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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND SOFT POWER OF TURKEY IN KAZAKHSTAN

Today modern Turkey has become the influential regional player, without whose participation it is impossible to imagine a solution to many complicated military and political problems in the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean and other areas. This trend is especially noticeable in conflicts in Syria, Iraq, around Karabakh, in Cyprus, etc. In turn, the new status implies more active foreign policy on the part of official Ankara, which is what Turkish government is doing. In this context the republic seeks to strengthen its geopolitical positions both in individual regions and in the world as a whole. One example of such approach is Ankara's lobbying for UN reform. In particular, we are talking about possible expansion of the Security Council by new permanent members. Naturally, the country expects to get a place in this structure in the event of its reorganization. On the other hand, from the point of view of practical steps to implement its foreign policy priorities, Turkey in recent years has been very actively using so-called public diplomacy. It is important to emphasize that this term is closely related to the concept of «soft power». Indeed, in general, the popularity and image of the republic in the world is constantly growing. For example, this is facilitated by the spread of Turkish cultural products, mainly the film industry. As is known, Turkey is the second largest exporter of TV series in the world (www.hurriyetdailynews.com, 2017). Such result was made possible also thanks to state support. As a result, many experts note the increased interest of tourists with regard to the country. In view of the foregoing, the public diplomacy of Turkey in Kazakhstan seems interesting. Moreover, the Central Asian region and Kazakhstan in particular are important direction for Ankara's foreign policy. Especially since the Turkic factor is the driving force here. Against this backdrop, it is necessary to say that at the moment elements of Turkish public diplomacy can be seen in Kazakhstan. This applies to both cultural products, mainly serials, and the schools mentioned above. In addition, the Turkish government is trying to use other tools of public diplomacy. Given that the two countries are in strategic relations, the issue of public diplomacy of Turkey in Kazakhstan is highly relevant.

Key words: Turkey, public diplomacy, soft power, Kazakhstan, foreign policy.

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Түркияның Қазақстандағы қоғамдық дипломатиясы мен жұмсақ күші

Бүгінгі таңда қазіргі заманғы Түркия өте ықпалды аймақтық ойыншыға айналды. Оның қатысуынсыз Таяу Шығыстағы, Кавказдағы, Жерорта теңізі аймағы және басқа да аймақтардағы көптеген аса күрделі әскери және саяси мәселелердің шешілуін елестету мүмкін емес. Бұл үрдіс әсіресе Сириядағы, Ирактағы, Қарабақ айналасындағы, Кипрдегі және басқа да жанжалдардан байқалады. Өз кезегінде жаңа мәртебе ресми Анкара тарапынан белсендірек сыртқы саясатты

