THE NEW PERSUADERS II

A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power

Jonathan McClory

Contents

About the author

Jonathan McClory is a senior researcher at the Institute for Government. Having joined the IfG in February 2009, his early work focused on governance arrangements in Whitehall departments, strategic reform of central government, and the role of special advisers. His current research includes the role of soft power strategies in foreign policy and transformational change in government departments. Jonathan authored the paper *The New Persuaders* which contains the world's first composite index for measuring soft power. Prior to joining the Institute, Jonathan worked as a research fellow at Policy Exchange. He graduated from the University of Michigan with a dual degree in economics and political science, and holds a MSc in International Public Policy from University College London.

The New Persuaders II

Owing to its often esoteric and opaque nature, the lexicon of International Relations seldom contributes to popular public debate in a meaningful way. But occasionally, an IR concept will make the successful leap from academic journals to newspaper columns, and eventually into wider political discourse. In the realm of foreign policy, there is no better example of this rare phenomenon than Joseph Nye's 'soft power'. Since it was coined in 1990, the idea of soft power has garnered a dedicated following of foreign policy thinkers. But the events of the last decade, the shifting dynamics of global geo-politics, and soft power's rising value as an explanatory concept, have now made it a central feature of the wider discourse on international politics. Further elevated by the perceived potential it holds as a foreign policy tool, the term now regularly populates the speeches of politicians, the policy documents of foreign ministries, and all manner of media outlets.

The growing profile of soft power, however, does not come without risks. Vulnerable to misappropriation, soft power's popularity has seen its relatively clear definition take on a more muddled complexion. As Leslie Gelb has argued, "soft power now seems to mean everything".[1] But Gelb's criticism is more of a reflection on soft power's overexposure than a genuine attack on its core tenets. Indeed the overuse of the term, which has seen its meaning stretched over time, is one of two challenges to soft power's intellectual integrity. The second is the rush of policy makers trying to use soft power before fully understanding its constituent parts.

Keen to jump on the soft power bandwagon, world leaders have been alluding to new soft power approaches with increasing frequency – be it in Turkish President Abdullah Gül's media interviews,[2] former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Adm. Mullen's speeches,[3] or even communiqués from the Central Committee of the Communist Party in China.[4] As a growing number of governments commit themselves to soft power approaches, there is an overwhelming sense of enthusiasm outpacing competence. For governments to effectively leverage their soft power assets, they need first understand what exactly those assets are, whether they can be mobilised by the state, and, if so, where they might be deployed. In

1 Gelb, L. (2009) *Power rules: how common sense can rescue American foreign policy*. New York: Harper, p. 69.
2 Baydar, Y. (2011) "How 'they' look at Turkey", *Sunday Zaman*, 11 February, http://www.sundayszaman.com/sunday/columnistDetail_getNewsById.action?newsId=234410
3 Mullen, M. (2010, March) Military Strategy. Speech presented at Kansas State University, http://www.cfr.org/defense-strategy/admiral-mullens-speech-military-strategy-kansas-state-university-march-2010/p21590
4 "China vows to construct socialist cultural power", *Xinhua*, 18 October, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-10/18/c_131198994.htm

short, policy makers are in danger of rushing to answer the question 'how can we use our soft power?' before understanding 'what soft power do we actually have?'

The aim of this publication – as with last year's IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index – is to refocus attention on understanding the resources that contribute to a nation's soft power, and provide a comparative snap-shot of those resources through a composite index. The following is both an attempt to contribute to research on soft power, and remind policy makers, diplomats and analysts that prêt-a-porter soft power strategies, developed without a clear account of national soft power resources, are bound to end in failure.

Of course, the question of measurement is only a part of the soft power debate; and a great deal of future research is needed to better understand how soft power can be leveraged to meet objectives, how soft power strategies can be evaluated, and how causal links between soft power and policy outcomes might be established. However, from our perspective, the question of how soft power resources are measured and accounted for is a prerequisite to effective soft power conversion strategies.

Maintaining a focus on the core components of soft power, this paper discusses both the construction and results of the 2011 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index. It begins by looking at definitions of power in international politics and the current direction of the soft power debate. Second, the paper discusses the framework of the soft power index and explains the changes made from the inaugural index published in 2010. Third, the results of the index are reported and major shifts in the overall rankings are highlighted. Finally, the paper looks at the implications for foreign policy and the themes that will shape the soft power debate going forward.

Power in international politics

In international relations, power has traditionally been treated as a predominantly realist concept.[5] Consequently, power tends to be framed in Dahlian terms: one actor using its material resources to compel another actor to do something it would otherwise not have done.[6] According to the realist perspective, only the most tangible components of power are worthy of consideration in international politics: military resources, population, territory, GDP, etc. Early realist work sought to discount the effects of norms, moral frames, and world opinion, thereby creating an oversimplified (though easy to measure) concept of power in international politics.[7]

[5] Barnett, M. and Duvall, R. (2005) "Power in International Politics", *International Organization*. 59, Winter, pp. 39-75.

[6] Dahl, R. (1957) "The concept of power", *Behavioural Science*, 2, pp. 210-15.

[7] Rothman, B. "Revising the soft power concept: what are the means and mechanisms of soft power?" *Journal of Political Power*. 4 (1), April, pp. 49-64.

But as International Relations studies evolved and expanded during the 20ᵗʰ century, competing schools of thought challenged the realist perspective and its rigid interpretation of power. This expansion, and the subsequent development of a diverse set of theoretical approaches, has led to an extremely competitive environment. Indeed, the study of International Relations can be viewed as a constant struggle between realism, liberalism and a host of other critical theories.[8] Owing to competing theories, definitions, and the tendency of academics to disagree, one of International Relations' most fundamental concepts, power, is itself an essentially contested concept.[9] Without wading too far into theoretical debate, it is important to note that no single definition of power will suit all purposes.[10]

Accepting this, it is important to establish a broader, more inclusive definition capable of capturing (at least partially) aspects of, liberal, constructivist and critical conceptualisations of power. Both Nye and Wilson are broadly in agreement that, "in international politics, having power is having the ability to influence another to act in ways in which that entity would not have acted otherwise".[11] Importantly, Wilson's use of 'influence' encompasses multiple means of exercising power, from military threats to issue framing.

Nye uses the 'three faces of power' to explain how one actor might affect the preferences of another, and how this is not purely dependent on material resources, or even direct relationships.[12] The first face of power is captured in the Dahlian definition above, where one actor forces another to go against their initial preferences. The second face of power, set out by Bachrach and Baratz, concerns the use of agenda setting and issue framing which can shape the preferences of others through the use of institutions that constrain the range of choices for action.[13] The third face of power is described by Lukes as the ability to shape the initial preferences of an actor, rather than simply changing the situations they face.[14]

By defining power as influence over, as well as with, others, we can split types of power into two categories: hard and soft. Hard power is the exercise of influence through coercion and payment. Hard power represents the 'first face of power', and relies on strategies like military intervention,

[8] Walt, S. M. (1998) "International Relations: One world, many theories", *Foreign Policy*. No. 110, Spring, pp. 29-46

[9] Gallie, W. B. (1956) "Essentially Contested Concepts", *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*. 56, pp. 167-98.

