

THE GENESIS OF THINK-TANK CULTURE IN TURKEY:
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE?

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AZİZ AYDIN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı (METU, IR)

Prof. Dr. İhsan Dağı (METU, IR)

Prof. Dr. Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu (Bilkent Univ., IR)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Aziz Aydın

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE GENESIS OF THINK-TANK CULTURE IN TURKEY: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE?

Aydın, Aziz

Master of Science, Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı

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This thesis analyses the emergence and evolution of the think-tanks in Turkey. It seeks primarily to answer to whether or not it is possible to mention ‘a think-tank culture’ in Turkey. After the definition, characteristics and types of the think-tank term are debated, the historical background of think-tanks all over the world is analyzed. The thesis looks at similarities and differences among the think-tanks in and outside Turkey in terms of their size and areas of specialization. It also tries to find out who are pioneering to the establishment of think-tanks, whom the think-tanks are serving, which financial resources and functions they have in Turkey.

Keywords: think-tank, think-tank culture, NGO, policy making process

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE DÜŞÜNCE KURULUŞU KÜLTÜRÜNÜN DOĞUŞU: GEÇMİŞ, BUGÜN VE GELECEK?

Aydın, Aziz

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu tez Türkiye’de düşünce kuruluşlarının doğuşunu ve gelişimini inceler. Tez, öncelikle, Türkiye’de düşünce kuruluşu kültüründen bahsedilip bahsedilemeyeceğinin cevabını arar. Düşünce kuruluşu teriminin tanımı, özellikleri ve çeşitleri tartışıldıktan sonra dünyadaki düşünce kuruluşlarının tarihsel arkaplanı incelenir. Tez, büyüklükleri ve uzmanlaştıkları alanlara göre Türkiye’deki düşünce kuruluşlarının yurt dışındakilerden farklarını ve benzerliklerini inceler. Tez, aynı zamanda, Türkiye’de düşünce kuruluşlarının kurulmasına kimlerin öncülük ettiğini, düşünce kuruluşlarının kimlere hizmet verdiğini, bunların hangi mali kaynaklara ve işlevlere sahip olduğunu anlamaya çalışır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: düşünce kuruluşu, düşünce kuruluşu kültürü, STK, politika oluşturma süreci

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACPSS	Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies
AEI	American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
AGAM	Ankara Global Research Center (Ankara Global Arařtırmalar Merkezi)
AKP	Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
ANAP	Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi)
ANKAM	Ankara Center for Turkish Policy Studies (Ankara Dıř Siyaset Arařtırmaları Merkezi)
ART	Eurasian Radio and Television (Avrasya Radyo Televizyonu)
ASAM	Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (Avrasya Stratejik Arařtırmalar Merkezi)
ASI	Adam Smith Institute
Avrasya Bir Vakfı	Turkish Economic, Social and Cultural Research Foundation for Europe Asia Union (Avrupa-Asya Birlięi Türk Ekonomik, Sosyal ve Kltrel Arařtırmalar Vakfı)
BSV	Foundation for Sciences and Arts (Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CHP	Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)
CIPE	Center for International Private Enterprise
CLS	Center for Liberal Strategies
Conference Board	Economic and Social Studies Conference Board (Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etdler Konferans Heyeti)
CPS	Center for Policy Studies
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
DGAP	Deutsche Gesellschaft fr Auswrtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations)
DIF	Foreign Policy Forum (Dıř Politika Forumu)
DIW	Deutsches Institut fr Wirtschaftsforschung (German Institute for Economic Research)
DMG	German Oriental Society (Deutsche Morgenlndische Gesellschaft)
DPE	Foreign Policy Institute (Dıř Politika Enstits)

DPT	State Planning Organization (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı)
DYP	True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi)
EAF	Economic Research Forum (Ekonomik Araştırma Forumu)
EDPF	Economic and Foreign Policy Forum (Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Forumu)
EEC	European Economic Community
ENEPRI	European Network of Economic Policy Research Institutes
EPI	Economic Policy Institute
EPIN	European Policy Institutes Network
ERAREN	Armenian Research Institute (Ermeni Araştırmaları Enstitüsü)
ETUI	European Trade Union Institute
EU	European Union
EUROFRAME	European Forecasting Research Association for the Macroeconomy
EuroMeSCo	Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)
FNS	Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (Friedrich Naumann Foundation)
FOA	National Defense Research Establishment
GDNet	Global Development Network
GERM	Groupe ment d’Etudes et de Recherches sur la Mediterranée (Mediterranean Studies and Research Group)
GMF	German Marshall Fund
GSE	Global Strategy Institute (Global Strateji Enstitüsü)
HBS	Heinreich Böll Stiftung (Heinreich Böll Foundation)
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICEG	International Center for Economic Growth
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
IFRI	Institut Français des Relations Internationales (French Institute For International Relations)
IFS	Institute of Fiscal Studies
IIE	Institute for International Economics
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
ILO	International Labor Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPS	Institute for Policy Studies
IRI	International Republican Institute
ISEAS	The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

ISIS	Institute for Strategic & International Studies
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
IW	Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft (Institute of the German Economy)
IWG	Institut für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Institute for Economics and Society)
İAV	Economic Research Foundation (İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı)
İKSAREN	Research Institute for Crimes against Humanity (İnsanlığa Karşı Suçlar Araştırma Enstitüsü)
İKV	Foundation for Economic Development (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı)
İSAM	Islamic Research Center (İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi)
İSO	Istanbul Chamber of Industry (İstanbul Sanayi Odası)
İTO	Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (İstanbul Ticaret Odası)
JCIE	Japan Center for International Exchange
HWWA	Hamburgisches Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv (Hamburg Institute of International Economics)
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Konrad Adenauer Foundation)
KDI	Korean Development Institute
KÖKSAV	KÖK Social and Strategic Research Foundation (KÖK Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı)
LDT	Association for Liberal Thinking (Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu)
METU	Middle East Technical University (Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi)
MGV	Marmara Group Strategic and Social Researches Foundation (Marmara Grubu Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı)
MHP	Nationalist Action Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)
MIRI	Mitsubishi Research Institutes
MİT	National Intelligence Organization (Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı)
MPS	Mont Pelerin Society
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIESR	National Institute for Economic and Social Research
NIRA	National Institute for Research Advancement
NRI	Nomura Research Institutes
OBİV	Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies (Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri Vakfı)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSI	Open Society Institute

OSIAF	The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation
PFF	Progress and Freedom Foundation
PIIA	Pakistan Institute of International Affairs
PPI	Progressive Policy Institute
PSI	Policy Studies Institute
RP	Welfare Party (Refah Partisi)
RSF	Russell Sage Foundation
SAE	Institute for Strategic Studies (Stratejik Arařtırmalar Enstitüsü)
SAEMK	National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies (Stratejik Arařtırma ve Etütler Milli Komitesi)
SAM	Center for Strategic Research (Stratejik Arařtırmalar Merkezi)
SAREM	Strategic Studies and Research Center (Stratejik Arařtırma ve Etüt Merkezi)
SAU	Social Affairs Unit
SAV	Social Research Foundation (Sosyal Arařtırmalar Vakfı)
SETA	Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research (Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Arařtırmaları Vakfı)
SHP	Social Democratic Populist Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti)
SIIA	Utrikespolitiska Institutet (Swedish Institute of International Affairs)
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SİSAV	Political and Social Studies Foundation (Siyasi ve Sosyal Arařtırmalar Vakfı)
SWP	Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
TASAM	Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (Türkasya Stratejik Arařtırmalar Merkezi)
TDV	Turkish Democracy Foundation (Türk Demokrasi Vakfı)
TEPAV	Economic Policy Research Institute (Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Arařtırma Vakfı)
TEPSA	Trans European Policy Studies Association
TESAV	Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Arařtırmalar Vakfı)
TESEV	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı)
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)
TOBB	The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birlięi)
TPN	Transition Policy Network
TRT	Turkish Radio-Television Corporation (Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu)

TÜİSAV	Turkish Foundation for International Relations and Strategic Studies (Türkiye Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı)
TUSAM	Research Center for National Security Strategies (Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejileri Araştırma Merkezi)
TÜBA	Turkish Academy of Sciences (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi)
TÜBİTAK	Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu)
TÜSAM	Turkish Center for Social Class Studies (Türkiye Sınıf Araştırmaları Merkezi)
TÜSES	Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı)
TÜSİAD	Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UPAV	National Policy Research Foundation (Ulusal Politika Araştırmaları Vakfı)
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USAK	International Strategic Research Organization (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WIFO	Österreichisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Austrian Institute of Economic Research)
WPC	World Peace Council
WSI	Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut (Economic and Social Institute)
WZB	Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (Social Science Research Center)
YİSAV	Yükseliş Economic and Strategic Research Foundation (Yükseliş İktisadi ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We are living in an “information age”. It can be said that the policy makers around the world are confronted with not a lack of information but a mass of information. However, the problem is that this information can be unsystematic, unreliable, so technical, and impractical. Especially, in politics, information no longer constitutes power unless it is in the right form at the right time. In order to use information in the policy making process the policy makers require it to be timely, understandable, reliable, accessible, and useful. There are many potential sources for this information such as government agencies, for-profit consulting firms, international agencies, and university-based scholars. Another important source is the think-tanks that produce policy relevant information and systematic analysis to serve the needs of policy makers and the public.

Nowadays, we see a worldwide boom of think-tanks. Similarly in Turkey, many think-tanks have rapidly emerged since the late 1990s. Despite the proliferation of think-tanks, with the exception of a few studies, there are no academic studies focusing on think-tanks in Turkey. Therefore, this thesis aims at analyzing the emergence and evolution of think-tanks in Turkey and seeks to answer whether or not it is possible to refer to a think-tank culture in Turkey.

This study has tried to cover all think-tanks falling into the scope of the definition of “think-tank” in Turkey. The think-tanks mentioned in the thesis were mainly derived from the Non-Governmental Organizations Guide,¹ the web site concerning NGOs in Turkey (<http://www.stkreheri.org>), in addition to internet search for think-tanks having web sites, the web sites of universities, the Official Journal, the web site of

¹ See Tarih Vakfı, *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Rehberi 2005*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2005).

the Office of Chief Legal Advisor of the Ministry of Finance, and the news in the media regarding think-tanks in Turkey. However, it is necessary to highlight that think-tanks which do not have web sites and are not in the Non-Governmental Organizations Guide, might be out of this study.

Much of the information in the second chapter comes from printed materials such as books and articles. In the third chapter of this thesis, which deals with the evolution of think-tanks in Turkey, the web sites of think-tanks were mainly used as the source of information. Also, I tried to present the views of think-tanks, academicians and politicians concerning the development of think-tanks in Turkey in the third and fourth chapters due to the lack of academic studies on this subject.

Face-to-face interviews with the presidents or directors of all think-tanks located in Ankara were requested and a questionnaire was sent to the think-tanks located in Istanbul via e-mail, excluding the think-tanks forming the university-affiliated category. Although the number of university-affiliated think-tanks is very high, many of them are inactive. Also, to handle all of them one by one would unnecessarily increase the volume of this study.

Eventually, the face-to-face interviews could be made with the managers of USAK, TUSAM, LDT, SETA, SAM, TESAV, GSE, KÖKSAV, ANKAM, AGAM, the TGNA Research Center, the Ankara Office of the German Marshall Fund, and the Turkish Office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. The other think-tanks located in Ankara did not reply to the request in the affirmative. Furthermore, only three think-tanks located in Istanbul replied to the questionnaire via e-mail, namely the ARI Movement, the Economists' Platform and OBİV. (See Appendix C for the questions directed to think-tanks).

A face-to-face interview with the academicians dealing with this issue, namely Prof. Dr. Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu and Prof. Dr. Ergun Özbudun of Bilkent University, Prof. Dr. Mustafa Erdoğan of Hacettepe University, Prof. Dr. Gökhan Çetinsaya of Istanbul Technical University, and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağrı Erhan of Ankara University was also requested. Eventually face-to-face interviews were conducted

with Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu, Gökhan Çetinsaya, and Çağrı Erhan. (See Appendix D for the questions directed to academicians).

Another group with whom a face-to-face interview was requested was active politicians in order to receive information about the influence of think-tanks on the policy making process. The request was sent to the offices of some members of the parliament such as Şükrü Elekdağ, Yaşar Yakış, Onur Öymen, Mehmet Dülger, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Nevzat Yalçıntaş, Hüseyin Kansu, Yakup Kepenek, Sait Açba, Murat Mercan, and Ömer Abuşoğlu. However, the face-to-face interviews were only realized with Şükrü Elekdağ and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. (See Appendix E for the questions directed to politicians).

A face-to-face interview was also conducted with Nihat Ali Özcan, senior researcher of TEPAV. Furthermore, Yılmaz Aklar, advisor to the president of ASAM, replied the questionnaire via e-mail. Although a face-to-face interview with Ümit Özdağ, former president of ASAM was requested, his office did not reply to the request in the affirmative.

The second chapter of the thesis aims to provide a general framework for think-tanks around the world. It primarily deals with the definition of “think-tank”. Since think-tanks around the world vary considerably in size, financial resources, structure, staff composition, areas of specialization, and political significance, no single definition can adequately describe all varieties of think-tanks. In this chapter, the various definitions of “think-tank” are examined and the definition used for think-tanks in Turkey is explained, in addition to the exploration of which types of classification are made to categorize the think-tanks around the world. Also, it examines how and where the first think-tanks emerged, and how they proliferated around the world before going on to analyze the roles and functions performed by think-tanks. The other issue dealt with in this chapter is the influence of think-tanks on the policy making process. In this context, it explores which means are used by think-tanks to influence public policy and discusses whether the influence can be measured or not. The last issue mentioned in the second chapter is the problem of funding of think-tanks around the world. In this context, it discusses which financial sources are used

by think-tanks around the world and how the budget of think-tanks affects their activities.

The third chapter of the thesis deals with the evolution of think-tanks in Turkey. It analyzes when and under which conditions the first think-tanks emerged in Turkey. Endeavoring to find out who pioneered the establishment of think-tanks, this chapter examines the evolution of think-tanks under the four periods. It tries to clarify how the conditions of each period affected the emergence of new think-tanks in Turkey. This chapter also strives to deal with all think-tanks established in Turkey while providing information about the founders, aims and activities of each think-tank in Turkey.

The fourth chapter focuses on the think-tank scene in Turkey and also discusses and analyzes the process forming the think-tank culture in Turkey. Firstly, trying to categorize think-tanks in Turkey, it explains how think-tanks in Turkey can be classified. It constitutes five categories for think-tanks in Turkey, that is, the independent and quasi independent, government-affiliated, university-affiliated, political party-affiliated and branch offices of foreign think-tanks in Turkey, explaining in addition which think-tank falls into which category. Secondly, it studies the legal status, founders, directors, and staff of think-tanks in Turkey exploring which think-tanks have what kinds of legal structure. Also, it examines who the founders and directors of think-tanks are and which backgrounds they have as well as the study of the personnel preferences of think-tanks in Turkey. Thirdly, it explores where financial sources of think-tanks in Turkey come from and whether or not their financial structure can be compared with the think-tanks around the world. The other issue dealt with in this chapter is the role and functions of think-tanks in Turkey. In this context, it analyzes which role and functions are fulfilled by the think-tanks in Turkey and how they are fulfilled. Lastly, the chapter discusses the formation of think-tank culture in Turkey. It endeavors to indicate the problems and improvements in the think-tank sector. As a result, it seeks to answer whether Turkey has a think-tank culture or not and it tries to understand the future of the think-tank sector in Turkey.

To sum up, the objective of the thesis is to analyze whether or not it is possible to refer to a think-tank culture in Turkey. In order to understand this, it examines the emergence, proliferation, characteristics, roles and funding sources of think-tanks in Turkey. It also attempts to look at similarities and differences among the think-tanks in and outside Turkey in terms of their characteristics. Furthermore, this thesis aims to form a basis for the future academic studies in this subject by listing the think-tanks in Turkey and by giving their historical development.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR THINK-TANKS

Think-tanks have been proliferating around the world and are increasingly prominent actors in the policy making process of many countries. McGann argues that, today, there are over 4,500 of think-tanks around the world² and over 2,000 of them are the USA-based organizations.³ Although think-tanks have important roles in shaping policy process, they have received little scholarly attention.⁴ Like in other areas of social science, most of the literature is American, and these discussions tend only to discuss developments in the USA.⁵ According to Rich, even in the USA, fewer than a dozen books have been published since 1970 focusing on American think-tanks, whereas scores of books have been published about other types of nongovernmental organizations, albeit interest groups in particular.⁶ A comparative analysis of these bodies has been very limited.⁷ With the exception of a few studies, this field is empty

² James G. McGann, "Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy", *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda: An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State*, Vol.7, No.3 (November 2002), <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1102/ijpe/ijpe1102.pdf>, (7 November 2005), p.13.

³ Donald E. Abelson, "Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: An Historical Perspective", *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda An Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State*, Vol.7, No.3 (November 2002), <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1102/ijpe/ijpe1102.pdf>, (7 November 2005), p.10.

⁴ Diane Stone and Mark Garnett, "Think Tanks, Policy Advice and Governance", in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.1 and Andrew Rich, *Think Tanks, Public Policy, and the Politics of Expertise*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.6.

⁵ Stone and Garnett, p.1.

⁶ Rich, pp.6-7.

⁷ There are only three books making comparative analysis in the literature: Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett (eds.), *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver (eds.), *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000); Diane Stone and Andrew Denham (eds), *Think Tank Traditions: Policy Research and the Politics of Ideas*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

in Turkey.⁸ Likely reasons for the lack of systematic scholarly works on think-tanks are the difficulty of establishing an agreed definition⁹ and categorizing such bodies.¹⁰

2.1. The Problem of Definition

Think-tanks vary considerably in size, financial resources, structure, staff composition, areas of specialization, political significance and have various research agendas. Also, different institutional and cultural environments in different countries affect think-tank modes of operation and their capacity or opportunity for policy and influence. While some organizations claim to adopt a “scientific” or technical approach to social and economic problems and to function on a “non-partisan” or “non-ideological” basis, others are overtly partisan or ideologically motivated. Some think-tanks are “academic” in style but others are more routinely engaged in advocating policy positions. Also, the international use of the term differs dramatically. It has been applied to NGOs that have a research arm. The term has also been applied to the OECD, as well as to government research agencies and units attached to political parties. Therefore, no single definition can adequately describe all the roles and functions think-tanks perform.¹¹

The term “think-tank” was introduced in the USA during the Second World War (WWII) to characterize the secure environment in which military and civilian experts were situated so that they could develop military strategies. After the war, the term

⁸ The following studies constitute the think tank literature in Turkey: Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu and Ersin Onulduran, “Foreign Policy Institute and the Genesis of Think-Tank Culture in Turkey”, *Contemporary Issues in International Politics: Essay in Honour of Seyfi Taşhan*, (Ankara: Foreign Policy Institute, 2004), pp.1-4.; Serhat Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”, *Sivil Toplum Örgütleri ve Dış Politika*, eds. Semra Cerit Mazlum ve Orhan Doğan, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, forthcoming); Çağrı Erhan, “Düşünce Üretim Merkezleri ve Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol.2, No.6 (Summer 2005), pp.59-63; and Suat Kınıklıoğlu, “Turkey’s Think Tank Scene”, *Turkish Daily News*, 27 December 2005.

⁹ Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, “Think Tanks, British Politics and the ‘Climate of Opinion’”, in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.23. See also R. Kent Weaver, “The Changing World of Think Tanks”, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol.22, No.3 (September 1989), pp.563-564.

¹⁰ Stone and Garnett, p.1.

¹¹ Donald E. Abelson, *American Think-Tanks and their Role in US Foreign Policy*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1996), p.4 and Stone and Garnett, pp.1-2.

was applied to “contract research organizations”, such as the Rand Corporation, that were set up by the USA military.¹² By the 1960’s, the term was entrenched in the Anglo-American lexicon of policy analysis and was being applied to independent research institutes focusing not only on foreign policy and defense strategy, but also on current political, economic, and social issues throughout the English speaking world, including bodies created much earlier in the century. However, “think-tank” remains a slippery term that can and does refer to a wide range of private research groups.¹³

The Anglo-American tradition regards “think-tanks” as relatively autonomous organizations with a separate legal identity that engage in the analysis of policy issues independently of government, political parties and pressure groups.¹⁴ Rich defines “think-tanks” as “independent, non-interest-based, nonprofit, political organizations that produce and principally rely on expertise and ideas to obtain support and to influence the policy making process.”¹⁵ Abelson defines “think-tanks” as “non-profit, nonpartisan (which does not mean non-ideological), research-oriented institutes among whose primary objectives is to influence public opinion and public policy.”¹⁶ Weaver and McGann define “think-tanks” as “policy research organizations that have significant autonomy from government and from societal

¹² R. Kent Weaver and James G. McGann, “Think Tanks and Civil Societies in a Time of Change”, in *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, eds. James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), p.2.

¹³ Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, *British Think-Tanks and the Climate of Opinion*, (London: UCL Press, 1998), p.8 and Diane Stone, “Recycling Bins, Garbage Cans or Think Tanks? Contesting Three Myths Regarding Policy Analysis Institutes”, paper prepared for the conference on “Comparative Perspectives on Scientific Expertise and Public Policy”, 16-17 December 2004, Amsterdam, http://bbt-webserver.bbt.utwente.nl/rethinking/org_activs/activities/MidTdocs/Stone_pap.pdf, (19 November 2005), p.3. According to Rich, the origins of the term “think tank” are ambiguous, with most reports suggesting that the label arose during WWII in reference to military research and development organizations. See Rich, p.13.

¹⁴ Diane Stone, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition”, Paper prepared for the Asian Development Bank Institute Symposium: “How to Strengthen Policy-Oriented Research and Training in Viet Nam”, 31 August 2005, Hanoi, <http://www.adbi.org/files/2005.09.dp36.think.tanks.ifppt.pdf>, (17 November 2005), p.3.

¹⁵ Rich, p.11.

¹⁶ Abelson, “Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: An Historical Perspective”, p.10.

interests such as firms, interest groups, and political parties.”¹⁷ According to Hames and Feasy, “a broad definition of a think-tank would be a non-profit public policy research institution with substantial organizational autonomy.”¹⁸ Simon James defines “think-tank” as “an independent organization engaged in multi-disciplinary research intended to influence public policy.”¹⁹ However, some American scholars accept government research organizations such as the Congressional Research Service and the General Accounting Office within the definition of “think-tank”.²⁰ Some scholars refer to university-affiliated research centers and institutes as think-tanks.²¹

According to Wollmann, a German scholar, “think-tanks might be understood and defined as research institutes which are institutionally and financially independent and see their task in generating and, most importantly, diffusing policy-relevant knowledge and in, thus, exerting an influence on the political debate and agenda-setting.”²²

According to Sudarshan, an Indian scholar, “think-tanks” could be defined as “policy research institutes that seek to set agendas and to contribute to governance by supplying information and expertise.”²³

¹⁷ Weaver and McGann, p.5.

¹⁸ Tim Hames and Richard Feasy, “Anglo-American Think Tanks under Reagan and Thatcher”, in *A Conservative Revolution? The Thatcher-Reagan Decade in Perspective*, eds. Andrew Adonis and Tim Hames, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p.216.

¹⁹ See Simon James, “The Idea Brokers: The Impact of Think Tanks on British Government”, *Public Administration*, Vol.71 (Winter 1993), p.492.

²⁰ See William H. Robinson, “The Congressional Research Service: Policy Consultant, Think Tank, and Information Factory”, in *Organizations for Policy Analysis: Helping Government Think*, ed. Carol H. Weiss (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1992), p.181-200; and McGann, “Academics to Ideologues: A Brief History of the Public Policy Research Industry”, p.736.

²¹ See Nelson Polsby, “Tanks but No Tanks”, *Public Opinion*, (April/May 1983), pp.14-16.

²² Hellmut Wollmann, “Policy Knowledge and Contractual Research”, <http://www2.rz.hu-berlin.de/verwaltung/download/cont.rtf>, (18 December 2005), p.2.

²³ Rotna M. Sudarshan, “New Partnership in Research: Activists and Think Tanks”, in *Banking on Knowledge: The Genesis of the Global Development Network*, ed. Diane Stone, (Routledge: London, 2000), p.87.

A study of UNDP defines “think-tanks” as “organizations engaged on a regular basis in research and advocacy on any matter related to public policy. They are the bridge between knowledge and power in modern democracies.”²⁴

According to Stone and Garnett, the notion that a think-tank requires independence or autonomy from the state in order to be “free thinking” is a peculiarly Anglo-American notion that does not translate well into other political cultures. In many countries, the line between policy intellectuals and the state is blurred to such an extent that to talk of independence as a defining characteristic of think-tanks makes little sense.²⁵ According to Ueno, if the Western definition of a think-tank is used and if the research arms of private industry are excluded, there are almost no think-tanks in East Asia.²⁶ Many organizations now called “think-tanks” operate inside government.²⁷ This is evident in countries such as France,²⁸ South Korea,²⁹ China,³⁰ Russia³¹ and the Philippines.³² Some institutes have formal links to political parties,

²⁴ UNDP – United Nations Development Program, *Thinking the Unthinkable: From Thought to Policy. The Role of Think Tanks in Shaping Government Strategy: Experiences from Central and Eastern Europe*, (Bratislava: UNDP Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, 2003), p.6. quoted in Stone, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition”, p.2.

²⁵ Stone and Garnett, p.3.

²⁶ Makiko Ueno, “Northeast Asian Think Tanks: Toward Building Capacity for More Democratic Societies”, in *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, eds. James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), p.223.

²⁷ Stone, “Recycling Bins, Garbage Cans or Think Tanks? Contesting Three Myths Regarding Policy Analysis Institutes”, pp.8-9.

²⁸ See Cathrine Fieschi and John Gaffney, “French Think Tanks in Comparative Perspective”, in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.42-58.

²⁹ See Il-Dong Koh, “Restructuring Korea's Think Tanks”, <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/98autumn/koh.html>, (21 December 2005).

³⁰ See David Shambaugh, “China’s International Relations Think Tanks: Evolving Structure and Process”, *The China Quarterly*, 2002, pp.575-596 and Murray Scot Tanner “Changing Windows on a Changing China: The Evolving “Think Tank” System and the Case of the Public Security Sector”, *The China Quarterly*, 2002, pp.559-574.

³¹ See Vladimir B. Yakubovsky, “A Short History of Russian Think Tanks”, <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/95winter/yakubo.html>, (17 December 2005).

³² See Herman Joseph S. Kraft, “A Look at Think Tanks in the Philippines”, <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/99winter/kraft.html>, (25 December 2005).

as in Germany³³ and Malaysia.³⁴ Research institutes are attached to profit-making corporations in countries such as Japan.³⁵ Increasingly, therefore, “think-tank” is conceived in terms of a policy research function and a set of analytic or policy advisory practices, rather than a specific legal organizational structure as a non-governmental, non-partisan or independent civil society entity.³⁶

Traditions and applications of different countries show us that a single definition of “think-tank” cannot cover all varieties of think-tanks in the world. Also in Turkey, there is no consensus on what constitutes a think-tank. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, a think-tank is defined as an organization or institute that is engaged in policy-oriented research and analysis to influence the public opinion or public policy in Turkey without taking into account its being nongovernmental or not.

2.2. The Classification of Think-Tanks

Think-tanks operate in a variety of institutional forms and legal arrangements. It is useful to establish typologies which classify think-tanks according to their research agenda, staff composition and main institutional aims. Two of the most frequently cited classifications of think-tanks were made by Weaver and McGann.³⁷

³³ See Winard Gellner, “Think Tanks in Germany”, in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.82-106.

³⁴ See Su-ming Koo, “Think Tanks and Intellectual Participation in Malaysian Discourses of Development”, in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.166-187.

³⁵ See Madoka Nakamura, “Toward the Public Interest? Transformation of the Policy Community in Japan”, *NIRA Review*, Vol.7, No.4 (Autumn 2000), pp.42-47; and Tomochika Shimizu, “Japanese Think Tanks: An Overview”, <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/97spring/shimizu.html>, (25 December 2005).

³⁶ Stone, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition”, p.3. According to Stone, “due to the varieties of think tank that have emerged, equating the term ‘think tank’ with scientific expertise and policy analytic mission becomes increasingly untenable.” See Stone, “Recycling Bins, Garbage Cans or Think Tanks? Contesting Three Myths Regarding Policy Analysis Institutes”, p.2.

³⁷ Abelson, *American Think-Tanks and their Role in US Foreign Policy*, p.4.

According to Weaver, there are three main models of think-tanks in the USA: universities without students, contract research organizations and advocacy think-tanks.³⁸

The universities without students tend to be characterized by heavy reliance on academics as researchers, by funding primarily from the private sector and by book-length studies as the primary research product. They distinguish themselves from universities in the policy orientation of their research. Then, orientation tends to be long term, dealing with the ultimate implications of broad policy choices. The Brookings Institution is the progenitor of the first type of think-tank. The American Enterprise Institute; the Hoover Institution; the Cato Institute; the Institute for Policy Studies; the Institute for International Economics; the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Carnegie Endowment are included in this group of universities without students.³⁹

The second type of think-tank is the contract research organization. The research product of contract researchers more often consists of reports for specific government agencies than books or monographs. In fact, these studies may not be available to the general public at all unless the agency chooses to release them. Many of these organizations have especially close ties to a particular government agency as in the Rand Corporation, essentially a contract researcher for the USA Department of Defense and the Urban Institute, which also relies very heavily on federal contracts for program evaluation. While there are important differences between the ‘universities without students’ and contract researchers, there are also important similarities, notably the heavy use of Ph.D.s and an emphasis on objective analysis. There is an inevitable tension within the contract research organization model between the norm of objectivity and the organization’s financial dependence on one or a few agencies.⁴⁰

³⁸ Weaver, “The Changing World of Think Tanks”, p.563.

³⁹ Ibid, pp.564-565.

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp.565-566.

The third type of think-tank is advocacy think-tank. This type of think-tanks is the newest, largest and fastest growing think-tank model. Advocacy tanks combine a strong policy, a partisan or ideological bent with aggressive salesmanship and an effort to influence current policy debates. Advocacy tanks synthesize and put a distinctive ‘spin’ on existing research rather than carrying out original research. Advocacy tanks are founded for several reasons. Many of them are overtly partisan and ideological, like the conservative Heritage Foundation. Others are tied closely to particular interests and organizations, such as the Public Policy Institute and the Economic Policy Institute. Advocacy tanks also experience difficulties in their efforts to influence policy debates. The most important difficulty is maintaining clarity of vision without being ignored or discounted because the institution is perceived as rigid and predictable.⁴¹

Abelson argues that classifying think-tanks according to specific institutional criteria causes certain problems. Some organizations possess characteristics common to more than one category of think-tanks. They all conduct research and, to varying degrees, market their findings. It would be more appropriate therefore to identify the central function of these think-tanks rather than to isolate their “unique” institutional traits.⁴²

Although Weaver’s classification is useful to categorize think-tanks in the USA, it does not cover all varieties of think-tanks around the world such as political party-affiliated and government-affiliated think-tanks.

McGann, taking into consideration the comparative differences in political systems and civil societies, has developed six categories that attempt to capture the full range of think-tanks found around the world:⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid, pp.567-568.

⁴² Donald E. Abelson and Christine M. Carberry, “Following Suit or Falling Behind? A Comparative Analysis of Think Tanks in Canada and the United States”, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.31, No.3 (September 1998), pp.531-532.

⁴³ McGann, “Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy”, p.14.

1. Political Party Affiliated. This type of think-tanks is formally affiliated with a political party. Some examples include the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) (Germany), the Jaures Foundation (France), and the Progressive Policy Institute (USA).

2. Government Affiliated. This type of think-tanks is a part of the structure of government. The China Development Institute (China), the Institute for Political & International Studies (Iran), and the Congressional Research Service (USA) constitute some examples of government affiliated think-tanks.

3. Autonomous and Independent. They are independent significantly from any one interest group or donor and autonomous in their operation and funding from government. Some examples of think-tanks in this category include the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs (Pakistan), the Institute for Security Studies (South Africa), and the Institute for International Economics (USA).

4. Quasi Governmental. They are funded exclusively by government grants and contracts but not a part of the formal structure of government. The Institute for Strategic & International Studies (Malaysia), The Korean Development Institute (South Korea), and the Woodrow International Center for Scholars (USA) constitute some examples of this category.

5. Quasi Independent. This type of think-tanks is autonomous from government but controlled by an interest group, donor, or contracting agency that provides a majority of the funding and has a significant influence over the operations of the think-tank. Some examples of this category are the European Trade Union Institute (Belgium), NLI Research Institute (Japan), and the Center for Defense Information (USA).

6. University Affiliated. This model is a policy research center at a university. Some examples of university affiliated think-tanks are the Institute for International Relations (Brazil), the Carter Center (USA) and the Hoover Institution (USA).

McGann argues that there is every variety of public policy organization in the USA while the rest of the world tends to have think-tanks of a more limited scope and variety. Think-tanks outside the USA fall into three main categories— university

affiliated, government affiliated, and political party affiliated— and tend not to enjoy the same degree of autonomy that their American counterparts do.⁴⁴

Similar to McGann's classification, Stone divides think-tanks around the world into five categories:⁴⁵

1. Independent civil society think-tanks, established as non-profit organizations;
2. Policy research institutes, located in or affiliated with a university;
3. Governmentally created or state sponsored think-tanks;
4. Corporate created or business affiliated think-tanks;
5. Political party think-tanks.

Abelson adds a new category to Weaver's and McGann's classification: vanity and legacy-based think-tanks. They are created by aspiring office holders (or their supporters) and by former presidents intent on advancing their political and ideological beliefs effectively. While legacy-based think-tanks such as the (Jimmy) Carter Center and the (Richard) Nixon Center have developed a wide range of research programmes, vanity think-tanks appear more concerned with engaging in political advocacy. Think-tanks which fall into this category include Senator Dole's short-lived institute, Better America, and the Progress and Freedom Foundation, the ideological inspiration for the Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich's Contract with America.⁴⁶

Some European scholars make classifications of think-tanks regarding think-tank culture in their countries. Gellner categorizes think-tanks in Germany as "universities without students", "interest-oriented" and "interest-bound" institutes.⁴⁷ Gellner's first

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.16.

⁴⁵ Stone, "Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition", pp.4-5.

⁴⁶ Donald E. Abelson, "Think Tanks in the United States", in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.114.

⁴⁷ Gellner, p.84.

category is borrowed from Weaver. According to Gellner, the first category includes the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Ebenhausen, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) in Bonn, and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB).⁴⁸ Interest-oriented think-tanks comprise organizationally independent institutes which are not directly dominated by political parties or interest groups and which operate as public nonprofit organizations. All of these have in common a nominal organizational autonomy, as well as a clear political and ideological alignment. These interest-oriented think-tanks hardly ever produce academic reference books, but have specialized in creating network infrastructures. Among these are the Oeko-Institut in Freiburg, the Institut für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (IWG), and the Frankfurter and Walter-Eucken Institutes.⁴⁹ The third category comprises interest-bound think-tanks. They offer research merely to supply partisan politicians and administrators. The production of academic work is pushed into the background of organizational activity. These institutes are mostly aligned with the foundation of a political party or a certain interest group. Think-tanks which fall into this category include the employer associations' Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft (IW), the trade unions' Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut (WSI), CDU's KAS, and SPD's Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).⁵⁰

In accordance with their targets, Krastev categorizes think-tanks in Central and Eastern European Countries as “government-oriented”, “legislation-oriented” and “media-oriented” think-tanks. Government-oriented think-tanks are typically close to a political party or to an individual politician. These think-tanks rise together with their political patron and, in most cases, share his or her political fate. Legislation-oriented think-tanks, as a rule, benefit from the donors' interest in producing new legislation. They try to keep a neutral profile, but usually produce drafts that have little to no chance of ever becoming law. Media-oriented think-tanks base their influence on their popularity in the media and try to behave as an autonomous center of expertise. The distinctive feature of media-oriented think-tanks is their flexible

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.84-85.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp.85-86.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp.86 and 92-94.

research agenda. But quite often these institutes specialize more in high-quality journalism than in scientific policy research.⁵¹

2.3. Historical Development of Think-Tanks

Some analysts argue that think-tanks are unique to the USA,⁵² a comparative perspective suggests that this impression has arisen only because of the unparalleled expansion in think-tank numbers and size in the USA since WWII.⁵³ Scholars who have studied the growth and development of American think-tanks generally agree that the United States' specific institutional construction and its tax regime have contributed greatly to the proliferation of think-tanks in the USA. Because of the fragmented and decentralized nature of the American political system, there are many different centers of power needing policy advice. Furthermore, in the USA political parties have not played as prominent a role in policy development as they have in other countries. Party discipline is weak, politicians are not constrained by the philosophical goals of political parties and members of the Congress formulate many of their own policy priorities and pursue their agendas with considerable independence. It seems that there is a considerable space for the single policy maker to seek her/his own political advice and ideological legitimation, which often happens to come from think-tanks. It is not only political factors but also a strong philanthropic culture and generous tax regimes that encourage the proliferation of think-tanks in the USA. By contrast, parliamentary systems involve greater centralization of legislative power and accountability, supposedly allowing for greater control over policy and exclusion of external policy factors. In addition, political parties in parliamentary systems tend to be more cohesive and disciplined.

⁵¹ Ivan Krastev, "Think Tanks and the Invisible Hand of Transition", <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/99summer/ivan.html>, (25 December 2005).

⁵² See McGann, "Academics to Ideologues: A Brief History of the Public Policy Research Industry", p.733; and Abelson, "Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: An Historical Perspective", p.12.

⁵³ Stone and Garnett, p.6.

These factors would appear to make the USA a more suitable home for think-tanks than France, for instance, where the central bureaucracy is more powerful.⁵⁴

Think-tanks are usually described as an invention of the twentieth century, and have been proliferating all over the globe, particularly in the decade, since the end of the cold war. The Russell Sage Foundation (USA), founded in 1907, the Fabian Society (UK), founded in 1884, the Brookings Institution (USA), founded in 1916, and the Hamburg Institute for Economic Research (Germany), founded in 1908, are generally considered to be the oldest institutions.⁵⁵ However, scholars cannot agree on when and where the first think-tank was created. One candidate is the Fabian Society of Britain, founded in 1884 to promote gradual social change.⁵⁶ The Russell Sage Foundation,⁵⁷ founded in 1907 and the Brookings Institution, founded in the USA in 1916 are other candidates for the first think-tank.⁵⁸

Prior to WWII, think-tanks were predominantly an Anglo-American phenomenon. Since then, they have spread throughout the world. Four waves can be discerned in the pattern of think-tank growth around the world. The first wave took place prior to WWII; the second wave came on the scene in the OECD countries after WWII; the

⁵⁴ See Abelson, "Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: An Historical Perspective", p.10; McGann, "Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy", p.15; Weaver, "The Changing World of Think Tanks", pp.570-571; Stephen Boucher and Ben Hobbs, *Europe and Its Think Tanks: A Promise to Be Fulfilled: An Analysis of Think Tanks Specialised in European Policy Issues in the Enlarged European Union*, Notre Europe, Paris, October 2004, <http://www.notre-europe.asso.fr/IMG/pdf/Etud35-en.pdf>, (24 November 2005), p.115; Denham and Garnett, *British Think-Tanks and the Climate of Opinion*, pp.5-7; Stone and Garnett, pp.6-7; and William Wallace, "Between Two Worlds: Think-Tanks and Foreign Policy", in *Two Worlds of International Relations: Academics, Practitioners, and the Trade in Idea*, eds. C.Hill & P.Beshoff, (London: Routledge, 1994), p.151.

⁵⁵ Madoka Nakamura, "Introduction", *NIRA's World Directory of Think Tanks 2002*, <http://www.nira.go.jp/ice/nwdtt/2005/intro/intro2002.html>, (25 December 2005).

⁵⁶ Denham and Garnett accept the Fabian Society as the first think tank. See Denham and Garnett, *British Think-Tanks and the Climate of Opinion*, p.21.

⁵⁷ According to Rich, the Russell Sage Foundation and the Bureau of Municipal Research were the first think tanks. See Rich, p.34.

⁵⁸ According to McGann, the origin of think tank is Brookings Institution. See McGann, "Academics to Ideologues: A Brief History of the Public Policy Research Industry", p.733.

third wave is the world-wide think-tank boom in the late 1970s; and the last wave is the transnationalization of think-tanks in the new millennium.⁵⁹

2.3.1. The First Wave: The Emergence of Think-Tanks

The think-tank was a relatively unusual phenomenon prior to WWII and limited to a few industrialized democracies. In the first stage of think-tank development, until the WWII, a number of institutes were established in the United States and Western Europe. Well-known American institutes such as the Russell Sage Foundation (1907), the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1910), the Brookings Institution (1916), the Hoover Institution (1919) and the Council on Foreign Relations (1921) were established in this era.⁶⁰ In the UK, the Fabian Society (1884), Chatham House (1920) and the National Institute for Economic and Social Research (NIESR) (1938) were founded.⁶¹ The first wave was also apparent in Germany (Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung—DIW in 1925; FES in 1925; Institut für Weltwirtschaft Kiel—IfW in 1914; and HWWA Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung in 1908); in Sweden (Industriens Utredningsinstitut in 1939; Kojunkturinstitutet—KI in 1937; Utrikespolitiska Institutet—SIIA in 1938); and in Austria (Österreichisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung—WIFO in 1927). However, institutes in Europe were far fewer in number and sometimes of more an informal “society,” “salon,” or “association” structure than their Anglo-American counterparts.⁶²

Abelson labels the American think-tanks in this period as “universities without students.” Because they publish books, journals, and other material that is intended for different target audiences. Although scholars from these institutions occasionally provided advice to policy-makers when they were first established, their primary

⁵⁹ In this study, Stone’s historical evolution model of think tanks was used. See Stone, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition”.

⁶⁰ See Abelson, *American Think-Tanks and their Role in US Foreign Policy*, pp.27-47; Rich, pp.34-41; and McGann, “Academics to Ideologues: A Brief History of the Public Policy Research Industry”, p.733-735.

⁶¹ See Denham and Garnett, “Think Tanks, British Politics and the ‘Climate of Opinion’”, pp.27-29.

⁶² Diane Stone and Heidi Ullrich, “Policy Research Institutes and Think Tanks in Western Europe: Development Trends and Perspectives”, (Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, 2003), <http://lgi.osi.hu/publications/2003/231/DP24.pdf>, (8 January 2006), pp.10-11.

goal was not to influence policy decisions directly, but to help educate and inform policy-makers and the public about the potential consequences of pursuing a range of policy options.⁶³

According to Stone, in general, the first generation was few in number, elite in composition, idealistic in motivation and scholarly in style. Foreign policy think-tanks emerged as the crises of war, regional instability and ethnic or nationalistic tensions generated a new interest in knowledge about international affairs. Think-tanks on domestic affairs emerged to deal with the policy problems concerning rapid industrialization, urbanization, poverty and illiteracy.⁶⁴

2.3.2. The Second Wave: The Spread of Think-Tanks in the OECD Countries

The period after WWII saw a more extensive second wave of development throughout Europe but such growth was largely limited to liberal democracies. The period was marked by the proliferation of foreign policy institutes, centers for the study of security and institutes of development studies, in an era defined by the Cold War, superpower rivalries and the emergence of Third World issues.

