

# The New Persuaders III

A 2012 Global Ranking of Soft Power

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# Contents

<a href="#">About the authors</a>	<a href="#">3</a>
<a href="#">The New Persuaders III</a>	<a href="#">4</a>
<a href="#">Appendix A</a>	<a href="#">15</a>
<a href="#">Appendix B: Indicators by sub-index</a>	<a href="#">17</a>

## About the author

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Before working in the private sector, Jonathan was Senior Researcher at the Institute for Government, where he remains an Associate. His work at the Institute has spanned a number of areas including foreign policy strategies, effective leadership in government, strategic reform of central government, and transformational change in the public sector. While at the Institute, Jonathan developed the world's first composite index for measuring the soft power of nations. The results of the index are published jointly by the Institute and *Monocle magazine* on an annual basis.

# The New Persuaders III

No longer the purview of foreign policy wonks alone, soft power is now firmly embedded in the dispatches, speeches, and discourse of senior diplomats, world leaders, and news editors across the globe – and with good reason. Cliché as it may sound, the rapidly-evolving nature of world politics is throwing up a host of new challenges for diplomats and foreign policy practitioners. A shifting balance of global power, an increasingly-crowded international stage, the effects of instant information, and the empowerment of the individual, have all made soft power an increasingly critical component of foreign policy. As more foreign ministries wake up to this new reality, they are beginning to experiment, making adjustments to priorities, policies, messaging, and the allocation of resource. Importantly, it is not just the world's traditional powers adapting, but a rising tide of emerging states, looking to translate recent economic gains into more meaningful global influence.

While countries like China, Turkey, and Brazil began thinking seriously about soft power midway through the last decade, unlikely new acolytes are coming to the fore. Indeed, when a realpolitik-minded state like Russia starts making public overtures to soft power – As both President Putin and Prime Minister Medvedev have done over the last year – one can be confident that the game has truly changed.<sup>1</sup> The fact that 'soft power' is now heard in the hallways of an increasingly diverse set of foreign ministries shows the extent to which global politics has evolved.

As the global political landscape has transformed, the very concept of soft power itself has undergone a decades-long process of evolution. Joseph Nye originally coined the term 'soft power' in 1990, defining it as the ability of one state to change the behaviour of others through the means of attraction and persuasion, rather than coercion or payment.<sup>2</sup> Over the course of the next twenty years, soft power went through a conceptual development phase as it was fleshed out, critiqued, and further refined. This period was punctuated by Nye and like-minded scholars advocating the importance of soft power, while realist-inclined thinkers argued against its utility in foreign policy. Out of this debate emerged a grounded definition of soft power that is broadly accepted by the international relations community, even if differences remain over soft power's effectiveness in achieving foreign policy objectives.

With the conceptual development phase coming to a close, 2010 marked an important milestone for soft power, as the debate moved from definition to quantification and measurement. For our part, The Institute for Government, working

<sup>1</sup> Interfax. 'Medvedev: Russia's image hinders investments in it'. *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, (2012), retrieved 27 August 2013 from

<[http://rbth.ru/articles/2012/09/03/medvedev\\_russias\\_image\\_hinders\\_investments\\_in\\_it\\_17874.html](http://rbth.ru/articles/2012/09/03/medvedev_russias_image_hinders_investments_in_it_17874.html)>

<sup>2</sup> Nye, J., (2004), *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York, Public Affairs.

with *Monocle Magazine*, helped usher in this new phase three years ago, when we published the first *New Persuaders* paper. This created the world's first composite index for measuring soft power according to objective and subjective metrics. Each iteration of the index represents a marginal improvement in capturing a comparative view of states' soft power resources, but a great deal of work remains to be done during this phase of input measurement.

The aim of the initial research project – now in its fourth year – has been to both improve the overall understanding of soft power, and draw attention to how important resources contributing to states' soft power actually are. This is an especially significant point given the austerity-driven mind-set that currently pervades most western governments. With the publication of this third index, researchers can begin to explore the year-on-year changes in the rankings of countries. We hope that producing more data points overtime will further contribute to the on-going academic and policy debates on the role of soft power in international relations and approaches to foreign policy.

