

**THE NEW PERSUADERS:**  
*An international ranking of soft power*

## The future of British diplomacy

The future of Britain's global role stands at a precarious juncture. External and internal challenges alike are weighing on the government's capacity to wield influence abroad. Externally, the global status quo is rapidly changing as the centre of economic and political power continues to drift from West to East. At home, the state of Britain's public finances demands a considerable retrenchment of Government spending. Remaining influential abroad in this context will require Britain to recognise its 'soft power' advantages, and consider how to leverage them effectively.

In an effort to map the world's soft power landscape, the Institute for Government, working in partnership with *Monocle*, developed a Soft Power Index. *Monocle*, a monthly periodical, has a strong track-record of covering soft power issues in international affairs. With a global network of correspondents, *Monocle* provided an on-the-ground perspective to complement our data-heavy approach.

Soft power, unlike military hardware or foreign exchange reserves, is not a commodity that a country can store up and deploy at will in pursuit of specific objectives. By its very nature, soft power is a relative and intangible concept that is inherently difficult to quantify. The relational nature of soft power, where the perceptions of one country may vary substantially from another, also makes cross-national comparison difficult. What is loved in Paris might repel in Riyadh. Recognising this challenge, our index combines a wide range of objective and subjective measures of the core constituent components of soft power to create a composite index that, we believe, captures the overall soft power capability of our sample of countries more accurately than has ever been done before.

## Soft power

In international politics, influence is power.<sup>1</sup> Soft power, coined twenty years ago by Joseph Nye, is the ability of a state to influence the actions of another through persuasion or attraction, rather than coercion.<sup>2</sup> As Nye has previously argued, power can be wielded in three ways: threat of force (stick), inducement of payments (carrot) or shaping the preferences of others.<sup>3</sup> Soft power eschews the traditional foreign policy implements of carrot and stick, relying instead on the attractiveness of a nation's institutions, culture, politics and foreign policy, to shape the preferences of others.

Two recent trends have made soft power more critical to the UK's approach to foreign policy. Along with most developed economies, the UK is facing significant cuts to public spending, which means there are advantages in leveraging all available resources for influence. Under the Comprehensive Spending Review, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office will see its budget fall by 24 per cent in real terms over the five-year period covering the CSR.<sup>4</sup> In addition to diplomatic cuts, the Ministry of Defence is facing cuts near to 10 per cent of total spending. Taken together, Britain's sources of traditional international influence are looking diminished. With fewer hard power and diplomatic resources to deploy, soft power tools – especially those not financed by the government – will need to be employed with more regularity and intelligence.

The second trend is the changing nature of global affairs, which have become – and will continue to be – more suited to soft power mechanisms. The use of soft power is not new, but the conditions for

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<sup>1</sup> Willson, E. III (2008) "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 616, March, pp. 110-124

<sup>2</sup> Nye, J. (1990) *Bound to lead: The changing nature of American power*. New York: Basic Books

<sup>3</sup> Nye, J. (2008) "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, March, pp. 94-109

<sup>4</sup> Parker, G. and Barker, A. (2010) "Foreign Office to shed jobs and sites", *Financial Times*, 18 November

projecting it have transformed dramatically in recent years.<sup>5</sup> Soft power transcends the elitism of classic diplomacy by putting the increasingly well-informed global public into play. In today's networked world of instant information, global publics are smarter, more engaged and more active than ever.<sup>6</sup> With more citizens serving as both independent observers as well as active participants in international politics, rapid swings in public opinion are more frequent and potentially more serious. As a result, the public diplomacy initiatives of today need to reach larger, more sceptical publics. And with soft power serving as the primary currency of public diplomacy, the health of Britain's soft power infrastructure is more relevant than ever. But it must be said, with new opportunities come new challenges.

To date, the new Government has not made soft power a priority in terms of resource allocation. Two of Britain's key public diplomacy assets, The British Council and BBC World Service, were handed challenging five year spending settlements, which will not only place huge constraints on their resources, but fundamentally alter their funding structures. From 2014 The BBC World Service will no longer receive an annual FCO grant, but be funded by BBC licence fee payers. 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 while Britain's soft power infrastructure weathers the current fiscal storm, emerging powers are investing in image projection.

