

ifa ECP Monitor Country Report

Germany

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Hertie School



Institut für
Auslandsbeziehungen

1. External cultural policy objectives in geopolitical context

One of the primary goals of Germany's external cultural policy (ECP) is to “*create pre-political space for dialogue and discourse, for creativity and understanding*” in order to keep channels of discussion open, even during tense political situations (Deutscher Bundestag, 2017, p. 5). The former Federal Foreign Minister (and current President) Frank-Walter Steinmeier also emphasised that “*culture prepares the ground in the pre-political area where political understanding, and therefore crisis prevention and crisis management, are possible*” (Steinmeier, 2016). Particular values are also emphasized, such as an emphasis on liberal democracy and free expression.

As the largest economy in Europe and the 4th largest in the world (3.45 trillion euros in 2019), Germany has a strong financial basis for the conduct of external cultural policy (see table 1). Germany's hard power does not match its economic might, with a 2019 military ranking of 10th. The country does slightly better in terms of diplomacy, placing 7th. In soft power, it outperforms all of the other rankings with a 3rd place score, indicating that German ECP institutions and approaches are very effective at spreading influence globally.

Table 1: Geopolitical position of Germany

	2019	2015
Hard power rank	10 th	8 th
World trade rank (\$ million)	3 rd / 3,386,173	3 rd / 2,895,456
Soft power rank	3 rd / 78.62	2 nd / 73.89
Diplomacy rank	7 th	8 th (2016)

Germany is active throughout the world in external cultural policy, with activities in most of the world's countries. There were over 3,000 offices of German ECP institutions worldwide, upwards of 9,000 staff, and total government support of 2.02 billion euros in 2019. Its main regional focus points are Europe, North Africa, and North America.

Table 2: Economy of Germany

	2019	2015
Population (millions)	83.13	81.68
GDP ranking	4 th	4 th
GDP per capita	41,510	37,062
Cultural economy (%GDP)	0.40 (2018)	0.40
Education economy (%GDP)	4.20 (2018)	4.20
R&D economy (%GDP)	3.12 (2018)	0.20
Media economy (%GDP)	0.30 (2018)	0.30

Relative to GDP, the share of the German economy devoted to culture and media is less than in peer countries like France. Its 2018 share of GDP for each category was 0.4% for culture, 4.2% for education, 3.12% for R&D, and 0.3% for media. As Table 2 shows, these figures have been largely flat. However, these small percentages may deceive, as the sheer size of the German economy indicates that their absolute scale is large. By contrast, France’s cultural economy was .6% of GDP in 2018. France’s education, R&D and media sectors represent 5.1%, 2.2%, and .2% of its total economy, respectively.

Table 3: Government spending on ECP fields as a % of total outlays

	2019	% change since 2015
Culture	0.90 ⁽²⁰¹⁸⁾	0
Education	9.40 ⁽²⁰¹⁸⁾	- 0.1
R & D	2.15	0.16
Media	0.70 ⁽²⁰¹⁸⁾	0

Government funding varies dramatically between the different fields. As in other European countries, the educational sector is allocated a large share of government funding, while culture, R&D, and media lag well behind (see table 3). Compared to France, culture spending is slightly lower, but media spending is much higher.

Conceptually, Foreign Cultural and Educational Policy (ECP, or AKBP in German) acts as the “third pillar” of Germany’s foreign policy (Auswärtiges Amt, 2019). As the Federal Foreign Office report put it, “*securing peace, conflict prevention, realising human rights, cooperation in a spirit of partnership*” would form a cornerstone of German foreign policy (Auswärtiges Amt, 1999, p. 1). The CDU-FDP coalition defined the new political guidelines in 2011 with the concept “Foreign cultural and educational policy in times of globalisation—winning partners, conveying values, representing interests”. The aim of cultural policy is “*to secure influence in the world and to shape globalisation responsibly*” (Auswärtiges Amt, 2011, p. 1).

