

Issabekova D.I.¹, Kurmangali A.K. ^{1*}

¹KazNPU named after Abai, the Institute of Sorbonne-Kazakhstan,
Almaty, Kazakhstan

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE "SOFT POWER" POLICY

Abstract

This article reveals the essence, structure, advantages, features and disadvantages of the "soft power" policy. Within the framework of certain philosophical concepts, "soft power" can manifest itself in the policies of states. This is the promotion of the culture of your country, drawing up an attractive image. Currently, we are witnessing the spread of symbolic images that "seduce" and "captivate" objects with their "soft power". How can one characterize and fit in one phrase the essence of the concept and what was the motive for the formation of the political term itself? It can be emphasized that the use of force to resolve conflicts between countries eventually turned into non-violent competition, as well as the use of non-military methods to resolve conflicts. At the same time, a country leading a "soft policy" has the ability to receive support in international relations while attracting other countries by demonstrating its cultural and moral values, including the effectiveness of political institutions. Despite the wide international recognition of the concept of "soft power" both by the subjects of international relations and by scientists who widely discuss it, it has been criticized or questioned. On the one hand, some American neo-conservatives or "realists" (from Robert Kagan to Niall Ferguson) continue to defend the idea that military action and economic action remain the only truly effective means of influencing the course of the world. Thus, soft power will be marginal at best and ineffective at worst. On the other hand, several sociologists have defended the idea that the concept of "soft power" was purely theoretical and that it was especially difficult to demonstrate it or even measure its effectiveness through quantitative analysis, although several attempts and indices have also been developed in this direction.

J. Nye improved his theory. According to which, the effectiveness of influence requires a skillful combination of "hard power" and "soft power", because the latter alone is not enough to achieve success. Hence the birth of a new comprehensive concept of "smart power".

Keywords: soft power, politics, smart power, Joseph Nye, cultural influence, diplomacy, democratic values.

Д.И. Исабекова ¹, А.К. Құрманғали^{1*}

¹Абай атындағы Қаз ҰПУ, институт Сорбонна-Қазақстан
Алматы қ., Қазақстан

«ЖҰМСАҚ КҮШ» САЯСАТЫНЫҢ ТЕОРИЯЛЫҚ-ӘДІСТЕМЕЛІК АСПЕКТІЛЕРІ

Аңдатпа

Бұл мақалада «жұмсақ күш» саясатының мәні, құрылымы, артықшылықтары, ерекшеліктері мен кемшіліктері ашылады. Белгілі бір философиялық концепциялар шеңберінде «жұмсақ күш» мемлекеттердің саясатында көріне алады. Бұл – өз елінің мәдениетін насихаттау, тартымды бейнелеу. Қазіргі кезде заттарды «жұмсақ күшімен» «арбап», «баурап алатын» символдық бейнелердің таралып жатқанына куә болып отырмыз. Тұжырымдаманың мәнін қалай сипаттауға және бір сөз тіркесіне сыйғызуға болады және саяси терминнің қалыптасуына не түрткі болды? Елдер арасындағы қақтығыстарды шешу үшін күш қолдану ақыр соңында күш қолданбайтын бәсекеге, сондай-ақ қақтығыстарды шешудің әскери емес әдістерді қолдануға айналғанын атап өтуге болады.

Сонымен бірге, «жұмсақ саясатты» жүргізетін ел өзінің мәдени-адамгершілік құндылықтарын, оның ішінде саяси институттардың тиімділігін көрсету арқылы басқа елдерді тарта отырып, халықаралық қатынастарда қолдау алу мүмкіндігіне ие. «Жұмсақ күш» ұғымын халықаралық қатынастар субъектілері де, оны кеңінен талқылайтын ғалымдар да кеңінен мойындағанына қарамастан, ол сынға ұшырады немесе күмәнданды. Бір жағынан, кейбір американдық неоконсерваторлар немесе «реалисттер» (Роберт Каганнан бастап Ниалл Фергюсонға дейін) әскери іс-қимыл мен экономикалық әрекет әлемнің барысына әсер етудің жалғыз шын мәнінде тиімді құралы болып қала береді деген идеяны қорғауды жалғастыруда. Осылайша, жұмсақ күш ең жақсы жағдайда маргиналды және ең нашар жағдайда тиімсіз болады. Екінші жағынан, бірнеше әлеуметтанушылар «жұмсақ күш» түсінігі таза теориялық және оны көрсету немесе

тіпті сандық талдау арқылы оның тиімділігін өлшеу өте қиын деген идеяны қорғады, дегенмен бірнеше талпыныстар мен индекстер әзірленген. осы бағыт.

