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**The Emergence of a New Type of Nongovernmental
Organization:
Think Firms**

A Study of the ARI and ESI (European Stability Initiative)
Movements
in the Context of Turkey's Integration to
the European Union

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ABSTRACT:

Different kind of civil society organizations unveiled as the relevant actors of the international society with the end of the Cold War. The study stresses new type of civil society organizations which are implemented in Europe with the democratization and enlargement process in Eastern Europe. The increase of the new type of NGOs has been linked to the demands coming from international society and the opportunities assured by different actors such as governments and supranational organizations. The study aims to conceptualize the emerging organizations in this context and to identify their characteristics. The new type of NGO is called “think firm” and as case studies ARI Movement and European Stability Initiative are investigated.

ÖZET:

Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ile birlikte, birçok sivil toplum örgütü uluslararası toplumun önde gelen aktörleri olarak ortaya çıkmışlardır. Çalışma, Doğu Avrupa'daki Demokratikleşme ve Avrupa Birliği'nin genişleme süreçleri sonucunda ortaya çıkan sivil toplum örgütlerini ele almaktadır. Sivil toplum örgütlerinin çoğalması ve şekil değiştirmesi uluslararası toplumdan bu tip örgütlere duyulan ihtiyaç ve onlarla yapılan işbirlikleri ve sivil toplum örgütlerine hükümetler ve ulus-üstü kurumlar tarafından sağlanan finansman olanaklarına bağlanabilir. Çalışma, yeni doğan organizasyonları bu bağlamda kavramsallaştırmayı ve özelliklerini tanımlamayı hedeflemektedir. Çalışmada yeni ortaya çıkan organizasyonlar “ Think Firm” - Düşünce Şirketi olarak adlandırılmaktadırlar. Çalışmanın son bölümünde ARI Hareketi ve Avrupa İstikrar İnisiyatifi üzerine vaka analizi yapılmaktadır.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC- Accession and Candidate Countries

ANAP- Motherland Party

ALDA- Local Democracy Agencies

CEPS- The Centre for European Policy Studies

CER- Center for European Reform

CFR- American Institute of International Relations

DISK- Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey

EDAM- Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies

EPC- European Policy Center

ESI- European Stability Initiative

EU- European Union

FOE- Friends of Europe

GPA- The Group of Policy Advisors

IIA- Institute of International Affairs

IR- International Relations

IRI- International Republican Institute

JEF-Europe- The Young European Federalists

KAS- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

KBF- The King Baudoin Foundation

LYMEC- European Liberal Youth

NGO- Nongovernmental Organizations

RIIA- The Royal Institute of International Affairs

TPQ- Turkish Policy Quarterly

TUC- European Trade Union Confederation

TUSIAD- Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association

UNICE- Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe

WWF- Global Environmental Conversation Organization

YDH- New Democracy Movement

PREFACE:

The lack of field research on EU- Turkey Relations gave me the necessity of working on this subject in which I have been interested now for four years. My interest in the emergence of the new civil society organizations has started with my research on Turkish Lobbying towards the European Union. The progress of the relations in four years and the emergence of new type of communities which operate between EU and Turkey in different levels pushed me to investigate profoundly this topic and to identify these organizations. My last research on European think-tanks in Brussels familiarized me to the issue and helped me to develop my *problématique* by giving the opportunity of differentiation between different actors.

INTRODUCTION:

Nowadays the change in the aims and concerns of nongovernmental organizations may be clearly seen. This is especially true in civil society organizations that have emerged in countries where a culture of civil society does not rely on the political culture of the country. Because of the freedom of these organizations to create their own structures, these structures and their aims have blurred the traditional definition of an NGO. The increase of the new type of NGOs is basically related to the demands coming from international society and the opportunities assured by different actors such as governments and supranational organizations.

Therefore, this thesis will show that new type of civil society organizations, which differs from the classical NGO models, has emerged. The first characteristic of these emerging organizations is the lack of a defined interest in a classical sense. The new type of NGOs does not have materialistic interests, but on the other hand, they are not concerned with post-materialistic ones. These emerging organizations have a specific objective and operate in order to fulfill it. The organization does not address single issue, but multiple issues with a specific concern.

