

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/300328983>

Soft Power Concept and Soft Power Indexes

Chapter · January 2016

DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-22596-8_28

CITATION

1

READS

11,405

2 authors:



Kiymet Yavuzaslan
Aydin Adnan Menderes University

33 PUBLICATIONS 27 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)



Murat Çetin
Istanbul University

5 PUBLICATIONS 4 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



the effects of organic agriculture [View project](#)



Soft Power Concept and Soft Power Indexes [View project](#)

Soft Power Concept and Soft Power Indexes

KIYMET YAVUZASLAN
Department of Economics
Istanbul University
Turkey
kiymetyavuzaslan@gmail.com

MURAT CETIN
Department of Economics
Istanbul University
Turkey
muratcetin05@hotmail.com

Abstract: Many state remains owned power supplies in the line of domestic and international level. Even though, both policies which are followed in this case primarily are based on the military and economic power, "SoftPower" item which was used for the first time by Joseph Nye (1990), has become more important so as to keep pace with today's requirements and the world order. The soft power resources have a legitimizing effect on countries' policies that the others accept by their own free will. Many countries which realized the importance of the soft power, worked about to develop soft power resources. Besides the academic study, in order to measure and to compare the results obtained so far in many other countries, has been created various soft power indexes on basis of the elements of the soft power.

Keywords:Power, SoftPower, SoftPowerMeasurement, SoftPower Index

1. INTRODUCTION

To understand developments in the world, the politics based on the power in the international arena will be appropriate to follow. So, the concept of power is a phenomenon that forms the basis of the study area of the discipline of international relations and among the theories developed so far, "power" phenomenon is one of the key concepts. Each state wishes and desires to determine a power policy in accordance with their national interests. In addition, they should develop new policies in each field to prove their power. When we look at the historical process in a comprehensive manner, we see that the soft power sources have been used by many great empires so far. Yet, in the 90s, corresponding to the end of the Cold War period, Joseph Nye's (1990) book "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power" which was influential all around the world the concept of "soft power" was used for the first time and gained a conceptual quality.

The concept of soft power, bringing a different dimension to classic power sources, is kind of a handbook in forming a structure by legitimizing the use of force for all countries desiring to keep power in their hands. In this study, by conceptualizing soft power, the results obtained within the framework of the content and the indicators of soft power indexes formed by being supported with the quantitative data.

2. THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER

Before defining the concept of soft power concept which was put forward academically and theoretically for the first time by a political science professor at Harvard University and the United States international security expert Joseph Nye (1990), it will be useful to explain the

concept of "power". For example, before Nye (1990) explained the concept of soft power, he tried to clarify the concept of "power" by using the dictionary meaning of it. According to Nye, in the simplest terms, the power is the ability to influence the behavior of the opponent in order to achieve the desired results (Nye, 2003).

Niccola Machiavelli who is author of the book "Prince", published in 1532, attaches top priority to power and the security of the state and draws attention of the all empires, and says the continuation and survival efforts of a state form the basis of all other purposes. According to "Machiavellism", which is a disgraceful term to some, what is important is to get power and it does not matter how it is won (Ari, 2001).

In order to achieve the intended object, many states try to use their powers effectively. Considering the historical process, the power, the biggest tool for reaching the desired goal, has been subject to some changes over time from a conceptual perspective. The open-ended analysis of these changes made it difficult to determine the definition and demarcation of power at times. Consequently, power has been a gain in terms of many different factors and dimensions. As it was in the past, only with measured resources like land and a large population, it is not enough for a country to determine intensity of the power anymore (Lord, 2006). Since the beginning of the Westphalia system, even before, the fact that how long the assessment of power, in terms of its physical properties, will take can never be predicted (Brown *et al.* 2007). So, under present conditions, it is clear that the optimism should be exported and new alliances and partnerships should be formed by leaving aside the fear strategy.

In terms of realism and liberalism which are important schools of the discipline of international relations, the power definitions have been attempted to be expressed in different ways. According to Morgenthau (1962) who is one of the major representatives of the realist school, the power means that a person has control over other people's ideas and actions. According to liberals, power can be specified as the ability of an actor to get things that others cannot do under normal circumstances done or to have control over the results (Keohane and Nye, 1989). When examined more closely, although the power sources are differently perceived, it is seen that the definitions of the concept of power are in the same way for each discipline.