## Reporting the 2012 data

This paper reports the results of the third IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index, the data for which was collected at the end of 2012. The resulting rankings of the third index were published in December 2012 in *Monocle Magazine*, but this paper represents the corresponding Institute publication, which discusses the methodological issues of the index in greater depth. While there has been a 10-month time lag<sup>3</sup> between the calculation of the third index and the publication of this paper, we felt it was important to report the results for the benefit of researchers, practitioners, and future iterations of the study. However, it is important to note, that despite being published in 2013, the results reported below were calculated with data collected in 2012.

Following the methodology of our previous surveys, we collected a broad set of statistical metrics and subjective data (50 metrics in total), comparing countries according to the quality of their government; diplomatic infrastructure; cultural output; capacity for education; and their appeal to business. The data is normalised, grouped into sub-indices, and calculated using our composite index formula to arrive at a single score for each country included in the study.

The results of the index provide a comparative snapshot of states' soft power resources. As such, the rankings are not an absolute measure of states' influence, but rather their potential for influence. In fact, many states routinely undermine their own soft power with poorly-conceived policies, short-sighted spending decisions, domestic actions, or clumsy messaging.

<sup>3</sup> The time lag between the compilation of data for the Index and the publication of this paper, while regrettable, was due to the author's professional commitments over the last year.

Ultimately, the aim of the index is to push the debate on soft power forward – not for the sake of arguing who is better than whom, but to encourage critical thinking about the resources that contribute to a nation’s soft power. Because as more countries rush towards the development of soft power strategies, their efforts will be fruitless without a precise understanding of where they derive their soft power, and where it will be effective.

Maintaining a focus on the core components of soft power, this paper discusses both the construction and results of the 2012 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index. The paper starts with a discussion on the framework of the soft power index and explains the small number of changes made from the previous index published in 2011. The results of the index are reported, highlighting the major movements in the rankings. Finally, the paper looks at the on-going measurement challenge and highlights the future challenges for research on soft power.

## Building the framework

With the exception of the IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index, measures of soft power have been based exclusively on surveys of public opinion – like the Pew Global Attitudes Survey – as opposed to composite metrics across various indicators.<sup>4</sup> As a result, we had to create the Soft Power Index without the benefit of a previously tested methodology, though this builds on the general principles for compiling a composite index, regardless of subject.

While previous research on soft power measurement was scant, the literature on soft power does contain 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.<sup>5</sup> In a soft power context, culture is defined as the ‘set of practices that create meaning for a society’.<sup>6</sup> This includes high culture like literature, art and education that appeals to elites, as well as television, cinema and pop music aimed at mass entertainment markets. The political values and institutions that govern a nation strongly affect the preferences of others. When government institutions effectively uphold values like transparency, justice, and equality at home, they are naturally more attractive abroad. As a soft power resource, foreign policy is about a state maintaining legitimacy and moral authority in its conduct abroad, i.e. is a state seen as a force for good or ill?<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Nye, J., (2011) *The Future of Power*, New York, Public Affairs.

<sup>5</sup> Nye, J., (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York, Public Affairs.

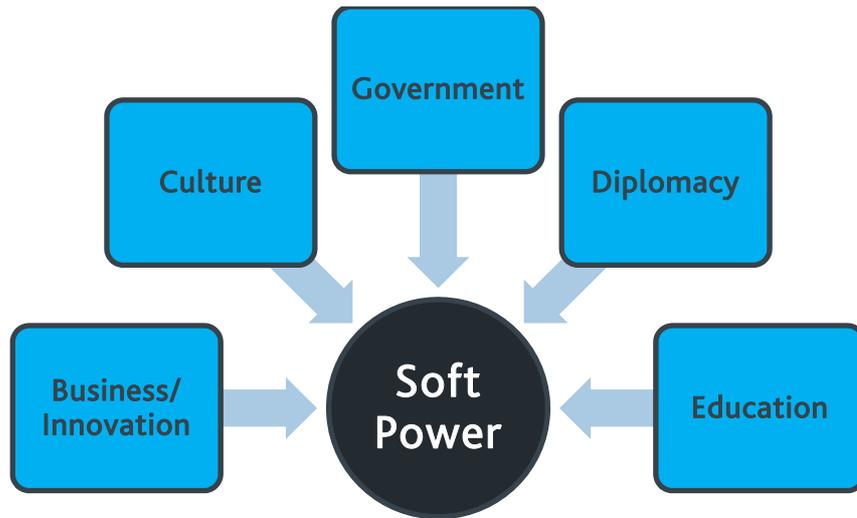
<sup>6</sup> Nye, J., (2008) ‘Public Diplomacy and Soft Power’, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, March, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Nye, J., (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York, Public Affairs.

