**Integrated Review: Call for Evidence 2020**

**Cabinet Office**

**Submission from the British Council**

*Introduction*

A country's security, prosperity and influence all come from a combination of hard power capability - a strong, modern military, a robust and open economy and a significant aid programme - and the attraction, trust, familiarity and resulting willingness to collaborate that comes from a state's soft power. A country's national power should be greater than the sum of its multiple hard and soft components. Soft power both enables and legitimises a state's hard power, providing vital reputational resilience. The UK's international credibility and capacity to effect change - whether that's persuading other countries to take multilateral action in a humanitarian crisis, agreeing to collective targets for reducing carbon emissions, signing a trade deal or deterring rivals from hostile acts - depends on its soft power. It depends on being perceived as a force for good in the world and a credible, reliable and generous partner focused on the common good rather than narrow self-interest.

The UK's international reputation and leading position in soft power will be vital assets as it charts a new course in its foreign policy at a time of rapid and major change in the international order. Power is shifting towards the fast-rising economies in Asia and Africa. Meanwhile, scientific and technological innovation is reshaping the fundamental parameters of every aspect of modern life, including the economy, defence and security, and is empowering transnational and non-state actors. In this new context, soft power – especially the ability to build networks and alliances, to promote cooperation and collaboration, to understand and connect with different peoples and societies, and to maintain a competitive edge in science and technology – will be critical to maintaining a country's security, prosperity and influence. Leading soft power scholar Joseph S. Nye succinctly summarised this point in a recent article: "In this new world, networks and connectedness become an important source of power and security. In a world of growing complexity, the most connected states are the most powerful"[1].

To have soft power as a nation is to be trusted, attractive and positively engaged with other countries, and the influence and ties it brings will protect both sides' security and provide economic opportunities. Building trust is often seen to be the direct goal of Cultural Relations Institutions, including the British Council[2], and an integral component of ideas of social capital[3]. The creation of cross-border trust and international opportunities can be seen as contributing to the creation of international social capital.

British Council research[4] also shows that involvement in cultural relations is associated with higher levels of trust in the UK. This matters, because trust has a key economic role in

---

[1] *The Other Global Power Shift,* Joseph S. Nye, Project Syndicate, August, 2020, accessible at: https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/new-technology-threats-to-us-national-security-by-joseph-s-nye-2020-08

[2] Melissen, J, (2005) *The New Public Diplomacy, Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan.

[3] Putnam, Robert D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* Simon & Schuster.

[4] British Council (2018) *The Value of Trust.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/the_value_of_trust.pdf

reducing transaction costs[5]; because trust is also related to cultural distance, and a decrease in cultural distance increases a country's relative attractiveness and trade and FDI [6][7]; and because bilateral trust promotes exports and FDI[8].

All this suggests that continuing to build trust internationally needs a central place in UK foreign policy. 'Cultural relations' is the process of building friendly connections, understanding and trust between people in different countries through arts and culture, education and language. The British Council is uniquely positioned, as a key part of the FCDO family, but acting as an operationally independent ALB, to deliver soft power benefits through cultural relations in a value-added way for the UK. Through its network, reach and on-the-ground expertise in over 100 countries, working for and with all parts of the UK, the British Council delivers influence, attraction and global co-operation for the UK through its programmes in English, education and the arts. This means more people trust the UK, choose to do business with, visit and study in the UK and learn our language, study for our world class qualifications and connect with our values.

1. ***What are the key opportunities, challenges, threats and vulnerabilities facing the UK now? (Submissions focusing on rapidly evolving areas such as science, technology, data, cyber, and space are particularly welcome.)***

**The UK's soft power advantage:** In a multi-polar world, the UK will be reliant on international alliances and networks to advance its prosperity and security and address global challenges. Given its reputation as an open and tolerant society which acts as a 'global force for good' the UK currently enjoys strong levels of trust and attractiveness internationally[9]. This creates an opportunity for the UK to build on its international relationships and more actively champion the values it is seen as representing, whether through encouraging adherence to rules-based international systems in multilateral institutions or through supporting collective action on issues such as climate change, COVID-19, women's rights and education, and technology governance. As an open and democratic society[10], the UK has real strength in its independent institutions and private companies with world-wide brand recognition. The UK's civil, cultural and educational institutions are highly trusted and respected as partners and examples.

However, the positive, overall perception of the UK hides variations across regions and countries, with the UK performing better in the Commonwealth and the developing world and

---

[5] In trade economics, trust is often seen as having a prominent role in reducing transaction costs, the search, legal, communication and payment costs associated with cross-border trade. Among many studies, den Butter and Mosch find that trust between trading partners lowers transaction costs and may therefore enhance trade. When they assume an increase in informal trust by one standard deviation, the combined effects of formal and informal trust may add up to a 90 to 150 percent change in bilateral trade between countries depending on the legal system. Further, they claim that their analysis finds that the causal relation runs primarily from trust to trade, and that formal and informal trust are substitutes. See: Den Butter, F. and Mosch, R. (2003) *Trade, trust and transaction costs*, Tinbergen Institute Working Paper No. 2003-082/3.

[6] Estrin, S., Meyer, Klaus E. and Pelletier, A. (2018) *Emerging economy MNEs: how does home country munificence matter?* Journal of World Business, 53(4): 514-528.

[7] Kogut, B. & Singh, H. (1988) *The effect of national culture on the choice of entry mode*. Journal of International Business Studies, 19(3):411-433.

[8] The positive impact of trust on trade and FDI has been demonstrated: a one-standard-deviation increase in the importer's trust toward the exporter raises exports by 10% and the level of FDI by 27%. See: Guiso, L., Sapienza, P., Zingales, L. (2009) *Cultural Biases in Economic Exchange?*, The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 124(3):1095–1131.

[9] The UK enjoys a privileged position at or near the top of most indices of soft power and was rated the most attractive country in the G20 in the British Council's most recent survey of young people. See: British Council. (2020) *Who is the most attractive of them all?* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/insight-articles/attractive-of-them-all

[10] The UK's prime position in our 2020 soft power research, combined with fact that the UK can draw on many diverse, internationally attractive socio-cultural assets, this has given the UK a comparative advantage. See: British Council. (2019) *Sources of Soft Power.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/policy-reports/sources-soft-power

weaker in the EU and developed world[11]. The quality of UK science and research, expertise and levels of Government investment in R&D provides a strong starting point for the UK to leverage more influence[12] and enhanced partnerships in the future for prosperity and economic purposes, as well as related to its security.