жүргізуді талап етеді. Және де қазіргі түрік үкіметі осы жұмыспен айналасып жатқанын айта өту керек. Бұл тұрғыда республика белгілі бір аймақтарда да, сонымен қатар, жалпы бүкіл әлемде өзінің геосаяси орнын күшейтуге тырысуда. Осындай тәсілдеменің айқын мысалы ретінде Анкараның БҰҰ-ны реформалауға қолпаштау жүргізуін есептеуге болады. Атап айтқанда, сөз Қауіпсіздік Кеңесінің жаңа тұрақты мүшелермен кеңеюі туралы жүріп отыр. Әрине, егер де бұл құрылым қайта ұйымдастыруға ұшырайтын болса, Түркия өзіне бір орын иемденуге үмітті. Екінші жағынан, өзінің сыртқы саяси басымдылықтарын жүзеге асыру бойынша нақты қадамдар тұрғысынан Түркия соңғы жылдары қоғамдық дипломатияны белсенді қолдануда. Атап өту керек, бұл термин «жұмсақ күш» түсінігімен тығыз байланысты. Шынында, жалпы елдің әлемдегі танымалдығы мен беделі тұрақты артып келуде. Мысалы, оған түріктердің мәдени өнімдерінің, негізінен киноөнімдердің таралуы септігін тигізіп отыр. Бәріне мәлім, кино хикаяларының экспорты бойынша Түркия әлемде екінші орын алады. Бұндай нәтижеге жету соның ішінде мемлекеттің қолдауы арқасында мүмкін болды. Қорытындысында, көптеген мамандар елге деген туристердің қызығушылықтарының артқанын атап өтуде. Бұдан басқа, көрсетілген гуманитарлық көмектің көлемі бойынша республика әлемде АҚШ-тан кейін екінші орын алады. 2016 жылы басқа елдерге көрсетілген осындай көмектің көлемі 6 млрд. долларға тең болды. Бұл деректі де қоғамдық дипломатия тұрғысынан қарастыру қажет. Сонымен қатар, шетелдегі түрік мектептері туралы ұмытуға болмайды. Олар қазіргі кезде екі ұдай жағдайда қалып отырғандарына қарамастан, әлі күнге шейін түрік мемлекетімен байланыстырылады. Тиісінше, оның беделіне оқ ықпалын тигізіп отыр. Түрік жұмсақ күшін жүзеге асыруда басқа да құралдар бар: шетелдік студенттерге білім гранттары, мәдени сипаттағы әр түрлі ұйымдарды қаржыландыру және т.б. Жоғарыда айтылғандардың негізінде Түркияның Қазақстандағы қоғамдық дипломатиясы қызығушылық тудырады. Әсіресе егер Орталық Азия аймағы мен оның ішінде Қазақстан Анкараның сыртқы саясатының маңызды бағыттарының бірі екендігін ескеретін болсақ. Бұл жерде негізінен түркілік фактор қозғаушы күш болып табылады. Бұл ретте атап өту қажет, қазіргі таңда Түркияның қоғамдық дипломатиясының белгілерін Қазақстанда да көруге болады. Бұл мәдени өнімдерге де, негізінен хикаяларға, сондай-ақ жоғарыда атап өтілген мектептерге де қатысты. Сонымен бірге, түрік үкіметі қоғамдық дипломатияның басқа да құралдарын пайдалануға тырысуда. Екі елдің стратегиялық қарым-қатынаста екендігін ескеретін болсақ, Түркияның Қазақстандағы қоғамдық дипломатиясы сұрағы өте өзекті болып табылады.

Түйін сөздер: Түркия, қоғамдық дипломатия, жұмсақ күш, Қазақстан, сыртқы саясат.

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Публичная дипломатия и мягкая сила Турции в Казахстане

На сегодняшний день современная Турция превратилась в достаточно влиятельного регионального игрока, без участия которого невозможно представить решение многих довольно сложных военных и политических проблем на Ближнем Востоке, Кавказе, в Средиземноморье и в других районах. Данная тенденция особенно заметна по конфликтам в Сирии, Ираке, вокруг Карабаха, на Кипре и др. В свою очередь, новый статус предполагает проведение более активной внешней политики со стороны официальной Анкары, чем и занимается нынешнее турецкое правительство. В данном контексте республика стремится усилить свои геополитические позиции как в отдельно взятых регионах, так и в мире в целом. Одним из примеров подобного подхода можно считать лоббирование Анкарой реформы ООН. В частности, речь идет о возможном расширении Совета Безопасности новыми постоянными членами. Естественно, что страна рассчитывает получить место в данной структуре в случае ее реорганизации. С другой стороны, с точки зрения практических шагов по реализации своих внешнеполитических приоритетов Турция в последние годы весьма активно использует так называемую публичную дипломатию. Важно подчеркнуть, что данный термин тесно связан с понятием «мягкой силы». Действительно, в целом популярность и имидж республики в мире постоянно растет. Например, этому способствует распространение турецких культурных продуктов, главным образом кинопроизводства. Как известно, по экспорту сериалов Турция занимает второе место в мире. Подобный результат стал возможен в том числе и благодаря государственной поддержке. В итоге многие эксперты отмечают возросший интерес туристов к стране. Кроме того, по объемам оказания гуманитарной помощи республика занимает второе место в мире после США. В 2016 году размер подобной помощи другим странам составил 6 млрд. долларов. Этот факт также

необходимо рассматривать в контексте публичной дипломатии. В то же время нельзя забывать о турецких школах за рубежом, которые, несмотря на их текущее подвешенное состояние, все еще ассоциируются с турецким государством. Соответственно, они оказывают положительное влияние на его имидж. Есть и другие инструменты в реализации турецкой мягкой силы: образовательные гранты иностранным студентам, финансирование различных организаций культурного характера и др. Исходя из вышесказанного, интересным представляется публичная дипломатия Турции в Казахстане. Тем более что регион Центральной Азии и Казахстан в частности являются важным направлением для внешней политики Анкары. Не в последнюю очередь здесь движущей силой выступает тюркский фактор. На этом фоне, надо сказать, что в настоящий момент элементы турецкой публичной дипломатии можно увидеть и в Казахстане. Это относится как культурным продуктам, главным образом сериалам, так и вышеотмеченным школам. Кроме того, турецкое правительство пытается использовать и другие инструменты публичной дипломатии. Учитывая, что две страны находятся в стратегических отношениях, вопрос публичной дипломатии Турции в Казахстане является весьма актуальным.