The characteristics of these organizations have usually developed in relation to the opportunities offered by the environment from which they emerge. In this study, the breeding environment which pushes the creation of these entities is the European Union. The democratization process that has recently occurred in Eastern Europe and the funds earmarked for civil society organizations have created a new market: the

market of ideas. The organizations providing information and knowledge have formed with the distinct of provide an alternative voice for governments other than their own policy-makers.

Although the new civil society organizations possess the motive to offer alternatives to current policies and practices, they generally reproduced the ideas of the state. Today in Europe even organizations created by a tradition of strong social mobilization have metamorphosed into new structures in order to survive and compete in the world of projects. It can be argued that this is completely adverse to the principal concern of nongovernmental organizations, which is to respond to citizens' needs and demands. Rather than producing a *set of thought*, most of the civil society organizations have quietly taken their place in the competitive market which has been generated by the current system. In stead of being an alternative voice to confront governments on concerned issues NGOs now generally act within the borders defined by them. The financing of a nongovernmental organization whose aim is to generate alternative ideas to the present political system by a government, is very complicated to understand.

To sum up, the distinguishing points of the new organizations may be defined as follows: their non-ideologic, objective based structures and their professionalism which goes far beyond the tradition of volunteerism of NGOs.

From an uncritical perspective the intervention of the non-state actors in politics is very beneficial. However, their aims and objectives sometimes remain utopian. This issue first drew my attention with the appearance of non-state actors operating

between the European Union and Turkey. These are Brussels-based think tanks and Turkish NGOs, or platforms working on the issue of Turkey's integration into the EU. My past studies on *European Lobbying*, *Turkish Lobbying towards EU*, and *The Approaches of Brussels-Based Think-Tanks to Turkey's Integration to the EU* permitted me to observe different type of civil organizations operating in Europe. The question was whether the interaction of the non-state actors can be turned into a learning process during which new identities and new definitions will emerge.

This study focuses on finding out if these groups, which are involved actively in the integration process of Turkey into the EU and constitute a new type of organization, called social corporations. Furthermore, during this study, the new patterns of relations and correlations among these emerging actors of international society will be observed and critically analyzed.

Obviously there is no simple answer to these questions. The subject of this study is not to discuss the impact and success of these actors in this process, but to explore these actors and their characteristics. As said before, the specific field of the study is Europe. A typology of civil society organizations will be developed in order to help conceptualize the emerging civil society organizations. During this study this typology will serve as a tool to distinguish different organizations from each other.

In the first chapter of the study a definition of Civil Society Organizations will be clarified by relying on the philosophies and theories of IR. Then the typology of civil society organizations will be developed. Following the creation of the typology, the place of classical nongovernmental organizations in the typology will be made clear.

The focus at this point will be think tanks and their emergence after the First World War in Anglo-American countries, which lead to their spread through the entire world. The various types of think tanks will be distinguished by using the general NGO typology. In the last section the supranational groups, which can be seen as policy elites influencing policy-makers, will be observed.

In the second chapter of the study the development of European think tanks will be discussed and the leading European think tanks investigated. The argument of this chapter is that the complexity and the uncertainty of the European policy-making processes encouraged the generation of new type of relations and networks and a new field of inquiry relatively to EU policy. The study will be focused on the range and diversity of think tank structures in Europe beyond the Anglo-American norm. Therefore emerging EU think tanks that are disengaged from specific national identities will be considered as a European style of think tanks.

As Heidi Ullrich argues, this has arisen from the increasing role of the European Union in the political area which provides another institutional forum for think tank activity.¹ In the last section the new type of civil society organizations emerging with the Europeanization process will be conceptualized and defined. The new type of civil society organizations will be called “Think Firms”. The aim will be to analyze their emergence and the differences of between these entities and between them and traditional NGOs.

¹ Stone, Diane; Denham, Andrew, *Think Tanks Traditions- Policy Research and the Politics of Ideas*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004, p.10.

