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Performance Analysis for the Organization of Turkic States Member Countries in the Context of Power Elements and Suggestions in Terms of Smart Power

Güç Unsurları Bağlamında Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı Ülkelerinin Performans Analizleri ve Akılcı Güç Noktasında Öneriler

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Abstract

The basic problematics of this article are the accelerated transformation in power, the emergence of new power elements, and the lack of quantitative power performance analyses in the context of the Turkic World. In this direction, it is aimed to evaluate the performance of the Organization of Turkic States member countries Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkey, based on the elements of hard and soft power. This study focuses on the transformation in the concept of power. It combines theoretical and quantitative analyses for power resources, and country performance analysis was carried out with ARAS (Additive Ratio Assessment), one of the effective Multicriteria Decision Making methods. The main theoretical results reached; are that hard power alone is no longer sufficient, and in the new world conditions, structuring in line with smart power is inevitable. The main quantitative results reached by power performance evaluations for countries are; States other than Turkey are quite inadequate in soft power, and these countries are better in hard power performance than soft power, contrary to the post-cold war conditions. However, today, the strategy at the forefront of political power is to focus on soft power. All these are essential shortcomings in terms of smart power potential.

Keywords: Hard power, Soft power, Smart power, Turkic World, Multicriteria Decision Making, ARAS Method

Paper Type: Research

Öz

Güç konusunda hızlanan dönüşüm, yeni güç unsurlarının ortaya çıkması ve Türk Dünyası bağlamında nicel güç performans analizlerinin yapılmamış olması bu makalenin başlıca problematikleridir. Bu doğrultuda Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı üyeleri; Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan ve Türkiye için sert ve yumuşak güç unsurlarından hareketle performans değerlendirmesi amaçlanmıştır. Güç kavramındaki dönüşüme odaklanan teorik analizlerle güç kaynaklarına yönelik niceliksel analizlerin bir arada olduğu çalışmada; ülke performans analizleri; Çok Kriterli Karar Verme yöntemlerinden ARAS (Additive Ratio Assessment) ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ulaşılan başlıca teorik sonuçlar; artık sert gücün tek başına yeterli olmadığı ve yenidünya şartlarında akılcı güç doğrultusunda yapılanmanın kaçınılmazlığı şeklindedir. Ülkelere yönelik güç performans değerlendirmeleriyle ulaşılan başlıca nicel sonuçlar ise; Türkiye dışındaki devletlerin yumuşak güç noktasında oldukça yetersiz olduğu, ayrıca bu ülkelerin soğuk savaş sonrası şartlara aykırı şekilde yumuşak değil de sert güç performansında daha iyi olduklarıdır. Oysaki günümüzde politik güç bağlamında ön plandaki strateji, yumuşak güce ağırlık verilmesidir. Tüm bunlar akılcı güç potansiyeli açısından önemli eksiklerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sert Güç, Yumuşak Güç, Akılcı Güç, Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı, Çok Kriterli Karar Verme, ARAS Yöntemi

Makale Türü: Araştırma

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Introduction

One of the popular concepts in political science and international relations disciplines is "Political Power". One of the popular concepts in political science and international relations disciplines is "Political Power". Political power is a comprehensive concept intertwined with state elements such as legitimacy and sovereignty. It can be handled at different levels, from the level of legitimacy of the political system within the country to the capacity of the state to direct international developments. In short, it is possible to express political power as the potential and power of a state to direct actors within the country but also outside the country in line with its own will (Wilson 114). Many factors, from military power to cultural proximity, play a role within the scope of this potential. If we pay close attention, the ability to control international developments at a regional or global level is an important element of political power.[3]

The strength of a state in the international field is closely related to how much it has on several resources. When we look at the historical process, it is seen that military and economic resources, expressed as classical elements of power, are at the forefront of these resources. Since it directly affects whether a state is active[4] or passive, issues such as the level of ownership of these resources, how they can be increased, and their use within a strategy makes the issue of power a popular field of study. With globalization, the dynamic character of the concept of power has come to the fore, and as a result of the diversification of power sources, the interest in this concept has increased even more.

The fact that the developments in communication and transportation technologies started to shrink the world in the context of time and space in the late 20th century brought the concept of power back to the agenda as a dynamic phenomenon. The nineties, during which the transition from an industrial society to an information society was felt thoroughly, also refer to a period in which information production became the main source of power (Şahin 25, 43-45). With this development, the requirements of being strong at all levels of social life have begun to change. While a new world has emerged where communication, cooperation, and information have become increasingly prominent, new factors towards power have occurred in the international arena. Ultimately, the concepts of soft power and then smart power were added to the concept of hard power, which refers to military and economic power.

The emergence of the soft power approach is related to the fact that military and economic resources within the scope of hard power are no longer sufficient for a state to direct developments in the international field on its initiative. In an environment where communication becomes easier, cooperation becomes more important, and where developments in any part of the world can spread rapidly all over the world, new instruments are needed in foreign policy. In such an environment, creating an attractive image based on political and cultural values, offering solutions to international problems, providing development aids, and following sympathetic and multidimensional diplomacy that sees using force as the last way has manifested itself as new means of providing influence.[5] This process, in which hard power elements such as military power, population, natural resources and traditional diplomacy have started to take a relative backseat, can be summarized as a transformation in which becoming a centre of attraction to have power in the international arena comes into play

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[3] Political power is a broad concept. It includes many elements from economic power to military power and natural resources. In order to avert the confusion that may arise from expressing these elements together with the political word, it is established in the literature to use the concept as "Elements of Power". In the following parts of the study, the use of "Elements of Power" will be preferred.

[4] The Active State can briefly be expressed as a state that can develop independent policy and be effective in decision-making bodies of international institutions (Şahin, *Egemenlikteki Dönüşüm / Transformation in Sovereignity* - 199, 201).

[5] This development can be expressed as the disappearance of Machiavelli's power paradigm based on hard power, which can be summarized as "let them fear the king, not love him" (Nye 55).

(Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu 86). In parallel, shaped by globalization, the idea that adapting to the new order will be mainly through soft power has become increasingly widespread (Chatin, 370, 371, 384). Using soft power tools to become an active state and take advantage of the opportunities of globalization is among the main suggestions of academic circles in the 90s. Global and regional actors have also increasingly turned to strategies that emphasize soft power elements in foreign policy (Wilson 119; Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu 88).

In the 2000s, it was seen that the concept of smart power came into the scene. Smart power is an approach by a state using both hard and soft power elements with good planning. A hybrid method is recommended to increase power, especially using soft power elements within a strategic plan6 (Wilson 110). In the smart power approach, the necessity of structural reform and institutionalization for power is mentioned since a state will not be easy to constitute areas of influence in the new world conditions. In this direction, power is identified with elements that require accumulation and specialization, such as strategy development, understanding the context well, planning well, and having experience. From all these, it can be understood that the smart power approach is also important in terms of the structural transformation in the nation-state, which is followed by a curiosity about globalization.

This study aims to turn to the Turkic World in the context of the transformation of power. In this respect, the member countries of the Turkish Speaking States Cooperation Council (Organization of Turkic States) will be subjected to performance evaluation in the context of hard and soft power elements and based on the results obtained, suggestions will be developed for both the countries and the Organization of Turkic States in terms of smart power. The study has an interdisciplinary nature in which the theoretical analyses focusing on the transformation in the concept of power and the quantitative analysis methods for power resources are combined. At this point, it should be mentioned that there is an increase in the number of studies using quantitative methods in fields such as political science and international relations.7 In this context, studies based on power elements have also been published in recent years.8

The transformation within the scope of power and the emergence of new elements of power, the increase in scientific studies on this subject, and most importantly, the fact that studies involving quantitative power performance analysis in the context of the Turkic World have not yet been conducted can be shown as the main problems of the article. It is also worth mentioning a geopolitical prediction that is effective in initiating such a study in the Turkic World. Accordingly, similar to the rise of Europe and the United States (USA) in the industrial age, the rise of Asia is expected in the information age. It is also within this prediction that the power has shifted towards Asian geopolitics, of which the Turkic World is a part, and that Asia will regain its former central position by 2050 (Nye 59; Butler-Bowdon 257).