Ключевые слова: Турция, публичная дипломатия, мягкая сила, Казахстан, внешняя политика.

Introduction

There are processes in the modern international system shifting the state's accents from using tough, military mechanisms to ensure its own international influence on the introduction of soft power tools into the diplomatic arsenal. At the turn of the century the new actors appeared on the international arena, the sphere of diplomatic activity expanded and, the most important result is diplomacy ceased to be the exclusive prerogative of the state. All this testifies that public diplomacy, the most important component of the soft power, is gradually turning into a highly intellectual system of operating by the public opinion and consciousness. The new character is the dialogues are emerging between of governments and non-governmental structures of one states with the population of other foreign states.

The «soft power» potential of Turkey is largely due to its history, culture and geographical location. Before the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Ottoman Empire, stretching over three continents, existed for 600 years. It had a caliphate – the center of the religious power of the Muslim world. The most ethnic groups living in Eurasia, including Turks, Kurds, Bosnians, Albanians, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Armenians, Greeks, have a common historical experience of existence within the Ottoman Empire. Due to the combination of these factors, the influence of the «soft power» of Turkey spreads from the Balkans to the Middle East and Central Asia.

Turkey, with its democratic and secular political system, a predominantly Muslim population and the prospect of joining the EU, is demonstrating an ever-increasing influence on neighboring countries. In addition, after the Arab unrest in North Africa and the Middle East, the Turkish state model began to be considered as a source of imitation, which

also increased the Turkish influence. An important aspect of building up «soft power» was the active participation of Turkey in various international associations.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the components of the Turkish «soft power» in Central Asian countries on the example of relations with the Republic of Kazakhstan. This article presents a historical overview and analysis of the Turkish «soft power», its conceptual content and implementation mechanisms, which are based on specific country examples. The authors analyze the main directions of Turkish public diplomacy in Kazakhstan.

Methods and theoretical approaches in study the public diplomacy

To analyze the essential characteristics of public diplomacy, the authors of the article used theories of political communication and constructivism. The commonality of the two theories lies in the concept of new public diplomacy with the emergence on the world stage of new players (non-state actors). Nevertheless, if supporters of constructivism (Cull, 2006) consider achieving mutual understanding between different cultures as the central function of public diplomacy, representatives of political communication (Fisher, 1972) pay more attention to developing mechanisms to increase the efficiency of information broadcast from subject to the object

The structural-functional method was used to investigate the interrelations between various actors of Turkish public diplomacy, as well as their channels of influence on Kazakh society.

The methods and forms of public diplomacy vary depending on country specifics, its models, focused on maximizing the objective and subjective advantages that exist in the national arsenal. As a result of the analysis, it was revealed that the new

approach in Turkish foreign policy, based on the «strategic depth» doctrine (Stratejik Derinlik), was formed mainly under the influence of A. Davutoglu, who has held the post of Turkish Foreign Minister since May 2009. The «policy of zero problems» has become the key approach: Turkey seeks to resolve all problems in relations with neighboring countries, or at least minimize them as much as possible. The main basic elements of the new approach to Turkish foreign policy are security for all, political dialogue, economic interdependence and cultural accord.

Today, soft power is an integral part of public diplomacy. According to I. Kalin, the Turkish politician, who is now an adviser to President R.T. Erdogan, «the capabilities of the country's soft power determine the success of its public diplomacy (Kalin, 2012). This task is accomplished both at the expense of state institutions and at the expense of the private sector.

History of the modern Turkish public diplomacy

From the view of the public diplomacy, Turkey started to practice it relatively late. In the past, the country did not have the economic resources to promote their interests through the public diplomacy. However, this did not mean that Ankara took no action in this regard. For example, one can mention the work in the field of international broadcasting. During the war of independence in 1919-1923 Turkey faced the need to report its position to the world community. As a result, in 1920 the Anadolu Agency (AA) was created as the official international agency of the country (Efe, 2017).