In short, when we look at the balance of power system until today it is intended to prevent war resulting from power combinations leading a country's own efforts to change the status quo (Polanyi, 2009). Before, it was easier to appreciate international power sources. In international politics, super power meant "war power" (Taylor, 1954). One of the most important criteria adopted about a state's power has been military power status.

The Armed Forces that constitute the military forces must be strong and ready for use even in peacetime because a country, both at national and international levels may have to engage military operations at any moment. Thus, having military power is the primary task of all administrators in the country.

However, when the phenomenon of power is examined in a more detailed manner, some classifications are seen. For example, in terms of power sources (concrete-abstract) and the style of power application (hard-soft), it can be classified under two main titles. If considered generally, the components of a state's power (resources) can be grouped under two headings (Gonlubol, 2000).

Concrete elements:

- Geographical location
- Population and labor
- Natural resources
- Industrial and agricultural potential and level of development

- Number of Military personnel

Abstract elements:

- National morale
- The quality of Diplomacy
- The quality of government

It has become more evident that power sources constituting concrete items such as geographical location, population and labor force, natural resources, industrial and agricultural development, number of military personnel do not make sense all alone on the power scale of a country (Lord, 2006). Beyond the elements of the concrete power, it is important to create the agenda in the world politics and attract foreign public opinion.

Table 1: Classification of Power in the International Order

Power Types	Behaviors	Basic Tools	Government Policies
Military power	* Coercion * Deterrence * Protection	* Threat * Force	* Coercive Diplomacy * War * Alliance
Economic Power	* Encouragement * Coercion * Admirableness	* Money-Making * Investment * Values, Culture	* Help * Bribery * Public Diplomacy
Soft Power	* Creating Agenda	* Policies * Institutions	* Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy

Source:(Nye, 2005)

Nye (2005) basically gathered power elements under two headings although he classified power types as military, economic and soft power (Table 1). The elements of the power he called as “Hard power “are, in general, the military inventories in a country. While economic power may be actually considered under the hard, it can be said that it is overlapped with soft power.

Nye (2005) proposed that soft power consists of a country's history, geography, cultural diversity, economic strength, social pattern, democratic development, civil society organizations' prevalence and impacts, science and technology infrastructure and values like art and sports which the social life produced in the intellectual sense. Nye (2005) defines the soft power as a country's power momentum that is created by all the possibilities and opportunities a country has apart from direct military force, but this power supports military forces if necessary and he has created the concept of soft power to explain the spiritual dimension of power. Ensuring that others desire the outcomes you desire attracts people without forcing them. In short, soft power relies on the ability to shape the preferences of others and it is a power which is attractive to other countries.

When a country determines the international world politics, she is able to get the results she wants by ensuring target country or countries pursue and admire her. This strategy is stronger than determining the agenda of world politics and influencing other countries by forcing them to change with the use of economic or military vehicles. As a government that frightens and oppresses people can never achieve and maintain a sustainable success, use of force that is based on consent is always more effective in the international order (Cox, 2004).

The leaders in all countries should use their soft power resources “to exert their authorities” for the national and international policies. Because in the modern world order, not only using military force threat or using economic sanctions to force others to change, but also creating the agenda in world politics and to attract the other countries are important. This soft power, that is to say pretending that others want what you want, attracts people to you instead of forcing them (Nye, 2005).

Recently, that the ideas and discussions that America's hegemony ended and her likely successor is China (Layne, 1993) and that she places emphasis on soft power and engaged in activities (like Beijing Olympics, etc.) indicates that the concept of power is quite up-to-date and important (Uzer, 2013).

Hence, after the 2nd World War and the Cold War the United States has proven herself as the sole superpower of the 20th century and the use of soft power has brought a great deal of benefits to her in foreign affairs. With its soft power elements, The United States have managed to build a large foreign political culture. Such a power can be an effective tool to easily change the facts according to the time, so USA fulfills its task as the "Superman" that will be called to intervene in case of any problem taking place in the international arena (Sumer, 2008).

3. CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF USE OF SOFT POWER

Here, I will try to touch upon the use of soft power and since what time it has been used to determine the policies of the countries and for what reasons it is used. In fact, about 500 years ago, Machiavelli recommended the Italian princes that to be scared is more important than to be loved as he believes that any means which is used to reach a goal is allowable. In history, many states used their powers and applied their military forces to provide security against the dangers and to achieve the results they want; today policies in the same way continue to be used. Using economic strength is also a way of using power that often has short lasting impacts and is simple. However, although its way and duration of use is more troublesome, the results obtained with the use of soft power may be more enduring and positive.

After the Second World War, The United States and the Soviet Union entered in a competition to win dominance in economic and political area and the Cold War began. This bi-polar power struggle has ended with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Bromley, 2008). After the Cold War, the spread of democracy, the media's excessive growth and development, and the development of global civil society protest movements have changed the nature of power and as conceptualized by Nye (1990) in that period, the policies based on more soft power have gained importance (Sancar, 2012).

Although soft power has sometimes a direct impact on specific purposes, it has more effects on a country which is trying to reach general purposes. The use of hard power, in the environment of global economy, may adversely affect the country's economic goals. War may deter investors which control the flow of capital in the globalized economy (Friedman, 1999). But soft power initiatives are the exact opposite of hard power initiatives. In addition, results show that soft power influenced the framework of the economic power of hard power elements. For example, the soft power has effect on the essence of economic structure such as production technology, corporate organization model, management science, brand strategy, innovation (Li *et al.* 2012). The resources forming the soft power and tools can sometimes be training activities, sometimes arts, sports or theater and sometimes can also be leaders and regimes. At this point, for the popular American culture and Hollywood films, in many countries of the World, it is very difficult to say that they do not create interest and curiosity.

The United States, thanks to the use of soft power in the Post-Cold War period, have become more attractive in terms of economy and politics among the available alternatives in the global sense. This has made the USA a model in which the iron curtain countries have envied (Demirtepe-Ozertem, 2013). This can be seen clearly when a comparison between Warsaw Pact and NATO is made. When The Warsaw Pact disintegrated, becoming a member of the US-led NATO membership has become an important goal for many. These countries' race to be a member of NATO is not just for military force support, but also for it makes one close to U.S. image and be in line with a peaceful country. Here, too, we can see that the most important success of soft power is to make a country to adopt one's goals as if its own.

4. GENERAL FEATURES AND DIMENSIONS OF SOFT POWER

Nye (2010) has made an analogy about the power as; power means possessing royal flush in the international poker game. Of course, if you do not evaluate the cards as required or if you keep bluffing and cheating, you will lose again or you cannot get the results you want. Soft power is a form of passive power, he adds. Countries where the soft power is applied would like to follow the moral values, prosperity or culture of the country which holds the soft power. This is the second face of power and in some cases the country on which the soft power is applied does not recognize that such a force is applied to her. Soft power is not directly applied to the target countries, but countries are affected by this power voluntarily and change their behavior.

For the concept of power that is an important element in terms of international relations and political science, it is evident that it is not a one-dimensional character. Ability to achieve the desired results is mostly related to having certain resources. Thus, the power can, in short, be defined as having elements such as population, natural resources, land, military and economic force, and political stability. Apart from concrete items such as tanks, artillery, guns, number of aircrafts a country has, as mentioned earlier, a country has also abstract resources. However, it is not possible to examine all of them exactly in terms of numerical data. In other words, the phenomenon of power is a concept whose existence is known but some difficulties arise in measuring its exact size. Soft power may differ for each country and soft power is inherently relative. Something which is valid for a country may have an adverse impact for another one. In addition, each country has unique features such as belief system and values; these unique features create these countries' political culture. The political culture of a country may have an impact on the country's power as much as other elements of physical capacity (McClory, 2010). In addition, the support of a community for the government's policy, or the opposite, becomes important elements when taking the power of a country into consideration.

That the country gives the impression of being divided or acting together about the issues of territorial integrity and sovereignty, the absence of deep social and economic divisions within the country, adopting the same ideology provide significant effect on the strength of the country.