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**Figure 1: Component parts of soft power**

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Maintaining the same framework as our first index, we take these three pillars as a starting point 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 data sources is given in Appendix B.

When a country's culture promotes universal values that other nations can readily identify with, it makes them naturally attractive to others.<sup>8</sup> The reach and volume 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 visiting international tourists, the global reach of a country's music industry, and even a nation's international sporting success.

The Government sub-index is designed to assess a state's public institutions, political values, and major policy outcome metrics. A successful model of domestic government is an important feature of a nation's overall attractiveness. By including measures like individual freedom, human development, violence in society, and

<sup>8</sup> Nye, J., (2004), *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs.

government effectiveness, the Government sub-index gauges the extent to which a country has an attractive model of governance.

The Diplomatic sub-index aims to measure the diplomatic resources and global footprint of states. Essentially it explores the ability of states to shape a favourable national narrative and engage international audiences. The Diplomatic sub-index combines various measures for how globally engaged and well connected a country is. By testing the relative strength of a country's diplomatic infrastructure, this sub-index gives a sense of how well a country can reach international audiences. This sub-index includes metrics on the number of diplomatic missions abroad, membership in multilateral organisations, and Overseas Development Aid.

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.<sup>9,10</sup> Prior research on educational exchanges gives empirical evidence for the reputational gains for a host country when foreign students return home.<sup>11</sup> Foreign student exchanges have also been shown to have beneficial 'ripple effects' on indirect participants.<sup>12</sup> The Education sub-index aims to capture these factors and includes measures on the number of foreign students in a country and the relative quality of its universities.

Though it may seem more hard than soft, the Business/Innovation sub-index is not a measure of economic power or output. Rather, this sub-index aims to capture the relative attractiveness of a country's economic model in terms of its openness, capacity for innovation, and quality of its 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> Taking account of softer economic factors, we included metrics for innovation, corruption, and competitiveness.

<sup>9</sup> Miller, A., (2006), 'Promoting Democratic Values in Transitional Societies through Foreign Aid', presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago

<sup>10</sup> Phillips, J., & Brooks, P., (2008), 'Yes, a Nuclear Iran is Unacceptable: A Memo to President-elect Obama', Heritage Foundation, *Special Report 28*

<sup>11</sup> Atkinson, C., (2010), 'Does Soft Power Matter? A Comparative Analysis of Student Exchange Programs 1980-2006,' *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6, 1 pp. 1-22

<sup>12</sup> Olberding, J., & Olberding, D., (2010) 'Ripple Effects in Youth Peace-building and Exchange Programs: Measuring Impacts Beyond Direct Participants,' *International Studies Perspectives*, 11, pp. 75-91

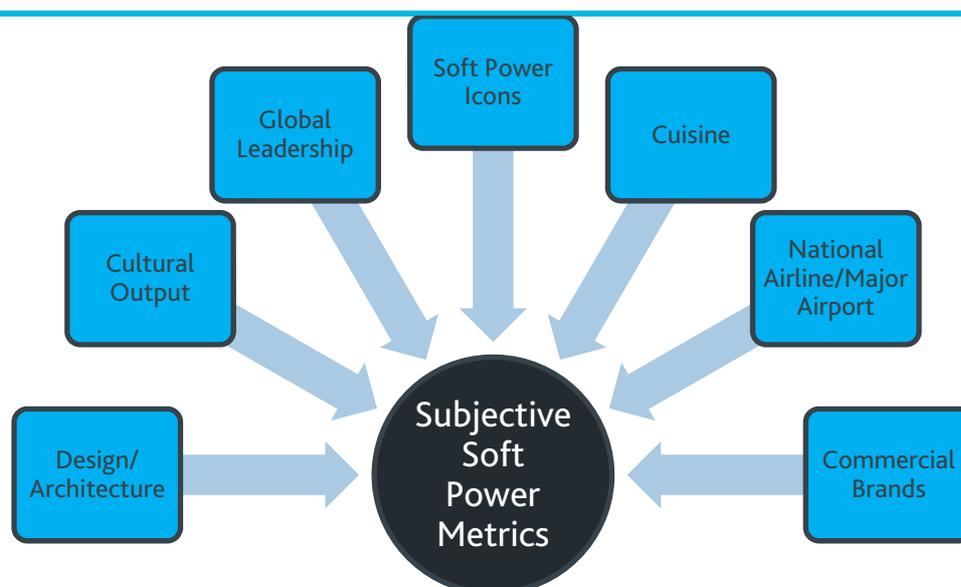
<sup>13</sup> Nye, J., (2011) *The Future of Power*, New York: Public Affairs.