Дж. Най өз теориясын жетілдірді. Оған сәйкес, әсер етудің тиімділігі «қатты күш» пен «жұмсақ күшті» шебер үйлестіруді қажет етеді, өйткені табысқа жету үшін соңғысының өзі жеткіліксіз. Осыдан келіп «ақылды қуат» жаңа кешенді тұжырымдамасы дүниеге келді.

Түйін сөздер: жұмсақ күш, саясат, ақылды күш, Джозеф Най, мәдени ықпал, дипломатия, демократиялық құндылықтар.

Исабекова Д.И.¹, Курмангали А.К.¹

*^{*1} Казахский национальный педагогический университет имени Абая,
институт Сорбонна-Казахстан, г. Алматы, Казахстан*

ТЕОРЕТИКО-МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ ПОЛИТИКИ «МЯГКОЙ СИЛЫ»

Аннотация

В данной статье раскрывается сущность, структура, преимущества особенности и недостатки политики «мягкой силы». В рамках определенных философских концепций «мягкая сила» может проявляться в политике государств. Это продвижение культуры своей страны, составление привлекательного имиджа. В настоящее время мы наблюдаем распространение символических образов, которые «соблазняют» и «увлекают» объекты своей «мягкой силой». Как можно охарактеризовать и уместить в одной фразе сущность концепции и что послужило побудительным мотивом образования самого политического термина? Можно подчеркнуть, что силовые методы решения противоречий между странами со временем переходило в ненасильственную конкуренцию, а также использование невоенных методов для урегулирования конфликтов. При этом страна ведущая «мягкую политику» обладает способностью получать поддержку в международных отношениях при этом привлекая другие страны путем демонстрации своих культурных и нравственных ценностей, в том числе эффективности политических институтов.

Несмотря на широкое международное признание концепции «мягкой силы» как субъектами международных отношений, так и учеными, которые широко ее обсуждают, она подвергалась критике или подвергалась сомнению. С одной стороны, некоторые американские неоконсерваторы или «реалисты» (от Роберта Кагана до Найла Фергюсона) продолжают отстаивать идею о том, что военные действия и экономические действия остаются единственными действительно эффективными средствами воздействия на ход мира. Таким образом, «мягкая сила» будет в лучшем случае маргинальной, а в худшем — неэффективной. С другой стороны, несколько социологов отстаивали идею о том, что концепция «мягкой силы» была чисто теоретической и что было особенно сложно продемонстрировать ее или даже измерить ее эффективность с помощью количественного анализа, хотя в этом направлении также было разработано несколько попыток и индексов.

Дж. Най усовершенствовал свою теорию. Согласно которой, эффективность влияния требует умелого сочетания «жесткой силы» и «мягкой силы», потому что одной последней недостаточно для достижения успеха. Отсюда рождение новой всеобъемлющей концепции «умная сила».

Ключевые слова: мягкая сила, политика, умная сила, Джозеф Най, культурное влияние, дипломатия, демократические ценности.

INTRODUCTION

Power is a way of influencing others in order to get the expected results, and this can usually be achieved in various ways: persuasion, manipulation, authority. "Soft power" is the ability to achieve the desired results from a partner country on the basis of voluntary cooperation and sympathy, rather than coercion. This commentary tells about the origin of the concept as an analytical tool and its gradual development into an instrumental direction used in political discourse in Europe, the United States, China. "Soft power" is defined by the state's ability to influence international relations and direct them in its favor. The state is implementing a strategy of soft and voluntary influence. In this way, it strengthens the legitimacy of its international actions, which is also a factor of strength. This influence is carried out both in relation to opponents and in relation to allies and is directed to all subjects of international relations: international organizations, NGOs, transnational corporations, etc.

The main vectors of soft power are: • diplomacy; • institutional cooperation; • economic assistance; • attractiveness of culture; • dissemination of education; • the influence of the political economy model (market economy and democracy) and values.

“These peaceful means are aimed at persuading other participants in international relations to act or take a certain position. Priorities and instruments of influence differ from country to country. Some focus on social initiative: education, language courses, universities. Others are based on profitable private capital: the Bollywood film industry, telenovelas broadcast on television around the world” [1, p.40].