[10] Nye, J. (2011) "Power and foreign policy", Journal of Political Power. 4 (1) April, pp. 9-24.

[11] Wilson, E. "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power", *The Annals of The American Academy of Political Science*. 616, March, p. 114.

[12] Nye, J. (2011) "Power and foreign policy", Journal of Political Power. 4 (1) April, pp. 9-24.

[13] Bachrach, P. And Baratz, M. (1963) "Decisions and nondecisions: an analytical framework", *American Political Science Review*. 57, pp. 632-642.

[14] Lukes, S. (2005) *Power: a radical view*. 2nd edition. London: Palgrave.

coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions.[15] Soft power, on the other hand, is the "ability to affect others to obtain preferred outcomes by the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuasion and positive attraction".[16] Soft power strategies eschew the traditional foreign policy implements of carrot and stick, working instead to affect the preferences of other actors by using networks, developing and communicating compelling narratives, establishing international norms, building coalitions, and drawing on the key resources that endear one country to another. In short, "hard power is push; soft power is pull".[17]

Nye has always been quick to point out that soft power has a long history – citing cases that span centuries – but the growing appeal of soft power lies in its utility in the present-day context. Indeed, international politics are in the process of a fundamatal transformation, throwing up a host of new challenges for policy makers and diplomats. This global transition currently underway is being driven by four primary factors: diffusion of power; substantial ICT changes; networks; and the decline of traditional propaganda.

The first, an apparent diffusion of power, is happening on two fronts. Power is seen to be moving between states, apparently moving a global centre of power from West to East. At the same time, power is perceived to be shifting away from states altogether, as non-state actors play more significant roles and wield greater influence in world affairs.[18]

A second factor that can be connected to international politics is the communications and IT revolution. The speed with which information is disseminated throughout the globe and the subsequent democratisation of access to that information creates a more informed – and increasingly activist – global public. The effects of this shift are demonstrated in the Arab Spring, the rise of Wikileaks, and the border-spanning #Occupy movement. The rapid movement of information across networks has made individuals more powerful than they have been at any point in history.[19]

The third factor, which is linked to the second, is the rising influence and prevalence of international networks. International networks may comprise a diverse set of actors including states, civil society groups, NGOs, multilateral organisations and even individuals. They may form to tackle complex, trans-national collective action problems like Climate Change, or take up single issues like banning landmines.

---

[15] Wilson, E. "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power", *The Annals of The American Academy of Political Science*. 616, March, p. 114.

[16] Nye, J. (2011) "Power and foreign policy", *Journal of Political Power*. 4 (1) April, p. 19.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Nye, J. (2011) *The Future of Power*, New York: Public Affairs.

[19] Cull, N. (2011) "Wikileaks, public diplomacy 2.0 and the state of digital public diplomacy", *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*. 7 (1), pp. 1-8.

The final factor has been difficult for many foreign ministries to accept: propaganda as we know it is dead. Governments no longer have the luxury of offering domestic audiences one message whilst feeding another to the international community. With information speeding across borders, the inconsistencies between a state's policy and messaging are more conspicuous. In today's networked world of instant information, global publics are smarter, more engaged and likely to dismiss traditional propaganda when they see it. [20]

For most Western governments, these challenges are compounded by shrinking public coffers. The fiscal consolidation facing much of the West means foreign and defence ministries are in the process of re-prioritising core objectives – slimming down budgets and head-counts accordingly. With fewer military, economic and diplomatic resources to deploy, soft power tools – especially those not financed by the government – offer new, cost-effective means to pursue foreign policy objectives. The overarching implication of these shifts, and the challenges they present, is that affecting global change now requires a co-operative approach built on credibility, whereby wider audiences are not only reached, but engaged as actors and potential collaborators.

As more governments, commentators and analysts arrive at the above conclusion, the concept of soft power – and by extension public diplomacy – becomes more central to the wider discourse on foreign policy. Playing out through journal articles, newspaper columns, strategy documents, and international conferences, the soft power debate currently centres on two challenges: measuring and leveraging. Recently, the direction of this debate has been tracking towards the latter, as practitioners search out for viable soft power strategies. But without a sound understanding of what soft power resources a state commands, conversion strategies are bound to falter. Moreover, the neglect – financial and otherwise – of soft power resources in western countries has seen key institutions shouldering heavy cuts that will likely undercut future soft power capabilities.
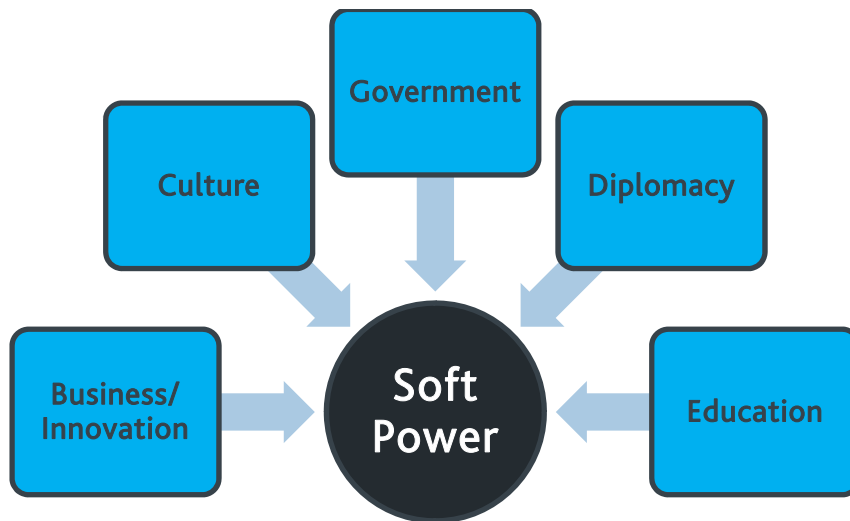
Building the Framework

With the exception of our first index, measures of soft power have been based exclusively on surveys of public opinion – like the Gallup Global Attitudes Survey – as opposed to composite metrics across various indicators.[21] As a result, there is no set methodology for measuring soft power beyond that of opinion polling. However, the literature on soft power contains ample discussion on the constituent parts that lead to its creation. Nye has previously pointed to three primary sources of soft power: culture, political values, and foreign policy.[22]

[20] Van Staden, A. (2005) "Power and legitimacy: The quest for order in a unipolar world", *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers*, April

[21] Nye, J. (2011) *The Future of Power*, New York: Public Affairs.

[22] Nye, J. (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs

Figure 1: Component Parts of Soft Power

Maintaining the same framework as our 2010 index, we take Nye's three pillars as a foundation, but expand on them, assessing the soft power of countries according to five categories: Government, Culture, Diplomacy, Education, and Business/Innovation. The framework of categories was built on a survey of existing literature on soft power. Figure 1 above illustrates the five sub-indices that constitute our soft power index. A list of the indicators and sources is given in Appendix B. First, it is important to understand the meaning behind these five categories, what they include, and why they are relevant to understanding Soft Power.