<sup>14</sup> Hettne, B., & Söderbaum, F., (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

## The subjective side of soft power

One of the biggest challenges of measuring soft power is taking account of the capriciousness of its 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.

**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% of the total weighting of the index. The remaining 30% 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 further year of reflection, we made only minor adjustments to the IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index, following the changes made between the 2010 and 2011 versions. Again, discussions with practitioners and experts, as well as surveying new research in the field, led us to make 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 country data. The 2012 index now includes 40 countries, up from 30.

The final change came as a result of a review of all the indicators used in the index. There were significant changes to the metrics between the 2010 and 2011 versions, but the changes to the 2012 index are relatively small. The changes to indicators included dropping our digital engagement indicator – the number of twitter followers for a country's foreign minister and ministry of foreign affairs. Because there was no way to determine the country of origin for these twitter followers, we felt the impact on a nation's soft power could not be assessed.

In the Culture sub index, we added two new indicators. To assess the penetration of music from one country into global markets, we looked at the top three selling albums in all countries for which the International Federation of Phonographic Industry have data, and tallied the country of origin of the top selling artists. For the second additional metric, we created a new film indicator, collecting an aggregate score for three international film festivals, looking specifically at the number of film entries each country had in these festivals. The final change was made to the subjective metrics. We decided to drop the 'International Role' category, feeling the overlap with 'Global Leadership' was too much. This subjective metric was replaced with a score on 'Design and Architecture' – our attempt to capture the impact design has on international perceptions, be it IKEA furniture, the Sydney Opera House, or the iPad.

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.

However, the index marks an important attempt to move beyond the standard opinion surveys that have dominated discussions on measurement of soft power. It is our hope that future versions of this index will improve incrementally in both depth and breadth. Priorities for future iterations will be building a larger data set, establishing a case for weighting indicators, and increasing the number of countries included. 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 hope of moving closer to that goal.

## Results

After normalising<sup>15</sup> all the data points, computing the sub-indices, adding in the subjective data from our panel, and calculating the final index, the UK came top of the table by a comfortable margin. The USA and France slipped from first to second and third to fourth, respectively. Germany supplanted France at third this year, while Sweden rose from sixth to fifth to round out the top five of our index. Table 1 below gives the final rankings and scores of the full index.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 1: Soft Power Index results**

Rank	Country	Score	Rank	Country	Score
1	UK	7.289	21	New Zealand	4.249
2	USA	6.989	22	China	4.237
3	Germany	6.484	23	Portugal	4.217
4	France	6.472	24	Ireland	4.160
5	Sweden	5.752	25	Poland	3.817
6	Japan	5.613	26	Singapore	3.759
7	Denmark	5.598	27	Mexico	3.590
8	Switzerland	5.553	28	Russia	3.564
9	Australia	5.534	29	Israel	3.437
10	Canada	5.417	30	Thailand	3.347
11	South Korea	5.350	31	Czech Rep.	3.346
12	Norway	5.327	32	Chile	3.285
13	Finland	5.267	33	Greece	3.260
14	Italy	5.186	34	South Africa	3.117
15	Netherlands	5.161	35	Argentina	3.062
16	Spain	4.981	36	India	2.776
17	Brazil	4.675	37	Malaysia	2.606
18	Austria	4.650	38	UAE	2.416
19	Belgium	4.556	39	Egypt	2.351
20	Turkey	4.263	40	Indonesia	1.739

Source: 2012 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index

<sup>15</sup> Normalising data is a process that allows different metrics that would otherwise be incomparable to be assessed against each other.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

The results of this year’s index throw up some interesting changes from our 2011 rankings. In particular, Brazil has made substantial gains as it prepares to play host to the world twice in the next four years. Turkey too continues its ascent up the table off the back of cross-cultural appeal and smart positioning, though the last year has proved challenging both internationally and domestically for Prime Minister Erdogan’s Government. South Korea made a significant jump up the rankings after a very good 2012. Korea hosted a number of global summits, historically outperformed at the Olympics, and – of course – gave the world Gangnam.

