

American University of Central Asia

European Studies

Image of Germany and Germans by young and old generations in Bishkek

By

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Abstract

International relations is one of the most important studies in scientific world. Conflicts change relations and images that nations have of each other. World War II as the biggest and the most horrible conflicts of the XX century resulted in changing attitude towards Germany and the whole German nation. One of the biggest tragedies of German nation is scar of war. People still associate Germany with war and those terrible times of war. Due to the fact that Kyrgyz people within Soviet Union fought against regime of Nazi Germany, it is very interesting to understand attitude of old and young generation of Bishkek towards Germany and Germans nowadays. The present research was based on results of empirical survey. One hundred twenty five respondents completed a survey that assessed the images they have of Germany and Germans. Empirical survey showed us that people did not forget horrors of War, however now they have different attitude towards Germany and Germans. Surprisingly old generation nowadays have an even clearer ally image, but at the same time old people have stronger imperialist image. Both old and young generation indicated lot of positive associations with Germany and Germans. This study is extremely important for European studies because it sheds light on relations between Kyrgyzstan, former Soviet Union country, and Germany, former enemy of the Soviet Union.

Zusammenfassung

Die Untersuchung der Internationalen Beziehungen ist eine der wichtigsten Richtungen in der wissenschaftlichen Umgebung. Internationale Konflikte ändern die Beziehungen und die Vorstellung der Nationen übereinander. Der Zweite Weltkrieg als ein der größten und schrecklichsten Konflikte der Weltgeschichte änderte die Beziehungen zu Deutschland und zum ganzen deutschen Volk. Für immer gelassene Kriegsnarbe in der Geschichte ist die Tragödie für deutsches Volk. Die Menschen verbinden bis zur Zeit Deutschland mit dem Schrecken des Krieges und mit der blutigen Periode der Regierung des Nazis. Kirgisische Republik im Bestand Russlands kämpfte gegen das Regime des Nazis. Diese Arbeit gibt die Vorstellung, wie sich die ältere und junge Generationen der Stadt Bischkek zu Deutschland und zum deutschen Volk verhält. Diese Forschung basiert sich auf den Ergebnissen, die im Resultat der (empirischen) Erfahrung erzielt wurden. Einhundert fünfundzwanzig Personen hatten schriftliche Befragen im Rahmen dieser Forschung. Die Ergebnisse bestimmten die Gestalt und Beziehungen der älteren und jungen Generationen der Stadt Bischkek zu Deutschland und zum deutschen Volk. Die Angaben zeigten, dass die Leute den Schrecken des Krieges im Gedächtnis noch haben. Ihre Beziehungen sind doch zu Deutschland und zu Deutschen wesentlich geändert. Unerwartet ist die Tatsache, dass die ältere Generation die mehr ausgeprägte Gestalt der Alliierte hat. Gleichzeitig hat die ältere Generation imperialistische Gestalt Deutschlands. Die ältere und junge Generationen haben positive Assoziationen Deutschland und den Deutschen gegenüber. Diese Forschung ist ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Internationalen Beziehungen, präziser zu den Europastudien, denn sie erweitert die Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen Kirgisistan und Deutschland.

Acronyms

KNU – Kyrgyz National University

KRSU – Kyrgyz Russian-Slavic University

AUCA – American University of Central Asia

WWII – World War II

EU – European Union

USSR – United states of the Soviet Republics

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The present research was made during an academic year by the senior student of the European Studies department. The research was based on sociological survey of Bishkek citizens. Total 125 people were asked to fill up questionnaires, which were prepared by researcher. The main goal of the survey was to find out an attitude of Kyrgyz people towards Germany and Germans and compare differences in responses of old generation and young generation. The present research was made to find out attitude of people in Bishkek towards Germany and Germans in almost 70 years after WWII.

The current research is mainly about relations between nations. There are hundreds of different nations living in the world. The tendency of globalization represents one of the main reasons for interacting people and nations with each other. But what is *nation*? In order to find out answer to this question I referred to definition dictionary by S. I. Ozhegov, Benedict Anderson's work "Imagined communities" and work of Ernest Gellner "Nations and Nationalism".

According to definition dictionary of S.I. Ozhegov, Nation¹ (*from lat. natio*) is historically formed substantial community, appeared in the process of formation of common territory, economic relations, language, features of the culture and spiritual values. However, Anderson, author of one of the most important concepts on nations, has another definition of *nation*. According to Anderson, *Nation*

¹ НАЦИЯ

-и, ж. 1. Исторически сложившаяся устойчивая общность людей, образующаяся в процессе формирования общности их территории, экономических связей, литературного языка, особенностей культуры и духовного облика. 2. В нек-рых сочетаниях: страна, государство. Организация Объединенных Наций.

Ozhegov S. I., "Definition dictionary". Web. 21 April.2012.

<<http://ozhegov.info/slovar/?ex=Y&q=%D0%9D%D0%90%D0%A6%D0%98%D0%AF>>

“is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”².

Why it is imagined? Talking about nation as an imagined community, Anderson explains that community is *imagined* because members hold in their minds mental image of their community. A member of the community probably will not be able to know all other members of the community or interact with them face to face, but still he/she has similar interests as all the rest members and identifies him/herself as part of the community. A nation “is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”³ Community is imagined as limited because nation is not a mankind. Anderson writes “The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.”⁴ Nation is imagined as sovereign because “nations dream of being free”, all nations intend to be autonomy. Anderson states that the gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state.

Ernest Gellner in his book “Nation and Nationalism” also gives two definitions of the word nation:

“(1) Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.

(2) Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation.”⁵

Anderson and Gellner have something in common in defining term *nation*. People hold a mental image of their community, so they can recognize members belonging to the same community. But people have image not only of their community, but they also hold an image of other

² Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition, London, New York: Verso, 1983, 6. Print.

³ Anderson, 7

⁴ Anderson, 7

⁵ Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism, Cornell University*. Ithaca, New York, 1994, 7. Print.

communities, other nations in the world. We all live side by side with representatives of not only our nationality, but also with representatives of other nationalities. Research on relations between nations and countries is very responsible, complicated but at the same time very interesting experience. It is complicated because an author also belongs to one of the nations and has his/her own perception of other nations, so his/her research can be unconsciously biased. On the other hand, such researches contribute a lot for deeper understanding, realizing the situation between nations.

1.1.1 Historical background

The topic of the present research goes deep back in the history. Historical chapter is based on Laqueur's book, also on some articles from JSTOR data base and Russian journal "Mir I Politika". A real catch for me as a researcher was a book named "Russia and Germany. A century of conflict» written by Walter Laqueur in 1965. It is a study of German-Russian relations, a study in mutual misunderstanding of Russia and Germany.

For almost 70 years Kyrgyz people were part of the Soviet Union. History of the Soviet Union, history of Russia is an essential and important part of the Kyrgyz history. For the present research it is very important to include historical background of Russian-German relations: from Weimar-Moscow relations (and even earlier) till contemporary relations between FRG and the Soviet Union (and as a result of collapse of the Soviet Union, relations of FRG and the Kyrgyz Republic). In the world history hardly can we find more complicated and inconsistent relations than relations between Russians and Germans. Many times Russian-German relations were described as unique love-hate relations⁶.

According to Walter Laqueur, Russia has had friends and partisans in Germany, but also bitter enemies. At certain times Russian-German relations were extremely tense, though in other periods relations improved and became warmer. In eighteenth century Russia's struggle against

⁶Zdravomyslov, Laqueur

Napoleon conciliated relations with Germany. German culture was respected in Russia, German writers and philosophers were admired in Russia. German literature (such writers as Shiller) strongly influenced on the Russians. Laqueur points that Russians had always preferred to import from France fashionable dressing gowns, chocolates, cheap novels and mistresses, but from Germany they imported ideas.⁷ Marx and Engels' ideology against Tsarism was highly supported by Russian revolutionaries (opposition). During the Great War, imperialist Germany supported the revolutionary movements in Tsarist Russia. In 1917 Tsarism was overthrown. After the Great War and the Revolution, the Eastern orientation remained a very important factor in German policies and in Soviet thinking a special place was reserved for Germany as well.⁸ German proletariat, as Lenin wrote in April 1919, was the "most faithful and reliable ally of the Russian and international proletarian revolution."⁹ In 1921 Germany was ruined economically and militarily helpless, so Lenin believed that Germany's only means of saving herself was through an Alliance with Russia. Peace treaties after the Great War stabilized relations between newly created states of the Weimar Republic and the Soviet Union. In May 1920 a German-Soviet trade agreement was signed, by which Berlin undertook to recognize the Soviets as the only government of Russia. In accordance with the foreign trade policy of the NEP¹⁰, German firms began to take active interest in trade with Russia. The author writes that the great turning point in Soviet-German relations came in 1922 with the treaty of Rapallo. Rapallo became a symbol of a Russian-German alliance, but it did not constitute itself such an alliance. The treaty of Rapallo just provided for the resumption of diplomatic ties between the two countries.¹¹ Also in 1926 a treaty of Berlin was signed by Soviet Russia and Germany. Politically both treaties' impact was limited. Laqueur emphasizes that the military collaboration and the economic ties between two

⁷ Laquer, Walter. *Russia and Germany. A century of conflict*. Boston-Toronto: Little, Brown and company, 1965, 19. Print.

⁸ Laquer 20

⁹ Laquer.20

¹⁰ NEP - New Economic Policy, *rus* Новая Экономическая политика [Новая Экономическая Политика] –an economic policy proposed by Vladimir Lenin in 1921.

