal Foreign Office at the center of a loose German network (IP 1; IP 13; IP 15; IP 24). Its task of managing the foreign relations of Germany in a central manner is set up by the common rules of procedure of the German Government and the law of the Foreign Service.⁷⁸ Its leading role is rooted in its function as a coordinator of campaigns and financial provider for organizations like the Goethe Institute or Deutsche Welle (IP 14: 3.2; IP 24: 3.2).¹⁵⁵

Moreover, in case of Kazakhstan, there is interconnection between the Embassy of Germany in Kazakhstan and other actors. One of the participants from the DAAD Kazakhstan mentioned that the Embassy of Germany in Astana and the General Consulate General of

¹⁵² Claudia Auer, and Alice Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany* (Los Angeles: FIGUEROA PRESS, 2013), 27.

¹⁵³ “Budget and funding bodies”, *German Academic Exchange Service*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.daad.de/der-daad/zahlen-und-fakten/en/30736-budget-and-funding-bodies/>.

¹⁵⁴ “Organisation”, *Goethe -Institut*, accessed March 26, 2018, <https://www.goethe.de/en/uun/org.html>.

¹⁵⁵ Auer and Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany*, 28.

Germany in Almaty are the state actors, and it is necessary to take them into consideration.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, as my textual analysis showed, in one of the speeches made by Minister of State Cornelia Pieper, the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut were mentioned as the autonomous organizations:

One special thing about German cultural relations policy is its structure. This structure gives participating organizations a high degree of autonomy and values their independence. The Goethe-Institut and the German Academic Exchange Service are thus state-funded, but not run by the state. They do their work independently and autonomously. This is due to our conviction that politics should not influence culture. The task of politics is rather to create the conditions necessary for cultural diversity to develop.¹⁵⁷

Thus, in case of Germany's actors, promoting Germany's "soft power" in terms of education and culture, it is hard to draw the line and to label an organization for sure as a "state" or as a "non-state" actor. The same could be said about the Goethe-Institut and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Nevertheless, it is clear that state actors play an important role.

Additionally, state actors also stress the role of non-state actors:

Nothing lasts without institutions! Or to put it another way, all dialogue needs a home, a space where there is freedom, creativity and understanding. There is a name for these dialogue spaces in the Federal Republic of Germany. Moreover, they enjoy a reputation that reverberates. They are called Goethe-Institute.¹⁵⁸

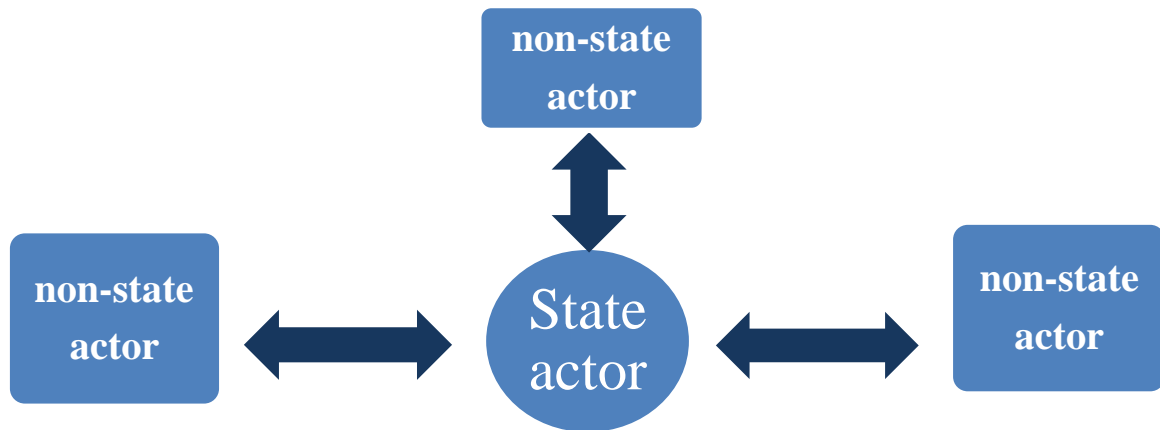
In other words, the state actors can be considered as a connecting link among the organizations. The results of the fieldwork support this argument. One of the respondents said that there is close cooperation and interdependence with state actors, as many things are going through the Embassy and the Embassy's image is high.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, the participant mentioned that the communication between state and non-state actors looks in the following way:

¹⁵⁶ Ivan, DAAD Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

¹⁵⁷ Cornelia Pieper, Rede von Staatsministerin vor Studentinnen und Studenten der Staatlichen Universität Eriwan (speech, April 17, 2012), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/120417-stm-p-eriwan/249704>.