With the ever deeper penetration of radio and television in the world, Ankara began to pay more and more attention to the public diplomacy instrument. It had its own logic: in the conditions of relatively modest financial possibilities, this mechanism did not require large expenditures. As a result, in 1964, an additional TRT (Turkish TV and Radio Company) was created, which, in addition to broadcasting within the country, is also broadcast on the territory of other states. The company has many TV channels in different languages of the world, including in Kazakh. Until the last decade, Turkey mostly relied on this relatively primitive method of public diplomacy (Gürkan, 2018).

After the creation of the Turkish Republic, the country's leadership mainly interacted with Western partners. This tactic was due to the period of the Cold War, when the world was divided into two opposing blocs. Turgat Ozal is considered the first Turkish leader in the twentieth century, who began the globalization of the country's foreign policy (Efe, 2017). As the Turkish influence started to spread

to other regions, integrating the new countries into the geopolitical interests, Turkey is improving and creating new «soft power» policy tools, thanks to which Turkey's regional and global ties now cover Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The existing complex of internal and external factors had a positive effect on the Turkish «soft power». Coming to the power in 2002 of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a moderately conservative focus on Western values was the main factor in changing the approach to create the Turkish foreign policy. Democratic reforms reduced the level of influence of the militaries on the country's policy and strengthened Turkish civil society. The reforms also led to a closer involvement of new actors, such as business organizations and civil society organizations, in Turkey's foreign policy (Stein, 2015).

During the second term (2007–2011), the AKP government began to pay more and more attention to establishing cultural proximity with neighboring countries. In addition to its geostrategic significance, the development of democracy and the growing economy of the country have become the political basis for a multidimensional and proactive Turkish foreign policy. The growth rates of Turkey during the financial crisis in the euro zone increased the country's attractiveness in the region. These factors are reflected in the statement of Turkish President A. Gul: «Turkey is moving simultaneously in all directions, to the East and the West, the North and the South. It is important that Turkey's values, such as the rule of law, respect for human rights, openness, gender equality, a freely functioning market economy, are moving in all directions » (Stein, 2015).

Thanks to Ahmet Davutoglu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, the «policy of zero problems» stimulated the strengthening Turkish policy of «soft power».

Strategies, mechanisms and concrete actions to implement «soft power» in the field of language, education and science, business cooperation, development assistance, developed by Turkish diplomats and experts in the field of international relations for this short period of time, have proved their effectiveness, which demonstrates a positive and attractive image of Turkey prevailing in the public opinion of most countries.

In 2010, the Turkish Ministry of Public Diplomacy was established under the leadership of the Prime Minister. It was one of the signs of the Turkish «soft power» institutionalization. The activity of public diplomacy has two directions: «from state to

society» and «from society to state». The first one focuses on explaining government policies and activities to the international community using official tools; in the second case, NGOs, research institutes, the press and universities are used in communication processes» (Stein, 2015).

Public diplomacy activities are implemented directly or indirectly by several institutions, such as the Turkish International Development Cooperation Agency (TIKA), Turkish Public diplomacy activities cover science and technology, economics, tourism, culture, art, foreign aid and the media, which together help to inform the world community about the new potential of Ankara. By coordinating this activity, the ministry promotes strategic communication and the effective promotion of Turkey in the world. The activities of Turkish public diplomacy include conferences of prominent scholars, journalistic programs, meetings with representatives of the foreign press, meetings of experts in the field of public diplomacy, seminars in the field of foreign policy, European meetings and the Global Forum in Istanbul, which was first held in October 2012. Forum was attended by politicians, scientists, writers, journalists (Ozden, 2015).

Turkish public diplomacy in Central Asia and Kazakhstan

The USSR disintegration became an important external factor activating the Turkish policy of «soft power» in Central Asia. After 1991, the countries of the Caucasus and Central Asia are included in Turkey's potential sphere of influence. As the Prime Minister of Turkey S. Demirel noted in 1992, «Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are interested in our country» It is obvious the politician placed particular emphasis on relations with the Central Asian region, since he believed that the XXI century would be the century of the Turks.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of a new geopolitical region of Central Asia, the authorities in Ankara saw opportunities to expand their influence in Eurasia through active cooperation with the states of the region. Turkey became the first country to establish diplomatic and economic relations with all countries of Central Asia, positioning itself as a partner that «brings stability» (Muhannet, 1999).