Demonstrating a heightened awareness of soft power's potential for wielding influence abroad, rising global players are mobilising resources accordingly. China's soft power advances reflect this wider trend and the shifting diplomatic balance. For example, China has launched a global charm offensive spearheaded by a network of Confucius Institutes, educational outposts designed to promote Chinese language and culture. In just under six years, China has established 320 institutes around the world. And this year alone a further \$8.9 billion has been invested in 'external publicity work' by the Chinese state.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise, Turkey's shift from a traditional reliance on hard power, to a more engaging, softer approach in its foreign affairs has been well documented. Domestically, Turkey has responded to its EU candidate country status with an ambitious reform agenda.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

Turkey's transformation was recognised in November when President Abdullah Gül was awarded the 2010 Chatham House Prize in recognition of his role in Turkey's increasing positive influence on global politics. Whether new approaches to diplomacy and global public engagement will shift the balance of power is unclear, but our soft power index aims to provide a benchmark of global soft power capability at a potentially crucial tipping point.

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<sup>5</sup> Nye, J. (2008) "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, March, p. 96

<sup>6</sup> Van Staden, A. (2005) "Power and legitimacy: The quest for order in a unipolar world", *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers*, April

<sup>7</sup> Shambaugh, D. (2010) "China Flexes its Soft Power", *International Herald Tribune*, 7 June

<sup>8</sup> Oğuzlu, T. (2007) 'Soft power in Turkish foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61 (1), pp. 81-97

<sup>9</sup> Düzigit, S. and Tocci, N. (2009) "Transforming Turkish Foreign Policy: The Quest for Regional Leadership and Europeanisation", Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies

## Building the framework

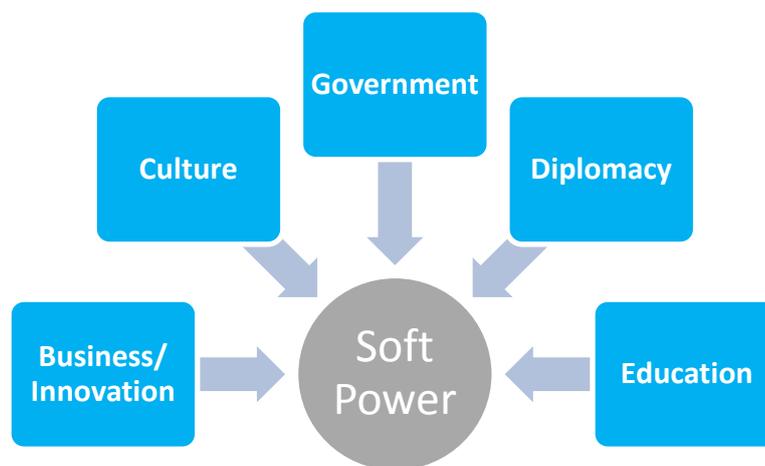
Existing measures of soft power are based primarily on surveys of public opinion – like the Gallup Global Attitudes Survey – as opposed to composite metrics across various indicators.<sup>10</sup> As a result, there is no set methodology for measuring soft power beyond that of opinion polling. However, the literature on soft power contains ample discussion on the constituent parts that lead to its creation. Nye has previously pointed to three primary resources that generate soft power: culture, political values, and foreign policy.<sup>11</sup> In a soft power context, culture is defined as the “set of practices that create meaning for a society”.<sup>12</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>13</sup>

Our index takes these three pillars as a foundation, but expands on them with a framework that assesses countries’ soft power based on five categories: Business/Innovation, Culture, Government Diplomacy, and Education. The framework of categories was built on a survey of existing literature on soft power. Figure 1 below illustrates the five factors that comprise our soft power index, and Appendix B lists the indicators used by category.

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

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When a country’s culture promotes universal values that other nations can readily identify with, it makes them naturally attractive to others.<sup>14</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.

<sup>10</sup> Nye, J. (2011) Forthcoming Book

<sup>11</sup> Nye, J. (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs

<sup>12</sup> Nye, J. (2008) “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power”, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616, March, p. 96

<sup>13</sup> Nye, J. (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs

<sup>14</sup> Nye, J. (2004) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*, New York: Public Affairs

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 Olympic sporting success.