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[6] Joseph S. Nye, the inventor of concept, embodies smart power in the form of a person who speaks in a low voice, gently and smilingly, but never lets go of his bat, in an interview while talking about the position of hard and soft power within the scope of smart power (Nye 57).

[7] We can give following studies as examples; Makarovic and Rek (2014); Oberg et al.. (2014); Zbíral (2017); Falkowski et al. (2019), Harden et al. (2019), Ma and Yang (2019); Gkinopoulos (2020), Brown et al. (2021), Woyo and Slabbert (2021).

[8] Performance assessments in the context of power factors may be on the scale of the country and can be made at the level of interstate organizations (country groups). Among the studies that make political power analyses on country level, Patterson (2008), Tan (2015), Heng (2015), Chatin (2016), TenHouten (2016) Rutland and Kazantsev (2016), Thussu (2016) can be shown as examples. Among the studies that make political power analyses on country level, Cross (2011), Gron and Wivel (2011), Sepos (2013) Resnick (2015), Stuenkel (2016) Gallarotti (2016), Chatin and Gallarotti (2016) can be shown as examples.

In power factors, performance evaluations can be made on a country basis or for interstate organizations.[9] This study aimed to determine the[10] power performances in the form of individual countries and evaluate the hard and soft power performance of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkey, which are members of the Organization of Turkic World. In the context of elements of power, performance analysis of countries will be carried out based on Multicriteria Decision Making (MCDM) methods. These methods are effective methods that offer solutions to decision problems with many criteria and alternatives. In addition, performance and efficiency can be determined by these methods. The rankings obtained as a result of a series of numerical processes of MCDM methods are used in selection or performance ranking studies (Hoan and Ha, 2021; Şahin and Karacan, 2020; Radovic et al., 2018; Karabašević et al., 2016). Performance evaluations in this study were carried out with the Additive Ratio Assessment (ARAS) method, which is based on the benefit theory among MCDM methods. With this method, decision alternatives can be sorted by a benefit function between them and comparing events.

It should be noted that there is no similar study in the literature evaluating the member countries of the Organization of Turkic States and other countries in terms of hard and soft power performances compared with the ARAS method or different methods. In this study, the elements discussed while comparing the performances were selected using the literature studies and the descriptions made in the theoretical part of the study. These elements, namely performance criteria, are determined as 15 criteria for hard power; "Military expenditures, Number of armed personnel, Arms exports, Arms imports, GDP per capita, Labor force, Unemployment Rate, Surface area, Agricultural area, Mining, Natural gas, Goods and service exports, High technology exports, International tourism revenues, External debt stock" and nine criteria for soft power; "R&D expenditures, outsourced health expenditures, Development aids received, Global Peace Index, International immigration rate, Number of incoming international tourists, Number of scientific articles, Number of higher education units and Number of international students".

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[9] This type of analysis, expressed as "Composite Soft Power Detection", is mainly done in perspective, such as how the soft power of the interstate organization affects the soft power of the member state (Gallorotti 467). It is seen that EU, as well as BRICS, the economic union of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, have been the subject of such analyses.

[10] The fact that the Organization of Turkic States is a young organization established in 2009 and that the members' soft power profiles were created after the institutional analysis was effective in the realization of the study in the context of member countries rather than as a composite power analysis for the Organization of Turkic States, which is an interstate organization.
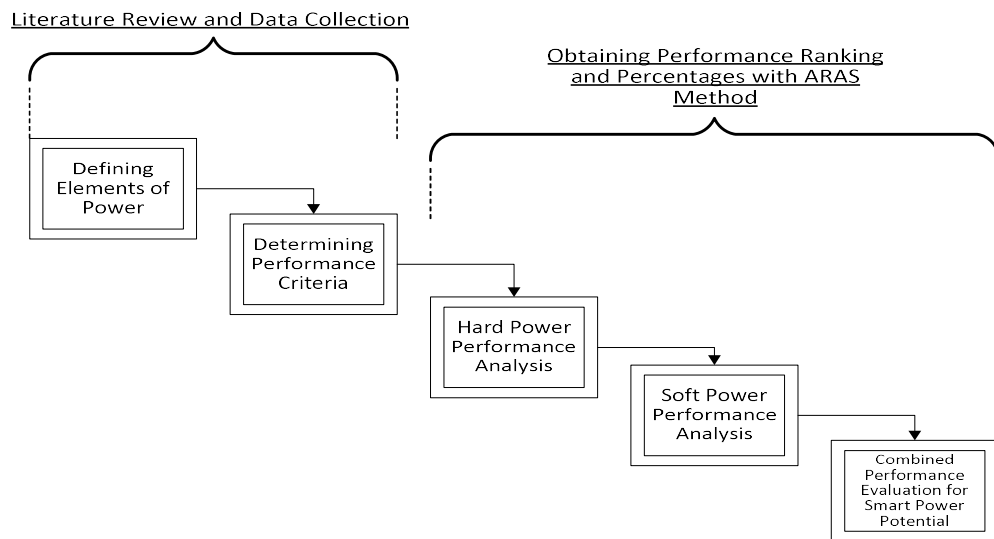
Figure 1. Stages of the Study

It is possible to explain the stages of the study as follows: firstly, elements of power were defined by using the literature, and criteria were determined for performance analysis. The hard and soft power performance rankings and performance rates of the countries were obtained by using the values obtained from the data sources for each criterion of the countries in the ARAS method, and the performance status of both elements of power was used to interpret the smart power potentials of the countries. Subsequently, suggestions were made to countries and the Organization of Turkic States for using sustainable smart power.

1. Concept of Power and Its Derivatives: Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power

In this part of the study, the concept of power, which is seen to have a dynamic structure, will be considered. In order to determine the performance criteria required for the quantitative analysis part of the study, it is essential to explain the main elements related to hard and soft power. At this point, it should be noted that soft power tools are constantly diversifying, making it difficult to determine their scope. The same challenge can be said to apply to smart power, which is a new approach. For this reason, the elements within the scope of soft and smart power will be determined based on the examples reflected in international politics and theoretical descriptions. This effort can contribute to determining the evaluation criteria of the study, as well as provide an insight into the extent to which the theoretical transformation at the point of power is reflected in the policies of global and regional actors.

It is useful to start by pointing out that each state is sovereign in the context of international law but at varying levels in terms of its capacity to control and direct. This difference is mainly related to the ownership of power resources and the ability to use these resources efficiently. Another issue that is useful in understanding the elements of power is that the power of a state is identified with its ability to influence international politics and direct the developments in the region in line with its interests (Nye 56; Raimzhanova 4,5). If attention is paid, the two main components of power are ownership of power resources and using them efficiently within a strategy.

Countries that have these two issues are more likely than other countries to achieve their goals, especially in the fields of foreign policy, national security, and economy. As an active state, they can also have the opportunity to increase their control and guidance capacities in the international arena.

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Over time, they will likely become a center of attraction and a model country (Parsons 233, 237). These are the characteristics that every state wants to have. However, these characteristics require having the power resources that are seen to vary according to the environmental conditions of each period (this can be called the spirit of time) as much as possible and, more importantly, providing continuity to these resources.