While the two previous New Persuaders reports have provided an analysis of the results of the soft power index, the elapsed time between the research and the drafting of this paper means that any analysis would be unfairly influenced by the events of 2013. That is to say any commentary on Brazil and Turkey, for example, would be quite different had it been written at the time the research was compiled and this index calculated. As a result, we have decided to forgo any in-depth analysis of the results of this year’s index.

However, as with last year’s paper, we wanted to provide a deeper look at 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 10 scoring countries for each objective category of the soft power index.

**Table 2: Top 10 Countries by sub-index scores**

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

Source: 2012 IfG-Monocle Soft Power Index

Comparing the top 10 countries for each sub-index, Table 2 offers some insights into the unfolding race for soft power and influence projection. The differences between the 2012 and 2011 results for the table above do show continued improvement for China in the Culture and Education sub-indices. Indeed 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, China's curbs on individual freedom, heavy-handed management of the press, and an aversion to political criticism, undermine its efforts to generate soft power. This is not to say that the Chinese model is not without its merits. But China's gains in the areas of Culture and Education have not translated to overall gains in the full index. With the exception of China's upward movement in two of the categories above, the 2011 and 2012 tables look much the same. But China's movement could herald the start of a new trend.

Like China, the United States' two major soft power strengths are culture and education, as reported in Table 2 above. Outperforming other states in these two areas illustrates the US's unrivalled cultural production and the strength of its universities. However, the sources of funding and extent of state control over both cultural production and academia in the US differ substantially from China. In many ways the sources of American and Chinese soft power represent statist and non-statist models respectively. But cutting a path through this binary approach is the UK. Along with Canada, the UK was one of only two countries to appear in the top-ten of four out of the five sub-indices. The UK's well-balanced scores across the sub-indices resulted in Britain taking the top spot of the overall index. Further analysis – exploring the state vs. non-state vs. mixed-model approaches to soft power – would be useful in understanding how states can effectively generate the right balance of soft power.

## Conclusion and challenges going forward

As highlighted above, the global political and economic landscape is undergoing a fundamental shift driven by the diffusion of power, access to technology, the rise of networks, and an increasingly empowered global citizen. The sum total of these changes means that addressing the world's major challenges – which are increasingly multi-lateral rather than bi-lateral – will require collaborative, network-dependent action.

The ability of a state to drive change in international affairs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will rest on shaping narratives, setting international norms, mobilising transnational networks, and winning the battle for global public opinion. This is not to say that soft power alone will always win the day – far from it – but its relative strategic importance will continue to grow.

Soft power's ascendance comes at a time when the world's traditional powers are chipping away at their own capacity to operate under these 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 advantage of traditional Western

powers? For established powers at the top end of the soft power league table, maintaining a position of relative strength will hinge primarily on future decisions on resources, foreign policy, and political messaging (both domestic and international). Moreover, soft power is much easier to lose than it is to gain – which should make governments wary of short-sighted budget cuts to key soft power institutions.

On the other hand, for emerging powers keen to build on their recent economic development, breaking into the top end of the soft power rankings will require more structural reforms. Of course resource allocation and messaging are important factors for emerging countries, but for some questions around fundamental issues – like individual liberties, democracy, free press, transparency, net neutrality, corruption, and a functioning civil society – will continue to impede further comprehensive soft power gains.

In terms of the wider debate on soft power, more research is needed on understanding and measuring soft power from the perspective of individual states, and how it is deployed. This could help researchers move towards outcome attribution in the use of soft power.