It must also be recognised that the gap between the soft power front runners is narrowing. Nations like France, Germany, Russia, Japan, the Republic of Korea and China have been investing more as a proportion of GDP and population than the UK in projecting themselves internationally and place 'soft power' prominently in their international strategies. The UK is very much first amongst equals and there is a very real risk that complacency could see the UK fall behind, losing the advantages in terms of influence and foreign direct investment that have come from its soft power edge over its rivals.[13]

**Development and growing inequalities:** The rapid growth of economies in Asia and Africa is creating a new dynamic middle class that wants to engage with the world and make change in their own communities. Many of them see the English language, UK qualifications, and higher education as a route to success; as an upwardly mobile class, they also have a strong appetite for international trade, travel and cultural activities. The UK has significant ability to engage this young influential sector of society, to create the connections and networks that will benefit British influence and business over the long-term[14].

Economic growth is unevenly spread and in many parts of the world the conditions for instability are growing[15]. Rising inequalities, mass unemployment, social divisions and the curtailing of human rights remain among the grand challenges of our time and a profound cause for concern, creating a particular threat in places at risk of slipping into conflict and civil unrest. These vulnerabilities dramatically reduce opportunities for developing mutually beneficial economic and social partnerships and can be exploited by hostile actors propagating divisive 'us vs them' narratives which can further destabilise societies. For the most marginalised communities, access to education is another challenge[16].

---

[11] British Council (2020*). Global perceptions survey* (unpublished). Referenced at: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/insight-articles/COVID-19-and-soft-power
[12] Despite the overall positive standing, the UK's objective strength and investment in both international development and its science base it is not getting as great a return in public perception terms as it might.
[13] The lack of empirical evidence on how soft power works and what works is a challenge the UK, given its position of strength, has the opportunity to take a lead in addressing. By setting up a "what works centre" on soft power, drawing on UK academic expertise and using world-leading UK research expertise, it would generate data and analysis to inform future strategy. Complementing such a capability with a public facing international soft power observatory function would enable the UK to use its insights to attract future partners and further enhance its profile, influence and standing in the world because it has useful new knowledge to offer them.
[14] Our series of *Next Generation* studies, in countries going thorough transition, show that young people are both engaged and frustrated: they see education as a central concern yet experience testing and processes that do not add up to a quality education, nor do they feel they have the skills they feel they need for work and life. They are politically engaged and motivated to act, but unable to participate effectively in politics, have a voice or be heard by those who lead. They also face many challenges which aren't resolved through school of family and that they need more support in their communities. See British Council *Next Generation* series: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/research-series/next-generation.
[15] Global Peace Index 2020, available at http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/global-peace-index/
[16] Half of refugees of school age were already out of education pre-COVID-19, according to the UNHCR, and half of secondary school age girls may not return to the classroom after this crisis. Without a meaningful path of education, these communities risk a generation of young people who lack the learning and skills they need to find a job and make the transition to an independent and fulfilling adulthood. High levels of exclusion from the system increases the risk of political instability and unrest, particularly in areas with high youth populations such as MENA, SSA and South Asia. The risk is that increasing instability will drive conflict and greatly increase mass migration from afflicted regions, a trend that will be further exacerbated by climate change.

**English and its role in UK soft power and global prosperity:** Sharing a common language matters for trust[17][18]; and the UK is in a unique position in its ability to overcome trade and investment barriers related to language. Despite developments in AI and digital translation, this special role of English and the continuing demand for it internationally is a significant opportunity for the UK. The above-average impact of English - compared to any other common language - on bilateral trade and FDI is clear from research and academic literature[19][20].

An increased level of English has an effect over and above the sharing of a common language and has strong and statistically significant effect on bilateral trade flows: "the effect on trade of a 20 percent increase in the product of TOEFL scores is roughly equivalent in magnitude to the effect of sharing a native language" [21]. [22][OBJ] find that English-speaking countries within the OECD enjoy benefits that come from the English language. Within their model, a variable for the 'English Language' is statistically significant and positive for both outward and inward FDI, even when the effects of a common language are included in the model.

We also know that an increase in the level of English as a second language has a disproportionate impact on trade. Hutchinson,[23] using data from the USA, concludes that countries with both a higher share of first language English speakers and of second language English speakers will have higher levels of trade with the USA. The results indicate English as a second language has a larger influence on trade for both imports and exports than English as a first language - English spoken as a second language increases trade flows 1.3 times more for exports and 1.75 times more for imports compared to the proportion who speak English as a first language.

## 2. What are the key global and domestic trends affecting UK international policy and national security out to 2030, and how should the government prioritise its efforts in response to these?

**Geopolitics:** The UK will need to invest heavily in building its alliances and networks across government, business and civil society in the Indo-Pacific region. A focus on building long-term, mutually beneficial and trust-based relationships with the peoples and elites of major powers China, Japan, India, South Korea and the emerging economies of south-east Asia, will benefit the UK and should be favoured over a more short-term approach focussed purely

[17] Chong, A., Guillen, J. and Rios, V. (2010) *Language nuances, trust and economic growth.* Public Choice, 143:191-208.
[18] Tenzer, H., Pudelko, M. and Harzing, A.-W. (2014) *The impact of language barriers on trust formation in multinational teams.* Journal of International Business Studies, 45(5): 508-535.
[19] Conducting a meta-analysis based on 701 language effects collected from 81 academic articles researchers found that, on average, a common (official or spoken) language increases trade flows directly by 44%. See: Egger, P. and Lassmann, A. (2012) *The language effect in international trade: A meta-analysis.* Economics Letters, 116(2): 221-224.
[20] Common language has a positive impact on FDI, especially a common native language. A common native language increases bilateral FDI by a factor of 3.9. See: Feng, X., Lin, F., Sim, N. (2019) *The effect of language on foreign direct investment.* Oxford Economic Papers 71(1): 269–291.
Common language also has a positive impact on the demand for tourism: Culiuc found that a common official or primary language leads to 150 percent increase in the number of tourists travelling between two countries. When a same language is spoken by at least 9 percent of the population, the effect is a 23 percent increase in the number of tourists. See: Culiuc, A. (2014) *Determinants of International Tourism.* IMF Working Paper WP/14/82.
[21] Ku, H. & Zussman, A. (2010) *Lingua franca: The role of English in international trade.* Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, Elsevier, vol. 75(2), pages 250-260, August, p.255.
[22] Hejazi, W. and Ma, J. (2011) *Gravity, the English language and international business.* Multinational Business Review, 19(2): 152-167. Accessible: https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/15253831111149780

[23] Hutchinson, W. (2005) *"Linguistic distance" as a determinant of bilateral trade.* Southern Economic Journal, 72, 1-15.

on transactional cooperation on specific issues. The UK has an opportunity to harness the soft power that it enjoys with China and its connections with the Chinese people, through its links in education, language, governance and culture, to mitigate potential tensions[24] and maintain mutually beneficial relationships[25].