In a soft power context, culture is defined as the "set of practices that create meaning for a society".[23] This includes high culture like literature, art and education that appeals to elites as well as television, film, and music aimed at mass entertainment markets. When a country's culture promotes universal values that other nations can readily identify with, it makes them naturally attractive to others.[24] The reach of cultural output is important in building soft power, but mass production does not lead to mass influence. As a result, our measures of culture focus on capturing both the quality and the international reach of a country's cultural output. The Culture sub-index includes measures like the annual number of tourists visiting a country, the global reach of a country's native language, and the number of UNESCO World Heritage sites. Of course, cultural outputs will be perceived differently in

[23] Nye, J. (2008) "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, March, p. 96

[24] Nye, J. (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs

different countries. As Nye has argued, what attracts in Paris might repel in Riyadh.[25] But when and where it is attractive, culture can create positive shifts in the perception of a county – thus affecting a nation's soft power.

The Government sub-index is designed to assess a state's political institutions, values, and the effectiveness of its government. A successful model of domestic government is an important feature of a nation's overall attractiveness. When government institutions effectively uphold values like transparency, justice, and equality at home, they are naturally more attractive abroad.[26] By including measures on individual liberty, political freedom, and government effectiveness, the Government sub-index gauges the attractiveness of a country's political values and institutions. However, it should be noted that the index is biased towards a Western conceptualisation of political values and human rights.

As a soft power resource, foreign policy is about a state maintaining legitimacy and moral authority in its conduct abroad, effectively asking, is a state seen as a force for good or ill?[27] The Diplomacy sub-index aims to account not only for the global perception of a given country, but its policies and diplomatic resources that allow a state to reach international audiences. This sub-index includes metrics on Overseas Development Aid, membership in multilateral organisations, and cultural missions abroad.

Nye includes education in the 'cultural' resource category, but we felt the number of references to higher education's impact on soft power warranted a separate sub-index. The ability of a country to attract foreign students, or facilitate exchanges, is a powerful tool of public diplomacy, even in the most adversarial of countries.[28,29] Prior research on educational exchanges gives empirical evidence for the reputational gains for a host country when foreign students return home.[30] Foreign student exchanges have also been shown to have beneficial "ripple effects" on indirect participants.[31] The Education sub-index aims to capture these factors and includes measures on the number of foreign students in a country, the relative quality of its universities and the output of academic publishing.

[25] Nye, J. (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Miller, A. (2006) "Promoting Democratic Values in Transitional Societies through Foreign Aid", presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago

[29] Phillips, J. And Brooks, P. (2008) "Yes, a Nuclear Iran is Unacceptable: A Memo to President-elect Obama", Heritage Foundation, Special Report 28, 3 December

[30] Atkinson, C. (2010) "Does Soft Power Matter? A Comparative Analysis of Student Exchange Programs 1980-2006," *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 6, 1 pp. 1-22

[31] Olberding, J. and Olberding, D. (2010) "Ripple Effects in Youth Peacebuilding and Exchange Programs: Measuring Impacts Beyond Direct Participants," *International Studies Perspectives*, 11, pp. 75-91

Though it may seem more hard than soft, the Business/Innovation sub-index is not related to economic power or output. Rather, this sub-index aims to captures the relative attractiveness of a country's economic model in terms of its openness, capacity for innovation and regulation. Economic factors can contribute to soft power as well, though in practice it can be difficult to distinguish between the hard and soft elements of economic power.[32] The European Union's eastward expansion into the former Soviet Bloc through an attractive economic model has been pointed to as an example of soft power.[33] Taking account of softer economic factors, we included metrics for innovation, corruption, and competitiveness.

The subjective side of soft power

One of the biggest challenges of measuring soft power is its inherently subjective nature. Rather than attempt to design against subjectivity (which we deemed impossible), the index embraces the subjective nature of soft power. Taking cues from the existing literature on soft power and analysing the most common mediums through which people interface with foreign countries, we developed seven subjective metrics to complement the quantitative data of the sub-indices described above. Working with the editors of *Monocle Magazine* (known for its international outlook, coverage of foreign affairs, and global network of correspondents), we formed a panel to assess countries on the following criteria shown in Figure 2.

[32] Nye, J. (2011) *The Future of Power*, New York: Public Affairs.

[33] Hettne, B. and Söderbaum, (2005) "Civilian power or soft imperialism? EU as a global actor and the role of interregionalism", European Foreign Affairs Review, 10(4) Winter, pp 535-552

Figure 2: Subjective categories
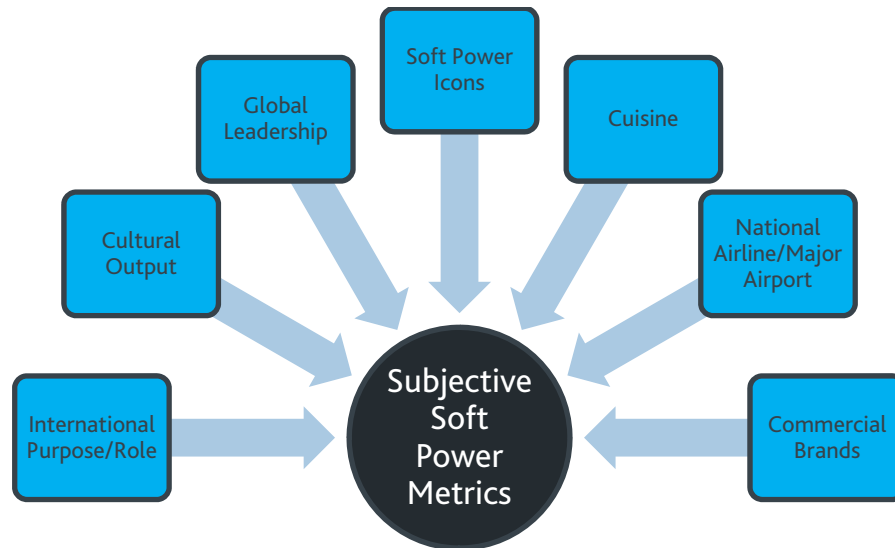
The combined scores for the panel categories were weighted significantly less than objective indicators. The quantitative data used for the sub-indices accounts for 70 per cent of the total weighting of the index. The remaining 30 per cent of the index is based on the subjective elements. A more detailed account of how the final index was calculated can be found in Appendix A.

Changes from the previous index

Following a year of reflection, we have expanded and fine-tuned the IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index. Discussions with practitioners and experts, as well as surveying new research in the field, led us to make some changes aimed at improving on last year's index. The first change was expanding the number of countries. Determining which countries to include in the index was based on several factors, but an overriding determinant was the availability of national data. The second change came as a result of one particularly astute criticism of last year's index, namely that we had controlled too many indicators for population or GDP. Essentially, soft power is power, and there is no such thing as power per capita. As a result, we controlled less for population and GDP for selected indicators. The final change came as a result of a review of all the indictors used in the index. Having completed the review, we added some new indicators while removing a few others. In total we have increased the number of objective, statistical indicators from 23 to 43. Combined with the subjective measures, there are a total of 50 indicators that factor into the calculation of the index.