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 refine the methodology. Some immediate issues we see with improving measurement would include new indicators for some currently overlooked factors. First, the index would benefit from a reliable metric for a country's civil society and its engagement with civil society groups in other countries. Second, the loss of a metric on digital engagement is regrettable, and we would like to find an indicator that can capture a state's ability to reach international audiences through social media, not simply their own citizens. Third, while it would be a labour-intensive task, a metric on that could provide a content analysis of political messaging would add value to the index. Finally, an indicator capturing tolerance would be a welcome addition as a proxy for the strength of society and social capital.

Of course, the question of measurement is only a part of the soft power debate. 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.

## Appendix A

The index compares the relative strength of countries' soft power resources, 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. Where appropriate, variables are controlled for population or gross domestic product (GDP), so the index prioritises quality over quantity. 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 some 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 leveraging 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 Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) publication on constructing composite indicators and is as follows:<sup>17</sup>

$$I_{qc}^t = (x_{qc}^t - \min_c(x_q^{t0})) / (\max_c(x_q^{t0}) - (\min_c(x_q^{t0})))$$

Within each sub-index, indicators were given equal weighting in the calculation of the sub-index score. 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 six subjective panel categories to form the final index score. The quantitative sub-indices were weighted 70% of the final score and the panel scores 30%.

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

<sup>17</sup> OECD, (2008), *Handbook on Constructing Composite Indicators: Methodology and User Guide*, Paris, OECD.

countries from every geo-political region. The selection process included major OECD countries, the emerging BRIC nations (Brazil, Russia, India and China) and several smaller countries that have carved out a reputation exceeding their size. Due to time and resource constraints, an initial list of 40 countries was whittled down to 30 during the data collection process.

## Appendix B: Indicators by sub-index

### Diplomacy sub-index

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>Foreign aid (proportional)</b>	Overseas development aid given as a percentage of gross national income (GNI)	OECD and UN development statistics
<b>Foreign aid (Total)</b>	Total overseas development aid	OECD and UN development statistics
<b>Visa free travel</b>	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 2012
<b>Number of cultural missions</b>	The total number of dedicated cultural missions abroad, e.g. British Council in Tokyo	Various direct government or embassy contacts
<b>Diplomatic presence in country</b>	The total number of embassies established in a given state	Various sources, often direct from governments
<b>Global diplomatic footprint</b>	The total number of embassies and general consulates a state has abroad	Foreign ministry websites and other sources
<b>Diplomatic resource for multilateral organisations</b>	The total number of permanent diplomatic missions to multilateral organisations	Foreign ministry websites and other sources
<b>Global network</b>	The total number of international/multi-lateral organisations of which a country is a	<i>CIA World Fact Book 2012</i>

	member	
<b>Environmental awareness and action</b>	The total number of environmental treaties signed by a country	<i>CIA World Fact Book 2012</i>
<b>Openness to asylum seekers</b>	The total number of asylum seekers admitted to a country (per 1,000 population)	<i>Statistical Yearbook 2012, The UN Refugee Agency</i>

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## Government sub-index

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<b>Metric</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Source</b>
<b>UN HDI Score</b>	Index of metrics on 'human development' looking at economic, education and health outcomes	United Nations Human Development Index
<b>Government effectiveness</b>	An index of metrics assembled by the World Bank to assess the quality of government by country	World Bank Good Governance Index
<b>Individual freedom</b>	Index of political freedom and personal liberty	Freedom House Index
<b>Democratic institutions</b>	An index of democratic freedom and accountability	The Economist Freedom Index
<b>Think-tank presence</b>	The total number of think-tanks in country	McGann, J. (2012) <i>The Global Go-To Think Tanks</i>
<b>Shadow economy</b>	The size of a state's shadow (black economy)	Buehn, B. & Schneider, F. (2011) 'Shadow economies around the world: novel insights, accepted knowledge, and new estimates'. <i>International Tax and Public Finance</i>

<b>Violence in society</b>	Homicide rates (number of homicides per 1,000 population)	UN Homicide Statistics
<b>Government accountability</b>	An index assessing accountability mechanisms of a state	World Bank Voice and Accountability Index
<b>Capital punishment</b>	Has a state carried out capital punishment in the last year (2010)?	Various sources
<b>Trust in government</b>	Index of survey data measuring citizens' trust in their government by country	World Economic Forum Trust in Government Index
<b>Income inequality</b>	Gini Co-efficient	World Bank