¹⁵⁸ Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Rede von Außenminister bei der Konferenz des Goethe-Instituts "Dialog und die Erfahrung des Anderen, (speech, February 23, 2015), *The Federal Foreign Office*, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/150223-bm-konf-gi/269548>.

¹⁵⁹ Amanda, DAAD Kazakhstan, November 2017, Astana.



Thus, the respondent from the DAAD Kazakhstan –Amanda, mentioned that state actors cooperate with non-state actors, but there is no close cooperation between non-state actors themselves. Considering this, the following argument made by Auer and Srugies deserves attention: “Even though the Federal Foreign Office takes on a central role as coordinator and financial provider, there is neither an overall German PD strategy nor a general PD network.”¹⁶⁰

Moreover, Amanda said that human factor plays an important role in inter-organizational relations. For example, as Amanda mentioned, there is no close interconnection between the DAAD Astana and the Goethe-Institut Astana. Additionally, Amanda mentioned that each organization has its own direction, and there is not common strategy or line. Auer and Srugies mentioned the same point, and they provide the following argument:

The interviewees state that a general German PD network would not work (IP 11): organizations form constellations with other networks to reach specific goals that other constellations might not want to pursue. A common strategy for all German PD actors is not welcomed either (IP 11). There are two reasons why: first, the non-governmental organizations want to preserve their independence and do not want to be perceived as an instrument of the government in great part due to historical reasons; and second, the organizations would prefer to present a pluralistic image of Germany (cf. IP 2; IP 12). In effect, PD in Germany comprises partial and even contradictory strategies in order to depict Germany as a diverse, multifaceted state.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Auer and Srugies, *Public Diplomacy in Germany*, 36.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

Thus, the same pattern could be seen in Kazakhstan, as each organization is aimed at achieving its own goals and none of the participants mentioned the existence of a document or a strategy, which could be considered as a basis for their activities and Germany's "soft power" promotion in Kazakhstan. Additionally, the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut rely on their general aims and regulations. Considering the abovementioned, it is possible to agree with the argument made by Auer and Srugies, that even though the Federal foreign Office provides a financial support for such non-state actors as the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut, there is still no strong network among the actors, as each of them is aimed at its own directions.

This section is dedicated to the instruments the actors use for "soft power" promotion. One of the findings of my research is that Germany's "soft power" promotion in Kazakhstan, particularly in educational and cultural spheres is implemented by means of scholarships, events and projects. In the research done by Auer and Srugies, the authors mentioned the instruments used in Germany's public diplomacy: "political information and cultural communication".¹⁶² As the results of my research showed, in case of Kazakhstan, cultural communication is the most frequently used instrument, and Auer and Srugies provide the following explanation to this type of communication:

In order to create and deepen dialogue, build relationships, and shape a positive image (IP 2), the organizations use interactive media, events, group communication such as round tables, language courses or exhibitions, and academic and artistic exchanges "with a view toward transmitting messages about lifestyles, political and economic systems, and artistic achievements."⁸¹ Organizations from the societal/cultural and the education/research subsystem especially esteem the value of exchange programs, even if they are aware of having a minor degree of control over them.¹⁶³

As was already mentioned, each organization has its own aims and direction, thus the events organized by the DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan vary. The DAAD promotes German education, while the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan offers German language courses, provides information about Germany and its culture. Moreover, the Goethe-Institut also

¹⁶² Ibid, 30.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

has a library and an info center, where people, who are interested in Germany could get books, journals, and other materials.¹⁶⁴ In these terms, there is a common feature between the DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan: both organizations give an access to the information about Germany.