The bulk of the new indicators have gone into the Government, Culture, and Diplomacy sub-indices. The new indicators in the Government category were included to capture a broader picture of political values and outcomes. We added metrics on capital punishment, violent

crime, income inequality and the size of the shadow economy. For culture, additional metrics include global music sales, art museum attendance, and UNESCO World Heritage Sites. We were especially conscious of the need to refine our Diplomacy sub-index, recognising that we had not done enough to capture trans-national networks or digital engagement. As Nye has argued, "networks are becoming increasingly important in an information age, and positioning in a social network can be an important power resource".[34]This year we added metrics on the number of twitter followers for foreign ministries and their ministers, membership in multi-lateral organisations and the number of embassies and consulates abroad.

As with every index, ours is not without its limitations and weaknesses. The subjective nature of soft power makes comparison across all countries difficult. Moreover, the intricate bi-lateral dynamics of foreign relations – where soft power is brought to bear – cannot be fully rendered by a comparative index. Finally, the index is unable to capture flashpoint events in real-time (see the British Royal Wedding or the arrest of Ai Wei Wei). However, the index marks an important attempt to move beyond the standard opinion surveys that have dominated soft power metrics. It is our hope that future versions of this index will improve incrementally in both depth and breadth. Building a larger data set, establishing a case for the weighting of indicators, and increasing the number of countries included will be priorities for future iterations. We recognise that reaching the ultimate goal of measuring soft power in a definitive way will be an iterative process, and the changes to this year's index were made in the hopes of moving closer to that goal.

Results

After normalising all of the data points, computing the sub-indices, adding in the subjective data from our panel, and calculating the final index, The United States came top of the table by a comfortable margin. The UK and France slipped from sharing the top spot last year to occupying second and third respectively, while Germany and Australia round out the top five of our index. Table 1 below give the final rankings and scores of the full index.[35]

[34] Nye, J. (2011) "Power and foreign policy", *Journal of Political Power*. 4 (1) April, p. 17.

[35] As explained in Appendix A, the normalisation method results in scores that fall between 0 and 1. For presentational purposes the final scores of countries were multiplied by 10.

Table 1: Soft Power Index Results

Rank	Country	Score	Rank	Country	Score
1	USA	7.41	16	Italy	4.28
2	UK	6.78	17	New Zealand	4.17
3	France	6.21	18	Austria	4.10
4	Germany	6.15	19	Belgium	3.80
5	Australia	5.64	20	China	3.74
6	Sweden	5.35	21	Brazil	3.55
7	Japan	5.08	22	Singapore	3.49
8	Switzerland	5.07	23	Turkey	3.33
9	Canada	4.91	24	Chile	2.94
10	Netherlands	4.90	25	Portugal	2.81
11	Norway	4.82	26	Israel	2.67
12	Denmark	4.78	27	India	2.64
13	Spain	4.68	28	Russia	2.43
14	Korea	4.52	29	Czech. Rep.	2.36
15	Finland	4.45	30	Greece	2.35

Source: 2011 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index

There is no getting around the fact that the last decade has been a challenging one for the United States. The fallout from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan continue to weigh on America's image in many regions of the world. But a crucial turning point came in 2008 with the election of President Obama, which proved to be a huge boost to America's reputation abroad. One of the indicators for the Diplomacy Sub-index, the Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index, reported a jump in global perceptions of America, moving the world ranking of the US from 7th to 1st. While the 2008 election provided a short-term shot in the arm for America's global image, the US is supported by solid, long-term soft power credentials, as shown below in Figure 3.

Having fallen from the top spot in last year's index, the UK remains a one of the world's most adept soft power states. Despite the fiscal challenges facing HM Government, the UK continues to benefit from an impressive diplomatic infrastructure, a highly regarded diplomatic corps, and strong historical ties to a global network of states. The old links of the British Empire, for example, are well maintained through the Commonwealth, which provides a forum for dialogue and cooperation between the UK and its former colonies. The UK trails only France in multi-lateral organisation membership. Moreover, the strength of

Britain's public diplomacy institutions – notably the BBC World Service and British Council – are a tremendous source of British soft power, as highlighted in Lord Carter's Review.[36]

This year's third ranked country, France, is known for its cultural promotion efforts. Having built the model for cultural diplomacy with the creation of the Alliance Française network in the 19ᵗʰ century, French soft power is underpinned by nearly 1,000 cultural missions abroad. France has historically set the bar for international cultural promotion, and although budgets are under pressure, it easily outspends its traditional peers on cultural diplomacy.[37]

Figure 3 below compares the objective metrics for the top three countries, USA, UK, and France. Among the top three scoring countries, the US comes out best in culture and is well ahead in education. The US remains the world's largest exporter of culture by volume, be it in film, music or television, giving it an edge over the UK and France. When American soft power is dented by perceptions of its conduct abroad, the immense reach and appeal of its cultural outputs ensure the American brand remains a strong one.[38] Moreover, the quality of America's Universities, their ability to attract international students, and the research output from American-based academics far outpaces the rest of the world. American universities dominate the Times Higher Education Top 200 rankings and the US pulls in more foreign students than any other country – double the number of its next closest competitor, the UK. 73 current and former Prime Ministers and Presidents have studied at American universities.

---

[36] Lord Carter of Coles, (2005), Public Diplomacy Review, London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office

[37] Cull, N. (2009) *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figuera Press

[38] Joffe, J. (2001) "Who's Afraid of Mr Big?" *The National Interest*, Summer. Quoted in Nye, J. (2004) Soft Power: The means to success in world politics, New York: Public Affairs

Figure 3: Top Three Countries by Sub-index Scores
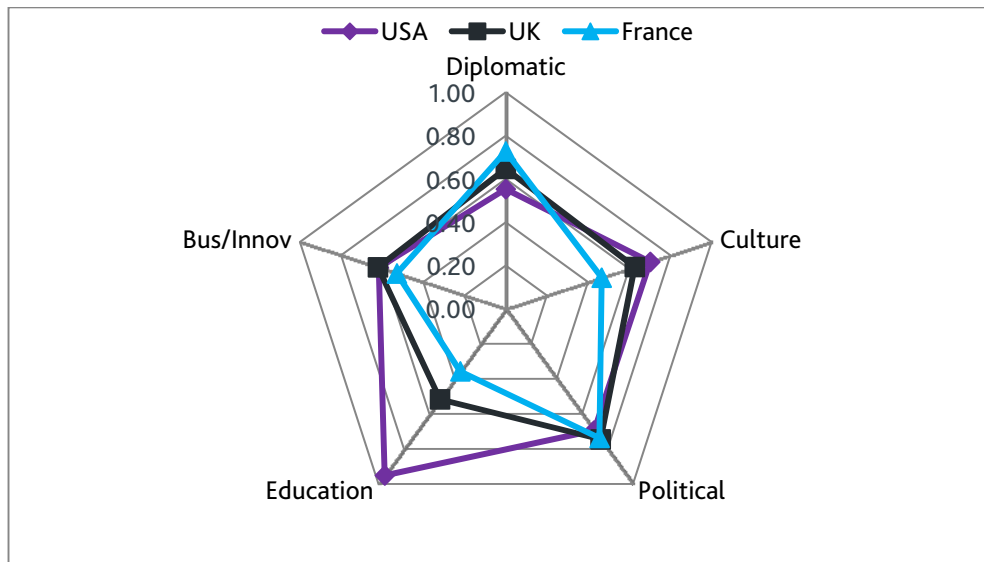
Source: 2011 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index