When you talk about elements and tools of soft power, things that first come to mind are media, culture, art, science, sports, education, which are specific to a country (Nye, 2005). In the current policy that is followed on a global scale countries' power of the elements determine the sustainability of these policies (Demirtepe-Ozertem, 2013). There are some soft-power resources for each country and through these sources; each country develops her appropriate soft power strategies (Nye, 2003).

To Nye (2005), soft power is based on three sources and in the order of importance the first one is the emphasis on culture, he says this because he suggests culture can be attractive to others. Second one is political values and the third one is foreign policy developments, he regards these as sources of soft power. The culture and political values that determine the

soft power must be compatible to those living in the country and abroad as this integration will determine the greatness of the power. The use of soft power will have a positive impact on the target group, if foreign policy is evaluated as reasonable, legitimate and moral. How to use soft power and its elements are expressed in this way by Nye (2005).

During the literature review, many efforts about definitions of soft power and the elements of soft power were observed. In this article, we have discussed "soft power index" in accordance with the valuation criteria used in the calculations and the elements of soft power and resources will be discussed again.

5. SOFT POWER INDEX

The domestic and foreign policies of the countries with the ability to impose their preferences, cultural values and institutional structures enable them to earn an attractive character in which soft power is the most important factor(Nye, 2005).

In general, the concept of power including soft power is actually relative and the explanations applied from the power of the elements or sources are often insufficient. When compared with other countries' capacities, it may become a meaningful concept. This comparison is easy in an environment where few actors exist, but in many state's complex relationships, to make this comparison is more difficult than expected. Especially, developing countries are now reducing their defense budget which is the most prominent feature of the elements of hard power and whether or not it is supported by the state, the elements of soft power requires more structured and intelligent application. Assessment of each country is different in terms of soft power because soft power sources are different from each other and while some countries are aware of these resources, some cannot use these resources appropriately. The soft power's frame is expressed consistently in the definitions made. However, during the implementation of soft power, the cost-benefit analysis rather than definition should be well done (Ozdermir, 2008).

First of all, in terms of its impact, the soft power policy objectives must be global. When the cost of a global initiative to the state is more than the advantages it brings, it will lead to a waste of resources and will become time consuming rather than become effective (McClory, 2010).As a result of political, economic and military analysis, it should be planned so as to ensure maximum impact. It should be implemented in different ways in different areas, and the results should be analyzed in the best way. In this regard, to see if the success is achieved or not, it is needed to express of the soft power in numerical values and soft power index calculations are being made by independent research institutions. The studies respectively conducted so far in 2010, 2011 and 2012 indicate that the soft power indexes were formed. Indexes conducted in 2010 and 2011, established in order to increase the effectiveness of "The Institute for Government" (IFG) under the leadership of the UK's independent charitable organization "The Institute for Government" (IFG) aimed to increase the effectiveness of The British governments. Since the index in 2011 is an improved version of the index in 2010, IFG's soft power index report in 2011 will be considered in this study. Another soft power index discussed here is an index study conducted by the initiative of the US-based international independent auditing firm Ernest & Young (E & Y) in 2012.

5.1. The New Persuaders Soft Power Index

In the Soft Power index prepared by Jonathan McClory (2010) with the support of IFG, by examining 30 countries determined as the strategic partner of UK it was aimed to compare UK's soft power situation with the other 30 countries.

In "The New Persuaders I-II" entitled soft power indexes, it has not been tested how much soft power the countries have, it has been tested how effective they use their soft powers (McClory, 2010).To determine this index, by taking the superiority of countries in many fields

into consideration like membership to the international organizations such as NATO, UN; in many areas such as GDP on foreign aid rate, the country's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) number, signed environmental agreements, UNESCO World Heritage Site and number of Olympic medals, country's income distribution status, academic publications, the number of foreign correspondents certain rankings have been made. These areas are primarily classified under five main headings and then, the worldwide statistics and indices on this topic which were prepared by leading organizations have been employed.