Intellectual climate in Europe and North America changed after WWII. The idealism of many foreign policy institutes, often based on a belief that dialogue and discussion would contribute to peace, tolerance and understanding, was counterweighed by the realist understandings and rationalist frameworks of a new kind of strategic and security studies institutes.⁶⁵ Therefore, such think-tanks can be described as Cold War tanks.⁶⁶ The USA foreign policy scene became populated with high-profile

⁶³ Abelson, "Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy: An Historical Perspective", p.10.

⁶⁴ Diane Stone, "Private Authority, Scholarly Legitimacy and Political Credibility: Think Tanks and Informal Diplomacy", in *Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System*, eds. Richard A. Higgott, Geoffrey R.D. Underhill and Andreas Bieler, (London: Routledge, 1999), p.212.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.213.

⁶⁶ Diane Stone, "The Policy Roles of Private Research Institutes in Global Politics", in *Private Organizations in Global Politics*, eds. Karsten Ronit and Volker Schneider, (London: Routledge, 2000), p.190.

think-tanks such as the Rand Corporation (1948),⁶⁷ the Center for Strategic and International Studies (1962) and the Hudson Institute (1962) which predominated “rationalist” methodological and analytical approaches, often within a “realist” framework. Similar institutes were established in Europe. For example, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (1958) in the UK, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (1955) in Germany, and the National Defense Research Establishment in Sweden were created.

Institutes of development studies and peace research bodies also emerged in this period. The World Peace Council (1950) was created in Finland. Policy institutes addressing domestic policy issues developed in the USA while a credible number of these were established in other countries, especially in Britain where think-tanks corresponded in style and organization to those in the USA, and, albeit in smaller number, in Australia and Canada. The large and relatively well-resourced party-affiliated institutes were established in Germany and the Netherlands. Government-affiliated institutes were created throughout Scandinavia and parts of the developing world. These think-tanks primarily addressed domestic policy.⁶⁸

2.3.3. The Third Wave: The World-Wide Think-Tank Boom

Since the 1970s, there has been a third wave of think-tank proliferation across the globe. McGann argues that two-thirds of all the think-tanks that exist today were established after 1970 and over half have been established since 1980.⁶⁹ Countries where think-tanks were already present, such as the USA, Britain, Germany, Sweden, Canada and Japan, experienced a proliferation of think-tanks. Growth of the legislative power of the Commission of the EU encouraged new think-tank development throughout Europe, and especially in Brussels. Also, democratic consolidation, economic development and greater prospects of political stability in

⁶⁷ The Rand Corporation is the most prominent contract research organization. Also, it became the progenitor of “systems analysis” research for the US military. See Rich, p.42.

⁶⁸ Stone, “The Policy Roles of Private Research Institutes in Global Politics”, p.190; and Stone, “Private Authority, Scholarly Legitimacy and Political Credibility: Think Tanks and Informal Diplomacy”, p.213.

⁶⁹ McGann, “Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy”, p.14.

Latin America and Asia provided fertile conditions for think-tank development.⁷⁰ As would be expected, western-style think-tanks in Russia, Central and Eastern Europe appeared only after 1989. Examples include the Gdansk Institute and the Center for Social and Economic Research, both in Poland, the Market Institute in Lithuania, the Adam Smith Institute in Warsaw and the Economic Institute in Hungary. Furthermore, North East Asian think-tanks tend to be large organizations, benefiting from government or corporate support. Leading Japanese institutes with corporate connections include the Nomura and Mitsubishi Research Institutes and the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA). However, the Korean Development Institute is a government-funded think-tank. Taiwanese think-tanks have established ties to academic institutions, but most, remain heavily reliant on government contracts. Genuinely private think-tanks are a new phenomenon in Taiwan. In South East Asian countries, think-tanks are smaller in size and have fewer resources at their disposal compared to their North East Asian counterparts. Frequently, they are linked to their governments despite their autonomous legal status. Compared to other continents, there are probably fewer think-tanks in Africa and the Middle East. In the Arab world, there has been an increase in the number of institutes devoted to analyzing the Palestinian question and the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict, such as the Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Egypt. Many African think-tanks are concerned with questions of the environment and development, such as the Mazingira Institute in Kenya. There is no development regarding think-tanks in many African countries.⁷¹

There are a number of possible hypotheses regarding think-tank proliferation. Factors such as constitutional changes and government reform, the intensity of political debate and opposition, the attitudes of political leaders and the political culture of a society, levels of literacy and press freedom, the development of a domestically based intellectual elite, a history of philanthropy, independent organization and

⁷⁰ Stone, "The Policy Roles of Private Research Institutes in Global Politics", p.191.

⁷¹ Ibid, pp.191-192.

voluntarism within the civil society, are all relevant in explaining the emergence of think-tanks within a particular country.⁷²

A proposition regarding think-tank growth in the world concerns government ‘overload’ and the increasing complexity of decision-making processes. In this view, since economies and societies become more complex, the think-tank boom is indicative of a need for more information, analyses and advice. Due to the flood of information from interest groups, industry and new government programs, think-tanks become one source of expertise which is able to explain the nature, causes and likely remedies of problems to governments.⁷³

Another factor of think-tank proliferation is the increased openness of government in recent decades. More attempts are now made to engage with civil society groups, for example through consultation exercises at the policy planning stage. This has increased the chance for think-tanks to influence government thinking.⁷⁴

The argument that spread of democracy leads to proliferation of think-tanks is suitable for the development in the Central and Eastern European Countries after 1989. Boucher and Hobbs argue that think-tanks above all require democracy first to function because they need to express their views freely. Thus, the collapse of the totalitarian regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece in the 1970s, and the political changes in Eastern Europe after 1989 allowed think-tanks to flourish.⁷⁵ However, Stone and Garnett argue that comparative examination suggests that there is no simple correlation between proliferation of think-tanks and democratization.⁷⁶

One of the arguments is that international organizations and governments require organizations to filter and edit knowledge as well as translate the abstract modeling and dense theoretical concepts. Think-tanks represent a legitimate and neutral vehicle

⁷² Stone and Garnett, p.6.

⁷³ Ibid, p.7. See also Boucher and Hobbs, p.9.

⁷⁴ Boucher and Hobbs, p.9.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Stone and Garnett, p.10.

to filter, to make sense of the conflicting evidence, and to inspire argument and information overload. The “politics of credibility”—of status, trust and reputation—is an important dimension of demand for think-tank services in the “information age.”⁷⁷

Another thesis of the recent spread of think-tanks is that a long-term process of convergence has taken place. That is to say that the creation of think-tanks is indicative of national intellectual and decision-making elites copying each other, particularly those of the USA. Within an international context the American think-tank form is often taken as a pattern for think-tank development elsewhere. Imitation occurs when founders in other countries say that they want to establish a Brookings-style institution in their own country. The Atlas Foundation and the Mont Pelerin Society have been important funding organizations and intellectual societies, respectively, that have supported libertarian and free market institutes around the world. Organizational transfer has also been fuelled by individuals trained in other educational systems who have gained familiarity with the think-tank form and occasionally a desire to copy them in their countries of origin.⁷⁸

The second feature of this period is more and more diverse organizational forms and styles among think-tanks. Increased competition in the think-tank industry has caused the emergence of a new type of think-tanks in the USA: advocacy think-tanks. These institutes gave rise to the politicization of research and analysis. The Heritage Foundation (1973) in the USA is usually cited as the pattern of this style. The rise of the ‘New Right’ think-tanks,⁷⁹ described as “advocacy think-tanks” especially in the USA and Britain in 1980s, help execute the paradigmatic shift away from Keynesian policy making to Washington Consensus. That is to say privatization, financial liberalization and deregulation.⁸⁰ The prominent New Right think-tanks include the Institute of Economic Affairs, the Adam Smith Institute, the

⁷⁷ Stone and Ullrich, p.16.

⁷⁸ Stone and Garnett, p.9.

⁷⁹ See Andrew Denham, *Think-Tanks of the New Right*, (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1996); and Hames and Feasy, pp.215-237.

⁸⁰ Stone, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition”, p.3.

Center for Policy Studies and the Social Affairs Unit in the UK⁸¹ and the American Enterprise Institute, the Hoover Institution and the Heritage Foundation in the USA.⁸²

There are significant differences between think-tanks that are scholarly in focus and that are more activist and engage in training and ‘people development’. Some institutes – including SIPRI (the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) and the Conference Board of Canada – have substantial resources with large in-house professional staff whereas others are small, with limited budget and few personnel. Some institutes are technocratic – the Korean Development Institute or Institute for Economic Research in Germany – while others, like the proliferating free market liberal policy institutes in Eastern and Central Europe and Latin America are often more ideological and advocacy oriented. Increased competition in the think-tank industry has also encouraged specialization. Environmental think-tanks (Instituut voor Europees Milieubeleid in Arnhem), institutes focused on tax policy (the Institute of Fiscal Studies in Britain), or institutes focused on a specific region or community (Groupement d’Etudes et de Recherches sur la Méditerranée in Morocco) were established.

2.3.4. The Fourth Wave: The Transnationalization of Think-Tanks

It could be said that, a fourth wave, transnationalization of think-tanks, appears to be emerging. Think-tanks are expanding their research interests beyond the boundaries of the nation-state.⁸³

While most think-tanks have been established as state-based entities for national audiences, a small number claim to be “international”. The Club of Rome (1967), SIPRI, the Trilateral Commission (1973) and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

⁸¹ See Denham, *Think-Tanks of the New Right*.

⁸² Hames and Feasy, pp.219-221.

⁸³ Stone and Ullrich, p.13.

(ISEAS) (1968) are the pioneer entities in this matter. In general, however, the transnationalization of think-tanks is a more recent phenomenon.⁸⁴

The expansion of international agendas, challenges to state sovereignty and growing power of transnational policy communities are perhaps the most significant reasons behind think-tank transnationalization. Furthermore, advances in information systems and telecommunications have greatly expanded the scope and impact of collaboration between institutions and scholars. Bilateral and multilateral exchanges are taking place every day as technological advances allow think-tank staff to communicate and operate more effectively across international borders. The Internet enables think-tanks around the world to connect with each other. Global forums, conferences, and debates now take place regularly on the World Wide Web. Collaborative research projects involving researchers from 20 or more countries are now commonplace.

It should be mentioned that the transnationalization of the think-tanks has often been encouraged and funded by the international donor community and private foundations in the USA, Europe, and Japan. Along with the international flow of funds has come an internationalization of think-tank staff.⁸⁵

One of the features of transnationalization is that think-tanks have established branch offices in other countries. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Heritage Foundation opened offices in Moscow.⁸⁶ American think-tanks have the EU branches in Brussels or around the EU, such as Rand Europe, the East West Institute, and the Aspen Institute.⁸⁷ German think-tanks also have branch offices in other

⁸⁴ Stone, "The Policy Roles of Private Research Institutes in Global Politics", p.193.

⁸⁵ McGann, "Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy", p.17.

⁸⁶ Stone, "The Policy Roles of Private Research Institutes in Global Politics", p.193.

⁸⁷ Boucher and Hobbs, p.45.

countries. For example, KAS has branch offices in approximately 60 countries⁸⁸ and FES has offices in over 80 countries.⁸⁹

Secondly, transnational networks of think-tanks are rapidly emerging. Think-tank networks have come together around common areas of interest and policy themes as well as around ideology. They have a variety of forms. Some have a regional focus, while others have a global focus. Some are open to all, whereas others restrict membership.⁹⁰ Some examples of transnational think-tank networks include The World Bank's GDNNet (the Global Development Network), the African Knowledge Networks Forum, the Open Society Institute's LOGIN (Local Government Initiative), OSI-related Policy Centers, ISIS, the Japanese Center for the International Exchange's Global ThinkNet, the Transition Policy Network (TPN), the International Center for Economic Growth and the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA).⁹¹ Also, transnational think-tank networks have spread in the EU region. The Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCo), the European Forecasting Research Association for the Macroeconomy (EUROFRAME), the European Network of Economic Policy Research Institutes (ENEPRI), the European Policy Institutes Network (EPIN) and the Stockholm Network constitute some examples of European think-tank networks.⁹²

Thirdly, think-tank networks have stimulated cross-national collaborative research and exchange of personnel. Programs like those run by the Brookings Institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the National Institute for Research Advancement, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the German Marshall Fund, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and other organizations provide opportunities for staff from think-tanks and universities in the developing

⁸⁸ See Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Web Site, http://www.kas.de/international/laender/122_webseite.html, (2 February 2006).

⁸⁹ See Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Web Site, http://www.fes.de/sets/s_fes_i.htm, (2 February 2006).

⁹⁰ Raymond J. Struyk, "Transnational Think-Tank Networks: Purpose, Membership and Cohesion", *Global Networks*, Vol.2, No.1 (2002), p.83.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.87.

⁹² See Boucher and Hobbs, pp.131-133.

and transitional countries to come and consult with their colleagues so that they can exchange information and ideas about international issues and learn about the best practices for how to create and sustain an independent public policy organization.⁹³

The last feature of the transnationalization of think-tanks is the formation of industry-like associations and international gatherings. The Atlas Economic Research Foundation is an umbrella organization for free market think-tanks world-wide that provides start-up funds and technical assistance for new think-tanks. Likewise, the Japanese Center for International Exchange has convened a “Global ThinkNet” conference for the heads of the world’s most prestigious think-tanks to discuss ways of influencing policies. In 1987, the Nomura Research Institute (NRI) sponsored the “Tokyo Club” - a joint research and seminar programme on global issues involving three European institutes- the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (IFO) and Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI) and the Brookings Institution in the USA. NRI also sponsors the Asia Club -a network of Asian think-tanks from nine countries.⁹⁴

It is worth mentioning that think-tank networks have promoted the transnationalization of policy analysis and scientific expertise. They create the overlapping personal and communications infrastructure for the fast and effective transfer of new ideas and policy approaches between global and local domains.⁹⁵

2.4. Approaches to Analyze Think-Tanks

The works on the contemporary role of think-tanks approach the topic from two perspectives: the pluralist and the elite theory. The pluralist perspective is predominant among American literature. Pluralists portray think-tanks operating in a

⁹³ McGann, “Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy”, p.17.

⁹⁴ Stone, “The Policy Roles of Private Research Institutes in Global Politics”, p.194.

⁹⁵ Stone, “Recycling Bins, Garbage Cans or Think Tanks? Contesting Three Myths Regarding Policy Analysis Institutes”, p.11.

marketplace of ideas. These views are complemented by the interpretations of elite theorists.⁹⁶

The various pluralist approaches focus on observable conflict and overt use of power. Accordingly, think-tanks are an object of analysis when they compete among themselves and with other groups to influence the policy process. The number and diversity of American think-tanks reflects strong competition in ideas as well as competition to win funding.⁹⁷ The pluralist views can be exemplified by the work of Abelson, Stone, McGann, Weaver, and Weiss. According to these authors, think-tanks are brokers in ideas, intermediaries which connect the worlds of ideas and action. They attempt to apply social science to policymaking, and because of the fact that there are hundreds of such organizations representing a plurality of voices, no single think-tank or group of think-tanks dominates the universe of policy-relevant discourse. Think-tanks compete with each other over funding, visibility, and scholars.⁹⁸ Pluralists argue that the growth and diversity of think-tanks is a positive feature of democracy. Their proliferation allows governments and other decision makers to become better informed of diverse views.⁹⁹

The elite views can be exemplified by the work of Ricci, Dye, Domhoff, Judis, and Pescheck.¹⁰⁰ They argue that think-tanks are neither apolitical organizations committed to the spread of knowledge nor competitively enhancing the democratic formulation of policy. They claim that think-tanks serve the long-term interests of economic and political leaders. They emphasize the interlocking of directorates of the corporate, military and administrative policy communities. Think-tanks serve as a means to reach consensus between elites and help to overcome political tensions and differences. In addition, particularly advocacy think-tanks are criticized because they

⁹⁶ Diane Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, (London: Frank Cass, 1996), p.26.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.27.

⁹⁸ Alidad Mafinezam, "For Inquiry and Reform: Think Tanks of the Progressive Era", unpublished doctoral dissertation, The State University of New Jersey, 2003, p.40.

⁹⁹ Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.28.

¹⁰⁰ Mafinezam, p.41.

act as a spokesperson of lobby groups attempting to get their message across to decision makers.¹⁰¹ Neo-Marxist perspective should also be cited at this point. It underlines the ability of think-tanks to bring problems of the political economy to elite attention and to develop long-range plans, which convert these problems into manageable objects of public policy. Thereby think-tanks support the hegemony of the ideology of advanced capitalism.¹⁰²

2.5. The Role and Function of Think-Tanks

Think-tanks are often conceived as a bridge between academia and decision-makers and having a strategic role of interpreting and translating applied and basic research into a language and form that meets the needs of busy policymakers.¹⁰³ Think-tanks strengthen the decision-making capacity of government by transmitting policy-relevant information from a variety of sources to the ears and eyes of policymakers. Their works directly benefit policymakers by casting light on problems as well as alternative solutions.¹⁰⁴

There are various approaches regarding the role and function of think-tanks:

¹⁰¹ Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.28.

¹⁰² See Radhika Desai, "Second-Hand Dealers in Ideas: Think-Tanks and Thatcherite Hegemony", *New Left Review*, Vol.203 (January/February 1994), pp.27-64.

¹⁰³ Stone and Garnett, p.16. The idea of think tanks connecting researchers and decision makers can be found throughout the mission statements of numerous organizations. For example, Brookings Institute states that "Brookings serves as a bridge between scholarship and policymaking, bringing new knowledge to the attention of decision makers and affording scholars greater insight into public policy issues." See Brookings Institute, <http://www.brookings.edu/gs/events/inequalitybrochure.pdf>, (10 February 2006). TESEV argues that "TESEV is an independent think-tank which forms a bridge between academic research and the policy-making process." See TESEV, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/tese.php>, (10 February 2006). Similarly, the Tokyo based NIRA which produces a world survey of think tanks argues that one of the key functions of think tank is "to bridge policy ideas and knowledge with other researchers and institutions, and sometimes with people having different backgrounds or ideologies". See Nakamura, "Introduction", *NIRA's World Directory of Think Tanks 2002*.

¹⁰⁴ Erik C. Johnson, "How Think Tanks Improve Public Policy", *Economic Reform Today*, No.3, (1996), <http://www.cipe.org/publications/fs/ert/e21/priE21.htm>, (7 February 2006).

McGann lists six important roles which think-tanks usually play in relation to policy formulation:¹⁰⁵

- the carrying out of research and analysis on policy problems;
- providing advice on immediate policy concerns;
- the evaluation of government programs;
- the interpretation of policies for electronic and print media, thus facilitating public understanding of and support for policy initiatives;
- facilitating the construction of “issue networks” that involve a diverse set of policy actors who come together on an ad hoc basis around a particular policy issue or problem; and
- providing a supply of key personnel to government.

Weaver argues that, regardless of their specific orientation, think-tanks have performed in five capacities:¹⁰⁶

- as a source of policy ideas,
- as a source and evaluator of policy proposals,
- as an evaluator of government programs,
- as a source of personnel for senior government positions, and
- as a source of information to news organizations about current policy issues.

Not all think-tanks carry out all these functions, and there is good deal of specialization. For example, advocacy tanks weight their program in favor of making and evaluating policy proposals, and contract researchers doing more program evaluation.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ McGann, “Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy”, p.16.

¹⁰⁶ Weaver, “The Changing World of Think Tanks”, pp.568-569.

¹⁰⁷ Raymond J. Struyk, *Reconstructive Critics: Think Tanks in Post-Soviet Bloc Democracies*, (Washington DC: Urban Institute Press, 1999), <http://www.urban.org/pubs/reconstructive/chapter1.html>, (26 November 2005).

According to James, think-tanks act as intermediaries between the academic world and decision-makers. Think-tanks have four main functions in the policy making process:¹⁰⁸

- They can improve the quality of government policy-making,
- They can act as conduits for other people's ideas,
- They can improve the quality of public debate on policy, and
- They can canvass ideas that governments dare not voice.

According to May, think-tanks have basically three major tasks or jobs to fulfill. The first task of a think-tank is the “early-warning-job”. This means that think-tanks have to focus on the objective analysis of important issues. Think-tanks can not try to cover all relevant subjects but they concentrate on new political, economic and societal trends that could become problems in the near future and they warn the political community and society about those problems that are lying ahead. In that respect, there are sometimes quite substantial differences to research work being conducted in universities for example. The second task of a think-tank is the “produce-solutions-job”. Think-tanks should not only analyze new problems lying ahead, but they should work out scenarios, and different ways of how to solve such a new problem and give decision-makers specific solutions for the problems. The third and most difficult task of a think-tank is the “produce-results-job”. Think-tanks are not just offering analyses and solutions for new problems, but they are supposed to influence the decision-making process creating better circumstances to produce political results.¹⁰⁹

Many authors argue that think-tanks contribute to the livelihood of democratic debates. To use a common expression, they contribute to the “marketplace for

¹⁰⁸ Simon James, “Think Tanks: Towards a User Guide for Governments”, Paper for the Political Studies Association-UK 50th Annual Conference 10-13 April 2000, London, <http://www.psa.ac.uk/journals/pdf/5/2000/James%20Simon.pdf>, (10 November 2005), pp.4-6.

¹⁰⁹ Bernhard May, “Think Tanks in ASEAN-EU Relations: European Perspective”, <http://www.dgap.org/print/931.html>, (25 December 2005).

ideas”.¹¹⁰ In this respect, competition among think-tanks stimulates the intellectual production regarding public policies. They inspire public debate and add their high-quality research and analysis to the voice of the people, boosting their influence on the policies that shape their lives. According to Wallace, the functions which think-tanks fulfill are: research relevant to public policy, promotion of public debate, the questioning of the conventional wisdom, the formulation and dissemination of alternative concepts and policy agendas.¹¹¹

Wallace argues that think-tanks deal in “soft power” —the term coined by Joseph Nye— in shaping policy agendas, in challenging the language and terminology of public debate, and in redefining the mental maps of policy-makers. These are all subtle processes, the workings of which are harder to trace than the direct impact of hard political bargaining, but which set the terms within which political bargaining is conducted in modern political systems.¹¹²

Think-tanks use methods of policy analysis in problem definition, collection of information, devising options and recommendations, policy evaluation. Think-tanks can be active in all phases of policy process - from agenda setting, drafting policy proposals, creating implementation plans to assessment of existing policies. Think-tanks serve as a source of information, conceptual thinking, and inventory in area of public administration. Through creating of multidisciplinary network of experts, think-tanks contribute to public debate and help to articulate public interest.¹¹³

On the other hand, think-tanks are not limited to core functions of policy research, analysis and advocacy. They also engage in education, training, conference and seminar activity, networking, marketing and various forms of liaison with governmental and non-governmental agencies. Like their functions, their output is

¹¹⁰ See Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, pp.143-145; McGann, “Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy”, p.16; Abelson and Carberry, pp.529-530; and Johnson, “How Think Tanks Improve Public Policy”.

¹¹¹ Wallace, “Ideas and Influence”, p.226.

¹¹² Ibid, p.224.

¹¹³ Jiri Schneider, “Think-Tanks in Visegrad Countries: From Policy Research to Advocacy”, <http://www.policy.hu/schneider/FRP.html>, (19 December 2005), pp.6-7.

also diverse ranging from publications – books, journals, newsletters – and extending to organizing conferences and seminars or constructing web sites. They also perform more intangible services such as expert commentary, community education, contributing to public debate, assisting in civil society capacity building and aiding network development. Consequently, the audiences for think-tanks are just as various as their services and products.

It could be said that the primary target groups of think-tanks are legislatures and executives, bureaucrats and politicians at national and sub-national levels of governance. Think-tanks attempt to influence policy through intellectual argument and analysis rather than direct lobbying. Accordingly, think-tanks seek access to policy communities¹¹⁴ to inject new ideas into policy debates. Members of policy communities interact regularly, developing a shared understanding concerning problems that are deemed important and devising possible solutions. Think-tanks from outside a country also target official actors of that country, although such institutes have less legitimacy and greater difficulty in gaining access and inclusion within these policy communities. Outside the state sector, think-tanks have educated other audiences. Students and academics in universities regularly use think-tank publications. Foundation officials, business executives, bureaucrats from various international organizations, university researchers and journalists are often engaged by think-tank researches. Furthermore, think-tanks provide an organizational link and communication bridge between their different audiences. They connect disparate groups by providing a forum for the exchange of views, by translating academic or scientific research into policy relevant publications and by spreading policy lessons internationally.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ A policy community is a set of actors bound together by a common interest in a particular policy field such as health, education or telecommunications. The group can be composed of interest group activists and government officials, as well as ministers, parliamentarians, consultants, journalists and members of think tanks. The community has a shared commitment to certain policies, programmes and ways of doing things. See Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, pp.90-91.

¹¹⁵ Stone, “Think Tank Transnationalisation and Non-Profit Analysis, Advice and Advocacy”. See also Johnson, “How Think Tanks Improve Public Policy”.

Think-tanks also assist governments to learn, adapt, and adopt new policies from different countries or contexts. One of the consequences of increased transnational activity is that there is a much greater scope for policy transfer. In this context, Dolowitz and Marsh define policy transfer as a “process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting”.¹¹⁶ Think-tanks play a facilitating role in this process. In the area of privatization, for example, liberal think-tanks have played a significant role throughout the 1970s and 1980s in helping spread ideas about the value of privatization, as well as different techniques for implementation.¹¹⁷

One can argue that think-tanks are often characterized by public spirit or, at least, the rhetoric of contributing to public debate, nation-building or educating the community.¹¹⁸ According to Johnson, citizens of democratic society all benefit from the contribution think-tanks make to improving public policy for the reason that think-tanks make policymaking less political. By providing policymakers with information backed up by legitimate research, think-tanks allow leaders to make enlightened decisions. Using empirical studies, opinion surveys, cost-benefit analysis and various forecasting techniques, think-tanks develop objective proposals for the improvement of public policy. This is a service not only to policymakers but to society as a whole.¹¹⁹

2.6. The Influence of Think-Tanks

The view that think-tanks exist to influence public policy directly or indirectly is generally accepted. Think-tanks vary enormously in terms of size, staff, and

¹¹⁶ David P. Dolowitz and David Marsh, “Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making”, *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, Vol.13, No.1 (January 2000), p.5.

¹¹⁷ Diane Stone, “Non-Governmental Policy Transfer: The Strategies of Independent Policy Institutes”, *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, Vol.13, No.1 (January 2000), pp.51-53.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.46.

¹¹⁹ Johnson, “How Think Tanks Improve Public Policy”.

institutional resources, but they all rely to a certain extent on both public and private channels to exercise policy influence. Publicly, think-tanks rely on a host of strategies to convey their views to policy-makers and the public. These may include: holding public conferences and seminars to discuss various domestic and foreign policy issues; encouraging resident scholars to give lectures at universities, rotary clubs, etc.; testifying before legislative committees; enhancing their exposure in the print and electronic media; disseminating their research; and creating home pages on the Internet.¹²⁰

According to James there are three main modes of think-tank influence on public policy: atmospheric influence, targeting short – to medium – term agendas and micro-policy research.¹²¹

Atmospheric influence involves influencing the general climate of thinking about policy and as a result changing the framework of reference of policy makers. Occasionally the whole framework is altered. A good example is the views of the New Right think-tanks in Britain to become the dominant political idea of the 1980s. It is also possible for atmospheric influence to operate within a discrete policy sphere such as changing thought on environmental issues in Western countries. There can be a change of thought on a particular issue. For example, the work carried out by the Policy Studies Institute on the nature of British unemployment changed the thought of government and media on unemployment in the 1980s.¹²² Similarly, Denham and Garnett state that one of the main objectives of think-tanks is to influence the “climate of opinion” within which, it is assumed, political actors are bound to operate.¹²³ Appealing to the public in order to shape the ‘climate of opinion’ is a long-term and indirect tactic for affecting policy change. Exactly how they achieve this is hard to measure, but could involve coverage in the media of their ideas and

¹²⁰ Abelson, “Think Tanks in the United States”, pp.119-120.

¹²¹ Simon James, “Influencing Government Policy Making”, in *Banking on Knowledge: The Genesis of the Global Development Network*, ed. Diane Stone, (London and New York: Routledge, 2000) p.163.

¹²² Ibid, pp.163-164.

¹²³ Denham and Garnett, *British Think-Tanks and the Climate of Opinion*, p.16.

politicians reading their work. Although this process may take many years before it comes to fruition, it may be a necessary precondition for a paradigmatic shift in government policy-making, such as that seen in Britain after 1979.¹²⁴ In addition, Stone argues that influence in the broader sense can be interpreted as the power to change the prevailing consensus or to preserve the existing climate of opinion.¹²⁵

James argues that while one of the main objectives of think-tanks is to influence the medium –or short- term agenda of government, the other is to shape detail of policy.¹²⁶

Some authors use concepts of the policy network to explain how think-tanks influence policy making process.¹²⁷ “Policy network” is a generic term for a variety of different conceptual models including “policy communities”,¹²⁸ or “epistemic communities”,¹²⁹ “advocacy coalitions”,¹³⁰ and “discourse coalitions”.¹³¹ A policy

¹²⁴ Boucher and Hobbs, p.15.

¹²⁵ Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.110.

¹²⁶ James, “Influencing Government Policy Making”, pp.164-165.

¹²⁷ For example, advocacy coalition approach was used by Radaelli and Martini to explain the influence of think tanks in Italy. See Radaelli and Martini, “Think Tanks, Advocacy Coalitions and Policy Change: The Italian Case”, in *Think Tanks Across Nations: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Diane Stone, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.59-81. Fischer used discourse coalition approach to explain the influence of think tanks in the US. See Frank Fischer, “Policy Discourse and the Politics of Washington Think Tanks”, in *Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, ed. Frank Fischer and John Forester, (London:UCL Press, 1993), pp.21-42.

¹²⁸ See footnote 114.

¹²⁹ Epistemic community is a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area. Peter M. Haas, “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination”, *Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination*, ed. Peter M. Haas, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press), p.3.

¹³⁰ Advocacy coalitions operate in policy sub-systems with other key actors – policy brokers and decision-makers. An advocacy coalition can include journalists, researchers and policy analysts as well as elected officials and bureaucratic leaders, that is, people “who share a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions – and who show a nontrivial degree of co-ordinated activity over time.” In most policy sub-systems the number of politically significant coalitions is quite small. Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.91.

¹³¹ Discourse coalitions are groups of actors sharing a ‘social construct’ around which groups/networks frame political problems. Discourse ‘ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena’ (including symbols, language and policy narratives) are essential to

network is a mode of governance that includes actors from both inside and outside of government to facilitate decision making and implementation.¹³² Within policy communities, think-tanks (or their scholars) are likely to acquire “insider” status if they share the prevailing values and attitudes of the policy community. All network concepts involve a mix of interest group leaders, politicians, bureaucrats, and business representatives, but also give consideration to the potential role of academic analysts, think-tanks, senior journalists, intellectuals and other actors. Network concepts concentrate on non-formal actors of the decision making process rather than the formal actors of it. The concepts of policy networks can be used to explain how think-tanks seek to influence political agendas and the manner in which networks involve think-tanks as “policy entrepreneurs”. Think-tanks provide intellectual resources to other members of policy networks.¹³³ Strictly speaking, networking does not equate with political influence. Networking aids the effectiveness of think-tanks. However, many of the attributes of networks greatly increase the opportunity for influence. Networking promotes solidarity, loyalty, trust and reciprocity.¹³⁴

Abelson argues that we need a more subtle understanding of what constitutes influence and how it is measured before we can specify how these different types of think-tank work. He suggests that influence should be tracked and measured by direct and indirect indicators at various points in the policy cycle as follows:¹³⁵

- Issue articulation (addressing the public via, intermediaries such as media, elites, governments, channeling policy currents, coalition formation, and aim to get issues onto the public agenda).

the ‘mobilisation of bias’. They shape understanding and can pre-determine the definition of a problem. The technocratic policy expertise of academics, think tanks and other experts interacts with the interests of political and economic elites over the wider struggle to control policy discourses. Discourse coalitions seek to impose their own discourse on the debate in different policy domains. Stone, Maxwell and Keating, p.34.

¹³² Stone and Garnett, p.15.

¹³³ Ibid, pp.15-16.

¹³⁴ Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.134.

¹³⁵ Donald E. Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter? Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2000), quoted in James G. McGann, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the US”, (August 2005), http://www.kas.de/db_files/dokumente/7_dokument_dok_pdf_7042_1.pdf, (21 February 2006), p.17.

- Policy formulation (such as studies, evaluation, briefings, testimony, consultation, networking, iconic projects, demonstration effects).
- Policy implementation (such as contracting, advisorate, media, supply of officials, training, database maintenance).

Similarly, Stone uses a range of indicators of “influence” or “policy relevance”:¹³⁶

1. Politico-Bureaucratic

- impact on legislation; drafting of bills; writing speeches
- appointment of institute staff to official committees
- political patrons and connections
- international organization patronage and co-option of think-tank staff

2. Societal

- media recognition and coverage
- number of commissioned research projects from business
- stakeholder engagement and participatory research
- network membership and affiliations

3. Organisational

- Publication record
- Qualifications and experience of staff
- Policy training capacity
- External funds raised
- Content, navigability and sophistication of web-site

¹³⁶ Stone, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in Countries in Transition”.

However, measuring such influence is even harder than specifying what counts as influence. Some indicators suggesting that a think-tank's influence has been realized or made manifest include:¹³⁷

- Resource indicators: Level, quality and stability of financial support; proximity and access to decision makers and other policy elites; background and skills of staff; quality and reliability of networks and key contacts in the policy and academic communities and the media.
- Demand indicators: Media exposure, web hits, testimony, briefings, official appointments, consultation by officials or departments/agencies, conducive or receptive political environment, books sold, reports distributed, numbers of conferences and seminars.
- Impact indicators: Recommendations considered or adopted by policymakers, perceptions of users, network centrality, advisory role to parties, candidates, transition teams, awards, publication or citation of publications in academic journals, listserv and website dominance, adoption of contradictory positions (that is, opposed to official line), etc.

Abelson argues that it is notoriously difficult to determine the extent to which think-tanks have influenced public opinion and public policy. Furthermore, answering the question “do think-tanks matter?” is even more difficult because of the institutional differences from one country to another and the diversity of think-tanks and strategies used. Abelson mentions two major methodological barriers that prevent us from determining how influential think-tanks may be, the difficulty to measure policy influence and to trace the origin of an idea to a particular individual or organisation. According to Abelson, it may be more appropriate to discuss the

¹³⁷ Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter? Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*, quoted in McGann, “Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the US”, pp.17-18.

relevance of think-tanks in the policy-making process than to speculate about how much policy influence they wield.¹³⁸

There are similar views in the Stone's book. Stone argues that clear and unambiguous criteria of influence are absent.¹³⁹ There are numerous intervening forces that mediate and alter the impact of research that hides any cause and effect relationship that may exist between think-tanks and government decision making. Therefore, influence cannot be measured. Asking the question "How do you measure the influence of think-tanks?" misses the point. It is more important to ask first, "What do they do that is policy relevant, and how?"¹⁴⁰

2.7. The Funding of Think-Tanks

It could be said that one of the major constraints facing think-tanks is funding. Think-tanks finance their activities by raising funds from private foundations, corporations, individuals, government grants and contracts and endowment income.¹⁴¹ Stone argues that a think-tank cannot cover its costs from membership fees, sales of publications or gifts. Philanthropy, corporate support and government contracts are essential to survival.¹⁴²

Many think-tanks, in both Western countries and the developing world, function with a shoestring budget and minuscule staffs who derive most of their income from other employment (most often as university teachers). But if a think-tank is to increase its size and visibility, more money is required to assure its viability.¹⁴³

The reasons for shortage of funding are complex but three reasons are noticeable. Firstly, in many countries, knowledge activities that were funded by the public have

¹³⁸ Abelson, *Do Think Tanks Matter? Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*, quoted in Boucher and Hobbs, p.12.

¹³⁹ Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.112.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p.219.

¹⁴¹ McGann, "Think Tanks and Policy Advice in The US", p.4.

¹⁴² Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process*, p.53.

¹⁴³ Weaver and McGann, p.16.

suffered from fiscal restraint and state retrenchment. This is particularly evident in Eastern and Central Europe. Also, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, think-tanks face the additional problem of having neither tax laws nor philanthropic traditions that encourage support for independent public policy research. Secondly, knowledge development has the character of a public good which decreases investment in its production. Thirdly, information asymmetries mean that consumers are often not able to judge the quality of private knowledge services and may defer from entering the market for such services.¹⁴⁴

Foundations have played a crucial role in the development of think-tanks as the most easily available sources of support outside of government. Most of all American foundations and also some German and Japanese foundations became significant funders of think-tanks in other countries in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, the Carnegie Endowment was one of Chatham House's early major supporters, the Ford Foundation was the institute's largest funder for much of the 1960s, and the Ford Foundation's money not only assisted the development of the IISS, but also sponsored national think-tanks in several Mediterranean European states, in Latin America and East Asia.¹⁴⁵

Many Asian and East European think-tanks need foreign assistance, especially from industrialized countries because of the under-developed and weakly institutionalized philanthropy in these countries.¹⁴⁶ This assistance has come from multiple sources. Much has come from private philanthropists like the Soros,¹⁴⁷ Ford,¹⁴⁸ Atlas,¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Stone, "Think Tank Transnationalisation and Non-Profit Analysis, Advice and Advocacy".

¹⁴⁵ Wallace, "Between Two Worlds: Think-Tanks and Foreign Policy", pp.146-147.

¹⁴⁶ Stone and Ullrich, p.53.

¹⁴⁷ The aims of the Soros Foundations are to shape public policy and to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform. See Soros Foundations, http://www.soros.org/about/overview#soros_foundations, (21 March 2006).

¹⁴⁸ The goals of the Ford Foundation, established in 1936, are to strengthen democratic values, reduce poverty and injustice, promote international cooperation and advance human achievement. See Ford Foundation, <http://www.fordfound.org/about/mission2.cfm>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁴⁹ The Atlas Foundation, founded in 1981, is an international umbrella organization for market-liberal think tanks. The aim of the Atlas Foundation is to achieve a society of free and responsible individuals, based upon private property rights, limited government under the rule of law and the

Tinker,¹⁵⁰ Rockefeller,¹⁵¹ MacArthur,¹⁵² Sasakawa,¹⁵³ Nuffield¹⁵⁴ and the Aga Khan¹⁵⁵ Foundations and the Mont Pelerin Society.¹⁵⁶ Some has come from national development and assistance agencies like the US Agency for International Development and the Canadian International Development Agency. Some has also come from international agencies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Some of this funding takes the form of technical assistance and regional networking opportunities, like the World Bank's Regional Economic

market order. See Atlas Economic Research Foundation, <http://www.atlasusa.org/aboutatlas/index.php?refer=aboutatlas>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵⁰ The aim of the Tinker Foundation, established in 1959, is to promote the interchange and exchange of information within the community of those concerned with the affairs of Spain, Portugal, Ibero-America and Antarctica. See Tinker Foundation, <http://fdncenter.org/grantmaker/tinker>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵¹ The Rockefeller Foundation, established in 1913, is committed to fostering knowledge and innovation to enrich and sustain the lives and livelihoods of poor and excluded people throughout the world. The foundation has given assistance to public health, medical education, increasing food production, scientific advancement, social research, the arts, and other fields all over the world. See Rockefeller Foundation, <http://www.rockfound.org/AboutUs>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵² The MacArthur Foundation, established in 1978, fosters the development of knowledge, nurtures individual creativity, helps strengthen institutions, helps improve public policy, and provides information to the public, primarily through support for public interest media. See MacArthur Foundation, <http://www.macfound.org/site/c.1kLXJ8MQKrH/b.860781/k.D616/Overview.htm>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵³ The aim of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, established in 1986, is to contribute to the welfare of humankind and the sound development of the international community, and thus to world peace, by conducting activities fostering international understanding, exchange, and cooperation, as well as efforts to promote these activities. See Sasakawa Peace Foundation, <http://www.spf.org/e/profile/index.html>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵⁴ The Nuffield Foundation, established in 1943, aims to achieve advance social well being by supporting work which will bring about improvements in society, which is founded on careful reflection and is informed by objective and reliable evidence. See Nuffield Foundation, http://www.nuffieldfoundation.org/go/aboutus/page_139.html, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵⁵ The aim of the Aga Khan Foundation is to develop and promote creative solutions to problems that impede social development, primarily in Asia and East Africa. See Aga Khan Foundation, <http://www.akdn.org/agency/akf.html>, (21 March 2006).

¹⁵⁶ The objective of the Mont Pelerin Society, established in 1947, is to facilitate an exchange of ideas between like-minded scholars in the hope of strengthening the principles and practice of a free society and to study the workings, virtues, and defects of market-oriented economic systems. See Mont Pelerin Society, <http://www.montpelerin.org/aboutmps.html>, (21 March 2006).

Development Forums. Although foreign funding has in the past been both general as well as project-specific, recently the trend has favored the latter.¹⁵⁷

Weaver and McGann argue that foreign funding can raise questions about the credibility of a think-tank's research and policy recommendations. Reliance on foreign funding can serve as an excuse for an authoritarian leader to shut down organizations, as has recently occurred with some East European affiliates of the Open Society Institute. In addition, foreign funding inevitably creates a "weaning" problem. Think-tanks that fail to secure domestic funding sources may find themselves in serious difficulty when foreign funders change their funding priorities or their geographic interest.¹⁵⁸ Ivan Krastev, research director at the Center for Liberal Strategies in Bulgaria, argues that the majority of funding of East European think-tanks comes from western sources and the financial sustainability of these institutes after the withdrawal of outside donors will be highly problematic. Western funding also reflects on the research agenda of the independent institutes. The key words of the donors are easily traced in the conference titles and research projects of the post-communist think-tanks.¹⁵⁹

Most think-tanks strive to have a diversified funding base to preserve their independence. Heavy dependence on a single funding source could infringe on organizational identity. It could influence the outcome of research and it could affect a think-tank's credibility. Diversity of funding sources decreases a think-tank's vulnerability to the disapproval of major funders. Government-funded think-tanks are always open to the charge that they dare not challenge the government line. There is a necessary ambivalence about the relationship between think-tanks and their sponsors. Governments and private sponsors are paying for intelligent criticism; but they are looking for "constructive" criticism, within certain limits.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Weaver and McGann, p.16.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, pp.16-17.