The Government sub-index aims to give a reading of the quality of political institutions, values, and government effectiveness of each country measured. A successful model of domestic government is an important feature of a nation's overall attractiveness. By including measures on individual liberty, political freedom, and government effectiveness, the Government sub-index gauges the attractiveness of a country's domestic governance model.

The Diplomatic sub-index aims to account not only for the global perception of a given country, but its ability to shape a favourable national narrative for international audiences. Effectively, it combines proxy measures for how a nation is perceived and the relative strength of a country's diplomatic infrastructure.

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>15</sup> Prior research on educational exchanges gives empirical evidence for the reputational gains for a host country when foreign students return home.<sup>16</sup> Foreign student exchanges have also been shown to have beneficial "ripple effects" on indirect participants.<sup>17</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 related to economic power or output, but captures the attractiveness of a country's economy in terms of 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.<sup>18</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>19</sup> Taking account of softer economic factors, we included metrics for innovation, corruption, and competitiveness.

## The subjective side of soft power

As stated above, the subjective side of soft power cannot be discounted. Rather than attempt to design against subjectivity (which we deemed impossible), the index embraces the subjective nature of soft power. Taking into account existing literature on soft power and based on some of the most common mediums through which people interface with foreign countries, we developed six subjective metrics to complement the quantitative data gathered for each of the sub-indices described above. Working with *Monocle* editors, we assembled an expert panel to assess countries on the following criteria: reputation of embassies and diplomats; appeal of soft power icons; quality of national airline; cultural output; cuisine; and international political leadership.

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<sup>15</sup> Miller, A. (2006) "Promoting Democratic Values in Transitional Societies through Foreign Aid", presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago

<sup>16</sup> 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

<sup>17</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>18</sup> 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

<sup>19</sup> Nye, J. (2011) Forthcoming Book

<sup>20</sup> 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

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

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. As Nye has emphasised “soft power is a dance requiring partners”.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the index is unable to capture flashpoint events in real-time (see the recent Chilean miners’ saga or China’s condemnation of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee). However, the creation of the index marks an important first attempt in moving beyond the standard opinion surveys that have dominated soft power metrics. In what will hopefully be an annual endeavour, future versions of this index will aim to improve 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.

## Results

After normalising all raw data, computing the sub-indices, and calculating the final index, France and the UK ranked joint first in our table. Three further traditional diplomatic heavy-weights, The United States, Germany and Switzerland round out the top five of our index. Table 1 below give the final rankings and scores of the full index.

**Table 1: Soft power index results**

Rank	Country	Score	Rank	Country	Score
1	<b>France</b>	1.64	14	<b>Norway</b>	0.99
1	<b>UK</b>	1.64	15	<b>Japan</b>	0.97
3	<b>USA</b>	1.57	16	<b>Italy</b>	0.81
4	<b>Germany</b>	1.44	17	<b>China</b>	0.80
5	<b>Switzerland</b>	1.39	18	<b>Israel</b>	0.78
6	<b>Sweden</b>	1.33	19	<b>Korea</b>	0.73
7	<b>Denmark</b>	1.21	20	<b>South Africa</b>	0.69
8	<b>Australia</b>	1.16	20	<b>Brazil</b>	0.69
9	<b>Finland</b>	1.13	22	<b>Mexico</b>	0.61
10	<b>Netherlands</b>	1.08	23	<b>India</b>	0.60
11	<b>Spain</b>	1.05	24	<b>UAE</b>	0.56
12	<b>Canada</b>	1.04	25	<b>Turkey</b>	0.50
13	<b>Singapore</b>	1.01	26	<b>Russia</b>	0.45

Both the UK and France boast impressive diplomatic infrastructures, and their highly regarded diplomatic corps are backed by strong historical links to many countries abroad. The old links of the British Empire, for example, are well maintained via the Commonwealth, which provides a forum for dialogue and cooperation between the UK and its former colonies. The strength of British institutions and brands – notably the BBC World Service – was also identified in Lord Carter’s Review as a key component of Britain’s top reputation for public diplomacy.<sup>22</sup> France’s capacity for cultural promotion is