Main titles and descriptions based on as soft power as indicator are summarized in the following four statements (McClory, 2010):

Table 2: Soft Power Index Indicators and Descriptions Prepared by IFGIndex: Indicators Considered Under the Heading "Diplomacy"

Indicator	Description	Source
Foreign Aid	Total Overseas Development Assistance	OECD and United Nations Statistics
Visa Freedom	It is compiled according to the pieces of his country visa-free travel of its citizens by Britain's Independent Consulting Company, "Henley And Partners"	Henley Visa Restrictions Index
National Brand Power	The ranking according to ANHOLT-GFK the National Brand Index	ANHOLT-GFK Brand Index
Number of Cultural Mission	Number of Special Cultural Mission made on Abroad	The number of Direct State or Embassy Employees
Online Structure	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Total Number of Twitter Followers	www.twitter.com
Global Diplomatic Structure	Number of foreign embassies and consulates situated on abroad	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Web Sites and Other Resources
Diplomatic Resources for Multilateral Organizations	Total Number of Multilateral Organizations	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Web Sites and Other Resources
Global Connectivity Structure	The Total Number of International / Multi-Biased of Organizations which a country that is a member	CIA World Fact Book*
Environmental Awareness and Actions	The Number of Total Environmental Agreements signed by Country	CIA World Fact Book
Openness to Refugees	The total number of refugees accepted to the country (Out of 1000)	The United Nations Refugee Agency Annual Statistics

Notes:*Even if partially it is updated every week, it is an official CIA website which is prepared for the needs of the United States Federal Government

Table 3: Soft Power Index Indicators and Descriptions Prepared by IFGIndex: Index Indicators Considered Under the Heading "Government"

Indicator	Description	Source
The United Nations Human Development Indicators	Human Development" Measurements are taken into account by Economics, Education, and Health Indices Created By Seeking on the results.	The United Nations' Human Development Index
Government Effectiveness	"The one" collected based on the countries to measure the Quality of Government by the World Bank	World Bank "Good Government Index"
Individual Freedom	Political and Personal Freedom Index	Index prepared by Freedom House Organization
Democratic Institutions	Democratic Freedom and Responsibility Index	The Economist "Freedom Index"
Thought Centers Activities	Total Number of Think Tanks in the country	"The Global Go-To Think Tanks"
Informal Economy	The country's Informal Economy Size	Forthcoming in International Tax and Public Finance.
Social Violence	Murder Rate	United Nations "Murder Rate" Data
Government Responsibility	An index that measures the responsibilities of the National Mechanism	World Bank Report
Death Penalty	The number of death penalty given in a year in the country	Various Resources
Government Trust	A Compound Points People give to the Government according to The Trustiness	World Economic Forum Government Confidence Index
Income Distribution	Gini Coefficient	World Bank statistics

Table 4: Soft Power Index Indicators and Descriptions Prepared by IFGIndex: Index Indicators Considered Under the Heading "Culture"

Indicator	Description	Source
Tourism	Annual Total Number of Tourists	The United Nations World Tourism Organization
Tourism Expenditures	Average Spending by tourists (in dollar terms)	The United Nations World Tourism Organization
Foreign Correspondents	Total Foreign Correspondents in the country	Press Association and Other Resources
Language	The Index demonstrating the Global power of the Native Language	George Weber, "The World's Ten Most Influential Languages", Language Monthly, 3: 12-18, 1997
Olympic Profile	The number of medals won in last Summer and Winter Games	Data of the International Olympic Committee
Music	World Sales List Number of Albula in the first 50 Coverage	The International Federation Datas
Art Gallery	World's Most Visited 100 Museum's Annual Cumulative Visitors Number	The Art Newspaper
World Heritage	The number of UNESCO World Heritage situated in the country	UNESCO World Heritage List Http://Whc.Unesco.Org/En/List
International Football Status	The country's FIFA World Ranking	FIFA

Table 5: Soft Power Index Indicators and Descriptions Prepared by IFGIndex: Index Indicators Considered Under the Heading "Business / Innovation"

Indicator	Description	Source
International Patents	International Patent Procurement of GDP Ratio	World Wealth Organization Publications
Commercial Competition	Competitiveness Index of the World Economic Forum	World Economic Forum
Level of Corruption	International Transparency Association "Corruption Perceptions Index" Country rankings are taken into account	International Transparency Association "Corruption Perceptions Index"
Innovation	The Innovation Index by Developed INSEAD and the World Intellectual Property Organization	Dutta, S. (2011) "Global Innovation Index", Insead Business School
International Investment	Foreign Direct Investment in Gross Fixed Capital Ratio	United Nations Trade and Development Statistics
Internet Addiction	How many Internet users per 100 inhabitants	CIA World Fact Book

Source:(McClory, 2011)

As mentioned previously, in addition to these main categories (Tables 2-3-4-5) created by using a variety of statistics and indexes, the experts have rated a number of criteria from IFG (2013) and Monoclo magazine as for non-quantitative values under a separate heading.