¹⁵⁹ Ivan Krastev, "Post-Communist Think Tanks: Making and Faking Influence", in *Banking on Knowledge: The Genesis of the Global Development Network*, ed. Diane Stone, (Routledge: London, 2000), p.145.

¹⁶⁰ Wallace, "Between Two Worlds: Think-Tanks and Foreign Policy", pp.146-147.

CHAPTER 3

THE EVOLUTION OF THINK-TANKS IN TURKEY

A think-tank is something everybody has a slight idea about but in Turkey nobody actually knows what it is. There is no consensus about the term in response to think-tank in Turkish. Some terms like “düşünce kuruluşu”, “düşünce üretim merkezi”, “düşünce fabrikası”, “düşünce küpü”, “düşünce havuzu”, “akıl deposu”¹⁶¹ and “düşünce tankı”¹⁶² are used or proposed to give an equivalent meaning of “think-tank” in Turkish. Sometimes the word “think-tank” is used in Turkish without its Turkish translation. Some academicians have been opposed to use the word “kuruluş” since it reminds them of the meaning of government agencies.¹⁶³ Despite these oppositions, the terms of “düşünce kuruluşu” and “düşünce üretim merkezi” have been prevalent in general use in Turkish recently.

Although it is generally accepted that the emergence of think-tanks in Turkey is a relatively new issue, the first think-tanks in Turkey emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. The reason for this anachronism is the proliferation and diversification of think-tanks in the country in the early 2000s.

3.1. The Genesis of Think-Tanks in Turkey

The genesis of think-tanks in Turkey and in some OECD countries such as Denmark, Greece, Norway, Spain,¹⁶⁴ Japan¹⁶⁵ and South Korea¹⁶⁶ occurred at the same time.

¹⁶¹ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

¹⁶² See “Türkiye’nin İlk Düşünce Tankı Kuruluyor”, *Milliyet*, 23 February 1993.

¹⁶³ Interview with Çağrı Erhan, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

¹⁶⁴ See Allan J. Day, “Think Tanks in Western Europe”, in *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, eds. James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), pp.103-138.

Together with Israel, Turkey has the oldest think-tanks in the Middle East.¹⁶⁷ However, an organization making policy research in Turkey started to be called “think-tank” only in about the mid-1990s. Before this date, there was no common term used for these organizations.

There are some factors which will be mentioned below affecting the emergence of think-tanks in Turkey in the 1960s:

Firstly, why the earliest think-tanks in Turkey emerged in the 1960s can be explained by Stone and Garnett’s argument of constitutional change.¹⁶⁸ The Adoption of the 1961 Constitution after the 1960 military coup led to the improvements in the field of freedom. Political liberation and constitutional guarantee of freedom such as freedom of thought and opinion and freedom of association encouraged people who had wanted to establish research organizations.

Secondly, the business community needed new channels like think-tanks to convey their ideas to the government as a result of the transition to the mixed economy in Turkey and the establishment of the State Planning Organization. Because of this understanding, the Economic and Social Studies Conference Board (Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti – hereafter it will be referred to as “Conference Board”) and the Economic Research Foundation (İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı – hereafter it will be referred to as “İAV”) were established and sponsored by the business community in the 1960s.

Thirdly, Turkey made a specific choice in its economic and social development with the Ankara Agreement (1963), whose purpose was Turkey’s participation as a full member in the European Economic Community (EEC), and thus it also made its

¹⁶⁵ Tomochika Shimizu, “Japanese Think Tanks: An Overview”, <http://www.nira.go.jp/publ/review/97spring/shimizu.html>, (25 December 2005).

¹⁶⁶ Ueno, “Northeast Asian Think Tanks: Toward Building Capacity for More Democratic Societies”, p.231.

¹⁶⁷ Eric C. Johnson, “Policy Making Beyond the Politics of Conflict: Civil Society Think Tanks in the Middle East and North Africa”, in *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, eds. James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), p.339.

¹⁶⁸ See Stone and Garnett, p.6.

political preference. Turkey found itself faced with a great number of problems needing solution in economic, social, and technical areas with the initiation of the partnership in relations between Turkey and the EEC, as it directed itself towards the goal of integration with Europe. This situation showed the need for expert organizations and personnel of the business community in relations with the EEC. In order to meet this need, the Foundation for Economic Development (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı – hereafter it will be referred to as “İKV”) was established by the business community in the mid-1960s.¹⁶⁹

Fourthly, the liberalization of Turkish politics in the 1960s allowed questioning of Turkish foreign policy on ideological grounds. The Western orientation of the Turkish foreign policy was criticized by the left-wing political parties and organizations in the 1960s and early 1970s. In response, Turkey’s first foreign policy journal, “Foreign Policy” (Dış Politika), and its first dedicated foreign policy think-tank, “the Foreign Policy Institute” (Dış Politika Enstitüsü- hereafter it will be referred to as “DPE”), were established in the early 1970s.¹⁷⁰

Lastly, the Turkish Civil Code (adopted in 1926) provided an uncertain framework for the establishment of new foundations. In the period between 1926 and 1967 only 20 new foundations were established.¹⁷¹ The amendment of provisions of the Turkish Civil Code concerning foundations in 1967 encouraged the establishment of new foundations. A changing legal framework facilitated the establishment of new think-tanks in a foundation status.

¹⁶⁹ See İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *Economic Development Foundation*, (Istanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları, 1988), pp.1-2.

¹⁷⁰ Serhat Güvenç, “Think-Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey”, Paper presented at the Middle Eastern Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., 21 November 2005.

¹⁷¹ Üstün Ergüder, “Philanthropic Support for Policy Research: the Case of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)”, Delivered at the Conference on "Think Tanks as Civil Society Catalysts in the MENA Region: Fulfilling their Potential," jointly organized by the Center for Private Enterprise (CIPE), the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank (EDI), and the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS), Beirut, Lebanon, 6-8 February 1999, http://www.cipe.org/whats_new/events/conferences/mena/beirut/erguder.htm, (13 December 2005).

3.1.1. The Economic and Social Studies Conference Board

The Conference Board was established as an association by the late Nejat Eczacıbaşı, a prominent businessman, in Istanbul in 1961. In spite of the fact that the Conference Board did not conduct strategic research, it can be said that it is the first Turkish think-tank and a pioneering organization. At least, the Conference Board laid the groundwork for the genesis of genuine think-tanks.

Nejat Eczacıbaşı wanted to form a kind of platform which he had seen examples of in the USA while he was a student there.¹⁷² He explains the establishment process of the Conference Board as given below:¹⁷³

“... The 1961 Constitution introduced a new environment to Turkey. ... The 1961 Constitution provided an understanding of broad democracy. This document caused excitement among certain groups. The private entrepreneurs asserted that something had to be done immediately. ... Some of them believed that money could solve everything and they were proposing to struggle by making use of big money. In my opinion, being moderate and nonpartisan was healthy. If the realities had been told clearly to those who had had a good education, healthier results would have been taken. At the end of the meetings, there appeared two groups among the participants. We established the Economic and Social Studies Conference Board with those who had moderate opinions. ... [At the beginning of the 1960s,] the three important parts of society were completely disconnected with each other. The State had not relied on private entrepreneurs; private entrepreneurs had been feared by the State authority; the scientists of our universities had lived beyond society. The Conference Board started to work so as to bring the three important pieces of our society together. ...”

Nejat Eczacıbaşı indicates the principles of the Conference Board during its establishment as displayed below:¹⁷⁴

“... The Conference Board was not going to be a defender of any political and economic view, doctrine and ideology except for the Constitutional principles.

¹⁷² Can Dündar, *Bir Yaşam İksiri: Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2003), p.99.

¹⁷³ Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, *Yeni Bir Türkiye*, (İstanbul: Dr. Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p.236.

¹⁷⁴ Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, *Kuşaktan Kuşağa*, (İstanbul: Dr. Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı Vakfı Yayınları, 1982), pp.149-150.

During its activities, the Conference Board was going to pay attention to cooperate with all groups, sectors, and scientists having different views and practitioners. The Conference Board was totally going to stay free, not going to be a speaker of any groups and not going to be follower of any interest groups. The Conference Board was going to make efforts to find out the social and economic realities of Turkish economy and develop them. ...”

Its principal purpose was modest and limited to “create a forum where economic and social issues of Turkey could be debated openly and freely.”¹⁷⁵ The Conference Board aimed at informing the public and particularly the decision makers in the various sectors through its publications. It undertook research and publications, organized seminars and conferences of an international nature where it provided a platform for the free and objective discussion of topics and issues involved to fulfill its aim. These activities were conveyed to those interested and to the public at large through its various publications in Turkish and in English.¹⁷⁶ After the Cold War, foreign policy issues also became a part of research portfolio of the Conference Board.¹⁷⁷

The Conference Board was funded by the business groups such as Eczacıbaşı, the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and BP, but its main funding was initially provided by foreign donors like the Ford Foundation and the Agency for International Development. Some international organizations such as the British Council, Comite Européen pour le Progrès Economique et Social, the Food and Agriculture organization of the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Labor Office, OECD and the Asia Foundation became the partner of the Conference Board in its activities such as

¹⁷⁵ Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı, *İzlenimler, Umutlar*, (İstanbul: Dr. Nejat F. Eczacıbaşı Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), p.127.

¹⁷⁶ Some of the international conferences and seminars organized by the Conference Board are Capital Formation and Investment in Industry, Social Aspects of Economic Development, Population Seminar, Agricultural Aspects of Economic Development, Planning and Growth under a Mixed Economy, Education as a Factor of Accelerated Economic Development, State Economic Enterprises, Auto-Control in the Press, Foreign Trade and Economic Development, Promotion of Tourism in Turkey, Effects of the Turkish Tax System on Economic Development, etc. See Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti, *Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti Simültane Tercüme Servisi Hizmetinizde*, (İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaacılık, 1970), p.7.

¹⁷⁷ Güvenç, “Think-Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey”.

conferences and seminars.¹⁷⁸ By a decree of the Turkish government dated June 22, 1966 the Conference Board acquired the status of a “public welfare organization”, whereby donations made to it were tax-deductible.¹⁷⁹

Bülent Eczacıbaşı, son of Nejat Eczacıbaşı, argues that the Conference Board began to lose its basic functions at the beginning of the 1990s because the new organizations emerged which tried to perform the functions of the Conference Board. Transforming the Conference Board into a genuine think-tank outweighed other views within the Conference Board. As a result of these developments, the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “TESEV”), which is one of the leading think-tanks in Turkey was founded in 1994 and the Conference Board constituted its basis.¹⁸⁰

3.1.2. The Economic Research Foundation

İAV was established in Istanbul in 1962 by academicians such as Hazım Atıf Kuyucak, its first president, and M. Orhan Dikmen, current president since 1970, along with a group of people from the business community such as Kazım Taşkent, founder of Yapı Kredi Bank, and Behçet Karaosmanağaoğlu, president of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce.¹⁸¹

It was established to promote Turkey’s economic advancement infusing national development with the fullest contribution of free enterprise. İAV aims at conducting objective, scholarly research on national economic problems, developing practical recommendations and organizing conferences, panel discussions, and seminars in order to cultivate a friendly understanding between the business community on the

¹⁷⁸ See Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti, *Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti 1964-1970 Programı*, (İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaacılık, 1970), pp.8-9; and The Economic and Social Studies Conference Board, *Promotion of Tourism in Turkey*, (İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaacılık, 1970), p.14.

¹⁷⁹ See Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti, *Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti Simültane Tercüme Servisi Hizmetinizde*, p.3.

¹⁸⁰ Dündar, p.100.

¹⁸¹ See İAV, <http://www.iktisadiarastirmalar.org/kurucular.asp>, (3 April 2006).

one hand, and the government, the universities, the press and labor, on the other hand.¹⁸²

With İAV having many members from many chambers of commerce, chambers of industry, professional organizations, banks, and industrial and commercial companies, along with some individuals,¹⁸³ İAV defines itself as an independent, scientific organization, not dominated by any person, group of persons or association outside of its own structure.¹⁸⁴

Its revenue consists of all income derived from foundation property, contributions made to realize one or a few of the Foundation's goals, various donations and assistance, and annual membership fees.¹⁸⁵

The foundation published research papers in the first decade of its establishment such as the Establishment of the Capital Market in Turkey, the Development of Tourism in Turkey, Turkey's Export of Industrial Goods, the Aid Consortium to Turkey, the Redistribution of Income and Value-Added Tax.¹⁸⁶ However, the main function of İAV remained as a discussion platform of Turkey's economic issues.¹⁸⁷

In time, İAV has begun to lose its functions. However, its fixed management understanding has stayed unchanged so far.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, it could not transform into a genuine think-tank like the Conference Board.

¹⁸² The Economic Research Foundation, *The Economic Research Foundation*, (İstanbul: İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1964), pp.1-2.

¹⁸³ İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı, *İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı: 1962-2004*, (İstanbul: İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı, 2004), pp.16-29.

¹⁸⁴ Economic Research Foundation, *Economic Research Foundation 1962-1986*, (İstanbul: İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı, 1986), p.3.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p.11.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.9.

¹⁸⁷ İAV has organized 188 seminars and 32 conferences concerning economic problems of Turkey until now. See İAV, http://www.iktisadiarastirmalar.org/sem_list.asp, (13 July 2006).

¹⁸⁸ See Funda Özkan, "İAV'nin 32 Yıllık Başkanı", *Radikal*, 9 April 2002, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=34354>, (24 March 2006).

3.1.3. The Foundation for Economic Development

İKV was established on 26 November 1965 in Istanbul with the joint effort of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry. At the beginning, the name of the Foundation was “The Establishment for Economic Development-İktisadi Kalkınma Tesisi”. The name was changed in accordance with the Law No: 903 which regulates formation of foundations as “The Foundation for Economic Development” in 1967.¹⁸⁹

İKV was shaped by the members of the private sector who believe that Turkey’s economic and social development can be achieved within a system of parliamentary democracy and as part of the Western world. They maintain that Turkey’s relations with the EEC are to the country’s benefit and defend the necessity of intensifying these relations.¹⁹⁰ It can be said that İKV was devised as the private sector’s response to two developments: firstly, the decision to embark on planned economic development after the 1960 Coup and secondly, the establishment of the association relationship between Turkey and the EEC. The latter over the years became the main focus of the workings of İKV.¹⁹¹

İKV is the first expert organization of private sector on EEC matters. It was the unique organization which conducts research on the EEC matters in Turkey until Turkey’s application for full membership in 1987. It aimed at developing basic views and opinions concerning relations between Turkey and the EEC. Its other goals were to enlighten public opinion on the matter of the EEC, to organize courses, seminars and conferences, and publish materials for the purpose of training personnel

¹⁸⁹ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı: 1988 Yılı Çalışma Raporu 1989 Yılı Program ve Bütçesi*, (İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları, 1989), p.11.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 16.

¹⁹¹ Güvenç, “Think-Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey”.

knowledgeable in this field.¹⁹² İKV established a branch office in Brussels in 1984 in order to follow developments in the EEC closer.¹⁹³

Its activities concentrated on research and publication. For example, 80 % of the publications concerning the EEC belonged to İKV up to 1980 in Turkey.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, İKV was included among the organizations whose opinion is to be sought in EEC matters by means of the Council of Ministers Resolution No:8/3967 passed in 15 December 1981.¹⁹⁵ It is worth mentioning that until the adoption of the Copenhagen criteria in 1993 by the EU, İKV made research on mainly technical aspects of the Turkey's relations with the EU. And then, political aspects of these relations such as human rights became a part of the İKV's research agenda.¹⁹⁶

Since the beginning of its activities in 1966, İKV has published approximately 550 works in the form of research.¹⁹⁷ In addition, various periodicals published at a variety of intervals up to the 1990s under the names of the "Foundation for Economic Development Information Bulletin – İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Bilgi Bülteni", "the Foundation for Economic Development News from the European Parliament – İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Avrupa Parlamentosundan Haberler", "Common Market News – Ortak Pazar Haberleri", "the Review of the Foundation for Economic Development – İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Dergisi" and "the Foundation for Economic Development Turkey-EEC News Bulletin – İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Türkiye-AET Haber Bülteni".¹⁹⁸ Since 1994, İKV has fortnightly published "the Bulletin of the Foundation for Economic Development – İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı

¹⁹² İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı: 1988 Yılı Çalışma Raporu 1989 Yılı Program ve Bütçesi*, pp.11-12.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.48

¹⁹⁴ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

¹⁹⁵ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı: 1988 Yılı Çalışma Raporu 1989 Yılı Program ve Bütçesi*, p.15.

¹⁹⁶ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

¹⁹⁷ See İKV, <http://www.ikv.org.tr/ikv.php>, (27 May 2006).

¹⁹⁸ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *Economic Development Foundation*, p.9.

Bülteni”. In 2005, İKV began to publish “the E-Bulletin of the Foundation for Economic Development – İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı E-Bülteni” weekly.¹⁹⁹

İKV posses a library which covers documents on the EEC matters and Turkish-EEC relations as well as general economic matters. The library was originally founded with the assistance of the Commission of the EEC and of the OECD. It is the oldest of the EEC’s official repository libraries in Turkey.²⁰⁰

İKV was supported by the business community and the ministries which are relevant to EEC matters, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Finance. The Ford Foundation provided funding to İKV until 1977. The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği-hereafter it will be referred to as “TOBB”) started to play an important role in the funding and administration of İKV after 1984.²⁰¹ İKV acquired “tax-exempt status” by a decree of the Turkish government, dated December 12, 1986.²⁰²

İKV increased its political visibility in the country at the beginning of the 1990s. However, in the second half of the 1990s, since the new groups having big capital such as the Turkish Industrialists’ and Businessmen’s Association (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği – hereafter it will be called as “TÜSİAD”) started to be interested in the issues concerning the Turkish-EU relations, the İKV’s visibility relatively weakened.²⁰³

3.1.4. The Foreign Policy Institute

Seyfi Taşhan, one of the pioneering characters in the establishment of think-tanks in Turkey, started to publish a quarterly policy-oriented journal “Foreign Policy-Dış Politika” with the purpose of providing objective analyses of international relations

¹⁹⁹ See İKV, <http://www.ikv.org.tr/ikv.php>, (27 May 2006).

²⁰⁰ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *Economic Development Foundation*, p.10.

²⁰¹ İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı: 1988 Yılı Çalışma Raporu 1989 Yılı Program ve Bütçesi*, p.16.

²⁰² See Gelir İdaresi Başkanlığı, “Bakanlar Kurulunca Vergi Muafiyeti Tanınan Vakıfların Listesi”, <http://www.gelirler.gov.tr/gelir2.nsf/vakiflarlistetum?OpenPage>, (27 April 2006).

²⁰³ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

and Turkish foreign policy in Ankara in 1971 and it was the journal recognized by academia and diplomats. Taşhan's initial, but successful experience with the journal led to the emergence of the Foreign Policy Institute (DPE) as an independent corporation in his business office in Ankara in 1974. DPE is the first foreign policy think-tank in Turkey²⁰⁴ and its existence has continued up today under Taşhan's presidency.

Taşhan explains how DPE was established as given below:²⁰⁵

“... in 1971, with Professor Fahir Armaoğlu, Professor Suat Bilge and the then head of the press and broadcasting department, Altemur Kılıç, we decided to bring out the journal of Dış Politika, Foreign Policy. So my career began with that one. But after a couple of years, I saw that a journal issued, published by a couple of people only, would not be heavily enough. It needed more background, like an institute behind it, to be effective and continuous. So I decided that an institute of foreign policy would be needed for this purpose. Since my business interests allowed me, I traveled to Italy, saw the Italian institute, in New York I saw the Council on Foreign Relations, then I tried to see what sort of an organization I could set up. I did set up, more or less by myself, the Foreign Policy Institute. In those days, of course, the official thinking was that foreign policy was a matter of the Foreign Ministry, not seen from outside of foreign policy affairs.”

DPE aims at contributing to foreign policy through research, meetings and publications. Taşhan argues that DPE has two functions: Its first function is to help the formation of Turkish foreign policy by making research and to enlighten the Turkish public opinion about global issues. Its second function is to inform the world about Turkish foreign policy and its applications.²⁰⁶ Although the original audience was the Turkish public, with the Cyprus War of 1974 and subsequent problems with the West, the journal's and institute's work evolved more towards international audiences, the opinion leaders and decision-makers of Turkey's allies.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Karaosmanoğlu and Onulduran, p.2.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Faruk Aydın and Hamit Pehlivanlı, “Dış Politika Enstitüsü Müdürü Seyfi Taşhan ile Bazı Dış Meselelerimiz Üzerine”, *Silahlı Kuvvetler*, Vol.112, No.337 (July 1993), p.13.

²⁰⁷ Güvenç, “Think-Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey”.

DPE has a limited number of permanent staff. However, it benefits from academics from universities and the resources of universities.²⁰⁸ Its study groups are usually composed of academics, retired diplomats, generals, and members of the Foreign Ministry.²⁰⁹ It was hosted by Hacettepe University from 1991 to 2000 and by Bilkent University since then.

The Institute has continued to publish the Journal of Foreign Policy up today. Other than the journal, DPE has published books, reports and monographs related to the issues of Turkish foreign policy such as the Aegean problems with Greece, the Cyprus question, the defense of Turkey, Turkish-American relations, the Armenian question, and the EU. In addition, it has organized national and international conferences, in which it has brought together scholars specializing in international relations and policy practitioners. As a result, it has been a bridge-building experience between two cultures of academia and the policymaking world.²¹⁰

DPE is primarily funded by the Turkish Foundation for International Relations and Strategic Studies which was established by Seyfi Taşhan in 1987 to support activities of the Institute. The other financial sources are government aid, which is not on a regular basis, and revenues from publications and research.²¹¹

3.2. Emergence of New Think-Tanks in the Period of 1980-1990

The number of think-tanks in the world rapidly increased in the 1980s. However, the 1980 military coup restricted freedom in Turkey and the development of think-tanks was interrupted. In spite of this interruption, some think-tanks emerged in this period such as the Political and Social Studies Foundation (Siyasi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “SİSAV”), the Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies (Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “OBİV”), the Turkish Branch Office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the

²⁰⁸ Aydın and Pehlivanlı, p.13.

²⁰⁹ Karaosmanoğlu and Onulduran, p.3.

²¹⁰ Ibid, pp.2-3.

²¹¹ Aydın and Pehlivanlı, p.13.

Marmara Group Strategic and Social Researches Foundation (Marmara Grubu Stratejik ve Sosyal Arařtırmalar Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “MGV”), the Turkish Democracy Foundation (Türk Demokrasi Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “TDV”), The Turkey Branch Office of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Islamic Research Center (İslam Arařtırmaları Merkezi-hereafter it will be called as “İSAM”) and the Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Arařtırmalar Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “TÜSES”).

The emergence of the above-mentioned organizations was closely related to the conditions of the military intervention period. It can be said that the emergence of some think-tanks such as SİSAV, OBİV, and İSAM were supported and they were used as a policy tool by the government. For example, OBİV was founded by the initiative of Vahit Halefoğlu, then Foreign Minister of Turkey.²¹² SİSAV was used by the government in order to defend Turkey’s rights before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) instead of Turkish parliamentarians when their membership in PACE was suspended due to the 1980 military coup. The members of SİSAV conducted lobbying over right-wing members of the PACE in May 1981 so as to hinder the adoption of a resolution against Turkey.²¹³ Moreover, the opening of the branch office of German Stiftungs in Turkey is the result of close relations among Turkish and German political parties. For instance, since the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi), coming into power in 1983, had close relations with the German CPU, KAS could officially open a branch office in Turkey in 1984,²¹⁴ and this in turn was followed by other German Stiftungs. Some think-tanks in Turkey such as TDV and TÜSES were inspired by the German think-tanks during their foundation. It can be said that the founders of TDV were inspired from KAS and supported by the Turkish office of KAS in its activities.²¹⁵ Similarly, FES

²¹² See OBİV, <http://www.obiv.org.tr/tarih.html>, (3 May 2006).

²¹³ Semih Günver, *Kızgın Dam Üzerinde Diplomasi: Avrupalı Olabilmenin Bedeli*, (İstanbul:Milliyet Yayınları, 1989), pp.161-163; and Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

²¹⁴ Interview with Dirk Tröndle, Ankara, 19 July 2006.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

constituted a model for the establishment of TÜSES.²¹⁶ The Marmara Group was established as a civil initiative by some center-right wing politicians. It was restructured as a foundation in 1995.²¹⁷

There is no doubt that the genesis of new think-tanks after the military coup is an important development because it shows that restrictions on freedom of organization started to lessen.

3.2.1. The Political and Social Studies Foundation

SİSAV was established in Istanbul in 1980 by a group of businessmen and academicians under the leadership of Professor Memduh Yaşa.²¹⁸ At the stage of its establishment, it was evaluated that founders of SİSAV could work within the structure of DPE. However, the parties could not agree on the conditions. Then, SİSAV was founded.²¹⁹

The main objectives of SİSAV are to conduct research on the political and social problems of Turkey, to announce the research results to public and related authorities and to contribute decision making process.²²⁰ Its research field also covers foreign policy. SİSAV organizes conferences, seminars, and work meetings with the participation of foreign ambassadors and academicians to reach its aims.²²¹

²¹⁶ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

²¹⁷ See “Arkadaş Grubu Olarak Başladı”, *Akşam*, (5 November 2001), <http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2001/11/05/ekonomi/ekonomi5.html>, (8 May 2006).

²¹⁸ The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, *Non-Governmental Organizations Guide*, (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996), p.162.

²¹⁹ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

²²⁰ The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, p.162.

²²¹ See Ibid. Some topics of its organized conferences and seminars are Turkish language, NATO in the 1980s, the Political and Economic Problems of the Turkish Community of Cyprus in the International Field, Turkish-Japanese relations and Turkish-American relations.

SİSAV acquired “tax-exempt status” by a decree of the Turkish government dated 1983.²²² Occasionally, it was funded from the government budget. However, probably because its activities diminished, its tax-exempt status ended in 2000.²²³

3.2.2. The Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies²²⁴

The Foundation was established in Istanbul in 1984 by the initiative of the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vahit Halefoğlu. Until 1991, the name of the foundation was the Foundation for Turkish-Arab Relations Studies (Türk-Arap İlişkileri İnceleme Vakfı). After this, including the Balkans to its research agenda, the name of the foundation became the Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies.

OBİV aims at studying and fostering socio-political relations of Turkey with countries in the Middle East, Balkans and Eurasia regions and spreading out and exchanging views with similar institutions and individuals within its scope. Its current topics are Iraq, the Cyprus issue, relations with countries of the Middle East, Turkey’s EU candidacy, relations with Balkan countries, international terrorism, and relations with Central Asian Republics. With over 30 publications, it has organized national and international meetings, in which it has brought together scholars and policy practitioners from the Balkans, Middle East and Turkey in order to reach its aims.

Güner Öztekin, a retired ambassador, is the current chairman of OBİV, of which membership consists of retired ambassadors and academicians. Like DPE, OBİV’s activities and its publications have been targeted more towards international audiences, the opinion leaders and decision-makers in the Balkans and Middle East Regions.

²²² “Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı No: 83/6151”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:18006, 2 April 1983.

²²³ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

²²⁴ Although OBİV argues that the questions in the questionnaire are not interested in OBİV and are out of its study area, OBİV describes itself as a think tank on its web site. See the reply to the questioner by OBİV, (17 July 2006); and OBİV, <http://www.obiv.org.tr/>, (17 July 2006). It was included the scope of this study because its activities are similar to that of the other think-tanks.

OBİV, funded by donations (mostly made at the time of establishment) and sales of publications,²²⁵ acquired “tax-exempt status” by a decree of the Turkish government dated March 18, 1986.²²⁶

3.2.3. The Turkish Branch Office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

KAS was established in West Germany in 1956 as a political party-affiliated think-tank. It has a close relationship with the Christian Democratic Union. KAS offers civic education, conducts political research, grants scholarships, and researches the history of Christian Democracy. It supports and encourages European unification and international understanding, and funds international development projects. Its annual budget amounts to around 100 million euros²²⁷. Its financial structure is totally dependent on federal funding with ninety-five percent of the foundation’s budget financed through various titles of the federal budget and international cooperation financed through the foreign affairs budget and the budget of the Ministry of Economic Cooperation.²²⁸

KAS has branch offices in approximately 60 countries one of which is in Turkey, which was established as an association in Ankara in 1984, in addition to a representative office in Istanbul.²²⁹

Its branch office in Turkey aims at supporting democratization and the reform process of adapting Turkey into European structures and institutions, removing the lack of information about the EU, strengthening German-Turkish relations, strengthening local governments, supporting the decentralization process in

²²⁵ OBİV, <http://www.obiv.org.tr/index.html>, (3 May 2006).

²²⁶ See Gelir İdaresi Başkanlığı.

²²⁷ See KAS, http://www.kas.de/1641_webseite.html, (20 May 2006).

²²⁸ Peter R. Weilemann, “Experiences of a Multidimensional Think Tank: The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung”, in *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, eds. James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), pp.176-177.

²²⁹ The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, p.135.

administration, deepening dialogue on economic policies, supporting the notion of social market economy and supporting dialogue with Islam.²³⁰

It conducts research or sponsors research projects of think-tanks in Turkey, organizes seminars and conferences together with NGOs, publishes seminar and conference reports, and cooperates with various NGOs to realize its projects. One of its important partners in Turkey has been the Turkish Democracy Foundation since its establishment in 1986.²³¹ The Turkish branch of KAS is funded by its center in Germany.

3.2.4. The Marmara Group Strategic and Social Research Foundation

The foundation was founded in Istanbul in 1985. Its president is Akkan Suver. The main goal of the foundation is to support sustainable development by reports and publications of the study groups composed of academicians on the issues such as democracy, economy and security. MGCV also aims at offering alternative solutions in its study areas to government bodies and the private sector.²³²

MGCV has the study groups work on regional issues such as Eurasia, the Middle East, Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean and the European Union, and global issues such as economy, administration, security and defense. Its main activities focus on organizing seminars, symposiums and conferences,²³³ and conducting research

²³⁰ KAS, http://www.kas.de/proj/home/home/44/12/about_us-1/index.html, (20 May 2006).

²³¹ See Frank Spengler and Dirk Tröndle, “Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Yıllık Rapor: Türkiye 2005”, <http://www.konrad.org.tr/FaalRapkomp.pdf>, (21 June 2006), p.1. See also the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, p.135.

²³² See MGCV, <http://www.marmaragrubu.org/?pageno=3>, (18 July 2006).

²³³ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/e84afb4b532b34ddc2256e61004ed2ed?OpenDocument&Highlight=0,ara%C5%9Ft%C4%B1rmalar,vakf%C4%B1%20>, (19 April 2006).

projects. Its meetings are sponsored by the business community²³⁴ and approximately 50 % of its funds come from the research projects.²³⁵

3.2.5. The Turkish Democracy Foundation

The TDV was established in Ankara in 1987 by a group of people composed of politicians, businessmen, academicians and journalists such as Altemur Kılıç, Güneş Taner, Nurettin Koçak, Ahmet Ateş Aykut, Necat Eldem, Şarık Tara, Seçkin Fırat, Süha Tanık, İmren Aykut, Eyüp Aşık, Cavit Kavak, Ergun Özbudun, Mesut Yılmaz, Rüştü Kazım Yücelen, Ali Suat Bilge and İlhan Aküzüm,²³⁶ under the leadership of Bülent Akarcalı, one of the prominent politicians of the Motherland Party. It has a branch office in Istanbul and a representative office in İzmir. Akarcalı's presidency continued until 2002. Today, Zekerya Akçam, İzmir deputy of the Justice and Development Party, is the president of TDV.²³⁷ As mentioned above, KAS supported the establishment process of TDV.²³⁸

TDV aims at conducting and supporting research on Turkish democracy concerning its past, present and future; planning democracy education and organizing symposia, panel discussions, forums, conferences in its framework; making efforts to develop and preserve the system of democratic values in Turkey; and preparing projects regarding human development and education of citizens in order to spread the principles of democratic values, human rights and a liberal economy.

The objectives of its activities are to promote and develop a liberal economy; to develop democratic values and institutions; and to contribute to the efforts making

²³⁴ See MGTV, <http://www.marmaragrubu.org/?pageno=8>, (18 July 2006).

²³⁵ See STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkreherberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/e84afb4b532b34ddc2256e61004ed2ed?OpenDocument&Highlight=0,ara%C5%9Ft%C4%B1rmalar,vakf%C4%B1%20>, (19 April 2006).

²³⁶ See “Bakan Başbakan’ın Mesleğini Bilmiyor”, *Hürriyet*, 18 February 1998.

²³⁷ See TDV, http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/tdv_a.asp, (6 June 2006).

²³⁸ The report prepared by the inspectors of Ministry of Interior asserts that KAS gave 350.000 DM to TDV during its establishment process. See “İşte ANAP’ı Kapatacak Rapor”, *Dünden Bugüne Tercüman*, 11 March 2003.

democratic thoughts and ideals in Turkey and abroad a common ideal and a way of life for all humanity.

Its research agenda contains items such as democracy, human rights, rule of law, citizenship, pluralist democratic systems, electoral systems, a representative system, a presidential system, ethnic questions, freedom of organization and expression, Law of Political Parties, local governments, small and medium size enterprises, political and social reforms, constitutional amendments, political ethic and international relations.²³⁹ It can be said that TDV is an activist organization as well as a think-tank.

TDV has published many research papers in various subjects such as youth in Turkey and Europe, freedom of thought and expression, Syria and international terrorism, urbanization and political structure in Turkey, privatization in Turkey, development and consolidation of democracy in Turkey, democracy and Islam, and Turkish foreign policy towards the Middle East and Kurdish question.

In addition to the organization of seminars on democracy training together with KAS and its conferences and meetings, it has conducted projects together with national and international partners such as the organization of EU seminars with the participation of the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). Some of its project topics are reproductive health, info-right, freedom of association in the democratization process, the TGNA-democracy committee and youth assembly.²⁴⁰

Examples of its many national and international partners are the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the Russian Turkish Research Center, the Embassy of the Russian Federation and the Embassy of Denmark.²⁴¹ As said before, its principal partner has been KAS

²³⁹ TDV, http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/tdv_a.asp, (6 June 2006).

²⁴⁰ See TDV, <http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr>, (6 June 2006).

²⁴¹ TDV, <http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/ortaklar.asp>, (6 June 2006).

Ankara Office since its establishment. Its main funding comes from the conducting of projects sponsored by its partners.

3.2.6. The Istanbul Branch of Orient Institute

The Orient Institute was established by the German Oriental Society (DMG) in Beirut (Lebanon) in 1961. The Institute is funded by the federal government budget, especially by the budget of Ministry of Education and Research. Additional funds have been provided by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Volkswagen Foundation and other institutions supporting scientific research.

The objectives of the Institute are to carry out research and documentation work; to offer a forum for dialogue, co-operation and academic exchange between scholars and scholarly institutions; to promote research projects and conferences on the Middle East; to publish critical editions of classical texts as well as several series of academic studies; to supply guest researchers with working facilities; to provide scholars with scientific material from archives and special libraries; and to maintain a specialized research library for Oriental Studies.

After the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War, research at the institute was threatened and during the last phase of the civil war, the Institute moved to Istanbul until August 1994, when the Institute again resumed its full range of activities in Beirut. Since that time the Istanbul branch has operated as a center for Turkish and Ottoman studies with Professor Claus Schönig as the head of the Istanbul branch.²⁴²

The Istanbul branch of the Orient Institute promotes research on historical and contemporary topics in the fields of Turkish and Ottoman Studies, Iranian Studies, Islamic Studies, the Study of the Christian Near East, as well as research in the social sciences.

The tasks of the Istanbul branch include the promotion of international academic cooperation and exchange; carrying out research projects within the institute's scientific specialization; the organization of academic conferences and workshops;

²⁴² Orient Institute, http://www.oidmg.org/Beirut/welcome_en.html, (13 May 2006).

the publication of academic serials and monographs; assistance with academic inquiries; the consultation of foreign researchers in Turkey; and the running of an academic library focusing on the institute's research interests.²⁴³

The Orient Institute is part of the “Stiftung Deutsche Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland – the Foundation of German Humanities Institutes Abroad” which was established in 2002.²⁴⁴

3.2.7. The Turkish Branch Office of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

FES, established in Germany in 1925, aims at contributing to develop and consolidate democratic thought and basic democratic values.²⁴⁵ The research institute of FES was established in 1959 and its main fields of work have been social and contemporary history, foreign affairs, developing countries and economic policies.²⁴⁶ It has a close relationship with the Social Democratic Party with more than 95 percent of its funding coming out of the federal budget.²⁴⁷

With a representative office in Ankara, FES has branch offices in over 80 countries one of which was established as an association in Istanbul in 1988.²⁴⁸

Its branch in Turkey aims at creating sensitivity in German and Turkish public opinion about the issues in German-Turkish relations as well as problems of the Turkish citizens in Germany; creating a continuous dialogue process in order to strengthen mutual understanding and outgrowing prejudices among high-level politicians, specialists and journalist from Turkey and Germany as well as other European countries; and offering solutions about economic, social and political problems of Turkey by conducting various researches.

²⁴³ Orient Institute, http://www.oidmg.org/istanbul/welcome_en.html, (13 May 2006).

²⁴⁴ Orient Institute, http://www.oidmg.org/Beirut/welcome_en.html, (13 May 2006).

²⁴⁵ See FES, <http://www.festr.org/tr>, (17 May 2006).

²⁴⁶ Gellner, p.94.

²⁴⁷ Weilemann, p.175.

²⁴⁸ See FES, <http://www.festr.org/tr/d-fes.asp>, (17 May 2006).

Its activities in Turkey are composed of sponsoring scientific research projects of its partners concerning the social, economic and political problem of Turkey and publishing their outcomes; organizing meetings such as the meetings of German-Turkish Parliamentarians, international seminars and conferences about Turkey's relations with her Western allies, the Ankara forum for social democracy and the economy forum.²⁴⁹ Some of its publications are Trade Unions in Turkey, Informal Economy and Social Security, Turkish-Israeli Relations, Total Quality Management in Higher Education, the Privatization Trend in Higher Education, Harmonization of Turkish Economy Legislation to the EU, and Ethic Grounds of Restructuring Public Administration.²⁵⁰

Some of its partners from the Turkish think-tanks are the Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (TÜSES) and the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV).²⁵¹

3.2.8. The Islamic Research Center

The Islamic Research Center, the president of which is Professor M. Akif Aydın, was established in Istanbul in 1988.²⁵²

It aims at presenting and explaining the Turkish-Islamic history, culture and civilization accurately and scientifically. In order to reach its aims, İSAM conducts scientific research and publishes it, prepares and publishes the Encyclopedia of Islam (İslam Ansiklopedisi), and organizes meetings nationally and internationally.²⁵³

İSAM, funded by the Religious Foundation of Turkey (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı), has biannually published the Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies (İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi) since 1997 and has published the quarterly "İSAM Bulletin" (İSAM

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ See FES, <http://www.festr.org/tr/d-pub.asp>, (17 May 2006).

²⁵¹ See FES, <http://www.festr.org/tr/d-tp.asp>, (17 May 2006).

²⁵² İSAM, <http://www.isam.org.tr/kurumsal/tarihce>, (29 May 2006).

²⁵³ İSAM, <http://www.isam.org.tr/kurumsal/misyon>, (29 May 2006).

Bülteni).²⁵⁴ Some examples of its meeting topics are Islam and modernization, Muslim minorities, the Cyprus issue, existentialism and Sufism, modern psychology and religion, Islam and human rights, Islam and democracy, and westernization in Turkey and the national state.²⁵⁵

3.2.9. The Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation

The foundation was established in Istanbul in 1989 and is the brainchild of Erdal İnönü, then the leader of the Social Democratic Populist Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti-SHP). It could be supposed that TÜSES was inspired from FES in its establishment process.²⁵⁶ Still, FES is one of the main partners of TÜSES, the current president of which is Professor Burhan Şenatalar.

According to Professor Haluk Ülman who was in charge of the foreign policy subject, the main aim was to develop thoughts for a leftist party in all fields. Although it was not rejected closeness to the SHP in its establishment stage, its former and current managers have insisted on being no organic link between TÜSES and SHP.²⁵⁷

TÜSES conducts research on social, political and economic issues and publishes them along with organizing conferences, seminars and panel discussions. It continuously cooperates with FES in its activities and also conducts research projects with different national and international institutions.²⁵⁸

The rise and fall of TÜSES followed the rise and fall of leftist parties in domestic politics. At the beginning of the 1990s, the visibility of TÜSES in media increased because of the popularity of SHP in domestic politics. However, the merge of SHP with the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi-CHP) and the failure of

²⁵⁴ İSAM, http://www.isam.org.tr/yayinlar/sureli_yayinlar, (29 May 2006).

²⁵⁵ İSAM, http://www.isam.org.tr/etkinlikler/etkinlik_arsivi.php, (29 May 2006).

²⁵⁶ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, p.175.

CHP in the 1995 election weakened TÜSES.²⁵⁹ Since then, the party authorities have not demanded the products of TÜSES as they did before.²⁶⁰ Therefore, its activities lost acceleration after the mid-1990s.

3.3. New Political Climate and Think-Tanks in the Period of 1991-1999

The bipolar world system changed at the end of the Cold War. The democratization process in Central and Eastern Europe and the collapse of the USSR created another wave of new think-tanks in these regions.²⁶¹ Proliferation of think-tanks also continued in the other parts of the world²⁶² and in turn, the number of think-tanks increased in Turkey during this period. The following arguments can be used to explain the grounds of this increase:

Firstly, the emergence of newly independent states and unstable areas around Turkey created new opportunities and challenges in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Balkans for Turkish foreign policy. Security perceptions of Turkey also changed after the Cold War. In addition to these, the elite consensus on the fundamentals of Turkish foreign policy ended during the first Gulf War. The late president, Turgut Özal's challenge to the consensus on foreign policy led to the breakdown of consensus and then, it was not possible to reach a new consensus.²⁶³ Therefore, since then, there have been a lot of discussions on the foreign and security policy choices. In this period, straightening relations between Turkey and the EU and the formation of the custom union between them create an appropriate environment to study on Turkish-EU relations.

²⁵⁹ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

²⁶⁰ Taner Berksoy, former president of TÜSES, argues that social democratic parties don't benefit from the think tanks like TÜSES. See "Politikaya 'Siviller' El Koydu", *Radikal*, 17 June 1998.

²⁶¹ See Krastev, "Post-Communist Think Tanks: Making and Faking Influence", pp.142-161; and Raymond J. Struyk, "Think Tanks in the Former Soviet Union, in *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action*, eds. James G. McGann and R. Kent Weaver, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2000), pp.293-317.