The transition to a more multipolar world will likely see increasing challenge to the rules-based international system from authoritarian states[26]. As a key proponent and beneficiary of that system and UNSC permanent member, the UK will need to continue to champion the values which underpin it, such as equality, inclusion, human rights, freedom of expression and enterprise. It will need to act as well as speak values through its international engagement and look for innovative new approaches to building consensus on tackling shared global challenges[27].

**Conflict and fragility:** The risk of conflict and unrest in the most unstable regions of the world looks set to increase amid rising international tensions, the weakening of the international order and chronic fragility exacerbated by the fallout from COVID-19[28]. Vulnerable countries will need to defend themselves from hybrid warfare and influencing operations which seek to create instability by exploiting internal divisions. The UK will need to support these countries through an integrated response, combining hard power capabilities with soft power approaches in humanitarian and development aid. This should include significant investment in the human and social capital of countries, so that societies have the resilience to manage shocks and changes peacefully.

**The 4th industrial revolution, and the role of UK's creative and knowledge sectors in supporting prosperity:** Having led the world in the First and Second Industrial Revolutions before losing momentum in the Third, the UK can't afford to be left in the wake of other countries in the Fourth Industrial Revolution. This matters for perceptions of the UK as a global leader and influencer and matters more for the future success of the UK economy. Science and innovation will be central in underpinning our economic development and still has further potential for enhancing the UK's reputation in the world[29]. To be successful in enhancing its science and innovation efforts, the UK Government needs to both invest in and attract the best intellectual and business talent from around the world - including from Europe - and to build the research and innovation partnerships needed to tackle global challenges. Considering this, there is a case for raising R&D investment to at least 3% of GDP to bring us in line with key competitors and make us the partner of choice among

---

[24] Tensions between the United States and China are expected to persist over the next decade, as China builds its economic, tech and military capabilities and the two powers revert to a relationship of strategic rivalry following a period of cooperation. This will have significant impact for the global economy, particularly a globalised, open economy like the UK, which has deep relationships with both countries.

[25] British Foreign Policy Group. (2020) *After the Golden Age: Resetting UK-China Engagement*. Accessible: https://bfpg.co.uk/2020/07/resetting-uk-china-engagement/

[26] The MoD's Global Strategic Trends 6 analysis warns that the weakening of the system would make international disputes more difficult to resolve and make it harder to forge and sustain international agreements. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/global-strategic-trends

[27] It will also need to strengthen networks and alliances in regions where authoritarian powers are extending their influence, such as the Western Balkans and Ukraine.

[28] Fragility and conflict will pose a major obstacle to achieving global goals on poverty and justice, with 80% of the world's extreme poor projected to live in fragile states by 2030. Resource scarcity, ethnic and religious divisions and political, economic and social exclusion risk spilling over into conflict. Climate change and ecological degradation are expected to drive significant rises in forced migration in the Global South. See: Rigaud, Kanta Kumari; de Sherbinin, Alex; Jones, Bryan; Bergmann, Jonas; Clement, Viviane; Ober, Kayly; Schewe, Jacob; Adamo, Susana; McCusker, Brent; Heuser, Silke; Midgley, Amelia. (2018) *Groundswell: Preparing for Internal Climate Migration*. World Bank, Washington, DC. © World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29461 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

[29] The UK needs to prioritise research and innovation, especially in the life sciences, space and engineering, matching capacity and capability with modern threats. The UK Government has been increasing investment in research and development, but it will face competition from both friendly and hostile powers.

strategically important countries and regions[30]. Further, the geostrategic challenges of the 21st century, whether in cybersecurity, climate change or the renewed Space Race, demand an ambitious response from the UK[31].

While the English language is still much in demand worldwide and brings the UK commercial and engagement opportunities, one consequence of its ubiquity is that too many Britons are monolingual in a bi- or multi-lingual world. This threatens to hinder UK efforts to enhance productivity and pursue an export-led economy. Addressing this problem will be central to helping young people across the whole of the UK reach their potential and secure good jobs in a global economy, where they will be competing against highly educated, interculturally literate and multilingual peers from Europe and East Asia[32].

The UK's cultural and educational institutions and sectors both face significant challenges in terms of their funding and business models, exacerbated by the COVID-19 epidemic. In setting future strategy and resource allocations it is imperative that Government considers both the domestic and international uses and benefits of its independent cultural and educational institutions. Creating the conditions for our independent institutions to succeed needs to be at the centre of Government policy. Not doing so has the potential to harm not just the UK public and weaken sectors that support our domestic economy, but also to harm the international networks and partnerships these institutions possess.

3. **What are the key steps the UK should take to maximise its resilience to natural hazards and malicious threats? How can we build a whole of society approach to tackle these challenges?**

Regarding countries at risk of conflict and civil unrest, the UK's priority should be to help countries become more adaptable and resilient. This supports the resilience of the UK by reducing the risk of cross-border threats. Equally as important, by earning trust and a reputation for cooperation in advance, the UK can collaborate with allies and those we may otherwise compete with to solve global challenges that impact on the UK. Traditional international approaches to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict recovery focus on security and diplomatic approaches and the reconstruction of physical infrastructure. However, they can struggle to produce sustainable results because they fail to take fully into account the human security angle. Various forms of social exclusion often sit at the root of conflict and instability; therefore building human and social capital that leads to

---

[30] But there is also a need for a change in culture. Innovation is the process by which ideas are turned into economic growth – where discoveries are translated into new products, services and jobs, creating positive change in businesses, public services, government and wider society. The UK is ranked 5th in the Global Innovation Index 2019 and in the top 10 best countries worldwide to start, locate and scale a business. The UK already attracts significant venture capital – at a level that exceeds that of Germany, France and Sweden combined and is home to 77 unicorns (start-ups valued over US $1 billion), more than a third of the total across Europe and Israel. And yet, the UK underperforms in innovation compared to research. International partnerships like BIRAX between the UK and Israel have real potential to unlock the UK's potential. See: https://www.britishcouncil.org.il/en/birax/projects

[31] In response to the geopolitical challenge demonstrated by the launch of Sputnik, the US government created NASA and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), and passed the National Defence Education Act (NDEA). The UK is rightly looking to develop its own space programme and equivalent to DARPA, but the NDEA was the crucial third policy pillar that eventually delivered US supremacy. The NDEA brought forward significant funding for what today are referred to as the STEM (science, technology, engineering and maths) subjects but also, crucially, for the humanities and social sciences with a specific priority given to modern foreign languages and 'area studies'. It was recognised that being able to understand and connect with the peoples of the world was as vital to the USA's interests as winning the race to the moon. It was in effect a mass mobilisation of the American people to step up to a role of global leadership. A contemporary version of the NDEA designed to deliver a UK workforce with the technical skills and global understanding to meet today's challenges including social sciences, humanities and arts for people and the economy would both make a reality of the government's overlapping visions for the UK to be a Science - and a Soft Power - Superpower and offer a potent vehicle for delivering the PM's levelling up agenda.