<sup>21</sup> Nye, J. (2011) Forthcoming Book

<sup>22</sup> Lord Carter of Coles, (2005), *Public Diplomacy Review*, London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office

especially noteworthy. With nearly 1,000 Alliance Française missions abroad, France has historically set the bar for international cultural promotion, easily outspending all other nations.<sup>23</sup>

The last decade has been a challenging one for our third place country, the USA. The fallout of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars continue to taint America's image in much of the world. But the election of President Obama in 2008 went far in restoring America's reputation abroad. The Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index saw the US jump from 7<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> following Obama's 2008 victory. And even 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.<sup>24</sup>

Germany's relatively high showing in our index 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.<sup>25</sup> The Goethe Institute's 144 missions abroad serve to promote German language and culture abroad, and the Government has made a commitment to boost the number of foreign students to 10 per cent of all university students in Germany.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

With its historic neutrality, highly regarded diplomatic core, and efficiently run government, Switzerland enjoys considerable soft power assets. Home to a number of major international non-governmental organisation headquarters like the World Trade Organisation, International Red Cross, and World Health Organisation, Switzerland is a key diplomatic location. Switzerland's global reputation also benefits from its frequent role as 'protecting power' for a number of states without formal diplomatic relations, e.g. Switzerland represents American interests in Iran. The Swiss effectively combine their unique international position with an efficiently run political and economic model to carve out a huge global role for a country of its size.

## Towards a softer future?

Perhaps the most surprising result of the index is China's showing at 17<sup>th</sup>. Historically, public diplomacy has been a weak area for China. A 2007 report entitled *Brand China*, identified China's national image as its greatest strategic threat.<sup>28</sup> The very concept of 'public diplomacy' is a distinctly foreign one for the Chinese who tend to use the term *wai xuan*, meaning 'external propaganda'.<sup>29</sup> But over the last six years, China has embraced a softer approach to foreign policy. This transition was punctuated by the creation of the Division for Public Diplomacy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2004. Combined with the rapid expansion of Confucius Institutes around the world, a growing number of foreign-language Xinhua news outlets, and a swelling public diplomacy budget, China's soft power capability appears to be on a steep upward curve.

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<sup>23</sup> Cull, N. (2009) *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, Los Angeles: Figuera Press

<sup>24</sup> 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

<sup>25</sup> 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

<sup>26</sup> Lord Carter of Coles, (2005), *Public Diplomacy Review*, London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office

<sup>27</sup> 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

<sup>28</sup> Ramo, J. C. (2007) *Brand China*, London: Foreign Policy Centre. <http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/827.pdf>.

<sup>29</sup> Wang, Y. (2008) "Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 616, March, pp. 257-273

China's rise is backed by an enormous economy growing at breakneck speed, which begs the question, is hard power a precondition for building soft power reserves? The top fifteen states in our index would suggest the answer is no. The strong scores from the Nordic countries, Switzerland, and even Singapore, illustrate that size – be it population, economy, or military – isn't everything. And while China continues to invest in its soft power infrastructure, it will eventually reach the point of diminishing returns. In another five years time, China will doubtless move up the ranks of our index, but without a more open and transparent set of political values, China's soft power potential will be capped by an institutional ceiling. Turkey should provide an interesting point of soft power comparison for China in future years. With a much smaller resource base, Turkey's soft power trajectory – set against that of China's – may help determine whether hard power resources are the *sine qua non* of soft power development.

While the index provides an assessment of relative soft power strength, there are risks in extrapolating too much from the results. First, wielding soft power is very different than simply having it. Translating soft power into foreign policy outcomes can be difficult for governments to do, as soft power depends more on the subject than is often the case with hard power.<sup>30</sup> Second, the effective use of soft power often takes place over a long period of time. Finally, many soft power resources are beyond the control of governments, which means they need to be deft where they can affect soft power and its use.

## Conclusion

The top of our soft power table is clearly dominated by established world powers, a hangover from 20<sup>th</sup> century geo-political and economic structures. These countries are buttressed by historic global connections, long-standing networks of influence and traditionally strong cultural production. But as the old guard collectively enters into a period of sustained austerity, soft power assets will be among the most tempting budget lines to cut – as evidenced by the UK's recent spending review. There is a dangerous false economy in cutting soft power capabilities. Soft power is much easier to lose than it is to gain. And if the old soft power networks of the west are trimmed back, emerging powers will doubtless look to fill the vacuum.