It is possible to highlight several directions within the cultural communication, which could be considered as the instruments of Germany's public diplomacy in Kazakhstan:

- Scholarships for students;
- German language courses and competitions (Olympiads);
- Cultural events, theater and movies;
- Thematically related projects.¹⁶⁵

Considering everything, German actors mostly use cultural communication as an instrument in order to promote "soft power" in Kazakhstan. Moreover, cultural communication has sub-directions, as it includes a wide range of activities. It also should be noted that even though both the DAAD Kazakhstan and the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan rely on cultural communication, they have different activities as they are pursuing different aims.

In conclusion, the chapter showed that there is a no strong network between the non-state actors themselves, but role of the state actors as German Embassy is strong. Moreover, the feature of the German actors, involved in the "soft power" promotion, is that it is hard to draw the line between state and non-state actors, as various German ministries support them. Considering the abovementioned, my hypothesis: *Both: state and non-state actors cooperate and promote Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan* more likely reflects the reality. However, in terms of the cooperation, state actors play a key role, as there is poor cooperation between the non-state actors.

¹⁶⁴ Nadine, Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan, October 2017, Almaty.

¹⁶⁵ "Zelenye Ugolki"/(Green Corners) by the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/kz/ru/kul/sup/uea.html>.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The aim of the research was to provide a general picture of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly in terms of education and culture. Since no research has been conducted on Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan with the focus on education and culture, my research describes the key features of this process. The topic of my research is broad and rich and undoubtedly, there is room for further research. The feature of the topic is that it is possible to look at it from various perspectives and angles.

In summary, it is possible to highlight the following findings of the research. First, Germany's "cultural relations and education policy" is another name for "soft power" and "public diplomacy", as the functions are quite similar. German officials almost do not use the terms "soft power" and "public diplomacy", but talk about them in a descriptive way. For example, in terms of "public diplomacy", German officials mention signs of such elements as *advocacy, cultural diplomacy, and exchange diplomacy*. From this point logically comes another argument: Germany's "soft power" strategy is diverse, as it promotes not only education and culture, but also political values. Third, as the results of my research show, it is more likely that Kazakhstan is one of the directions of Germany's "soft power", but not a key target. Thus, it seems that Germany promotes "soft power" in Kazakhstan for maintaining its worldwide prestige and spreading its "soft power" worldwide. Nevertheless, the presence of the DAAD and the Goethe-Institut indicates that Germany is interested in promoting "soft power" in Kazakhstan.

Next, as the evidence illustrates, the German diaspora in Kazakhstan could not be considered as an active actor in Germany's "soft power" strategy, but rather as a bridge between Kazakhstan and Germany, and also as keepers of traditions and culture. Talking about cooperation of the Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans "Vozrozhdenie" and other state and non-state actors, it varies from organization to organization. For example, the

Goethe-Institut has several programs specifically designed for the German diaspora, while the DAAD does not provide specific scholarships for ethnic Germans, as scholarships are open to all citizens of Kazakhstan. In terms of state actors, the Association has links with the German Embassy in Astana and the Federal Ministry of Interior.

In terms of the driving force, it seems that both German state and non-state actors promote “soft power” in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture. Nevertheless, state actors play a key role, as they are funding providers and can be considered as a link in the actors’ network. The fieldwork results showed that there is no strong cooperation between non-state actors, but all non-state actors communicate with state actors. Nevertheless, at this point it is hard to assess the whole network of relationships between the actors, as in my research the number of the organizations is limited.

This research helps to see the mechanism of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in the educational and cultural spheres. In other words, the thesis illustrates the key factors and features of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture. Thus, future research could analyze Germany’s “soft power” strategy, but concentrating on a particular aspect or feature. This research focuses on providing general trends, and each of the directions of the research (actors and network, role of the German diaspora) could be analyzed in a more detailed way. As in my thesis I chose a case study design, which limited my research to the three key organizations. For future research, it would be possible to include more organizations, involved in Germany’s “soft power” promotion. Additionally, since the aim of my research was to identify the driving force of the Germany’s “soft power” strategy and to outline general links between various actors, future research could be dedicated to a closer analysis of actors and networks, because the topic has great potential. Moreover, in my research, I did not analyze the role of the Internet and social networks in Germany’s “soft power” strategy. Nowadays social networks and media are widespread, and during my fieldwork I also noticed

that some German organizations, both non-state and state ones, have accounts in social networks. Talking about the role of the German diaspora, it was interesting to see that German returnees also play their role in bilateral relations between Germany and Kazakhstan by serving as a bridge between two countries, but in my research, I did not focus on this particular factor.