[32] With the prospect of EU schemes providing international education, research and work opportunities closing to UK, alternatives are much needed.

greater levels of human security and social stability should be integrated into the wider whole of society approach, to ensure sustainable peace and help societies escape cycles of fragility and conflict. The focus should be on young people and women and girls, some of the most marginalised groups, giving them the skills to participate more fully in society and build a more positive future.

Boosting UK research and innovation is key to addressing some of these challenges, including through forging new research partnerships with the UK and building public trust in science[33]. Supporting international partnerships and mobility between UK Higher Education Institutions and counterparts overseas will be crucial for developing excellence in UK R&I and attracting the best research and science talent from across the world into the UK. Increasing public awareness, engagement and trust in science and research are critical to building public support for measures to mitigate the effects of global risks such as pandemics, antimicrobial resistance and climate change.

The UK can help build the resilience of young people to crisis and conflict by using its resources in education and culture to foster a culture of open and inclusive dialogue, in place of violence, and give young people the skills to influence decision-makers. It can help provide opportunities to local communities for training and education, build individual skills for employability and the community skills needed for post-conflict reconstruction[34]. It can ensure access to quality education (formal and informal) for all, by creating opportunities for women and girls to participate in society and the economy through educational and capacity[35]

The UK can help societies improve their resilience to hostile propaganda and divisive narratives by drawing on intercultural dialogue approaches and on contact theory[36] to provide cultural and educational exchange programmes[37][OBJ]. The disruptive power of misinformation and disinformation globally will continue to be a significant threat for the UK's security and there will be need for the UK, as a recognised world leader in media and broadcasting, to be a force for good in this area and promote good practice internationally. An intercultural approach to education connects individuals and the education system to their wider social context and promotes a culture of dialogue, openness and diversity throughout an education institution. In contexts where divided communities coexist, shared educational and cultural activities can be effective in encouraging more favourable cross-group attitudes if they are sustained over the long-term and have a structured approach. Such approaches can help the UK find common ground with partners who do not share all

---

[33] Such as by strengthening communication skills amongst the scientific community, including our FameLab science communication competition. FameLab was developed by the Cheltenham Festival and is the British Council's global programme and competition training scientists and researchers to develop science communication skills, culminating in the International finals: https://www.britishcouncil.org/education/science/public-engagement/famelab

[34] Education policy and skills acquisition are critical to stimulating economic recovery and sustaining longer term peace, by integrating young people into the economy who might otherwise be drawn to violence. See: World Bank. (2011) *Conflict, Security & Development*. Accessible: https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/806531468161369474/world-development-report-2011-conflict-security-and-development-overview

[35] This helps them build networks for influencing and collaboration, and support communities and institutions to enable them to participate more fully in society.

[36] This asserts that positive contact between members of negatively stereotyped groups can lead to improved social attitudes towards the group as a whole and is underpinned by a strong evidence base of over 500 studies. See: British Council (2019) *Teaching For Peace, Education in Conflict And Recovery.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/teaching_for_peace_0419.pdf

[37] Cultural and educational exchange with the UK can help increase resilience to negative anti-UK propaganda by enabling people to directly observe, experience and understand the UK, its people, culture and values. Cultural and educational links can help the UK build trust and keep dialogue open with international partners amid international tensions by using its soft power assets to engage governments and build long-term connections with institutions and peoples.

our values and interests, to build the conditions for collaboration to address shared natural hazards like global health or climate change.

### 4. What are the most effective ways for the UK to build alliances and soft power?

Both hard and soft power are vital to building alliances. A security partnership naturally depends on partners' military and intelligence capabilities, a trade deal on perceptions of the hard economic benefits of engagement. But both also depend upon trusting that the parties will act on their commitments. For example, 15% of young people who say they trust the UK say they intend to do business or trade with the UK, compared to only 8% who say they distrust the UK[38]. Soft power builds trust, enabling co-operation and collective action.

The UK's soft power assets in culture, education, the creative industries, media, political and legal systems, and the English Language should be used to demonstrate the attractiveness of our open society and values and develop trust and confidence in the UK as an important and reliable partner and ally. Crucial to this is growing the impact of the FCDO's main soft power ALB, the British Council, which connects and amplifies those assets, bringing together its sector networks in the UK with its global reach of 790m people worldwide.

The UK Government needs to sustainably fund the British Council to continue delivering effectively for the UK's foreign policy interests, both in the short-term as its surplus-generating activities recover from the impact of COVID-19, and for the longer-term in the Comprehensive Spending Review. The relatively recent shift to almost all grant funding for the British Council being ringfenced for ODA-eligible countries needs to be reversed if the British Council is to be in a position to play its part in renewing relationships in the developed world, especially in the EU but also in other advanced economies such as the USA[39].

**Cultural Relations:** Cultural and educational exchange has a transformative impact on perceptions of the UK over different areas beyond the obvious, for example cultural and educational engagement with the UK increases interest in engaging through business/trade[40]. Attracting future political and business leaders to the UK to have the immersive experience of studying in the country is vital to the future success of the UK[41]. While the UK is one of the most popular destinations for international students, the market is increasingly, fiercely contested. The UK cannot afford to lose ground to its rivals, making the recent reforms to the visa system around post-study work especially welcome. European exchange and scientific co-operation schemes like Erasmus+ and Horizon 2020 have played an important role in the UK's soft power. It is in the UK's national interest to continue to participate in such programmes post-transition - particularly as they are expanding to include many countries in East Asia, the Commonwealth and other key markets important to the

---

[38] British Council. (2018) *The value of trust: how trust is earned and why it matters*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/the_value_of_trust.pdf

[39] In the USA for example the special relationship does not feel especially relevant to the growing Hispanic population. Cultural relations programmes that raise awareness and build connections with this key demographic will be necessary to ensure the UK remains seen as the country's closest and most reliable ally.