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? Clearly the world's emerging powers are taking steps to increase their soft power reserves and build the capacity to leverage them. Building this capacity will take time as soft power cannot be generated over night. But if emerging countries can sustain the efforts made recently, our soft power index may look very different in five years' time.

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<sup>30</sup> Nye, J. (2011) Forthcoming Book

## Appendix A: Calculating the index

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. Where appropriate, variables are controlled for population or GDP, thus 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. The Legatum Institute's Prosperity Index, for example, regresses a set of variables against GDP per capita to determine which are most relevant for inclusion in their index.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, there is no objective means to measure outcomes that might derive from the leveraging of soft power. Without an objective outcome measure, such a method 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 against the average of the data for each indicator. 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 per cent of the final score and the panel scores 30 per cent.

Countries for the index were not selected according to any specific formula or strict 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 twenty six during the data collection process.

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<sup>31</sup> Legatum Prosperity Index. London: Legatum Institute

## Appendix B: Soft power index metrics

Table 2: Culture sub index

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>Tourism</b>	The number of tourists visiting the country per year per 1,000 population	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	George Weber, "The World's Ten Most Influential Languages", Language Monthly, 3: 12-18, 1997
<b>Sporting Success</b>	Number of Olympic Gold Medals won in last Summer and Winter Games	International Olympic Committee Database

**Table 3: Diplomacy sub index**

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>Foreign Aid</b>	Overseas Development Aid given as a percentage of national GDP	OECD and UN Development Statistics
<b>Languages Spoken by Leader</b>	The number of languages spoken by the head of government	Various (no central database)
<b>Visa Freedom</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
<b>Strength of National Brand</b>	Ranking according to the Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index	Anholt-GFK Nation Brand Index
<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

**Table 4: Government sub index**

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>UN HDI Score</b>	Index of metrics on 'human development' looking at economic, education and health outcomes	United Nations Human Development Index
<b>Good Governance Index</b>	An index of metrics assembled by the World Bank to assess the quality of government by country	World Bank Good Governance Index
<b>Freedom Score</b>	Index of political freedom and personal liberty	Freedom House Index
<b>Trust in Government</b>	Composite score for measures of trust in government by country	World Economic Forum Trust in Government Index
<b>Life Satisfaction</b>	An index of subjective well being measures created by a team of psychologists at the University of Leicester	White, A. (2007) "A Global Projection of Subjective Well-being: A Challenge To Positive Psychology?"

**Table 5: Education sub index**

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>Think Tank Presence</b>	The number of think tanks in a country, divided by GDP	McGann, J. (2009) "The Global Go-To Think Tanks"
<b>Quality of Universities</b>	The number of universities in the Times Higher Education Global Universities Top 200	Times Higher Education Global Universities
<b>Foreign Students</b>	Number of Foreign Students studying in a given country	UNESCO Institute for Statistics

**Table: 6 Business / innovation sub index**

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>International Patents</b>	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
<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. (2010) Global Competitiveness Report 2010-11, 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 and the National Association of Manufacturers	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

**Table 7: Subjective expert panel measures**

Metric	Definition	Source
<b>Cultural Output (Panel)</b>	Quality of high and popular culture output	Monocle and IfG Expert Panel
<b>Cuisine (Panel)</b>	Quality of national food and drink	Monocle and IfG Expert Panel
<b>Soft Power Icons (Panel)</b>	Subjective measure of the relative appeal of cultural icons, e.g. David Beckham	Monocle and IfG Expert Panel
<b>National Airline (Panel)</b>	The overall quality of a state's national airline	Monocle and IfG Expert panel
<b>International Leadership (Panel)</b>	The perceived effectiveness of a country's head of government on the global stage	Monocle and IfG Expert Panel
<b>Reputation of Embassy/Diplomats (Panel)</b>	The reputation of a country's embassies, ambassadors and diplomatic corps	Monocle and IfG Expert Panel

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