It should also be mentioned that the main element of power varies according to periodic conditions. For example, in the 16th century, colonialism and gold stock were the main elements that made a state strong. In the 19th century, producing industrial goods and having maritime power became the main factors affecting power distribution in the international arena. In the last half-century, the power to produce information and innovation has been at the forefront as the main source of power. Another remarkable recent development in power ownership is the numerical diversification of power elements. At this point, it is necessary to underline that mentioning only the elements of hard power as the elements that make a country strong is over. 11 With the introduction of soft power elements, power is expressed as the ability to use power tools wisely (Butler-Bowdon 257).

The dynamic character of power and the fact that concepts such as soft power and then smart power come to the agenda reveal that multi-parameter process management must be carried out successfully to become an active state. Multidimensional planning, coordination and institutionalization are mentioned, and different perspectives, expressed as relational power approaches in complex and rapid globalization conditions, are brought to the agenda (Raimzhanova 4,5). This dynamism in the field of power also justifies the approaches that the process of change called globalization is progressing faster than ever before.

In light of this background on power, the concepts of hard, soft, and smart power can be subjected to a close reading: Military power, economic power, population, and natural resources can be shown as the main elements of hard power. In order to make a priority ranking among these, it should be noted that the first things that come to mind when it comes to hard power are military and economic power. More specifically, military power can be mentioned as the main source of hard power.12 What is meant by pursuing a policy based on hard power is the aggressive military intervention and economic sanctions of a state. Coercive diplomacy based on13 these two (war diplomacy) is also considered within the scope of hard power (Wilson 114). Using hard power elements to be effective in foreign policy is an ancient strategy, and today military and economic power is an important tool for a state to force other states to act according to their wishes. From this point of view, it can be determined that there are elements of hard power based on smart power. Today, most countries are weak in terms of hard power.14

Soft power, however, can be expressed as an effort to penetrate and activate in a consensual way, unlike hard power. It is not aimed at military, economic and diplomatic coercion but to be active in other states with attraction power (Mcinnes and Rushton 328; Butler-Bowdan 257). Priority is given

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[11] In this transformation, the inability to end crises with only hard power as well as the shrinking of the world were effective. Experiences in the Caucasus, Middle East and Balkans have shown that the solution cannot be achieved only by using force, on the contrary, this move increases hostilities and leads to loss of image (Nye 56).

[12] At this point, it can be considered that countries with high economic power but poor military power cannot often act as global or regional power.

[13] We can give an example to this situation. In 1998, Turkey's policy towards Syria has been an aggressive war diplomacy, which was initiated due to terrorist A. Öcalan. In 2008, Russia's economic blockade toward Georgia and its subsequent military intervention in the South Ossetia crisis is also a hard power move.

[14] The United States remains the world's top in terms of hard power. Although the budget savings in this country have been reflected in security and defense expenditures in recent years, the USA is by far ahead in terms of military capacity and share allocated to national security (Quinn 8,9,12).

to issues such as establishing legitimacy ties with other countries, providing sympathy, arousing interest through culture and values, and being a mediating country.

Soft power is an area where many economic, cultural, and political tools are put into action. This diversity ranges from development aid, medical support, and democratization to cultural values, from effective media use to multidimensional foreign policy. The breadth of the scope makes it difficult to narrow down the components of soft power as clearly as hard power. Sometimes even hard and soft power tools can be intertwined, as in economic aid. For this reason, it may be useful to make an effort to objectify it based on the tools used most within the scope of soft power. In this context, orienting toward diplomacy based on dialogue and sympathy in foreign policy can be first mentioned (Wilson 114). In this context, being a mediator in international disputes and crises, exhibiting an impartial and constructive attitude, and conducting international relations in a multilateral manner and with moderate discourses come to the fore.[15] Special interest in the areas planned for cooperation is also a common move in the context of soft power[16] (Chatin, 370, 374, 375). At this point, it is important to note that education,[17] health[18], development assistance and direct investment-based cooperation programs[19] are essential tools in soft power diplomacy (Wilson 119). It is also seen that cultural and historical links, political values and principles (which can be an ideology or democratic values) are engaged in foreign policy as soft power[20](Wilson 114). Again, [21] developing a peaceful

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[15]The strategy for mediation in the regions of crises exhibited by Brazil and Germany can be mentioned. Brazil managed to attract attention with its mediation role in the Palestinian-Israeli tension, in the Iran-U.S. nuclear dispute and the Venezuelan crisis in 2016. In the last two decades, Germany has been on the stage with mediation initiatives in Israel-Palestine, Ukraine, Afghanistan, the Western Balkans and Libya (Chatin 370, 371; Çalışır 58).

[16] "European Neighborhood Policy" (ENP) is a program the EU implemented in 2002 to deepen political, economic and cultural co-operation using elements of soft power. The EU provides economic aid within the scope of this program, provides solutions for conflicts and crises with mediator diplomacy, and promotes social solidarity and democratization (Kalkan and Kılıç 201).

[17]The United States has a soft power element with higher education institutions and scholarships that attract great attention all over the world (Mcinnes and Rushton 329). It is seen that the EU uses education opportunities within the scope of soft power with programs such as Jean Monnet, Erasmus and Lifelong Learning (Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu 92).

[18]Health care aid/investment is a growing soft power practice. It is seen that cooperation in this direction is very effective in providing prestige/sympathy. In this context, the most common activities are to establish hospitals in foreign countries, to provide medicine and medical technology assistance, to provide country quotas and scholarship opportunities for education in the field of health. In the meantime, it should be noted that the US and the EU see medical diplomacy as an effective tool in terms of draining the resources of global terrorism and radical ideologies (Mcinnes and Rushton 328, 329).

[19]Investments such as roads/bridges undertaken by Brazil in Ghana from Sub-Saharan African countries can be mentioned. Again, China's Africa Declaration and Germany's "Marshall Plan for Africa" program are based on development together theme. The USA intensively supports Ethiopia and Kenya with development aid in Sub-Saharan Africa (Orakçı 86).

[20]The Confucius Institute, which China has opened around the world, can also be mentioned. The Chinese language and cultural values are being spread through these institutes, which numbered 548 as of 2020, while the political-economic system and communist thinking of China are also being introduced. China also provides international project and education support through the Confucius Institutes. Another similar example is Yunus Emre Institutes by Turkey. With a number reaching up to 50, it is the cultural diplomacy tool for Turkey.

[21]The Russians have created a story that addresses the East and the West with the idea of New Eurasian solidarity, and a potential (solidarity) globalization proposal, which is an alternative globalization approach. The "European values", which the EU has made the foundation of the Union with the Lisbon Treaty, is another story of soft power. Brazil is also trying to create a peaceful story of solidarity between developing countries, with themes such as distorted economic globalization, the effects of climate change, being a guardian of international law.

economic-political discourse (story) and propagandizing for it in order to ensure regional effectiveness is22 also within the scope of soft power.

Storytelling can be expressed as facing the target audience with a world of values that will bring happiness and development. According to Nye, the architect of the smart approach to power, "success now depends not only on who owns the most powerful military fleet, even on who owns the richest but on who has the best story" (Butler-Bowdan 257). This requires effective use of media and next-generation propaganda tools. In addition, it should be mentioned that public institutions23 and non-governmental24 organizations are an important tools for contributing to the country's image with humanitarian aid and cultural cooperation programs in soft power studies. Providing the support of foreign countries' public opinion, especially through public diplomacy, has been popular recently. Steps to raise living standards in foreign countries through public institutions are expressed as public diplomacy (Wilson 120). The high level of welfare, democratic consolidation, prominent moves in the field of science and technology25 and even the organization of large international organizations have been included in the elements of soft power used in terms of international dignity and sympathy (Wilson 120,122; Raimzhanova 4,5). A country's culture that is attractive to other countries can also be evaluated within the scope of soft power.26 A common historical heritage, a traditionalized political stance, political and economic stability, and a moral foreign policy image also increase the potential for soft power (Nye 56).