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Joseph Nye coined the term "soft power" in his 1990 book *Bound to Lead*, which "challenged the then conventional wisdom about the decline of American power"[2]. In a sense, the underlying thought is not new, and similar concepts can be traced back to ancient philosophers. Moreover, although the term "soft power" was developed in the context of work on American power, it is not limited to international behavior or the United States. However, it has become particularly ingrained in international relations, and as the European Union has developed, more European leaders have begun to invoke soft power. However, the term has been less used by American political leaders.

In the first stage of the research, existing scholarly literature on the concept of "soft power" was reviewed. Particular attention was paid to the works of Joseph Nye, who introduced and developed this term. His books *"Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics"* (2004) and *"The Future of Power"* (2011), as well as his articles and interviews published in recent years, were analyzed. Additionally, critical reviews and discussions related to the concept of "soft power" were examined, including the opinions of neo-conservatives and realists, as well as sociologists who criticize the theoretical basis and measurability of this concept.

Next, a content analysis of documents and reports, such as the annual "Global Soft Power Index" compiled by Brand Finance, was conducted. This index assesses the degree of influence of various countries through the lens of "soft power." Data for 2022 were examined, including indicators such as economy and trade, governance and friendliness, international connections, culture and heritage, media and communications, people and values, education and science, and the dynamics of the COVID-19 situation. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used for the analysis to gain a deeper understanding of changes in the perception of countries and their ability to influence international relations.

A comparative analysis of the "soft power" strategies of different countries, including the USA, the UK, Germany, China, Japan, and France, was conducted. Special attention was paid to how these countries coped with the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic and how this affected their "soft power." Different approaches to the use of "soft power" were compared, such as cultural initiatives, educational programs, diplomatic efforts, and economic assistance. Unique examples of "soft power" utilization by developing economies like India, Brazil, and South Africa were also considered. The qualitative analysis included interpreting data from the interviews, which helped identify key trends and challenges faced by countries in using "soft power."

The methodology used in this research allowed for a comprehensive examination of the concept of "soft power" and its impact on international relations. Combining various methods of analysis provided a holistic view of the strategies and outcomes of using "soft power" by different countries, as well as identifying critical aspects and directions for further research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The interest of J. Nye's work is to show that states, thanks to their strength and their diplomacy, have a diverse arsenal of means to deter, incite or influence. J. Nye, who gave a name to the concept as old as the world, introduces a subtle theoretical analysis into a more subtle area of action. If the idea of influence diplomacy existed before J. Nye, this one had the merit of re-conceptualizing it. One of the important points of the concept of J. Nye is the assertion that "soft power" only partially depends on the role of states, in contrast to "hard power". "Responsibility lies with non-state actors, the market and civil society, and sometimes even expatriates or immigrants. Thus, in a broader sense, civil society will be the main actor of soft power: it shares the responsibility. "Soft power" does not work without it, not to mention the fight against it" [3, p.3].

That is, for J. Nye, "soft power" largely depends on the role of civil society, and it is thanks to him that it can be used more effectively. J. Nye even mentions "unsustainable forces of soft power", which confirms the difficulty of managing it in an authoritarian or bureaucratic manner.

Regarding the place of culture in Soft Power, Joseph Nye goes to great lengths in his book of the same name to clarify what he means by "culture". Sports, music and cinema are at the heart of soft power. However, J. Nye points out, we should talk not only about mass culture, which really has great efficiency and "promise of rapid spread", but also about culture in a broad sense. "Soft power" should be able to play on several scales.

In 2004, Josef Nye explored the concept in more detail in *Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics*. He pointed out that "soft power" is only one component of power and is rarely enough on its own. The ability to combine hard and soft power into successful strategies where they reinforce each other could be called "smart power"

More recently, and especially in his book *The Future of Power*, published in 2011, J. Nye has improved his theory in two ways. The first was to show that the effectiveness of influence requires a skillful combination of "hard power" and "soft power", because the latter alone is not enough to achieve success. Hence the birth of a new comprehensive concept (which J. Nye borrows from Suzanne Nossel): "smart power" - or "intellectual" power. The Harvard academic shows that a country can be influential in the international arena only if it skillfully combines "soft" and "hard" (which gives the neologism "smart"). Thus, J. Nye completes his theory. Which was legalized and adopted in 2009 by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

The second deepening that J. Nye subjected his theory to is the recognition of the new and decisive influence of new technologies. They were already sidelined in his 2004 book *Soft Power*, but he gives them more attention in his recent interviews and articles. For J. Nye: "Thanks to new technologies, "soft power" will become increasingly important and, thanks to them, will finally be able to overtake "hard power" [4, p.5].