Germany maintained its fourth place position in this year's index, and its high finish comes as no surprise. The German Foreign Ministry's public diplomacy budget is consistent with the biggest spenders, with around £230 million alone going to Deutsche Welle (Germany's International broadcaster) every year.[39] The Goethe Institute's 172 missions serve to promote German language and culture abroad, and the Government is pursuing its commitment to boost the number of foreign students to 10 per cent of all university students in Germany.[40] Set at the heart of the European Union, Germany is in an enviable position for shaping the EU agenda, and is one of the best networked states in Europe.[41]

As a new entry into the top five of the index, Australia has no shortage of natural soft power assets. Lifted by the positive images the nation conjures up, from the Sydney Opera House to pristine beaches, Australia's real soft power is underpinned by world class museums, top-

---

[39] Kops, M. (2007) "Der Deutsche Auslandsrundfunk als vernachlässigtes Instrument der interkulturellen und internationalen Kommunikation", Paper presented at the Conference International and Intercultural Communication, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin 18-30 October

[40] Lord Carter of Coles, (2005), Public Diplomacy Review, London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office

[41] Naurin, D. (2007) Network Capital and Cooperation Patterns in the Working Groups of the Council of the EU, EUI Working Papers, Florence: European University Institute

notch political institutions, and even its ability to attract foreign students – over 250,000 studied there in 2010. Once regarded as geographically isolated, Asia's rise means Australia's location is now a strategic asset, and as the global centre of power continues to drift eastward, more eyes will be trained on Australia. What is perhaps most impressive about Australia's top-five position is its relatively middle-weight diplomatic footprint. Australia's network of embassies and consulates numbers just over 100, less than half of the British diplomatic estate and a third of the American network. Australia's top five finish reinforces the point that a substantial proportion of soft power resources exist outside the reach of government.

Due to the changes made from last year's index, it would be wrong to extrapolate too much from comparisons between the 2010 and 2011 results. Bearing this in mind, it is still worth noting some of the major movements in the rankings between our first and second index. The biggest move up in ranking was Japan's, from 15th to 7th. As explained above, controlling less for population and GDP on some metrics resulted in higher scores for larger countries and lower scores for smaller ones (relative to the 2010 index). This change may have been a factor in Denmark's fall from 7th to 12th, Finland's fall from 9th to 14th and Singapore's fall from 13th to 22nd. Although with the addition of new metrics, as well as year-on-year changes in data, controlling for country size alone cannot explain these movements. Indeed, some smaller countries like Norway and Sweden moved up and held constant respectively.

For the emerging powers, the changes (or lack thereof) in rankings from 2010 to 2011 are also worth noting. Brazil held constant at 21st, China dropped from 17th to 20th, Turkey moved up from 25th to 23rd, India dropped from 23rd to 27th, and Russia fell two spots to 28th. Again, given the changes made to the index, it is important not to draw too much from the change in rankings. However, despite the addition of four new countries (three of them European), Brazil and Turkey did not fall in ranking, which may be a reflection of the real soft power gains the two have made over the past year. While China has been peerless in its recent investment into public diplomacy resources, the comparative change in our rankings for China, Brazil, and Turkey raises questions as to whether money alone can buy soft power.

Results by sub-index

By looking deeper at the types of soft power resources a country commands, we can develop a clearer picture of the relative strengths and weaknesses across the factors that contribute to a nation's soft power. Breaking down the results of the index by each of the five sub-indices affords more specific comparisons. As explained above, the five sub-indices are: Government, Diplomacy, Culture, Education, and Business/Innovation. Table 2 below reports the top ten scoring countries for each objective category of the soft power index.

Table 2: Top ten countries by sub-index scores

Rank	Government	Culture	Diplomacy	Education	Business/Innovation
1	Sweden	USA	France	USA	Singapore
2	Norway	UK	UK	UK	Sweden
3	Denmark	France	Germany	Germany	Finland
4	Switzerland	Australia	USA	France	Switzerland
5	Finland	Spain	Sweden	Canada	Denmark
6	New Zealand	Germany	Norway	Australia	Netherlands
7	Netherlands	China	Netherlands	China	Germany
8	Australia	Italy	Canada	Japan	Belgium
9	Canada	Canada	Italy	Netherlands	Korea
10	Austria	Russia	Switzerland	Korea	Japan

Source: 2011 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index

As stated, the Government sub-index aims to capture both political values like democracy, pluralism, and human rights, but also the effectiveness of government institutions and specific outcomes. Bearing this in mind, the results above do not yield many surprises. Comparing the Government sub-index to similar indices measuring quality of government institutions, pluralism and democracy, the Nordic countries, along with Switzerland always score near the top. It is worth mentioning that the 'political' pillar of soft power is inherently biased towards Western ideals of government and democracy. As a result, non-democratic countries face an immediate disadvantage in any assessment of relative soft power.

The Culture sub-index rankings produce a very different top-ten ordering compared to the Government rankings. While the index uses equal weighting for all of the sub-indices, culture truly gets to the heart of soft power. Culture is the manifestation and expression of a society's values, norms and aspirations. While supported and nurtured by institutions, culture is more about people, interaction and expression. When done well, culture is capable of transcending politically derived barriers and prejudices. The 2011 exhibition "Art of the Enlightenment" in Beijing – a joint initiative of the Dresden State Art Collections, the Berlin State Museums, and the Bavarian State Picture Collections – is an excellent example of cross-national cultural outreach. As Table 2 shows, China's cultural appeal is amongst the best in the world.

Like the Government sub-index, the Diplomacy top ten fails to generate any real surprises. Diplomatic networks and institutions take decades to build, and as the Diplomacy sub-index shows, the dominant 20th century states continue to benefit from the networks they have built up over decades, or even centuries in the case of France's Alliance Française missions. However, if states like Brazil and China continue to invest in their respective diplomatic networks, the benefits of greater international reach and capacity for influence projection will begin to accrue. Of course, a larger network will not guarantee greater influence, but it will provide the opportunity to reach a greater share of foreign publics.

The Education sub-index is comprised of metrics that focus on aspects of higher education, including the ability of countries to attract foreign students and the production of academic research. As a result, those countries with the best performing universities tended to score highest. But as with the Culture sub-index, China finished in the top ten of the Education category. China's desire to build world class universities has been channelled into heavy investment in higher education institutions. This year, China's Premier, Wen Jibao, was awarded the King Charles II medal by the British Royal Society in recognition for China's ambitious national research investment programme. As a result of this push, China's elite C9 League now generates more income per academic staff member than the UK's Russell Group of universities.[42] If China's investment in its universities continues to produce real improvements in higher education, then there could be substantial positive spill-over for Chinese soft power.