The Smart Power approach can be expressed as using elements of hard and soft power effectively, rather than having these elements. According to this approach, using hard and soft power within a strategic plan has become the main element of power (Butler-Bowdan 256, 257; Mcinnes and Rushton 329; Wilson 110). Although the strategic use of soft power is concentrated in the smart power approach, hard power elements are also involved.27 When necessary, the transition to hard power policies is within the scope of smart power.28 At this point, the smart power approach can also be expressed as understanding that it will be extraordinary to provide leadership only with soft power (Nye 56). As the most original aspect of smart power, it can be shown that it emphasizes strategy and institutionalization to use power resources optimally within the relevant context (Gallorotti, 471).

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[22]In line with its new story, Russia first broadcasted in the former USSR region and then worldwide with the English international channel Russia Today, which it founded in 2005. Turkey's setting up TRT World in 2009 is a similar soft power move.

It may be a good example for[23] Turkish Airlines to increase the number of direct flights in Africa. This move has increased the interest and sympathy for Turkey in many countries by mobilizing the sense of being cared about as well as its contribution to transportation and freedom of travel.

[24] Non-governmental organizations contribute to soft power with humanitarian projects they carry out especially in undeveloped regions and disaster areas.

[25]A country's organization of important international organizations is considered as a practice of soft power in terms of recognition, show of power and sympathy (Butler-Bowdon 256). In the 2000s, it is seen that Russia, China, Brazil and Japan came to the forefront in undertaking major sports organizations. In addition, there is a great competition to host such events that attract billions of viewers and millions of tourists (Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu 93,94)

[26] India's soft power is mostly based on its cultural accumulation. Accordingly, it should be underlined that India has become the most film-produced country in the world. According to 2007 statistics, these films are watched by approximately 3 billion people a year (Pery, 2007).

[27] New arms and military software development activities of global powers, especially China, the USA and Russia, continue and military expenditures are increasing (Quinn 10, 11). In addition, soft power requires an important budget. Therefore, economic development is also important in terms of soft power.

[28]It is recommended to use soft and hard power together, especially in matters such as terrorism and prevention of nuclear activities (Yılmaz and Koçlu 87).

There is an emphasis on not acting haphazardly to be a partner or model country.29 If we pay close attention, this institutionalist quality change in the context of power also points to a world where it is increasingly difficult to remain a power holder.

The smart power approach's dynamics can also help make sense of the concept. At this point, it is necessary to talk about the increase in geopolitical uncertainties along with globalization. There is now a period in which inter-community relations become easier, but problems and opportunities increase. The problems are of a more international and complex nature. In this context, foreign policy and national security areas are also becoming more complex compared to the past. Again, the fact that knowledge has become the main power source makes innovative, multidimensional thinking and establishing smart strategies decisive in the context of power (Wilson 112). Another effective development in putting forward the smart power approach is that the information revolution makes all societies in the world more educated and knowledgeable (intelligent)30. This means that international competition is becoming increasingly difficult, making it more important than ever not to waste resources by acting rationally at the level of both national and interstate organizations. Finally, features such as being a model country that gains more importance in the age of communication, being accepted, and being a model country that one can pin her/his hopes on can be shown as another dynamic that requires coming out to the world with a good story and institutionalization at the point of power. With a peaceful story, the implementation of rise-based policies effectively gains influence in the surrounding countries. All these expressions have made it necessary to use power elements in a smarter and visionary way for effectiveness in the international arena (Butler-Bowdon 256; Wilson 112,113). Considering all these, Joseph S. Nye from the USA has become the first to express that the period of becoming a smart power has begun. The proposals based on this approach reflect foreign and national security policies, especially in states such as the United States, Russia, China, and regionalizations such as the EU and BRICS (Wilson 110).

Smart power is essentially a process of institutionalization. It is not easy to decide and implement how to combine hard and soft power, and it makes institutionalism necessary to the extent that it never was. The fact that institutionalization is carried out in two main axes, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense, and extends to units such as culture, education, health and economy in public administration makes this process difficult. As understood, a long journey requiring specialization, knowledge, patience and experience is undertaken with institutional steps to become a smart power.31 In the meantime, some approaches consider

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29 The steps taken by China in Africa can be covered by the rising together motto. The development-themed "Beijing Declaration" announced with the participation of 44 African countries in 2000 is the product of a serious preparation. In this context, while conducting economic cooperation with Sudan, South Africa, Democratic Congo, Nigeria and Zambia, China provides health and technology aids, supports the search for oil and mineral resources, gives cheap loans and contributes to the construction of road and power plants. It can be said that China, which also sells a significant amount of weapons and military equipment to these countries, integrates hard and soft power. After all, China makes these countries a market in military and commercial terms (Reaper 84, 85, 90; Wilson 111; Gallorotti 471).

30 Even in the Sub-Saharan African countries, where the world's poorest countries are located, it has been reflected in many international reports that the middle class has been strengthened and this trend will make a big leap in fifty years (AFDB, 2011). In the meantime, it should be noted that 6 out of the 10 fastest developing countries in the first decade of the 2000s were Sub-Saharan African countries and the growth figures in Africa were above the world average (Orakçı 76, 77).

31It should not be ignored that institutional reform is not easy, and resistance can be encountered. First of all, foreign policy and security institutions are traditionally conservative and distant from cooperation. In addition, economic and military units within the scope of hard power are stronger than soft power institutions. They use

institutionalization as a smart power as a national security obligation in the conditions of globalization (Wilson 110, 116, 118).

In order to embody the smart power a little more, a cycle like the following can be mentioned. First, good planning should be made to increase the effectiveness and control power in line with the determined interests. It should then be decided which soft and (if necessary) hard power elements will be activated within this planning. It should also be noted that health,32 education and development aids are generally the main soft power elements used in this process. Using elements of soft power in a way that does not cause local reactions should also be included in this planning33. In other words, good perception management is required where elements of soft power are activated34. This necessity brings about a rational planning of the peaceful story, another application of soft power. At this point, it should be noted that the new world order is seen as a period of peaceful and shared rise strategies in the smart power approach35 (Butler-Bowdon 256).

2. Data and methodology

This part of the study presents the evaluation method, criteria and data sources used to evaluate the hard and soft power performances of the member countries of the Organization of Turkic States.

2.1. Aras Method

This study evaluated the hard and soft power performances of the member countries of the Organization of Turkic States with the ARAS method. Countries are listed and compared among themselves in terms of performance. The ARAS method is a multicriteria decision-making method developed by Zavadskas and Turskis in 2010 that compares ranking and effectiveness between options. This benefit theory based method determines the ratio of alternative decision options to an optimum alternative, and the options are listed according to the benefit function.

The application steps of the method are as follows (Zavadskas and Turskis 163): the number of decision alternatives is represented by m, the number of criteria by n, and in the first step, an initial decision matrix with m rows and n columns is created. In the second step, the initial matrix is normalized, and then the weighted normalized decision matrix is obtained by multiplying the values of the normalized decision matrix by the criteria weights. Optimality function and benefit degrees are calculated with the formulas of the method, and in the last step, alternatives are sorted from large to small according to their performance. The process steps are as follows in detail:

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most of the financial resources and are accustomed to being important. They may be reluctant to restructure institutional mechanisms (Wilson 118).