The geographic remit of German ECP has expanded significantly in recent years. For example, the economic and political significance of the emerging countries known as the “BRICS”—Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa—has grown substantially. In particular, financial resources have been used to establish institutions and cooperation in the fields of education and science, specifically throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America (BMBF, 2016 p. 19). In 2018/19, citing the fact that “*the transatlantic relationship is currently facing new challenges*”, the Federal government decided to “*strive for a more intensive exchange with the American population outside the political and economic centres of the USA*” (Auswärtiges Amt, 2018, p. 32). Specifically, this took the form of the 2019 “Wunderbar Together” programme of the US and Germany, which included cultural activities across the US, a cross-country “Wunderbus” tour, and attracted over 2,000,000 total visitors to various events.

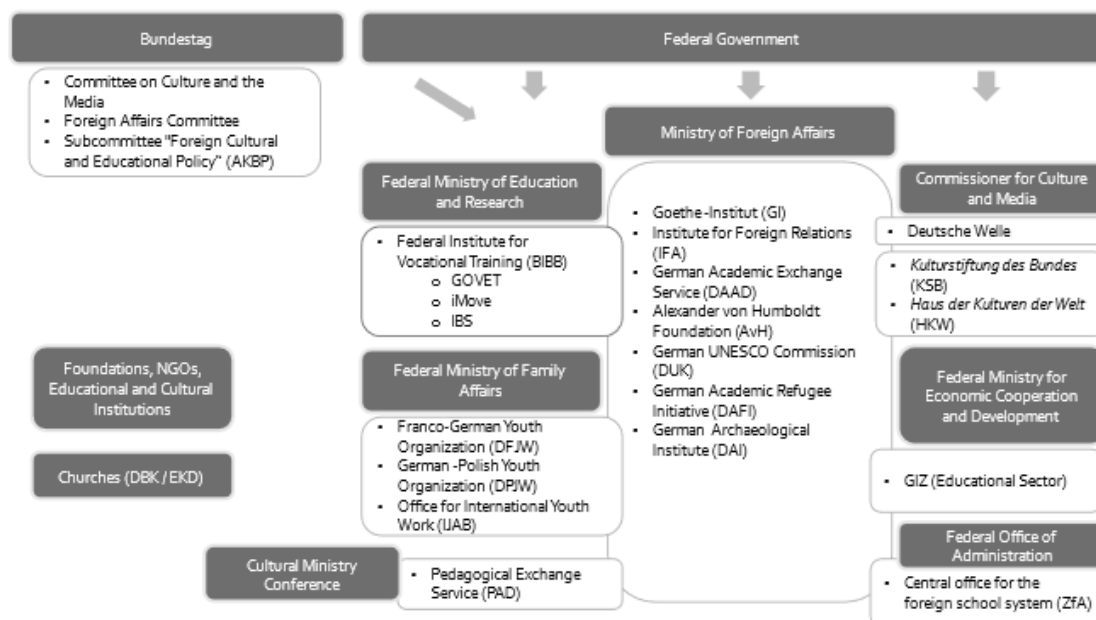
2. External cultural policy: an overview

The Federal Foreign Office is responsible for the “*conceptual steering and coordination of foreign cultural and educational policy*” (Auswärtiges Amt, 2011, p. 14). It drafts the political guidelines on which the intermediary organisations and other actors are guided. Additionally, the Federal Foreign Office is one of the most important donors to many of the largest ECP institutions, such as the Goethe-Institut and DAAD.

Table 4: Key ECP statistics of Germany

	2019
Number of countries with ECP activities	at least 150
Total number of institutions abroad	about 3,000
Total number of FTE staff engaged in ECP activities	about 9,000
Freelance and local ECP staff	about 2,000
Financial scale of all ECP activities (€ million)	N/A
Government financial support (€ million)	2,024 ¹
Comparative ECP group	major

Figure 1: Institutional map of Germany’s ECP



¹ The financial resources for the AKBP (ECP) of the Federal Government amounted to 2 billion euros in 2010. Thereof, one billion were allocated to Section 0504 – “Cultivation of cultural relations with foreign countries”, Bundestag (2020).

Other ministries are also relevant at the federal level. These include the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM), the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBWF), the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) (German Bundestag, 2017, p. 7).