The metrics comprising the Business/Innovation sub-index were selected to assess the relative attractiveness of a state's economic model and its capacity for innovation. This sub-index is not designed to capture volume of outputs, but proxies for the quality of an economy's underpinning legal structures, institutions, competitiveness, regulatory regime, and capacity for innovation. Like the Government sub-index, the Business/Innovation indicators are assessing long-established, institutional factors that shape a nation's economy and a few related outcome measures for innovation. As a result, year-on-year changes to this category are likely to be infrequent and incremental.

Soft power: a global tipping point?

Observed in isolation, the results of the index might produce a false sense of security for the world's developed countries. But comparing the recent approaches to soft power taken by the established and emerging powers throws up some interesting questions, namely how long can the West's soft power hegemony last? In the current context of sustained fiscal austerity for the West, soft power assets have been among the most tempting budget lines for governments to cut. At a time when established powers are trimming foreign affairs budgets, emerging powers have been investing in their capacity to generate and project soft power.

Since the 2010 general election, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's approach to soft power has been somewhat conflicted. The Foreign Secretary's efforts to transform the FCO into a 'commercially focused' organisation sit awkwardly with some of the Government's higher-minded foreign policy priorities like increasing the overseas aid budget. Hague's emphasis on economic diplomacy has led some critics to describe the policy drive as 'zealous mercantilism'.[43] A recent restructuring in the FCO has also seen the department's

---

[42] Reisz, M. (2011) "Chinese PM wins accolade for research investment", *Times Higher Education*, 7 July, http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=416698&sectioncode=26

[43] Parker, G. (2011) "Hague praises economic diplomacy", Financial Times. 21 November, p. 2, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/11416480-139b-11e1-81dd-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1eLABV0Jg

communications capacity reduced; a move standing in contrast to the FCO's successful drive towards greater digital engagement. But perhaps most telling has been the steep budget cuts meted out to key soft power institutions like the British Council and BBC World Service.

At present, the BBC World Service is grappling with 16 per cent cuts to its overall budget, which has forced the World Service to cut five full language services; end radio programmes in seven languages; and begin a phased reduction from most short wave and medium wave distribution of remaining radio services.[44] As a result, weekly audience figures have fallen by 14 million over the last year.[45] The British Council, which promotes British culture abroad, will see its FCO grant fall by 18 per cent, which will mean significant cuts for frontline programmes across the world.

But the UK is hardly alone in putting its soft power institutions on the chopping block. For the old guard of global power, examples abound. In the United States, Congress dealt a significant blow to the budgets of both the US State Department and USAID, cutting the foreign operations budget by $8 billion for 2011.[46] Deutsche Welle, Germany's state-sponsored international broadcaster recently decided to phase out short and medium wave radio broadcasts. Radio Netherlands Worldwide, Holland's state-sponsored international broadcaster, is cutting its budget by a staggering 70 per cent by 2013. The French Foreign Ministry's budget has been in decline for twenty-five years, falling 20 per cent over this period. President Sarkozy has recently imposed measures to eliminate nearly 75 per cent of posts vacated by retiring diplomats by 2013.[47] These cuts illustrate the wider trend of fiscal consolidation in the West and the subsequent threat to key soft power resources. As Western states continue to undercut their soft power capabilities, the world's emerging powers are moving in the opposite direction.

Nowhere is this phenomenon clearer than in Beijing. China is pressing ahead with its global charm offensive, spearheaded by a network of Confucius Institutes, educational outposts designed to promote Chinese language and culture. In seven years, China has established 323 institutes around the world. At the same time, China's state-owned broadcaster, CCTV is launching an ambitious push into English-language markets, building new studios in

---

[44] "BBC World Service cuts language services and radio broadcasting to meet tough Spending Review Settlement", BBC Press Office, 26 January, 2011.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2011/01_january/26/worldservice.shtml

[45] "BBC World Service audience drops after cuts", BBC Press Office, 12 July, 2011.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2011/07_july/12/world.shtml

[46] Rogin, J. (2011) "Appropriators cut $8 billion from State Department programs", *Foreign Policy*, The Cable Blog.
http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/04/12/appropriators_cut_8_billion_from_state_department_programs

[47] Duvic Paoli, L-A. (2011) "Epistolary Revolt" London: Royal United Services Institute:
http://www.rusi.org/analysis/commentary/ref:C4D7109D002CD0/

Washington DC, Nairobi, and Europe.[48] Recognising the need to counter the growing concerns around its meteoric economic rise, China is building the capability to project the best possible image to the world.

Turkey's shift from a traditional reliance on hard power, to a more engaging, softer approach in its foreign affairs has been well documented and provides an interesting comparison to China. Domestically, Turkey recently underwent constitutional reforms aimed at improving its democracy. [49] Internationally, Turkish foreign policy has evolved according to three pillars: emphasising friendly relations with immediate neighbours, utilising its unique location which straddles East and West, and treating its Ottoman heritage as a foreign policy asset. The major goal of Turkey's foreign policy approach is to transform into a strong regional – and even global – actor through the exercise of soft power.[50] To support Turkey's foreign policy efforts, the government launched the Public Diplomacy Agency in 2008. Turkey's approach to building international influence has essentially focused on improving two of the three pillars of soft power: political institutions and foreign policy conduct.

Brazil is perhaps one of the most interesting cases when looking at the countries surveyed in our soft power index. Using a blend of hard (economic growth) and soft power resources, Brazil has transformed from a developing country to a genuine global player. As recently as 2005, Brazil made its debut at a G-8 summit and there has been no looking back since. Backed by a booming economy and two decades of charismatic leadership in Presidents Cardoso, Lula, and Rousseff, Brazil has pursued a broadly benevolent, multilateral agenda. Brazilian foreign policy has emphasized three areas of action: reinforcing relations with traditional partners in South America, the United States, and Europe; developing new relations through stronger economic and political ties with developing states (South-South relations); and taking a leading role in pushing for greater democratisation of global governance.[51]

At the same time, Brazil has significantly expanded its diplomatic presence in the developing world, opening 37 new embassies and 25 new consulates since 2003. [52] Overseas

[48] Garrahan, M. and Hille, K. (2011) "China to Expand English Language TV Service", *Financial Times*, 7 November, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/28a4ccec-0965-11e1-a2bb-00144feabdc0.html?ftcamp=rss#axzz1e3fKSgnU

[49] Oğuzlu, T. (2007) 'Soft power in Turkish foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61 (1), pp. 81-97

[50] Düzgit, S. and Tocci, N. (2009) "Transforming Turkish Foreign Policy: The Quest for Regional Leadership and Europeanisation", Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies

[51] Meyer, P. (2011) "Brazil-U.S. Relations", *CRS Report for Congress*, Washington: Congressional Research Service. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33456.pdf

[52] Luxner, L. (2010) "Basking in Global Clout, Brazil Ponders Life After Lula," *Washington Diplomat*. September.

development aid has also been bolstered, totalling $362 million (0.02% of GDP) in 2009.[53] While this is a relatively small amount of aid compared to most OECD countries, it sends an important signal that Brazil wants to be a positive force for international development and global cooperation. Brazil also benefits from two strong cultural ambassadors in football and music. Playing host to the next World Cup and 2016 Olympics will give Brazil an excellent opportunity to present itself to the world. Combining investments in diplomatic infrastructure with a collaborative approach to foreign policy, Brazil is well positioned to build up its soft power stocks going forward.