[32]EU uses health co-operation and aid as part of long-term goals such as sympathy, attractiveness, providing local support and improving European identity.

[33] In parallel with China's increasing aid, the fact that Chinese started to be taught as a compulsory second foreign language in schools in Zambia as well as English brought along discussions of colonialism. Confucius Institutes in Europe and the United States are criticized on the grounds that they are not transparent and instill communist thought. Sweden became the first European country to close the Confucius Institute in 2015 (Kavas, 2020).

[34]US practices in Afghanistan and Iraq can be exemplified in this regard. In order to gain sympathy within potential enemy communities after the US military operation, the US turns to intensive public diplomacy, provides public relations training to its soldiers and asks the local people to report human rights violations through social media (Wilson 121).

[35]Germany's "Marshall Plan for Africa", which took effect in 2018, is a practice of smart power. This plan, which was announced by the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development in the meeting held with the African Union as a "German Initiative" to create value, not exploitation, also has a story in the form of combating poverty, unemployment, war and diseases (Orth, 2018).

Step 1 Creating the Initial Decision Matrix*:* First, an initial decision matrix consisting of alternative and criteria values is created as in equation 1. In addition, a line containing the optimum value for each criterion is included in the decision matrix. According to the direction of the criteria, whether they are in the state of benefit or cost is determined, and the optimum values for them are determined by equations 2 and 3.

$$X= \begin{bmatrix} x_{01} & \cdots & x_{0j} & \cdots & x_{0n} \\ \cdots & \ddots & \cdots & \ddots & \cdots \\ x_{i1} & \cdots & x_{ij} & \cdots & x_{in} \\ \cdots & \ddots & \cdots & \ddots & \cdots \\ x_{m1} & \cdots & x_{mj} & \cdots & x_{mn} \end{bmatrix} \qquad i = 0,1, \dots m \ \text{ and } j = 1,2, \dots, n \qquad (1)$$

$$x_{0j} = {}^{\text{maks}}_{i} x_{ij}, \ \text{ maximization (benefit)} \qquad (2)$$

$$x_{0j} = {}^{\text{min}}_{i} x_{ij}, \ \text{ minimization (cost)} \qquad (3)$$

Step 2 Achieving the Normalized Decision Matrix: At this stage, the normalization process is calculated differently according to the benefit or cost status of the criteria. If the criteria are in the benefit direction, the normalization process is performed with equation 4.

$$\bar{x}_{ij} = \frac{x_{ij}}{\sum_{i=0}^{m} x_{ij}} \qquad (4)$$

If the criteria are cost-oriented, the normalization process is performed with equation 5.

$$x_{ij} = \frac{1}{x_{ij}^{*}} \ , \qquad \bar{x}_{ij} = \frac{x_{ij}}{\sum_{i=0}^{m} x_{ij}} \qquad (5)$$

As a result of these operations, a normalized decision matrix is obtained as in equation 6.

$$\bar{X} = \begin{bmatrix} \bar{x}_{01} & \cdots & \bar{x}_{0j} & \cdots & \bar{x}_{0n} \\ \cdots & \ddots & \cdots & \ddots & \cdots \\ \bar{x}_{i1} & \cdots & \bar{x}_{ij} & \cdots & \bar{x}_{in} \\ \cdots & \ddots & \cdots & \ddots & \cdots \\ \bar{x}_{m1} & \cdots & \bar{x}_{mj} & \cdots & \bar{x}_{mn} \end{bmatrix} i = 0,1, \dots m \ \text{ and } j = 1,2, \dots, n \qquad (6)$$

Step 3 Creating the Normalized Weighted Matrix*:* At this stage, first, the significance level between 0 and 1 of each criterion, that is, the weight value, is determined so that the sum is 1. If the weights are equal, the weight values obtained by dividing the number of 1 by the number of criteria are used. If the weights are not equal, different MCDM methods can be used to calculate weights with expert opinion (weights can be determined by methods such as Analytical Hierarchy Process, ENTROPY, CILOS, DEMATEL, etc.). The weights of each criterion are multiplied by the normalized value corresponding to the criterion to obtain the normalized weighted matrix in equation 7.

$$\widehat{X} = \begin{bmatrix} \hat{x}_{01} & \cdots & \hat{x}_{0j} & \cdots & \hat{x}_{0n} \\ \cdots & \ddots & \cdots & \ddots & \cdots \\ \hat{x}_{i1} & \cdots & \hat{x}_{ij} & \cdots & \hat{x}_{in} \\ \cdots & \ddots & \cdots & \ddots & \cdots \\ \hat{x}_{m1} & \cdots & \hat{x}_{mj} & \cdots & \hat{x}_{mn} \end{bmatrix} \qquad i = 0,1,\dots m \ \text{ and } j = 1,2,\dots,n \qquad (7)$$

Step 4 Achieving the Optimization Function*:* Using equation 8, the value of the function of optimality S_i is generated for each alternative. Here, the highest value is evaluated with the best approach.

$$S_i = \sum_{j=1}^{n} \hat{x}_{ij} \quad i = 0,1,\dots m \ \text{ and } j = 1,2,\dots,n \qquad (8)$$

Step 5 Calculation of Benefit Rankings of Alternatives and Obtaining Rankings: In the final phase K_i The value, i.e. the degree of benefit of each alternative, is obtained by means of equation 9. Here, the S_0 optimality function is the best value among its values. The order of the larger determines the degree of benefit to the smaller, which alternative should be decided, the alternative with the highest degree of benefit will be in the 1st place.

$$K_i = \frac{S_i}{S_0} \,; i = 0,1,\dots m \qquad (9)$$

2.2. Hard Power and Soft Power Performance Criteria Used in Evaluation

In the study, hard power and soft power performances of 6 countries, including Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkey, which are members of the Organization of Turkic States, were evaluated. While determining the evaluation criteria, only the elements that have quantitative equivalents in the corporate databases among the hard and soft power elements specified in the above sections could be addressed. In order to measure hard power and soft power performances, 2018 data of the criteria were determined according to the literature (the most up-to-date data available at the time of the study); Global Peace Index rankings were compiled from the Institute of Economy and Peace (Institute of Economy and Peace, 2018), the number of higher education units and the number of international students were compiled from the official statistical institutions of the countries. Data on all other criteria were obtained from World Bank statistics (World Bank, 2018).
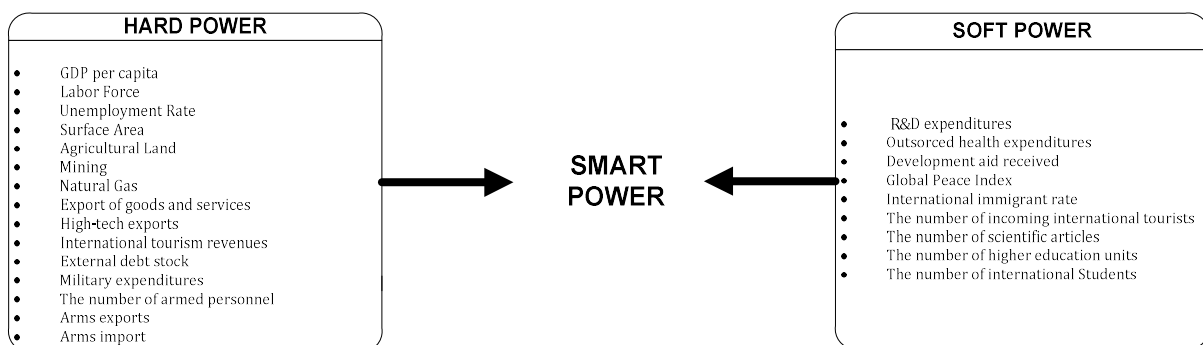
HARD POWER
- GDP per capita
- Labor Force
- Unemployment Rate
- Surface Area
- Agricultural Land
- Mining
- Natural Gas
- Export of goods and services
- High-tech exports
- International tourism revenues
- External debt stock
- Military expenditures
- The number of armed personnel
- Arms exports
- Arms import

SMART POWER

SOFT POWER
- R&D expenditures
- Outsorced health expenditures
- Development aid received
- Global Peace Index
- International immigrant rate
- The number of incoming international tourists
- The number of scientific articles
- The number of higher education units
- The number of international Students

Figure 2. Hard Power and Soft Power Performance Criteria

Figure 2 shows the performance criteria used in the evaluation. The hard power performance criteria can be summarized, together with their descriptions, as follows:

GDP per capita: The per capita gross domestic product values of the countries, which are an important indicator of the standard of living, were obtained from the statistics of the World Bank and obtained by dividing the gross domestic product by the population of the countries in the middle of the year. The unit is current USD.