²⁶² See Stone and Garnett, p.6.

²⁶³ Güvenç, "Think-Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey".

In this atmosphere, new think-tanks dealing with these issues emerged in Turkey such as KÖK the Social and Strategic Research Foundation (KÖK Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “KÖKSAV”), the Yükseliş Economic and Strategic Research Foundation (Yükseliş İktisadi ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı- hereafter it will be referred to as “YİSAV”), the National Policy Research Foundation (Ulusal Politika Araştırmaları Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “UPAV”), and the Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi- hereafter it will be referred to as “ASAM”).

Secondly, so as to create alternative policies, government bodies also founded think-tanks in Turkey for the first time such as the Centre for Strategic Research (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi – hereafter it will be referred to as “SAM”), established by and within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, the National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies (Stratejik Araştırma ve Etütler Milli Komitesi – hereafter it will be referred to as “SAEMK”) was established by and within the Higher Education Council.

Thirdly, in this era, foreign think-tanks were increasingly interested in Turkey, resulting in the German think-tanks such as Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS) and Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS) opening branch offices in Turkey, along with the Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) forming a small office in Ankara.²⁶⁴

Fourthly, prevailing liberal thoughts all over the world also affected Turkey. Turkish intellectuals founded the Association for Liberal Thinking (Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu-hereafter it will be referred to as “LDT”) in order to consolidate and defend liberal values and the free market economy in Turkey.

Lastly, the business community founded new think-tanks such as the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etütler Vakfı – hereafter it will be referred to as “TESEV”) dealing with social, economic and foreign policy issues.

²⁶⁴ See NDI, http://www.ndi.org/worldwide/eurasia/turkey/turkey_pf.asp, (8 June 2006).

It should be mentioned that the increasing number of think-tanks in this period also shows us restrictions on freedom weakened and civil society strengthened.

3.3.1. KÖK Social and Strategic Research Foundation

With a representative office in Georgia, established in 2006, KÖKSAV, whose president is Professor M. Cihat Özönder, was established in Ankara in 1991 by a group from the business community and universities.

KÖKSAV aims at scientifically researching the Turkish language, history, thought, way of life and culture; political, social, economic and cultural life of Turkish societies; their evolution, their contributions to global civilization and their relations with other nations and communities.²⁶⁵

The foundation organizes meetings, and publishes research papers, books and a periodical. KÖK Research: the Journal of KÖK Social and Strategic Research (KÖK Araştırmalar: KÖK Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi) has been published biannually by KÖKSAV since 1999.²⁶⁶

The financial resources of the foundation are limited to donations, the sale of publications and research projects.²⁶⁷

3.3.2. The Turkish Branch Office of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung

The Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (Friedrich Nauman Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “FNS”) was established in Germany in 1958 and is linked to the Free Democratic Party.²⁶⁸ Like KAS and FES, FNS is funded from the federal budget with an annual budget of around 40 million euros²⁶⁹ and is the only foundation in

²⁶⁵ KÖKSAV, <http://www.koksav.org.tr/amac-t.htm>, (17 June 2006).

²⁶⁶ KÖKSAV, http://www.koksav.org.tr/Yayinlar/ka_index.htm, (17 June 2006).

²⁶⁷ Interview with M. Cihat Özönder, Ankara, 10 July 2006.

²⁶⁸ Day, p.117.

²⁶⁹ See FNS, “Annual Report 2004”, http://admin.fnst.org/uploads/487/FNST_Bericht_komplett.pdf, (17 June 2006), p.83.

Germany to have a clear networking relationship with liberal think-tanks all over the world, particularly with those in the USA.²⁷⁰

Aiming at promoting liberal policy and politics, FNS wants to contribute to the furtherance of the principle of freedom in human dignity in all sectors of society in the united Germany as well as together with partners abroad.²⁷¹

The topics in its agenda are globalization and development; education as the basis of a free society; active citizenry and local politics; and human rights, the rule of law and constitutional reform.²⁷²

With a representative office in Ankara and many branch offices in other countries, the FNS branch office in Istanbul, established in 1991, aims at spreading liberal values and contributing to Turkey's integration with the EU.²⁷³

It sponsors research projects of think-tanks in Turkey, organizes seminars and conferences together with NGOs and cooperates with NGOs to realize projects. Its Turkish think-tank partners are LDT and the Istanbul Policy Center at the Sabancı University.²⁷⁴

3.3.3. The Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation

The foundation (Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as "TESAV") was established by a group consisting of politicians, academicians and businessmen in Ankara in 1993 with Erol Tuncer, former minister and parliamentarian, as its president since its establishment.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ Gellner, p.94.

²⁷¹ See FNS, http://www.fnst.org/webcom/show_article.php/_c-715/_lkm-1023/i.html, (17 June 2006).

²⁷² FNS, http://www.fnst.org/webcom/show_article.php/_c-718/_lkm-1032/i.html, (17 June 2006).

²⁷³ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/5cbe4634127835dec2256e7e004c61b4?OpenDocument>, (17 June 2006).

²⁷⁴ See FNS, http://www.fnst.org/webcom/show_article.php/_c-932/_lkm-2266/i.html, (17 June 2006).

²⁷⁵ Interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 15 August 2006.

TESAV aims at conducting research on social, political and economic problems and trying to find solutions, and offering solutions concerning problems to the use of our society. Tuncer argues that TESAV is an expert organization on the electorate systems and the elections in Turkey.²⁷⁶

With a limited staff and budget, it has organized meetings and has published books and reports concerning its working field such as electorate systems, the Cyprus issue, informal economy, elections in Turkey and restructuring in public administration.²⁷⁷

3.3.4. The Turkish Branch Office of Heinrich Böll Stiftung

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung (Heinrich Böll Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “HBS”) was founded in 1997 by uniting the three foundations Buntstift (Göttingen), Frauen-Anstiftung (Hamburg), and Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Cologne) and is linked to the Green Party.²⁷⁸ Like KAS, FES and FNS, HBS is funded from the federal budget with an annual budget of around 35 million euros.²⁷⁹

With the primary objective of supporting political education both within Germany and abroad, thus promoting democratic involvement, socio-political activism, and cross-cultural understanding, HBS also provides support for art and culture, science and research, and developmental co-operation. Its activities are guided by the fundamental political values of ecology, democracy, solidarity, and non-violence. HBS promotes international understanding by funding seminars and studies abroad and it supports co-operation on a partnership basis in developing countries.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ See TESAV, <http://www.tesav.org.tr>, (25 May 2006).

²⁷⁸ See HBS, http://www.boell.de/asp/frameset_en.html, (16 June 2006).

²⁷⁹ See HBS, “Annual Report 2004”, http://www.boell.de/downloads/annrep2004_en.pdf, (16 June 2006), p.32.

²⁸⁰ See HBS, http://www.boell.de/asp/frameset_en.html, (16 June 2006).

With over 20 offices in other countries, HBS currently supports about 130 projects in 60 countries.²⁸¹ One of its branch offices was established as an association in Istanbul in 1994.

Cooperating with NGOs to realize projects in Turkey, this branch office in Turkey aims at supporting and encouraging initiatives and works on democratization, protection of human and minority rights, sustainable development taking into consideration environment, and development of equality between women and men.²⁸²

3.3.5. The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

One of the leading think-tanks in Turkey, with roots dating back to the Conference Board, TESEV was established in Istanbul in 1994. In fact, the search and efforts to establish a think-tank started on two fronts in the early 1990s. The first group consisted of academicians mainly but not exclusively based in Boğaziçi University, former bureaucrats then serving in the private sector, and some businessmen and industrialists, young private enterprise bureaucrats or managers. Institutionally the Boğaziçi University Foundation and the Ankara University Faculty of Political Science Foundation were closely involved. The idea was to come up with an organization that would produce independent, impartial, and serious policy oriented research. The second group worked independently under the leadership of the late Nejat Eczacıbaşı who thought that the Economic and Social Studies Conference Board founded by him in 1961 would provide the necessary springboard for a new think-tank. His position was that a restructuring and reorganization of the Board as a Foundation was all that was necessary. For over thirty years, the Conference Board had promoted free and informed discussion of the important national and international issues of the day. However, recognizing the great and largely unmet need for strategic research, Eczacıbaşı and his colleagues set out to transform the

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² HBS, http://www.boell-tr.org/tr/default_tr.aspx?pgid=2&mid=0&lng=tr&subm=3, (16 June 2006).

Conference Board into a policy research institute. Plans for this transformation were well under way when Nejat Eczacıbaşı died unexpectedly on October 6, 1993.²⁸³

The two groups found it easy to work together since there was a lot of agreement on basic issues, the most important of which was a strong determination to shy away from any governmental support. Furthermore, both groups agreed on the multiplicity of the sources of funding. They unanimously thought that this “multiplicity of funding” would be a guarantee of autonomy and impartiality while also helping to dispel the image of being closely associated with TÜSİAD.

There was probably only one important difference of opinion between the two groups, which eventually was resolved. The first group, true to the Turkish foundation tradition, thought that the steering group should be made up of those who were willing to donate property or resources to the effort. In other words, their approach was more elitist. The approach of the Conference Board group was largely influenced first by the membership of the Conference Board, which was an “association”, based on the concept of group individuals acting together without any regard for financial ability to contribute. They surely wanted to be a part of the new venture. Secondly, Both Bülent Eczacıbaşı and members of this group sincerely believed that the new organization should have a wider base of support. The Conference Board group prevailed.

TESEV was founded on October 6, 1994 by over 200 prominent academicians, bureaucrats, businessmen, executives, industrialists, journalists, labor union leaders, and professionals.²⁸⁴

TESEV asserts that it is an independent think-tank which forms a bridge between academic research and the policy-making process.²⁸⁵ Its former director, Özdem Sanberk, retired ambassador, argues that it is formulated in accordance with the

²⁸³ Ergüder, “Philanthropic Support for Policy Research: the Case of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)”. See also TESEV, http://www.tesev.org.tr/tese_v_tarihce.php, (10 February 2006).

²⁸⁴ Ergüder.

²⁸⁵ See TESEV, http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/tese_v.php, (10 February 2006).

classical think-tank model which we see in other modern, democratic societies. According to this model, independent institutions produce policy alternatives based on information and findings which are as objective as possible, and form a bridge between objective scientific findings and policy-making.²⁸⁶

The mission of TESEV is to contribute to further democratization and better governance of Turkey, as well as help foster good relations with all countries and international actors with a view to emphasize Turkey's role in the advancement of democratic norms and principles globally.²⁸⁷

Its main objective is to promote data collection, research, analysis and policy formulation on a wide range of issues and problems that the society at large is faced with. The other objectives of TESEV are to enhance and encourage social and political transformation in Turkey; to support Turkey's accession to the EU and implementation of the Copenhagen Criteria; to study and analyze the rapid social and cultural changes taking place in Turkey, as well as the government's responses to these challenges; to study the effects of globalization; to encourage independent and alternative thinking; to help Turkish society become an integral part of democratic political life, and ensure that civil society plays an active role in the transformation process; to encourage the development of transparency and openness in Turkey; and to inform the public on issues of democracy.²⁸⁸

The research agenda of TESEV focuses on the most important policy questions facing Turkey and the region in the new century. Program areas are grouped under three headings: Governance and Transparency, Democratization of Turkey, and Foreign Policy and International Relations.

Its recent studies have addressed issues such as the fight against corruption, transparency and accountability, state reform, and the role of Islamic organizations in

²⁸⁶ Özdem Sanberk, "Letter from the Director", *TESEV Electronic Newsletter*, November 2001, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/kasim01/Edirector.html>, (10 February 2006).

²⁸⁷ TESEV, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/mission.php>, (10 February 2006).

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

Turkish economic life. Current research projects include a wide-ranging analysis of Turkish-EU relations, focusing on the substantive issues which will be involved in accession negotiations as well as efforts to contribute to the democratization process in the Middle East. The democratization program concentrates on primary areas such as perceptions and mentality structures in Turkey, civil-military, state-religion, and state-individual relations. Primary areas under the Good Governance program are transparency of public expenditure and public debt, public administration reporting, fiscal risks, and combating corruption.²⁸⁹

TESEV publishes a wide range of books, monographs, seminar proceedings and reports. It aims to make research findings available to the widest possible audience and combines academic publications with policy studies aimed at a more general readership of opinion formers in Turkey and abroad.²⁹⁰

TESEV organizes regular seminars and conferences, bringing together academic specialists and policy makers from Turkey and abroad. It attempts to open important policy debates to a wider audience by holding regular meetings in Istanbul and other cities in Turkey.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ TESEV, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/tesev.php>, (10 February 2006).

²⁹⁰ Ibid. Some examples of its publications: Economic Dimensions of Turkish Defense Expenditures, 1980-2001; Islam in Economic Organizations; Political Party Reform; The Effectiveness of Parliament; The Changing Nature of State and Civil Society : The Economic Policy Dimension; Discussions and Suggestions on the Future of Heybeliada School for Clerics; The Future of Turkish-Israeli Relations on the verge of a New Middle East and EU Membership; The Annan Plan for Cyprus: The Citizen's Handbook; Justice and Home Affairs Relations in Turkish- EU Relations; Political and Economic Cooperation and Integration in the Middle East: An Analysis of Turkey's Medium to Long - Term Regional Policy; Household Views on Corruption in Turkey; Regional Development and Rural Poverty; Transparency in Public Finances; Public Personnel Management Reform; Auditing in the State; Regulatory Functions of the State: Privatisation and Competition in the Turkish Electricity and Telecommunications Sectors. See TESEV, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/publication/democratization.php>, (17 June 2006).

²⁹¹ Some examples of conferences, seminars, symposiums and discussion meetings organized by the TESEV: Advancing Democracy: Justice, Pluralism, and Participation; Discussions and Suggestions on the Future of Heybeliada School for Clerics; Istanbul Symposium II: Gender Equality and Political Participation in the Middle East and North Africa; The Atlantic Alliance at a New Crossroads; Cyprus: Solution and Membership; Corruption in Turkey; New Economy and Technological Change; Modern Social Democracy; Turkey and the European Security Sector Governance Experience; Muslim Women in Western Societies and the Headscarf Debate; Democracy and Civil Society in the Middle East. See TESEV, http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/events/conf_seminars.php, (17 June 2006).

TESEV receives no contributions or support from the Turkish government, and all its activities are non-governmental. Its funding mainly comes from donations and especially research projects funded by its partners. Think-Tanks and both governmental and non-governmental organizations abroad have chosen TESEV as an important address in Turkey for funding projects.²⁹²

3.3.6. The ARI Movement

A group from the business community established the ARI Group within the Motherland Party in 1994.²⁹³ The group aimed at conducting research on the foreign policy, social, economic and political issues, and proposing solutions concerning issues. However, their relations with the party deteriorated in the course of time. At the beginning of 1999, the ARI Group broke off relations with the Motherland Party and changed its name to “the ARI Movement”. The ARI Movement, the then president of which was Kemal Köprülü, established an association and a foundation.²⁹⁴ The ARI Movement has a center in Istanbul and domestic representatives from cities and international representatives.²⁹⁵ The president of the ARI Movement has been Haluk Önen since 2004.

The ARI Movement has also changed its objectives since its independence. It has identified its mission as to bring structural and mental change during the transformation from representative to participatory democracy by producing new ideas, contribute to the implementation of new structural mechanisms and to encourage the youth to become social leaders of the future. The ARI Movement works to promote the “New Social Understanding”, which envisages that politics

²⁹² Ergüder, “Philanthropic Support for Policy Research: the Case of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)”.

²⁹³ The ARI Movement does not accept that the Ari Group had an organic link with the Motherland Party. See ARI Movement, <http://www.ari.org.tr/gecis.asp>, (3 June 2006).

²⁹⁴ See Candan Yalçın, “Siyasetçiyi Rahat Uyumayalım”, *Milliyet*, 6 November 1998; “Ari Grubu Dernekleşti”, *Hürriyet*, 1 December 1998; “Ari Düşünce Derneği Açıldı”, *Cumhuriyet*, 1 December 1998; Can Ataklı, “Siyasette Yeni Ufuklar”, *Sabah*, 7 January 1999; and “Ari’lar ANAP’la Yollarını Ayırdı”, *Hürriyet*, 25 January 1999.

²⁹⁵ See ARI Movement, <http://www.ari.org.tr/orgutlenme.asp>, (3 June 2006).

should not be restricted to political parties but should also be formulated by civil-political entities, civil society organizations and institutes.²⁹⁶

The ARI Movement seems to be an activist organization rather than a think-tank because of its objectives and activities. However, it has an institute called “the Economic and Foreign Policy Forum-Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Forumu” (hereafter it will be referred to as “EDPF”), which functions as a think-tank. Therefore, the ARI Movement can be accepted as a partial think-tank.

EDPF was established in Istanbul in 2003, and its fundamental goal is to facilitate the participation of civil society in the formulation of economic and foreign policy, and to promote a greater awareness among policy makers of the vital connection between economic and foreign policy decisions. It aims at suggesting solutions to the problematic issues on Turkey-EU relations.²⁹⁷

The ARI Movement has annually organized an international conference on the subject of international security, and has organized roundtable discussions on the various foreign policy issues.²⁹⁸ Also, it has published the journal of “Turkish Policy Quarterly” covering issues on international relations since 2002.²⁹⁹

Its funding comes from membership fees, national and international sponsors and joint projects sponsored by national and international partners.³⁰⁰

3.3.7. The Association for Liberal Thinking

The Association for Liberal Thinking was established informally in Ankara in 1992 by a few like-minded people who believe in liberal values. It gained official status as

²⁹⁶ ARI Movement, http://www.ari.org.tr/ari_nedir.asp, (3 June 2006).

²⁹⁷ See ARI Movement, <http://www.ari.org.tr/edpf.asp>, (3 June 2006); Erdal Güven, “EDP, AB, CHP”, *Radikal*, 27 June 2003; and Taha Akyol, “Bir ‘Sivil’ Örnek”, *Milliyet*, 19 June 2003.

²⁹⁸ See ARI Movement, http://www.ari.org.tr/english/uik_completed_conferences.asp, (3 June 2006).

²⁹⁹ See Turkish Policy Quarterly, <http://www.turkishpolicy.com>, (3 June 2006).

³⁰⁰ See ARI Movement, <http://www.ari.org.tr/sponsorluk>, (3 June 2006); and the Reply to the questionnaire by the ARI Movement, 14 July 2006.

an Association on 1 April 1994³⁰¹ and its president has been Professor Atilla Yayla since its establishment. During its establishment stage, LDT followed the London-based Institute of Economic Affairs as a model.³⁰²

While LDT's work has primarily focused on economic and trade issues, its mission includes the promotion of values such as individual liberty, tolerance, justice, peace, human rights, and the rule of law. The objectives of LDT are to introduce to the Turkish public the richness of the intellectual tradition that lies at the heart of the liberal democratic civilization; to engage in activities that promote understanding and acceptance of values like liberty, justice, peace, human rights, the rule of law, and tolerance; to encourage development of academic researches on liberal themes; and to contribute to finding effective solutions to Turkey's political and economic problems within liberal thought.

LDT has established specific centers to support its activities with more precise academic research and think-tank functions. These are the Center for the Study of Economics and Law; the Center for Academic Consultancy; the Center for the Environmental Studies; and the Center for Economic Freedom.³⁰³

LDT does not get involved in day-to-day politics and has no direct links with any political party or movement. Instead, as an independent intellectual grouping, it aims to set and influence broader political debates so as to contribute to the liberalization of Turkey in economic and political fields.³⁰⁴

It publishes reports, books and journals; holds national and international symposia; and develops and carries out educational programs. LDT has heavily been involved in publishing. Publications are regarded as the most convenient method to have ideas reach every corner and as the most enduring way to promote and establish the liberal values of Turkey. LDT runs three quarterly printed journals and an on-line journal:

³⁰¹ LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=about>, (29 May 2006).

³⁰² Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 18 August 2006. See also Atilla Yayla, *Fikir Hareketleri ve Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu*, (Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 2003), p.19.

³⁰³ See LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=act2>, (29 May 2006).

³⁰⁴ LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=about>, (29 May 2006).

Liberal Düşünce (Liberal Thought) is an academic journal giving a floor to those academics and opinion leaders who defend liberal ideas. It has been published since 1996; printed 2000 copies and distributed all over Turkey. Piyasa (Market) is a quarterly economics journal, which has been published since 2002. 2000 copies have been printed and distributed all over Turkey. Hür Fikirler (Free Ideas) is a quarterly youth journal, edited and prepared by undergraduate students; and supervised by LDT's senior academics. It is distributed freely in universities. Açık Toplum (Open Society) is an electronic journal updated irregularly by articles on both actual affairs and on intellectual debates.³⁰⁵

LDT regularly publishes books translated from foreign authors or written by Turkish authors on political, social and economical issues in general and in Turkey. Among these books, more than 150 have been published by Liberte Publishing.³⁰⁶

It organizes congresses, seminars, symposia and workshops. It regularly organizes Congress of Liberal Economists and Congress of Liberal Political Scientists and Jurists. Also, it has organized symposia and workshops sponsored by its partners such as the EC Delegation to Turkey, CIPE, FNF, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation and EUROAID of the European Commission. Some examples are Workshop on Interreligious Affairs; Perspectives for Turkey's Future; Politics and Religion in Civil Society; Education and Democracy in a Globalizing World; Islam, Civil Society and Free Market Economy; and Liberal Thought Symposium of Turkey.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=pub1>, (29 May 2006).

³⁰⁶ Some of Liberte books are Road to Serfdom of Friedrich A. Hayek; A Letter Concerning Toleration of John Locke; Anticapitalist Mentality of Ludwig von Mises; The Law of Frederic Bastiat; In Defense of Global Capitalism of Johan Norberg; Modern Political Theory of Norman P. Barry; Liberalism; Dictionary of Political Thought of Atilla Yayla; Constitutions and Politics in Turkey; Islam and Liberalism; Democracy, Laicity and Official Ideology of Mustafa Erdogan; The Fear of Westernization of Ihsan Dagi; From Diversity to Freedom of Melih Yurusen; Liberalism and Turkey of Kazim Berzeg; and Islam, Civil Society and Market Economy edited by Atilla Yayla. See LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=pub2>, (29 May 2006). Because of the book of Islam, Civil Society and Market Economy, LDT won the Freda Utley Prize for Advancing Liberty given by the Atlas Economic Research Foundation in 2005. See Atlas Economic Research Foundation, <http://www.atlasusa.org/programs/tfa/2005%20Utley%20Prize%20-%20press%20release%20-%20final.doc>, (6 June 2006).

³⁰⁷ LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=act5>, (29 May 2006).

LDT is prepared to work with any local and international organizations provided that both sides have a common understanding of a specific issue and share the same principles and aims on the bases of equality, mutual respect and organizational independence. Thus, it cooperates with universities, associations, foundations and business organizations in Turkey. LDT has implemented projects in cooperation with national and international partners.³⁰⁸

3.3.8. The National Policy Research Foundation

The foundation (Ulusal Politika Araştırmaları Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as “UPAV”), the president of which is Yavuz Ege, was established in Ankara in 1995 by a group of personalities from businessmen, politicians and academicians.

The principal objective of UPAV is to assist politicians and decision-makers in achieving a smooth transition of economic and social structure of the Turkish society into a fully fledged free market economy similar to those witnessed in western societies by providing and/or mobilizing resources for basic studies and training in this direction.³⁰⁹

UPAV has conducted research projects funded by its foreign partners. The research project called “The New Independent States in Inner Asia and Turkey’s Policy” was funded by the National Institute for Research Advancement (Japan) and the “Energy Policy of the EU and Implications for Turkey” project was funded by the EU.³¹⁰

Its activities have weakened in recent years.

³⁰⁸ Some of its joint projects are “Interreligious Affairs: Search for A Framework for a Peaceful Coexistence in a Secular and Democratic System” sponsored by EC (2004); “School of Democracy” with the contribution of CORDAID (Netherlands) (2002-2003); “Freedom of Expression in Turkey within the Context of Legal and Social Spheres: Restrains, Policy Suggestions and Promotions” with the contribution of EC (2001-2003); and “Islam Civil Society and Market Economy” with the contribution of Center for International Private Enterprise (1998-1999). See LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=act3>, (29 May 2006).

³⁰⁹ UPAV, <http://www.upav.org.tr/engpurp.html>, (4 June 2006).

³¹⁰ UPAV, <http://www.upav.org.tr/engact.html>, (4 June 2006).

3.3.9. The Yükseliş Economic and Strategic Research Foundation

The foundation was established in Ankara in 1995 under the leadership of Ferit Saraçoğlu.

The main aim of YİSAV is to conduct research projects on social, economic, security, foreign relations and strategic issues, to help the development of free market economy and to assist the social, scientific and economic development of Turkey.³¹¹ One of its main study areas is the Turkish republics.

YİSAV having limited staff and budget is not too active an organization.

3.3.10. The Center for Strategic Research

The Center for Strategic Research was established as a government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)-affiliated think-tank in Ankara in 1995.³¹² It is a consultative body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the responsibility of bringing to the attention of decision makers independent, unbiased views and findings from different sources. SAM examines international conflicts, makes scholarly and scientific assessments of relevant issues, and reviews Turkish foreign policy with a futuristic perspective.

SAM carries out these tasks in cooperation with both Turkish and foreign universities, institutions and specialists involved in similar work. Related subject matter is assessed in a wide spectrum, and to this end, the Center consults specialists from the political, economic, financial and cultural fields as well as journalists with expertise in the field of foreign policy.

The basic task of SAM is to reach interpretive conclusions based on in-depth analyses of issues and to furnish the decision makers with sound research, reliable data, independent views and recommendations. Because SAM does not have its own experts, it strives to conduct impartial research through commissioning academic

³¹¹ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkreheri.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/f5a4d81a1fd61536c2256eef002bdb52?OpenDocument>, (27 June 2006).

³¹² See “Dışişleri Bakanlığı Stratejik Araştırmalar Yönetmeliği” *Resmî Gazete*, No: 22261, 17 April 1995, pp.1-2.

projects.³¹³ For this reason, commissions are assigned to experts and institutions in the field of international affairs, and an exchange of views and cooperation are sought with individuals and institutions involved in similar work.³¹⁴

In addition to research activities, SAM functions as a forum for debate and discussion for citizens and foreigners active in the area of international relations and foreign policy. This function is fulfilled through the organization of seminars, conferences and panel discussions.³¹⁵

The hosting and arrangement of special events provide the opportunity to freely debate and to express thoughts. The works, opinions and views are assessed and subsequently submitted as recommendations or proposals to policy makers.³¹⁶

SAM has published the quarterly English-language journal “Perceptions”, since 1996. Within its pages, SAM features the opinions of various Turkish and international experts and academics. Perceptions focuses on regional developments and seeks to become an indispensable, scholarly source in this field. Additionally, SAM Papers are also published, but irregularly, as material is made available.³¹⁷

³¹³ Interview with Bülent Karadeniz, Ankara, 8 August 2006.

³¹⁴ SAM, <http://sam.gov.tr/about.php>, (21 June 2006).

³¹⁵ Some of conferences, seminars and panel discussions organized by SAM are International Conference on Caucasus; Seminar on Challenges of Change: The Nature of Peace Operations in 21st Century and the Continuing Need For Reform; International Symposium on Islamic World in the 21st Century; International Symposium on Civilization and Harmony: Values and Mechanisms of the Global Order; International Symposium on EU and Turkey : Opportunities and Challenges Ahead; and Conference on Cooperation between the Strategic and Research Centers of the Balkan Countries. See SAM, <http://sam.gov.tr/activities.php>, (21 June 2006).

³¹⁶ In order to reach its aim, SAM has organized meetings with the participation of its foreign counterparts, foreign officials and foreign politicians. Some participants of these kinds of events are President of the Indian Strategic Foresight Group, Deputy Director of the “Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques, Director of the Geneva Center for Security Policy, Delegation of the Pakistan International Strategic Studies Institute, Delegation of Georgian South Caucasus Institute of Regional Security, Delegation of the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Delegation of Kazakhstan Center for Foreign Policy and Analysis, and Delegation of Russia’s Institute for Strategic Studies. See SAM, <http://sam.gov.tr/activities.php>, (21 June 2006).

³¹⁷ SAM, <http://sam.gov.tr/about.php>, (21 June 2006).

SAM is totally funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its support staff are the officials of the Ministry.³¹⁸

3.3.11. The National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies

SAEMK was established as a government affiliated-body in the Council of Higher Education on 7th November 1997.³¹⁹

According to its regulation, its objective is to conduct scientific research on regional, bilateral and multilateral international relations of Turkey in the higher education bodies.

SAEMK determined its primary research subject as the Turkish-Greek relations and added the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia to its research agenda in 2001. SAEMK directs, supports and encourages the academic studies on these topics.³²⁰

SAEMK has 14 members, nine of which are appointed by the Higher Education Council (YÖK), two members by the Chief of the General Staff, two members by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and one member by the National Intelligence Organization (Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı-MİT).

According to article 4b of the Regulation of SAEMK, one of its tasks is to make proposals to higher education bodies on strategic research. It can be said that this provision was used to establish strategic research centers in the universities. In addition to this, the tasks of SAEMK, enumerated in its regulation, probably reflect its concern to direct strategic research conducted by the universities from only one center.³²¹

³¹⁸ See article 5 and 6 of the Regulation of the Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. “Dışişleri Bakanlığı Stratejik Araştırmalar Yönetmeliği” *Resmi Gazete*, No: 22261, 17 April 1995, p.2.

³¹⁹ See the Regulation of SAEMK, “Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüdler Milli Komitesi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No: 23163, 7 November 1997, pp.43-44.

³²⁰ SAEMK, <http://www.saemk.org/info.asp?dil=en>, (28 May 2006).

³²¹ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

SAEMK has published some research papers on Turkish-Greek issues such as Greek Violations of the Lausanne Treaty, Cemat-i İslamiye: Islamic Community Brotherhood Administrations in Greece (1913-1998), Minority Problems in the Balkans, and Ethnic Communities and Minorities in Greece.³²²

3.3.12. The Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies

Established in Ankara in 1999, ASAM has roots going back to the beginning of the publication of the strategic research journal “Eurasian File” (Avrasya Dosyası) by a group of intellectuals in Ankara in 1994. In addition to this, the Turkish Economic, Social and Cultural Research Foundation for the Europe-Asia Union (Avrupa-Asya Birliği Türk Ekonomik, Sosyal ve Kültürel Araştırmalar Vakfı - Avrasya Bir Vakfı) was founded in Istanbul in 1993 in order to conduct research on Turkish society from economic, social, political, and cultural perspectives, following the global changes and developments on the Eurasian axis that came about during the late 1980s.

The foundation began to sponsor the journal in 1996, and has been published by the foundation since 1998. In 1999, the foundation decided to form the Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies and incorporated strategic, political, economic and social fields into its studies. ASAM began to operate as a strategic data bank and strategic research center.³²³

Although there is a common feature between the establishment process of ASAM and DPE before the establishment of which there appeared a journal as the first step, ASAM displays differences from the other foreign policy think-tanks. Initially, asserting the first strategic data bank and strategic research center in Turkey, ASAM uses strategic analyses so as to form policies to shape the future. Secondly, it aims to develop a multidimensional security understanding with the contribution of various disciplines such as international relations, political science, sociology, military, intelligence, economics etc. With this, it represents a new step in the establishment of

³²² See SAEMK, <http://www.saemk.org/yayin.asp?dil=tr>, (28 May 2006).

³²³ ASAM, <http://www.avsam.org/tr/tanitim.asp?konuID=3>, (24 December 2005).

geopolitical and geoeconomic culture.³²⁴ Thirdly, it differs with its organizational structure in its establishment process. It was similar to the regional tables model of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.³²⁵ This model can be evaluated as a state-centered way of research and work. As a result of such an organizational structure, it has employed more researchers than those which are accepted as foreign policy think-tanks, having a limited number of researchers and conducting contract research.³²⁶ However, its organizational structure has recently changed from a system of regional tables to a system of specialization.³²⁷ Fourthly, since it once had more than one hundred researchers,³²⁸ it seems that it has not had any funding problems. Lastly, as it is possibly understood from the title of the center, unlike the think-tanks researching mostly the EU-centered issues, ASAM conducts its research more likely on Eurasian issues.³²⁹

ASAM's research field does not only include Turkey but also it covers research on the whole world. The basic research subjects consist of economic, cultural, social, political, technological, demographic, security, legal and historical structures of states. It is asserted that ASAM which has cooperation with certain important think-tanks in the world has become one of the most important strategic research centers in the world.³³⁰

The Armenian Research Institute (Ermeni Araştırmaları Enstitüsü-ERAREN) was established in ASAM in 2001. The institute was renamed as the Research Institute for Crimes against Humanity (İnsanlığa Karşı Suçlar Araştırma Enstitüsü-İKSAREN) in 2006. Since 2001, the institute has been publishing the Turkish-

³²⁴ Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, *Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*, ([Ankara]: Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yayını, [2004], p.3.

³²⁵ ASAM's regional research tables were Middle East, Caucasus, Balkans, Turkistan, Far East-Pacific, Russia-Ukraine, Europe, US and Turkey. See Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, p.6.

³²⁶ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

³²⁷ ASAM, <http://www.avsam.org/tr/tanitim.asp?konuID=3>, (24 December 2005).

³²⁸ See Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, p.4.

³²⁹ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

³³⁰ Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, p.4.

language quarterly journal of “Ermeni Arařtırmaları” and since the year of 2002, has been publishing the “Review of Armenian Studies”.³³¹

ASAM publishes a wide range of books, monographs, reports and periodicals. The quarterly journal “Eurasian File” has been published since 1994. The monthly journal “Strategic Analysis” (Stratejik Analiz) has been published since 2000. It also regularly organizes Eurasian International Relations Conferences.³³²

Its funding mainly comes from the Ülker Holding through the Avrasya Bir Foundation.³³³

3.4. Proliferation of Think-Tanks in the 2000s

The worldwide boom of think-tanks has been seen around the world since the late 1990s. Also there has been a think-tank boom in Turkey since then.³³⁴

McGann enumerates nine interrelated reasons to explain the growth of think-tanks all over the world. Some of them can be used in order to clarify the proliferation of think-tanks in Turkey since the 2000s, such as the growing demand for information and analysis; the increased recognition of the importance of civil society in promoting democracy; improved communications technologies like internet; the globalization of think-tank funding, especially from the advanced industrial countries to support the development of civil society organizations in the developing countries.³³⁵

³³¹ See İKSAREN, <http://www.iksaren.org/index.php?Page=Sayfa&No=1>, (21 July 2006).

³³² See Avrasya Stratejik Arařtırmalar Merkezi, p.28.

³³³ Reply to the questioner by Yılmaz Aklar, (4 July 2006).

³³⁴ A journalist argues that 30 strategy centers (think tanks) were founded in Turkey in 2005. See Güler Kömürcü, “Sivil Toplum Örgütleri Yabancıardan Para Alamayacak”, *Akşam*, 3 February 2006. The same journalist argues that 27 strategy centers (think tanks) were established in Turkey in the period of 2003-2004. See Güler Kömürcü, “Karanlık Savaşın Karanlık Stratejileri”, *Akşam*, 11 May 2004.

³³⁵ See James G. McGann, “Globalization and the Growth of Think Tanks”, 4 November 2001, <http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/globtt.pdf>, (23 January 2006), pp.2-6.

The recognition of Turkey's candidacy by the EU in 1999 has deeply affected Turkey's domestic and foreign policy. As a result of domestic reforms which aim to reach European standards on democracy and human rights, Turkey removed restrictions on freedom, especially on freedom of association. The importance of civil society in promoting democracy was clearly understood by all actors in society. These developments provided civil society organizations with an appropriate environment they need in order to strengthen and express themselves before the government and the public. The EU candidacy of Turkey has also blurred the traditional distinction between foreign and domestic policy spheres. It can be said that the significance of public opinion in the formation of foreign policy has increased in this period. For instance, the TGNA's decision of March 1, 2003 not to allow the American troops to invade Iraq from Turkey shows us public opinion should be taken into consideration in the formation of foreign policy. Consequently, one of the effects of all these developments has been the emergence of new think-tanks.

The proliferation of think-tanks in Turkey also encouraged government bodies to establish think-tanks in their structure as mentioned above. The Ministry of Interior, the Turkish Military Forces and TGNA founded government-affiliated think-tanks.

Many interest and pressure groups in Turkey desired to have a think-tank so as to express themselves through new channels. For instance, TOBB established and funded the Economic Policy Research Institute (Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı-hereafter it will be referred to as "TEPAV"). Similarly, TÜSİAD established and sponsored the Foreign Policy Forum (Dış Politika Forumu-hereafter it will be referred to as "DİF") together with Boğaziçi University and the Economic Research Forum (Ekonomik Araştırma Forumu-hereafter it will be referred to as "EAF") together with Koç University.

Another factor of think-tank proliferation in Turkey is the emergence of a symbiotic relationship between the media and think-tanks. The media needs experts to analyse issues in the agenda. At the same time, think-tanks need the media to reach their

views to the public and the government. This need of the media causes the emergence of new think-tanks.³³⁶

It could be said that the promising start of ASAM and its visibility in the media led to the emergence of a good number of second-tier think-tanks.³³⁷ Furthermore, ASAM constituted the cradle of new separate think-tanks established by former staff of ASAM on their departure from the foundation. For example, Ümit Özdağ, founding president of ASAM, established the Turkey Institute for 21st Century (21. Yüzyıl Türkiye Enstitüsü).³³⁸ Also, Sedat Laçiner, former expert of ASAM, established the International Strategic Research Organization (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu-hereafter it will be referred to as “USAK”).³³⁹

The approach of some entrepreneurial people regarding think-tanks is another reason of proliferation. Most probably, they assume that information and analysis have economic and commercial value and one can gain some profit through the think-tank activities.

Lastly, foreign think-tanks also opened offices in Turkey such as OSI and GMF. Funds of these organizations and funds of other international actors such as the EU encouraged people to establish new think-tanks in Turkey.

3.4.1. The Economists' Platform

Ekonomistler Platformu, whose president is Tuna Bekleviç, was founded in Istanbul in 2000 and has representative offices in Brussels and Washington DC.

Ekonomistler Platformu seeks to identify problems with the structure of the Turkish economy and to provide solutions by establishing a strong and trustworthy medium to be used as a reference in designating policy measures. Its aim is to contribute to the local and regional development, structural reforms and the EU membership

³³⁶ Interview with Nihat Ali Özcan, Ankara, 27 July 2006.

³³⁷ See Suat Kınıklıoğlu, “Turkey's Think Tank Scene”, *Turkish Daily News*, 27 December 2005.

³³⁸ See Ümit Özdağ, “21. Yüzyıl Türkiye Enstitüsü”, *Yeniçağ*, 20 December 2005.

³³⁹ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

process from the point of view of the economy in Turkey. Ekonomistler Platformu has adopted six principles as fundamentals within its long-term mission. These are; to be open-minded, to give importance to ethical values, to claim a knowledge-based insight, to adopt not individual but universal standards, and to encourage qualified participation. Ekonomistler Platformu's vision of economics concerns the necessities of a free market economy with a liberal approach based on rational and scientific solutions.

Ekonomistler Platformu asserts that it will preserve its understanding of full independence through keeping the same distance from all political parties and institutions.³⁴⁰

Its main research fields are economic policies, local and regional development, and international relations.³⁴¹ The Platform's main activities are organizations, seminars, Economic Policies Summits and the publication of books. It publishes biannually journal of Economists' Bulletin (Ekonomistler Bülteni).³⁴² Its funding mainly comes from research projects sponsored by its partners, membership fees and donations.³⁴³

3.4.2. The Center for Strategies

The center (İçişleri Bakanlığı Strateji Merkezi) was established as a government-affiliated think-tank (Ministry of Interior) in Ankara in 2000 and is a consultative body of the Ministry of Interior.

The tasks of the Center for Strategies are to carry out, support and get involved in research on Turkey's past and present matters especially those related with the Ministry's area of responsibility; to form study groups in various fields and sectors

³⁴⁰ Ekonomistler Platformu, http://www.ekonomistler.com/modules.php?name=FAQ&myfaq=yes&id_cat=4&categories=EKONOMISTLER+PLATFORMU+-OUR+PHILOSOPHY, (17 November 2005).

³⁴¹ See Ekonomistler Platformu, <http://www.ekonomistler.org.tr>, (4 July 2006).

³⁴² See Ekonomistler Platformu, http://www.ekonomistler.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=56&Itemid=78, (4 July 2006).

³⁴³ Reply to the questioner by Ekonomistler Platformu, (13 July 2006).

and develop practical strategies; to prepare implementation programs for strategies and monitor the process; to carry out national and international activities such as research, studies, organizing meetings, conferences, symposia, workshops and seminars, and publishing materials; and to inform the office of the Ministry about the country's political agenda and possible future issues by analyzing and estimating various social dynamics.

The Center carries out these tasks in cooperation with both Turkish and foreign universities, institutions, specialists and NGOs involved in similar work.

It deals mostly with domestic affairs such as democratization, the rule of law, human rights and individual freedom, EU issues, good governance, NGOs, information society, public order and internal security, combating illegal migration, human trafficking and enhancing border security, fighting against corruption, terrorism and, the reorganizing of the local governments and public management.³⁴⁴

The Center for Strategies is totally funded by the Ministry of Interior and its staff are the officials of the Ministry.

3.4.3. The Social Research Foundation

The foundation (Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı-SAV), the president of which is Bedahet Tosun, was founded in Istanbul in 2000.

It aims to conduct research on all fields of social life; to research consistency and contradictions in every day behavior and ideological attitudes of individuals and social classes; to research on the relationships between social development and technology; to research environment so as to preserve ecological balance; and to support consolidation of democracy in the light of past experiences.

Its main activities are to conduct research on relevant subjects, to organize meetings, conferences, seminars, symposia and panel discussions.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ See Strateji Merkezi, <http://www.arem.gov.tr>, (19 July 2006).

³⁴⁵ SAV, <http://www.sav.org.tr/VAKIFDOS/senet.htm>, (7 June 2006).

Its four main research topics consist of globalization, analysis of social classes, analysis of the period between 1974 and 1983, and analysis of socialism experiences. To reach its aims, SAV established the Turkish Center for Social Class Studies (Türkiye Sınıf Araştırmaları Merkezi). The establishment process of the Center for Studies on Recent History (Yakın Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi) goes on.³⁴⁶ It can be said that SAV uses a Marxist perspective in its research.

3.4.4. The Foundation for Sciences and Arts

The foundation (Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı-BSV), the president of which is Mustafa Özel, was established in Istanbul in 1989. However, its research activities have gained speed since 2001.

BSV defines itself as a research organization aiming to contribute the construction of a healthy future over its roots by, on the one hand, trying to understand the main dynamics of the contemporary world community, while on the other hand, trying to find the historical roots of Turkish society.