To implement the policy of «soft power», Turkey uses not only bilateral, but also multilateral cooperation. For example, in order to strengthen interaction with Central Asia and Caucasus countries, Turkey initiated the creation of organizations as the Council for Cooperation of Turkic-speaking

Countries (CCTS), the Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking Countries (TurkPA), the Organization for Culture and Arts of Turkic-speaking countries (TURKSOY). Basically, the Turkish regional policy is based on the respect of the neighboring independent states, with economic stability, being part of the world community and respecting democratic values. This policy allows to consider Turkey as an important partner for regional states. Ankara's public diplomacy in the region is implemented through programs in the field of culture, education, media and development. The first step taken in this direction is the creation in 1993 of the Organization of Turkish Culture (TÜRKSÖY). Members of the organization are in addition to Turkey – Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan (Davutoglu, 2014).

For the development of economic, cultural, social and political relations with the countries of the region, Turkey has used such institutions as the Turkish International Development Cooperation Agency (TIKA) and the Council for Foreign Economic Relations (DEİK). Since 1992, Turkey started to hold summits of Turkic-speaking countries heads to create new opportunities for cooperation. Cultural centers were opened in the regional countries, educational programs for students were implemented, allowing them to study at universities in Turkey. All Central Asian countries have joined the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), established in 1985 by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. Thanks to the inclusion of new members in ECO, Turkey had the opportunity to strengthen economic ties with the countries of Central Asia. Turkey also sought to influence the neighboring countries, focusing on the unity of ethnic origin and culture (Davutoglu, 2014).

It is necessary to institutionalize relations between Turkey and the Central Asian countries.

Compared with the 1990s of the last century, the role of Ankara in the international arena has increased significantly. To a certain extent, economic growth in Turkey contributed to this. Indeed, according to the data of the World Bank, if in 1991 total GDP here was 150 billion dollars, then by the end of 2018 year, this figure rose to 851 billion dollars (The World Bank). According to this indicator, the country is currently on the 17th place in the world (Wikipedia). Meanwhile, according to various forecasts, in the medium and long term, Turkey will move even higher in the ranking of the largest economies. In the modern world, it is the availability of sufficient economic resources that

is seen as one of the important conditions for the political power of the state.

In other words, without financial support, it is difficult for any government to advance its interests in the international arena. Thus, in the case of Turkey today, the country in all senses has become an influential regional player who has all the possibilities for conducting public diplomacy outside the country.

In the XXI century there is a transformation of the Turkish Republic policy in Central Asian countries as a part of Ankara's geopolitical interests. Turkey uses the Turkic factor not only as an important point in establishing cultural and economic relations, but also as an opportunity to spread its external influence. The newly independent Central Asian states served as a convenient platform for this purpose. Here, the aforementioned Turkic motive came to the fore, which was supposed to be the starting point in establishing bilateral contacts. Thus, Turkey became the first state to officially recognize the independence of Kazakhstan in 1991.

In its Central Asian policy, Turkey uses various approaches, including «soft power». Public diplomacy existed from time immemorial, but it was not until the twentieth century that they began to form into a conscious state policy, backed up by legislative acts. Public diplomacy does not replace traditional diplomacy, but helps to prepare fertile ground for official events in the foreign policy arena. This direction of diplomacy refers to the so-called soft power «- to the ability to convince, based on the existing reputation; and also on the ideological, cultural and institutional appeal.

Turkish public policy in Kazakhstan

Turkey was one of the first foreign states who recognized the Kazakhstan independence at the official level. Simultaneously with the official policy, the process of Ankara's public diplomacy started. At the beginning of 2000s Kazakhstan has become one of the most dynamically developing economies in the Eurasian region. This explains Turkey's interest in Kazakhstan, not only as the most important trade, economic partner and investment platform, but also as an object of «soft power».

The Strategic Partnership Agreement (2009) could be considered as the basis for the promotion of Ankara's public diplomacy in Kazakhstan's society.

Republic of Turkey public diplomacy in Kazakhstan is conducted through several channels. One of them are the institutionalized structures. The Cooperation Council of Turkic-speaking States, the Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking Countries (Turk Turk), the International Turkic

Academy, TURKSOY and other structures play an important role in promoting Turkish interests in Kazakhstan. All of the above associations were created on the basis of Turkic identity. Thus, it can be concluded that the factor of «Turkic brotherhood» remains an important tool of Turkish public diplomacy in Kazakhstan.