¹¹ Laquer 129

countries were of far greater importance. According to Treaty of Versailles, Germany was not allowed to set up training schools for the use of weapons. That's why such trainings were allowed to be conducted by German officers in Russian territory, according to Rapallo treaty. German scientists were sent to Russia to make researches into chemical warfare. This military collaboration which lasted ten years was kept secret.¹² The reason for such military cooperation, as Laqueur puts it, lies in the profit for both sides. German rearmament after 1933 would have taken considerably longer without experience gained in Russia, especially by air force and tank officers, whilst the Russians, in their turn, gained technical experience from German armament engineers and staff instructors.¹³ An author states that Russia ceased to appear, in German eyes, as a counter-force to the West, while Moscow now looked upon Germany simply as one of the countries with which Russians wished only to live and cooperate to their mutual advantage.¹⁴

However, the rise of anti-communist and anti-Slavic spirit and strengthening influence of Adolf Hitler strained relations. Nazi-Communist relations are a study in misunderstanding. Laqueur writes that the Nazis refused to understand what Communism was all about and Russians never ever began to understand that National Socialism was a real mass movement. Russians, he supposed, seem to have thought that German workers (proletariat and peasants too) would soon be up in arms against Hitler.¹⁵ That is why the Russians were unprepared in June 1941. Laqueur refers to Sholokhov's "Nauka Nenavisti", where Sholokhov describes shock experienced by Soviet citizens when they realized that the behavior of the Germans in the occupied territories was very far indeed from their traditional image of the civilized and orderly German; they could not at first believe the news about mass killings, mass robbery, and brutal oppression.¹⁶ Hitler's party believed that Bolshevism is the revolt of the Jewish and Mongolian races against the German (Aryan) elements in Russia. According to Laqueur, to the Nazi

¹² Laqueur, Walter. *Russia and Germany. A century of conflict*. Boston-Toronto: Little, Brown and company, 1965, 131. Print.

¹³ Laqueur 131

¹⁴ Laqueur 134

¹⁵ Laqueur 23

¹⁶ Laqueur 24

ideologist, all leading statesman were Jews: Lenin and Tomsy, Lunachersky, Rakovsky, Beria among them.¹⁷ It is a well-known fact that Hitler's ideology was based on the principle that Germans are superior to other nations. According to Ivashov¹⁸, Hitler's main plan was to achieve world domination of the Aryan race lead by pure-blood Aryan Germans. Interesting is that Laqueur writes that many Germans did indeed believe that their people were superior to the Slavs.¹⁹ Nazi divided people into four groups: first level – pure-blooded Aryan Germans, second level – nations with fascism ideology, but not pure-blooded Aryans, third level – non Aryan nation, for serving world Aryan elites and fourth level – “Untermensch”²⁰, slaves, those who were to be killed. The Second World War was the bloodiest and the most terrible conflict in the world history. Below is some statistical facts about the Second World War from statistical research “*Rossiya i SSSR v voinah XX veka*”:

Military number of forces of Nazi Germany and its allies for the very beginning of the Second world war constituted 8,5 mln. of people. As for the Soviet Union, they had 4.8 mln. people at the very beginning of the war. Nazi Germany went beyond the Soviet Union in terms of amount of armed forces and quality of technical equipment. A terrible loss of the Soviet people during the Second World war constituted 26,6²¹ mln. people. It was the biggest loss among all participants in the war. Germans and Russians were bitter enemies, I would say they

¹⁷ Laquer 22

¹⁸ Ivashov, Leonid. “Geopolitics of the second world war.” Scientific and political journal “Mir i politika” №05 (56). Web. February 2012 <<http://mir-politika.ru/archive/229/731/>>Ivashov Leonid Grigorievich –Phd in history, professor of International relations study department of Moscow State Linguistic University.

¹⁹ Laquer149

²⁰ Untermensch (German for *under man, sub-man, sub-human*, also name of journal that was published in Germany in 40s) Such nations as the Jews, the Gipsies and some others were proclaimed as Untermenshen. 11 millions of Jews were to be killed (numbers are taken from Zdavomyslov). Most of them were in the Sovie Union. According to plan, more than 50% were completed.

²¹ Statistical research. “*Rossiya i SSSR v voinah XX veka*.” Web. April 2012 <http://www.rus-sky.com/history/library/w/w05.htm#_Toc536603349>

hated each other. Russian proverb “*Что для русского здорово, то для немца – смерть!*”²², which appeared during that time, describes exact attitude of Russians and Germans towards each other during that period.

The Soviet Union and Western Allies gained the victory in this War in 1945. Germany was occupied and divided in two parts. Division of Germany into West Germany and East Germany complicated relations. However, the situation changes after the revolution of 1989 and the Fall of Berlin Wall. Soviet-German relations improved with reunification of Germany and the new policy of the Soviet leader Mr. Gorbachev “Perestroika” and “Glasnost”. In 1990 the Soviet Union fell apart giving birth to 15 new independent republics. Diplomatic relations between the Kyrgyz Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany began in 1992. Just in several months after proclaiming independence an embassy of Germany was opened in the Kyrgyz Republic. In 1995 an Embassy of the Kyrgyz Republic was opened in Bonn. Germany (within the European Union) and the Kyrgyz Republic have been partners since the country's independence in 1991, sharing a political and economic dialogue which has continually expanded. In June 2008, the European Council and the European Commission under German presidency of EU published their Joint Progress Report on the implementation of the EU Central Asia Strategy.²³

The World War II left an imprint on mind of both Germans and Russians. Here I use the word “Russians”, but I mean not only Russians but all soviet nations (more than 100 ethnical groups). All former soviet countries spoke Russian language, whereas language provides a basic

²² “*What is good for Russian, that is death for German!*” – Russian proverb

²³ Delegation of the EU to the Kyrgyz Republic. *Political and economic relations*. Web. January 2012

<http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kyrgyzstan/eu_kyrgyzstan/political_relations/index_en.htm>

mechanism by which individuals are categorized into groups, and by which stereotypes are shaped.²⁴ Cultural approaches focus explicitly on language as a representation of social groups.²⁵

1.1.2 Why this topic is interesting?

Nowadays, almost in 70 years after the World War II, attitude towards Germany changed a lot. But Soviet history still lives in people's minds and hearts, especially in minds of old generation who have gone through that terrible war. Young people perceive history of the Soviet Union and Soviet Union itself absolutely differently. Most of young people were not even born in the Soviet Union. That's the point *why this research is interesting*. So, what we have is - two generations: those who are close to the times of war, who has gone through those terrible times and those who got used to live in peace and know about War only from history classes and from words of elder generation. Also we have Germany, a former enemy of the Soviet Union. So it is really very interesting to find out what do former Soviet Union's state think of its former enemy, Germany, in almost 70 years after war. The results might be very interesting and unexpected.

1.1.3 Why this topic was chosen?

Let me explain you how did I arrive at his topic. There are actually two reasons. In October 2008 European studies department organized study trip to Germany with help of DAAD program in Bishkek. It was an amazing trip: we visited several cities in Germany and I learned lot of interesting things about Germany and German culture. One of the most memorable day was the excursion to "Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (Museum of German History) in Bonn. It was at that time when I first paid attention to German-Russian

²⁴ Stangor, Schaller. "Stereotypes as Individual and Collective Representations." *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*. Ed. C. Neil Macrae, Charles Stangor, Miles Hewstone. New York, London, 1996. 9-10. Print.

²⁵ Stangor 10

relations problem. Also I was surprised that among beautiful and modern buildings there are a lot of destroyed from the WWII churches and buildings in Berlin, capital of Germany. They are not reconstructed and still remind people about that horrible time. It seemed to me that through this German nation expresses their shame on their history during the War time. In summer 2010 I went to Germany again. I received scholarship for summer school in Germany from DAAD program in Bishkek and visited Stuttgart city; we were learning German language and simultaneously visited a lot of interesting places in Stuttgart. During excursion to one of the museums our sights man and guide said words that stuck to my mind forever. She said: “It is a huge German tragedy that people all around the world still associate Germany with War and Germans with fascists”. This was another reason for thinking about German-Russian relations.

Once in the park I accidentally heard such conversation between a young boy and his grandfather:

- *Granddad, can we say that Germans are bad?*
- *Why do you think so? – asked an old man and smiled.*
- *They started a War...*
- *But it doesn't mean that all Germans are bad people, my darling.*
- *Hm...Do you like Germans? – asked a boy.*
- *... – an old man didn't know what to answer to his grandson. He just smiled, but there was an unbearable pain in his eyes...*

I don't know what did that old man answered his grandson later on, but I know that it was quite difficult for him. There's no doubt that this man passed through the horror of that war. Being an accidental observer of this conversation, I remembered my experience in Germany and started to think on this, as a result later I started this work. During the war time these two nations were enemies to each other. Nowadays everything changed and Germany is one of the most important partners at the world arena for many former Soviet countries, including the Kyrgyz Republic.

1.1.4 Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to answer the following research questions:

- Have peoples attitudes towards Germany and Germans changed?
- How do young and old generations perceive Germany and Germans?
- Do young and old generation of Bishkek have different attitude towards Germany and Germans? And what is the difference?

1.2 Literature review

The present research is based on works of both western and Russian authors. Survey design and methodology was based on Mr. Oppenheim's work "*Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*" and "*The Basics of Social Research*" by Earl Babbie. Definition and explanation of the term "nation" was mainly based on Benedict Anderson's work "Imagined Communities" and Ernest Gellner's work "Nations and Nationalism". For the purpose of the present research I used the following works on image theory: "Image Theory, Social Identity, and Social Dominance: Structural Characteristics and Individual Motives Underlying International Images" by Dr. Michele G. Alexander²⁶, Shana Levin, P.J.Henry, "Images and Affect: A functional Analysis of out-group stereotypes" by Dr. Michele G. Alexander, Marilyn B. Brewer and Richard, K, Herrmann, very interesting article "*Россия и русские в современном немецком самосознании*"²⁷ by Andrei Grigorevich Zdravomyslov²⁸ from Russian academic

²⁶ Dr. Michele G. Alexander - Ph.D. in Social Psychology from Texas A&M University, 1996), a former professor of University of Maine, whose primary research focus was on intergroup relations, with specific emphasis on the association between stereotyping and behavior.

²⁷ Zdravomyslov, Andrei. "Russia and Russians in modern German self-consciousness." *Общественные науки и современность [Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost]*. No.4(2011). Web. <<http://ecsocman.hse.ru/data/959/363/1218/yDRAWOMYSLOWx20a.g..pdf>>

and multidisciplinary journal “*Общественные науки и современность*²⁹” (“*Obshestvennye nauki i sovremennost*”). This article was taken from electronic archive of the journal.