BSV conducts its activities such as research, publication and organizing seminars by means of its research centers. It has four centers; namely the Global Research Center (Küresel Araştırmalar Merkezi), the Civilization Research Center (Medeniyet Araştırmaları Merkezi), the Art Research Center (Sanat Araştırmaları Merkezi) and the Center for Turkish Studies (Türkiye Araştırmaları Merkezi).³⁴⁷

The Center for Global Studies conducts national and international studies on economy, politics and strategy. The Center for Civilization Studies conducts comparative and interdisciplinary studies with a civilization perspective on philosophy, science, history, social sciences and Islamic sciences. The center has published a biannual journal, “Divan Scientific Studies” (Divan İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi) since 1996. The Center for Art Studies conducts research, analyses and critiques on the various branches of art. In a broader sense, the Center for Turkish Studies conducts research on all subjects concerning Turkey. The center has

³⁴⁶ SAV, http://www.sav.org.tr/TAM/tam_yk_Cagri.htm, (7 June 2006).

³⁴⁷ BSV, <http://www.bisav.org.tr/kurumsal>, (12 June 2006).

published a biannual journal, “Turkish Studies Literature” (Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi) since 2003. BSV publishes BSV Bulletin, organizes seminars and roundtable meetings.³⁴⁸

3.4.5. Research Centers within Universities

After the establishment of SAEMK in 1997, the Council of Higher Education and SAEMK orally advised universities to found strategic research centers.³⁴⁹ As a result of this, 21 strategic research centers have been established in universities since 1997. Only two of them were founded before 2000 and 19 strategic research centers within universities were formed after 2000. Two universities, Marmara University and Süleyman Demirel University, had the centers before 1997. Today, universities have a total of 23 strategic research centers (See Table 1).

Table 1: Strategic Research Centers within Universities

	Universities	Date of Establishment	Web Sites
1	Akdeniz University ³⁵⁰	26 November 2002	No Data Available in University Web Site
2	Anadolu University ³⁵¹	26 June 2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
3	Ankara University ³⁵²	8 April 2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
4	Atatürk University ³⁵³	4 January 2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
5	Başkent University ³⁵⁴	[2003]	http://sam.baskent.edu.tr/index.html
6	Beykent University ³⁵⁵	14 April 2004	No Data Available in University Web Site

³⁴⁸ Some examples of its seminars and roundtable meetings are Civilizations and World Orders, Westernization Process of Turkish Literature, Economy Politics of Far East Asia, Democratization and International Relations, Modernization in Turkey and Women, and Politics and Strategy in Turkey. See BSV, <http://www.bisav.org.tr/etkinlikler/index.cfm>, (12 June 2006).

³⁴⁹ Interview with Çağrı Erhan, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

³⁵⁰ See “Akdeniz Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (AKSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:24948, 26 November 2002.

³⁵¹ See “Anadolu Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25857, 26 June 2005.

³⁵² See “Ankara Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (ANÜNSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25073, 8 April 2003.

³⁵³ See “Atatürk Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Müdürlüğü Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:24983, 4 January 2003.

³⁵⁴ See Başkent Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://sam.baskent.edu.tr/index.html>, (19 April 2006).

³⁵⁵ See “Beykent Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (BUSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25433, 14 April 2004.

Table 1: Strategic Research Centers within Universities (continued)

	Universities	Date of Establishment	Web Sites
7	Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University ³⁵⁶	8 January 2005	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
8	Çukurova University ³⁵⁷	No Data	http://strateji.cukurova.edu.tr
9	Dokuz Eylül University ³⁵⁸	No Data	http://www.deu.edu.tr/DEUWeb/Icerik/Icerik.php?KOD=1810
10	Ege University ³⁵⁹	22 December 2002	http://rektorluk.ege.edu.tr/~esam
11	Erciyes University ³⁶⁰	24 November 2005	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
12	Galatasaray University ³⁶¹	10 May 1998	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
13	Gazi University ³⁶²	14 August 2004	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
14	Hacettepe University ³⁶³	25 June 2004	No Data Available in University Web Site
15	Harran University ³⁶⁴	10 December 1997	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
16	İnönü University ³⁶⁵	24 February 2003	http://www.inonu.edu.tr/armer/saum
17	İstanbul University ³⁶⁶	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site

³⁵⁶ See “Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25694, 8 January 2005.

³⁵⁷ See Çukurova Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi, <http://strateji.cukurova.edu.tr>, (19 April 2006).

³⁵⁸ See Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://www.deu.edu.tr/DEUWeb/Icerik/Icerik.php?KOD=1810>, (19 April 2006).

³⁵⁹ See “Ege Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (ESAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:24971, 22 December 2002.

³⁶⁰ See “Erciyes Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:26003, 24 November 2005.

³⁶¹ See “Galatasaray Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:23338, 10 May 1998.

³⁶² See “Gazi Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25199, 14 August 2004.

³⁶³ See “Hacettepe Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (HÜSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25503, 25 June 2004.

³⁶⁴ See “Harran Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:23196, 10 December 1997.

³⁶⁵ See “İnönü Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (İNÜSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25030, 24 February 2003.

³⁶⁶ İstanbul Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler.php>, (19 April 2006).

Table 1: Strategic Research Centers within Universities (continued)

	Universities	Date of Establishment	Web Sites
18	Kafkas University ³⁶⁷	9 April 2003	http://www.kafkas.edu.tr/duyurular/stratejik.html
19	Marmara University ³⁶⁸	14 January 1987	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=63
20	Mersin University ³⁶⁹	26 November 2002	No Data Available in University Web Site
21	Selçuk University ³⁷⁰	3 December 2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
22	Süleyman Demirel University ³⁷¹	9 December 1994	http://unisam.sdu.edu.tr
23	Yıldız Technical University ³⁷²	2 July 2000	No Link to Research Center in Web Site

In addition to strategic research centers, Turkey's EU candidacy in 1999 accelerated the establishment of centers for European studies within universities. In fact, centers for European studies within universities started to be established after Turkey's application to the EEC for full membership in 1987. Today, universities have 27 centers studying European affairs, and 18 of them were established after 1999 (See Table 2).

³⁶⁷ See "Kafkas Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmi Gazete*, No:25074, 9 April 2003.

³⁶⁸ See "Marmara Üniversitesi Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmi Gazete*, No:19341, 14 January 1987.

³⁶⁹ See "Mersin Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmi Gazete*, No:24948, 26 November 2002.

³⁷⁰ See "Selçuk Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmi Gazete*, No:26012, 3 December 2005.

³⁷¹ See "Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmi Gazete*, No:22136, 9 December 1994.

³⁷² See "Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmi Gazete*, No:24097, 2 July 2000.

Table 2: Centers for European Studies within Universities

	Universities	Date of Establishment	Web Sites
1	Adnan Menderes University ³⁷³	27 May 2005	http://avam.adu.edu.tr
2	Akdeniz University ³⁷⁴	28 March 2003	http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr/akvam
3	Anadolu University ³⁷⁵	23 October 1999	http://www.adom.anadolu.edu.tr
4	Ankara University ³⁷⁶	25 January 1987	http://ataum.ankara.edu.tr
5	Atatürk University ³⁷⁷	20 July 1989	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
6	Bahçeşehir University ³⁷⁸	1 March 2005	http://www.bahcesehir.edu.tr/index.php?sablon_id=3&lang=TR&ana_id=995
7	Balıkesir University ³⁷⁹	1 November 2001	http://babim.balikesir.edu.tr
8	Boğaziçi University ³⁸⁰	2000	http://www.ces.boun.edu.tr
9	Çağ University ³⁸¹	2 December 2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
10	Dokuz Eylül University ³⁸²	9 February 1989	http://web.deu.edu.tr/atmer/eng/tanitim.html
11	Dumlupınar University ³⁸³	24 June 1997	http://daum.dumlupinar.edu.tr

³⁷³ BAHUM, “Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Avrupa Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=789899&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁷⁴ BAHUM, “Akdeniz Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (AKVAM) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=639701&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁷⁵ BAHUM, “Anadolu Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma, Uygulama ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi (ADOM) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=436501&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁷⁶ Ankara Üniversitesi Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://ataum.ankara.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

³⁷⁷ Atatürk Üniversitesi Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.atauni.edu.tr/arsmerkez.htm>, (28 May 2006).

³⁷⁸ BAHUM, “Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=778403&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁷⁹ Balıkesir Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Merkezi (BABİM), <http://babim.balikesir.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸⁰ Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi, <http://www.ces.boun.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸¹ BAHUM, “Çağ Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=819430&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸² Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Avrupa Topluluğu Uluslararası Ekonomik İlişkiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://web.deu.edu.tr/atmer/>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸³ Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://daum.dumlupinar.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

Table 2: Centers for European Studies within Universities (continued)

	Universities	Date of Establishment	Web Sites
12	Galatasaray University ³⁸⁴	16 December 1997	http://aadm.gsu.edu.tr/tr
13	Gazi University ³⁸⁵	14 August 2003	http://www.abaum.gazi.edu.tr
14	Gaziantep University ³⁸⁶	26 October 1999	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
15	Hacettepe University ³⁸⁷	14 December 2001	No Data Available in University Web Site
16	Istanbul Bilgi University ³⁸⁸	10 May 2005	http://ces.bilgi.edu.tr
17	Istanbul Commerce University ³⁸⁹	15 May 2004	http://www.iticu.edu.tr/abmerkezi
18	Istanbul University ³⁹⁰	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
19	İzmir University of Economics ³⁹¹	18 April 2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
20	Kadir Has University ³⁹²	31 January 2004	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
21	Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University ³⁹³	13 June 2005	No Data Available in University Web Site

³⁸⁴ BAHUM, “Galatasaray Üniversitesi Avrupa Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=319400&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸⁵ BAHUM, “Gazi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=672962&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸⁶ Gaziantep Üniversitesi Gaziantep Avrupa Birliği Araştırmaları Merkezi (GABAM) Yönetmeliği, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=436753&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸⁷ “Hacettepe Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:24613, 14 December 2001.

³⁸⁸ BAHUM, “İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=787978&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁸⁹ BAHUM, “İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=728116&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹⁰ İstanbul Üniversitesi Avrupa Topluluğu Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler.php>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹¹ BAHUM, “İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (EKOAB) Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=649300&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹² BAHUM, “Kadir Has Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=708027&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹³ BAHUM, “Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=792039&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

Table 2: Centers for European Studies within Universities (continued)

	Universities	Date of Establishment	Web Sites
22	Marmara University ³⁹⁴	1984	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=49
23	METU ³⁹⁵	1997	http://www.ces.metu.edu.tr
24	Sakarya University ³⁹⁶	15 June 1997	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
25	Selçuk University ³⁹⁷	14 June 2004	No Data Available in University Web Site
26	Süleyman Demirel University ³⁹⁸	18 May 2005	http://www.sdu.edu.tr/merkez/eucenter/
27	Yaşar University ³⁹⁹	22 July 2005	http://euc.yasar.edu.tr

Although the number of research centers within universities concerning strategic and European studies has sharply increased in the recent years, discussions on their functions and autonomy go on.⁴⁰⁰

3.4.6. The Turkish Representative Office of the Open Society Institute

The Open Society Institute (OSI) was created in 1993 by the investor and philanthropist George Soros to support his foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Those foundations were established, starting in 1984, to help countries make the transition from communism. OSI has expanded the

³⁹⁴ Marmara Üniversitesi Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=49>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹⁵ Center for European Studies of METU, http://www.ces.metu.edu.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=1&ps=2, (28 May 2006).

³⁹⁶ BAHUM, “Sakarya Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=312960&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹⁷ BAHUM, “Selçuk Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (Sabaum) Yönetmeliği” <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=732703&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹⁸ BAHUM, “Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Dokümantasyon, Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=789152&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

³⁹⁹ BAHUM, “Yaşar Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=801706&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁴⁰⁰ See Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

activities of the Soros foundations' network to other areas of the world where the transition to democracy is of particular concern.

OSI is based in New York City and cooperates with the Hungary-based OSI-Budapest. Together with OSI-Budapest, OSI-New York provides administrative, financial, and technical support to the Soros foundations.

OSI, a private operating and grantmaking foundation, aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to support the rule of law, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, OSI works to build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as combating corruption and rights abuses.

The Soros foundations' network encompasses more than 60 countries.⁴⁰¹ The Turkey representative office of OSI was established in Istanbul in 2001. The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey (OSIAF-Turkey) acts as a liaison office, identifying actors and activities that will help Turkey's evolution toward an open society; facilitating collaboration between Turkish civil society and the Soros foundations' network; and making funding recommendations. OSIAF-Turkey's overall aim is to enhance current reform efforts by providing financial and technical assistance in five general areas: political reform and the European Union, media, gender, regional disparities, and civil society.

The foundation has supported social, economic, and EU membership research, human rights initiatives, and educational reform. More specifically, OSIAF-Turkey has supported research on impediments to women's participation in the public sphere, the development of a local governance participation model, urban sustainability processes, and the use of information technology in democratization.⁴⁰²

Within Turkey, the foundation continues to support a variety of reform efforts. TESEV, one of OSIAF–Turkey's core partners, worked on fiscal transparency,

⁴⁰¹ See OSI, <http://www.soros.org/about/overview>, (24 June 2006); and OSIAF-Turkey, http://www.osiaf.org.tr/router.php?sayfa_id=013&res=1024, (24 June 2006).

⁴⁰² OSI, <http://www.soros.org/about/foundations/turkey>, (24 June 2006).

public sector reform, minority rights, and democratic control of the armed forces. Another core grantee, the Istanbul Bilgi University Human Rights Center, continues to enhance human rights activists' skills through its international speaker's series and its master's program in Human Rights Law.⁴⁰³ In 2005, OSIAF-Turkey supported the other projects conducted by the Social Policy Forum of Boğaziçi University and the Istanbul Policy Center of Sabancı University.⁴⁰⁴

OSIAF-Turkey sponsors some activities such as conferences and seminars,⁴⁰⁵ and publishes the results of projects funded by itself as a report and book.⁴⁰⁶ Its budget in 2005 was 1.6 million dollars. OSIAF-Turkey uses its budget to support projects and organizations.⁴⁰⁷

3.4.7. The Strategic Studies and Research Center

SAREM was established as a government (the Chief of the General Staff)-affiliated think-tank in Ankara in 2002.

In its opening meeting, Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu, then the Chief of General Staff, said that “it is a reality that Turkey does not have many qualified think-tanks studying on a strategic level. In order to reply to this need, SAREM will make studies with the goal of presenting information and alternative solutions for military and civilian decision makers.” In addition, Kıvrıkoğlu said, “SAREM will act within the structure of the General Staff, will not deal with domestic politics. However, the center will deal with evaluations about fundamentalist and separatist activities which closely concern the future and national power of the Turkish State.”

⁴⁰³ See OSI, <http://www.soros.org/about/foundations/turkey/2005>, (24 June 2006).

⁴⁰⁴ See OSIAF-Turkey, http://www.osiaf.org.tr/router.php?sayfa_id=003&res=1024, (24 June 2006).

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Some examples of its publications are Economic Dimensions of Turkish Defense Expenditures, 1980-2001; 2001 Constitutional Amendments and Political Reform Proposals; Democratisation Reforms in Turkey (1993 – 2004); Euro-Turks: A Bridge or a Breach Between Turkey and the EU?; Household View On the Causes of Corruption In Turkey And Suggested Preventive Measures; Non-Governmental Organizations Guide; and Why Europe Should Embrace Turkey. OSIAF-Turkey, http://www.osiaf.org.tr/router.php?sayfa_id=012, (24 June 2006).

⁴⁰⁷ OSIAF-Turkey, http://www.osiaf.org.tr/router.php?sayfa_id=013&res=1024, (24 June 2006).

Kıvrıkoğlu said, “SAREM is a think-tank which brings together civilian and military administrators, strategists and scientists.” In addition to this, Kıvrıkoğlu said, “SAREM would be formed of a small number of military personnel and a large number of university lecturers and will be one of the largest think-tanks of Turkey.”⁴⁰⁸

In the opening meeting of SAREM, Reşat Ödün, then the Chairman of SAREM, stated that it would mostly focus on the Caucasians, Balkans, Middle East, Central Asian Turkish Republics, Europe, Aegean, Cyprus, Mediterranean, and Black Sea regions and it would present research results to the relevant authorities.

One of its aims, according to Ödün, is to contribute to form military aspects of Turkish foreign policy in the determining of principles of national security policy.⁴⁰⁹

It can be said that the idea of establishing a think-tank within the military is not a new one. There are many similarities between the structure of SAREM and a proposal in the article of İbrahim Kavrakoğlu concerning the establishment of a think-tank in 1999. What especially seems to be taken into consideration in the establishment process of SAREM is the structure bringing together civilian and military researchers and research subjects.⁴¹⁰

3.4.8. The Ankara Center for Turkish Policy Studies

ANKAM was founded in Ankara in 2003 under the leadership of Suat Kınıklıoğlu. Its origins can be traced back to the immediate aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet Union when a group of young academics came together and formed the Eurasian Research Group at Bilkent University, Ankara. Over the years membership of the group grew. As a result of the broadening and diversification of research interests as well as the need to become more institutionalized, ANKAM emerged. It

⁴⁰⁸ See Bora Kutluhan, “Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüt Merkezi [SAREM] Kuruldu”, *Savunma ve Havacılık*, Vol.15 No.88 (2001), pp.87-88.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, p.86.

⁴¹⁰ See İbrahim Kavrakoğlu, “Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü: Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri İçin Bir “Think-Tank” Önerisi”, *Kara Harp Okulu Bilim Dergisi*, Vol.9, No.2 (1999), pp.1-8. See also Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

is an independent research center focusing on Turkish domestic and foreign policy issues as well as Turkey's surrounding regions.

ANKAM aims at building Turkish capacity to provide analysis, research and policy recommendation to all concerned parties in Turkey, including the Turkish Government.⁴¹¹

The main activity of ANKAM is to publish "Insight Turkey", an English-language quarterly foreign policy journal dealing with Turkish foreign policy issues.⁴¹²

3.4.9. The Foreign Policy Forum

DIF was formed jointly by Boğaziçi University and TÜSİAD as a nonprofit organization in Istanbul in 2003. Its founders thought that in the increasingly complex, interdependent, and information-rich world, foreign policy making requires new approaches and new methods more than ever. Ömer Sabancı, a well-known businessman, and Professor Ayşe Soysal are the co-chairmen of DIF.

DIF aims to follow and analyze the developments in international affairs, especially the developments related with American foreign policy and the European Union's political and economic integration process. Its main objectives are to promote an independent and objective analysis on geopolitical trends and to discuss the implications of different foreign policy options through its research reports and other publications; to follow the current trends in American foreign policy; to prepare analyses regarding the developments on the European Union's Common Security and Defense Policy aspirations; to work on alternative policies that will shed light on Turkey's strategic preferences; to influence the ranking of priorities, provide roadmaps for action, mobilize political and bureaucratic coalitions through its program of conferences, roundtables and lectures; to provide policy-makers venues to build shared understanding, if not consensus, on policy options among decision

⁴¹¹ ANKAM, <http://www.ankam.org/index.htm>, (27 June 2006).

⁴¹² ANKAM, <http://www.ankam.org/8.htm>, (27 June 2006); and Interview with Suat Kınıklioğlu, Ankara, 18 June 2006.

makers and professionals; and to enhance communication and cooperation with the non-governmental organizations engaged in research related to foreign policy.⁴¹³

DIF has published a lot of research reports⁴¹⁴ and organized many conferences, seminars and roundtable meetings.⁴¹⁵

3.4.10. The Institute for Strategic Studies

SAE was established as a corporation by Can Fuat Gürlelel in Istanbul in 1993. SAE aims at contributing to Turkey's future with its studies and providing solutions to the problems of Turkey.

Its objective is do research by using a strategic perspective. Its main research fields are economy, defense policy, domestic policy and foreign policy.⁴¹⁶

The president of SAE, Can Fuat Gürlelel, has an experience in other think-tanks. In fact, he had worked in the ARI Movement. He was one of the founders of the Higher Strategy Center (Yüksek Strateji Merkezi) established in 2000. After that he founded SAE. This development shows us some think-tanks are formed after the realization that information and analyses have economic and commercial value.⁴¹⁷

3.4.11. The Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies

TASAM, whose president is Süleyman Şensoy, was founded as a corporation by a group consisting of businessmen, academicians and intellectuals in Istanbul in 2003.

⁴¹³ DIF, <http://www.dispolitikaforumu.com/en/index.htm>, (18 June 2006).

⁴¹⁴ Some examples of its research reports are Turning Point in Turkish-American Relations: Iraqi War; International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and Turkey; Turkey's Role in the East-West Energy Corridor; Japan and United Nation Security Council; Turkey and European Security; Cyprus Question; The Gordion Knot: Israeli- Palestinian Conflict; and Russian Economy: Recent Developments and Challenges Ahead. See DIF, <http://www.dispolitikaforumu.com/en/index.htm>, (18 June 2006).

⁴¹⁵ Some examples of its conferences are The United Nations Security Council Reform and Turkey; Turkey and the Changing EU Neighborhood; Kyoto Protocol, The European Union and Turkish Business World; Global Terrorism: Economic Repercussions and Remedies; The Greater Middle East and the Future of the Transatlantic Relation; and The Future of Turkish-American Relations. See DIF, <http://www.dispolitikaforumu.com/en/index.htm>, (18 June 2006).

⁴¹⁶ SAE, <http://www.turksae.com/face/index.php?tanitim=yes>, (2 July 2006).

⁴¹⁷ Güvenç, "Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları".

TASAM argues that strategic research and studies of the region that includes Turkey are generally conducted by research centers far from the region, calling into question the adequacy, credibility, and cost-efficiency of those studies. There is an urgent need for such organizations in our region. Studies by existing associations and foundations are inadequate and unable to conduct the realistic, dynamic research that will provide different points of view. TASAM asserts that it has been founded to fill the strategic research gap.⁴¹⁸

Its objective is to initiate and provide decision-makers with realistic, dynamic, creative, and effective solutions and decision options through scientific research, studies, analysis, and evaluations related to Turkey and the surrounding region's historical, cultural, political, economic, legal, sociological, and geopolitical structure; its bilateral, regional, and multilateral international relations; and its political, economic, and socio-cultural issues.⁴¹⁹

There are eight current study groups in TASAM. The existing groups are the European Union Study Group; the Global and Regional Power Centers Study Group; the Caucasus-Central Asia-Middle East Study Group; the Political Science-Socio-Cultural Study Group; the Economics Study Group; the Finance Study Group; the Technology Study Group; the Medical Studies Study Group; and the Media and Public Relations Study Group.⁴²⁰

Since 2004, in addition to its publications of books⁴²¹ and reports,⁴²² TASAM has published *Stratejik Öngörü* (Strategic Foresight), a Turkish-language quarterly journal dealing with Turkish foreign policy issues.⁴²³

⁴¹⁸ TASAM, http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Firma_Bilgi&op=FirmaBilgi&fb_sirano=5, (5 July 2006).

⁴¹⁹ TASAM, http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Firma_Bilgi&op=FirmaBilgi&fb_sirano=16, (5 July 2006).

⁴²⁰ TASAM, <http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=189>, (5 July 2006).

⁴²¹ Some examples of its books: Turkey and the Greater Middle East; New Security Perspectives in Europe and Turkey; Africa In the New Century; China: Superpower of the Future; and The Socio-Economic Structure of Azerbaijan in the New Century. See TASAM, <http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=306>, (5 July 2006).

TASAM, supporting itself through sponsorships or commercial agreements, serves private and public institutions in need of research.⁴²⁴

3.4.12. The Global Strategy Institute

The Iraqi Research Center (Irak Arařtırmaları Merkezi) was established by the Türkmeneli Foundation (Türkmeneli Vakfı) in Ankara in 2003. It was renamed as GSE in 2004.⁴²⁵

GSE argues that it is dedicated to scholarly research and debate on Turkey's interests in the various regions, including the Middle East, Europe, Caucasias and the Balkans. Although the priority of the Institute was limited to the Middle East and Iraq at the beginning, it has expanded its research area to the Turkish nations and regions, and the regions and countries which are of vital importance to Turkey.

GSE follows events and collects data relevant to its field of interest. It also makes field studies and analyses about countries, regions and relevant topics. At the end of these studies, it publishes these political, military, economic and social analyses by delivering them to the relevant institutions and associations. Thus, it aims at assisting the formation of strategy and concepts to be followed.⁴²⁶

GSE has formed four study groups, namely the Middle East, the Balkans and Europe, Caucasus-Central Asia, and the Far East.

⁴²² Some examples of its research reports: Technological Development Strategies in Defense Industry; Iraq After the New Constitution; Financial Integration Process in Turkey and Foreign Investment in Banking; The Armenian Diaspora and the Turkish – Russian Relations; and Intelligence Institutions in the European Union. See TASAM, <http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=307>, (5 July 2006).

⁴²³ See TASAM, <http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=308>, (5 July 2006).

⁴²⁴ TASAM, http://eng.tasam.org/modules.php?name=Firma_Bilgi, (5 July 2006).

⁴²⁵ Interview with Habib Hürmüzlü, Ankara, 5 July 2006.

⁴²⁶ GSE, <http://www.globalstrateji.org/en/Icerik.ASP?ID=310>, (4 July 2006).

GSE has published a Turkish-language quarterly journal, “Global Strateji” (Global Strategy) since 2005. Also, it publishes reports especially on Iraq.⁴²⁷

3.4.13. The Economic Policy Research Institute

TEPAV was established by TOBB in Ankara in 2004. Rifat Hisarcıkhoğlu, president of TOBB, is also the president of TEPAV, with Professor Güven Sak as its managing director.

TEPAV intends to increase the knowledge content of policy discussions in Turkey. Its goal is to remove the gap between academic research and policy implementation, aiming to transform scholarly research into concrete policy proposals.

The institute has three research programs: economic studies, foreign policy studies and governance studies. These programs represent the inter-disciplinary nature of TEPAV research. Nonetheless, the economic perspective forms a basis for research in all three programs.

A major priority of TEPAV’s research is to design mechanisms to support the institutionalization of the Turkish corporate sector.⁴²⁸

TEPAV makes its findings and analyses generally available through its publications.⁴²⁹ It also contributes to the development of the policy discussions with its events.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Some examples of its research reports: Analysis of Iraq Before The Elections: Policies of USA and Demands of the Kurds; Iraq, Developments in Telafer and the Latest Situation of Turkmens; Brussels Model in Kirkuk; and The Greater Middle East Project and its Effects on Turkey. See GSE, <http://www.globalstrateji.org/en/Icerik.ASP?ID=320>, (4 July 2006).

⁴²⁸ TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=about>, (21 June 2006).

⁴²⁹ It publishes books, reports, policy notes and policy papers. Some examples of these publications: Effects of the EU process to Turkish Economy; The Role of Anti-Corruption in the Turkish Accession to the European Union; Parliamentary Elections in Azerbaijan: Time for Another Revolution?; The US-Turkish Alliance at the Iranian Junction?; Iraq and the Kurds: The Brewing Battle over Kirkuk; The Use of Privatization Revenues; Fast Moving Consumer Goods Competitive Conditions and Policies; and TOBB-BİS Industry for Peace Initiative (The Union of Chambers Commodity and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey). See TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=publish>, (21 June 2006).

A “trust fund” has been formed through the generous support of TOBB to finance TEPAV. The institute argues that this financial set up is being applied for the first time in Turkey and guarantees the non-partisan structure and independence of the institute.⁴³¹

3.4.14. The Economic Research Forum

EAF, the director of which is Faik Öztrak, was established jointly by TÜSİAD and Koç University as a nonprofit organization in Istanbul in 2004. Professor Attila Aşkar and Ömer Sabancı are its cochairmen.

EAF focuses on promoting an independent and objective analysis on economic growth and discusses the implications of different economic policy options. It aims to be a world-class research institute that draws on both the academic and the professional expertise of the most outstanding minds in the field of economics and business. Integrating with the business community through direct academic involvement in research related to both Turkish and global economy, EAF is dedicated to promote an independent and objective analysis on economic policies for faster growth. Its mission is to conduct business and economic research, and to provide alternatives for short-term and long-term economic policies to meet the challenges of sustainable economic growth. It is also active in a wide range of economic research activities, especially related with the policy suggestions for a development strategy.⁴³²

EAF has four working groups: business environment, governance and foreign direct investment; international finance and macroeconomy; employment; and productivity.

⁴³⁰ It organizes conferences, seminars, workshops and roundtable meetings. Some examples of these activities: Lobbying at the EU: Methods and Implications for the Turkish Business World; Relations between Turkey, EU and USA after the EU Summit of December 17th; Economic Integration of Eurasia: Opportunities and Challenges of Global Significance; Iraqi Constitution: What is the Meaning of Federalism?; Anti Corruption Conference, International Energy Sector Security in a Post-Iraq Threat Environment; and EU Accession and Negotiation Techniques. See TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=news>, (21 June 2006).

⁴³¹ TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=about>, (21 June 2006).

⁴³² EAF, <http://erf.ku.edu.tr/aboutus.asp>, (11 June 2006).

EAF organizes conferences, seminars and roundtable meetings⁴³³ and publishes books and working papers.⁴³⁴

3.4.15. The International Strategic Research Organization

USAK, the director of which is Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sedat Laçiner, was established as an association by a group of businessmen and academicians in Ankara in 2004. As a nonprofit and non-governmental organization, USAK asserts that it is one of the leading organizations for the analysis of global issues both in Turkey and in the world.⁴³⁵

USAK aims to advance a balanced and realistic understanding of international relations, international security, international law and Turkish foreign policy. It further aims to develop an understanding of international relations in Turkey. The USAK researchers aim to establish a Turkish international relations perspective and to share the Turkish experience with the world. USAK also aims to maintain and develop its role as adviser to government departments, non-governmental organizations, corporations, international organizations and the media in policy areas.

USAK's research areas are area studies (the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans, etc.); ethnic studies; European studies; integration studies; international law; international politics; political economy; religion and politics; security (home and international) studies; sociology; terrorism; and Turkish studies (foreign and home politics).⁴³⁶

⁴³³ Some examples of its conferences and seminars: International Capital Movements: What's Next for Emerging Markets?; Sustainable Growth Strategies for Turkey; and Policies, Labor Utilization and Growth: the OECD Experience See EAF, http://erf.ku.edu.tr/conference_past.asp, (11 June 2006).

⁴³⁴ Some examples of its books and working papers: Chronicle of the Turkish Financial Crises of 2000-2001; The Turkish Economy: The Real Economy, Corporate Governance and Reform; Bank Lending with Imperfect Competition and Spill-over Effects; and Will History Repeat Itself? An Assessment of Turkish Current Account Trends and Prospects. See EAF, <http://erf.ku.edu.tr/index.asp>, (11 June 2006).

⁴³⁵ USAK, http://www.usak.org.tr/junction.asp?lid=1_4_1&ln=EN, (8 July 2006).

⁴³⁶ USAK, http://www.usak.org.tr/junction.asp?lid=1_4_3&ln=EN, (8 July 2006).

USAK carries out its functions by convening seminars, conferences, hosting visiting scholars, publishing books, papers and journals,⁴³⁷ and organizing research programs and projects.

Its funding comes from membership fees, sponsorship and charitable donations from trusts, foundations, companies and individuals.⁴³⁸

3.4.16. The Research Center for National Security Strategies

TUSAM was established in Ankara in 2004 as an affiliate of the Turkish Metal Workers' Union (Türk Metal Sendikası). It started its work as the center of policy formulation in the context of national security.

TUSAM argues that global forces see people and natural resources in Eurasia as exploitation items. Therefore, it was established as a reaction to this approach, in addition to defending Turkey's interests on various platforms.

TUSAM aims to share its strategies on defense and national security issues with the Turkish society, public organizations and academia for Turkey's own future.⁴³⁹

TUSAM has 10 regional tables, which were firstly used by ASAM at the beginning of its studies.⁴⁴⁰

TUSAM has published a Turkish-language weekly journal, "Strateji" (Strategy) in cooperation with the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet since July 2004. It also contributes to the evaluation of programs, news and current events on Eurasian Radio and

⁴³⁷ USAK publishes an e-journal in English and Turkish of Turkish Weekly. USAK asserts that the Journal of Turkish Weekly has 10,000 visitors every day from all over the world. See Turkish Weekly, <http://www.turkishweekly.net>, (8 July 2006). USAK also started to publish the Journal of Central Asian and Caucasian Studies (Orta Asya ve Kafkasya Araştırmaları Dergisi). See USAK, <http://www.usak.org.tr/junction.asp?mod=articles&st=PrintArticleDetail&id=168&lm=58649JLFD0932&ln=TR>, (2 August 2006).

⁴³⁸ See USAK, http://www.usak.org.tr/junction.asp?lid=1_4_6&ln=EN, (8 July 2006).

⁴³⁹ TUSAM, <http://www.tusam.net/about.asp>, (8 June 2006).

⁴⁴⁰ The regional tables of TUSAM are Turkey, Turkistan, Middle East, Balkans, Caucasus, Europe, US, Russia-Ukraine, and Near East. See TUSAM, <http://www.tusam.net/about.asp>, (8 June 2006).

Television (Avrasya Radyo Televizyonu-ART) and its researchers participate in the programs of other radio and television channels.⁴⁴¹

3.4.17. The Ankara Office of German Marshall Fund

Founded in 1972 through a gift from Germany as a permanent memorial to Marshall Plan assistance, the German Marshall Fund (GMF) maintains a strong presence on both sides of the Atlantic. It has headquarters in Washington, DC.

GMF is an American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to promoting a greater cooperation and understanding between the United States and Europe. GMF does this by supporting individuals and institutions working on transatlantic issues, by convening leaders to discuss the most pressing transatlantic themes, and by examining ways in which transatlantic cooperation can address a variety of global policy challenges. In addition, GMF supports a number of initiatives to strengthen democracies.⁴⁴²

It has five offices in Europe: Berlin, Bratislava, Paris, Brussels and Belgrade. Its sixth office in Europe was opened in Ankara in 2005, with Suat Kınıklioğlu as the director of its Ankara office. The Ankara office aims to support a strong civil society in Turkey and its neighboring countries and create a forum where Americans, Europeans, and Turks can learn from one another and address shared challenges.

GMF's expansion into Turkey reflects the call to address policy challenges along Europe's borders, including the Balkans, the Black Sea region, and the Middle East. Located near the seat of Turkish government, the office develops policy programs, fellowships, and grantmaking activities that encourage more active and prominent Turkish participation in the transatlantic community.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ TUSAM, <http://www.tusam.net/about.asp>, (8 June 2006); and interview with Ali Külebi, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

⁴⁴² GMF, <http://www.gmfus.org/about/index.cfm>, (9 July 2006).

⁴⁴³ GMF, <http://www.gmfus.org/about/office.cfm?city=ankara>, (9 July 2006); and interview with Suat Kınıklioğlu, Ankara, 18 July 2006.

3.4.18. The Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research

SETA, whose director general is Dr. İbrahim Kalın, was formed by a group of academicians and businessmen in Ankara in 2006.

SETA defines itself as a non-partisan and non-profit research institute dedicated to innovative studies on national, regional, and international issues. The objective of SETA is to produce up-to-date and accurate knowledge and analyses in the fields of politics, economy and society and to inform policy makers and the public on changing political, economic, social and cultural conditions. The aim of SETA is not only to analyze the current situation but also challenge conventional thinking and make rational projections.

As a research and policy recommending institution, SETA aims to provide a forum for international dialogue to bring different views together with international scholarly standards, and contributes to the formation of establishing a common ground.⁴⁴⁴ Through research reports,⁴⁴⁵ publications, brainstorming meetings, conferences and policy recommendations, SETA seeks to guide leaders in government, civil society and business and contribute to the informed decision making mechanisms in Turkey. SETA's mission is to foster collaborative and interdisciplinary research, enrich the strategic debate and to provide decision-makers in both the public and private sectors with authoritative and independent information, analyses and proposals for action.⁴⁴⁶

3.4.19. The AB Akademi

The AB Akademi was established in Ankara in 2006 as an education and consultancy firm as well as a think-tank by a group of personalities from

⁴⁴⁴ SETA, http://www.setav.org/lang_en/?option=com_content&task=view&id=1&Itemid=2, (15 June 2006).

⁴⁴⁵ Some of its reports: The New Iraq, The Middle East and Turkey: A Turkish View; The Iran File; and Oil Prices. See SETA, http://www.setav.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=7&Itemid=59, (15 June 2006).

⁴⁴⁶ SETA, http://www.setav.org/lang_en/?option=com_content&task=view&id=1&Itemid=2, (15 June 2006).

academicians and entrepreneurs under the presidency of Professor Hüseyin Bağcı and has a branch office in Brussels.

The AB Akademi argues that it, as a research centre with qualified academic staff and international partners, is striving for establishing a think-tank culture in Turkey. Its aim is to contribute to the development of the Turkey-EU relationship within the framework of academic ethics and objectivity, as a policy platform that has civil intellectual initiative and professional approach.⁴⁴⁷

As a research center, the objectives of AB Akademi are to conduct research in line with academic and professional business ethics in order to create comprehensive solutions to the problems that Turkey might face during and after the negotiations period; to make future-oriented analyses by reaching out to the true data and active public sentiments with scientific methods; to inform the Turkish and European public by organizing conferences⁴⁴⁸ and symposia, and publications.⁴⁴⁹

The AB Akademi finances its research activities with revenues from its education and consultancy projects.⁴⁵⁰

3.4.20. The Ankara Global Research Center

AGAM, whose president is Assoc. Prof. Dr. İdris Bal, was established as an association in Ankara in 2006.

AGAM defines itself as a nonprofit and independent think-tank which aims to provide strategic information in order to shed light on national, regional and global policies. Its goal is to provide alternative solutions, future-oriented studies and

⁴⁴⁷ See AB Akademi, <http://www.abakademi.com/TR/eng.asp?sayfa=90>, (21 July 2006).

⁴⁴⁸ The AB Akademi organizes Saturday Conferences together with KAS. See AB Akademi, <http://www.abakademi.com/TR/etkinlik.asp?sayfa=86>, (21 July 2006).

⁴⁴⁹ AB Akademi, <http://www.abakademi.com/TR/eng.asp?sayfa=87>, (21 July 2006).

⁴⁵⁰ AB Akademi, <http://www.abakademi.com/TR/eng.asp?sayfa=86>, (21 July 2006).

scenarios about issues in Turkey and the world to decision makers, media, academicians, and the relevant persons.⁴⁵¹

Its main activities are composed of research projects,⁴⁵² organizing conferences,⁴⁵³ seminars and panel discussions,⁴⁵⁴ and publications. Its funding mainly comes from research projects and revenues from publications.⁴⁵⁵

3.4.21. The TGNA Research Center

The center was established as a government body (TGNA) in Ankara in 2006. The center aims to provide impartial, accurate and timely information for the Members of Parliament (MP)'s working on legislation, decision making, supervision of government, political dialogue and advice to government, informing the public, and the representation of the Parliament in national or international arenas.

The center has six divisions: law and comparative legislation; public administration and political sciences; economy and finance; international relations; social policy, and agriculture; natural resources, science and technology.

Its main activities are to prepare research reports, standard notes, background papers and statistical indicators so as to reply to MP's information requests on related matters.⁴⁵⁶

The center is totally funded by TGNA and its staff are the officials of TGNA.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ AGAM, <http://www.polmer.org/hakkimizda.php>, (3 July 2006).

⁴⁵² For example; Street Children, and the EU and Migration. See AGAM, <http://www.polmer.org/proje.php>, (3 July 2006).

⁴⁵³ For example; the Future of Iraq, and the Armenian Question. See AGAM, <http://www.polmer.org/konferans.php>, (3 July 2006).

⁴⁵⁴ For example; Effects of Iranian Nuclear Program on Turkish Security Policy. See AGAM, <http://www.polmer.org/panel.php>, (3 July 2006).

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with İdris Bal, Ankara, 7 July 2006.

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with Ahmet Yıldız, Ankara, 10 August 2006.

⁴⁵⁷ See "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği", *Resmî Gazete*, No: 26133, 8 April 2006. See also TBMM, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/armer.htm>, (3 June 2006).

CHAPTER 4

THE THINK-TANK SCENE IN TURKEY

Think-tanks as the outcome of Western democracies have spread many parts of the world, display differences in terms of their functions, funding sources, and relations with governmental institutions and civil societies. Although these features of think-tanks were mentioned in the second chapter, it is inevitably necessary to study on these specialties of think-tanks in Turkey in order to emphasize the differences. Therefore, the classification of think-tanks, their organization model, functions, funding and culture will be focal points in this chapter.

4.1. The Classification of Think-Tanks in Turkey

The proliferation and diversification of think-tanks in Turkey require their classification. However, to decide about the criteria to be used and to categorize the think-tanks constitute the main problem.

Some think-tanks in Turkey assert their work like universities without students such as TEPAV.⁴⁵⁸ Some think-tanks work like advocacy tanks such as LDT.⁴⁵⁹ However, there is no clear-cut differentiation among think-tanks concerning their modes of operation due to the features of the think-tank sector in Turkey. Also, contract research demands of government agencies from think-tanks are very limited so it is not possible to constitute a category of contract research organization in our country. Therefore, think-tanks in Turkey can not be divided easily into three categories of

⁴⁵⁸ See TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/index.php?type=about>, (21 June 2006).

⁴⁵⁹ As above-mentioned, the objectives of LDT are to introduce to Turkish public the richness of the intellectual tradition that lay at the heart of the liberal democratic civilization; to engage in activities that promote understanding and acceptance of values like liberty, justice, peace, human rights, the rule of law, tolerance; to encourage development of academic researches on liberal themes; and to contribute to finding effective solutions to Turkey's political and economic problems within the liberal thought. See LDT, <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=en&message=about>, (29 May 2006).

universities without students, contract research organizations and advocacy tanks as Weaver did.

It seems more appropriate to use McGann's classification for the think-tanks in Turkey. However some categories formed by McGann can not be properly constituted such as quasi governmental think-tanks. Since funding sources of think-tanks in Turkey are not so transparent, which of them are funded exclusively by government grants and contracts can not be determined easily. Moreover, separation of think-tanks in Turkey as independent and quasi-independent does not work. According to McGann's definition of the independent think-tank, it has to be independent significantly from any one interest group or donor and autonomous in their operation and funding from government. McGann defines the quasi independent think-tank as autonomous from government but controlled by an interest group, donor, or contracting agency that provides a majority of the funding and has significant influence over operations of the think-tank.⁴⁶⁰ However, in general, think-tanks in Turkey were founded by interest and pressure groups such as TEPAV of TOBB, TUSAM of the Turkish Metal Workers' Union, İKV of the business community, and DIF and EAF of TÜSİAD or their funding mainly comes from only one donor. Therefore it seems to be more appropriate to unite these two categories in one. Lastly, McGann does not form a category for the branch of think-tanks abroad. Nonetheless, it is necessary to constitute a new category due to offices of foreign think-tanks opened in Turkey.