[40] The British Council examined the impact of different forms of engagement on perceptions across a range of twenty socio-economic metrics - including everything from the country 'is a strong example of a democratic government' to 'has world-leading science and technology'. People who have enjoyed the UK's arts and culture are on average +14% more positive about the UK than those who have not. The impact of engagement rises to +16% for those that have studied in the UK and to +17% for those who have done business/trade with the UK. It is notable that at +26% the impact of studying in the UK is especially impactful on perceptions of the UK's contribution to international development, the strongest driver of trust in the UK government. See: British Council. (2018) *The value of trust: how trust is earned and why it matters*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/the_value_of_trust.pdf

[41] Targeted interventions like scholarships are an especially important tool in this regard and could usefully be expanded. For example, the UK's schemes such as Chevening are tiny compared to those of China and Germany.

UK's future security and prosperity - while also exploring options for developing similar programmes to engage further afield.

While the impact on perceptions is lower for arts and culture than for study, the numbers involved are of a completely different magnitude[42]. Expanding the numbers who engage with the UK's cultural exports, and who learn the English language through digital and other innovative platforms, has enormous potential to increase the UK's international attraction and trustworthiness in mass markets.

**Attraction:** The UK is the most attractive country in the G20, and this position is informed by several drivers, the strongest being its 'world-leading universities' (+11%) and 'world leading science and technology' (+9%). Both are also crucial to a state's attractiveness as a place to do business/trade (+12% and +18% respectively)[43]. Making the most of the UK's research and science base is a key challenge as the UK is perceived to be less strong in this area than key competitors like the USA, Germany, China and Japan[44]. Sport also plays a unique role in the UK's international attractiveness, specifically in its attractiveness as a place to do business and trade[45]. This attraction to the UK's soft power assets means that there will be significant value to invest in mobilising a much wider range of UK citizens, networks and organisations to engage internationally as agents of soft power.

**Infrastructure:** Soft power works through networks with international soft power assets, especially the diplomatic network and the British Council, which form the crucial infrastructure for amplifying the attractive power of the country's non-governmental socio-cultural assets and creating the lasting, trust-based connections that encourage collaboration. For example, 75% of people in our 2020 perception survey who had been involved in a British Council programme said they trust the UK, compared with 64% who had been involved in a non-British Council 'cultural relations' activity, and 49% who had never been involved in a UK cultural relations activity. The activities of the British Council are especially impactful on levels of trust in the UK government[46]. The British Council effectively serves as broker – drawing on long-standing contacts and knowledge of local markets to identify the most attractive and relevant UK assets, to engage target audiences, whether it is 'high worth individuals' or for mass market digital engagement.

The benefits of earning this trust can be leveraged further through a more coordinated and effective use of data to build longer-term relationships with the millions of people globally who benefit from the UK's generosity through development assistance, education mobility schemes, creative interaction, English language teaching, qualifications and wider engagement. Through the development of secure platforms and incentives, individuals can continue to engage with the UK at critical moments in their life journeys, which creates opportunities for us to identify and engage with emerging leaders who may enable us to secure the UK's positions and interests.

---

[42] The British Council's most recent data from 2020 shows that on average 25% of young people say they have experienced the arts and culture of the UK, versus 5% who have studied here and 6% who have done business/trade in the country.
[43] British Council. (2019) *Sources of Soft Power.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/policy-reports/sources-soft-power
[44] Raising global awareness of the UK's scientific achievements is particularly challenging in the absence of high profile global brands like Apple or Nintendo.
[45] In our research, 'has world-leading sports teams and events' also scores +12%. See: British Council. (2019) *Sources of Soft Power.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/policy-reports/sources-soft-power
[46] On average trust in government stands at 67% for those that have been involved with a British Council programme versus 59% for those that have had a non-British Council cultural relations experience and just 46% who have had not had a cultural relations experience with the UK.

**5. What changes are needed to Defence so that it can underpin the UK's security and respond to the challenges and opportunities we face? (Submissions focusing on the changing character of warfare, broader concepts of deterrence, technological advantage and the role of the Armed Forces in building national resilience are particularly welcome.)**

It is important to recognise that the UK's security and prosperity is highly dependent upon the resilience of other states and the global and regional infrastructure provided by the rules based international system. As international relations scholars have emphasised, advancing a state's prosperity and security in the new world order requires an approach which thinks in terms of exercising power *with* rather than *over* other countries[47] and actors, and which promotes genuine cooperation through principles of reciprocity and mutual benefit[48]. The UK should do all it can to support international institutions like the World Health Organisation and work multilaterally at both the regional and global level to ensure the global systems on which we depend are robust and resilient. Domestic UK action on climate change is crucial – leading by example to reduce carbon emissions gives the UK international influence and the moral authority to persuade others to come together to do their part. Using the aid budget and the UK's military, economic and soft power to support other countries to build resilience to both natural hazards and malicious threats directly impacts on the UK's own security and prosperity, whether it is mass migration resulting from desertification or the spread of insurgent groups in zones of weak governance, what happens abroad touches all of us. Against malicious threats effective hard power deterrence combined with confidence building measures that open up dialogue and build trust and understanding remains a tried and tested approach to countering threats from both state and non-state actors, even if the field of operations has moved to the digital space and demands new technologies and approaches.

Policymakers should consider placing human security and development at the centre of defence policy. In a world where individual citizens are increasingly empowered and where instability is often driven by a complex range of non-state actors and social, economic and cultural factors, efforts to prevent and mitigate conflict require a 'whole of society' approach. By ensuring people feel included in the system, human security and development increases social stability and reduces the risk of unrest and conflict that requires military intervention. Research carried out for the British Council by the Senator George J Mitchell Institute for Peace, Security and Justice[49] found that when incorporated as part of a wider set of policies, education and cultural interventions can effectively build human and social capital, encouraging young people towards positive pathways and building the shared values and understandings that hold a society together. They should be particularly integrated into approaches to support conflict prevention and post-conflict recovery. After civil conflict, support to address educational inequalities between different groups and recognising minority rights can help advance inclusion and trust in the system.

Development interventions should be context sensitive, informed by local knowledge and delivered in partnership with national governments and other local actors. Policymakers should expand their networks and sources of information beyond the economy and government to take in developments in civil society and areas outside of the capital and other main centres of power.