Immediately after the independence of the Central Asian countries, Turkey began to actively promote the idea of institutionalizing bilateral relations in the field of public diplomacy through the creation of permanent discussion platforms. Today, the most authoritative organization is the Cooperation Council of Turkic-speaking States (CCTS). It was formed in 2009. This association includes Turkey, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan. Periodically, the heads of member states hold summits in the territory of one of the organization's participants. This fact is of great importance, since in Eastern societies with their specific systems of power, personal meetings of leaders often become decisive. It should be noted, the last summit of the presidents was held in 2018. The next meeting is scheduled for 2019 in Baku (Channel 24.KZ, 2018). This fact demonstrates the interest of all countries in more frequent meetings, therefore, the desire to further deepen ties.

It is noteworthy that the representative of Kazakhstan, diplomatic worker B. Amreev, has become the Secretary General of the CCTS (Inform.kz, 2018). The Parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking countries (Turk PA), which was created virtually simultaneously with the CCTS in 2008, also remains an important institution for promoting Turkish interests in Kazakhstan. The initial idea of creating such a structure belongs to Kazakhstan. The main goal of this association is to achieve «harmonization of the legislative sphere and strengthening joint activities regarding other issues related to parliamentary cooperation based on historical, cultural and linguistic unity.» But, importantly, more than half of the budget of this association is funded by Ankara (Efe, 2017). This confirms the fact that Turkey is interested in the existence of all these organizations under discussion. Ankara sees these structures as an instrument for advancing its public diplomacy, therefore, it is ready to incur most of the costs.

In addition to expanding political contacts, Turkey is working in the direction of strengthening cultural, scientific and academic ties. In this context, it should be noted the associations as the Turkic Academy and the TURKSOY. The Turkic Academy was founded in 2010. The organization

was created by the initiative of President Nursultan Nazarbayev personally, who proposed the idea of creating a research center for studying the issues of the Turkic world (International Turkic Academy). Nevertheless, as in the case of the parliamentary assembly, the main Turkey is the financial donor of the organization. In general, the main activity of the Academy is to support educational projects and academic research, which should help strengthen ties between the Turkic societies. The task to establish contacts at the level of representatives of the intellectual environment is the main purpose of organization. It is known, in virtually any modern society, intellectuals are a kind of elite category of citizens who are able to promote important ideas among the population. To a certain extent, the Turkic Academy is an element of soft power in Turkish public diplomacy. In particular, this applies to all sorts of educational programs.

The International Organization of Turkic Culture or TURKSOY is another similar project that aims to develop relations between Turkic societies. It is also sometimes called the UNESCO of the Turkic world. It is important to emphasize that, compared with the above organizations, it was formed much earlier – in 1993 (International Turkic Academy). This organization plays a special role in the relations between the Turkic-speaking states. By and large, Turkic is considered one of the first projects to promote Turkish public diplomacy in Kazakhstan and other countries in the region. Although at first glance this association is seen as a purely cultural project, nevertheless, it is also active in the political sphere. In other words, Turkic pursue political goals that are achieved through so-called soft power.

It should be noted that Turkey plays a central role in the organization. On the one hand, this is again connected with the question of financing. In 2013, each member of the TURKSOY had to contribute at least \$ 25,000 to the organization's budget, while Turkey at that time allocated as much as \$ 300,000, which is much more than the required amount (Efe, 2017). Another important point: if the target audiences of the above-mentioned organizations are certain narrow population groups, then TURKSOY focuses on wider masses. This is its main difference from all such associations. From the point of view of the effectiveness of public diplomacy, this fact is of great importance. Indeed, the more people become objects of public diplomacy, the higher the chances of success of such a policy. Thus, today the Turkic is one of the most effective mechanisms of soft power, therefore, Turkey's public diplomacy in Kazakhstan.

Another form of the Turkic identity expression was the emergence of the musical competition of Turkic, which is a kind of analogue of the well-known Eurovision. The format of the competition is the participation of musicians from the Turkic-speaking societies. The organizer of the Turkvision is the Turkish TV channel TRT. In general, the structures described above function mainly on the basis of the «Turkic brotherhood», where, despite all the nuances, the role of Turkey is dominant for many reasons. The same issue with the financing of an organization is quite indicative. In principle, this situation is typical of many other associations. For example, in the Eurasian Economic Union, Russia is undoubtedly the dominant player. In turn, in the EU, Germany and France are considered the main countries. And so many examples can be found when economically and politically the most powerful states promote their interests within a particular bloc. Turkey also seeks to determine the agenda within an organization. And once again, it is important to emphasize that such a picture is quite natural.