Disadvantages of the concept of "soft power"

Despite the wide international recognition of the concept of "soft power" both by the subjects of international relations and by scientists who widely discuss it, it has been criticized or questioned. On the one hand, some American neo-conservatives or "realists" (from Robert Kagan to Niall Ferguson) continue to defend the idea that military action and economic action remain the only truly effective means of influencing the course of the world. Thus, soft power will be marginal at best and ineffective at worst. On the other hand, some theorists have defended the idea that the use of "soft power" is not intended for Westerners and to spread democratic values, but that it can just as well be used by enemies of democracy and backfire on democracies. Thus, "soft power" will be more of a descriptive concept than a normative one, and in no way will mean the democratization of the world. Neither good nor bad, in itself, "soft power" would depend primarily on how it is used, and on the states that use it. Finally, several sociologists have championed the idea that the concept of "soft power" was purely theoretical and that it was particularly difficult to demonstrate it or even measure its effectiveness through quantitative analysis, although several attempts and indices have also been developed in this direction.

But there is more. There is a more problematic flaw in J. Nye's concept regarding its relevance outside the American model, in times of globalization. A connoisseur of the United States (and also of Japan), Joseph Nye does not appear to have fully appreciated the transformation of global power relations and multilateralism, especially through developing countries. However, they appear not only with their economy and demographics, they also appear with their culture, their media and the Internet, that is, with their "soft power". But they do it with a different logic and different tools than those used in the United States (for example, with public companies or through propaganda), and in break with the theory of J. Nye. This point is largely underestimated by the author, who takes most of his examples from the history of American diplomacy and remains generally reserved in his books and articles on the very idea of Chinese or Japanese "soft power" and says virtually nothing about the rise of Indian, Brazilian, Indonesian or South African soft power. However, today developing countries are giving birth to "content" giants such as Reliance and Sahara (India), Rotana or MBC (Saudi Arabia), Al-Jazeera (Qatar), TVGlobo (Brazil), Televisa (Mexico), Naspers (South Africa), Abu Dhabi Al Oula (United Arab Emirates) and many others. These emerging groups are already stronger than many of the American cultural industries.

Ultimately, the concept of "soft power" – sometimes vague and somewhat all-encompassing – seems to be characteristic of the structuring model of the United States, where it remains relevant. There may even have been a huge advantage in justifying the government's non-investment in this area, since soft power had to be taken care of and left to the market and civil society. Modern, with a bias to the left (when the very concept of "people's diplomacy" is shifting to the right), George Nye's "soft power" has been on the rise since the election and re-election of Barack Obama.

But by inventing a purely American concept, the former assistant secretary of defense in the Clinton administration simultaneously killed two birds with one stone. He defined a basic concept that ideally summed up the American strategy and its effectiveness, and thereby showed that the very expression of "soft power", paradoxically, is itself an element of American "soft power". This is his greatest victory.

Every year we can see results from the Global Soft Power Index.

The Brand Finance Global Soft Power Index is an annual survey that measures the degree of global influence of governments in terms of their ability to use soft power to achieve desired outcomes. The rating is based on a survey of at least 100,000 respondents from around the world. The study covered 120 countries.

The Global Soft Power Index was created taking into account the performance of the participating countries on the following issues: • Economy and trade; • Management and friendliness; • International connections; • Culture and heritage; • Mass media and communications; • People and values; • Education and science; • Dynamics of the situation with COVID-19.

The composition of the 2022 Global Soft Power Index has been influenced by how countries have coped with the recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, just as last year's study was affected by the spread of the virus and its social, political and economic consequences. The US is back in first place with a score of 70.7 out of 100, followed by the UK (64.9), Germany (64.6), China (64.2), Japan (63.5) and France (60.6). These countries have helped bring the world out of the health crisis" [5].