3. ECP Fields

Germany is known for an “arm’s length” approach to external cultural policy. The key players are usually private associations or foundations with different focuses and objectives. Their tasks are specified in framework and target agreements with the Federal Foreign Office, which are intended to ensure transparency and the efficient use of funds. However, the intermediary organisations design their programmes abroad as independently as possible (Auswärtiges Amt, 2011, p. 14). The advisory boards and committees of the organizations contain representatives of the state, but they do not hold a majority voting share (Maaß, 2015, p. 264). Because the Goethe-Institut is crucial in arts and culture as well as language, it is discussed in both sections 3.1 and 3.2.

3.1. Culture and the arts

With 157 institutes in 98 countries, including twelve regional institutes as well as twelve institutes and the headquarters in Germany, the Goethe-Institut is Germany’s most significant ECP intermediary organisation. About 3,820 people work for the Goethe-Institut: 2,800 abroad and about 700 in the headquarters and the institutes in Germany (Goethe-Institut, 2019). The institute’s income consists primarily of the revenue from its language courses and institutional and project funding from the Federal Foreign Office.

In the field of culture, the institute’s nearly 20,000 events per year reached around 11 million visitors (Goethe-Institut, 2019). The institute also supports book translations, subtitling of German films and artist residency programmes. In order to convey a comprehensive picture of Germany, the Goethe-Institut maintains 96 libraries worldwide, makes information available online and organises information trips and scholarship programmes (ibid., p. 59).

Table 5: Statistics on culture and the arts in Germany

<i>Goethe-Institut</i>	2019	2015
Number of countries present	98	98
Number of cultural agreements	104	N/A
Number of institutes	157	159
Number of FTE staff	3,820	3,500
Number of artists in exchange programmes	207	297 ⁽²⁰¹⁴⁾
Budget (€ million)	439.09 ²	308.97 ⁽²⁰¹⁴⁾
Government financial support (€ million)	- German Foreign Office: 1,000 ³	240 ⁴ German Foreign Office: 817.2

In addition to the Goethe-Institut, the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa) is the oldest cultural intermediary organisation in Germany and celebrated its centenary in 2017. ifa is financed by grants from the Federal Foreign Office, the state of Baden-Württemberg and the state capital of Stuttgart. Additionally, third-party funds are available for some projects. The annual budget for 2019 was 30.96 million euros. The institute has about 150 employees between its headquarters in Stuttgart and its sub-office in Berlin (ifa, 2020).

ifa organises and supports exhibitions, meetings, dialogue formats and conferences in Germany and abroad and also supports and strengthens civil society organisations and NGOs worldwide. Furthermore, the institute is regarded as a competence centre for ECP, with a comprehensive library on the subject. It also serves as a contact point and discussion platform for scientists and media representatives (ifa, 2017, p. 2). Other worldwide upheavals continue to be reflected in its work. With the perceived fraying of transatlantic ties, ifa has participated in “Wunderbar Together” and supported a study on the history of US-Germany cultural relations, titled “Re-winning American hearts and minds: Weimar public diplomacy and the United States, 1902–1934” (Piller, 2017) and conducted a study on the future of transatlantic cultural ties after Trump. They also support educational activities, such as the The Research Award on Foreign Cultural Policy for outstanding dissertations from EU countries in that field.

² Based on the Goethe-Institut’s total expenditure, GI (2020).

³ Refers here to the total sum allocated by the German Federal Foreign Office to Section 0504 “Cultural relations with foreign countries,” Bundestag (2020).

⁴ Government support to the Goethe-Institut.

3.2. Language

In the field of language, the Goethe-Institut is again highly relevant. In addition to the 157 locations in 98 countries, the organization includes a dense network of other local forms of presence, such as Goethe Centres, cultural societies, reading rooms as well as examination and language learning centres. Altogether, interested parties can access the resources and services of the Goethe-Institut in almost 1,100 contact points (Goethe-Institut, 2019).