---

[47] Nye, Joseph S. (2020) *Do Morals Matter: Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*, Oxford University Press.
[48] Schadlow, N. (2020) *The End of American Illusion.* Foreign Affairs, New York, September 2020.
[49] Gallagher, T., Robinson, G., Hughes, J., Connolly, D. (2018) *Education in conflict-affected areas: Final report.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/global_education_security_and_stability_report_0319.pdf

6.  ***How should the UK change its governance of international policy and national security in order to seize future opportunities and meet future challenges? (Submissions focusing on the engagement of an increasing range of stakeholders while maintaining clear responsibility, accountability, and speed of action are particularly welcome.)***

Whether you use language like 'smart power' or a 'full spectrum response' or other terminology there is no doubt that greater and more sophisticated co-ordination is needed between the different international levers available to the UK today than in previous decades. In the past, hard power interventions have all too frequently undermined years of accumulated soft power. Building trust takes months and years but can be lost in minutes.

**Intra-government co-ordination:** Better strategic and operational co-ordination is required between departments with international remits and between international and domestically focused departments to make sure that domestic policy supports rather than undermines international policy and vice versa. Greater consideration is needed as to the impact of domestic affairs on the UK's international reputation. Government should build in better checks to ensure the international dimension of policy is properly factored into decision making in departments like DfE, MoJ, DWP and above all the Home Office. Perceptions of competence, fairness and justice, generosity and excellence matter, forming the foundation of the UK's reputational resilience[50] which provides a cushion when things go awry[51].

Bringing together the FCO and DFID has the potential to bring greater clarity to the UK's international engagement. Breaking down silos and using capabilities from each of the old departments to support fresh thinking and ways of delivering will be vital to success. For example, the UK has not done as much as it could with the foreign aid budget to empower future leaders, entrepreneurs and professionals, through investment in tertiary education and grants for small businesses in developing countries, despite the evident advantages of empowering people to build enterprises and improve the lives of their fellow citizens. It will be important to engage with a much wider range of future leaders, many of whom will sit outside the traditional institutions or centres of power, and who may be leading on single-issue campaigns at the community level, such as immigration, climate change or radicalisation. This approach has potentially significant longer-term impact for the UK's prosperity and security, however it would need new instruments and positioning to reach and engage with this broader group.

**Strategic co-ordination between Government and independent actors:** Particularly in the area of the UK's influence and soft power, there is a need for more and higher quality fora for independent stakeholders to interact with government, particularly in strategy development. The UK is better plugged into international networks across sectors than most and there is scope for getting more out of these networks, and the knowledge and insight they offer. There is no single entity better placed than Government to convene this type of interaction and take the lead strategic role for the whole of the UK in articulating an overarching vision and long-term direction for the totality of UK impact internationally. In order to achieve constructive engagement Government will need to resist the temptation to

---

[50] We know from research among young people in the G20 that seeing the UK as open and welcoming, treating people fairly and having a free justice system are key drivers of trust in the UK, which in turn shapes behaviour, impacting decisions on business, study, tourism and other areas vital to the success of the UK plc. See: British Council. (2018) *The value of trust: how trust is earned and why it matters*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/the_value_of_trust.pdf

[51] Windrush; the treatment of asylum seekers; and negative perceptions of the UK response to COVID-19 all have an effect on the credibility of the UK as it seeks to position itself as a fair, open and stable country and desirable partner in the eyes of others. Therefore, having a reservoir of good will and trust stored up is so important.

try and direct operational activity and accept that independent institutions work to their own organisational purpose and objectives[52].

**Enhancing and joining up communications:** The UK needs to be better at communicating. Traditional diplomacy is as relevant as ever, but the digital space is the new frontier and effective engagement on social media to reach both massive audiences and key influencers will shape perceptions of the UK to an unprecedented degree.[53] Digital and social networked communication is not only transmission; data-led diplomacy can harness the vast capabilities of digital communications to provide real time knowledge and insight into how the UK is seen and faster response to feedback from this global observatory.

**Strategic alignment, operational independence and investment in arms length bodies:** While it is crucial that the different levers of government be brought into sharper alignment, there is also a vital need for a clearer distinction between the functions of HMG and organisations like the British Council. Soft power can be instrumentalised to serve the interests of the state[54] however, where the goal is the building of the conditions necessary for collaboration and the development of trust, overt state involvement can prove counterproductive. This is where ALBs like the British Council and others are particularly important[55].  Strong and well-funded bodies with operational autonomy are a hallmark of the successful soft power infrastructure of countries like Germany and France which maintain high soft power performance scores. Recently China and Russia have made ostensive moves to distance their agencies from overt central state control in efforts to increase their effectiveness.

7. ***What lessons can we learn from the UK's international delivery over the past 5 years? Which are the key successes we should look to develop and build on, and where could we learn from things that didn't go well?***

The strength of the UK's soft power assets – its universities, culture and creativity – have proved remarkably resilient to the optical challenges of recent UK decisions which have proved unpopular in some parts of the world. For example, the UK has maintained a slim lead as the world's most attractive country even following its decision to leave the European Union.

However, there is a need to consider the international implications of domestic policy decisions too. For example, the way in which changes made as part of the last Immigration Act played out overseas was particularly damaging. Flexible mobility has long been at the heart of the UK's economic competitiveness, attracting the best and brightest to this country

---

[52] This does not preclude them from also contributing to the UK's broader long-term strategic interest and for greater co-ordination of their international activities, for example through collaboration in bilateral Cultural Seasons. There are pre-existing fora of independent actors, including the British Council/British Foreign Policy Group-convened 'UK Soft Power Group' (all UK and cross-sectoral membership) which is ready to enter into constructive strategic dialogue with Government and offer advice and insight.

[53] The adverse impact of the ugly flashes of nationalism and prejudice evident in some of the exchanges between China and the United States over the "Chinese virus" demonstrate both the power of social media and the importance of mature, clear, engaging messaging when any and every utterance is instantly relayed to a global audience that values compassion, intelligence and charm.

[54] This is the role of successful interventions like the GREAT Campaign and of traditional cultural diplomacy like the Cold War era visits to London of the Bolshoi.