Labor Force: The total labor force of the countries is the sum of the people who provide labor for the production of products and services at the age of fifteen and over and people who are unemployed and looking for work.

Unemployment Rate: It is obtained by the ratio of the number of unemployed people who are included in the labor force criterion to the total labor force.

Surface Area: This criterion is included in the analysis to compare the surface areas of the countries and refers to the surface area in square kilometers.

Agricultural Land: It is the expression in square kilometers of land used for five years or more under cultivated and permanent agricultural crops, including grasslands in countries.

Mining: Mining revenues of countries are the difference between the production value of tin, gold, lead, zinc, iron, copper, nickel, silver, bauxite and phosphate minerals in world prices and total production costs. It is included in the analyses as a percentage of gross domestic product.

Natural Gas: Natural gas revenues in countries are included in the analysis as a percentage of gross domestic product and equal to the difference between the value of natural gas production on world prices and total production costs.

Export of goods and services: It refers to the current US dollar value of all products and services that countries produce and provide to other countries. The goods produced include the value of services such as transportation, insurance, travel, royalties and licensing fees, construction, communication, finance, information provision, personal services and government services.

High-tech exports: The current US dollar value of export revenues of computers, aviation, scientific tools, pharmaceuticals and electrical machines from products and services that require high research and development while being produced.

International tourism revenues: The current US dollar value of the expenditures made by international tourists in the country.

External debt stock: It is the ratio of the sum of the countries' private, long-term and short-term external debts under the public guarantee to the gross national product.

Military expenditures: It is expressed as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product of the expenditures made by the countries to the armed forces.

The number of armed personnel: It is the sum of active armed forces personnel and military personnel in the countries.

Arms exports: Arms produced and exported by countries are the value of military materials and systems in millions of US dollars. Values equal to zero indicate less than half a million US dollars of exports.

Arms import: Arms, military materials and systems imported by countries are presented in millions of US dollars.

Among these criteria used to determine hard power performance, Unemployment rate, External debt stock, and Arms import criteria are cost-oriented, and other criteria are benefit-oriented.

The soft power performance criteria can be summarized, together with their descriptions, as follows:

R&D expenditures: Expenditures for research and development (R&D) are expressed as a percentage of gross domestic product. The sectors included in the calculation are state, higher education, commercial enterprise, basic research, applied research and experimental development.

Outsourced health expenditures: Health expenditures that are included in the national health system from outside the country and directed through government or non-governmental organizations are defined as outsourced health expenditures. Data on outsourced health expenditures are expressed as a percentage of all health expenditures.

Development aid received: It is the amount of official development aid and grants received by countries, expressed as a percentage of gross national product.

Global Peace Index: This index is an initiative by the Institute of Economics and Peace that measures the peaceful positions of the countries every year since 2007. The themes of calculations are the level of security and security in society, the dimensions of national and international conflict and the degree of militarization. In this study's calculations, the countries' rankings for 2018 were used (Economy and Peace Institute, 2018).

International Immigrant rate: It is included in the calculations as a criterion showing what percentage of the population of the countries consists of international migrants.

The number of incoming international tourists: It is the number of tourists who travel to the countries for a period not exceeding twelve months, consisting of visitors who come to countries other than their citizens.

The number of scientific articles: This criterion includes the number of articles published in mathematics, medicine, physics, chemistry, biology, biomedical, engineering and technology, and earth and space sciences.

The number of higher Education Units: The data on this criterion were obtained from the official institutions of the countries and refer to the total number of higher education institutions in the countries. (State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan Statistical Committee, National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Kyrgyz, State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan, YÖK Information Management System, 2021)

The number of International Students: The data on this criterion were obtained from the official statistical institutions of the countries and refer to the total number of international students studying in higher education institutions in the countries (State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan Statistical Committee, National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan, YÖK Information Management System, 2021).

Among these criteria used to determine soft power performance; Outsourced health expenditures, received development aids and Global Peace Index ranking criteria are cost-oriented, and other criteria are benefit-oriented. The smallest value is the best in cost-oriented criteria, and the largest value is the best in benefit-oriented criteria.

3. Evaluation of Hard Power Performance

In this part of the study, the hard power performances of the countries were evaluated through 15 criteria with the ARAS method. In the evaluation conducted for 2018, an initial matrix was created after the values corresponding to all criteria were obtained from the relevant databases. The normalization process was carried out according to the criteria' benefit or cost direction, and the normalized initial matrix is given in Table 1. All the criteria discussed in this study are of equal weight, and Table 2 shows the weighted normalized matrix consisting of values multiplied by criteria weights. Table 3 shows the function of optimality for each country, the degree of benefit and the hard power performance rankings of the countries.

In the hard power performance rankings obtained by the ARAS method, it is seen that the country with the highest degree of benefit is Turkey. Turkey is followed by Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan, respectively. In the case where the benefit ratings are evaluated as a percentage expression of the performance rate, while Turkey exhibits a hard power performance of approximately 61%, The performance of Kazakhstan, which is the next country, is 39.3%. The next one is Uzbekistan, with approximately 31%. Kyrgyzstan is in fourth place with 25%, and Azerbaijan, which ranks last, is 21%.

4. Evaluation of Soft Power Performance

In this part of the study, the soft power performances of the countries were evaluated through 9 criteria with the ARAS method. In the evaluation conducted for 2018, an initial matrix was created after the values corresponding to all criteria were obtained from the relevant databases. The normalization process was carried out according to the benefit or cost direction of the criteria, and the normalized initial matrix is given in Table 4. All the criteria discussed in this study are of equal weight, and Table 5 shows the weighted normalized matrix consisting of values multiplied by criteria weights. Table 6 shows the function of optimality for each country, the degree of benefit and the soft power performance rankings of the countries.

In the soft power performance rankings obtained by the ARAS method, it is seen that the country with the highest degree of benefit is Turkey. Turkey is followed by Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, respectively. In the case where the benefit ratings are evaluated as a percentage expression of the performance rate, while Turkey exhibits a soft power performance of approximately 84%, The performance of Kazakhstan, which is the next country, is 37%. Azerbaijan comes third with approximately 16%. Uzbekistan is in fourth place with 14%, and Kyrgyzstan, which ranks last, is 13%.

Table 7 shows the countries' hard and soft power performance ratios and rankings collectively. Performance rates are values obtained by comparing countries among themselves and are interpreted as percentage values. One of the important points to be considered here is that the hard and soft power rankings of Turkey and Kazakhstan are the same, but their performance rates are different. It is seen that Turkey's soft power performance is higher than its hard power performance, and Kazakhstan's hard power performance is higher than its soft power performance. Azerbaijan ranks last in the hard power ranking and 3rd in the soft power ranking. It also has a higher hard power performance than soft power performance. Kyrgyzstan ranked 4th in the hard power ranking. It is in the last place in the soft power ranking, and its hard power performance is higher than its soft power performance. Uzbekistan is 3 in the hard power ranking. It ranks 4th in the soft power ranking. It is seen that the hard power performance of Uzbekistan is higher than soft power performance. The hard power performance of all countries except Turkey is higher than soft power performance.