These criteria determined as "Subjective Expert Panel Categories" are assessments of those countries' many aspects such as cultural outputs, soft power icons, cuisine, national airlines and airports, global leaders, foreign policy direction, trademarks (McClory, 2011).

Table 6: Country Soft Power Ranking Calculated at IFG Soft Power Index Score (2011)

LINE	COUNTRY	SCORE	LINE	COUNTRY	SCORE
1	USA	7.41	16	ITALY	4.28
2	UNITED KINGDOM	6.48	17	NEW ZEALAND	4.17
3	FRANCE	6.21	18	AUSTRIA	4.1
4	GERMANY	6.15	19	BELGIUM	3.8
5	AUSTRALIA	5.65	20	CHINA	3.74
6	SWEDEN	5.35	21	BRAZIL	3.55
7	JAPAN	5.08	22	SINGAPORE	3.49
8	SWISS	5.07	23	TURKEY	3.33
9	CANADA	4.91	24	CHILE	2.94
10	NETHERLANDS	4.9	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 REPUBLIC	2.36
15	FINLAND	4.45	30	GREECE	2.35

Source:McClory (2011)

According to this index IFG published for the first time in 2010, Britain and France are on the first place. In Table 6 ranking on which the USA, Germany and Switzerland also take place and they constitute the top five countries in terms of soft power (IFG, 2013). Britain's most important TV channels, BBC's closure in many countries due to budget problems have deeply influenced her international image. Also, The British government's Arab Spring Strategies promote democracy for some countries while for some other countries they support dictators, this has led to a loss in the order for the calculation of the soft power in 2011. A new ranking appeared in 2011, because France failed to fight with the financial crisis in Europe due to the policies it followed, that caused France to face soft power drop.

Table 7: IFG Soft Power Index Basic Criteria for the Top 10 Country (2011)

LINE	GOVERNMENT	CULTURE	DIPLOMACY	EDUCATION	TRADE/ INOVATION
1	Sweden	USA	France	USA	Singapore
2	Norway	England	England	England	Switzerland
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:(McClory, 2011)

While preparing the index, the chart was formed in accordance with criteria to be the best in the international arena; it included the calculation of each country's soft power elements, each country's own peculiar importance. As it is seen, generally, The European countries, particularly, The United States and Britain, are at the top in the ranking among the best ones as noted in Table 7. The Scandinavian countries taking part in the first three are noteworthy, this is another factor in the "Government" criteria in which the government policies of the countries have been evaluated.

5.2. RAPID-GROWTH MARKETS SOFT POWER INDEX

Rapid-Growth Markets Soft Power Index was prepared and published by international independent auditing firm Ernest & Young (2012) whose center is in America in cooperation with Skolkovo Institute whose center is in Moscow. In this index prepared in 2012, thirteen different variables were used and a numerical scoring was performed by giving certain coefficients to these variables.

While constructing the index of Ernest&Young (2012), the variables that describe soft power have been organized in three main categories including “Global Image”, “Global Integrity” and “Global Integration”.

Table 8: Soft Power Index by Ernest & Young Emerging Economies Soft Power Rankings

Line		2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
1	China	31.1	32.2	32.2	32.2	33.7	30.7
2	India	22.6	21.5	21.9	26.7	22.6	20.4
3	Russia	22.9	18.4	22.9	21	23.5	18
4	Brazil	5.9	6	9.3	12.7	9.7	13.8
5	Turkey	10.3	12.5	11.4	14.4	10.3	12.9
6	Mexico	10	11.8	11.8	17.1	19.3	11.5
7	South Africa	13	10	8.5	12.6	11.8	10.3
8	Hungary	12.2	11.1	7.4	9.2	9.2	10
9	Czech Republic	8.5	9.2	9.2	9.2	10.7	9.6
10	Slovakia	7	7.4	6.6	6.6	7	9.2

Source: Ernest&Young (2013)

The scoring results are evaluated according to the developing countries' soft power index criteria, the soft power seems to have a close relationship with GDP by looking at the ranking in 2010(Table 8). The world closely follows BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries, those countries are the rising economies and they are positioned in a special way, it is no surprise that these four countries are the first four economies in terms of soft power among the developing economies. Although it is not included in the estimation of soft power index population size and the GDP size are among important sources increasing the soft power.