Looking back at the results reported in Table 2 provides some insights into the unfolding race for soft power and influence projection. China's investment in public diplomacy assets, overtures to cultural promotion, and commitment to improving higher education all contribute to its soft power. But, ultimately, perception of China's curbs on individual freedom, heavy-handed management of the press, and an aversion to political criticism, currently undermine its efforts to generate soft power. This is not to say that the Chinese model is not without its merits. China has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty at an unprecedented rate, and its remarkable growth has seen it overtake Japan as the world's second largest economy. But until China's values – and by extension its national narrative – appeal to the international public, its ability to generate and wield soft power will remain constrained.

Turkey and Brazil, on the other hand, are two countries that appear to understand the full spectrum of the sources of soft power. Over the last five to ten years, Turkey and Brazil have shown that a combination of investment in diplomatic infrastructure, workable democratic institutions, and a benevolent, multilateral approach, have led to substantial soft power gains. Despite being very different countries, Turkey and Brazil offer a similar lesson for emerging powers looking to build their soft power reserves: above all, generating soft power requires a balanced approach. This means investing in the infrastructure needed to reach larger international audiences, pursuing policies (domestic and foreign) that form a compelling international narrative, and taking a network-based approach to international action.

While the world's emerging powers are clearly adapting themselves to soft power approaches – investing in diplomatic infrastructure and fine-tuning foreign policy – affecting world opinion and projecting a compelling international narrative are long-term pursuits. Building soft power requires a sustained effort spanning years, if not decades. But at a time when global politics are clearly in a state of flux and Western powers continue to undermine their own international influence; there is certainly scope for incremental movements in the global balance of soft power. The real movers in the future will be those states that can combine investment with meaningful improvements to institutions and policy.

---

[53] Meyer, P. (2011) "Brazil-U.S. Relations", *CRS Report for Congress*, Washington: Congressional Research Service. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33456.pdf

Conclusion and challenges going forward

The results of our soft power index appear to report that little is changing in the global distribution of soft power; but the top end of the table hides a potentially significant undercurrent. As highlighted above, international politics are undergoing a fundamental shift, driven by power diffusion, technological advances, networks, and an empowered global public. The sum total of these changes means that addressing the world's major foreign policy challenges – which are increasingly global rather than bi-lateral – will require soft power approaches. Driving international affairs in the 21⸱ century will rest on shaping narratives, setting international norms, mobilising trans-national networks, and winning the battle for global public opinion. This is not to say that soft power alone will always win the day, but its relative strategic importance compared to hard power, will continue to grown.

The on-going global transformation comes at a time when the world's established powers are chipping away at their own capacity to operate under the changing conditions of international politics. Taken in this context, the results of the index beg the question: how long will historical trends sustain the soft power hegemony of traditional Western powers? As we have seen, countries like China, Brazil, Turkey, and even South Korea are working to develop their soft power credentials. If emerging countries can sustain the efforts made recently, the results of our index may show that the economic gains of the East and South are beginning to translate into soft power, and ultimately greater influence over foreign affairs.

Of course, the challenge for emerging powers will be to ensure that efforts to develop soft power strike a balance across all of the contributing factors. The framework that underpins the IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index is designed to capture the diversity of the sources of soft power. That soft power is derived from such a broad range of sources means that successfully generating and leveraging it can only be achieved through a balanced approach. For the governments of emerging powers, striking that balance, rather than relying on investment in public diplomacy infrastructure alone, will be crucial. And achieving that balance will require a solid understanding of soft power resources and reliable means for measuring them.

As with last year, we recognise that there is ample scope for improvements to the IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index, and we will continue to work to refine it. In terms of the wider debate on soft power, more research is needed on understanding and measuring soft power assets, but not just in a comparative way. Future work looking at what soft power resources an individual country has, as well as how they are distributed internationally, would help policy makers develop strategies tailored to their available resources. Additional research is needed on how to evaluate the effect of soft power strategies. Developing reliable methodologies for assessing causal links and soft power initiatives and outcomes would be of considerable use to foreign ministries as they seek to defend their shrinking programme budgets.

Ultimately, the aim of the index is to contribute to the research on soft power, spark debate, and inform policy makers. For government audiences, the aim of this publication is twofold. First, to stress that if foreign ministries rush to develop soft power conversion strategies without an accurate account of what soft power resources they actually have, the chances of success are slim. Second, for governments that neglect key soft power assets – especially with respect to funding – they effectively risk their future capacity to project influence.

Finally, it would be remiss not to provide a word of warning. Soft power is not a foreign policy silver bullet. Some foreign policy objectives are naturally better suited to soft power strategies, while others are decidedly not. Politicians, officials in foreign ministries, and diplomats operating in missions abroad must establish clear objectives and – operating with an accurate account of the soft power resources at their disposal – look to leverage those resources where they will be most effective.

Appendix A

The index compares the relative strength of countries' soft power infrastructure; testing the quality of a country's political institutions, the extent of their cultural appeal, the strength of their diplomatic network, the global reputation of their higher education system and the attractiveness of their economic model. As a result our index comprises a range of indicators that capture perceptions, policies, and outcomes.

Where appropriate, variables are controlled for population or GDP, but as stated in the paper, we have reduced the number of indicators that are controlled for population or GDP. The objective measures that comprise each sub-index are combined with the subjective panel scores, and the result is a ranking of the world's major players according to the soft power reserves they command.

For many other composite indices, whether the measure is government effectiveness, quality of life, economic competitiveness or prosperity, there is usually an objective outcome measure, against which an index can be set, and variables selected. Unfortunately, there is no objective means to measure outcomes that might derive from the leveraging of soft power. Without an objective outcome measure, using a regression analysis for variable selection is impossible for our index. As a result, indicators for each sub-index were selected based on an analysis of existing literature on soft power.

In calculating the index, the raw data for each individual indicator was normalised. This allows for the comparison of data across diverse indicators that would otherwise be incomparable. Normalisation was calculated according to the min-max method, which converts raw data to a figure between the range of 0 to 1. The formula for normalising data according to this method is given in an OECD publication on constructing composite indicators and is as follows[54]:

$$I^t_{qc} = (x^t_{qc} - \min_c(x_q^{t0}))/(\max_c(x_q^{t0}) - (\min_c(x_q^{t0})))$$

Within each sub-index, indicators were given equal weighting in the calculation of the sub-index score. The sub-indices were also given equal weighting in calculating the final index score, e.g. the Education sub-index has equal weighting to Government sub-index. This was done as no justification could be found in the literature for weighting some variables more than others. The calculated score for each sub-index was then combined with the normalised scores of the seven subjective panel categories to form the final index score. The statistical-

---

[54] OECD (2008) *Handbook on Constructing Composite Indicators: Methodology and User Guide*. Paris: OECD.

based sub-indices account for the majority of the total score of the index, making up 70 per cent of the final score. The panel scores make up the remaining 30 per cent.