Table 1. Normalized Matrix (Hard Power)

	GDP per capita	Labor force	Unemployment Rate	Surface Area	Agricultural Land	Mining	Natural Gas	Export of goods and services	High-tech exports	International tourism revenues	External debt stock	Military expenditures	Number of armed personnel	Arms exports	Arms import
A0	0.2677	0.3389	0.2097	0.3910	0.4218	0.3229	0.3931	0.4079	0.3862	0.4548	0.2391	0.2282	0.4045	0.4548	0.4961
Azerbaijan	0.1293	0.0526	0.1943	0.0124	0.0093	0.0141	0.1486	0.0428	0.0026	0.0350	0.2226	0.2282	0.0647	0.0000	0.0015
Kazakhstan	0.2677	0.0933	0.1963	0.3910	0.4218	0.1206	0.0648	0.1133	0.2185	0.0328	0.0810	0.0585	0.0561	0.0050	0.0016
Kyrgyzstan	0.0357	0.0261	0.2097	0.0287	0.0205	0.3229	0.0001	0.0044	0.0050	0.0064	0.0793	0.1007	0.0165	0.0037	0.4961
Uzbekistan	0.0417	0.1503	0.1024	0.0642	0.0520	0.2128	0.3931	0.0237	0.0015	0.0163	0.2391	0.2239	0.0537	0.0818	0.0038
Turkey	0.2579	0.3389	0.0874	0.1127	0.0745	0.0066	0.0002	0.4079	0.3862	0.4548	0.1389	0.1604	0.4045	0.4548	0.0008

Table 2.Weighted Normalized Matrix (Hard Power)

Criteria Weights	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*	*0.066*
	GDP per capita	Labor force	Unemployment Rate	Surface Area	Agricultural Land	Mining	Natural Gas	Export of goods and services	High-tech exports	International tourism revenues	External debt stock	Military expenditures	Number of armed personnel	Arm exports	Arms import
A0	*0.0178*	*0.0226*	*0.0140*	*0.0261*	*0.0281*	*0.0215*	*0.0262*	*0.0272*	*0.0257*	*0.0303*	*0.0159*	*0.0152*	*0.0270*	*0.0303*	*0.0331*
Azerbaijan	0.0086	0.0035	0.0130	0.0008	0.0006	0.0009	0.0099	0.0029	0.0002	0.0023	0.0148	0.0152	0.0043	0.0000	0.0001
Kazakhstan	0.0178	0.0062	0.0131	0.0261	0.0281	0.0080	0.0043	0.0076	0.0146	0.0022	0.0054	0.0039	0.0037	0.0003	0.0001
Kyrgyzstan	0.0024	0.0017	0.0140	0.0019	0.0014	0.0215	0.0000	0.0003	0.0003	0.0004	0.0053	0.0067	0.0011	0.0002	0.0331
Uzbekistan	0.0028	0.0100	0.0068	0.0043	0.0035	0.0142	0.0262	0.0016	0.0001	0.0011	0.0159	0.0149	0.0036	0.0055	0.0003
Turkey	0.0172	0.0226	0.0058	0.0075	0.0050	0.0004	0.0000	0.0272	0.0257	0.0303	0.0093	0.0107	0.0270	0.0303	0.0001

Table 3.Optimization Function, Benefit Rankings and Ranking (Hard Power)

	S	F	Ranking
A0	0.3611	1.0000	
Azerbaijan	0.0772	0.2138	5
Kazakhstan	0.1415	0.3918	2
Kyrgyzstan	0.0904	0.2503	4
Uzbekistan	0.1107	0.3065	3
Turkey	0.2191	0.6067	1

Table 4.Normalized Matrix (Soft Power)

	R&D expenditures	Outsourced health expenditures	Development aid received	Global Peace Index	International Immigrant	Incoming International Tourist	Scientific article	Higher Education Unit	International Student
A0	0.3896	0.4775	0.3782	0.2093	0.3721	0.3970	0.4744	0.2849	0.4353
Azerbaijan	0.0749	0.0072	0.0982	0.1854	0.0501	0.0245	0.0108	0.0719	0.0120
Kazakhstan	0.0498	0.0308	0.3782	0.0983	0.3721	0.0757	0.0335	0.1715	0.0612
Kyrgyzstan	0.0434	0.0010	0.0037	0.1517	0.0636	0.0598	0.0019	0.0705	0.0553
Uzbekistan	0.0526	0.0059	0.0179	0.1461	0.0724	0.0460	0.0050	0.1162	0.0008
Turkey	0.3896	0.4775	0.1238	0.2093	0.0697	0.3970	0.4744	0.2849	0.4353

Table 5. Weighted Normalized Matrix (Soft Power)

Criteria Weights	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111	0.1111
	R&D expenditures	Outsourced health expenditures	Development aid received	Global Peace Index	International Immigrant	Incoming International Tourist	Scientific article	Higher Education Unit	International Student
A0	0.0433	0.0531	0.0420	0.0233	0.0413	0.0441	0.0527	0.0317	0.0484
Azerbaijan	0.0083	0.0008	0.0109	0.0206	0.0056	0.0027	0.0012	0.0080	0.0013
Kazakhstan	0.0055	0.0034	0.0420	0.0109	0.0413	0.0084	0.0037	0.0191	0.0068
Kyrgyzstan	0.0048	0.0001	0.0004	0.0169	0.0071	0.0066	0.0002	0.0078	0.0061
Uzbekistan	0.0058	0.0007	0.0020	0.0162	0.0080	0.0051	0.0006	0.0129	0.0001
Turkey	0.0433	0.0531	0.0138	0.0233	0.0077	0.0441	0.0527	0.0317	0.0484

Table 6. Optimization Function, Benefit Rankings and Ranking (Soft Power)

	S	F	Ranking
A0	0.3798	1.0000	
Azerbaijan	0.0594	0.1565	3
Kazakhstan	0.1412	0.3719	2
Kyrgyzstan	0.0501	0.1319	5
Uzbekistan	0.0514	0.1354	4

Turkey	0.3180	0.8371	1

Table 7.Hard and Soft Power Performance Rates and Rankings

Ülke	*Hard Power*		*Soft Power*	
	Performance	Ranking	Performance	Ranking
Azerbaijan	21%	5	16%	3
Kazakhstan	39%	2	37%	2
Kyrgyzstan	25%	4	13%	5
Uzbekistan	31%	3	14%	4
Turkey	61%	1	84%	1

Conclusion

The obtained results can be expressed as points regarding the concept of power, national results based on performance evaluation and suggestions for the Organization of Turkic States. As the first result of the transformation in power, it can be mentioned that hard power alone is not enough. The policies of the main actors in the international arena in the last quarter century confirm this situation. Another result is that structuring in line with smart power in the new world conditions shaped by the information revolution has become necessary for states. This finding can be expressed as the main result obtained in the theoretical part of the study.