Bertrand Chauvet, Managing Director of Brand Finance France, comments: "The composition of the 2022 Global Soft Power Index has been influenced by how countries have handled their recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. The United States is once again in first place, followed by the United Kingdom, Germany, China, Japan and France. These countries helped bring the world out of a health crisis through the development of vaccines or their impact on the global economy. Overall, national brand perception is largely back to pre-pandemic levels, with Italy and Spain, hit hard by the first wave of COVID-19, making some of the most notable improvements this year." "France's global soft power index rose to 6th place in the world with a score of 60.6, up 5.3 points (+9.4%) from last year, ahead of Canada and Switzerland, respectively, by 7- m and 8th places. However, the Nation France brand index recorded weaker growth than its main counterparts: USA (+14.8 points), China (+9.9 points), UK (+7 points), but higher than in Germany (+2.4 points) and in Japan (+2.9 points). France still has a high level, ranking 3rd in the world" [6].

Despite modest growth, its overall influence remains below the larger powers of the US, China and the United Kingdom, which are growing at a faster pace. As with the UK, Germany and Japan, the reputation of France is relatively stable, while the reputation of the US and China has returned to pre-crisis levels. This year we see a very strong increase in the attractiveness of Business and Trade (+10.5%), which is the result of actions and reforms carried out under the chairmanship of Emmanuel Macron. The fundamentals are being strengthened on the one hand by the global perception of French brands and products, and on the other hand by the growth potential. The France 2030 plan can identify future technology champions and support transitions (decarbonization, green hydrogen, sustainable mobility, healthy food, seabed, etc.) in cutting edge sectors, especially automotive, aeronautics and aerospace. Thus, it should participate in improving the goals of economic competitiveness. "On the other hand, France outperforms pre-Covid-19 (+15.4%) attractiveness. Trade facilitation and trade facilitation are making significant progress. Finally, the strong economic support marks a turning point in the perceived strength and stability of the French economy. France also made progress this year in the field of media and communications, especially in terms of the influence of its media (+31%) and its credibility (+18%). The same applies to education and science, where terms such as "innovator of science", "robust education system", "innovative technologies or technology companies" are gaining popularity. The only pillars of decline are culture, heritage and governance. In terms of culture and heritage, while France's influence in the arts, leisure or cuisine is growing significantly, in 2022 its lead in sports contracts remains below 2020 levels. Nevertheless, it is making progress and is ranked 6th in the world" [7]. In terms of governance, respect for laws and human rights remains below pre-Covid-19 levels.

CONCLUSION

The United States topped the charts in early 2020, but saw a sharp deterioration in their perception by the general public around the world throughout 2020, leading to a drop to No. 6 in early 2021. The response to the health crisis, a wave of civil unrest over police brutality against the African American community, and a highly controversial presidential campaign have all played a negative role. Today, after mass vaccinations and general changes in international politics under the leadership of President Joe Biden, the United States posted the fastest improvement in a year in the world, registering a jump of +14. The United States' rankings have improved across the board, but the key to their return to the top of the rankings is a huge shift in their COVID-19 response score from bottom of the table last year to 26th globally in 2022. The United States also made significant gains in reputation (6th vs. 21st), governance (8th vs. 20th), and people and values (16th vs. 25th), all of which reflect significantly a more positive perception of President Biden's administration, in contrast to America's alienating approach internationally and divisive policies at home and abroad during the Trump presidency. However, the US scores for "Safety and Reliability" (41st) in the "Governance" column and "Friendliness" (62nd) in the "People and Values" column remain significantly low. It is clear that the impact of violent gun crime remains strong and is likely to remain an ongoing issue for the US national brand until these issues are nipped in the bud. Culture and heritage is one of the pillars of soft power, where the United States has consistently performed well and ranked

first in this year's study. America is the world's largest producer of popular culture, especially in film, television and music. In the wake of COVID-19, the perception of the United States as “influential in the arts and entertainment industry” has further increased, expanding its already significant lead over other national brands. Media platforms such as Netflix, Amazon, Disney, Google and Apple continue to expand around the world providing access to American culture.