Countries for the index were not selected according to rigid formula or set criteria, but chosen to give a representative sample of the world's major powers, including countries from every geo-political region. The selection process included major OECD countries, the emerging BRIC nations and several smaller countries that have carved out a reputation exceeding their size. Due to time and resource constraints, an initial list of forty countries was whittled down to thirty during the data collection process. In the future, we hope to continue to expand the list and will aim to bring the number of countries up to 50.

Appendix B: Indicators by Sub-index

Diplomacy Sub Index

Metric	Definition	Source
Foreign Aid (proportional)	Overseas Development Aid given as a percentage of Gross National Income (GNI)	OECD and UN Development Statistics
Foreign Aid (Total)	Total Overseas Development Aid	OECD and UN Development Statistics
Visa Freedom	Henley and Partners compiled data on the number of countries a citizen of a given country can visit without needing a visa in advance	The Henley Visa Restrictions Index 2011
Strength of National Brand	Ranking according to the Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index	Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index 2011
Number of Cultural Missions	The total number of dedicated cultural missions abroad, e.g. British Council in Tokyo	Various, direct government or embassy contacts
Online Presence	The total number of Twitter followers for a foreign ministry and the Foreign Minister	www.twitter.com
Global Diplomatic Presence	The total number of Embassies and General Consulates nations have abroad	Foreign ministry websites and other sources

Diplomatic Resource for Multi-lateral Organisations	The total number of permanent diplomatic missions to multi-lateral organisations	Foreign ministry websites and other sources
Global Network Presence	The total number of International/Multi-lateral organisations of which a country is a member	CIA World Fact Book 2011
Environmental Awareness and Action	The total number of environmental treaties signed by a country	CIA World Fact Book 2011
Openness to Asylum Seekers	The total number of asylum seekers admitted to a country (per 1,000 population)	Statistical Yearbook 2010, The UN Refugee Agency

Government Sub Index

Metric	Definition	Source
UN HDI Score	Index of metrics on 'human development' looking at economic, education and health outcomes	United Nations Human Development Index
Government Effectiveness	An index of metrics assembled by the World Bank to assess the quality of government by country	World Bank Good Governance Index
Individual Freedom	Index of political freedom and personal liberty	Freedom House Index
Democratic Institutions	An index of democratic freedom and accountability	The Economist Freedom Index

Think Tank Presence	The total number of think tanks in country	McGann, J. (2010) "The Global Go-To Think Tanks"
Shadow Economy	The size of a state's shadow (black economy)	Buehn, B. and Schneider, F. (2011) "Shadow Economies Around the World: Novel Insights, Accepted Knowledge, and New Estimates", forthcoming in *International Tax and Public Finance*.
Violence in society	Homicide rates (number of homicides per 1,000 population)	UN Homicide Rate Data
Government Accountability	An index assessing accountability mechanisms of a state	World Bank Voice and Accountability Index
Capital Punishment	Has a state carried out capital punishment in the last year (2010)?	Various sources
Trust in Government	Composite score for measures of public trust in government	World Economic Forum Trust in Government Index
Inequality	Gini coefficient	World Bank Statistics

Culture Sub Index

Metric	Definition	Source
Tourism	Total number of annual tourist visits	UN World Tourism Organisation
Tourism Spending	Average amount spent by visiting tourists measured in USD (2010 prices)	UN World Tourism Organisation
Reach of State Sponsored Media Outlet	The number of weekly views/listeners to state sponsored media outlet	Monocle research, various sources
Foreign Correspondents	Total number of foreign correspondents in country	Press Association and other sources
Language	An index of the global power of native language based on population, economics, secondary speakers, production of IP in language	George Weber, "The World's Ten Most Influential Languages", Language Monthly, 3: 12-18, 1997
Olympic Profile	Number of Olympic Gold Medals won in last Summer and Winter Games	International Olympic Committee Database
Music	Number of albums placed in the Global Top 50 by sales	"Recording Industry in Numbers 2011", International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
Art Gallery Attendance	Cumulative annual attendance at the world's 100 most visited art museums	"Exhibition and museum attendance figures 2010", The Art Newspaper, No. 223, April 2011, p. 24
World Heritage	Number of UNESCO World Heritage sites located in country	UNESCO Work Heritage List, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list

Metric	Definition	Source
Status in International Football	Country rank in the FIFA (football's world governing body) world ranking table	FIFA world ranking, 19 October, 2011
Tourism	Total number of annual tourist visits	UN World Tourism Organisation

Education Sub Index

Metric	Definition	Source
Quality of Primary and Secondary Education	PISA Scores	Education at a Glance 2011, OECD
Quality of Universities	The number of universities in the Times Higher Education Global Universities Top 200	"World University Rankings 2011-2012" Times Higher Education, Thomson Reuters
Foreign Students	Number of Foreign Students studying in a given country	"Global Education Digest 2011", UNESCO Institute for Statistics; "Education at a Glance 2011", OECD
Academic Publishing	Number of articles published in academic journals by country of lead author (averaged across five major subjects)	Thomson Reuters Research Evaluation

Business/Innovation Sub Index

Metric	Definition	Source
International Patents	The number of international patents filed originating in country through the Patent Cooperation Treaty, as a proportion of GDP	World Intellectual Property Indicators 2010, published by the World Intellectual Property Organisation
Business Competitiveness	The World Economic Forum's Competitiveness Index, which combines measures capturing the ability of countries to grow and create long-term prosperity	Schwab, K. (2011) Global Competitiveness Report 2011-12, World Economic Forum
Level of Corruption	Countries scored based on Transparency International's Perceptions of Corruption Index	Transparency International Corruption Perception Index
Innovation	Innovation index developed by INSEAD in partnership with Alcatel-Lucent, Booze and Company, Confederation of Indian Industry, and the World Intellectual Property Organization	Dutta, S. (2011) "Global Innovation Index", INSEAD Business School
Foreign Investment	Foreign direct investment as a percentage of gross fixed capital	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Statistics
Internet Connectedness	Number of internet users per 100 inhabitants	CIA World Fact Book 2011

Subjective Expert Panel Categories

Metric	Definition	Source
Cultural Output (Panel)	Quality of high and popular culture output	Monocle and IfG Panel
Cuisine (Panel)	Quality of national food and drink	Monocle and IfG Panel
Soft Power Icons (Panel)	Subjective measure of the relative appeal of cultural icons, e.g. David Beckham	Monocle and IfG Panel
National Airline/ Airport (Panel)	The overall quality of a state's national airline	Monocle and IfG panel
Global Leadership (Panel)	The perceived effectiveness of a country's head of government on the global stage	Monocle and IfG Panel
Foreign Policy Direction (Panel)	The extent to which a state has a positive foreign policy direction or niche (e.g. Norway and peace mediation/promotion)	Monocle and IfG Panel
Commercial Brands (Panel)	The perceived strength of national commercial brands	Monocle and IfG Panel