In summary, this research provides a general picture of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in educational and cultural spheres, and there are still a lot of opportunities for developing the topic and for analyzing other aspects of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan.

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Appendix A



Verbal Recruitment

Principal Investigator: Karina Matkarimova, Graduate Student, SHSS

Institution: Nazarbayev University

Thesis Project: "Germany's 'Soft Power' Strategy in Kazakhstan: Educational and Cultural Aspects"

Greetings! I am a graduate student in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSS) at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. I am conducting research on Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly about its educational and cultural aspects.

You are being invited to take part in this research because I believe that your experience can contribute to the better understanding and knowledge of German "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in the educational and cultural spheres.

I would like to ask you to participate in my research and interview you. From the beginning, I will provide you with detailed information about my research and the topic.

The study is about the concept of "soft power", which is closely connected with "public diplomacy". I want to know how Germany conducts its "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in the educational and cultural spheres and what are the main instruments of this strategy. I will analyze the actors involved in this process, the way they cooperate with each other and the role of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Instead of your real name I will use a pseudonym. You do not have to decide today whether or not you would like to participate in the research. You can ask any question now or in future.

In order to ensure your anonymity, I will act in accordance with the NU IREC Human Subject Protocol. I will send you more detailed information about anonymity preservation procedures before the interview, should you express interest in participating in my study.

There is no monetary benefit for your participation. However, your participation in my research will help contribute to the social sciences and to the understanding of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan.

If you wish to ask questions, you may contact me at the following:

Principal Investigator

Karina Matkarimova

Graduate Student, MA in Eurasian Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Nazarbayev University;

8(701) 541-01-25;

karina.matkarimova@nu.edu.kz



Email Recruitment

Principal Investigator: Karina Matkarimova, Graduate Student, SHSS

Institution: Nazarbayev University

Thesis Project: "Germany's 'Soft Power' Strategy in Kazakhstan: Educational and Cultural Aspects"

Greetings! I am a graduate student in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSS) at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. I am conducting research on Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan, particularly about its educational and cultural aspects.

You are being invited to take part in this research because I believe that your experience can contribute to the better understanding of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in the educational and cultural spheres.

I would like to ask you to participate in my research. From the beginning, I will provide you with some detailed information about my research and the topic.

My study is about the concept of "soft power", which is closely connected with "public diplomacy". I want to know how Germany conducts its "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan in the education and cultural spheres and what are the main instruments of this strategy. I will analyze the actors involved in this process, the way they cooperate with each other, and the role of the German diaspora in Kazakhstan.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Instead of your real name I will use a pseudonym. You do not have to decide today whether or not you would like to participate in the research. You can ask any question now or in future.

In order to ensure your anonymity, I will act in accordance with the NU IREC Human Subject Protocol. I will send you more detailed information about anonymity preservation procedures via email, should you express interest in participating in my study.

There is no monetary benefit for your participation. However, your participation will help contribute to the social sciences and to the understanding of Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan.

Are you interested in participating in my study? If yes, please reply to this email.

If you wish to ask questions, you may contact me at the following:

Principal Investigator

Karina Matkarimova

Graduate Student, MA in Eurasian Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nazarbayev University;

8(701) 541-01- 25;

karina.matkarimova@nu.edu.kz

Appendix B



Verbal Informed Consent

Study Title: Germany's "Soft Power" Strategy in Kazakhstan: Educational and Cultural Aspects
Principal Investigator: Karina Matkarimova

I am a graduate student in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSS) at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. I am conducting research to understand Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan with a focus on educational and cultural aspects. I would like to analyze the actors involved in this process and the role of the German diaspora living in Kazakhstan.

Let me describe what this study involves. After I have describe the study to you, you can decide whether or not you would like to participate.

The interview will not be audio-recorded, but the interviewer will take notes. Participation should take about an hour. Participation is voluntary. You will be asked to answer questions on the topic. During the interview, I will sit down with you and ask questions. There will be about 10 questions. I will have a list of the questions prepared. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and the interviewer will move on to the next question. No one else but the interviewer will be present during your interview. You will not be identified by name. No one else except the researcher will have access to the information documented during the interview. I will use this information for academic purposes only.