1.2.1 Image Theory by different scholars

In order to understand image of Germans and Germany by Kyrgyz people we should understand what an *Image* is, *what kind of Images* do people have, how does this *Images appear in people's minds*. Also an image of a nation is directly correlated with *Attitudes*. This chapter is divided into three parts. First of all it is practical to find out what an *attitude* is and which factors affect attitude of people. After that we can find out “how does an image of the nation appear in minds of people” and “what are main components which form an image of nation” described by Mr. Zdravomyslov. The last section of this paragraph presents five special images of the nation described by Dr. Michele G. Alexander, which I find very useful and extremely related to the topic of the present research. I take Dr. Michele G. Alexander's work on image theory as basis for my hypothesis. Moreover, I used similar coding method and took some questions while developing questionnaire for empirical survey. Most of suppositions and assumptions were developed out of above-mentioned literature.

Image of nation is represented by *attitudes* towards a nation. First of all let's understand what is an attitude? According to Oppenheim, the study of attitudes has a long and complex history in social psychology. Usually an attitude is expressed in speech or behavior only when the object of the attitude is perceived. A person reacts on the object when he/she confronts the situation or object of attitude. Attitudes are reinforced by beliefs (the cognitive component) and often attract strong feelings (the emotional component) which may lead to particular behavioral

²⁸ Andrei Grigorevich Zdravomyslov – PhD. Philosophy, director of Sociology Centre of national self-comprehension under Russian Independent Institute of social and national problems

²⁹ Social science and modernity (*translation*)

intents (the action tendency component).³⁰ Typically, attitudes do not exist in isolation within the individual. They generally have links with components of other attitudes and with the deeper levels of value systems within the person.³¹ So, we can say that attitudes are formed by the surrounding conditions of the person. An attitude depends on many factors like: family, education, self-identification, maturity, values and so on. Talking about attitude towards a nation, it can be also formed out of different factors like: person's own nationality, education background, ideology, self-identification, values, age, family etc. This is good basis for suppositions, which I present in paragraph 2.5. Suppositions also made out of the following work of Mr. Zdravomyslov.

Russian scholar Mr. Zdravomyslov A. G., in his research on Russia and Russian people in minds of modern Germans, described and discussed very detailed theme on image of other nation. He pointed out three the most important constituents of image structure. According to Zdravomyslov, an image of nation is formed out of: (1) image of government (considered not only in political context, but also in historical), (2) complex image of acting politicians and (3) image of “*nation*”, including national features, specifics and culture. These three constituents of image are included in general context of relations between nations.

Zdravomyslov believed that image of Russia is constructed on the basis of the certain selection of those materials which are formed by Russian society itself. So, we can generalize this statement, saying that not only image of Russians is formed according to this scheme. One nation forms image of other nation out of materials which that (other) nation produces themselves. However, this material of a nation may be selected by different countries differently, to present a certain nation under certain perspective (angle). The way how a certain nation is represented in a certain country depends on national interests of this country. From my experience I can prove this statement, saying that many times I noticed that USA is represented in Russian mass media

³⁰ Oppenheim. “*Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement.*”2001,24. Print.

³¹ Oppenheim 26

extremely negatively (I guess Americans do the same with Russians), Kyrgyzstan (after revolutions) was represented in Russian mass media very negatively, even though within the country there are also some positive things, which are not taken into consideration. It can be added that historical background also plays role in the process of material selection about nation.

Regarding second constituent of the image of nation, it can be added that not only acting politicians of the certain country play role in forming image of the nation, but also historical politicians. Zdravomyslov pointed out three politicians that influence image of Russia and Russians in German society: M. Gorbachev, B. Elcin and V. Putin. Each of them is perceived either negatively or positively. For example, Gorbachev as initiator of destruction of “totalitarian system” and as person, who gave birth to united Germany, is perceived very positively by Germans, whereas Elcin is perceived negatively. In this case I would suppose that for former soviet people there are three main politicians: A. Hitler, K. Adenauer and Angela Merkel.

In research made by Zdravomyslov, image of nation, culture and national features are represented by specific features named by Germans during empirical research. Similar approach is made in present research. Image of Germans and Germany is determined out of description and features named by respondents during empirical research.

I found very interesting findings of Mr. Zdravomyslov on attitudes of Germans toward Russians and vice versa. Results of conducted survey in 2000 showed that Russians have more positive attitude towards Germans, while Germans do not like Russians. Zdravomyslov explained why Russians have more positive image of Germans and why Germans have more negative image of Russians. It is very important for the present research because Kyrgyz people and Russian people are all former Soviet people and perception of Germany and Germans by Russians and Kyrgyz people should not differ much. So, Russians have positive images of Germans because of several factors: First, within short historical period of time method of developing image of Germans changed several times. According to Zdravomyslov, during pre-

war period German language, history and German culture were respected by Russians, during War time Russians hated Germans However during war period Soviet leaders' position towards Germans was developed: "Гитлеры приходят и уходят, а народ немецкий, государство немецкое остается!³²". Out of this Zdravomyslov stated that Russians do not make ordinary Germans responsible for crime conducted by Nazi-Germany. Another factor is that in 1980s, after public disclosure of crimes conducted during Stalin regime in the Soviet Union (GULAG, Katyn, political repressions in 1930s and other crimes) destroyed idealized image of Soviet regime and Soviet Union. Zdravomyslov underlined that after that Soviet people started to hate their past, their history, they realized that "soviet nation" is not better than "German nation". The last factor that makes Russian people have positive image of Germans, according to Zdravomyslov, is critical attitude towards themselves. Russians realize that they are lazy, whereas they realize that Germans are really hardworking and progressive. So, Russians think that it is good to learn from Germans, to gain knowledge from Germans.

Now let's see some special images of nation on which the present research was based. According to image theory, the structural features of international relations play an important role in determining the specific images countries have of one another.³³ Dr. Michele G. Alexander points out three critical structural features that lead to associated images: (1) goal compatibility (2) relative power/ capability (3) relative cultural status, or sophistication. Author states that these three dimensions determine threat or opportunity appraisals of the other nation, which then generate behavioral tendencies toward the nation and evoke specific cognitive schema, or images of that nation.³⁴ The present research will be based on these features as well.

³² Hitlers comes and goes, but German nation, German state remains behind (continues to exist) - *translation*

³³ Michele G. Alexander. "Image Theory, Social Identity, and Social Dominance: Structural Characteristics and Individual Motives Underlying International Images." *Political Psychology*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Feb., 2005), 27-45. *JSTOR*. AUCA Lib., Kyrgyzstan. Accessed 24/10/2011 02:22. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792498>>

³⁴ Michele G. Alexander, 29

In her work “*Image Theory, Social Identity, and Social Dominance: Structural Characteristics and Individual Motives Underlying International Images*”, she points out 5 types of international images: enemy image, ally image, barbarian image, dependent image and imperialist image. She states that these five images exist in both the political science and social psychology literatures. Let’s see how the author describes these five images. Dr. Michele G. Alexander writes that with the enemy image, one considers the other nation as evil, opportunistic, and motivated by self-interest. An *enemy image* is one of the most popular images among international scholars. An *ally image* results, when an international relationship is defined by positive goal interdependence, similar capability, and similar cultural status³⁵. The third, *barbarian image* portrays the other nation as destructive, intimidating, and irrational, led by highly emotional leaders who could obliterate one’s own nation at the slightest provocation³⁶. The *dependent image* characterizes other nation as vulnerable, disorganized, and generally ineffective, incapable of taking care of itself and in strong need of guidance and direction³⁷. *Imperialist image* is described as a perception of another nation as much more powerful and culturally superior, dominating, controlling.

³⁵ Michele G. Alexander 27-30

³⁶ Michele G. Alexander 27-32

³⁷ Michele G. Alexander 27-32

Table

1³⁸

Table 1. Images of Other Nations as a Function of Goal Compatibility, Relative Status, and Relative Power

Relationship Pattern of Other Nation	Image of Other Nation
Goal compatibility Status Equal Power Equal	Ally
Goal incompatibility Status Equal Power Equal	Enemy
Goal incompatibility Status Lower Power Lower	Dependent
Goal incompatibility Status Lower Power Higher	Barbarian
Goal incompatibility Status Higher Power Higher	Imperialist

However here we can add criticism on this study, saying that it is not completely developed. This study discusses more negative images, skipping positive images. Among positive there is only an ally image, which is described as goal compatibility and equal status and power. However there is no classification of image with goal compatibility and unequal status and power. This image can be added as “neutral image”.

³⁸ Michele G. Alexander 30

1.2.2 Why is this work contributing new/ important ideas to the literature?

The present research is unique in terms of being the first one in Bishkek on this topic. The purpose of this research is *exploration*³⁹. According to Earl Babbie, exploratory studies are quite valuable in social scientific research. They are essential whenever a researcher is breaking new ground, and they can almost always yield new insights into a topic for research.⁴⁰ There are no other researches on the image of Germany and Germans among Bishkek citizens and Kyrgyz people in general. So, there's no exact study on my RQ what makes this research more valuable for understanding the attitude towards Germany and Germans among all soviet people. Kyrgyzstan is one of the fifteen former Soviet republics. Legacy of the Soviet system, Soviet mentality, the way of thinking are still deep in minds of Kyrgyz people. So it is quite interesting what do they think of the nation that represented an enemy during the War time. An old generation of Kyrgyzstan passed through those difficult war time, many of them were at war and fought against regime of NAZI-Germany. On the contrary, young generation of Bishkek doesn't know much about war. They were born in peace and never faced war; they don't know how it is to live during the war time. Almost each family lost father, brother or son during the war time. Old people experienced this loss, whereas young people know it from the words of elder relatives. Time helps to forget negative things, changes attitudes. This work is my little contribution to the international relations study.

³⁹ According to Earl Babbie, there are three most common purposes of research: exploration, description and explanation. *The Basics of Social research*

⁴⁰ Babbie, Earl. *Basics of Social research*. USA. 1999, 73. Print.