In 2018/19, more than 300,000 people took part in the Goethe-Institut's German courses, with over 700,000 taking exams (Goethe-Institut, 2019). In addition, the institute supports the language education in host countries, including training teaching staff and promoting PASCH schools (see section 3.3). In recent years, the Goethe-Institut has also focused on supporting migrants and refugees—both abroad and in Germany. For example, the institute provided the language guide “Willkommen!” for Arabic-speaking refugees to German initial reception facilities (Goethe Institute, 2017). The foreign broadcaster Deutsche Welle also has extensive German-language offerings, with an online reach of nearly 190,000 (Detusche Welle, 2020).

Table 6: Key language promotion statistics on Germany

<i>Goethe-Institut</i>	2019	2015
Number of countries where courses are offered	98	-
Number of students enrolled		
In-class	308,676 ^(2019/20)	228,528
Online reach	“Deutsch für dich” portal: 600,000	“Deutsch für dich” portal: 90,000
Number of candidates for German language qualifications	700,000 ^(2019/20) DSD: ca. 80,000 ⁵	387,095 ⁽²⁰¹⁴⁾
Number of language teachers	N/A	N/A
Government financial support (€ million)	363 ⁶	-

3.3.

⁵ DSD programme is integrated in the teaching of the schools in the respective national education systems. Evaluation is provided by the ZfA. As of October 2020, there are 1,064 DSD language schools, ZfA (2018, 2020).

⁶ The total sum of federal allocations to “Promotion of the German language” in the budget category 0504. The federal ministry of interior additionally supports German diaspora in GUS countries with around 3 million euros. Bundestag (2020, 30 Jun 2020). “Promotion of the German language abroad.” Presse “heute im Bundestag” (hib). Retrieved 2 Oct 2020, from <https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/19/205/1920525.pdf>.

3.4. Primary and secondary education

German schools abroad (Deutsche Auslandsschulen, or DAS) constitute another key component of German ECP. While education policy in Germany is the responsibility of the individual states (Länder), the Federal Foreign Office coordinates and advises German schools abroad at the federal level (Kiper, 2015, p. 150). In 2018, the German government supported DAS schools with 205.88 million euros. In 2019/20, DAS schools enrolled around 85,300 pupils, 20,000 of whom were of German origin.

The Central Office for Schools Abroad (Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen, or ZfA) is a department of the Federal Administration Office in Bonn which, on behalf of the Federal Foreign Office, has around 100 employees and 50 specialist advisers who supervise school work abroad (ZfA, 2019). The tasks of the ZfA include financial support as well as administrative and pedagogical advice for German schools abroad, the placement of around 2,000 teachers at schools abroad and their preparation and further training, as well as degree preparation and conducting language examinations (ZfA, 2017). ZfA supports a total of 140 German schools abroad in 72 countries (Auswärtiges Amt, 2019).

The German schools abroad are private-public partnerships. Private sponsors, in particular parents' associations, establish and operate the schools in accordance with the law of the host country and earn on average 70 to 80 percent of their school budgets through tuition fees and donations. They are supported by Germany through the secondment of teachers, financial grants and the building fund of the Federal Foreign Office (Klingebiel, 2016, p. 28; Auswärtiges Amt, 2019).

In 2018, around 390,000 pupils took part in German lessons in these schools and around 83,000 of these took the Deutsches Sprachdiplom (DSD) examinations, up from 377,000 and 74,000, respectively, in 2015 (Auswärtiges Amt, 2016; 2018). Overall, the number of language diploma schools has more than doubled since 1999; especially in Central and Eastern Europe, this form of cooperation is popular as part of German language teaching (Kuchler, 2016, p. 270).

The school network PASCH—“Schools: Partners for the Future”—was initiated in 2008 by the Federal Foreign Office in cooperation with the Central Office for Schools Abroad, the Goethe-Institut, the German Academic Exchange Service and the Educational Exchange Service of the Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs. The aim of the initiative is not only to promote the German language, but also to facilitate cultural exchange. While more than 2,300 PASCH schools are represented in over 120 countries, the focus is on regions where there are traditional connections to the German language (Central and Eastern Europe, USA, Latin America) or where the demand for German services has risen sharply.