As a result, for the categorization of think-tanks in Turkey, McGann's classification will basically be used. However, they will be divided into five categories, namely independent and quasi independent, government-affiliated, university-affiliated, political party-affiliated, and the branch offices of foreign think-tanks, instead of his six categories.

4.1.1. Independent and Quasi Independent Think-Tanks

This category contains the think-tanks which are significantly independent from any one interest and pressure group, donor, and government funding as well as being

⁴⁶⁰ See McGann, "Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy", p.14.

controlled by an interest and pressure group, and donor. The list of think-tanks within this category is given below:

Table 3: Independent and Quasi Independent Think-Tanks in Turkey

	Organization	Date of Est.	Web Site	Location
1	AB Akademi	2006	http://www.abakademi.com	Ankara
2	Ankara Center for Turkish Policy Studies-ANKAM	2003	http://www.ankam.org/	Ankara
3	Ankara Global Research Center-AGAM	2006	http://www.polmer.org/	Ankara
4	ARI Movement (ARI Hareketi)	1994	http://www.ari.org.tr/	Istanbul
5	Association for Liberal Thinking-LDT	1994	http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/	Ankara
6	Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies-ASAM	1999	http://www.asam.org.tr/tr/index.asp	Ankara
7	Economic Development Foundation-İKV	1965	http://www.ikv.org.tr/	Istanbul
8	Economic Policy Research Institute-TEPAV	2004	http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/index.php	Ankara
9	Economic Research Forum-EAF	2004	http://eaf.ku.edu.tr/	Istanbul
10	Economic Research Foundation-İAV	1962	http://www.iktisadiarastirmalar.org/	Istanbul
11	Economists' Platform (Ekonomistler Platformu)	2000	http://www.ekonomistler.org.tr/	Istanbul
12	Foreign Policy Forum-DIF	2003	http://www.dispolitikaforumu.com	Istanbul
13	Foreign Policy Institute-DPE	1974	http://www.foreignpolicy.org.tr	Ankara
14	Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies-OBIV	1984	http://www.obiv.org.tr/index.html	Istanbul
15	Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research-SETA	2006	http://www.setav.org/	Ankara
16	Foundation for Sciences and Arts-BSV	1986	http://www.bisav.org.tr/	Istanbul
17	Global Strategy Institute-GSE	2003	http://www.globalstrateji.org/TUR/	Ankara
18	Institute for Strategic Studies-SAE	2003	http://www.turksae.com/face/	Istanbul
19	International Strategic Research Organization-USAK	2004	http://www.usak.org.tr/	Ankara
20	Islamic Research Center-İSAM	1988	http://www.isam.org.tr/	Istanbul
21	KÖK Social and Strategic Research Foundation-KÖKSAV	1991	http://www.koksav.org.tr/	Ankara
22	Marmara Group Strategic and Social Research Foundation-MGV	1985	http://www.marmaragrubu.org.tr/index.htm	Istanbul
23	National Policy Research Foundation-UPAV	1995	http://www.upav.org.tr/trmain.html	Ankara
24	Political and Social Studies Foundation-SİSAV	1980	No Web Site	Istanbul
25	Research Center for National Security Strategies-TUSAM	2004	http://www.tusam.net/	Ankara
26	Social Research Foundation-SAV	2000	http://www.sav.org.tr/	Istanbul
27	Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation-TESAV	1993	http://www.tesav.org.tr/	Ankara

Table 3:Independent and Quasi Independent Think-Tanks in Turkey(continued)

	Organization	Date of Est.	Web Site	Location
28	Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies-TASAM	2003	http://www.tasam.org/	Istanbul
29	Turkish Democracy Foundation-TDV	1987	http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/	Ankara
30	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation-TESEV	1994	http://www.tesev.org.tr/	Istanbul
31	Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation-TÜSES	1989	No Web Site	Istanbul
32	Yükselis Economic and Strategic Research Foundation-YİSAV	1995	http://www.yisav.org/	Ankara

As it can be seen in the table, 3 of them were established in the period of 1960-1979; 7 of them were founded in the period of 1980-1989; 8 of them were formed in the period of 1990-2000; and 14 of them were established after 1999. The table reflects expansion of independent and quasi independent think-tanks after 1999.

The think-tanks under this category are mainly located in Ankara, the capital city, and in Istanbul, the industrial and economic center of the country. 16 of the think-tanks forming the table are located in Ankara and 16 of them are located in Istanbul. It can be said that the think-tanks which are focused on the economic issues are mainly centered in Istanbul. The basic exception of this is the Ankara-based TEPAV. Moreover, in general, think-tanks whose main subject is foreign and security policy are located in Ankara. Some think-tanks such as TASAM, OBİV, DİF and SAE constitute the exceptions of this rule.

4.1.2. Government-Affiliated Think-Tanks

The think-tanks which are a part of the structure of government constitute this category. The first government-affiliated think-tank in Turkey, the Center for Strategic Research, was established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1995. This was then followed by the Higher Education Council, the Ministry of the Interior, the Turkish Military Forces and TGNA. All of these think-tanks are located in Ankara.

The list of think-tanks within this category is given below:

Table 4: Government-Affiliated Think-Tanks in Turkey

	Organization	Date of Est.	Web Site	Location
1	Center for Strategic Research-SAM	1995	http://www.sam.gov.tr/	Ankara
2	Center for Strategies (Strateji Merkezi)	2000	http://www.arem.gov.tr/	Ankara
3	National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies-SAEMK	1997	http://www.saemk.org/	Ankara
4	Strategic Studies and Research Center-SAREM	2002	No Web Site	Ankara
5	TGNA Research Center	2006	http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/armer.htm	Ankara

There are some reasons behind the emergence of think-tanks in this category: Various parts of society have been closely interested in Turkish foreign and security policies since the 1990s and have proposed alternative policy choices on these issues. Furthermore, the ongoing democratization process in Turkey and an enlarged space of freedoms have strengthened civil society. Civil society organizations began to discuss all issues relevant to the society and offer alternative solutions to the government and public in related matters. Therefore the above-mentioned government bodies needed to establish their own think-tanks. For instance, the idea that TGNA should have a think-tank in order to inform the members of parliament especially on foreign policy was sometimes uttered in the media.⁴⁶¹

However, some people from think-tanks and the media criticize the establishment of government-affiliated think-tanks. For example, according to Seyfi Taşhan, the establishment of SAM is an obstacle for the development of private think-tanks.⁴⁶² Some journalists who perceive SAREM as a means of establishing a monopoly of knowledge by the state argue that genuine think-tanks can emerge after the disappearance of the state monopoly on knowledge and democratization of knowledge.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ See Mim Kemal Öke, “Dış Politikada Milli İrade?”, *Türkiye*, 11 February 1999; and Hakan Cıdal, “Think Tank Fukarası Türkiye 3: İş Dünyası da Duyarsız”, *Zaman*, 17 July 1999.

⁴⁶² See Karaosmanoğlu and Onulduran, pp.3-4.

⁴⁶³ Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”. See also Haluk Ülman’s article for the views on pros and cons of SAREM. Haluk Ülman, “Sivil ‘Merkez’lerin Yokluğunda”, *Dünya*, 15 January 2002.

4.1.3. University-Affiliated Think-Tanks

This category consists of research centers of universities which conduct studies on strategic issues, the EU, regional matters such as the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia, in addition to social and economic issues concerning Turkey.

Currently, there are seventy-eight universities in Turkey⁴⁶⁴ and these universities have 99 research centers falling into this category as of 28 May 2006. 30 of the universities do not have the research centers which conduct research on the above-mentioned areas (See Appendix B).

The information about the establishment date of 19 research centers could not be reached. 32 of them were founded before 2000 and 48 of them have been formed since then (See Appendix B). These figures show us that there has been an acceleration in the establishment of university-based research centers since 2000. As mentioned above, especially strategic research centers and centers for European studies have been founded at the universities since then.

Generally, the director of each center is usually a professor at the same university. In addition, their staff is composed of academics of the same university and their funding mainly comes from the university budget. However, some research centers provide funding from research projects as well.⁴⁶⁵

In spite of the fact that universities have many research centers in Turkey, they are in general, not too active. As it can be seen in the Appendix B, there is no information available on the university web sites for about 16 research centers. Also, 29 of them have only their name on the university web sites, but there is no link to their own

⁴⁶⁴ See, YÖK, http://www.yok.gov.tr/universiteler/uni_web.htm, (22 July 2006).

⁴⁶⁵ For example, KORA of METU has provided funds from national and international organizations such as Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TICA), the British Council, the United Nations Development Programme, UNESCO and NATO. See KORA, http://www.kora.metu.edu.tr/page_detail.php?turid=31, (19 June 2006). Another example is that OSIAF-Turkey has sponsored research projects of Center for European Studies and Social Policy Forum of Boğaziçi University, and Istanbul Policy Center of Sabancı University. See OSIAF-Turkey, http://www.osiaf.org.tr/router.php?sayfa_id=003&res=1024, (24 June 2006).

pages and activities. Furthermore, the web pages of some centers only consist of the names of their directors. Therefore, it can be said that more than fifty percent of the research centers in the Appendix B are dysfunctional centers.⁴⁶⁶

4.1.4. Political Party-Affiliated Think-Tanks

Turkey does not have political party-affiliated think-tanks in terms of the political party-affiliated think-tanks in Germany. However, some claims occasionally appeared in the newspapers that TDV, TÜSES, SİSAV, the ARI Group and MGTV were subordinated to the political parties.⁴⁶⁷ According to these claims, TDV and the ARI Group were ANAP-affiliated organizations; TÜSES was a SHP-affiliated organization; SİSAV was a True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi-DYP)-affiliated organization; and MGTV was a Nationalist Action Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi-MHP)-affiliated organization.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, although a close relationship to SHP was not denied in its establishment stage, the former and current managers of TÜSES have insisted on there being no organic link between TÜSES and SHP. In spite of the fact that the other think-tanks had close relations with the aforementioned political parties, all managers of these organizations emphasized that they had no organic links with the political parties.⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, the ARI Movement, which emerged within ANAP and left it in 1999, argues that it did not have an organic link with ANAP during the period of 1994-1999.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ Karaosmanoğlu, Erhan and Çetinsaya stated that in general research centers at universities are inactive bodies. Interview with Karaosmanoğlu, Ankara, 6 July 2006; interview with Çağrı Erhan, Ankara, 6 July 2006; and interview with Gökhan Çetinsaya, Ankara, 12 July 2006.

⁴⁶⁷ See Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”. Also see “Sosyal Demokrat Politika Üreten TÜSES Vakfı İkinci Yaşını Kutluyor”, *Hürriyet*, 12 January 1991; “MHP’nin TUSİAD’ı Kuruluyor”, *Milliyet*, 22 April 1999; “İşte ANAP’ı Kapatacak Rapor”, *Dünden Bugüne Tercüman*, 11 March 2003; and Necati Doğru, “Oyum Sahibini Aramaya Çıktı”, *Sabah*, 14 January 1999.

⁴⁶⁸ See Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

⁴⁶⁹ See ARI Movement, <http://www.ari.org.tr/gecis.asp>, (3 June 2006).

It sometimes appeared as news in the media that DYP was establishing a think-tank⁴⁷⁰ along with similar reports of both the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi - RP)⁴⁷¹ and the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - AKP).⁴⁷² However, it can be said that these initiatives could not reach concrete results and party-affiliated think-tanks have not yet been established.

4.1.5. Branch Offices of Foreign Think-Tanks in Turkey

The last category consists of the branch offices of KAS, FES, the Orient Institute, FNS, HBS, OSIAF and GMF in Turkey. The list of branch offices making up this category is given below:

Table 5: Branch Offices of Foreign Think-Tanks in Turkey

	Organization	Date of Est.	Web Site	Location
1	Ankara Office of German Marshall Fund	2005	http://www.gmfus.org/about/office.cfm?city=Ankara	Ankara
2	Istanbul Branch of Orient Institute	1987	http://www.oidmg.org/istanbul/welcome_dt.html	Istanbul
3	Turkish Office of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	1988	http://www.festr.org/tr/	Istanbul
4	Turkish Office of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung	1991	http://www.fnst.org	Istanbul
5	Turkish Office of Heinrich Böll Stiftung	1994	http://www.boell-tr.org/tr/default_tr.aspx?pgid=0&mid=0&lng=tr	Istanbul
6	Turkish Office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	1984	http://www.kas.de/proj/home/home/44/12/index.html	Ankara
7	Turkish Representative Office of Open Society Institute (OSIAF-Turkey)	2001	http://www.osiaf.org.tr/	Istanbul

As seen in the table, German think-tanks have been opening their branch offices since the mid-1980s. The USA-based think-tanks, namely OSI and GMF, following

⁴⁷⁰ See “DYP Yeni Fikirler Peşinde: Ağır ‘Think Tank’ Kuruyor”, *Zaman*, 10 February 2003.

⁴⁷¹ See Taha Akyol, “Batılı RP!”, *Milliyet*, 22 August 1997.

⁴⁷² See “Liberaller AKP İçin Think Tank Kuruyor”, *Zaman*, 10 January 2004.

their German counterparts in the 2000s, generally preferred to open their offices in Istanbul with the exception of KAS and GMF located in Ankara.

In general, they do not have their own research staff. As mentioned in the previous chapter, they support the research projects and activities of think-tanks and other NGOs financially. Furthermore, they organize conferences, meetings and publish books and the results of research so it can be said that they are one of the most important funding sources of think-tanks through research projects in Turkey.

4.2. Organization Models of Think-Tanks

4.2.1. Legal Status of Think-Tanks

From a legal and technical perspective, today, establishing a think-tank, does not face great bureaucratic obstacles. Except for government-affiliated and university-affiliated think-tanks, they are legally structured as foundations, associations or companies.

Some think-tanks such as DPE, TASAM, the AB Akademi and SAE prefer company status. Although DPE was founded as a company because of the bypassing restrictions which were applied by the government in the 1970s and 1980s on the relations of foundation with the organizations and people abroad, it became an affiliated organization of TUISAV in 1987.⁴⁷³ The others seem to think that information and analyses have economic and commercial value and they survive on the revenues coming from their research projects and activities.

Some think-tanks prefer association status such as the Turkish offices of KAS, FES and HBS, USAK, LDT, and AGAM. The Turkish offices of German Stiftungs preferred association status in order to bypass restrictions on the establishment of foundations by foreigners in the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ See Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

⁴⁷⁴ Interview with Dirk Tröndle, Ankara, 19 July 2006.

The great majority of think-tanks were established as a foundations such as İKV, TEPAV, TESEV, TESAV, TDV, SETA, TÜSES, UPAV, OBİV, BSV, KÖKSAV, MGTV, İAV, SİSAV, SAV and YİSAV. Furthermore, ASAM and GSE are respectively affiliates of the Avrasya-Bir Foundation and Türkmeneli Foundation.

4.2.2. Founders and Directors of Think-Tanks

The idea of forming a think-tank in Turkey firstly developed among the members of business community and they established pioneering organizations in this field. Nejat Eczacıbaşı, prominent businessman and founder of the Conference Board; Behçet Osmanağaoğlu, former chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and co-founder of İKV; Fazıl Zobu, former chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry and co-founder of İKV; and Seyfi Taşhan, former journalist and businessman, and founder of DPE are the pioneers of the think-tank sector of Turkey. In addition to this, Bülent Eczacıbaşı, prominent businessman and founder of TESEV, introduced Turkey to a model of a new generation think-tanks. Lastly, Professor Ümit Özdağ, founder and first president of ASAM, introduced the public in Turkey to a model of a strategic research center, which was followed by many newly established think-tanks.

Although there are the members of the business community among the founding members of almost all think-tanks, the founders of think-tanks in Turkey can be divided into seven categories.

Firstly, founders of many think-tanks are mainly the members of the business community or business organizations. For instance, the Conference Board, İAV, TESEV, DPE and the ARI Movement were founded by the members of the business community. Some think-tanks were established by business organizations such as İKV by the Istanbul Chambers of Commerce and Industry, TEPAV by TOBB, and DIF and EAF by TÜSİAD. Secondly, many think-tanks were formed by academics such as SİSAV, LDT, ASAM, KÖKSAV, YİSAV, the AB Akademi and AGAM. Thirdly, some think-tanks were founded by politicians such as TDV, TÜSES, TESAV and MGTV. Fourthly, some think-tanks were founded by former bureaucrats such as OBİV. Fifthly, some entrepreneurs thinking to gain some profit through the

think-tank activities established think-tanks such as TASAM and SAE. Sixthly, government bodies established their own think-tanks within their structures such as SAM, SAREM, SAEMK, the Center for Strategies and the TGNA Research Center. Lastly, like government agencies, universities founded the research centers within their structures such as strategic research centers and centers for European affairs.

In general, think-tanks having in-house researchers have directors or coordinators. The persons who perform these tasks mainly are either academics or former bureaucrats. For instance, the directors of TEPAV (Güven Sak), USAK (Sedat Laçiner), SETA (İbrahim Kalın) and DİF (Gülden Ayman) are academics whereas the directors/coordinators of ASAM (Necdet Pamir), EAF (Faik Öztrak) and TESEV (Şerif Sayın) are former civil bureaucrats. We can also see former military bureaucrats as directors/coordinators such as Ercüment Okçu of GSE and Atilla Sandıklı of TASAM.

4.2.3. The Staff of Think-Tanks

Staffing is one of the key choices to be made by a think-tank's managers. The most critical choices are whether or not to rely heavily on an in-house staff. An in-house staff has the advantage of giving think-tank managers maximum control over their time and helps to build brand recognition with the media and policy makers. However, an in-house research staff is more costly than that hired on a contract basis. Also, an in-house staff may be harder to alter in response to changing policy priorities than an external staff hired on a project basis.⁴⁷⁵

In general, since having in-house staff is more expensive than hired staff, many think-tanks in Turkey prefer hired researchers on a contract basis for research project. For example, SAM does not have in-house researchers.⁴⁷⁶ Also, LDT,⁴⁷⁷ SAV,⁴⁷⁸ TESAV⁴⁷⁹ and branch offices of foreign think-tanks in Turkey do not have

⁴⁷⁵ Weaver and McGann, p.26.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Bülent Karadeniz, Ankara, 8 August 2006.

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 17 August 2006.

⁴⁷⁸ See STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkreheri.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/c705a318bd010318c2256ee7004929cf?OpenDocument>, (27 June 2006).

in-house researchers. Turkish think-tanks having no permanent researchers conduct research projects through hired researchers. The Turkish offices of foreign think-tanks sponsor the research projects conducted by Turkish think-tanks and use the results of the projects. Furthermore, the think-tanks having in-house researchers also use hired researchers for their research projects such as TESEV, SETA and USAK. Some think-tanks rely heavily on in-house staff such as ASAM, TUSAM, the TGNA Research Center, TEPAV, and İKV. In addition, think-tanks also use volunteers and part-time staff in order to reduce personnel costs.

Table 6: Staff of Some Think-Tanks in Turkey

Think-Tanks	Permanent Staff	Year
Ankara Office of GMF ⁴⁸⁰	3	2006
ASAM ⁴⁸¹	31 (22 FTR*; 9 AS*)	2006
ARI Movement ⁴⁸²	11	2006
DIF ⁴⁸³	2	2006
EAF ⁴⁸⁴	2	2006
Economists' Platform ⁴⁸⁵	4	2006
GSE ⁴⁸⁶	Over 10 (FTR)	2006
İKV ⁴⁸⁷	14(10 FTR; 1 AS; 3 SS*)	2006
Istanbul Branch of Orient Institute ⁴⁸⁸	6	2006
LDT ⁴⁸⁹	4	2006
MGV ⁴⁹⁰	6	2004

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 14 August 2006.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Suat Kınıklioğlu, Ankara, 18 July 2006.

⁴⁸¹ See ASAM, <http://www.asam.org.tr/tr/akademik.asp>, (24 July 2006).

⁴⁸² Reply to the questioner by the ARI Movement, 14 July 2006.

⁴⁸³ See DIF, <http://www.dispolitikaforumu.com/aboutana.htm>, (20 July 2006).

⁴⁸⁴ See EAF, <http://eaf.ku.edu.tr/kimkimdir.asp>, (21 July 2006).

⁴⁸⁵ Reply to the questioner by the Economists' Platform, 13 July 2006.

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Habib Hürmüzlü, Ankara, 5 July 2006.

⁴⁸⁷ See İKV, <http://www.ikv.org.tr/iletisim.php>, (20 July 2006).

⁴⁸⁸ See Orient Institute, <http://www.oidmg.org/istanbul/staff.html>, (21 July 2006).

⁴⁸⁹ Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 18 August 2006.

Table 6: Staff of Some Think-Tanks in Turkey**(continued)**

Think-Tanks	Permanent Staff	Year
SAM ⁴⁹¹	8	2006
SAV ⁴⁹²	1	2004
SETA ⁴⁹³	15 (10 FTR; 5 SS)	2006
TDV ⁴⁹⁴	8	2006
TEPAV ⁴⁹⁵	38	2006
TESAV ⁴⁹⁶	2 (SS)	2006
TESEV ⁴⁹⁷	15	2006
TGNA Research Center ⁴⁹⁸	26 (23 FTR; 1 AS; 2 SS)	2006
TUSAM ⁴⁹⁹	Over 10 (FTR)	2006
TÜSES ⁵⁰⁰	2	2004
USAK ⁵⁰¹	15	2006
YİSAV ⁵⁰²	2	2004

* AS: administrative staff, FTR: full-time researcher, SS: support staff

⁴⁹⁰ See STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/e84afb4b532b34ddc2256e61004ed2ed?OpenDocument>, (27 June 2006).

⁴⁹¹ See SAM, <http://www.sam.gov.tr/tur/samorg2.php>, (23 July 2006).

⁴⁹² See STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/c705a318bd010318c2256ee7004929cf?OpenDocument>, (27 June 2006).

⁴⁹³ Interview with İbrahim Kalın, Ankara, 19 July 2006.

⁴⁹⁴ See TDV, http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/y_k.asp, (20 July 2006).

⁴⁹⁵ See TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/index.php?type=whoswho>, (20 July 2006).

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 15 August 2006.

⁴⁹⁷ See TESEV, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/calisanlar.php>, (20 July 2006).

⁴⁹⁸ Interview with Ahmet Yıldız, Ankara, 10 August 2006.

⁴⁹⁹ Interview with Ali Külebi, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

⁵⁰⁰ See STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/972cebf74b4bf8dc2256efc003447e1?OpenDocument>, (27 June 2006).

⁵⁰¹ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

⁵⁰² See STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/f5a4d81a1fd61536c2256eef002bdb52?OpenDocument>, (27 June 2006).

This table does not reflect the full scene about the permanent staff of think-tanks because of a lack of information on personnel of all think-tanks in Turkey. If it is not specified separately, the figures in the table shows all staff of think-tanks including administrative, research and support staff. Therefore it is not possible to rank think-tanks in terms of their in-house researchers. However, it can be said that ASAM, TEPAV and the TGNA Research Center have more in-house researchers than the others.

4.3. The Funding of Think-Tanks in Turkey

It could be said that in Turkey one of the major constraints facing think-tanks is funding. Due to the fact that think-tanks in Turkey can not cover their costs from membership fees, sales of publications or gifts, they need research projects sponsored by their partners, corporate support and government contracts in order to survive.

People in Turkey usually make donations to more tangible projects such as schools, mosques, homes for the poor, student dormitories and similar charitable construction projects rather than donating to think-tanks which produce intangible goods. For example, TESEV, one of the most prominent think-tanks in Turkey, could only get donations of about 500.000 dollars in the period of 1994-1999 as a result of its fund-raising efforts.⁵⁰³ Furthermore, as Stone argues, knowledge development has the character of a public good which decreases investment in the production of think-tanks.⁵⁰⁴

The Turkish State allocates funds to applied science research either directly through the governmental ministries, or indirectly through the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu-TÜBİTAK), and the Turkish Academy of Sciences (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi-TÜBA). Some think-tanks conducting research for these institutions use these

⁵⁰³ See Ergüder, “Philanthropic Support for Policy Research: the Case of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)”.

⁵⁰⁴ Stone, “Think Tank Transnationalisation and Non-Profit Analysis, Advice and Advocacy”.

governmental funds. Despite being used by some think-tanks,⁵⁰⁵ these governmental funds are not sufficient for the survival of the think-tank sector due to the fact that government agencies in Turkey are not in the habit of tendering research projects to think-tanks.⁵⁰⁶

Occasionally some think-tanks get funds directly from state budget (See Table 7). The table shows the amount of governmental grants allocated think-tanks during the period of 1999-2002. However, data have not been available since 2003 due to the authorization of the Ministry of Finance to allocate grants to foundations and associations.⁵⁰⁷ It can be said that size of governmental grants is small and can not be sufficient to cover their expenses totally. Moreover, theoretically, dependence on governmental grants can affect negatively independence of think-tanks.⁵⁰⁸

Table 7: Governmental Grants to Think-Tanks in Turkey

Think-Tanks	Amount of Grant	Year
Avrasya-Bir Foundation*	5.000.000.000 TL.	1999
SİSAV	10.000.000.000 TL.	1999
TDV	30.000.000.000 TL.	1999
TUİSAV**	25.000.000.000 TL.	1999
Türkmeneli Foundation***	25.000.000.000 TL.	1999
Avrasya-Bir Foundation	5.000.000.000 TL.	2000
KÖKSAV	20.000.000.000 TL.	2000
MGV	10.000.000.000 TL.	2000
TDV	20.000.000.000 TL.	2000
Türkmeneli Foundation	35.000.000.000 TL.	2000
Avrasya-Bir Foundation	5.000.000.000 TL.	2001
İAV	5.000.000.000 TL.	2001
MGV	10.000.000.000 TL.	2001
KÖKSAV	10.000.000.000 TL.	2001
TDV	10.000.000.000 TL.	2001
TUİSAV	5.000.000.000 TL.	2001
Türkmeneli Foundation	13.000.000.000 TL.	2001
YİSAV	5.000.000.000 TL.	2001
İAV	10.000.000.000 TL.	2002

⁵⁰⁵ For example, KÖKSAV and AGAM conducting research for TÜBİTAK and TÜBA use these funds. Interview with Cihat Özönder, Ankara, 10 July 2006 and interview with İdris Bal, Ankara, 7 July 2006.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

⁵⁰⁷ See “2003 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25065 (bis), 31 March 2003, p.91.

⁵⁰⁸ See Wallace, “Between Two Worlds: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy”, pp.146-147.

Table 7: Governmental Grants to Think-Tanks in Turkey (continued)

Think-Tanks	Amount of Grant	Year
KÖKSAV	12.000.000.000 TL.	2002
TÜİSAV	20.000.000.000 TL.	2002
Türkmeneli Foundation	7.000.000.000 TL.	2002
YİSAV	5.000.000.000 TL.	2002

Sources: “1999 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:23741 (bis), 30 June 1999, pp.124-126; “2000 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:23922 (bis), 28 December 1999, p.87-88; “2001 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:24273 (bis), 30 December 2000, pp.92-93; “2002 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:24618 (bis), 22 December 2001, pp.97-99.

*ASAM is the affiliate of Avrasya-Bir Foundation.

** DPE is the affiliate of TÜİSAV.

*** GSE is the affiliate of Türkmeneli Foundation.

The legal framework in Turkey is not conducive for the operation of think-tanks since it is hard to fulfill the conditions of tax-exempt status, only 4 of the think-tanks mentioned in this study have a tax-exempt status. These are İKV, OBİV, TESEV and the Türkmeneli Foundation which established GSE.⁵⁰⁹

As think-tanks in Turkey have the limited domestic funding sources, they try to find funds from abroad. One of the main funding sources is the EU. Various EU bodies provide funds for the research projects of think-tanks. For example, they sponsored the research projects of think-tanks such as LDT,⁵¹⁰ İKV, TESEV, UPAV,⁵¹¹ TDV,⁵¹² the ARI Movement⁵¹³ and MGV.⁵¹⁴ The USA-based NDI provided funds to think-tanks such as TESEV, TESAV, TDV and TÜSES.⁵¹⁵ Similarly, the USA-based NED sponsored some activities of think-tanks such as LDT, the ARI Movement,⁵¹⁶

⁵⁰⁹ See Gelir İdaresi Başkanlığı.

⁵¹⁰ See EuropeAid, www.eu.int/comm/europeaid/projects/eidhr/pdf/report-alt-activity_en.pdf, (6 June 2006).

⁵¹¹ See Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, www.deltur.ec.europa.eu/english/eufunded2004/03eufp04.pdf, (6 June 2006).

⁵¹² See TDV, <http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/ortaklar.asp>, (6 June 2006).

⁵¹³ See ARI Movement, <http://www.ari.org.tr/sponsorluk/projeler.asp>, (3 June 2006).

⁵¹⁴ See, Merkezi Finans ve İhale Birimi, <http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/files/AwardNotice-1stCall-EN.doc>, (1 July 2006).

⁵¹⁵ See NDI, http://www.ndi.org/worldwide/eurasia/turkey/turkey_pf.asp, (8 June 2006).

⁵¹⁶ See NED, <http://www.ned.org/grants/05programs/grants-mena05.html#Turkey>, (9 June 2006).

TESEV and the Economists' Platform.⁵¹⁷ The USA-based CIPE provided funds for the research projects of LDT, TESEV and the Economists' Platform.⁵¹⁸ Some activities of think-tanks such as the ARI Movement, TESEV⁵¹⁹ and TDV⁵²⁰ were funded by the USA-based IRI. Likewise, the USA-based Atlas Economic Research Foundation financially supported some activities of LDT.⁵²¹ It should be taken into consideration that these funds are not permanent but they are only for specific projects. Therefore, these funds do not create a secure environment in which think-tanks operate.

In addition to the above-mentioned organizations, the Turkish offices of foreign foundations financially support some research projects of think-tanks. Examples of this support are the Turkish office of KAS supporting the research projects and activities of TDV,⁵²² the Turkish office of FES providing funds for some research projects and activities of TÜSES and TESEV,⁵²³ the Turkish office of FNS sponsoring some activities of LDT⁵²⁴ and OSIAF-Turkey providing funds for some research projects of TESEV.⁵²⁵

Although there are no sufficient data which reflect the full scene about the budget of think-tanks in Turkey because of the lack of transparency on this issue, it can be said that they generally operate with a small budget. One of the main exceptions of this is ASAM. In spite of the fact that the figures concerning ASAM's budget are not transparent, the size of its permanent staff (even though, ASAM currently has about

⁵¹⁷ See NED, <http://www.ned.org/grants/04programs/grants-mena04.html#Turkey>, (9 June 2006).

⁵¹⁸ See CIPE, <http://www.cipe.org/programs/global/index.php#mena>, (9 June 2006).

⁵¹⁹ See IRI, <http://www.iri.org/links.asp>, (9 June 2006).

⁵²⁰ See TDV, <http://www.demokrasivakfi.org.tr/ortaklar.asp>, (6 June 2006).

⁵²¹ See Atlas Economic Research Foundation, http://www.atlasusa.org/V2/files/pdfs/Guidelines0306_6.pdf, (9 June 2006).

⁵²² Interview with Dirk Tröndle, Ankara, 19 July 2006.

⁵²³ See FES, <http://www.festr.org/tr/d-tp.asp>, (17 May 2006).

⁵²⁴ See FNS, http://www.meda.fnst.org/webcom/show_article.php/_c-1487/_lkm-2257/i.html, (17 June 2006).

⁵²⁵ See, OSIAF-Turkey, http://www.osiaf.org.tr/router.php?sayfa_id=003&res=1024, (24 June 2006).

30 permanent staff, it had once had over 100 staff) gives us some clues about the size of its budget.⁵²⁶

Table 8: Budget of Some Think-Tanks in Turkey

Think-Tanks	Annual Budget	Year
TESEV ⁵²⁷	1.1 million dollars	2004
TDV ⁵²⁸	1.750.000.000.000 TL.	2003
TEPAV ⁵²⁹	1.500.000 YTL.	2005
İKV ⁵³⁰	1.135.540.168.384 TL.	2002
ARI Movement ⁵³¹	1.000.000 YTL.	2005
DPE ⁵³²	0.3 million dollars	2004
MGV ⁵³³	253.414.250.000 TL.	2002
Economists' Platform ⁵³⁴	170.000 YTL.	2005
LDT ⁵³⁵	100.000 dollars	2005
BSV ⁵³⁶	103.000.000.000 TL.	2002
TESAV ⁵³⁷	40.000 YTL.	2005
SAV ⁵³⁸	40.000.000.000 TL.	2003

⁵²⁶ Ümit Özdağ, former president of ASAM, asserted that ASAM ranked 35 among 5.000 think-tanks in the world. See Neşe Düzel, “Tezkereye Hayır Oyları Artabilir”, Interview with Ümit Özdağ, *Radikal*, 10 March 2003. However, Özdağ did not explain which criteria were used.

⁵²⁷ See Makido Nakamura and Tomoyuki Saito (eds), *NIRA's World Directory of Think Tanks 2005*, 5th Edition, (Tokyo:National Institute for Research Advancement, 2005), p.343.

⁵²⁸ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/bafde4d7874dbc27c2256e61004572aa?OpenDocument>, (21 June 2006).

⁵²⁹ See TEPAV, “TEPAV Yıllık Faaliyet Raporu 2005”, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/admin/ann/TepavEPR2005FaaliyetRaporuBasili.pdf>, (23 July 2006).

⁵³⁰ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/05514f0151a8182ac2256e60005994ad?OpenDocument>, (21 June 2006).

⁵³¹ ARI Movement, Reply to the questioner, 14 July 2006.

⁵³² See Nakamura and Saito (eds), p.342.

⁵³³ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/e84afb4b532b34ddc2256e61004ed2ed?OpenDocument>, (21 June 2006).

⁵³⁴ Ekonomistler Platformu, Reply to the questioner, 13 July 2006.

⁵³⁵ Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 17 August 2006.

⁵³⁶ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/bf329a42ca655b9ec2256ee80037ea11?OpenDocument>, (21 June 2006).

⁵³⁷ Interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 15 August 2006.

⁵³⁸ STK Rehberi, <http://www.stkrehberi.org/TTV/Rehber.nsf/c1b9a01c7256fab9c2256e240029f234/c705a318bd010318c2256ee7004929cf?OpenDocument>, (21 June 2006).

With the RAND Corporation's annual budget in 1996 of more than 100 million dollars⁵³⁹ as just one example, it can be seen using the figures in the table that financial structures of American think-tanks and their Turkish counterparts cannot be compared. Further examples of such American think-tanks are the Carnegie Endowment, the Brookings Institution, the Hoover Institution, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Enterprise Institute, CSIS, the Hudson Institute, the Urban Institute, the United States Institute of Peace, the Heritage Foundation and the Carter Center each with an annual budget of over 10 million dollars.⁵⁴⁰ Similarly, Allan J. Day's article concerning the think-tanks in Western Europe states that the average budget of selected think-tanks from Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom are about 2 million dollars.⁵⁴¹ These figures show that Turkish think-tanks are not as well funded as their American and Western European counterparts.

It can be said that there are similarities between the financial structures of Turkish think-tanks and those of their Central and Eastern European counterparts. Out of the 101 think-tanks in the Central and Eastern Europe only sixty-eight have annual budgets in excess of 50.000 dollars. Also many Central and Eastern European think-tanks have been sponsored by American sources.⁵⁴²

Lastly, it seems that think-tanks established and/or funded by the business community and trade unions have more secure funding sources such as ASAM, TEPAV, TESEV, İKV, TUSAM, EAF and DİF. For instance, TOBB has formed a trust fund to support the activities of TEPAV, who in turn asserts that this financial set up is being applied for the first time in Turkey and guarantees the non-partisan structure and independence of the institute.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ See Rich, p.91.

⁵⁴⁰ See Abelson, "Think Tanks in the United States", p.116.

⁵⁴¹ See Day, pp.126-128.

⁵⁴² See Krastev, "Post-Communist Think Tanks: Making and Faking Influence", pp.144-145. Also see Schneider, pp.14-17.

⁵⁴³ See TEPAV, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/eng/index.php?type=about>, (21 June 2006).

4.4. The Role and Function of Think-Tanks in Turkey

We are living in an increasingly complex, interdependent, and information-rich world. Governments, individual policy-makers and bureaucrats face the common problem of bringing expert knowledge to move in governmental decision making. Policy-makers need basic information about the world and the societies they govern, how current policies are working, possible alternatives, and their likely costs and consequences. As a result of these developments, think-tanks become one source of expertise ability to explain the nature, causes and likely remedies of problems in the world.⁵⁴⁴ Similar functions are fulfilled by the think-tanks in Turkey.

It can be said that one of the roles performed by think-tanks in Turkey is to carry out basic research on policy problems and the provision of data to policy-makers. Research on policy problems may address questions like: What does the Turkish legal system lack concerning the protection of human rights?⁵⁴⁵ What are Turkey's broader policy objectives regarding Caspian energy resources?⁵⁴⁶ What is Turkey's international role as a democratic model in the Middle East?⁵⁴⁷ What are the contributions of Turkey's membership to the EU?⁵⁴⁸ What are the challenges that Turkish foreign policy will face in the new Iraq?⁵⁴⁹ Why does Turkey need to public personnel management reform?⁵⁵⁰

Secondly, think-tanks in Turkey can provide advice on immediate policy concerns that are being considered by government officials.⁵⁵¹ As the size and functions of the

⁵⁴⁴ Weaver and McGann, p.1.

⁵⁴⁵ See SAM, <http://www.sam.gov.tr/sampapers.php>, (17 July 2006).

⁵⁴⁶ See DPE, http://www.foreignpolicy.org.tr/documents/contents_2006_1.doc, (17 July 2006).

⁵⁴⁷ See OBİV, http://www.obiv.org.tr/ort16_eng.html, (17 July 2006).

⁵⁴⁸ See İKV, <http://www.ikv.org.tr/tumyayinlar.php?&show=15>, (17 July 2006).

⁵⁴⁹ See SETA, http://www.setav.org/lang_en/documents/SE1-406_Iraq_English.pdf, (17 July 2006).

⁵⁵⁰ See TESEV, <http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/publication/pubperabst.php>, (17 July 2006).

⁵⁵¹ All managers and presidents of think-tanks interviewed said that one of the main objectives is to provide policy advice in the relevant issues to decision-makers.

state grow, there is an increasing need for specialist policy knowledge, which can not always be supplied by traditional civil servants. Policy advice can occur at several stages of the policy making process and through various channels. Think-tanks organize briefings, seminars and conferences with the participations of policy makers and the media. Also they may publish issue briefs on proposed legislation. In addition, giving of advice may take form of opinion pieces in newspaper commentary pages. Because policy-makers and others interested in the policy-making process require information that is timely, understandable, reliable, accessible, and useful.⁵⁵²

Thirdly, like in the other countries, think-tanks in Turkey contribute to a more plural and open society by promoting a diversity of political analyses and policy opinion. A diversity of think-tanks strengthens the democratic functioning of society by educating the public and providing another forum for political debate and participation. Thus, one of the main functions of think-tanks is to strengthen civil society in Turkey.⁵⁵³ Think-tanks as an integral part of the civil society serve as an important catalyst for ideas and action.⁵⁵⁴ They contribute to the livelihood of democratic debates and raise public awareness about relevant issues. Nurturing a culture of democratic debate is as important as offering policy alternatives and suggestions.⁵⁵⁵

Furthermore, think-tanks, on the one hand, communicate the desires of citizens to policymakers, while on the other hand, they inform the people about the activities of government directly contributing to the development of a well-informed electorate by reaching out to television, radio, academia and elsewhere, think-tanks are able to educate people on important contemporary issues.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵² McGann, "Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy", p.13.

⁵⁵³ Interview with İbrahim Kalın, Ankara, 19 July 2006.

⁵⁵⁴ Weaver and McGann, p.3.

⁵⁵⁵ Güvenç, "Think Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey".

⁵⁵⁶ Johnson, "How Think Tanks Improve Public Policy".

Fourthly, fulfilling a service as facilitators of issue networks and the exchange of ideas, think-tanks engage policy makers, civil servants, academics and public through briefings, seminars, and conferences. In this sense, it can be said that think-tanks create an important forum for discussion. In addition, they serve as a catalyst for debate. This stems from their analysis of policies, their alternative ideas and providing relevant information and publicity for a specific issue.

The fifth role of think-tanks is to interpret policies and current events for the electronic and print media. In providing news and analysis for the people, media representatives often ask think-tanks for clear and concise explanations of major policy issues. In radio or television news broadcasts, journalists often require brief “sound bites”, and think-tank staff members provide these to them. The media also benefit greatly from think-tank commentary and criticism in their analysis of government policies. Journalists gather a great deal of their information from official government sources, but they are better able to analyze this information once they have listened to the alternative voice of think-tanks.⁵⁵⁷

In Turkey, ASAM made a deal with TRT (Turkish Radio-Television Corporation-Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu) to make live programs during the Iraqi War in TRT in 2003. These programs sharply increased the visibility of ASAM. Other radio and television news channels in Turkey competed with each other to find experts from think-tanks in order to benefit from their commentary and criticism in their news programs. Since then, the visibility of think-tank staff members on Turkish radio and television broadcasts has significantly been heightened.⁵⁵⁸

Sixthly, many think-tanks in Turkey began to publish books, research papers and periodicals. As a result, they have enriched and diversified publications in Turkey.⁵⁵⁹ For instance, İKV has published approximately 550 works in the form of research

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Interview with Suat Kınıklioğlu, Ankara, 18 July 2006.

⁵⁵⁹ Interview with Şükrü Elekdağ, Ankara, 13 June 2006; and Interview with Çağrı Erhan, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

since the beginning of its activities in 1966.⁵⁶⁰ TESAV has published 28 books since its establishment in 1993.⁵⁶¹ Some think-tanks began to publish master and doctorate dissertations which could not be published by universities⁵⁶² such as GSE.⁵⁶³ Especially on foreign and security policy, think-tanks have diversified periodicals in Turkey such as Avrasya Dosyası, Stratejik Analiz, Ermeni Araştırmaları of ASAM; Foreign Policy of DPE; Perceptions of SAM; Stratejik Öngörü of TASAM; Strateji of TUSAM; Stratejik Araştırmalar of SAREM; Turkish Policy Quarterly of ARI Movement; Insight Turkey of ANKAM; Kök Araştırmalar: Kök Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar of KÖKSAV; Global Strateji of GSE; Liberal Düşünce, Piyasa, Hür Fikirler of LDT, Ekonomistler Bülteni of the Economists' Platform, Divan İlmi Araştırmalar, Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi of BSV and İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi of İSAM.