1.2.3. Hypothesis

Based on the described theories and literature review, I developed the following hypothesis:

- (1) Old generation of Bishkek has negative attitude towards Germany and Germans in comparison with young generation, who has positive image.
- (2) Young people are more likely to endorse “ally” image, whereas old people might still have “enemy” image.

These are the main hypotheses which are to be tested in empirical part.

Moreover I developed several suppositions:

- 1) Probably people will name Hitler as one of the most outstanding people of Germany.
- 2) There is a supposition that older people would not prefer to visit Germany (and never ever wanted) in comparison with young people.
- 3) There is an assumption that young people would think that our countries should cooperate, whereas old people still might have some kind of fear of Germany. And as a result they would probably be against cooperation.

Chapter 2

2.1. Methodology

2.1.1 Sampling

In order to answer research questions, a survey was conducted. 125 respondents took part in survey. Sampling was based on judgment of researcher and the purpose of study. According to Earl Babbie, this method is called *Purposive or Judgmental Sampling* method⁴¹. People were divided into two age categories: young generation - from 15-35 and old generation - from 60-90.

Young generation: This subgroup can be divided in three main parts: pupils, students, mature people (from 23-35, in this case). There are four districts in Bishkek city, so I took one school per district and asked 10 pupils per school. The following schools were selected: Pervomayskiy district – school № 70, Sverdlovakiy district – school № 52, Leninskiy district – school № 13, Oktyabrskiy district – school № 64. Pupils of 9th -11th grades were asked to fill questionnaires. As for students, I took three main universities in Bishkek: Kyrgyz National University, Kyrgyz Russian-Slavic University and American University in Central Asia and asked 15 students per university. Mature people were selected randomly, within 10 mature respondents there were teachers, sellers, managers, translators, state officials, unemployed and etc.

Old generation: Purposive and judgmental sampling method gives a researcher an opportunity to select respondent by his/her own judgment. So I visually selected old people and asked them to answer my questions. There were difficulties in conducting survey among old people, that is why number of old generation representatives is much lower than number of young generation representatives. This was compensated by qualitative interviews with old people.

⁴¹ Earl Babbie “*The Basics of Social Research*” USA. 1999, 94. Print.

Table 2.

		Place	Quantity	Total quantity
Young Generation	Pupils	School № 70	10	40
		School № 13	10	
		School № 52	10	
		School № 64	10	
	Students	KNU	15	45
		KRSU	15	
		AUCA	15	
	Mature people	Different	10	95
	Old Generation	Different	30	

2.1.2 Collecting empirical data

Collecting of empirical data took one month (from 23.01.12 till 23.02.12). Respondents were asked at such places as universities, schools, post offices (central and two districts), telecom, shops, bus stations, buses, trolleybuses and at street. Two different design of questionnaire were used for old and young people. In order to make easier filling out my questionnaires for old people, questionnaires were designed with bigger and bald lettering. In practice, mostly I filled out questionnaires by myself; old people were just giving their responses. It was much easier to conduct survey among young people than among old people. As for young generation, I asked pupils and students at the end of the classes, while they were sitting in classrooms or in corridors and halls. Responses of more mature people were included as well. I asked mature people in different places and tried to select as different people as

possible. For example, a teacher at school and unemployed, taxi driver (while I was going home by taxi) and worker of governmental sector (ministry of international affairs) and at streets. It should be noted that people were asked very often in queues (in bank, in shop, at post offices). Especially it worked very well when I was asking old people. While waiting for their turn in queues at post offices they were glad to answer my questions. Another popular place where old people are concentrated is municipal transport (for research purpose I took once a bus and twice a trolleybus Nr. 9). It was very uncomfortable to ask people in buses and trolleybuses, but it was very effective (especially in trolleybuses). Also I asked old people at courtyards of houses, at streets, near markets (Vostok-5 market-bazar), at boulevards (Erkindik) while they were walking with grandchildren.

2.1.3. Difficulties in collecting empirical data

- Old people very often refused to answer questions because of distrust and fear. They distrustfully asked why I need this responses and why I'm asking them. Mostly old people reacted negatively when they heard that they will be asked *about Germany and Germans* and that this is a research project of a senior *student of American University of Central Asia*. Even when I explained that questionnaires are anonymous and I need their responses for my thesis project, most of them didn't want give their responses.

(This is the reason why sampling is not equal for old people and for young people)

- It was difficult to conduct survey among old people because of their problems with health. They could not stay for a long time at one place, they did not hear well, they did not understand some questions, so I had to explain one question several times. As a result it took a lot of time.

- When I was conducting survey the weather was very cold. Probably, People would be more enthusiastic to give their responses if it was warmer.
- Some pupils and students took questions not very serious. They gave deliberately false responses. Such responses were excluded and were not counted.
- Some respondents from old generation were very emotional. While giving their responses, some of them cried (one case) and had very negative reaction. It made me feel uncomfortable.
- Some people were too busy to give responses and refused to answer questions.

2.1.4 How data was analyzed. Questionnaire (*see Attachment 1)

Analyzing data is one the most important parts of the research. Analyses were made by researcher without using any special sociological PC programs. Questionnaire consists of 10 questions. Some of them were developed similarly to questions in research of Dr. Michael G. Alexander. Analyses were different from Alexander's work, but some ideas were taken from her work. However if in Alexander's work it worked well, I faced some obstacles in analyzing data using coding like she did. I'll describe difficulties and problems later in the next chapter. Altogether analyzing data was very interesting and successful, in the end it gave me interesting results, which became basis for my conclusions. In order to make questionnaire more interesting and flexible, both questions and statements were included. I used both close and open questions. First four questions identify respondent in terms of gender, age category, education and occupation. There are three open-question: Question 5 "*Please write down your associations with the word "Germany"*", question 6 "*Please write down your associations with the word "Germans"*" and question 8 "*Can you name outstanding people of Germany?*". These questions will clarify what kind of associations people have with words "German" and "Germans". Respondents were asked to write down 3 associations, later I divided all collected associations in

several groups. In order to avoid influencing of researcher's opinion and subjective division of associations, several (more than three) groups of associations were developed:

- *“Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently positive attitude towards Germany/Germans”*,
- *“Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently negative attitude towards Germany/Germans”*,
- *“Wealth, Social stability”*,
- *“Description (music, food, cars)”*,
- *“Associations related to War”*,
- *“Division of Germans into Two categories: former-enemies (negative) and modern Germans (positive)”*,
- *“Germans are ordinary people as we are” and*
- *“Relatives living in Germany”*,
- *“other associations (neutral)”*.

Associations were divided into these categories in the process of analyzing. Questions 5 and 6 were the most interesting to read and analyze. There are a lot of outstanding people in Germany, so question 8 will show whether people are familiar with them or not. In the end we can see how many times a person was named among old and young generations and is there any differences. There are two close (Yes/No) questions: Question 7 *“Would you like to visit Germany?”* and question 9 *“Do you think our countries should cooperate?”*. These questions will show us a willingness to contact with Germans. People with positive attitude *probably* want to visit Germany and are more likely support cooperation between Germany and Kyrgyzstan. One can claim that it is not correct enough to consider responses to question 7 as indicator of positive/negative attitude towards a nation. Such approach was used by Dr. Michael G. Alexander. She used this question in order to identify whether people think that it's dangerous to

go the country or not, in other words it identified threat. So, I think it could be used in some measure as an indicator of positive/negative attitude. Difficulties and criticism on this will be also discussed in the next paragraph. Questions 1-9 were a preparation of a respondent to answer the most complicated and part of the questionnaire, question 10. Images of Germany and Germans were assessed with eight statements using 5-point Likert-type response scale⁴² (1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree), two statements per image (ally, enemy, barbarian, imperialist). Dependent image was not taken into consideration due to improbability of Germany being dependent on Kyrgyzstan.

The following statements for each image were coded and combined into scale. It should be mentioned that I took Dr. Michele G. Alexander's research work as an example. The difference is that she used reverse coding for all images she was researching. I use only two reverse-coding statements, and two-parallel coding. *Ally*: "I think that Germany is working hard for peaceful international relations, including Kyrgyz-German relations" and "Germans care only about their own interests." (reverse-coded) *Enemy*: "I think we should trust Germans in spite of that we were fighting them during Soviet times" and "Germany has hostile interests toward Kyrgyzstan." (reverse-coded) *Barbarian*: "Violence is out of control in Germany" and "Power in the hands of Germans is a dangerous thing for all countries, including Kyrgyzstan." (parallel-coded) And finally, *Imperialist*: "I think that Germans are arrogant and are convinced they are superior to others" and "Kyrgyz will never ever be so developed as Germans" (parallel-coded). I used reverse and parallel coding in order to find out reliability of given responses. Statements were developed so that it was impossible to use always reverse coding. If we can exclude unreliable responses for reverse-coded statements (1-1,5-5 were excluded because one obviously cannot agree or disagree to both statements. It does not make sense, because statements are controverting each other), in parallel-coding we cannot excluded responses. In parallel-coding

⁴² Babbie 127

Likert scale – a format in which respondents are asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree

statements logically should be scaled identically. However if statements scaled differently, it can be interpreted in its own way.