Table 7: Key statistics on foreign primary and secondary education of Germany

<i>PASCH school network</i>	2019	2015
Number of countries	120	120
Number of schools	2,311 thereof 140 German Schools Abroad (DAS) ⁷	about 1,800 thereof 140 German Schools Abroad (DAS)
Number of students	about 600,000 (of which 85,300 DAS pupils)	about 600.000 (of which 82,000 DAS pu- pils)
Number of staff / teachers	1,900	2,000
Budget (€ million)	DAS: 155.74 ⁸	DAS: 160.62
Government financial support (€ million)	276.8 ⁹	225.75

3.5. Tertiary education and science

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is the world's largest funding organisation for international academic exchange. Its tasks include awarding scholarships, promoting the internationalization of German universities, and promoting scientific exchange.

In addition to its headquarters in Bonn and its Berlin office with an associated artists' programme, in 2020 the DAAD has a global network of 18 regional offices, 5 German Centres for Research and Innovation (DWIH), 40 Information Centres (IC), 11 Information Points, and 426 lectureships (DAAD, 2020). The DAAD budget of 594 million euros (2019) comes primarily from the funds of various ministries, with the Federal Foreign Office providing over a third of the budget. Additionally, the DAAD is supported by the European Union, as well as foreign governments, companies, and other organisations (ibid.). Since 1925, the DAAD has supported nearly two and a half million people in Germany and abroad. In 2018 alone 145,000 students, graduates and scientists received funding, more than 60,000 of them foreigners from about 180 countries, with about 1,000 staff involved in the process (DAAD, 2019). The Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund (DAFI) has supported over 15,000 refugee students to receive an undergraduate education in their country of asylum (scholarships are available for more than 50 countries). In 2018, it was supported with 3.4 million euros in government funding, including an additional 12.4 million for Syrian, Afghan, and African refugees (Bundestag, 2019).

The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for Nature Research and Travel is an important player in German foreign scientific policy, with over 2,600 total partnerships. It has an annual

⁷ Deutsche Auslandsschulen (DAS) / German Schools Abroad teach according to German curricula.

⁸ In November 2019, additional funds of 17 million euros were allocated to German schools abroad. Bundestag, (2020).

⁹ Total federal allocations to the education system abroad and to international cooperation projects in the school sector. Bundestag (2020).

budget of over 120 million EUR and has roughly 240 employees (AvH, 2019). Approximately 95 per cent of expenses related to this purpose are financed by federal grants, in particular by the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (AvH, 2017, p. 36). Through various funding instruments, such as Humboldt Research Fellowships and Research Awards, the Foundation brings outstanding foreign scientists to Germany and supports excellent German researchers during their stays abroad. In total, around 900 fellowships and prizes are awarded each year, of which around 100 go to German scientists (AvH, 2017, p. 5). As of 2019, the Humboldt-Network is made up of over 30,000 scientists from more than 140 countries (although AvH has no offices abroad) and their scientific partners in Germany (AvH, 2019). The German Archaeological Institute (DAI) is another important aspect of Germany's foreign scientific partnerships. Founded in 1832, it maintains offices primarily throughout Europe and the Middle East, including in Madrid, Rome, Istanbul, Athens, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Tehran, and Sana'a with more than 300 projects worldwide. It is operated under the Foreign Office, which provided €38 million in funding in 2019 (Bundestag, 2020b).

Table 8: Key statistics on foreign tertiary education and science of Germany

DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service)	2019	2015
Number of countries	DAAD offices in ~60, higher education cooperation with 159	DAAD 60, higher education cooperation with 150
Number of universities/colleges abroad	10 binational universities	N/A
Number of students		
Number of foreign students ¹⁰	311,738 ⁽²⁰¹⁸⁾	228,756
Number of students at transnational higher education (TNE)	33,000	28,000
Number of government scholarships awarded	145,659 thereof 60,581 from abroad AvH: 989	127,039 thereof 51,627 from abroad AvH: 899
Number of staff / teachers	N/A	N/A
Budget (€ million)	594.41	471.45
Government financial support (€ million)	417	340

¹⁰ Data based on Global Flow of Tertiary-Level Students | UNESCO UIS. (2020). Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow>.