Meanwhile, another result reflects the smart power mentality on institutionalization in a more inclusive way extending from economy to culture beyond foreign policy and national security. Another finding is that the inadequacy of the elements of hard power encourages the orientation towards soft power. Most actors who have already been active in the international arena in the last quarter of a century are countries or unions with weak hard power compared to the global powers such as the USA, China and Russia. In this context, the first example that comes to mind is the EU, which is obliged to be a soft power since it does not have deterrent military power. Germany, whose military power is limited and Brazil, which has no nuclear power and limited military and economic power, are the main examples that are becoming increasingly active by increasing their soft power (Chatin 370,371). From this point of view, another result can be mentioned as the tendency to increase soft power for countries that are insufficient in terms of hard power in the post-cold war period and institutionalizing it as one of the best strategies.

As for the quantitative results obtained with the hard and soft power performance evaluations carried out on the Organization of Turkic States countries, it should first be mentioned that Turkey has the highest hard power performance. Turkey is followed by Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan, respectively, in this category. When the benefit ratings obtained by the evaluation method are used as a percentage expression of the performance ratio, and the hard power performance rates of the countries are examined, the following results are obtained: Turkey, which has the highest hard power performance, performs about 61%. The performance of Kazakhstan in second place is 39%, Uzbekistan in the third place is approximately 31%, Kyrgyzstan in fourth place is 25%, and Azerbaijan in last place is 21%. It can be noted that the hard power performance rates of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan are close to each other but quite low compared to Turkey. The fact that Turkey has better values than these countries in terms of criteria such as labor force, high technology exports, international tourism revenues, number of armed personnel, and arms exports is effective in such prominence in terms of hard power performance.

Turkey also has the highest performance in soft power analysis. Turkey is followed by Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, respectively. Considering the performance ratios, while Turkey has a soft power performance of approximately 84%, the performance of Kazakhstan in second place is 37%, Azerbaijan in third place is about 16%, Uzbekistan in fourth place is about 14%, and Kyrgyzstan in last place is 13%. At this point, another remarkable result is that the performance rates of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan are close to each other but at a very low level compared to Turkey and Kazakhstan. In the meantime, the soft power performance ratio difference between Kazakhstan, which ranks second, and Turkey, which ranks first, is relatively high (84-37%) and is also noteworthy. Turkey is the best country in terms of R&D expenditures, outsourced health expenditures, incoming international tourists, scientific articles, higher education units, and the number of international students, and it is the lowest in the global peace index.

In order to interpret the smart power potentials of countries, it is necessary to evaluate their hard and soft power performances together. In the analyses made in this way, it is noteworthy that Turkey and Kazakhstan share the first two ranks in both categories, but there is a big difference in performance rates. It is seen that Turkey's soft power performance is higher than its hard power performance, and Kazakhstan's hard power performance is higher than its soft power performance. Azerbaijan, which ranks last in the hard power ranking and third in the soft power ranking, has higher hard power performance than soft power performance. Kyrgyzstan ranks 4th in the hard power ranking and last in the soft power ranking. It also has a higher hard power performance than soft power performance. Uzbekistan ranks 3rd in the hard power ranking and 4th in the soft power ranking and is another country with higher hard power performance than soft power performance. If a general conclusion is to be drawn from all these, as for the quantitative results obtained with the hard and soft power performance evaluations made to the countries of the Organization of Turkic States; states other than Turkey are quite inadequate in terms of soft power, which indicates weakness in terms of smart power potential. In the context of hard and soft power, these countries, which are already behind in36 the category of all countries, are in a better position in hard power performance, not soft, contrary to the post-cold war conjuncture. As stated before, the strategy at the forefront of political power today is focusing on soft power. Therefore, a plan to increase soft power performances can be proposed to these countries.

The fact that the hard power performances of all countries except Turkey are higher than the soft power performances can be explained by the fact that these countries provide their income largely from natural resources and transfer a significant part of this income to security expenditures. However, soft power performances should be higher than hard power when approaching the subject in terms of smart power. Meanwhile, the performance evaluation also points out that the countries of the Organization of Turkish States other than Turkey are in a weak position in terms of hard power. As a result, countries other than Turkey are not in a sufficient situation in terms of hard and soft power performances, and they are faced with the situation of being a passive state, not an effective one in the international arena, due to the prominence of their hard power and the fact that this power remains relatively weak in the international arena.

In light of these results, if it is necessary to make some suggestions. First, it can be mentioned that the Organization of Turkic States countries tend to create institutions that will produce strategies with the smart power paradigm as soon as possible. Secondly, it can be suggested that countries other than Turkey should focus on policies that will free themselves

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[36]The Organization of Turkic States can contribute to the understanding of the place of member countries in the world's military and economic power rankings. Turkey ranks 11th, Uzbekistan 51th, Kazakhstan 62th, Azerbaijan 64th, Turkmenistan 86th and Kyrgyzstan 93rd in the world military power ranking where the USA ranks first (ST, 2021). While the total defense budget of Azerbaijan was 2.8 billion dollars in 2020, it was 19.6 billion dollars for Iran, which is a regional power. The budget was 237 billion dollars for China, 48 billion dollars for Russia and 750 billion dollars for the USA, which are among the global actors in the region. According to the 2020 data of IMF, the world's largest economic power is the USA with 20,807 trillion dollars. In this list, China ranks second with 15,222 trillion dollars. India, which is neighboring the Turkic world, is in the 6th place with its economic power of 2.592 trillion dollars, and Russia ranks 11th with 1.464 trillion dollars. Turkey is ranked 20th with 649 billion. The other country from the Organization of Turkic States in the top 50 is Kazakhstan, with 501 billion, which is only forty-first (ST, 2021).

from dependence on a single sector (energy). At this point, it is necessary to underline that soft power increases with the development of economic power, which is one of the elements of hard power. In connection with this, these countries need to engage in efforts to strengthen the military dimension of power. Especially in security and defense, self-sufficiency is becoming increasingly strategic. Cyber security, unmanned aerial vehicles, and quantum technology, which are increasingly crucial with digitalization, can be shown as sectors that must be concentrated. The fact that the Turkic world is in a geopolitical context open to crises makes cooperation and investment important in terms of military power. Another suggestion is that the countries' soft power can be increased via the Organization of Turkic States, as in the EU and BRICS examples. The Organization of Turkic States is an organization that is in the transition phase from a cooperation organization to an interstate organization. The fact that Uzbekistan joined the Organization as a member in 2018 and that Hungary joined the Organization with the status of an observer country in the same year shows that it is block attracting attention. The steps to be taken in the direction of smart power and the strategy of being a soft power will increase the attraction of the Organization and may contribute to the influence of the member countries. At this point, establishing units that analyze power sources and plan soft power strategies within the Organization can be presented as a proposal.

To become a center for attraction in Eurasian geography, the Organization must take on missions such as regional peace protection, anti-terrorism, adherence to international law, resolving disputes with diplomacy and environmentalism. Again, effective cooperation policies for development can increase the soft power of member countries. Based on EU experience in the context of soft power, the Organization may be advised to prioritise development assistance. Again, considering EU and BRICS examples, taking institutional steps such as development bank, reserve fund, and economic partnership strategy can also be mentioned. Thanks to these steps, the decrease in the hard and soft power potentials of council countries other than Turkey can be tolerated with combined power. More importantly, it is the experience gained in the smart power point. Under the umbrella of the Organization, efforts are already underway to diversify the countries' economic power, cooperate in the fields of technology, education and tourism, and revive cultural centers.

With this study, an evaluation was carried out for the Organization of Turkic States countries to digitize the power criteria. In future studies, hybrid, multicriteria decision-making methods can be used in which the criterion weights for power elements are analyzed with multiple expert opinions and different values are obtained, and analyzes can be performed in different periods and performance rankings can be realized with the criteria weights by taking expert opinions. Studies can be conducted comparing the countries of the Organization of Turkic States with the groups of countries such as the EU and BRICS, which use soft power well and are oriented to be smart power.

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