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### Culture sub-index

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<b>Metric</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Source</b>
<b>Tourism</b>	Total number of annual tourist visits	UN World Tourism Organisation
<b>Tourism spending</b>	Average amount spent by visiting tourists measured in USD (2010 prices)	UN World Tourism Organisation
<b>Reach of state sponsored media outlet</b>	The number of weekly views/listeners to state sponsored media outlet	Monocle research, various sources
<b>Foreign correspondents</b>	Total number of foreign correspondents in country	Press Association and other sources

<b>Language</b>	An index of the global power of native language based on population, economics, secondary speakers, production of IP in language	Weber, G., 'The world's 10 most influential languages'. <i>Language Monthly</i> , 3: 12-18, 1997
<b>Olympic profile</b>	Number of Olympic gold medals won in last summer and winter games	International Olympic Committee Database
<b>Music market</b>	The global ranking of a country's music market by size	<i>Recording Industry in Numbers 2012</i> . International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
<b>Global record sales</b>	The total number of No. 1 albums sold in a foreign country by a performer (by country of origin)	<i>Recording Industry in Numbers 2012</i> . International Federation of the Phonographic Industry
<b>Art gallery attendance</b>	Cumulative annual attendance at the world's 100 most visited art museums	'Exhibition and museum attendance figures 2010'. <i>The Art Newspaper</i> , No. 223, April 2011, p. 24
<b>World heritage</b>	Number of UNESCO World Heritage sites located in country	UNESCO World Heritage List, <a href="http://whc.unesco.org/en/list">http://whc.unesco.org/en/list</a>
<b>Status in international football</b>	Country rank in the FIFA (football's world governing body) world ranking table	FIFA World Ranking, 21 October, 2012
<b>Film festival success</b>	The combined number of films submitted to the Cannes, Toronto, and Sundance Film Festivals by country of origin	Various

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## Education sub-index

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Metric	Definition	Source
Quality of primary and secondary education	PISA Scores	<i>Education at a Glance</i> . OECD
Quality of universities	The number of universities in the Times Higher Education Global Universities Top 200	<i>World University Rankings 2011-2012</i> . Times Higher Education, Thomson Reuters
Foreign students	Number of foreign students studying in a given country	<i>Global Education Digest 2011</i> . UNESCO Institute for Statistics; <i>Education at a Glance 2011</i> . OECD
Academic publishing	Number of articles published in academic journals by country of lead author (averaged across five major subjects)	Thomson Reuters Research Evaluation

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## Business/Innovation sub-index

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Metric	Definition	Source
International patents	The number of international patents filed originating in country through the Patent Co-operation Treaty, as a proportion of GDP	<i>World Intellectual Property Indicators 2010</i> . Published by the World Intellectual Property Organisation

<b>Business competitiveness</b>	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). <i>Global Competitiveness Report 2011-12</i> . World Economic Forum
<b>Level of corruption</b>	Countries scored based on Transparency International's Perceptions of Corruption Index	Transparency International Corruption Perception Index
<b>Innovation</b>	Innovation index developed by Boston Consulting Group (BCG) and the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)	BCG and NAM Innovation Index
<b>Foreign investment</b>	Foreign direct investment as a percentage of gross fixed capital	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Statistics
<b>Internet connectedness</b>	Number of internet users per 100 inhabitants	<i>CIA World Fact Book 2011</i>

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### Subjective expert panel categories

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<b>Metric</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Source</b>
<b>Cultural output (panel)</b>	Quality of high and popular culture output	Monocle and Institute Panel
<b>Cuisine (panel)</b>	Quality of national food and drink	Monocle and Institute Panel
<b>Soft power icons (panel)</b>	Subjective measure of the relative appeal of cultural icons, e.g. David Beckham	Monocle and Institute Panel

<b>National airline/airport (panel)</b>	The overall quality of a state's national airline	Monocle and Institute panel
<b>Global leadership (panel)</b>	The perceived effectiveness of a country's head of government on the global stage	Monocle and Institute Panel
<b>8 Yg][ b#5 fW ]hWwi fY</b>	V@Á ^!&ã^âÁ ~ æã Á -ã•ã } Æã áÁ architecture in a country	Monocle and Institute Panel
<b>Commercial brands (panel)</b>	The perceived strength of national commercial brands	Monocle and Institute Panel