Statements will be preliminary counted by probability of answers. I'll use "collapsing" response categories, which means that 1=strongly agree and 2=agree will be combined (1,2) and 4=disagree will be combined with 5=strongly disagree (4,5), 3=maybe will remain the same . For Ally and Enemy Images (reverse-coded) there are 7 (seven) possibilities:

1,2 – 4,5		Ally image (opposite to Enemy image)
1,2 – 3	}	Close to ally image (close to opposite to enemy image)
3 – 4,5		
3 – 3		Neutral
3 – 1,2	}	Close to opposite to Ally image (close to enemy image)
4,5 – 3		
4,5 – 1,2		Opposite to Ally image (Enemy image)
1,2 – 1,2	}	excluded
4,5 – 4,5		

For Barbarian and Imperialist Images (parallel-coded) there are 9 (nine) possibilities:

1,2 – 1,2		Barbarian image, Imperialist image
1,2 – 3	}	close to Barbarian image, close to Imperialist image
3 – 1,2		
1,2 -4,5		
3 – 3		
4,5 – 1,2	}	close to opposite to Barbarian image (Imperialist image)
4,5 – 3		
3 – 4,5		
4,5 – 4,5		Opposite to Barbarian image (Imperialist Image)

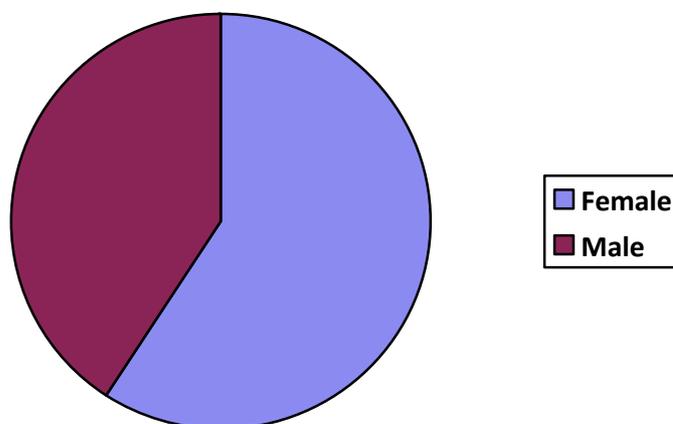
I used *bivariate analyses method*⁴³, which means that I constructed explanatory bivariate tables for each image. In constructing tables a convention called *percentage down* was used. So, the table should be read across a row.⁴⁴ Each table includes independent variable: *Age* (Young generation and Old generation) and dependent variables: *Image*. Conclusions is made according to interpretation of bivariate tables.

Chapter 3

3.1 Findings

The present research gives clear image of how old and young people of Bishkek perceive Germany and Germans. The following chapter will show all results in graphs and tables. Interesting is that some finding were unexpected and surprising.

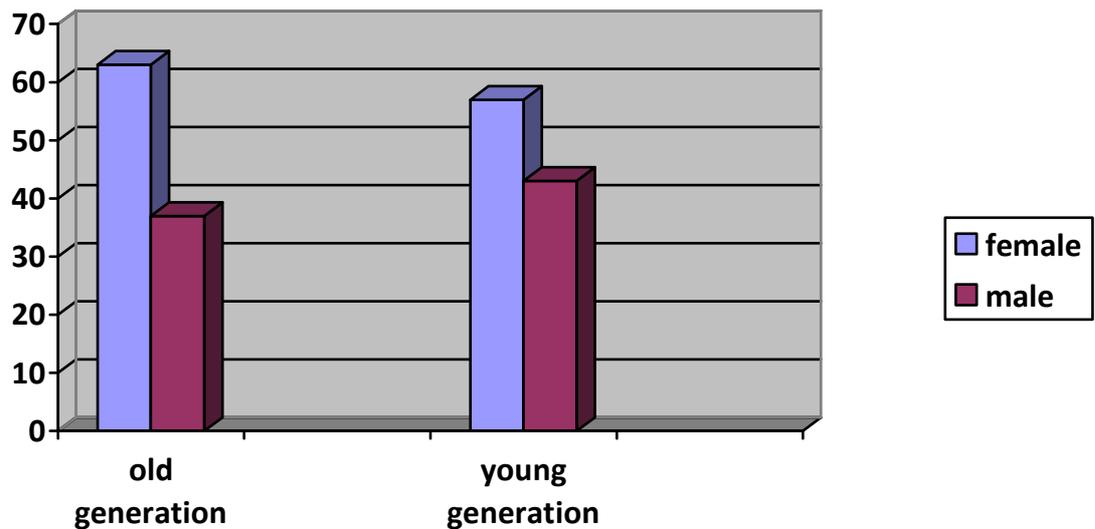
The total number of respondents constituted 125, 74 from which are female and 51 male.



Considering each generation separately, we have 63% female and 37% male for old generational and 57% and 43% accordingly for young generation.

⁴³ Babbie 349

⁴⁴ Babbie 359



3.1.1 Associations

First, let's see what kind of associations people have on Germany and Germans. As was described in methodology chapter, associations were divided into groups. Associations are shown in tables, so it is easier to perceive information. In tables below you can find associations of people with words "Germany" and "Germans". The percentage indicates how many respondents from old and young generations separately named this association. It should be mentioned that I didn't count total number of responses by associations because one respondent could give several associations which would be classified into three different groups, or one respondent could give three associations related to only one group. As I supposed many words (associations) were repeated, especially among old generation. Representatives of old generation have almost similar associations, whereas young people's associations differ from each other gradually. I see the reason of this tendency in different way of thinking of old and young people. Old people got used to think similarly, they used to live in a country with strong ideology, where all people had to think similarly. No freedom of word, no freedom of choice, no freedom at all during soviet times resulted in almost similar answers of old people. Now there is no ideology in our country, there is freedom of word and thoughts. That is why Kyrgyz youth has no

standardized way of thinking and perception of the world. So, young people named sometimes surprisingly different associations.

1. "Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently positive attitude towards Germany/Germans",

<i>Table 1</i>	<i>Old Generation</i>	<i>Young generation</i>
<i>Germany</i>	<p><i>Good country – 7%, discipline – 10%, very positive associations – 5%, humane nation – 1%, orderliness – 13,3%, clean country – 7% Rule of law – 17% Civilized country – 3,3% Cooperation with Germany – 9%</i></p>	<p><i>Reliability – 1%, Orderliness 1%, Comfort – 1%, Discipline – 1%, High quality – 3% Freedom – 1% Professionalism – 1% Education – 4,2% German quality (clothes, technics) – 5,2%</i></p>
<i>Germans</i>	<p><i>Hard-working – 17%, well-mannered- 10%, discipline – 6,6%, smart – 7%, honest – 6% , friendly – 7%, accurate – 1%, educated – 6,6%, good people – 23%, educated – 6,6% reliable – 1% Discipline – 3% Law abiding – 10% Punctual – 6,6% Well-mannered – 3% Self-confident – 2,6% High qualified specialists – 10%</i></p>	<p><i>Discipline – 2% Accurate – 3%, Hard-working – 5,2%, Economical – 1%, Responsible – 4,2%, Smart- 2% Brothers – 1%, Interesting people- 1% Modern – 1%, Intelligent – 2%, Punctual – 7,3% Sociable- 2% Friendly – 5% Quality – 1% Good people – 6,3% Polite – 1%, Funny – 1% Discipline-2,5% Educated people – 3% Accurate – 5,2% Punctual – 2% Civilized – 2% Hard working – 4%</i></p>

The first group of associations is called “*Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently positive attitude towards Germany/Germans*”. According to Table 1 we can see that in Bishkek both old generation and young generation have some positive associations with Germany and Germans. It is very surprising that old people have more positive associations with word Germany than young people. Total 72,6% of old Generation indicated positive associations about Germany, while among young generation the total number constitutes 18%. If we compare associations, we can see that 7% of old people indicated that Germany is a good country, whereas we don’t have such association among young people. Interesting is that 17% of old people think that Germans are hard-working and only 5,2% of young people have such opinion. According to the table 1, we can see that 23% of old generation indicated Germans as good people, only 6, 3% young people think the same. Both young and old people think that Germans are friendly, smart and disciplined. It is very surprising that so many old people have positive associations with word Germany and Germans, while young people indicated less positive words.

2. “*Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently negative attitude towards Germany/Germans*”,

Table 2	Old Generation	Young generation
Germany	<i>Hate – 1%, Negative – 10%, “Only negative comes to my mind” – 1%</i>	---
Germans	<i>Arrogant – 13,3% Cruel – 10% Not very good people – 2% Nationalists – 1% Pedants – 10% Scrupulous – 3% Evil – 7%</i>	<i>Arrogant – 6% Pedants – 7,3% Hitler – 1% Killers – 2% Cruel – 5% Rude – 1% Greedy – 2%</i>

Now let's see next group of associations called "*Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently negative attitude towards Germany/Germans*". 10% of old people said that they have negative associations with word Germany. Comparing negative associations of young and old people with the word "Germans" in table 2, we can see that both generations have negative associations almost similarly. 13,3% of old people and 6% of young people think that Germans are arrogant. Also they think that Germans are cruel and pedantic. Interesting is that young people didn't indicate anything negative about Germany (!), whereas 12 % of old people said that they associate Germany with negative words.

3. "*Wealth, Social stability*"

Table 3	Old Generation	Young generation
Germany	<i>Developed country – 33%</i> <i>wealthy – 14%,</i> <i>High level of life – 10% ,</i> <i>Good life – 7%</i> <i>Great country – 2%</i> <i>Power – 3,3%</i> <i>Peace – 3%</i>	<i>Money 2%</i> <i>Great country,</i> <i>Developed country 19%</i> <i>Good life 2%</i> <i>Flourishing country with</i> <i>good economic situation 10%</i> <i>Civilization 3%</i> <i>An example for other countries 1%</i> <i>Power – 3%</i>
Germans	<i>Germans are living very good – 10%</i> <i>Living in developed country – 10%</i> <i>Lucky -3%</i>	<i>Good life 3%</i> <i>Lucky -6%</i> <i>Developed culture – 2%</i>

Regarding the third group of associations "*Wealth, Social stability*", it can be said that people in Bishkek think that Germany is very developed country with high level of life. 19% and 33% of young and old people accordingly indicated this during a survey. 6% of young people believe that Germans are lucky because they live in such flourishing country with good economic

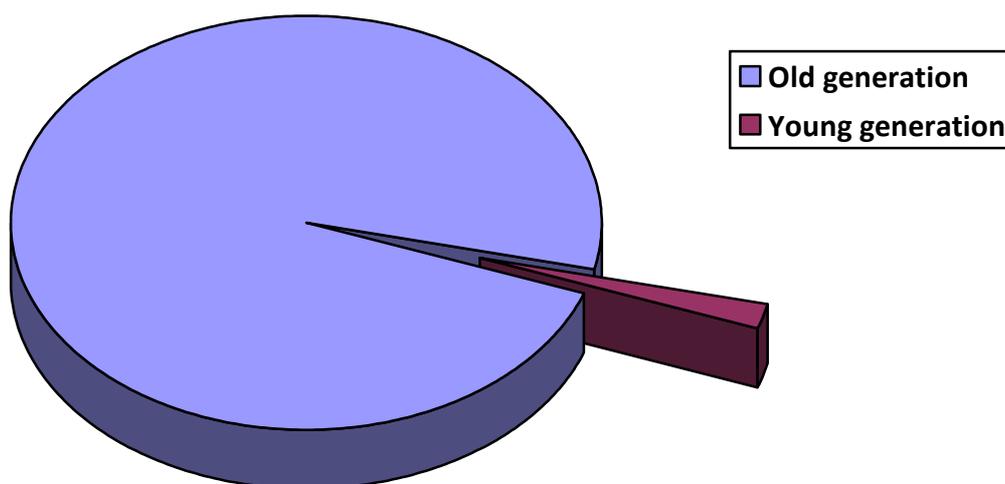
condition. More than 90% of old people and 52% of young people during a survey talked about German social stability and level of life.