	2019	2015
Science & Research		
Number of countries	N/A	-
Number of institutes	German Archaeological Institute (DAI), 5 German Centres for Research and Innovation (DWIH) 5 DAAD Centres of Excellence 10 DAAD Centres of Excellence Africa 19 Max Planck Society (MPG), 4 Helmholtz Association of German Research Centres, 6 German Research Foundation (DFG) and Chinese-German Center in Beijing, 10 Max Weber Foundation (MWS), 6 German Historical Institutes (DHI)	
Number of researchers / staff	N/A	N/A
Number of projects	AvH: over 2,600 BMBF: 2,279 int. projects ⁽²⁰¹⁸⁾	-
Number scientists in exchange programs	N/A	N/A
Budget (€ million)	DAI: 38	DAI: 33.3
Government financial support (€ million)	1,140 ⁽²⁰¹⁸⁾ ¹¹	N/A

3.6. Foreign media

Deutsche Welle works to promote the German language and cultural and social exchange at eye level. DW is financed via the German government and had a TV weekly audience of nearly 100 million in 2019 and a global reach across all platforms of 249 million, a substantial jump from the 2019 figure of 197 million (Deutsche Welle, 2020). The channel also receives project funding from the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (German Bundestag, 2017, p. 35). Around 1,500 permanent employees and 1,600 freelancers from 60 nations work at the DW head office in Bonn and at the Berlin location (Deutsche Welle, 2019). Additionally, DW cooperates with over 5,000 partner stations (ibid.). The radio programmes, which are broadcast in 9 languages, attract an especially large listenership in Africa. Its budget totalled 413 million euros in 2019 (Deutsche Welle, 2019).

¹¹ The funds provided by the federal government to promote international scientific cooperation: 978 million euros by the BMBF and 461 by the Foreign Office (AvH, DAAD), Source: BMBF (2019).

As a reaction to developments in Eastern Europe—including democratic backsliding in EU states and Russian incursions into Ukraine—DW has expanded its offerings accordingly. For example, the services in Russian and Ukrainian were expanded and, in addition to the studio in Moscow, a further correspondent office was set up in Kyiv (Deutsche Welle, 2016, p. 2).

DW Akademie is part of Deutsche Welle (DW) and was founded in 1965. It is the center for education and knowledge transfer at Germany's international broadcaster. Its activities include international media development, a traineeship for future DW journalists, the International Media Studies (IMS) Master's programme, media training for specialized professionals and a broad range of multimedia courses for learning German. Together with its partners, DW Akademie works to make free and transparent media possible in over 50 developing and emerging democracies. DW Akademie is committed to improving political and legal conditions, strengthening responsible journalism and helping people acquire professional media skills.

DW Akademie is active in over 50 foreign countries (Hannemann, 2016; DW, 2019). Around 200 media experts, consultants and trainers work for it (DW, 2015). DW Akademie is mainly funded by the German Office for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The German Foreign Office (AA) and the European Union (EU) also provide funding. DW Akademie's commitment complements DW's journalistic services, but DW Akademie is not involved in DW's broadcast programming.

German institutions are working to incorporate digital tools into worldwide cultural and educational exchanges. Recently, the Goethe-Institut has emphasized “digital sovereignty” and teaching the skills to achieve it (Goethe-Institut, n.d.). DW's digital offering is available worldwide in 30 languages via its own websites, the DW News app, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp and online partners such as Flipboard and MSN (DW, 2019). The balance between promoting the German language and reaching as broad an audience as possible is always a challenge in online communication.

Especially in the area of migration, the German intermediary organisations are making use of the opportunities offered by the new media—not least because they can reach many refugees directly via smartphones and tablets. For example, the Goethe-Institut offers various self-learning programmes in German for mobile devices. In addition, the institute, together with the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the Federal Employment Agency and Bayerischer Rundfunk, has developed an app for asylum seekers. The app can be used in Arabic, English, Farsi, French and German (Lehmann, 2016, p. 24).