At the same time, there are other Turkish institutions that operate on a more global scale. Their activities are not limited to a group of Turkic-speaking states. Among them, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), which is similar to the USAID USA, is particularly notable. After the Justice and Development Party came to power, funding for this structure has increased significantly, which is also associated with the Ankara ambitions. Currently, the agency operates in 150 countries around the world, including Kazakhstan.

According to the head of the Kazakh government TIKa, the agency is currently implementing many projects in the territory of Kazakhstan. They cover both the social sphere and business development. In addition, the agency assists in the internship of Kazakhstani specialists in Turkey (www.inform.kz, 2017). The Turkish Agency for Cooperation and Coordination, acting as an instrument of soft power in Turkey, increases the attractiveness of the country in the eyes of the local population. In turn, due to the reorganization of TIKa in 2009, the Yunus Emre Institute was established, which oversees the work of Turkish cultural centers outside Turkey. A similar center operates in Astana. One of the main tasks of these structures is to popularize Turkish culture and language (International Turkic Academy).

Within the framework of soft power, this concept is closely related to public diplomacy. These two concepts are inseparable. The above examples of TURKSOY, the International Turkic Academy,

the Yunus Emre Institute and other organizations confirm this thesis. At the same time, soft power can be advanced not only by the state.

For example, the relatively high popularity of the products of the Turkish film industry, mainly serials, is a reflection of non-public public diplomacy.

The cooperation in the field of education, science and innovations can be considered as the second the most important direction of the Turkish «soft power». Turkey is positioning itself as the future key center for attracting foreign students due to high-quality competitive and innovative education. There are 103 state and 65 private universities in the country that implement a wide range of academic programs (Safonkina, 2014). The creation of joint educational institutions in the countries – the objects of «soft power», primarily in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan – has become a successful practice. In 1991 Yassavi (MKTU) international Kazakh-Turkish University was established in Turkestan. Currently, about 20,000 undergraduate and graduate students from Kazakhstan, Turkey, and other countries in the region study at 11 faculties of the university.

The significant impact of culture activities could be assessed in the medium or long term. These activities help overcome prejudice and stereotypes about Turkey and increase interest to the country and its culture. Cultural diplomacy is carried out in the framework of Turkish foreign policy and is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism is also involved in promotion of Turkish culture abroad. The creation of Turkish cultural centers is the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The task of creating centers is «to spread Turkish culture, language and art and develop bilateral relations between Turkey and other countries, to help Turkish citizens adapt to the country in which they live». At present, similar centers have been opened in Berlin, Hanover, Cologne, Frankfurt, Almaty, Ashgabat, Sarajevo, Tehran, etc. Turkish literary and language departments and Turkish courses created at foreign universities are provided with lecturers and necessary technical equipment. Several Turkish educational centers operating abroad are coordinated by the Ministry of National Education and TIKA.

Turkey promotes the Turkish language in Kazakhstan, in particular, within the framework of the project «Turkology». According to the data of the Turkish Higher Education Council, since 1992, 3,150 people have been sent from Kazakhstan to Turkey on a free basis from Kazakhstan to study at local universities. Of these, 1388 completed

their studies fully and 658 students continue their studies.

Conclusion

The historical and cultural conditions, the democratic nature of the state, the dynamic economy, the young population, the «zero problem policy» combined with Atatürk's «peace in the home, peace in the world» principle are the basis of Turkey's «soft power». Turkey's soft power strategy can be defined as non-traditional. Traditionally, it is close to the Egyptian state model, characterized by «hard power» and possessing historical and cultural legitimacy and the novelty is determined by the «zero problems policy» with neighboring countries (Efe, 2017).

After Erdogan came to power, Turkish public diplomacy in Kazakhstan received a new impetus. This is mainly due to geopolitical changes, when the role of Turkey started to grow noticeably in the international arena. This was primarily facilitated by a sharp economic recovery. Against this background, Ankara had financial resources to promote its own interests, including through public diplomacy. On the one hand, the Turkic factor, on the other hand, long-established partnerships with Kazakhstan and in general with Central Asian region, have become the driving force of Turkish public diplomacy here.