Seventhly, transnational networks of think-tanks are rapidly emerging in the world. Think-tank networks have come together around common areas of interest and policy themes as well as around ideology.⁵⁶⁴ Turkish think-tanks have also contributed parts to these transnational networks. For example, the Balkan Communication Network, having 23 think-tank members from the Balkan countries was established in 2005 with the initiative of SAM.⁵⁶⁵ Turkish think-tanks such as SAM, ASAM, TESEV, and OBİV are the members of the Balkan Communication Network,⁵⁶⁶ which aims at enhancing cooperation and coordination among the strategic and other research centers of the Balkan countries.⁵⁶⁷ DPE, TESEV and the Economic Research Center on Mediterranean Countries of Akdeniz University are the Turkish members of

⁵⁶⁰ See İKV, <http://www.ikv.org.tr/ikv.php>, (27 May 2006).

⁵⁶¹ Interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 15 August 2006.

⁵⁶² Erhan, p.60.

⁵⁶³ Interview with Habib Hürmüzlü, Ankara, 5 July 2006.

⁵⁶⁴ Struyk, "Transnational Think Tank Networks: Purpose, Membership and Cohesion", p.83.

⁵⁶⁵ Interview with Bülent Karadeniz, Ankara, 8 August 2006.

⁵⁶⁶ See Balkan Communication Network, http://www.balkannet.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=22&Itemid=50, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁶⁷ Balkan Communication Network, http://www.balkannet.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15&Itemid=26, (3 July 2006).

EuroMeSCo⁵⁶⁸ which was established in 1996 in order to encourage cooperation between research institutes dealing with policy and security issues around the Mediterranean basin.⁵⁶⁹ LDT is a member of the Stockholm Network,⁵⁷⁰ which is the network of market-oriented think-tanks of Europe.⁵⁷¹ DPE, TESEV, the Economic Research Center of METU, and the Economic Research Center on Mediterranean Countries of Akdeniz University are the Turkish think-tank members of GDNet,⁵⁷² which was sponsored by World Bank in order to create a world-wide network of university centers, think-tanks and institutes with a shared interest in promoting, as a global public good, policy research on economic development.⁵⁷³ In addition to their transnational networks, think-tanks constitute a part of transnational policy communities. Similarly, think-tanks in Turkey create links to transnational policy communities. For example, Turkish think-tanks such as LDT, TESEV and the Economists' Platform are the partners of CIPE,⁵⁷⁴ which is a non-profit affiliate of the USA Chamber of Commerce and has supported more than 920 local initiatives in 105 developing countries, involving the private sector in policy advocacy and institutional reform, improving governance, and building understanding of market-based democratic systems.⁵⁷⁵

Lastly, think-tanks in Turkey create job opportunities for the people graduated from the faculties of economic and administrative sciences, especially from the departments of international relations.⁵⁷⁶ Also think-tanks provide a chance to the

⁵⁶⁸ See EuroMeSCo, http://83.138.170.194/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=5&id=45&Itemid=39&lang=en, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁶⁹ EuroMeSCo, http://83.138.170.194/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=16&Itemid=31&lang=en, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁷⁰ See Stockholm Network, <http://www.stockholm-network.org/network/details.php?id=6>, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁷¹ Stockholm Network, <http://www.stockholm-network.org/about.php>, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁷² See GDNet, <http://www.gdnet.org/search.php>, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁷³ GDNet, <http://www.gdnet.org/middle.php?oid=3>, (3 July 2006).

⁵⁷⁴ See CIPE, <http://www.cipe.org/programs/global/index.php#mena>, (9 June 2006).

⁵⁷⁵ CIPE, <http://www.cipe.org/about/index.php>, (4 July 2006).

⁵⁷⁶ Çağrı Erhan, p.60.

former practitioners such as retired ambassadors, generals, and other high level bureaucrats in order to convey their information and their experiences to the public.⁵⁷⁷

4.5. Think-Tank Culture in Turkey

Think-tank culture in a country is shaped by various factors such as political culture, a tradition of philanthropy, and intellectual level of that country. For instance, it is argued that the origins of think-tank culture in the USA are based on traditions of corporate philanthropy, the sharp distinction between legislative and executive branches of government, weak political parties, the public commitment to openness and independence, and the tendency of the public and their elected officials to trust the private-sector to interface with and to provide assistance to government. These factors combine to provide very few barriers to policy analysts who want to enter the marketplace of ideas and contribute to the policy-making process.⁵⁷⁸ Therefore, it can be said that think-tanks culture in the USA was mainly constituted by the activities of non-profit, nonpartisan, research-oriented organizations that are independent of government, political parties and pressure groups.

By contrast, there are fewer opportunities for think-tanks to enter the policy arena in Europe and in the other parts of the world due to factors such as stronger party systems, strong and relatively closed bureaucracies, or weak philanthropic sectors. Therefore, think-tank culture in the continental Europe was predominantly formed by the activities of political party-affiliated and government-affiliated think-tanks. However, more recently, not only in Britain but also in the continental Europe the number of independent or autonomous think-tanks has increased significantly.⁵⁷⁹ In addition, think-tank culture in the Eastern Asia was basically shaped by government-affiliated and corporation-affiliated think-tanks.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁷ Interview with Çağrı Erhan, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

⁵⁷⁸ McGann, "Think Tanks and the Transnationalization of Foreign Policy", p.13.

⁵⁷⁹ Day, p.103.

⁵⁸⁰ Ueno, "Northeast Asian Think Tanks: Toward Building Capacity for More Democratic Societies", p.223.

These samples show that specific conditions of each country determine the content of its think-tank culture. For this reason, think-tank cultures of countries do not completely resemble each other.

While different think-tank cultures prevail in the various parts of the world, how can we evaluate the proliferation of think-tanks in Turkey? Does a think-tanks culture come into being in Turkey? If yes, which features does think-tank culture in Turkey have? If no, what are the restrictions on the formation of think-tank culture in Turkey? These questions should be replied in order to clarify developments of think-tanks in Turkey.

First of all, it should be decided which factors determine whether or not a country has a think-tank culture. It can be said that four criteria can be used in order to decide on this issue, namely the influence of think-tanks over the policy making process, sustainable funding sources of think-tanks, the accumulation of knowledge in think-tanks and historical continuity of think-tanks.⁵⁸¹

The first issue concerning think-tank culture in Turkey is the influence of think-tanks over the policy making process. Before discussing the influence of think-tanks, the features of decision making process in Turkey will be examined. As a parliamentary system, political parties have a strong control over the decisions of parliamentarians in Turkey.⁵⁸² Despite strong control, there are some signals of that public opinion is taken into consideration by parliamentarians. The best example of it is the TGNA's decision of March 1, 2003 not to allow the American troops to invade Iraq from Turkey. Turkey also has a strong and relatively closed bureaucracy. The conviction of "we know best" prevailed for many years among Turkish bureaucrats.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ In the theoretical studies, there are no criteria concerning which factors constitute a think-tank culture. Generally, the authors studying on think-tanks in the USA or Europe postulate that these countries have think-tank culture. Therefore they do not discuss on the component of think-tank culture. Also the authors studying on think-tanks in other countries try to show differences and similarities between functioning think-tanks of those countries and western countries instead of debating think-tank culture. Therefore these criteria were based on the opinion of Gökhan Çetinsaya. Interview with Gökhan Çetinsaya, Ankara, 12 July 2006.

⁵⁸² Interview with Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, Ankara, 5 July 2006.

⁵⁸³ Interview with Şükrü Elekdağ, Ankara, 13 June 2006.

Therefore, they did not need the advice of experts who are not a part of the policy making process. However, this conviction among bureaucrats began to lose its power in the last few years.⁵⁸⁴ Furthermore, government agencies started to create new channels in order to contact civil society. For example, Bülent Karadeniz, director of SAM, defines SAM as an opening window of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the civil society and the academic world.⁵⁸⁵

Although, theoretically, influence can not be measured, it is hard to say that think-tanks have a significant influence over the policy making process in Turkey.⁵⁸⁶ It can be said that political culture and closed bureaucracy in Turkey hinder influence of think-tanks over government decision making. However, there are some clues about influence. For example, Bülent Akarcalı, former president of TDV, argues that TDV influenced decisions on the establishment of the Human Rights Committee in TGNA, recognition of right of the individual application to the European Court of Human Rights, and the adoption of the Repentance Law.⁵⁸⁷ Also, it can be said that think-tanks creates atmospheric influence. For example, TESEV conducted research on the currency board and published it in 1996.⁵⁸⁸ The currency board was discussed in the various platforms, and at the end of the discussion, the government put into effect the policy of currency board at the end of 1999. Moreover, TDV started a discussion about the abolition of Articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Criminal Law.⁵⁸⁹ As a result of debates on this issue, the Turkish Criminal Law was amended and these articles were abolished.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Interview with Bülent Karadeniz, Ankara, 8 August 2006.

⁵⁸⁶ All people interviewed share similar views that think-tanks do not have a significant influence over the policy making process.

⁵⁸⁷ See Leyla Tavşanoğlu, “Fırsatları Değerlendirmek”, interview with Bülent Akarcalı, *Cumhuriyet*, 17 April 2002.

⁵⁸⁸ See N. Bülent Gültekin and Kamil Yılmaz, *Para Kurulu Nedir, Ne Zaman Gerekir?*, (İstanbul: TESEV Yayınları, 1996).

⁵⁸⁹ See Leyla Tavşanoğlu.

Despite once being a doubt about activities of think-tanks among bureaucrats,⁵⁹⁰ to a large extent, think-tanks today are perceived as legitimate actors. Ministries have recently begun to demand research projects from think-tanks. For instance, USAK is preparing research projects for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior.⁵⁹¹ If the amount of contract research for ministries increases, the influence of think-tanks on the policy making process will grow.

One of the major challenges all over the world facing think-tanks is funding. Think-tanks in Turkey also are not immune from funding restraints.⁵⁹² The think-tank sector in Turkey has not had self-sufficient domestic funding sources in order to operate in a secure environment yet.⁵⁹³ The lack of funding constrains on the activities and research of think-tanks. There are some reasons for limited domestic funding.

Firstly, the culture of philanthropy in Turkey is based on donations for tangible projects such as mosques, schools, homes for the poor and other charitable construction projects.⁵⁹⁴ Generally, donations for think-tanks are not perceived in this scope.

Secondly, although we are living in the information age, the value of knowledge has not been understood properly by the society yet,⁵⁹⁵ which decreases investment in the production of think-tanks. For example, a businessman who invests abroad directly takes the risk of losing money instead of demanding a feasibility report from a

⁵⁹⁰ See Taner Baytok, *Dış Politikada Bir Nefes: Anılar*, (İstanbul:Remzi Kitabevi, 2005), pp.245-246.

⁵⁹¹ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

⁵⁹² All people interviewed said that one of the main problem of think-tanks in Turkey is limited funding.

⁵⁹³ All people interviewed share the same view that think-tanks do not have sufficient domestic funding.

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 17 August 2006. See also Karaosmanoğlu and Onulduran, p.4.

⁵⁹⁵ Interview with Ahmet Yıldız, Ankara, 10 August 2006; and interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

think-tank studying on that country in order to reduce its risk.⁵⁹⁶ Also, government agencies in Turkey are not in the habit of tendering research projects to think-tanks.

Thirdly, unlike American and British law, Turkish law is not conducive for the think-tank sector to grow. American law recognizes tax-exempt status for non-profit organizations. This regulation provides an impetus for policy entrepreneurs, political leaders and aspiring office holders to create think-tanks.⁵⁹⁷ Moreover, in Britain, most think-tanks are registered as educational charities and therefore enjoy tax exemption on certain categories of incomes.⁵⁹⁸ However, in Turkey, companies do not receive tax cuts when they support think-tanks unless they are publicly recognized as functioning for the public good or they have tax-exempt status. It can be said that to obtain this status is extremely difficult;⁵⁹⁹ as mentioned above, only four think-tanks have this status.

As mentioned above, since think-tanks in Turkey have limited domestic funding sources, their dependency on foreign funding increases. Dependency on foreign funding raises questions about the credibility of think-tanks which use foreign funding. The research funded by a foreign funder can be called as directed research.⁶⁰⁰ Occasionally these think-tanks are accused of being the voice of foreign funders in the media and some publications.⁶⁰¹ However, there are some arguments against this: What determines credibility of research is results and quality of research rather than whether foreign funders sponsor conducted research or not.⁶⁰² Another

⁵⁹⁶ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

⁵⁹⁷ Abelson, "Think Tanks in the United States", p.117.

⁵⁹⁸ Day, p.124.

⁵⁹⁹ Suat Kınıklıoğlu, "Turkey's Think Tank Scene".

⁶⁰⁰ Interview with Cihat Özönder, Ankara, 10 July 2006.

⁶⁰¹ See for criticisms, *inter alia*, Mustafa Yıldırım, "*Project Democracy*": *Sivil Örümeğin Ağında*, 6th Edition, (Ankara: Ulusdağı Yayınları, 2005); Necip Hablmitoğlu, *Alman Vakıfları ve Bergama Dosyası*, (İstanbul: Otopsi, 2002); Talat Turhan and Mehmet Eymen, *Mont Pelerin: Küresel Sermayenin Beyni*, (İstanbul: İleri Yayınları, 2005); Yavuz Gökalep Yıldız, "Strateji Zehirlenmesi", *Akşam*, 12 May 2004; Güler Kömürcü, "Karanlık Savaşın Karanlık Stratejistleri", 11 May 2004; Bahadır Özgür, "TESEV'in Sivil Maskesi Neyi Gizliyor...", *Evrensel*, 18 March 2004.

⁶⁰² Interview with Şükrü Elekdağ, Ankara, 13 June 2006; and interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 15 August 2006.

drawback of foreign funding is that if the foreign funder shifts its focus to another geography or policy, a think-tank failing to secure domestic funding sources might experience severe financial problems.⁶⁰³

In addition to weak domestic funding sources, think-tanks can not diversify domestic funding sources. Core funding of many think-tanks comes from only one source.⁶⁰⁴ Theoretically, it can be said that dependence on a single funding source can undermine the independence of think-tanks.⁶⁰⁵

As a result, it can be said that how domestic funding sources will be improved and diversified remain as one of the big problems facing the think-tank sector in Turkey.

Another issue concerning think-tank culture is the accumulation of knowledge. Government officials serve for two or three years and then move on to new positions, especially in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This can weaken the institutional memory and constrain on the accumulation of knowledge in the government agencies.⁶⁰⁶ Think-tanks have a potential to fulfill a continuity function on the accumulation of knowledge. They can offer a continuity of expertise.⁶⁰⁷ Moreover, government agencies executing determined policies can not be experts on all issues fallen into their competence. Think-tanks can provide them with expert knowledge,⁶⁰⁸ but there are some factors constraining accumulation of knowledge in think-tanks.

⁶⁰³ See Weaver and McGann, p.17.

⁶⁰⁴ There are few exceptions of this. For example, Atilla Yayla states that LDT takes care to diversify its financial resources in order to preserve its independence. Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 18 August 2006.

⁶⁰⁵ Wallace, “Between Two Worlds: Think Tanks and Foreign Policy”, pp.146-147.

⁶⁰⁶ Interview with Suat Kınıklıoğlu, Ankara, 18 July 2006.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid. See also Suat Kınıklıoğlu, “Turkey's Think Tank Scene”.

⁶⁰⁸ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006. See also Sedat Laçiner, “Dış Politikamızın Değişen Doğası ve STK’ların Rolü”, http://www.usakgundem.com/image/Image/pdfs/STK-Sedat_Laciner.pdf, (26 April 2006).

Firstly, think-tanks can not reach much information held by civil servants due to the broader definition of state secrets in Turkey. A redefinition of state secrets properly will positively affect the accumulation of knowledge.⁶⁰⁹ Moreover, even if information held by state officials is not in the scope of state secrets, they are reluctant to share them with think-tanks.⁶¹⁰

Secondly, not all think-tanks in Turkey have qualified researchers with a foreign language and capable of making policy analyses⁶¹¹ due to their small budgets. The number of researchers having Ph.D. degree within the staff of think-tanks is very limited. This affects accumulation of knowledge negatively as well as creating credibility problems concerning conducted research by think-tanks. There are some arguments regarding the quality of research conducted by think-tanks in Turkey. Some people argue that instead of research and analysis being used to help the policy-makers' choice among policy alternatives, occasionally the research of think-tanks can be used to legitimize predetermined government policies.⁶¹² Another argument is that the research of some think-tanks is similar to the conspiracy theory rather than scientific research.⁶¹³ As a result, it can be said that one of the main problems facing think-tanks is the improvement of human resources.

The last issue concerning think-tank culture is historical continuity. It can be said that think-tank culture requires historical continuity of think-tanks. In this sense, there is historical continuity of think-tanks in Turkey. For example, İKV has actively conducted research on EU matters since 1965, DPE has engaged in foreign policy and security matters since 1974, TDV and the Turkish branches of German Stiftungs have continued their existence for nearly 20 years, TESEV has produced many

⁶⁰⁹ Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 18 August 2006.

⁶¹⁰ Interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006.

⁶¹¹ Interview with Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu, Ankara, 6 July 2006; interview with Gökhan Çetinsaya, Ankara, 12 July 2006; interview with Sedat Laçiner, Ankara, 13 July 2006; and interview with Erol Tuncer, Ankara, 15 August 2006.

⁶¹² Interview with Çağrı Erhan, Ankara, 06 July 2006; and Güvenç, "Think Tanks and Pursuit of a post-Cold War Foreign Policy Consensus in Turkey".

⁶¹³ Interview with Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu, Ankara, 6 July 2006.

research reports since its establishment in 1994, and ASAM coming into existence in 1999 constituted a model for many strategic research centers established after 2000. Although many think-tanks continue their existence, some of them have been closed down. For instance, the Center for High Strategy (Yüksek Strateji Merkezi) established in Istanbul in 2000 by a group of people who left the ARI Movement, under the leadership of Can Fuat Gürlelel, closed its doors in 2003.⁶¹⁴ However, it is a normal process and does not affect the historical continuity of this sector. Because only think-tanks having sustainable funding sources and qualified personnel survive, the others based on weak funding sources and unqualified personnel, sooner or later, will be shut down in this sector. The elimination of weak organizations can help to the formation of a healthy think-tank sector.

In conclusion, it can be said that the formation of think-tank culture in Turkey has not been completed yet.⁶¹⁵ Although the first stage of its formation was completed, the unsolved problems in this sector such as the lack of sustainable domestic funding sources, the requirement to improvement of human resources and of the quality of research, and the openness of government agencies to advice from outside experts prevent think-tanks from the establishing a solid think-tank culture.

The formation of a genuine think-tank culture in the future will depend on the dissolution of the above-mentioned problems. The main proposal about creating sustainable domestic financial sources is the amendment of legislations concerning think-tanks. Like in the USA, all think-tanks operating in Turkey should have tax-exempt status and the companies and persons that donate to them should receive tax cuts.⁶¹⁶ Such a regulation will encourage companies and persons to donate to think-tanks and help the establishment of sustainable domestic funding sources. Secondly, the employment of more skilled and qualified researchers in think-tanks will also affect the quality of research positively. Furthermore, the researches and analyses of skilled staff will increase the intellectual credibility of think-tanks. Thirdly, to make

⁶¹⁴ See Güvenç, “Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası ve Düşünce Kuruluşları”.

⁶¹⁵ All people interviewed share similar views that a proper think-tank culture has not been shaped yet. They also emphasize that there are some improvements in this issue.

⁶¹⁶ Interview with Suat Kınıkhoğlu, Ankara, 18 July 2006.

the policy-making process more open to advice from outside experts will encourage the activities of think-tanks.

There are some other improvements which indicate that a genuine think-tank culture can be formed in the near future.

Firstly, almost all legal restrictions on the freedom of association and freedom of expression were abolished.⁶¹⁷ Today the establishment and operation of think-tanks is easier than in the past. This is one of the factors giving rise to the proliferation of think-tanks in Turkey since the 2000s. Secondly, civil society in Turkey has recently improved. Civil society and think-tanks mutually support the development of each other.⁶¹⁸ On the one hand, think-tanks serve as an important catalyst for ideas and action in emerging and advanced democracies;⁶¹⁹ on the other hand, a strong civil society encourages the development of think-tanks and constitutes a base for the emerging think-tank culture.

⁶¹⁷ Except Atilla Yayla, All people interviewed have the same view that legal arrangements concerning establishment and operations of think-tanks have improved significantly. Yayla argues that widespread nationalism and étatism in Turkey constitute psychological barriers along with legal restrictions before activities of think-tanks. Interview with Atilla Yayla, Ankara, 18 August 2006.

⁶¹⁸ Interview with İbrahim Kalın, Ankara, 19 July 2006; and interview with Ahmet Yıldız, Ankara, 10 August 2006.

⁶¹⁹ Weaver and McGann, p.3.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Think-tanks have been proliferating around the world since the 1970s and the growth of think-tanks in the last decade can be called the “think-tank boom”. Think-tanks vary considerably in size, financial resources, structure, staff composition, areas of specialization, political significance and have various research agendas. Moreover, different institutional and cultural environments in different countries affect think-tank modes of operation and their capacity or opportunity for policy and influence.

The scholars studying think-tanks could not reach a consensus on the definition of “think-tank”. The Anglo-American tradition regards “think-tanks” as relatively autonomous organizations with a separate legal identity that engage in the analysis of policy issues independently of government, political parties and pressure groups. However, the notion that a think-tank requires independence or autonomy from the state in order to be “free thinking” is a peculiarly Anglo-American notion that does not translate well into other political cultures. Many organizations now called “think-tanks” operate inside government. This is evident in countries such as France, South Korea, China, Russia and the Philippines. Some institutes have formal links to political parties, as in Germany, the Netherlands and Malaysia. Also, in countries such as Japan, research institutes are attached to profit-making corporations. Increasingly, “think-tank” is conceived in terms of a policy research function and a set of analytic or policy advisory practices, rather than a specific legal organizational structure like a non-governmental, non-partisan or independent civil society entity. Therefore, no single definition can adequately describe all varieties of think-tank in the world. For the purposes of this study, “think-tank” was defined as an organization or institute that is engaged in policy-oriented research and analysis to influence the public opinion or public policy in Turkey without taking into account its being

nongovernmental or not. However, there is no consensus in response to the term “think-tank” in Turkish. Some terms like “düşünce kuruluşu”, “düşünce üretim merkezi”, “düşünce fabrikası”, “düşünce küpü”, “düşünce havuzu”, “akıl deposu” and “düşünce tankı” are used or proposed to give an equivalent meaning of “think-tank” in Turkish. Sometimes the word “think-tank” is used in Turkish without its Turkish translation. The terms of “düşünce kuruluşu” and “düşünce üretim merkezi” have been prevalent in general use in Turkish recently.

The term “think-tank” was introduced in the USA during WWII to characterize the secure environment in which military and civilian experts were situated so that they could develop military strategies. After the war, the term was applied to “contract research organizations”, such as the Rand Corporation. The use of the term “think-tank” was expanded in the 1960s to describe research institutes concerned with the study of international relations and strategic issues. By the 1970s, the term was applied to independent research institutes focusing not only on foreign policy and defense strategy, but also on current political, economic, and social issues throughout the English speaking world, including bodies created much earlier in the century. Therefore, it can be said that the emergence of the term “think-tank” is much later than the emergence of think-tanks in the world.

The classification of think-tanks operating in a variety of institutional forms and legal arrangements constitute a problem. Weaver classifies think-tanks as universities without students, contract research organizations and advocacy think-tanks. Although Weaver’s classification is useful to categorize think-tanks in the USA, it does not cover all varieties of think-tank around the world such as political party-affiliated and government-affiliated think-tanks. Some European scholars make classifications of think-tanks regarding think-tank culture in their countries. For example, Gellner categorizes think-tanks in Germany as “universities without students”, “interest-oriented” and “interest-bound” institutes. Krastev categorizes think-tanks in Central and Eastern European Countries as “government-oriented”, “legislation-oriented” and “media-oriented” think-tanks. McGann’s classification is more useful in order to categorize think-tanks around the world: autonomous and

independent, quasi independent, quasi governmental, political party-affiliated, government-affiliated, and university-affiliated think-tanks.

With modifications, McGann's classification was used in order to categorize think-tanks in Turkey. In this thesis, they were divided into five categories: independent and quasi independent, government-affiliated, university-affiliated, political party-affiliated, and the branch offices of foreign think-tanks in Turkey. The independent and quasi independent category consists of think-tanks which are significantly independent from any one interest group and government or controlled by an interest group. The government-affiliated category includes think-tanks, which are the parts of government bodies. The university-affiliated category consisted of research centers at the universities which conduct research on strategic issues, European affairs, regional issues, and social and economic issues. Even if the ARI Movement constituted a sample of political party-affiliated think-tanks during the period of 1994-1998, today there are no think-tanks included in this category in Turkey. The last category covers the branch offices of foreign think-tanks in Turkey.

Pluralists and elitists have different views about think-tanks. Pluralists see think-tanks as brokers in ideas; intermediaries which connect the worlds of ideas and action. They attempt to apply social science to policymaking, and because of the fact that there are hundreds of such organizations representing a plurality of voices, no single think-tank or group of think-tanks dominates the universe of policy-relevant discourse. However, elitists argue that think-tanks are neither apolitical organizations committed to the spread of knowledge nor organizations competitively enhancing the democratic formulation of policy. They claim that think-tanks serve the long-term interests of economic and political leaders. Think-tanks serve as a means to reach a consensus among elites and to help overcome political tensions and differences.

Although the first think-tanks came on the scene in the USA and Britain, scholars cannot agree on when and where the first think-tank was created. The candidates for the first think-tank are the Fabian Society of Britain, founded in 1884; the Russell Sage Foundation of the USA, founded in 1907; the Brookings Institution of the USA, founded in 1916; and Chatham House of Britain, founded in 1920.

Some analysts argue that think-tanks are unique to the USA. A comparative perspective suggests that this impression has arisen only because of the unparalleled expansion in think-tank numbers and size in the USA since WWII. Today, nearly half of all think-tanks around the world are settled in the USA. Scholars who have studied the growth and development of American think-tanks generally agree that the United States' specific institutional construction and its tax regime have contributed greatly to the proliferation of think-tanks in the USA. By contrast, parliamentary systems involve greater centralization of legislative power and accountability, supposedly allowing for greater control over policy. In addition, political parties in parliamentary systems tend to be more cohesive and disciplined. These factors would appear to make the USA a more suitable home for think-tanks than France, for instance, where the central bureaucracy is more powerful.

Think-tanks were predominantly an Anglo-American phenomenon prior to WWII. Since then they have spread throughout the world. The first generation was few in number, elite in composition, idealistic in motivation and scholarly in style. The period after WWII saw a more extensive second wave of development throughout Europe but such growth was largely limited to liberal democracies. The period was marked by the proliferation of foreign policy institutes, centers for the study of security and institutes of development studies, in an era defined by the Cold War, superpower rivalries and the emergence of Third World issues. Since the 1970s, there has been a third wave with the proliferation of think-tanks across the globe. Two-thirds of all the think-tanks that exist today were established after 1970 and over half have been established since 1980. Countries where think-tanks were already present, such as the USA, Britain, Germany, Sweden, Canada and Japan, experienced a proliferation of think-tanks. Growth of the legislative power of the Commission of the EU encouraged new think-tank development throughout Europe, and especially in Brussels. Also, democratic consolidation, economic development and greater prospects of political stability in Latin America and Asia provided fertile conditions for think-tank development. As would be expected, western-style think-tanks in Russia, Central and Eastern Europe appeared only after 1989 and in the last decade there appeared a think-tank boom around the world with the exception of

Africa and the Middle East where there are probably fewer think-tanks compared to other continents.

Many factors caused the proliferation of think-tanks all over the world such as the spread of democracy, constitutional changes and government reform, the intensified political debates, the increasing level of literacy and press freedom, the development of a domestically based intellectual elite, government “overload” and the increasing complexity of the policy making processes, and the increasing level of philanthropy.

The first think-tanks in Turkey emerged in the 1960s and 1970s with the genesis of think-tanks in Turkey and in some OECD countries such as Denmark, Greece, Norway, Spain, Japan and South Korea occurring at the same time. Some factors encouraged the genesis of think-tanks in Turkey such as the adoption of the 1961 Constitution which enlarged the field of freedom, the needs of the business community for new channels like think-tanks to convey their ideas to the government, the increasing relations between Turkey and the EEC as a result of the Ankara Agreement (1963), and the questioning of Turkish foreign policy on ideological grounds and the up coming Cyprus question on the agenda.

The Conference Board, founded in 1961 by Nejat Eczacıbaşı, can be said to be the first Turkish think-tank and a pioneering organization despite its deficiencies. At least, the Conference Board laid the groundwork for the genesis of genuine think-tanks. The other pioneering organizations in Turkey are İKV, founded in 1965 by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and the Istanbul Chamber of Industry in order to study the relations between Turkey and the EEC, and DPE, founded in 1974 by Seyfi Taşhan so as to conduct research on foreign policy issues.

Although the restrictions on freedom were imposed by the 1980 military coup, new think-tanks emerged in the 1980s such as SİSAV, OBİV and MGTV. In this period, for the first time, foreign think-tanks began to open branch offices in Turkey such as KAS, FES, and the Orient Institute of Germany as a result of the growing relations between Turkish political parties and their German counterparts. Also some Turkish think-tanks inspired by the German think-tanks were established such as TDV and TÜSES. The genesis of new think-tanks after the military coup is an important

development because it shows that restrictions on freedom of association started to lessen.

Proliferation of think-tanks also continued in other parts of the world in the 1990s and in turn, the number of think-tanks increased in Turkey during this period. Some factors encouraged the establishment of new think-tanks such as the new opportunities and challenges in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Balkans for Turkish foreign policy because of the emergence of newly independent states and unstable areas around Turkey, the first Gulf War, the changing security perceptions in Turkey after the Cold War, straightening relations between Turkey and the EU, and the start of a blurring of the traditional distinction between foreign and domestic policy spheres. As a result of these developments, the number of think-tanks in Turkey increased in the 1990s. KÖKSAV, TESEV, LDT, YİSAV, UPAV and ASAM were established by private persons. The activities of ASAM increased its visibility in the media and caused the emergence of new strategic research centers in Turkey. For the first time in Turkey, the government-affiliated think-tanks were founded such as SAM of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and SAEMK of the Higher Education Council in this period. Also, foreign think-tanks continued to establish their branch offices in Turkey such as FNS, HBS and NDI.

Similar to the worldwide boom of think-tanks since the late 1990s, many think-tanks have rapidly emerged in Turkey. Some factors encouraged this development throughout the world and in Turkey such as the growing demand for information and analysis from the governments and civil society groups; the increased recognition of the importance of civil society in promoting democracy; improved communications technologies like internet; the globalization of think-tank funding, especially from the advanced industrial countries to support the development of civil society organizations in the developing countries. The developments peculiar to Turkey also gave way to the emergence of new think-tanks such as the recognition of Turkey's candidacy by the EU, adoption of the democratic reform packages, the increasing significance of public opinion in the formation of foreign policy like in the TGNA's decision of 1 March 2003, the growing symbiotic relationship between the media and think-tanks and the need of the media for expert views from think-tanks. Since the

beginning of the 2000s, many think-tanks have been founded by private persons and the business community such as the Economists' Platform, TEPAV, DIF, EAF, BSV, SAV, ANKAM, SAE, TASAM, GSE, USAK, TUSAM, SETA, AB Akademi and AGAM. Although universities in Turkey had some research centers concerning strategic studies, European affairs and regional studies such as the Balkans, the Middle East and Central Asia before 2000, their number has increased sharply since then. Also foreign think-tanks continued to found their branch offices in Turkey such as OSI and GMF. Furthermore, some government bodies established think-tanks within their structures such as SAREM of the Turkish Military Forces, the Center for Strategies of the Ministry of Interior and the Research Center of TGNA.

The transnational think-tank networks are newly emerging. These networks have come together around common areas of interest and policy themes as well as around ideology. GDNNet of the World Bank, LOGIN, OSI-related policy centers, ISIS, Global ThinkNet, TPN, TEPSA, EuroMeSCo, EUROFRAME, ENEPRI, EPIN and the Stockholm Network constitute some examples of transnational think-tank networks. Some Turkish think-tanks are also members of such networks like GDNNet, EuroMeSCo, the Stockholm Network and the Balkan Communication Network.

Think-tanks around the world fulfill various functions. They are not limited to core functions of policy research and analysis. They also engage in education, training, conference and seminar activity, networking, marketing and various forms of liaison with governmental and non-governmental agencies. Like their functions, their output is also diverse ranging from publications – books, journals, newsletters – and extending to organizing conferences and seminars or constructing web sites. They also perform more intangible services such as expert commentary, community education, contributing to public debate, assisting in civil society capacity building and aiding network development. Think-tanks in Turkey perform, more or less, similar functions.

The view that think-tanks exist to influence public policy directly or indirectly is generally accepted. Think-tanks rely on many strategies to convey their views to policy-makers and the public. These may include holding public conferences and seminars to discuss various domestic and foreign policy issues; enhancing their

exposure in the print and electronic media; disseminating their research; and creating home pages on the Internet. However, measuring such influence is even harder than specifying what counts as influence. There are numerous intervening forces that mediate and alter the impact of research that hide any cause and effect relationship that may exist between think-tanks and government decision making. Therefore, influence cannot be measured.

Think-tanks around the world face many challenges. One of the major constraints facing think-tanks is funding. Think-tanks finance their activities by raising funds from private foundations, corporations, individuals and government grants and contracts and endowment income. A think-tank cannot cover its costs from membership fees, sales of publications or gifts. Therefore, philanthropy, corporate support and government contracts are essential to survival. Many think-tanks, in both Western countries and the developing world, function with a shoestring budget and minuscule staff who derive most of their income from other employment. Many Asian and Eastern European think-tanks need foreign assistance, especially from industrialized countries because of the under-developed and weakly institutionalized philanthropy in these countries. Likewise, the main problem of think-tanks in Turkey is funding. Their domestic financial sources are donations, sales of publications, research projects funded by government agencies and governmental grants from the state budget. They also conduct research projects sponsored by foreign funders. The number of think-tanks having annual budgets in excess of one million dollars is very limited. Turkish think-tanks are not as well funded as their American and Western European counterparts.

The founders of think-tanks in Turkey are members of the business community and business organizations, academics, politicians, former bureaucrats, private entrepreneurs, foreign think-tanks, government bodies, or universities. Except government-affiliated and university-affiliated think-tanks, they are legally structured as foundations, associations or companies. In general, since having in-house staff is more expensive than hired staff, many think-tanks in Turkey prefer hired researchers on a contract basis for research projects. The think-tanks having in-house researchers also have directors or coordinators. The persons who perform

these tasks mainly are either academics or former bureaucrats. Think-tanks in Turkey are generally located in Ankara and Istanbul.

Although the number of think-tanks in Turkey has increased significantly in recent years, whether a think-tank culture has been formed or not remains as an unsolved question today. In fact, think-tank culture in a country is shaped by various factors such as political culture, a tradition of philanthropy, and the intellectual level of that country. For instance, it can be said that think-tank culture in the USA is mainly constituted by the activities of non-profit, nonpartisan, research-oriented organizations which have independence from government, political parties and pressure groups. Although, more recently, not only in Britain but also in continental Europe the number of independent or autonomous think-tanks has increased significantly, think-tank culture in continental Europe was predominantly formed by the activities of political party-affiliated and government-affiliated think-tanks. In addition, because of the weak philanthropic sectors and the restrictive laws regarding non-governmental organizations, think-tank culture in Eastern Asia was basically shaped by government-affiliated and corporation-affiliated think-tanks. Moreover, the emerging think-tank culture in Eastern Europe is mainly shaped by foreign funding. With regard to Turkey, it is hard to say that the formation of think-tank culture has been completed. Although the first stage of its formation has been completed, the unsolved problems in this sector such as the lack of sustainable domestic funding sources, the requirement to improve human resources and the quality of research, and the openness of government agencies to advice from outside experts prevent think-tanks from establishing a solid think-tank culture.

The historical continuity of think-tanks in Turkey creates a strong ground for the formation of think-tank culture. For instance, many think-tanks have actively worked for a long time such as İKV for 41 years, DPE for 32 years, TDV for 19 years, TESEV for 12 years, and German think-tanks for over 10 years. However, the shortage of funding in the think-tank sector endangers the formation of think-tank culture in Turkey. With a shoestring budget, think-tanks in Turkey generally do not have sufficient financial sources and function. The philanthropists in Turkey do not have a habit of donating money to think-tanks. The government grants from the state

budget do not cover all think-tanks and the size of these grants is not enough. In addition, Turkish law does not recognize tax-exempt status for all think-tanks and companies do not receive tax cuts when they support think-tanks. Although the number of research projects funded by foreign funders has recently increased, this does not create a sustainable funding source for think-tanks. Additionally, the demands of government agencies and political parties for research projects are very limited. Under these conditions, think-tanks can not diversify domestic funding sources and core funding of many think-tanks comes from only one source. These unfavorable factors concerning funding in Turkey, on the one hand, limit activities of think-tanks, while on the other hand, undermine their independence. The shortage of funding especially has a negative impact on the activities of think-tanks within the independent and quasi independent category. This is due to the fact that government-affiliated and university-affiliated think-tanks, and the Turkish branch offices of foreign think-tanks are funded respectively by the state budget, university budget and the headquarters of foreign think-tanks.

Another factor constraining the formation of think-tank culture is the lack of scientific research conducted by think-tanks and qualified researchers working in think-tanks. Although some think-tanks have qualified personnel and conduct scientific research, the number of this kind of think-tank should increase in order to improve their credibility. In fact, the intellectual capacity in Turkey has improved and the number of qualified researchers who can speak a foreign language and are capable of making policy analysis has increased, but the shortage of funding prevents some think-tanks from the employment of qualified researchers.

Think-tanks in Turkey also have not created a considerable influence directly on the policy making process yet. It is worth mentioning that the ongoing resistance of government agencies to get advice from think-tanks discourages the expectations of think-tanks to reach one of their main targets. However, think-tanks in Turkey are trying indirectly to influence the policy making process through the media and by shaping public opinion.

Despite, the existence today of unfavorable conditions before the formation of a genuine think-tank culture in Turkey is possible, there are many reasons to be

optimistic about the future of the think-tank sector and the formation of think-tank culture in Turkey. Even if the unfavorable conditions remain unchanged, the strengthening civil society in Turkey and the desires of civil society groups to influence public policy support the development of think-tanks and constitute an incentive for the formation of think-tank culture. In addition, think-tanks require democracy to function because they need to express their views freely. For this reason, the ongoing democratization process in Turkey supports the formation of think-tank culture. Also, the existence of some positive signals concerning partial improvements of conditions which limit the establishment of think-tank culture increases the expectations about forming a genuine think-tank culture in the near future. Furthermore, the elimination of think-tanks which do not produce qualified research and have sustainable funding sources will support the emergence a strong think-tank culture.