Table 9: Statistics on German foreign media

	2019	2015
Deutsche Welle		
Number of countries broadcasted to	worldwide	
Number of languages	30	30
Number of channels	4 TV channels 30 digital services	
Audience / weekly (million)	197	118
Budget (€ million)	412.77	348.08 ⁽²⁰¹⁶⁾
Government financial support (€ million)	350	338 ⁽²⁰¹⁶⁾
New Media		
Audience / unique visitors (million)	goethe.de: 41.5	goethe.de: 29.1 DW: 36 ⁽²⁰¹⁷⁾

4. Challenges and future outlook

German ECP can draw on a strong network of partnerships and institutions worldwide. In many areas, it serves as a role model for the cultural activities of other countries—its organisations are predominantly valued as long-standing, trustworthy partners. Nevertheless, it also faces major challenges arising both from a constantly changing international context and from developments in Germany, such as rising inequality, the COVID-19 pandemic, and questions about how to navigate a more contested geopolitical climate.

Supporting civil society in conflict and crisis regions is one of the tasks of German ECP. But the major crises in the world have increased significantly in recent years. Whether the conflict in Ukraine, the war in Syria or the rise of ISIS, German politics and intermediary organizations often work under extremely difficult conditions (Krath, 2017, p. 20). Complex foreign policy also has an influence on the scope of cultural and educational policy abroad. The declared goal of creating pre-political spaces for discussion and exchange is thus made more difficult. The work of the DW Akademie, for example, is under pressure especially in times of crisis and in hybrid political systems where the freedom of media is under threat.

Germany is one of the five most popular target countries for international students and is particularly attractive for people from China, Russia and Austria (BMBF, 2016, p. 11). In order to attract international students to German universities, contact with German schools abroad and the other schools in the PASCH network is particularly promising. Internationalisation also plays a decisive role in the field of research. Almost 50 percent of scientific publications from Germany are already produced in cooperation with foreign scientists (ibid., p. 13). Germany has also stepped up its efforts to support refugees, scientists and artists (such as with the

Martin Roth initiative) in risk areas, as well supporting students and investing in innovative projects like human rights defence with the Elisabeth Selbert Initiative. Examples are the Philipp Schwartz Initiative, which supports German universities in accepting endangered scientists for up to three years, or the DAAD programme “Integration of Refugees into Studies” (German Bundestag, 2017, pp. 12-13).

However, the integration of foreign students and academics in Germany is still a challenge. According to a recent study, less than half of foreign master's students regularly speak to fellow German students or participate in social life outside the university (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 2015). This applies especially to students with no or only basic knowledge of German. Thus, despite the increasing offer of English-language study programmes, learning the German language is one of the main factors for successful integration. It is precisely here that universities should consciously invest in corresponding offerings. The DAAD Scholarship and Supervision Programme (STIBET) can support universities in their integration efforts (BMBF, 2016, p. 31). In addition, experts fear that increasing xenophobia in Germany, which is also reported abroad, can have a deterrent effect and negatively affect the internationalisation efforts of politicians and educational institutions (Ammon, 2015, p. 104). This dimension must also be considered when supporting foreign students.

In spite of these difficulties, advancing digitalisation also provides numerous new opportunities for cultural and educational work abroad. New communication platforms can be used for direct exchange with people all over the world. At the same time, these digital technologies raise new questions. How should the fragmented public sphere in social media be dealt with? What can be done to counter targeted misinformation? How can offerings reach a certain target group and not only inform, but also be used for real communication (Keppler, 2015, p. 2)? And, without denying the great potential of new media forms, online initiatives must not be developed at the expense of local projects.

In order to meet these challenges, the coordination and cooperation of the numerous important actors in German ECP is becoming increasingly important. With such a wide range of actors, Germany excels in a wide range of activities, yet it is occasionally difficult to direct them in a coherent and strategic direction. Thus, it seems that Germany has the “raw materials” for a world-beating external cultural policy, but must place particular focus on how to harness them most effectively.

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70173 Stuttgart,
Postfach 10 24 63,
D-70020 Stuttgart

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Authors: Edward Knudsen and Darinka Markovic

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