4. “Associations related to War”

Table 4	Old Generation	Young generation
Germany	War – 36,6% Hitler – 13,3% fascism – 3,3% Front, difficulties (related with war) -4% Losses – 3,3% Lost relatives in war – 10%	<i>War – 29,4%</i> <i>Hitler – 17%</i> <i>Nationalism – 2%</i> <i>Fascism – 13,6%</i> <i>III Reich – 1%</i> <i>Losses – 1%</i> <i>Concentration camps – 1%</i>
Germans	Former enemies – 27%, Losses-7% Fascism – 23,3% War – 3,3% Occupants – 3% Race superiority – 3%	<i>Former enemies – 1%</i> <i>War – 8%</i> <i>Fascists – 17%</i> <i>Nationalism – 3%</i> <i>Hitler – 6,3%</i> <i>Killers – 4,2%</i> <i>Jewish killers – 1%</i> <i>Nazi-Germany – 1%</i> <i>Arian nation – 1%</i>

According to expectations, there were a lot of associations with war. So I developed such group of associations as “Associations related to War”. Table 4 shows that both young and old people of Bishkek associate Germany and Germans with War. Percentage of associations of Germany with war is very high: 36,6% of old generation and 29,4% of young generation associates Germany with War. Associations with ruler of the Nazi-Germany, Hitler, are also very popular among people in Bishkek: old and young people has almost the same percentage 13,3% and

13,6%. Germany is associated with the word Fascism more among young generation. However, describing Germans, 23, 3% of old people indicated word Fascism. Young people (17%) unlike old people indicated Germans not with word Fascism, but with word “Fascists”. We can see that people still keep in mind terror and horror of war time. It should be noted that during conduction of survey among old generation, a researcher talked to each old person separately. Talking about associations with war old people was very upset. Two respondents, participants of war, couldn’t even hide their tears. Old people were very emotional when they were talking about war time. Some of them perceived it too close to heart. Interesting is that people were talking about war, that they lost their relatives and comrades, but at the same time most of them were quite positive to modern Germany. A lot of old people strictly divide Germany in two categories: old Germany, modern Germany. That is why I developed group of associations called “*Division of Germans into Two categories: former-enemies (negative) and modern Germans (positive)*”. Almost half of all respondents among old generation strictly divided Germany to former enemies and current partners. It is very interesting consistency, because only few young people strictly divided Germany into these two categories. According to diagram, we can visually see that 47% of old people divided Germany into two categories, and only 1% among young people.



5. Description (music, food, cars)” Table 5

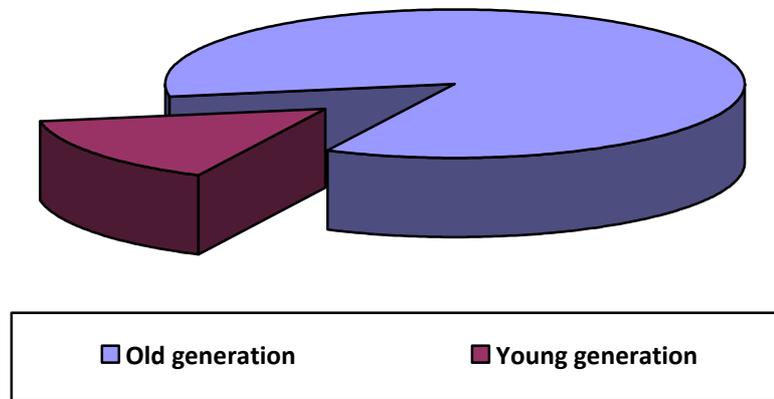
	<i>Old Generation</i>	<i>Young generation</i>
<i>Germany</i>	<p><i>Culture – 7%</i> <i>Democracy – 7%</i> <i>EU – 13,3%</i> <i>Parliament – 3%</i> <i>Education, science – 3%</i> <i>Reichstag – 1%</i></p>	<p><i>Transport</i> <i>Mercedes – 8,4%</i> <i>BMW – 4,2%</i> <i>Cars – 10,5%</i> <i>Autobahn – 3%</i> <i>Mechanic engineering – 2%</i> <i>Metro (S-bahn) – 3%</i></p> <p><i>General</i> <i>EU – 14%</i> <i>German language - 1%</i> <i>Germans – 9%</i> <i>Berlin – 11,7%</i> <i>Berlin wall – 2%</i></p> <p><i>Politics</i> <i>Parliamentarism – 1%</i> <i>Federalism – 2%</i> <i>Merkel – 2,5%</i> <i>Schengen zone – 1%</i> <i>Good roads – 1%</i> <i>Power – 3%</i></p> <p><i>Culture (food, drinks, football)</i> <i>Oktoberfest – 2%</i> <i>German Beer – 17%</i> <i>German Sausages – 6,3%</i> <i>Chocolate, bakery – 2%</i> <i>German football - 14%</i> <i>Strudel – 2%</i></p> <p><i>Quality</i> <i>Technology – 9,4%</i></p> <p><i>Adjectives</i> <i>Conservatism -1%</i> <i>Accuracy – 2,1%</i></p> <p><i>Economics</i> <i>Production, Companies, economy – 7%</i></p> <p><i>Other</i> <i>Life in Germany, DAAD, Au-pair, nothing comes to my mind, big shoes, “Ah So!”, museums, discipline, science, rock-bands, cinema, fashion, shops, black color, rain</i></p>

<i>Germans</i>	<p>Description</p> <p><i>Accurate – 13,3%</i> <i>Marks – 1%</i> <i>History – 1%</i></p>	<p>Description</p> <p><i>Blonde- 4%</i> <i>Tall – 3%</i> <i>Europeans – 5%</i></p> <p><i>Fashionable – 5%</i></p> <p>General</p> <p><i>Germany, EU, Berlin – 12,6%</i> <i>German language – 3%</i></p> <p>Other</p> <p><i>Beer and sausages- 10,5%</i> <i>Football – 7,3%</i> <i>Idea – 1%</i> <i>Smiling – 1%</i> <i>Economic – 1%</i> <i>German ovcharka – 1%</i> <i>Movies, cimena – 3%</i> <i>Production – 1%</i> <i>Quality – 1%</i></p>
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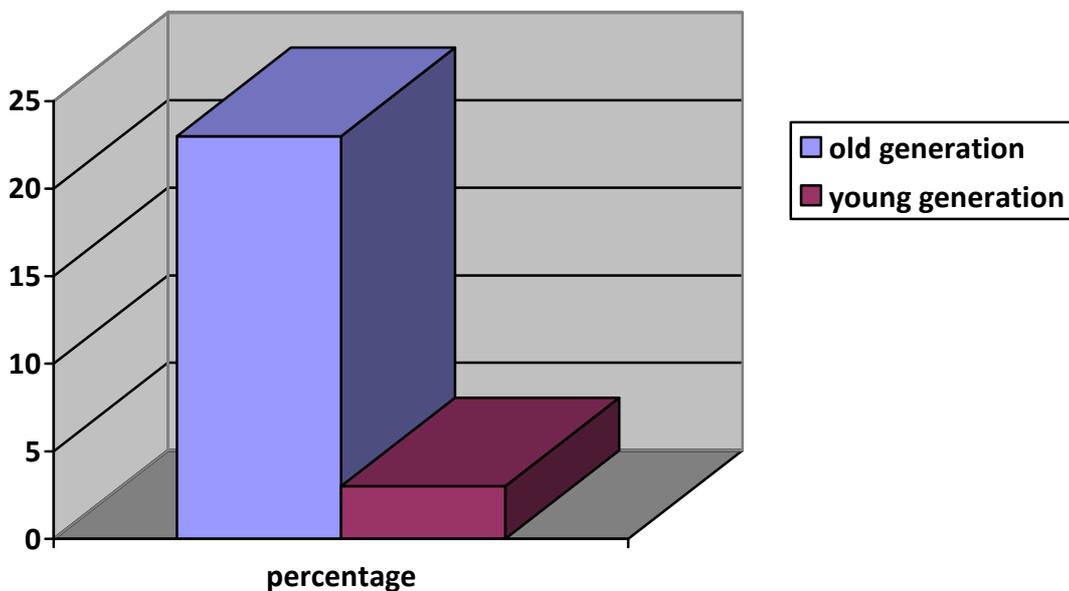
One of the most interesting groups of associations is *Description*. This group includes such associations as food, drinks, cars, culture and other general and neutral associations. Young generation surprised me with different interesting descriptive associations with Germany. Within this group I created sub-groups: transport - included all associations with cars, metro, and automobiles, general, Culture – included food, drinks, football, Quality, economics etc. We can see that young people comparing to old people have more creative, interesting and unexpected associations. They take this life more easily and their associations are “light”. For example a lot of young people associate Germany with beer, football, sausages, car, big shoes and rock-bands. Old people have more serious associations; they are more concentrated on political situation, culture and history.