Instead of your name, the researcher will use a pseudonym. However, there is a risk of personality disclosure, because in my research I identify the organizations/institutions where I conduct interviews and will also use certain demographic indicators to refer to my human subjects (gender, city location). To minimize risk of a data breach, your individual data will not be associated with you in any way and will be kept confidential. The information obtained during interviews will be stored in the researcher's password-protected computer, and only the researcher will have access to the data. In order to preserve confidentiality no one else will know where I will interview you and your name. Information obtained during an interview will be kept in both hard and electronic copies. I will not work and analyze your answers/notes in public places, in order to minimize the risk of a data breach.

In the case that results of the research will be presented or published, your name will not be revealed. There are no risks expected that are greater than you would normally encounter in your daily life.

By agreeing to participate in my research you give me permission for quoting your words/information, which the researcher obtained during your interview.

If at any time you would like to stop participating, please tell me. We can take a break, stop and continue at a later time, or stop altogether.

You will not be paid for participation in this research. There are no monetary benefits, however your participation will help to better understand Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan.

Do you have any questions?

Please note that your verbal consent indicates your willingness to participate in this research.

Are you interested in participating in this study?

Investigator: Karina Matkarimova

Contact Information:

Principal Investigator

Karina Matkarimova

Graduate Student, MA in Eurasian Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences,

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Thesis Supervisor

Dr. Charles Sullivan

Assistant Professor of Political Science & International Relations, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nazarbayev University;

8(717) 270-47-28;

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Informed Consent

Study Title: Germany's "Soft Power" Strategy in Kazakhstan: Educational and Cultural Aspects
Principal Investigator: Karina Matkarimova

I am a graduate student in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSS) at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. I am conducting research to understand Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan with a focus on educational and cultural aspects. I would like to analyze actors involved in this process and the role of the German diaspora living in Kazakhstan.

Let me describe what this study involves. After reading this form, you can decide whether or not you would like to participate in my project.

I will ask you to answer questions on my topic and send me your responses via e-mail within 10-14 days. If you feel that you need more time, please let me know. If you do not send me a response within a month, I will understand that you decided to withdraw from my project.

Participation is voluntary. Instead of your name the researcher will use a pseudonym. However, there is a small risk of personality disclosure, because in my research I identify the organizations/institutions where I conduct interviews and will also use certain demographic indicators to refer to my human subjects (gender, city location). Your individual data will be kept confidential. To minimize risk of identification, you can use or create a personal email for this research. I also will create a new personal email for this study for the same purposes. In addition, shortly after I receive and read an email from you, I will delete it and your questionnaire.

I will open emails from you only by using my own personal computer and will not use any public or other devices. In case of printing out your questionnaire, I will remove all identifying details if any (name, job, and etc.). In addition, printed-out questionnaires will be kept in a special folder, and only I will have access to these materials. I will not work and analyze your questionnaire in a public place, in order to minimize the risk of a data breach. No one else except me will have access to the information obtained from you. I will use this information for academic purposes only.

The information obtained will be stored in a password-protected computer, and only the researcher will have access to the data. In the case that results of the research will be presented or published, your name will not be revealed. There are no risks expected that are greater than you would normally encounter in your daily life.

If at any time, you would like to withdraw, please tell me.

There are no monetary benefits, however your participation will help to better understand Germany's "soft power" strategy in Kazakhstan.

By agreeing to participate in this research, you confirm that all forms/questionnaires will be filled out personally by you and you will be the only person who will reply to my emails.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please inform me via email. Your response will be interpreted as your willingness to participate in my study.

Investigator: Karina Matkarimova

Contact Information:

Principal Investigator

Karina Matkarimova,

Graduate Student, MA in Eurasian Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences,

Nazarbayev University;

8(701) 541-01-25;

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Appendix C



Interview Guide.