In addition, this study conducted in 30 selected developing countries, it has been determined that there is 75 per cent correlation between GDP and soft power status (Ernest&Young, 2012).Furthermore, the research results reveal that the countries with strong "soft power" brand attract more direct foreign investment.

6. CONCLUSION

Many studies have been made so far on concept of "soft power" which occupies a considerable place in the literature of international relations. In particular, the disclosure and sustainability of American hegemony has been discussed within the concept of soft power, it is attempted to analyze the elements of soft power in terms of the balance of power and whether the countries are in competition with the USA, as in the case of China. For the elements of soft power which are important in explaining the international world order, the need of conducting various studies is very obvious beyond the conceptual definition. However, since the use of this concept for the first time 23 years ago, only two different soft power calculations have been seen to be carried out so far.

The basic mission in the soft power index published by two different institutions operating in the United Kingdom and the United States is to express the soft power numerically and to compare countries' soft power potentials. Some variables that are non-relative or evaluated with the scales in numerical parameters for the calculation of the index have been added to the analysis. These variables have provided a ranking of countries according to their soft power. The world's first official index of soft power, the New Convincing Soft Power Index, is

an index created by IFG' which is an Independent think tank in the UK. As it focuses on England in particular in order to make specific assumptions and conclusions, the results obtained in this index have limited effect. Even the fact that the selection has been made in an objective manner to calculate the index of the countries participating in the analysis itself may be subject to criticism. In the report of "Rapidly Growing Market Soft Power Index" about the economic growth rate in terms of attention on emerging markets as a result of the recent global crisis prepared by America's independent auditing firm Ernest & Young, it shows that the analysis was not made on a global scale because not all countries are included in the selection. In this regard, it can be said that both indices do not contain a general view covering the whole world.

When the soft power indices and IFG which has been formed under the initiative of Ernest & Young and are compared, as IFG includes more countries and a limited number of variables (based on four main titles with 13 variables) is used for calculations by Ernest & Young (2012) index, it is seen that the IFG index includes more comprehensive analysis. However, while the soft power index prepared by IFG increases the number of variables and creates new variables through a committee of its members, it is very clear that the index results cannot pass through an objective decision-making process since it is based on the Britain's soft power potential. Likewise, when we look at the countries in the first ranking on the index table (Table 7) published by IFG, questions arise as it indicates that Britain is the second best country in the world in terms of soft power in the fields like "culture", "diplomacy", and "education." In the same way, the index prepared by Ernest & Young is designated to analyze the soft power situations of the developing countries makes a comparison between US and China and comes to the conclusion that China cannot be a rival to US in the way of becoming a superpower. IFG's soft power index is specially prepared for Britain and Ernest & Young, America's soft power index is specially prepared for USA and in short, it can be said that they analyze by taking side with the country which they work for.

Apart from all these aspects, while the soft power as a phenomenon appears to express the current global turmoil continuously, it is seen that soft power loses its conceptual quality and through indexes of tangible and quantitative data and it enables analysis based on the countries. For instance; in the "New Convincing Soft Power Index" prepared twice in 2010 and 2011, when we compare the previous index between Brazil and Turkey's soft power state, these two very different countries are seen that they surprisingly develop in the same fields. Indeed, in these two countries in 2013, almost at the same time, there have been social movements arising from domestic issues. As it will contribute to understanding of events in a better way that influence national and international order, it is an important matter that the soft power indexes previously prepared or those that will be prepared in the future with different evaluation processes and criteria are continuous.

REFERENCES

Ari, T.,2001.*Uluslararası ilişkiler ve dış politika [International relations and foreign policy]*. 4th ed.Istanbul: Alfa.