It seems that the activities of think-tanks constituting the independent and quasi independent category will be more important to establish a think-tank culture in Turkey than that of the think-tanks forming other categories. This is due to the fact that the number of government-affiliated think-tanks is limited and their performance generally depends on the vision of their often changing directors. Therefore, it is hard to say that this category would be institutionalized in the near future. Although there are many research centers at universities, with the exception of a few well-functioned centers, a great many of them are dysfunctional. Moreover, the existence of a doubt about the activities of the Turkish branches of foreign think-tanks prevents them from contributing directly to the formation of think-tank culture. As a result, together with the strengthening civil society, the think-tank culture in Turkey can be established under the leadership of the independent and quasi independent think-tanks.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THINK TANKS IN TURKEY EXCEPT UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED CATEGORY

	Organization	Date of Est.	Head of Center	Web Site	Periodicals	Location
1	AB Akademi	2006	Hüseyin Bağcı	http://www.abakademi.com		Ankara
2	Ankara Center for Turkish Policy Studies (Ankara Dış Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi-ANKAM)	2003	Suat Kınıklıoğlu (founding president)	http://www.ankam.org	Insight Turkey	Ankara
3	Ankara Global Research Center (Ankara Global Araştırmalar Merkezi-AGAM)	2006	İdris Bal	http://www.polmer.org		Ankara
4	Ankara Office of German Marshall Fund (German Marshall Fund Ankara Temsilciliği)	2005	Suat Kınıklıoğlu	http://www.gmfus.org/about/office.cfm?city=Ankara		Ankara
5	ARI Movement (ARI Hareketi)	1994	Haluk Önen	http://www.ari.org.tr	Turkish Policy Quarterly	Istanbul
6	Association for Liberal Thinking (Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu-LDT)	1994	Atilla Yayla	http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr	Liberal Düşünce (Liberal Thought) Piyasa (Market) Hür Fikirler (Free Ideas) Açık Toplum (Open Society: e-journal)	Ankara
7	Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-ASAM)	1999	Gündüz Aktan	http://www.asam.org.tr/tr/index.asp	Stratejik Analiz (Strategic Analysis) Avrasya Dosyası (Eurasian File) Ermeni Araştırmaları (Review of Armenian Studies)	Ankara
8	Center for Strategic Research (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-SAM)	1995	Ali Tuygan	http://www.sam.gov.tr	Perceptions	Ankara
9	Center for Strategies (Strateji Merkezi)	2000	Yılmaz Kurt	http://www.arem.gov.tr		Ankara
10	Economic Development Foundation (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı-İKV)	1965	Davut Ökütçü	http://www.ikv.org.tr	İKV Bülteni (İKV Bulletin)	Istanbul
11	Economic Policy Research Institute-EPRI (Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı-TEPAV)	2004	M. Rifat Hisarcıklioğlu	http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/index.php		Ankara

APPENDIX A: THINK TANKS IN TURKEY EXCEPT UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED CATEGORY
(CONTINUED)

	Organization	Date of Est.	Head of Center	Web Site	Periodicals	Location
12	Economic Research Forum (Ekonomik Araştırma Forumu-EAF)	2004	Attila Aşkar and Ömer Sabancı (Co-Chairmen)	http://eaf.ku.edu.tr		Istanbul
13	Economic Research Foundation (İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı-İAV)	1962	Orhan Dikmen	http://www.iktisadiarastirmalar.org		Istanbul
14	Economists' Platform (Ekonomistler Platformu)	2000	Tuna Bekleviç	http://www.ekonomistler.org.tr	Ekonomistler Bülteni (Economists' Bulletin)	Istanbul
15	Foreign Policy Forum-FPF (Dış Politika Forumu-DIF)	2003	Ömer Sabancı and Ayşe Soysal (Co-Chairmen)	http://www.dispolitikaforumu.com		Istanbul
16	Foreign Policy Institute-FPI (Dış Politika Enstitüsü-DPE)	1974	Seyfi Taşhan	http://www.foreignpolicy.org.tr	Foreign Policy (Dış Politika)	Ankara
17	Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies (Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri Vakfı-OBIV)	1984	Güner Öztekin	http://www.obiv.org.tr/index.html	Turkish Review of Middle East Studies Turkish Review of Balkan Studies Turkish Review of Eurasian Studies	Istanbul
18	Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research (Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı-SETA)	2006	İbrahim Kalın (Director General)	http://www.setav.org/		Ankara
19	Foundation for Sciences and Arts (Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı-BSV)	1986	Mustafa Özel	http://www.bisav.org.tr	Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür (Turkish Studies Literature) Divan İlmi Araştırmalar (Divan Scientific Studies)	Istanbul
20	Global Strategy Institute (Global Strateji Enstitüsü-GSE)	2003	Ercüment Okçu (Coordinator)	http://www.globalstrateji.org/TUR	Global Strateji (Global Strategy)	Ankara
21	Institute for Strategic Studies (Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü-SAE)	2003	Can Fuat Gürlesel	http://www.turksae.com/face		Istanbul
22	International Strategic Research Organization ISRO (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu-USAK)	2004	Sedat Laçiner (Director)	http://www.usak.org.tr	Turkish Weekly (e-journal)	Ankara

APPENDIX A: THINK TANKS IN TURKEY EXCEPT UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED CATEGORY
(CONTINUED)

	Organization	Date of Est.	Head of Center	Web Site	Periodicals	Location
23	Islamic Research Center (İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi-İSAM)	1988	M. Akif Aydın	http://www.isam.org.tr/	İslam Araştırmaları (Islamic Studies) İSAM Bülteni (İSAM Bulletin)	Istanbul
24	Istanbul Branch of Orient Institute (Orient Enstitüsü İstanbul Şubesi)	1987	Claus Schönig	http://www.oidmg.org/istanbul/welcome_dt.html		Istanbul
25	KÖK Social and Strategic Research Foundation (KÖK Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı-KÖKSAV)	1991	M. Cihat Özönder	http://www.koksav.org.tr	Kök Araştırmalar: Kök Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar (KÖK Social and Strategic Researches)	Ankara
26	Marmara Group Strategic and Social Research Foundation (Marmara Grubu Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı-MGV)	1985	Akkan Suver	http://www.marmara-grubu.org/tr/index.htm		Istanbul
27	National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies-NCSRS (Stratejik Araştırma ve Etütler Milli Komitesi (SAEMK)	1997	Füsun Arsava	http://www.saemk.org		Ankara
28	National Policy Research Foundation-NPRF (Ulusal Politika Araştırmaları Vakfı-UPAV)	1995	Yavuz Ege	http://www.upav.org.tr/tr/main.html		Ankara
29	Political and Social Studies Foundation (Siyasi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı-SİSAV)	1980	Memduh Yaşa			Istanbul
30	Research Center for National Security Strategies (Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejileri Araştırma Merkezi-TUSAM)	2004	Ali Külebi (Acting President)	http://www.tusam.net	Strateji (Strategy)	Ankara
31	Social Research Foundation (Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı-SAV)	2000	Bedahet Tosun	http://www.sav.org.tr		Istanbul
32	Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı-TESAV)	1993	Erol Tuncer	http://www.tesav.org.tr		Ankara
33	Strategic Studies and Research Center (Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüd Merkezi-SAREM)	2002	Süha Tanyeri		Stratejik Araştırmalar (Journal of Strategic Studies)	Ankara
34	TGNA Research Center (TBMM Araştırma Merkezi)	2006	Ahmet Yıldız	http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/armer.htm		Ankara

**APPENDIX A: THINK TANKS IN TURKEY EXCEPT UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED CATEGORY
(CONTINUED)**

	Organization	Date of Est.	Head of Center	Web Site	Periodicals	Location
35	Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies-TACSS (Türkasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-TASAM)	2003	Süleyman Şensoy	http://www.tasam.org	Stratejik Öngörü (Strategic Foresight)	Istanbul
36	Turkish Democracy Foundation (Türk Demokrasi Vakfı-TDV)	1987	Zekeriya Akçam	http://www.demokrasi.vakfi.org.tr		Ankara
37	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı-TESEV)	1994	Can Paker	http://www.tesev.org.tr		Istanbul
38	Turkish Office of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Vakfı Türkiye Temsilciliği)	1988	Hans Schmacher	http://www.festr.org/tr		Istanbul
39	Turkish Office of Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (Friedrich Nauman Vakfı Türkiye Temsilciliği)	1991	Manfred Ziemek	http://www.fnst.org		Istanbul
40	Turkish Office of Heinrich Böll Stiftung (Heinrich Böll Vakfı Türkiye Temsilciliği)	1994	Ulrike Dufner	http://www.boell-tr.org/		Istanbul
41	Turkish Office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Konrad Adenauer Vakfı Türkiye Temsilciliği)	1984	Frank Spengler	http://www.kas.de/proj/home/home/44/12/index.html		Ankara
42	Turkish Representative Office of Open Society Institute (Açık Toplum Enstitüsü Türkiye Temsilciliği)	2001	Hakan Altınay (Director)	http://www.osiaf.org.tr		Istanbul
43	Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı-TÜSES)	1989	Burhan Şenatalar			Istanbul
44	Yükseliş Economic and Strategic Research Foundation (Yükseliş İktisadi ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı-YISAV)	1995	Ferit Saraçoğlu	http://www.yisav.org		Ankara

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
1	Abant İzzet Baysal University	No Research Center		
2	Adnan Menderes University ⁶²⁰	European Research Center (Avrupa Araştırmaları Merkezi)	27.05.2005	http://avam.adu.edu.tr
3	Afyon Kocatepe University ⁶²¹	Turkish World Research Center (Türk Dünyası Araştırma Merkezi)	09.05.1998	http://www.aku.edu.tr/akademik/tdunyam.htm
4	Akdeniz University ⁶²²	European Union Research and Application Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	28.03.2003	http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr/akvam
5	Akdeniz University ⁶²³	Mediterranean Countries Economic Research Center (Akdeniz Ülkeleri Ekonomik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	23.10.1997	http://www.akdeniz.edu.tr/eremc/Giris_index01.htm
6	Akdeniz University ⁶²⁴	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-AKSAM)	26.11.2002	No Data Available in University Web Site
7	Anadolu University ⁶²⁵	European Union Research, Application and Documentation Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma, Uygulama ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi-ADOM)	23.10.1999	http://www.adom.anadolu.edu.tr
8	Anadolu University ⁶²⁶	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	26.06.2005	No Data Available in University Web Site

⁶²⁰ BAHUM, “Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Avrupa Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=789899&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶²¹ Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.aku.edu.tr/akademik/tdunyam.htm>, (28 May 2006).

⁶²² BAHUM, “Akdeniz Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (AKVAM) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=639701&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶²³ Akdeniz Üniversitesi Akdeniz Ülkeleri Ekonomik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=314691&Terms>, (28 May 2006).

⁶²⁴ “Akdeniz Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (AKSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:24948, 26 November 2002.

⁶²⁵ BAHUM, “Anadolu Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma, Uygulama ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi (ADOM) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=436501&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶²⁶ “Anadolu Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25857, 26 June 2005.

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
9	Ankara University ⁶²⁷	European Community Research and Application Center (Avrupa Topluluğu Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-ATAUM)	25.01.1987	http://ataum.ankara.edu.tr
10	Ankara University ⁶²⁸	Cyprus Research and Application Center (Kıbrıs Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-KIBMER)	29.08.2001	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
11	Ankara University ⁶²⁹	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-ANÜNSAM)	08.04.2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
12	Ankara University ⁶³⁰	Research and Application Center for National Strategies (Ulusal Stratejiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-USAUM)	19.11.1995	No Data Available in University Web Site
13	Atatürk University ⁶³¹	European Communities Research and Application Center (Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	20.07.1989	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
14	Atatürk University ⁶³²	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	04.01.2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
15	Atatürk University ⁶³³	Research Center for Turkish-Armenian Relations (Türk-Ermeni İlişkilerini Araştırma Merkezi)	04.01.2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
16	Atatürk University ⁶³⁴	Turkish Culture Research and Application Center (Türk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	08.12.2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
17	Atılım University	No Research Center		

⁶²⁷ Ankara Üniversitesi Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://ataum.ankara.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶²⁸ Ankara Üniversitesi Kıbrıs Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.ankara.edu.tr/yazi.php?yad=149>, (28 May 2006)

⁶²⁹ “Ankara Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (ANÜNSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25073, 8 April 2003.

⁶³⁰ Ankara Üniversitesi Ulusal Stratejiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (USAUM), <http://www.ankara.edu.tr/yazi.php?yad=149>, (28 May 2006).

⁶³¹ Atatürk Üniversitesi Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.atauni.edu.tr/arsmerkez.htm>, (28 May 2006).

⁶³² BAHUM, “Atatürk Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Müdürlüğü Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=624821&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶³³ BAHUM, “Atatürk Üniversitesi Türk-Ermeni İlişkilerini Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=624834&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶³⁴ BAHUM, “Atatürk Üniversitesi Türk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=820008&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
18	Bahçeşehir University ⁶³⁵	European Union Research and Documentation Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi)	01.03.2005	http://www.bahcesehir.edu.tr/index.php?sablon_id=3&lang=TR&ana_id=995
19	Balıkesir University ⁶³⁶	European Union Center (Avrupa Birliği Merkezi (BABİM))	01.11.2001	http://babim.balikesir.edu.tr
20	Başkent University ⁶³⁷	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	[2003]	http://sam.baskent.edu.tr/index.html
21	Beykent University ⁶³⁸	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	14.04.2004	No Data Available in University Web Site
22	Bilkent University ⁶³⁹	Center for Russian Studies (Rusya Çalışmaları Merkezi)	No Data	http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~crs/index.html
23	Bilkent University ⁶⁴⁰	Center for Research in Transitional Societies (Geçiş Toplamları Araştırma Merkezi)	2000	http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/bilkent/academic/crts/crts.html
24	Bilkent University ⁶⁴¹	Center for Studies in Society and Politics (Toplum ve Politika Araştırmaları Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
25	Bilkent University ⁶⁴²	Center for Turkish Politics and History (Türk Siyaseti ve Tarih Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
26	Boğaziçi University ⁶⁴³	Center for European Studies (Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi)	2000	http://www.ces.boun.edu.tr
27	Boğaziçi University ⁶⁴⁴	Human Development Research Center (BU/UNDP İnsani Gelişme Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	21.11.2002	No Link to Research Center in Web Site

⁶³⁵ BAHUM, “Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=778403&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶³⁶ Balıkesir Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma Merkezi (BABİM) Yönetmeliği, <http://babim.balikesir.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶³⁷ Başkent Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://sam.baskent.edu.tr/index.html>, (19 April 2006).

⁶³⁸ “Beykent Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (BUSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25433, 14 April 2004.

⁶³⁹ Bilkent Üniversitesi Rusya Çalışmaları Merkezi, <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~crs/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴⁰ Bilkent Üniversitesi Geçiş Toplamları Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/bilkent/academic/crts/crts.html>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴¹ Bilkent Üniversitesi Toplum ve Politika Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/bilkent/academic/institute.html>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴² Bilkent Üniversitesi Türk Siyaseti ve Tarih Merkezi, <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/bilkent/academic/institute.html>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴³ Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi, <http://www.ces.boun.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴⁴ BAHUM, “Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsani Gelişme Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=620983&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
28	Boğaziçi University ⁶⁴⁵	Social Policy Forum (Sosyal Politika Forumu Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	[2004]	http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/default.asp?lid=tr
29	Celal Bayar University	No Research Center		
30	Cumhuriyet University	No Research Center		
31	Çağ University ⁶⁴⁶	European Union Research and Application Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	02.12.2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
32	Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University	No Research Center		
33	Çankaya University	No Research Center		
34	Çukurova University ⁶⁴⁷	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	No Data	http://strateji.cukurova.edu.tr
35	Çukurova University ⁶⁴⁸	Turkology Research Center (Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi)	No Data	http://turkoloji.cukurova.edu.tr
36	Dicle University	No Research Center		
37	Doğuş University	No Research Center		
38	Dokuz Eylül University ⁶⁴⁹	European Community and International Economic Relations Research Center (Avrupa Topluluğu, Uluslararası Ekonomik İlişkiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	09.02.1989	http://web.deu.edu.tr/atmer/eng/tanitim.html
39	Dokuz Eylül University ⁶⁵⁰	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	No Data	http://www.deu.edu.tr/DEUWeb/Icerik/Icerik.php?KOD=1810
40	Dumlupınar University ⁶⁵¹	European Union Research and Application Centre (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	24.06.1997	http://daum.dumlupinar.edu.tr

⁶⁴⁵ Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/default.asp?lid=tr>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴⁶ BAHUM, “Çağ Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=819430&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴⁷ Çukurova Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi, <http://strateji.cukurova.edu.tr>, (19 April 2006).

⁶⁴⁸ Çukurova Üniversitesi Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://turkoloji.cukurova.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁴⁹ Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Avrupa Topluluğu Uluslararası Ekonomik İlişkiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://web.deu.edu.tr/atmer/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁵⁰ Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://www.deu.edu.tr/DEUWeb/Icerik/Icerik.php?KOD=1810>, (19 April 2006).

⁶⁵¹ Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://daum.dumlupinar.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
41	Ege University ⁶⁵²	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-ESAM)	22.12.2002	http://rektorluk.ege.edu.tr/~esam
42	Erciyes University ⁶⁵³	Strategic Research and Application Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi)	24.11.2005	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
43	Erciyes University ⁶⁵⁴	Turkish World Research Center (Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Merkezi-TÜDAM)	19.04.1993	http://tudam.erciyes.edu.tr/anasayfa.htm
44	Fatih University	No Research Center		
45	Fırat University ⁶⁵⁵	Middle East Research Center (Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Merkezi)	12.03.1993	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
46	Galatasaray University ⁶⁵⁶	European Research and Documentation Center (Avrupa Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi)	16.12.1997	http://aadm.gsu.edu.tr/tr
47	Galatasaray University ⁶⁵⁷	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	10.05.1998	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
48	Galatasaray University ⁶⁵⁸	Societal Research Center (Toplumsal Araştırmalar Merkezi)	22.12.2004	No Data Available in University Web Site
49	Gazi University ⁶⁵⁹	European Union Research and Application Centre (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	14.08.2003	http://www.abaum.gazi.edu.tr
50	Gazi University ⁶⁶⁰	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	14.08.2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site

⁶⁵² “Ege Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (ESAM)Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:24971, 22 December 2002.

⁶⁵³ “Erciyes Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:26003, 24 November 2005.

⁶⁵⁴ Erciyes Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://tudam.erciyes.edu.tr/anasayfa.htm>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁵⁵ Fırat Üniversitesi Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://www.firat.edu.tr/ortadogu>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁵⁶ BAHUM, “Galatasaray Üniversitesi Avrupa Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=319400&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁵⁷ “Galatasaray Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:23338, 10 May 1998.

⁶⁵⁸ Galatasaray Üniversitesi Toplumsal Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://www.gsu.edu.tr/tr/akademik/birimler/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁵⁹ BAHUM, “Gazi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=672962&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶⁰ “Gazi Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25199, 14 August 2004.

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
51	Gazi University ⁶⁶¹	Economic, Social Research and Application Center for Black Sea Countries, Turkish Republics and Balkans (Karadeniz Ülkeleri, Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Balkan Ekonomik, Sosyal Araştırma Uygulama Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
52	Gazi University ⁶⁶²	Turkology Application and Research Center (Türkiyat Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	25.12.2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
53	Gaziantep University ⁶⁶³	European Union Research Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırmaları Merkezi-GABAM)	26.10.1999	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
54	Gaziosmanpaşa University	No Research Center		
55	Gebze Institute of Technology	No Research Center		
56	Hacettepe University ⁶⁶⁴	Human Rights and their Philosophy Application and Research Center (Hacettepe Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları ve Felsefesi Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	16.04.1997	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
57	Hacettepe University ⁶⁶⁵	European Union Research and Application Center (Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	14.12.2001	No Data Available in University Web Site
58	Hacettepe University ⁶⁶⁶	Hidropolitics and Strategic Research Center (Hidropolitik ve Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi)	No Data	http://www.hidropolitik.hacettepe.edu.tr
59	Hacettepe University ⁶⁶⁷	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-HÜSAM)	25.06.2004	No Data Available in University Web Site
60	Haliç University	No Research Center		

⁶⁶¹ Gazi Üniversitesi Karadeniz Ülkeleri, Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Balkanlar Ekonomik, Sosyal Araştırma Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.gazi.edu.tr/?secim=4>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶² Gazi Üniversitesi Türkiyat Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.gazi.edu.tr/?secim=4>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶³ BAHUM, “Gaziantep Üniversitesi Gaziantep Avrupa Birliği Araştırmaları Merkezi (GABAM) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=436753&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶⁴ Hacettepe Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları ve Felsefesi Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.hacettepe.edu.tr/arastirma/avum.shtml>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶⁵ BAHUM, “Hacettepe Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=579223&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶⁶ Hacettepe Üniversitesi Hidropolitik ve Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.hidropolitik.hacettepe.edu.tr/dok.htm>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁶⁷ “Hacettepe Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (HÜSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25503, 25 June 2004.

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
61	Harran University ⁶⁶⁸	Turkish World Strategic Research Center (Türk Dünyası Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	10.12.1997	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
62	Işık University	No Research Center		
63	İnönü University ⁶⁶⁹	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-İNÜSAM)	24.02.2003	http://www.inonu.edu.tr/armer/saum
64	Istanbul Bilgi University ⁶⁷⁰	Center for European Studies (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma Merkezi)	10.05.2005	http://ces.bilgi.edu.tr
65	Istanbul Bilgi University ⁶⁷¹	Marine Law and Policy Research Center (Deniz Hukuku Araştırma Merkezi)	12.12.2002	http://denizhukuku.bilgi.edu.tr/default.htm
66	Istanbul Bilgi University ⁶⁷²	Human Rights Law Research Center (İnsan Hakları Hukuku Araştırma Merkezi)	22.12.2003	http://insanhaklarimerkezi.bilgi.edu.tr/default.asp
67	Istanbul Bilgi University ⁶⁷³	Social, Economic and Political Research Center (Toplum, Ekonomi, Siyaset Araştırmalar Merkezi-TESAR)	1998	http://research.bilgi.edu.tr/tesar
68	Istanbul Bilgi University ⁶⁷⁴	Center for Migration Research (Göç Çalışmaları Araştırma Merkezi)	10.05.2005	http://goc.bilgi.edu.tr
69	Istanbul Bilim University	No Research Center		
70	Istan. Commerce Univ. ⁶⁷⁵	EU Application and Research Center (AB Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	15.05.2004	http://www.iticu.edu.tr/abmerkezi
71	Istanbul Kültür University	No Research Center		

⁶⁶⁸ “Harran Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:23196, 10 December 1997.

⁶⁶⁹ “İnönü Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (İNÜSAM) Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25030, 24 February 2003.

⁶⁷⁰ BAHUM, “İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=787978&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁷¹ BAHUM, “İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Deniz Hukuku Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=623111&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁷² BAHUM, “İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Hukuku Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=698312&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁷³ İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Toplum, Ekonomi ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://research.bilgi.edu.tr/tesar/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁷⁴ BAHUM, “İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Göç Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=788001&Terms=>, (28 May 2006)

⁶⁷⁵ BAHUM, “İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=728116&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Etab.	Web Sites
72	Istanbul University ⁶⁷⁶	Center for Research and Practice in Human Rights Law (İnsan Hakları Hukuku Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	16.10.1996	http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler/ihhaum/index.html
73	Istanbul University ⁶⁷⁷	Asia-Pacific Economic Research and Application Center (Asya-Pasifik Ekonomik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-APAM)	10.11.1996	No Data Available in University Web Site
74	Istanbul University ⁶⁷⁸	European Law Research and Application Center (Avrupa Hukuku Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
75	Istanbul University ⁶⁷⁹	European Community Research and Application Center (Avrupa Topluluğu Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
76	Istanbul University ⁶⁸⁰	Strategic Research and Application Center (Stratejik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
77	Istanbul University ⁶⁸¹	Center for Research in International Law and International Relations (Milletlerarası Hukuk ve Milletlerarası Münasebetler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	1985	http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler/mmaum/index1.htm
78	İzmir Institute of Technology	No Research Center		
79	İzmir University of Economics ⁶⁸²	European Union Research Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-EKOAB)	18.04.2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site

⁶⁷⁶ BAHUM, “İstanbul Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Hukuku Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=593674&Terms=>, (28 May 2006)

⁶⁷⁷ İstanbul Üniversitesi Asya-Pasifik Ekonomik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler.php>, (28 May 2006)

⁶⁷⁸ İstanbul Üniversitesi Avrupa Hukuku Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler.php>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁷⁹ İstanbul Üniversitesi Avrupa Topluluğu Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler.php>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸⁰ İstanbul Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler.php>, (19 April 2006).

⁶⁸¹ İstanbul Üniversitesi Milletlerarası Münasebetler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/merkezler/mmaum/index.htm>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸² BAHUM, “İzmir Ekonomi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (EKOAB) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=649300&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
80	Kadir Has University ⁶⁸³	European Union Research and Application Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	31.01.2004	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
81	Kafkas University ⁶⁸⁴	Caucasia and Central Asia Research Center (Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Araştırma Merkezi)	18.08.2002	http://www.kafkas.edu.tr/duyurular/koarsmerk.html
82	Kafkas University ⁶⁸⁵	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	09.04.2003	http://www.kafkas.edu.tr/duyurular/stratejik.html
83	Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University ⁶⁸⁶	European Union Research and Application Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	13.06.2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
84	Karadeniz Technical University ⁶⁸⁷	Research and Application Center for Countries of Black Sea, Caucasia and Cental Asia (Karadeniz, Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Ülkeleri Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	No Data	http://www.kaum.ktu.edu.tr
85	Kırıkkale University	No Research Center		
86	Kocaeli University ⁶⁸⁸	Research and Application Center for Problems of Turks Living Abroad (Yurtdışında Yaşayan Türklerin Sorunlarını Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-YURTMER)	05.06.2000	http://yurtmer.kou.edu.tr
87	Koç University	No Research Center		
88	Marmara University ⁶⁸⁹	European Communities Research and Documentation Center (Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi)	1984	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=49

⁶⁸³ BAHUM, “Kadir Has Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=708027&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸⁴ BAHUM, “Kafkas Üniversitesi Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=606077&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸⁵ “Kafkas Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:25074, 9 April 2003.

⁶⁸⁶ Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=792039&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸⁷ Karadeniz Üniversitesi Karadeniz, Kafkasya ve Orta Asya Ülkeleri Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.kaum.ktu.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸⁸ Kocaeli Üniversitesi Yurtdışında Yaşayan Türklerin Sorunlarını Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (YURTMER), <http://yurtmer.kou.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁸⁹ Marmara Üniversitesi Avrupa Toplulukları Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=49>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
89	Marmara University ⁶⁹⁰	Turkology Research and Application Center (Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	10.10.1987	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=72
90	Marmara University ⁶⁹¹	Research Center for Turkish Economy (Türkiye Ekonomisi Araştırma Merkezi-TÜRKMER)	16.02.1998	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=71
91	Marmara University ⁶⁹²	Research Center for International Communication and Its Problems (Uluslararası İletişim ve Sorunları Araştırma Merkezi)	18.12.1993	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=69
92	Marmara University ⁶⁹³	International Economic Relations Research Center (Uluslararası Ekonomik İlişkiler Araştırma Merkezi)	31.03.1979	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=67
93	Marmara University ⁶⁹⁴	Research Center for International Relations (Uluslararası İlişkiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	03.01.1994	http://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/index-en.html
94	Marmara University ⁶⁹⁵	International Strategic Research Center (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi-USAM)	14.01.1987	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=63
95	Marmara University ⁶⁹⁶	Human Rights Application and Research Center (İnsan Hakları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	No Data	http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=51
96	Marmara University ⁶⁹⁷	Economic Research Center for Middle East and Islamic Countries (Orta Doğu ve İslam Ülkeleri Ekonomik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	27.08.1998	No Data Available in University Web Site
97	Mersin University ⁶⁹⁸	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	26.11.2002	No Data Available in University Web Site

⁶⁹⁰ Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=72>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹¹ Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiye Ekonomisi Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=71>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹² Marmara Üniversitesi Uluslararası İletişim ve Sorunları Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=69>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹³ BAHUM, “Marmara Üniversitesi Uluslararası Ekonomik İlişkiler Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=297512&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹⁴ Marmara Üniversitesi Uluslararası İlişkiler Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=65>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹⁵ “Marmara Üniversitesi Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:19341, 14 January 1987.

⁶⁹⁶ Marmara Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.marmara.edu.tr/Akademik/?id=51>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹⁷ BAHUM, “Marmara Üniversitesi Orta Doğu ve İslam Ülkeleri Ekonomik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=351471&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁶⁹⁸ “Mersin Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmî Gazete*, No:24948, 26 November 2002.

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
98	Middle East Technical University (METU) ⁶⁹⁹	International Human Rights and Security Research Center (İnsan Hakları ve Güvenliği Uluslararası Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	15.08.2005	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
99	METU ⁷⁰⁰	Center for Black Sea and Central Asia (Karadeniz ve Orta Asya Araştırmaları Merkezi-KORA)	13.07.1992	http://www.kora.metu.edu.tr
100	METU ⁷⁰¹	Center for European Studies (Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi)	1997	http://www.ces.metu.edu.tr
101	METU ⁷⁰²	Economic Research Center (Ekonomik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	[1996]	http://www.erc.metu.edu.tr
102	METU ⁷⁰³	Public Politics and Urban Research Center (Kamu Politikaları ve Kentsel Araştırmalar Merkezi (KAPKA))	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
103	Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University	No Research Center		
104	Muğla University	No Research Center		
105	Mustafa Kemal University	No Research Center		
106	Niğde University	No Research Center		
107	Okan University	No Research Center		
108	Ondokuz Mayıs University	No Research Center		
109	Osmangazi University	No Research Center		
110	Pamukkale University	No Research Center		
111	Sabancı University ⁷⁰⁴	Istanbul Policy Center (İstanbul Politikalar Merkezi)	No Data	http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu

⁶⁹⁹ BAHUM, “Ortadoğu Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları ve Güvenliği Uluslararası Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=805303&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰⁰ Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Karadeniz ve Orta Asya Araştırmaları Merkezi (KORA), <http://www.kora.metu.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰¹ Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi, <http://www.ces.metu.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰² Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Ekonomik Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://www.erc.metu.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰³ Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Kamu Politikaları ve Kentsel Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://www.odtu.edu.tr/about/research.php>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰⁴ Sabancı Üniversitesi İstanbul Politikalar Merkezi, <http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Estab.	Web Sites
112	Sakarya University ⁷⁰⁵	European Union Research and Documentation Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi)	15.06.1997	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
113	Sakarya University ⁷⁰⁶	Research Center for Turkish-Armenian Relations (Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri Araştırma Merkezi)	27.10.2001	http://www.satemer.sakarya.edu.tr
114	Selçuk University ⁷⁰⁷	European Union Research and Application Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi-SABAUM)	14.06.2004	No Data Available in University Web Site
115	Selçuk University ⁷⁰⁸	Strategic Research and Application Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi)	03.12.2005	No Data Available in University Web Site
116	Süleyman Demirel University ⁷⁰⁹	European Documentation and Research Center (Avrupa Birliği Dokümantasyon, Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	18.05.2005	http://www.sdu.edu.tr/merkez/eucenter/
117	Süleyman Demirel University ⁷¹⁰	Strategic Research and Application Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi)	03.12.2005	http://unisam.sdu.edu.tr
118	TOBB Economics and Technology University ⁷¹¹	Eurasian Research Center (Avrasya Araştırmaları Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
119	TOBB University ⁷¹²	European Research Center (Avrupa Araştırmaları Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site

⁷⁰⁵ BAHUM, “Sakarya Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Dokümantasyon Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=312960&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰⁶ BAHUM, “Sakarya Üniversitesi Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=575630&Terms=>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰⁷ BAHUM, “Selçuk Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (Sabaum) Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=732703&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁷⁰⁸ “Selçuk Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:26012, 3 December 2005.

⁷⁰⁹ BAHUM, “Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Dokümantasyon, Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=789152&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹⁰ “Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:22136, 9 December 1994.

⁷¹¹ TOBB Ekonomi ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi Avrasya Araştırmalar Merkezi, <http://www.etu.edu.tr/index.php?page=106&lang=trTR>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹² TOBB Ekonomi ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi Avrupa Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://www.etu.edu.tr/index.php?page=106&lang=trTR>, (28 May 2006).

APPENDIX B: UNIVERSITY-AFFILIATED THINK-TANKS (CONTINUED)

No	Universities	Research Centers	Date of Etab.	Web Sites
120	TOBB University ⁷¹³	Economy Research and Application Center (Ekonomi Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi)	No Data	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
121	Trakya University ⁷¹⁴	Balkans Research and Application Center (Balkan Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi)	13.05.1994	http://www.trakya.edu.tr/Merkezler/balkan.htm
122	Ufuk University	No Research Center		
123	Uludağ University ⁷¹⁵	Research Center for Turkish Countries and Communities (Türk Devletleri ve Akraba Toplulukları Araştırma Merkezi-TÜDAM)	No Data	http://tudam.uludag.edu.tr
124	Yaşar University ⁷¹⁶	European Union Research Center (Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi)	22.07.2005	http://euc.yasar.edu.tr
125	Yeditepe University	No Research Center		
126	Yıldız Technical University ⁷¹⁷	Turkey Social and Economic History Research Center (Türkiye Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi)	18.11.2003	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
127	Yıldız Technical University ⁷¹⁸	Strategic Research Center (Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi)	02.07.2000	No Link to Research Center in Web Site
128	Yüzüncü Yıl University	No Research Center		
129	Zonguldak Karaelmas University	No Research Center		

⁷¹³ TOBB Ekonomi ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi Ekonomi Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi, <http://www.etu.edu.tr/index.php?page=106&lang=trTR>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹⁴ Trakya Üniversitesi Balkan Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, <http://www.trakya.edu.tr/Merkezler/balkan.htm>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹⁵ Uludağ Üniversitesi Türk Devletleri ve Akraba Toplulukları Araştırma Merkezi, <http://tudam.uludag.edu.tr/>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹⁶ BAHUM, “Yaşar Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, <http://www.bahum.gov.tr/bahum/scripts/KanunKur.asp?MaddeID=801706&Terms=avrupa>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹⁷ Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Türkiye Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi Yönetmeliği, <http://www.apry.yildiz.edu.tr/getfile.php?dosyano=1181>, (28 May 2006).

⁷¹⁸ “Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yönetmeliği”, *Resmi Gazete*, No:24097, 2 July 2000.

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONS DIRECTED TO THINK-TANKS

EK C: DÜŞÜNCE KURULUŞLARINA SORULAR

A. Questions Concerning the Think-Tank Scene in Turkey

A. Türkiye’de Düşünce Kuruluşlarının Genel Görünümüne İlişkin Sorular

1. What do you think about the development of think-tanks in Turkey? Do you think that a think-tank culture has become into being in Turkey? What are the similarities and differences between the developments concerning this issue in Turkey and around the world?

1. Türkiye’deki düşünce kuruluşlarının gelişimi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ülkemizde düşünce kuruluşu kültürü oluştuğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bu konuda dünyadaki gelişmelerle ülkemizde yaşanan gelişmeler arasında benzerlik ve farklılıklar görüyor musunuz?

.....

2. What do you think about the political culture in Turkey? Does political structure in Turkey limit or encourage think-tanks to access policy making process?

2. Türkiye’nin siyaset kültürü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Var olan siyasi yapı düşünce kuruluşlarının politika oluşturma sürecini etkilemeye yönelik faaliyetlerini kısıtlıyor mu veya düşünce kuruluşlarının bu yöndeki faaliyetlerini teşvik ediyor mu?

.....

3. What do you think about the role that think-tanks play in the policy making process in Turkey?

3. Türkiye’de politika oluřturma sürecinde düşünce kuruluşlarının oynadıęı rol hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

.....

4. In your opinion, what are the key factors that determine the influence of think-tanks?

4. Size göre, düşünce kuruluşlarının etkinliğini belirleyen temel faktör nedir?

.....

5. In your opinion, what are the key factors which determine the credibility of think-tanks?

5. Size göre, düşünce kuruluşlarının güvenilirliğini belirleyen temel faktör nedir?

.....

6. Do you think that there is a viable and sustainable system of domestic funding for the activities of think-tanks in Turkey? (donations or public grants)?

6. Türkiye’de düşünce kuruluşlarının yurtiçi mali kaynaklarla faaliyetlerini sürdürebileceęi bir sistemin oluřtuęunu düşünüyor musunuz? (baęışlar, kamu desteęi vb.)

.....

7. What should funders do to improve the effectiveness, viability and sustainability of think-tanks?

7. Düşünce kuruluşlarına mali kaynak saęlayanlar onların etkinliğini artırmak ve varlıklarını devam ettirmek için neler yapmalılar?

.....

8. What should think-tanks do to improve the effectiveness, viability and sustainability of think-tanks?

8. Düşünce kuruluşları kendilerinin etkinliğini artırmak ve varlıklarını devam ettirmek için neler yapmalılar?

.....

9. How do the laws and regulations in Turkey affect the establishment and functioning of think-tanks?

9. Türkiye’de yasal düzenlemeler düşünce kuruluşlarının kurulma sürecini ve çalışmasını nasıl etkiliyor?

.....

10. What are the main obstacles in developing of public policy analysis - supply side constraints (lack of knowledge), or lack of demand?

10. Siyasi analizin gelişiminin önündeki temel engeller nelerdir? (arz yönlü kısıtlamalar –bilgi eksikliği- veya talep yeterliği var mı?)

.....

11. What are your expectations about the future of think-tanks in Turkey?

11. Türkiye’deki düşünce kuruluşlarının geleceğine yönelik beklentileriniz nelerdir?

.....

B. Questions Concerning the Organization of Think-Tank

B. Düşünce Kuruluşuna İlişkin Sorular

12. Do you think that the term of “düşünce kuruluşu” is appropriate to describe your organization?

12. “Düşünce kuruluşu” tabiri sizin kuruluşu nitelemek için uygun bir tabir midir?

.....

13. When did your organization being founded and why? (i.e. which needs were attempting to meet, which events gave rise to its creation)

13. Düşünce kuruluşunuz hangi amaçları gerçekleştirmek üzere ve ne zaman kuruldu? (hangi ihtiyaçları karşılamayı hedefliyorsunuz, hangi olaylar kurulma sürecinde etkin oldu?)

.....

14. How would you describe your institution:

- a. Independent and Autonomous: significant autonomy from government and other interest groups
- b. Quasi Independent: independent but controlled by special interest groups (unions, pressure groups, etc.)
- c. University affiliated: policy research center at a university
- d. Political Party Affiliated: formally affiliated with a political party
- e. Government Affiliated: a part of the structure of government
- f. Quasi Governmental: funded exclusively by government but independent of government

14. Düşünce kuruluşunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız:

- a. Bağımsız ve özerk: hükümet ve diğer çıkar gruplarından önemli ölçüde bağımsız.
- b. Yarı bağımsız: bağımsız ancak özel çıkar grupları (baskı grupları, sendikalar, vb.) tarafından kontrol ediliyor.
- c. Üniversiteye bağlı: Üniversite içinde bir araştırma merkezi
- d. Siyasi Partiye bağlı: bir siyasi parti ile resmi bağ kurmuş.
- e. Devlete bağlı: Devlet yapılanmasının bir parçasını oluşturan.
- f. Yarı devlete bağlı: devletten bağımsız olmasına rağmen mali kaynağı önemli ölçüde devlet tarafından sağlanan.

.....

15. What is the primary activity of your organization?

- a. Scholarly research
- b. Policy-oriented research
- c. Contract research
- d. Public policy advocacy
- e. Training and technical assistance
- f. Public education
- g. Other

15. Sizin öncelikli faaliyetiniz nedir?

- a. Bilimsel araştırmalar
- b. Siyasi yönelimli araştırmalar
- c. Sözleşmeye dayanılarak yürütülen proje bazında araştırmalar
- d. Savunucu kuruluş (Belli bir siyasi düşünceyi savunmak amacıyla faaliyet gösteren)
- e. Eğitim ve teknik destek
- f. Kamu eğitimi
- g. Diğer

.....

16. Who is the target group of your organization's activities?

- a. Public
- b. Policy makers
- c. The media
- d. Other

16. Sizin hedef kitleniz kimlerden oluşmaktadır?

- a. Halk

- b. Politika yapıcılar
 - c. Medya
 - d. Diğer
-

17. Which of the following activities does your organization conduct?

- a. Book Publishing
- b. Journal Publishing
 - If yes, how many readers do you have?
- c. Conferences, Seminars and Workshops
 - If yes, how many conferences, seminars and workshops did you conduct in 2005?
- d. Briefings for policy makers
 - If yes, how many briefings in 2005?
 - Approximately how many policy makers attended to your briefings?
- e. Media appearances
 - If yes, how many media appearances in 2005?
 - Radio
 - TV
 - Internet

17. Aşağıdaki faaliyetlerden hangilerini yürütüyorsunuz?

- a. Kitap basımı
- b. Dergi çıkarma
 - Ne kadar okurunuz var?
- c. Konferans, seminer, workshop
- d. Politika yapıcılara brifing verme
- e. Medyada görünürlüğünüz nedir?

Radyo (2005'te kaç kez radyo programına katıldınız?).....

TV (2005'te kaç kez TV programında yer aldınız?).....

İnternet (2005'te web siteniz kaç kez ziyaret edildi?).....

18. What are your main funding sources? (donations, governmental funds, project specific funding by donors)

18. Ana mali kaynaklarınız nelerdir? (Bağışlar, devletin sağladığı fonlar, sözleşmeye dayanılarak yürütülen projelerden sağlanan fonlar, vb.)

.....

19. What are the major challenges facing your organization? (competition, funding, etc.)

19. Karşılaştığınız temel sorunlar nelerdir? (rekabet, mali kaynak sağlama, vb.)

.....

20. What is the size of your budget? How many staff do you have? Can you give some information about the education of your researchers?

20. Bütçe büyüklüğünüz nedir ve kaç personeliniz var? Araştırmacılarınızın eğitim durumu ile ilgili bilgi verebilir misiniz?

.....

21. How does your organization measure its performance (increased donations, number media citations, website hits, books published etc.)?

21. Performansınızı nasıl ölçüyorsunuz? (artan bağışlar, medyada yapılan atıf sayısı, web sitesini ziyaret sayısı, basılan kitaplar, vb.)

.....

22. Do you think that activities of your organization influence the policy-making process?

22. Politika oluřturma sũrecini alıřmalarınızla etkileyebildiđinizi dũřũnũyor musunuz?

.....

23. How do you preserve your independence?

23. Bađımsızlıđınızı nasıl koruyorsunuz?

.....

24. How do you decide your research priorities?

24. Arařtırma nceliklerinizi nasıl belirliyorsunuz?

.....

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONS DIRECTED TO ACADEMICIANS

EK D: AKADEMİSYENLERE SORULAR

1. What do you think about the development of think-tanks in Turkey? Do you think that a think-tank culture has become into being in Turkey? What are the similarities and differences between the developments concerning this issue in Turkey and around the world?

1. Türkiye’deki düşünce kuruluşlarının gelişimi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ülkemizde düşünce kuruluşu kültürü oluştuğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bu konuda dünyadaki gelişmelerle ülkemizde yaşanan gelişmeler arasında benzerlik ve farklılıklar görüyor musunuz?

.....

2. What do you think about the political culture in Turkey? Does political structure in Turkey limit or encourage think-tanks to access policy making process?

2. Türkiye’nin siyaset kültürü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Var olan siyasi yapı düşünce kuruluşlarının politika oluşturma sürecini etkilemeye yönelik faaliyetlerini kısıtlıyor mu veya düşünce kuruluşlarının bu yöndeki faaliyetlerini teşvik ediyor mu?

.....

3. Do you think that think-tanks play an active role in the policy making process in Turkey?

3. Türkiye’de politika oluşturma sürecinde düşünce kuruluşlarının etkin rol oynadığını düşünüyor musunuz?

.....

4. What do you think about the activities of research centers at universities?

4. Üniversitelerin araştırma merkezlerinin çalışmaları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

.....

5. In your opinion, what are the key factors that determine the influence of think-tanks?

5. Size göre, düşünce kuruluşlarının etkinliğini belirleyen temel faktör nedir?

.....

6. In your opinion, what are the key factors which determine the credibility of think-tanks?

6. Size göre, düşünce kuruluşlarının güvenilirliğini belirleyen temel faktör nedir?

.....

7. What do you think about the challenges facing think-tanks in Turkey?

7. Ülkemizde düşünce kuruluşlarının karşılaştığı sorunlar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

.....

8. Which think-tanks do you consider influent? Why?

8. Hangi düşünce kuruluşlarının etkin olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Niçin?

.....

9. What are your expectations about the future of think-tanks in Turkey?

9. Türkiye'deki düşünce kuruluşlarının geleceğine yönelik beklentileriniz nelerdir?

.....

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONS DIRECTED TO POLITICIANS

EK E: SİYASETÇİLERE SORULAR

1. What do you think about the development of think-tanks in Turkey? Do you think that a think-tank culture has become into being in Turkey?

1. Türkiye’deki düşünce kuruluşlarının gelişimi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ülkemizde düşünce kuruluşu kültürü oluştuğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

.....

2. What do you think about the political culture in Turkey? Does political structure in Turkey limit or encourage think-tanks to access policy making process?

2. Türkiye’nin siyaset kültürü hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Var olan siyasi yapı düşünce kuruluşlarının politika oluşturma sürecini etkilemeye yönelik faaliyetlerini kısıtlıyor mu veya düşünce kuruluşlarının bu yöndeki faaliyetlerini teşvik ediyor mu?

.....

3. Do you think that think-tanks play an active role in the policy making process in Turkey?

3. Türkiye’de politika oluşturma sürecinde düşünce kuruluşlarının etkin rol oynadığını düşünüyor musunuz?

.....

4. What are your expectations from think-tanks? Which roles should think-tanks play in the policy making process?

4. Düşünce kuruluşlarından beklentileriniz nelerdir? Düşünce kuruluşları politika oluşturma sürecinde hangi rolü oynamalılar?

.....

5. In your opinion, what are the key factors that determine the influence of think-tanks?

5. Size göre, düşünce kuruluşlarının etkinliğini belirleyen temel faktör nedir?

.....

6. In your opinion, what are the key factors which determine the credibility of think-tanks?

6. Size göre, düşünce kuruluşlarının güvenilirliğini belirleyen temel faktör nedir?

.....

7. Do you often use think-tanks as information sources?

7. Enformasyon kaynağı olarak düşünce kuruluşlarını kullanıyor musunuz?

.....

8. Which think-tanks do you consider influent? Why?

8. Hangi düşünce kuruluşlarının etkin olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Niçin?

.....

9. What are your expectations about the future of think-tanks in Turkey?

9. Türkiye’deki düşünce kuruluşlarının geleceğine yönelik beklentileriniz nelerdir?

.....