Questions for e-mail and in-person interviews

Interview guide for the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Kazakhstan

1. Germany is one of the countries that successfully implements a “soft power” strategy, and according to the web- site *The Soft Power 30*, in 2015 and 2016 the country took the second and the third place respectively in “A Ranking of Global Soft Power”. How is Germany maintaining its status (Top-3) in the mentioned ranking?
2. Could you please tell me about successful projects/examples of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture?
3. Could you please tell me what are the directions of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, and what is the role of education and culture in this strategy? Who are the main German actors in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?
4. How would you describe the level of cooperation between German state and non-state actors and what are their roles in “soft power” promotion in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?
5. How does the presence of ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan influence Germany’s “soft power” strategy and what programs/initiatives Germany has designed specifically for the German diaspora in Kazakhstan?
6. Could you tell me what are the features and goals of DAAD in Kazakhstan in terms of German education promotion?
7. Who are the main partners of the German Academic Exchange Service in Kazakhstan and what is the role and level of cooperation with the German government?
8. What are the most popular educational programs you provide, and what programs are specifically designed for ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan?
9. Do you think that the interest of Kazakhstani citizens in German education is increasing or decreasing from year to year?
10. How would you assess the popularity of the scholarships you provide in Kazakhstan? How many people/students in Kazakhstan would like to visit/study in Germany?

Interview guide for the Goethe-Institut Kazakhstan.

1. Germany is one of the countries that successfully implements a “soft power” strategy, and according to the web- site *The Soft Power 30*, in 2015 and 2016 the country took second and the third place respectively in “A Ranking of Global Soft Power”. How is Germany maintaining its status (Top-3) in the mentioned ranking?
2. Could you please tell me about successful projects/examples of German “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture?
3. Could you please tell me what are the directions of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, and what is the role of education and culture in this strategy? Who are the main German actors in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?

4. How would you describe the level of cooperation between German state and non-state actors and what are their roles in “soft power” promotion in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?
5. How does the presence of ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan influence Germany’s “soft power” strategy and what programs/initiatives has Germany designed specifically for the German diaspora in Kazakhstan?
6. What are the main aims of the Goethe Institute in Kazakhstan and how do you realize them?
7. Could you please tell me, what are the main projects/programs you carry out specifically in Kazakhstan in the educational and cultural spheres? Do all programs have a regional/universal character?
8. Could you please tell me what are the programs which the Goethe-Institut provides for its professors and students? Is there a target group of people to which you provide your services?
9. Do you think that the interest of Kazakhstani citizens in German education is increasing or decreasing from year to year?
10. Could you assess the popularity of the scholarships you provide in Kazakhstan? How many people/students in Kazakhstan would like to visit/study in Germany?

Interview guide for Association of Public Unions of Kazakhstani Germans “Vozrozhdenie”

1. Germany is one of the countries that successfully implements a “soft power” strategy, and according to the web- site *The Soft Power 30*, in 2015 and 2016 the country took second and the third place respectively in “A Ranking of Global Soft Power”. How is Germany maintaining its status (Top-3) in the mentioned ranking?
2. Could you please tell me about successful projects/examples of German “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan in terms of education and culture?
3. Could you please tell me what are the directions of Germany’s “soft power” strategy in Kazakhstan, and what is the role of education and culture in this strategy? Who are the main German actors in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?
4. How would you describe the level of cooperation between German state and non-state actors and what are their roles in Germany’s “soft power” promotion in the educational and cultural spheres in Kazakhstan?
5. How does the presence of ethnic Germans in Kazakhstan influence Germany’s “soft power” strategy and what programs/initiatives has Germany designed specifically for the German diaspora in Kazakhstan?
6. What makes your Association unique: its aims, directions of activity, structure or its role in the cultural promotion of Germany in Kazakhstan? What is the role of ethnic Germans in terms of the bilateral relationship between Germany and Kazakhstan?
7. Could you provide examples of successful projects you carried out in Kazakhstan? Which partners supported your projects?
8. It is mentioned on your web-site that the Association provides assistance in the education sphere. Who is the target group of your educational scholarships and how are your education programs implemented in Kazakhstan?
9. Do you think that the interest of Kazakhstani citizens in German education is increasing or decreasing from year to year?
10. Could you assess the popularity of the scholarships you provide in Kazakhstan? How many people/students in Kazakhstan would like to visit/study in Germany?