Also some people think that Germans are the same people as all the rest. Very popular answer was “Germans are ordinary people as we are!”. That is why I created this group of association

and called it “*Germans are ordinary people as we are*”. 17% of old people and 5% of young people gave such answer.



I was surprised that so many old people have relatives living in Germany. People associate Germany with their relatives, who live in Germany that is why I developed such group as “*Relatives living in Germany*”. 23% of old people have relatives in Germany; mostly this is their children, but also brothers, sisters, sons and daughters-in-law. Only 3% of young people associate Germany with relatives, living in Germany.



3.1.2 Outstanding people of Germany

<i>Names</i>	<i>How many times it was named by Old Generation</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>How many times it was named by Young generation</i>
Adolf Hitler	53,3%	Adolf Hitler	66,3%
Angela Merkel	43,3%	Angela Merkel	51,5%
Karl Marx	30%	Otto von Bismarck	16,8%
Friedrich Engels	23,3%	Goethe	11,5%
Mozart	13,3%	Einstein	11,5%
Bach	13,3%	Schumacher	9,4%
Otto von Bismarck	10%	Heidi Klum	8,4%
Emanuel Kant	10%	Football players	7,3%
Kohl	10%	Karl Marx	5,2%
Erich Maria Remarque	6,6%	Schroeder	4,2%
Nietzsche	6,6%	Erich Maria Remarque	3,1%
Goethe	6,6%	Tokyo hotel band	3,1%
	-	Oliver Kan	3,1%
		Bach	2,1%
		Wilhelm II	2,1%
		Fredrich Anti	2,1%
		Emanuel Kant	1%
		Nietzsche	1%
		Mozart	1%
		K. Adenauer	1%
		Friedrich III	1%
		Freud	1%
		Ramstein	1%
		Mendelsohn	1%

According to my suppositions, Adolf Hitler was one of the most popular answers among people in Bishkek. Both old and young generations named Hitler very often. 66,3% of young people and 53,3% of old people named Hitler. Very surprising that young generation named Hitler even more often than old generation. Angela Merkel was also named very often both by young and old generations. Interesting is that such people as Marx and Engels were very popular among old generation, whereas only 5,2 % Marx and none of them named Engels. The reason is that many young people don't even know who were Marx and Engels, but for old people these names are very significant. Young people named a lot of different outstanding people of Germany such as Heidi Klum, Ramstein, Tokio Hotel band, Schumacher and popular football players. Here we can see that young people know much more different outstanding people of Germany than old people. Again old people named almost similar people. Young people named more people, but none of them named such people as Kohl or Engels.

3.1.3 Do people want to visit Germany?

According to question 7 “Do you want to visit Germany?” 53% of old people gave positive answer and 47% gave negative answer. Regarding young people, 88% said that they want visit Germany and 12% don't want to go there.

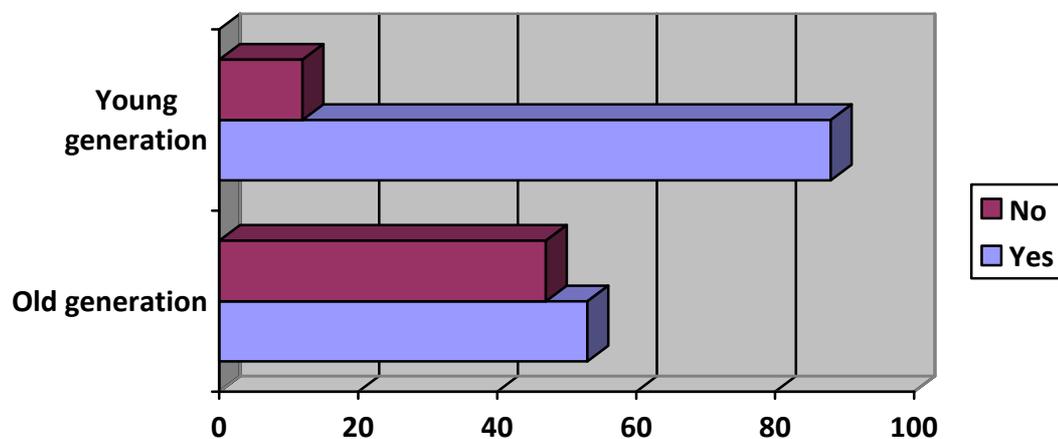
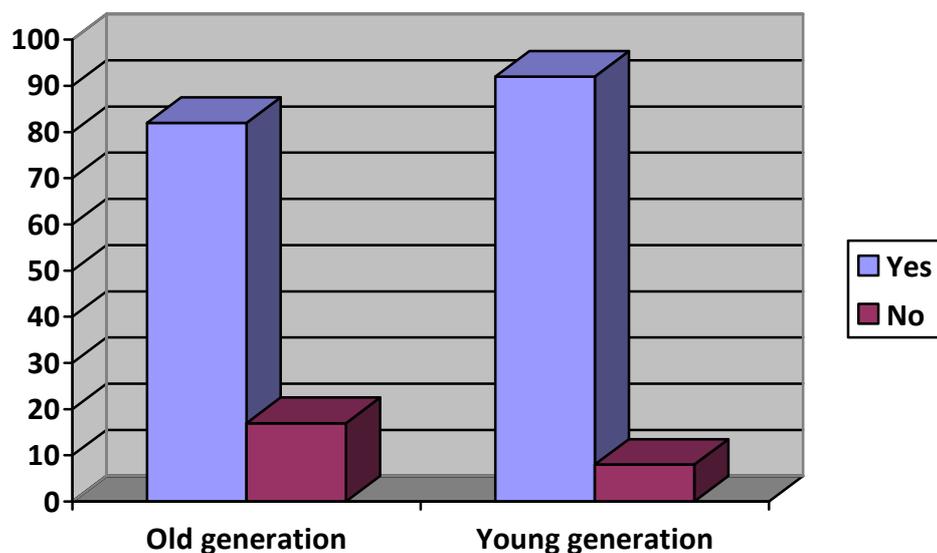


Chart clearly shows that almost half respondents of old generation don't want to visit Germany. More than half would like to visit Germany. Regarding young people, we can see that they are more enthusiastic about visiting Germany. However even among young people some don't want to visit Germany. There is no doubt that we cannot say that those people who want visit Germany have positive attitude towards Germany and those who doesn't – have negative. According to Dr. Michele G. Alexanders work, this question identified threat. There was no questions asking why a person wants/doesn't want to visit Germany, but many old people were very categorical answering to this question. So, it can be concluded that old people might have fear, dislike of Germany. Another reason of such results might also have to do with age: old people have less curiosity, they are not so enthusiastic about travelling as young people.

3.1.4 What do people think about cooperation between Germany and Kyrgyzstan?

Interesting results gave us question 9 “Do you think that our countries should cooperate?”

83% of old generation think that our countries should cooperate and 17% don't think so, among young – 92% gave positive answers and 8% gave negative answers.



Both old and young generations of Bishkek find cooperation between our countries very positive. We can conclude that people really think that Germany is one of the most important western partners of Kyrgyzstan.

3.1.5 Image of Germany

Question 10 was one of the most important ones. Let's see results according four images described by Dr. Michele G. Alexander. There are four tables below for each image: ally, enemy, barbarian and imperialist.

Ally image			
Statements: "I think that Germany is working hard for peaceful international relations, including Kyrgyz-German relations" and "Germans care only about their own interests." (reverse-coded)			
		Old generation	Young generation
1,2/4,5	Ally image	77%	55%
1,2/3	Close to ally image		1%
3/4,5		3%	22%
3/3	Neutral	3%	9%
3/1,2	Close to opposite to ally image	7%	6%
4,5/3		10%	7%
4,5/1,2	Opposite to ally image		

While analyzing ally image, 8 answers were excluded because of inconsistency. Among old generation 100% constituted answers of 30 respondents, among young generation 100% constituted answers of 87 respondents. We can see that neither old people nor young have "opposite to ally image". 77% of old people and 55% of young people have ally image.

Close to ally image is more popular among young generation: young generation – 23%, old generation – 3%. 17% of young people have close to opposite to ally image, while among old people percentage constitutes 13%. Out of this table we can see that among both old and young generations ally and close to ally image are very popular. If we combine and compare percentage of “ally” and “close to ally image” versus “close to opposite to ally image” and “opposite to ally image”, we have for old generation 73% versus 17% and for young generation 78% versus 13%. Neutrality constituted 3% for old generation and 9% for young generation. Out of this it can be said that both old generation and young generation have ally image or close to ally image.

Enemy image			
Statements: “I think we should trust Germans in spite of that we were fighting them during Soviet times” and “Germany has hostile interests toward Kyrgyzstan.” (reverse-coded)			
		Old generation	Young generation
1,2/4,5	Opposite to enemy image	76%	65%
1,2/3	Close to opposite to enemy image	4%	7%
3/4,5		4%	17%
3/3	Neutral	-	1%
3/1,2	Close to enemy image	-	-
4,5/3		12%	8%
4,5/1,2	Enemy image	4%	2%

During analyzing enemy image, 11 answers were excluded. Among old generation 100% constituted answers of 25 respondents, for young people 100% constituted answers of 89 respondents. Close to opposite to enemy image have 8% of old generation and 24% of young people. Let’s combine percentage of “opposite to enemy image” with “close to opposite to enemy image” and compare with percentage of “Enemy image” combined with “Close to enemy

image”. For old generation percentage constitutes 84% versus 16% accordingly, and for young generation – 89% versus 10%.

Out of these two tables it can be concluded that both old and young people have ally image of Germany. Tables above disproved second part of hypothesis that young people are more likely to endorse “ally” image, whereas old people might still have “enemy” image. Old people also have ally image of Germany.