China performed best in the Global Soft Power Index, while the Nation brand recorded improvements across all components of the index. In China, the Global Soft Power Index increased +9.9 points to 64.2, with the Nation brand moving up from 8th to 4th overall. While China's results may surprise some in the Western world, many developing countries expected it. Globally, China is ranked 4th in familiarity, 2nd in influence, and this year its reputation score has recovered to 2020 levels after last year's decline. China has also performed particularly well in entrepreneurship and trade, where it now ranks first, ahead of the US, Japan and Germany. China's economy grew 8.1% in 2021, with exports up 30% to a record high due to a surge in demand for Chinese goods. China has responded to the pandemic by implementing a zero-spread COVID policy that maintained containment and isolation guidelines and a rigorous mass testing and vaccination program. The response was successful in China, and as a result, its COVID score improved by +1.7, moving it up from 30th to 19th place. The second year of the pandemic also provided an opportunity for China to improve its perception on the global stage through vaccine diplomacy. China has offered to help countries around the world in the form of donations of personal protective equipment and vaccines, which undoubtedly helped it move from 52nd to 28th place in the "generous" column of "People and Values". By offering China an opportunity to showcase itself to the world, the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing should boost its soft power for next year's index. Understanding how the Nation brand is perceived down to the smallest detail is essential to developing its soft power. Large-scale events can be successfully used to implement a well-planned marketing and communication strategy. The Olympics influence the improvement of indicators directly related to its organization, such as “leading in sports” or “entertainment”, but also allows you to present the country as a “wonderful place to visit” and advertise its “products” and brands that the world loves.

“Kazakhstan ranks 79 out of 121 countries in the Global Soft Power Index” [8]. According to Astana Times, in an interview with Brand Finance, Deputy Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan Roman Vasilenko said that “the country's reputation is strengthened by reforms aimed at building a fair Kazakhstan, the desire to solve global problems and the achievements of talented Kazakhstani athletes, artists and youth” [9]. As a country in the center of Eurasia, located between East and West, it considers it its duty to develop cooperation between all parties, strengthening its status as a key intermediary in global trade, partnership and peace building.

References:

- 1 Kurt Salmon, Charles Landry. *Les études démontrant le lien indissociable entre villes créatives, innovantes, ayant misé sur la culture, et économie créative // Entreprendre et investir dans la culture : de l'intuition à la décision, Forum d'Avignon, 2011. – 48p.*
- 2 Nye, Joseph S., Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics / Nye, Joseph S., Jr. / PublicAffairs Books, 2005. – 191p. –URL: <http://www.tinyurl.com/mug36ku> (date of viewing: 10.04.2023)*
- 3 Avis de M. Louis Duvernois, sénateur, fait au nom de la Commission de la culture, de l'éducation et de la communication du Sénat // relatif au projet de loi de finance 2013: action extérieure de l'État, 2013. – P.3.
- 4 Wolton D. *L'Autre mondialisation / Wolton D. / Flammarion, 2003. – 224p. / –URL: <https://www.wolton.cnrs.fr/lautre-mondialisation-2/> (date of viewing: 15.04.2023)*
- 5 *Global soft power index. The world's most comprehensive research study on perceptions of nation brands // Brand Finance Soft Power – 2023. – february. –URL: <https://softpower.brandfinance.com/2023/globalsoftpowerindex> (date of viewing: 03.05.2023)*
- 6 *Soft power: 21 world leaders educated in France. // News Campus france. –2021. – 25 february. – Network access mode: –URL: <https://www.campusfrance.org/en/actu/soft-power-21-grands-dirigeants-mondiaux-formes-en-france> (date of viewing: 18.04.2023)*
- 7 *Influence: la France 6ème, les Émirats arabes unis au top 10 du classement Brand Finance / Christine Gilguy // Le Mochi. Site d'informations. – 2023. – 10 march. –Network access mode: – URL: <https://www.lemoci.com/influence-la-france-6eme-les-emirats-arabes-unis-au-top-10-du-classement-brand-finance/> (date of viewing: 03.05.2023)*
- 8 *Carminati D. The Post-Pandemic State of Soft Power in Asia / Carminati D. // The diplomat. – 2023. – 23 march. – Network access mode: –URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2023/03/the-post-pandemic-state-of-soft-power-in-asia/> (date of viewing: 19.03.2023)*
- 9 *Kazakhstan on 79th rank among 121 nations in Global Soft Power Index// The Astana times. Bringing Kazakhstan to the world. – 2023. – 4 march. –URL: <https://www.aninews.in/news/world/asia/kazakhstan-on-79th-rank-among-121-nations-in-global-soft-power-index-report20230304144134/> (date of viewing: 04.05.2023)*