[55] Acting for the long term, focussing on mutually beneficial programmes that build networks and trust and being perceived as working for the common good as much as for the UK, the British Council provides a vital service to the UK. Paradoxically by being seen as independent of government the British Council is able to generate high levels of trust in the UK government that can then be drawn upon by the state in pursuit of its economic, diplomatic and security objectives. Like the BBC World Service, it is generally viewed as an expression of British values, generosity and of a desire to engage and be a force for good in the world. It is what makes a particular threat to authoritarian regimes as it stands as a direct riposte to their propaganda.

and helping to build the international networks required to strengthen innovation and exchange. Policies that deterred temporary visitors - such as international students and entrepreneurs - from coming to the UK were broadly criticised overseas, particularly in the international press and were compounded by an underappreciated international dimension to the Windrush scandal. Improved consideration of the way that these domestic decisions are received among our international friends and partners and appropriate reassurance may help negate some of these negative effects. What may appear as purely domestic issues play an important role in perceptions of the UK and its attractiveness and international influence, and the credibility of the UK's human rights advocacy work is undermined by this negative international coverage.

**Values:** International relations scholars say that international cooperation is more likely when parties can identify and commit to a common moral framework and community in which agreement on potential common interests can emerge[56]. The power of example is crucial. How far a person, institution or country appears to behave in line with their professed values will affect the level of others' trust in them. Acting in a way perceived as incongruous with their values can quickly undermine their legitimacy and reputation.. Therefore, when looking at the question of how to create the conditions for cooperation in a more divided world, it's important to look at the role that shared values play in the UK's international engagement.

Forthcoming research[57] for the British Council drawing on its cultural and educational programmes proposes a 'values-led approach' to international engagement. By deepening its understanding of the values of other countries and identifying values held in common through further research, dialogue and engagement, the UK can create the trust, understanding and sense of common purpose required for more effective international cooperation[58]. This approach has the potential to strengthen the UK's alliances and partnerships; provide it with the cultural intelligence required to navigate a more complex and fast-moving world; and enable it to better mobilise the collective action required to address shared global challenges in a more fragmented world.

Education is a powerful medium for communicating the UK's values and building trust and influence internationally because it reaches almost everyone in society at the most formative stage in their lives, often establishing models of behaviour, values, beliefs and attitudes that can enable positive interactions with society for a lifetime. Culture alongside education is another of the UK's assets which is in strong demand from the rising young middle classes around the world. Both can instil the values that underpin open and inclusive societies such as democracy, justice, tolerance and freedom of expression for a generation[59]. The UK is in a particularly strong position to champion and encourage these values due to its global reputation in education and culture, and the international perceptions it enjoys as a fair, open and tolerant society and 'force for good' around the world.

[56] Hurrell, A. (2007) *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*, Oxford Scholarship Online.
[57] Scoping Study for the British Council. British Council. (2019) *The Big Conversation on shared values in International Cooperation*, unpublished.
[58] The research recommended that the UK should seek to better understand the values of its international partners, and the variations in values within and between societies. The UK should take these values of the country or organization it wants to work with seriously, instead of projecting normative British values or operating with homogenous concepts about value sets in other countries. Secondly, the research suggests that trust can be effectively built by activating values and joint moral purpose. This can be done by building on shared values. It can also be done by reframing policy objectives based on the different underlying values of partners. For example: in Europe environmentalism is driven by postmaterialist values – idealism, global citizen identification, self-expression – while in China environmentalism is driven by conservative values – cleanness, sobriety, harmony. By framing environmentalism on the values and morality of partners the effectiveness of engagement increases.
[59] British Council. (2017) *Soft Power Today: Measuring The Influences and Effects*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/3418_bc_edinburgh_university_soft_power_report_03b.pdf

### 8. How should UK systems and capabilities be reformed to improve the development and delivery of national strategy?

Greater strategic integration and co-ordination of the UK's national power – military, economic, foreign aid and soft power – is vital to success. The National Security Council (NSC) could be strengthened and given a greater role to break down departmental silos and provide direction – and challenge – to ensure policies work to the UK's long-term advantage. Greater strategic alignment between the UK's hard and soft power assets and how they are deployed will strengthen the UK's security, prosperity and global influence and ensure that the UK's national power is greater than the sum of its parts and not undermined by conflicting actions and narratives.

There needs to be much better forecasting and horizon scanning. COVID-19 has shown that the UK remains prone to having to react to predictable challenges, for example global health threats or new hostile actors[60]. Far better use of data, including improvements in the foresight and observatory capabilities afforded by digital diplomacy and more longitudinal evaluation of soft power initiatives to better plan the deployment of limited resources to respond will be key. A stronger, more futures focussed NSC could provide the strategic leadership to ensure that UK is far better prepared to respond to emerging risks.

Government can improve how it engages experts and other key stakeholders. The Soft Power Board is an innovation worth building on, as it is crucial that the UK's diverse soft power capabilities are represented in discussions about strategy and policy. This will ensure greater appreciation of the role of long-term relationship building in creating the conditions for international co-operation and the successful projection of UK influence. The Board itself is provided additional insight from diverse UK sectors which embody UK soft power from the Soft Power Group and Cultural Diplomacy network. The strategic use of long-term commitments and arms-length expertise to build relationships and trust before they are transactionally useful not after, creates a favourable operating environment for UK diplomats greatly increasing the likelihood of success in negotiations around trade, security and collective action on global challenges like climate change.

Bringing greater diversity and challenge to the decision-making bodies of the FCDO, MoD and independent institutions with a role in soft power has the potential to deliver better policy outcomes, as would looking beyond traditional sources of talent to fill roles further down the food chain, drawing on all the UK's diverse talent. Drawing on external expertise while also developing in house knowledge, research and data offers a further path to success.

### Conclusion

In the last 20 years, the UK has underinvested by international standards in, insight, diplomacy and the international infrastructure vital to the country's soft power. Targets like the 0.7% of GDP for aid written into legislation or the 2% target for defence spending agreed by NATO members are crude but still useful policy tools. The UK currently spends around 2.75% of GDP on 'international engagement'[61], including defence, intelligence, international

---

[60] Greater attention should have been paid to the risks of coronaviruses and other diseases following the recent deadly outbreaks of SARS, MERS and Ebola, instead the UK was prepared for a flu pandemic but not other possible infections. Similarly, the lack of preparedness to address the multiple threats posed by Fancy Bear, Daesh, North Korea and other state and non-state actors in cyberspace to the economic, social and political infrastructure of the UK has again left the UK scrambling to catch up.