The issue regarding the institutionalization of Turkish public diplomacy is resolved. In the field of public diplomacy, there are a large number of institutionalized structures whose activities are aimed at implementing Turkey's foreign policy strategy. There are special regulations specifying the forms of public diplomacy in Ankara's foreign policy.

It should be emphasized that Turkish public diplomacy in Kazakhstan cannot be regarded as a phenomenon. Other global and regional players, such as the United States, Russia, China, the EU, etc., are pursuing a similar strategy towards Kazakhstan. Turkish public diplomacy in the republic is part of a large process.

In the increasing competition of regional and global states in Kazakhstan and Central Asia as a whole, the role of public diplomacy, as part of «soft power», is of key importance for the realization of the priorities of Turkey's foreign policy.

According the analysis Ankara's public diplomacy in the region has been shaped by the historical, cultural and linguistic community of the countries. Turkey competently uses its «soft power» and due to the declared «Turkic brotherhood»

and educational projects it has a good position in Kazakhstan. Over the past decade, Turkey has developed a set of methods for implementing «soft power», which have proven their effectiveness. In the field of promoting culture and language, the great role play the schools with the Turkish language, Turkish history and culture, and the departments of teaching Turkish language in major universities of the target countries, as well as funding for the restoration of historical monuments belonging to Turkish history in the target countries. Turkey supports the conclusion of cooperation agreements between universities, as well as joint research projects in the framework of the implementation of programs of scientific and technical cooperation with countries – the objects of «soft power». Bilateral and multilateral business councils that simplify the activities of Turkish entrepreneurs in the target countries are the main instrument for the development of business relations.

Considering that the main goal of public diplomacy is to improve the image of a country, in the context of this article, it is important to identify the results of Turkish «soft power» in Kazakhstan. In other words, it is necessary to find out Kazakhstan citizens to the Turkish state. Mainly, the main issue is as follows: how the perception of the Turkish state by the Kazakh society has changed, in particular, during the years of independence.

However, it is lack of full-fledged case studies in the open access. Thus, the results of the Turkish «soft power» can only be measured by indirect external signs. In this context, the situation around the Kazakh-Turkish lyceums is the most vivid example. Some time ago in Kazakhstan, the question of the fate of these schools sharply actualized. In particular, some observers write about the possibility of closing the KTL in our republic. Such rumors caused a huge public protest. On the whole, the inhabitants of the country opposed this idea. It was clearly visible on the discussions in social networks. For example, in Facebook, which in recent years has become in some sense a discussion platform for the public, many commentators expressed their disagreement with the likely suspension of the activities of Kazakh-Turkish schools.

The position can also be linked to the results of Turkish public diplomacy. Anyway, ordinary people associate KTL with the policy of Turkish state. As a result, this problem interested not only people (pupils and their parents, the staff of these schools) who are directly related to lyceums, but the entire population as a whole.

In the future, we can expect that the effect of Turkish public diplomacy will only increase. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that the main audience of Turkish «soft power» is Kazakhstani Youth. Thus, over time, when these young people will become more and more actively involved in the social and political life of their country, the results of the strategy of the Turkish state to improve their image in Kazakhstan will become more pronounced. On the other hand, with Turkey's economic gain, its «soft power» will rely on increasing financial resources. This fact, for example, will contribute to the coverage of the wider Kazakh population from the point of view of public diplomacy.

It is known, the Turkish government pays great attention to the issue of allocating educational grants to foreign students. The program started in 2012. Under this program, the Turkish state shall indemnify all expenses of foreign students. In addition, the government provides everyday spendings. Today, 17,500 students from 160 countries of the world are studying under this program in Turkey. What is remarkable, if in 2012 42,000 people applied for this program, then in 2018 this figure already reached 136,000. It is natural that in the future all these students will become a kind of bridge between their home countries and Turkey. This, ultimately, will contribute to the improvement of bilateral relations in the economic, political and cultural spheres. It should be noted that Kazakhstan students are also studying according to the specified program.

In the long term, public diplomacy in Turkey will increasingly affect the improvement of the country's image not only in Kazakhstan, but also in other countries. Despite the absence of any serious research regarding the results of the Turkish «soft power» in Kazakhstan, already today there are visible signs of the continuous improvement of the image of Turkey among the population of the republic.

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