Barbarian image			
Statements: “Violence is out of control in Germany” and “Power in the hands of Germans is a dangerous thing for all countries, including Kyrgyzstan.” (parallel-coded)			
		Old generation	Young generation
1,2/1,2	Barbarian image	3%	6%
1,2/3	Close to Barbarian image	-	-
3/1,2		8%	1%
1,2/4,5	Close to Barbarian Image	3%	3%
3/3	Neutral	3%	5%
4,5/1,2	Close to Barbarian image	10%	4%
4,5/3	Close to opposite to Barbarian image	-	16%
3/4,5		3	7
4,5/4,5	Opposite to Barbarian image	70%	58%

It should be noted that if respondent put strongly agree or agree (1, 2) at least for one statement “Violence is out of control in Germany”, “Power in the hands of Germans is a dangerous thing for all countries, including Kyrgyzstan”, researcher referred this answer to barbarian image. Let’s see how many people have pure barbarian and pure opposite to barbarian image. Barbarian

image have 3% of old people and 6% of young people. Opposite to barbarian image have 70% of old people and 58% of young people. As all responses with “strongly agree” and “agree” were assumed as barbarian, let’s see how many people have barbarian and close to barbarian images. For old generation percentage constituted 24%, for young generation – 14%. Opposite to Barbarian and close to opposite to barbarian image have 73% of old generation and 81% of young generation. So here we can see that people in Bishkek have opposite to barbarian image of Germany; however some people still have barbarian image of Germany. And there is a difference between old and young generation. More people from old generation harbor barbarian image in contrast to young people.

Imperialist image			
Statements: “I think that Germans are arrogant and are convinced they are superior to others” and “Kyrgyz will never ever be so developed as Germans” (parallel-coded).			
		Old generation	Young generation
1,2/1,2	Imperialist image	67%	17%
1,2/3	Close to imperialist image	3%	2%
3/1,2		10%	10%
1,2/4,5		10%	7%
3/3		-	8%
4,5/1,2		-	6%
4,5/3	Close to opposite to imperialist image	-	10%
3/4,5		3%	10%
4,5/4,5	Opposite to imperialist image	7%	24%

Regarding imperialist image, 80% has imperialist and close to imperialist image among old generation and 29% among young generation. Opposite to imperialist image and close to opposite to imperialist image have 10% of old people and 44% of young people. There are two special categories, which cannot be referred neither to imperialist image nor to opposite to imperialist image. First category is people who agreed with statement “Germans are arrogant and are convinced they are superior to others” and disagreed with statement “Kyrgyz will never ever be so developed as Germans” constitute 10% among old generation and 7% among young generations. Another category is people who disagreed with first statement and agreed with second statement. However none of representatives of old generation refer to this category, among young people only 6% included in this category. Out of this table we can clearly see that old people are more likely to have imperialist image of Germany than young people. This can be referred to the first obvious difference between generations.

Chapter 4

4.1 Analysis

4.1.1 Do findings prove or disprove Hypothesis?

Analyzing empirical data gave interesting and unexpected results. Let me remind my hypothesis:

- (1) Old generation of Bishkek has negative attitude towards Germany and Germans in comparison with young generation, who has positive image.
- (2) Young people are more likely to endorse “ally” image, whereas old people might still have “enemy” image.

Results show us that old people have positive image of Germany and Germans, so both hypothesis are disproved. There is no doubt that old generation remembers horror of war, old generation closer to that terrible time of war. However, old people do not have negative attitude towards modern Germany. They strictly divide Nazi-Germany from modern peaceful Germany.

A lot of old people associate Germany and Germans with War, but not because of negative attitude towards Germany. Young people also associate Germany and Germans with War. This is our history and people cannot forget it. Of course old people still have pain in their hearts. When I was conducting survey among old people I could see how difficult it is to remember war. Many of them lost their relatives, friends in war. *“We should not blame Germans and Germany for this. It is history”* – said one respondent. *“It is very important to divide Nazi Germany from modern Germany. I hate Nazi Germany, but I respect modern Germany”* – said another respondent. Many old people associated Germany and Germans with very positive words. Tables above proved that old generation of Bishkek have an even clearer ally image and opposite to enemy image. Regarding young people, as I supposed they have positive image of Germany. Also results show us that old people in Bishkek have imperialist image of Germany. Interesting is that old people are more likely to have imperialist image than young people. 44% of young people have opposite to imperialist image. Nowadays youth has more rights, more freedom than during Soviet times. Results show us that youth wish for equality and independence and probably that is why almost 50% of young people have opposite to imperialist image. There are few people among both old and young generation who still keep soreness and hard feeling about Germany. This people cannot forgive Germany and blames all German nation for the war. But in 70 years after war majority keep in mind horror of war, but at the same time they have positive image of Germany and believe in future cooperation between our countries.

4.1.1 Do findings prove or disprove assumptions?

There were three assumptions:

- 1) Probably people will name Hitler as one of the most outstanding people of Germany.
- 2) There is a supposition that older people would not prefer to visit Germany (and never ever wanted) in comparison with young people.

- 3) There is an assumption that young people would think that our countries should cooperate, whereas old people still might have some kind of fear of Germany. And as a result they would probably be against cooperation.

Results show us that old people gave almost similar answers. This means that people got used to think similarly because of soviet ideology. Third supposition was also proved. Representatives of both old and young generations named Adolf Hitler very often. As it was assumed, a lot of old people (almost half of all respondents among old generation) don't want to visit Germany, whereas young people would visit Germany with great pleasure. That can be explained by fear of Germany by old generation or less curiosity. My last assumption was disproved: 83% of old generation believes that our countries should cooperate, for young people this number constituted 92%. So, both young and old people think that Germany and Kyrgyzstan should cooperate.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to answer the following research questions:

- Have people's attitudes towards Germany and Germans changed?
- How do young and old generations perceive Germany and Germans?
- Do young and old generation of Bishkek have different attitude towards Germany and Germans? And what is the difference?

Results show that people's attitude towards Germany and Germans changed. If during post-war period people still hated and didn't like Germany and perceived Germans as their enemies, nowadays people have positive image of Germany and Germans. People do not blame modern Germany for war. For Kyrgyz people Germany is one of the most developed countries.

Most young people want to visit Germany. Kyrgyz people see Germany as partners and would like to cooperate with Germany very much. Indeed old people and young people have differences in perception of Germany and Germans.

First of all, young people are more progressive and creative. That is why young people have different interesting and unusual associations with Germany and Germans. Young people in comparison with old people have more so called “light” associations. Young people did not name any *“Adjectives and nouns that describe evidently negative attitude towards Germany/Germans”*, whereas old people named such associations as “hate”, “negative” etc. Surprisingly more people among old generation identified Germans *“as we are”*. Second difference is that young people are more likely to visit Germany than old people. Probably old people have less curiosity than young people. They are not interested in having leisure time abroad; they don’t find it interesting to go abroad. One of the most important differences is that old generation have imperialist image of Germany in comparison with young generation. There are also some points that both old and young people agree with. For example both old and young people think that our countries should cooperate. Of course, old and young people have different attitudes in some cases, but in the end it happened so that old and young people have same positive attitude towards Germany and Germans. Both generations have ally image of Germany and opposite to enemy image. Results show us that in 70 after war old generation have imperialist image of Germany instead of enemy image, moreover old generation have an even clearer ally image of Germany. Young people also have very positive image of Germany. There is no doubt that this result makes readers happy because cooperation between our countries is very important and positive process. This research contributed a little piece of information to international relations study, mainly to European study. I’m sure that this work is a good contribution to the ES departments. People can now have a clear picture of attitude of Bishkek youth and old generation towards Germany. Results are very interesting and it will be even more interesting to compare these results with future works on this topic.

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Американский Университет в Центральной Азии

Анкета

(Данное анкетирование проводится с целью научного исследования. Анкетирование анонимно.)

1. Пол М Ж
2. Возраст 15-30 60-90
3. Образование Нет Среднее Средне-специальное Высшее
4. Я - ученик студент работаю пенсионер
5. Что в первую очередь приходит Вам в голову, когда Вы слышите слово «Германия»? (три слова)

6. Что в первую очередь приходит Вам в голову, когда Вы слышите слово «Немцы»? (три слова)

7. Вы бы хотели посетить Германию? Да Нет
8. Назовите известных людей Германии?

9. Как вы думаете стоит ли Кыргызстану сотрудничать с Германией?
 Да Нет

10. Поставьте наиболее подходящую цифру от 1 до 5 в квадрат
(1 = да, 2 = скорее всего да, 3 = возможно, 4 = скорее всего нет, 5 = категорически нет)

- Германия способствует улучшению международных отношений, включая отношения с Кыргызстаном
- Германию кроме своих интересов ничего не заботит
- Нам стоит доверять немцам, не смотря на то, что мы, в составе СССР, воевали с ними в Великой Отечественной Войне
- Германия имеет враждебный настрой по отношению к Кыргызстану
- В немецком обществе процветают насилие и подавление
- Сильная Германия очень опасна для других стран, включая Кыргызстан
- Немцы высокомерные и уверенные в своем превосходстве люди
- Я думаю, что Кыргызстан никогда не достигнет уровня развития Германии

Attachment 1 (Questionnaire – translation in English)

American University of Central Asia

(This questionnaire is conducted for the purpose of research. Questionnaire is anonymous.)

1. Gender M F
2. Age 10-30 60-90
3. Education School certificate Specialist University degree
4. You are... a pupil a student I'm working at _____ a pensioner
5. Please write down your associations with the word "Germany" (three words)

6. Please write down your associations with the word "Germans" (three words)

7. Would you like to visit Germany? yes no
8. Can you name outstanding people of Germany?

9. Do you think our countries should cooperate? yes no
10. Please put the most appropriate number from 1 to 5 (1=strongly agree,5=strongly disagree)
 I think that Germany is working hard for peaceful international relations, including KG-Ger. relations
 Germans care only about their own interests
 I think we should trust Germans in spite of that we were fighting them during Soviet times.
 Germany has hostile interests toward Kyrgyzstan
 Violence is out of control in Germany
 Power in the hands of Germans is a dangerous thing for all countries, including Kyrgyzstan
 I think that Germans are arrogant and are convinced they are superior to others.
 Kyrgyz will never ever be so developed as Germans