[61] British Foreign Policy Group. (2019) *Running Out of Credit? The Decline of the Foreign Office and the case for sustained funding.* Accessible: https://bfpg.co.uk/2019/06/running-out-of-credit/

trade, aid and international relations. Defence accounts for the majority of that 2.75%, while the former FCO for example has received just 0.1%. It has been argued[62] that increasing the overall budget to 3%, would allow £1.5bn to be channelled into the UK's diplomatic, intelligence and soft power infrastructure to meet the aspirations of Global Britain and enhance the country's security, prosperity and international influence for the next decade.

While the empirical evidence base is still developing in the field of soft power and understanding what works best where requires more research, there is data available which suggests that increases in investment to enhance UK soft power could provide a significant material return. A study by the University of Edinburgh[63] found that cultural institutions, like the British Council and Goethe-Institut, are influential for attracting international students, international tourists, and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to a country. The more countries that host a country's cultural institute, the better the return for the parent state. For example, a 1% increase in the number of countries a cultural institution from country $X$ covers results in an increase of almost 0.66% in FDI for that country.

The Integrated Review provides a once-in-a-generation opportunity to recalibrate the UK's international engagement and chart a fresh course outside of the EU. To realise the ambition of Global Britain and make a success of the many international opportunities available to the UK while addressing the very real threats to our security and prosperity will take investment. Effective deterrence of revanchist powers will only be possible with increases in the defence budget. Likewise maintaining the UK's comparative advantage in soft power and reputational resilience depends on continued support for the cultural and educational assets that contribute so much to the UK's international appeal, and a properly funded, capable British Council that can help share and connect these assets with targeted international audiences. But ultimately the UK's security and prosperity depends on ensuring the sum of the UK's national power is greater than its many hard and soft elements, on strategic alignment of the levers of international engagement and the realisation that the UK's success depends on being continued to be perceived as a force for good in the world.

[62] Ibid.
[63] British Council. (2017) *Soft Power Today: Measuring The Influences and Effects.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/3418_bc_edinburgh_university_soft_power_report_03b.pdf

**Bibliography**

British Academy, AHRC, ASCL, British Council, Universities UK. (2020). *Towards a National Languages Strategy: Education and Skills*. Accessible: https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publications/towards-national-languages-strategy-education-and-skills/

British Council. (2017) *Soft Power Today: Measuring The Influences and Effects*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/3418_bc_edinburgh_university_soft_power_report_03b.pdf

British Council. (2018) *The value of trust: how trust is earned and why it matters*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/the_value_of_trust.pdf

British Council. (2019) *Sources of Soft Power.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/policy-reports/sources-soft-power

British Council (2019) *Teaching For Peace, Education in Conflict And Recovery.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/teaching_for_peace_0419.pdf

British Council. (2019) *The Big Conversation on shared values in International Cooperation*, unpublished.

British Council. (2020) *BIRAX.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org.il/en/birax/projects

British Council. (2020) FameLab. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/education/science/public-engagement/famelab

British Council (2020*). Global perceptions survey* (unpublished). Referenced at: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/insight-articles/COVID-19-and-soft-power

British Council. (2020) *Next Generation Series*. Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/research-series/next-generation

British Council. (2020) *Who is the most attractive of them all?* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/insight-articles/attractive-of-them-all

British Foreign Policy Group. (2019) *Running Out of Credit? The Decline of the Foreign Office and the case for sustained funding*. Accessible: https://bfpg.co.uk/2019/06/running-out-of-credit/

British Foreign Policy Group. (2020) *After the Golden Age: Resetting UK-China Engagement*. Accessible:  https://bfpg.co.uk/2020/07/resetting-uk-china-engagement/

Chong, A., Guillen, J. and Rios, V. (2010) *Language nuances, trust and economic growth*. Public Choice, 143:191-208.

Culiuc, A. (2014) *Determinants of International Tourism.* IMF Working Paper WP/14/82.

Den Butter, F. and Mosch, R. (2003) *Trade, trust and transaction costs*. Tinbergen Institute Working Paper No. 2003-082/3.

Egger, P. and Lassmann, A. (2012) *The language effect in international trade: A meta-analysis.* Economics Letters, 116(2): 221-224.

Estrin, S., Meyer, Klaus E. and Pelletier, A. (2018) *Emerging economy MNEs: how does home country munificence matter?* Journal of World Business, 53(4): 514-528.

Feng, X., Lin, F., Sim, N. (2019) *The effect of language on foreign direct investmen*t. Oxford Economic Papers 71(1): 269–291.

Gallagher, T., Robinson, G., Hughes, J., Connolly, D. (2018) *Education in conflict-affected areas: Final report.* Accessible: https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/global_education_security_and_stability_report_0319.pdf

Guiso, L., Sapienza, P., Zingales, L. (2009) *Cultural Biases in Economic Exchange?* The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 124(3):1095–1131.

Hejazi, W. and Ma, J. (2011) *Gravity, the English language and international business.* Multinational Business Review. 19(2): 152-167. Accessible: https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/15253831111149780

Hurrell, A. (2007) *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*, Oxford Scholarship Online.

Hutchinson, W. (2005) *"Linguistic distance" as a determinant of bilateral trade.* Southern Economic Journal, 72, 1-15.

Kogut, B. & Singh, H. (1988) *The effect of national culture on the choice of entry mode.* Journal of International Business Studies, 19(3):411-433.

Ku, H. & Zussman, A. (2010) *Lingua franca: The role of English in international trade.* Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, Elsevier, vol. 75(2), pages 250-260, August.

Melissen, J. (2005) *The New Public Diplomacy, Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Ministry of Defence. (2018) *Global Strategic Trends The Future Starts Today Sixth Edition.* Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/global-strategic-trends

Nye, Joseph S. (2020) *Do Morals Matter: Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*, Oxford University Press.

Nye, Joseph S. (2020) *The Other Global Power Shift,* Project Syndicate, August, 2020. Accessible at: https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/new-technology-threats-to-us-national-security-by-joseph-s-nye-2020-08

Putnam, Robert D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* Simon & Schuster.

Schadlow, N. (2020) *The End of American Illusion.* Foreign Affairs, New York, September 2020.

Tenzer, H., Pudelko, M. and Harzing, A.-W. (2014) *The impact of language barriers on trust formation in multinational teams.* Journal of International Business Studies, 45(5): 508-535.

Vision of Humanity. (2020) *Global Peace Index.* Accessible:
http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/global-peace-index/

World Bank. (2011) *Conflict, Security & Development.* Accessible:
https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/806531468161369474/world-development-report-2011-conflict-security-and-development-overview

World Bank. (2018) *Groundswell: Preparing for Internal Climate Migration.* Accessible:
https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29461