Bromley, S., 2008. *American power and the prospects for international order*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brown, C. and Ainley, K.,2007.*Uluslararası ilişkileri anlamak [Understanding international relations]*. 2nd. ed. Istanbul:YayınOdasi.

Cox, R. W.,2004. Beyond empire and terror: critical reflections on the political economy of World Order.*New Political Economy*, 9(3), pp. 18-25.

Demirtepe, M.T. and Ozertem H.S., 2013. Yükselen tehdit algisi karşısında Çin'in yumuşak güç siyaseti: Politikalar ve sınırlılıkları [China's soft power politics against the increasing threat perception: Policies and limitations]. *Journal of Bilig*, 65 (5), pp. 96-105.

Ernest&Young, 2012. Rapid-Growth markets soft power index: Spring 2012. *Ernest&Young Soft Power Index*. [online] Available at: <[http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Rapid-growth_markets_soft_power_index:_Spring_2012/\\$FILE/softpowerindex.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Rapid-growth_markets_soft_power_index:_Spring_2012/$FILE/softpowerindex.pdf)> [Accessed 25 May 2014].

Friedman, T.L., 1999. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. 1st Edition. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Gonlubol, M., 2000. *Uluslararası politika [International politics]*. 5th ed. Istanbul: Siyasal Kitabevi.

IFG, 2011. Foreign policy: Soft power and national security, *Institute For Government*, [online] Available at: <<http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/our-work/better-policy-making/foreign-policy-soft-power-and-national-security>> [Accessed 10 June 2014].

Keohane, R.O. and Nye, J.S. 1989, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. 3rd ed. Boston: Little-Brown.

Layne, C., 1993. The unipolar illusion: Why new great powers will rise. *International Security*, 17(4), pp. 88-100.

Li H., Liu M. and Zhao J., 2012. Construction of soft power of small and medium-sized enterprises. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 8(5), pp. 88-92.

Lord, C., 2006. *Losing Hearts and Minds, Public Diplomacy and Strategic Influence in the Age of Terror*. New York: Praeger Security.

McClory, J., 2010. The new persuaders: An international ranking of soft power, *Institute For Government*. [online] Available at: <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20new%20persuaders_0.pdf> [Accessed 18 May 2014].

McClory, J., 2011. The new persuaders II: A 2011 global ranking of soft power, *Institute For Government*. [online] Available at: <<http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/The%20New%20PersuadersII.pdf>> [Accessed 18 May 2014].

Morgenthau, H. J., 1962. *Politics among Nations*. New York: Chicago Press.

Nye, J. S., 1990. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. 1st edition. New York: Basic Books.

Nye, J. S., 2003. *Amerikan gücünün paradoksu: Dünyadaki süper güç neden tek başına davranamaz [The paradox of American power: Why the World's superpower can't go it alone]*. 1st ed. Istanbul: Literatür.

Nye, J. S., 2005. *Dünya siyasetinde başarının yolu: Yumuşak güç [Soft power: The means to success in world politics]*. 1st ed. Istanbul: Elips Kitap.

Nye, J. S., 2010. American and Chinese power after financial crisis. *The Washington Quarterly*, 33(4), pp. 143-153.

Ozdemir, H.,2008. Uluslararası ilişkilerde güc: Çokboyutlu bir değerlendirme [Power in international relations: A multidimensional assessment]. *Journal of Ankara University SBF*, 63(3),pp. 8-21.

Polanyi, K.,2009. *Buyukdonusum: Cagimizinsiyasal ve ekonomik kökenleri [The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time]*. 8th ed. Istanbul:İletisim.

Sancar, G. A.,2012. *Kamu diplomasisi ve uluslararası halkla ilişkiler [Public diplomacy and international public relations]*.Istanbul: Beta.

Sumer, G., 2008.Amerikan dış politikasının kökenleri ve Amerikan dış politik kültürü [The origins of American foreign policy and the culture of American foreign policy] .*Journal of International Relations*. 5(19), pp. 119-144.

Taylor, A. and Percivale, J.,1954.*The struggle for mastery in Europe, 1848–1918*. 1sted.Oxford: UniversityPress.

Uzer, U., 2013. “21. Yüzyıla dek kutupluluk tartışmaları [The discussions of uni-polarity in 21st century].*Bilge Strateji*, 1(8),pp. 18-36.