In the last chapter of the study, two nongovernmental organizations operating in Turkey will be thoroughly investigated: the ARI Movement and the European Stability Initiative. These are civil society organizations that are specific objective oriented and that address multiple issues. In depth analyzes of these organizations will be made, and their close characteristics to a think firm will be demonstrated.

CHAPTER I- The Emergence and the Increase of Civil Society Organizations in International Relations in 20th Century

Today they are a great variety of civil organizations operating in International Society. It's very complicated to define these actors in general terms. Their distinguishing characteristics have created an array of difference, not to mention their cultural or country-specific nature; still, some generalizations may be made. Here my aim is to give an overall description of these actors and to briefly explain their emergence and their position in world politics. In the first part of the study I am going to give a brief history of the emergence of nongovernmental actors in the international scene. My purpose will not be to illustrate the history of civil society organization, but to highlight the interpretations of different thinkers and contemporary currents of thought on the concept of civil society.

In order to help conceptualize these different actors of the international society, a typology of civil society organizations will then be developed. In this way the distinguishing points of the different actors will become explicitly exposed. My aim is to conceptualize new types of civil society organizations so they may be compared to the existing model of NGOs. I will then focus on think tanks and their evolution. In a subsection of this discussion I will also analyze the supranational groups known as the supranational policy elite as sometimes they have direct ties with think tanks. Finally, I will try to give a description of the new type of think tanks peculiar to the European Union which have come into being through the process of *Europeanization*.

The developed Civil Society Organizations typology will be used along the study as an essential tool to help conceptualize different nongovernmental organizations so they may be distinguished from each other.

1.1. Mission Impossible: Defining Civil Society Organizations

The diverse nature of civil society organizations creates a problem of indeterminacy. The term civil society does not mean the same thing in different contexts. The meaning of the term depends, primarily on countries and their different political systems. These contextual distinctions between political institutions and practices create confusion when an attempt is made to define civil society organizations. Furthermore, the idea of civil society organizations is not entirely singular in its connotations in the history of Western thought.² Different philosophers and theories put the civil actors in different places in the system and attributed them different roles.

The term *societas civil* was derived by pre-modern Europeans from Cicero's definition of the state (*civitas*) as a partnership in law (*societas*) with equality of legal status, but not of money or talent, among its members.³ In fact, today the term civil society can also be defined as a nexus of free individuals and groups without reference to the state.⁴ In the original sense of term there is no distinction between state and society: the term simply means a community, a collection of human beings

² Kaviraj, Sudipta; Khilnani, Sunil, *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, Cambridge University Pres, 2001, Cambridge, p. 3.

³ Black, Antony, "Concepts of Civil Society in pre-modern Europe", in Kaviraj, Sudipta and Khilnani, Sunil, *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, Cambridge University Pres, Cambridge, 2001, p.33.

⁴ *ibidem*.

united within a legitimate political order. Hegel first bifurcated the concept. In his account state and civil society functioned as re-descriptions of one other.⁵

The London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society's defines civil society thus: "*Civil society refers to the arena of unforced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups.*"⁶

Pufendorf and the Natural Law Tradition, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau and the Social Contract, Smith, Hume and Commercial Society, Hegel and the nineteenth-century traditions of Civil Associations and Guild Socialism are all essential components of the historical understanding of the idea of civil society.⁷

In the west, the term is seen as a means of rejuvenating public life relative to the given "boundaries" of politics and private life. However, the term has come to mean

⁵ Khilnani Sunil, "The Development of Civil Society", in Kaviraj, Sudipta and Khilnani, Sunil, *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, p.17

⁶ Definition of Civil Society, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/introduction.htm>, Accessed on May 5th 2006 at 15:45.

⁷ KHILNANI Sunil, "The Development of Civil Society", in Kaviraj and Khilnani, op. cit. p. 17.

simply private property rights and markets in the East.⁸ In the post-Second World War period, new concepts of the idea of civil society emerged in India, Latin America, the Middle East, China, Africa and South East Asia.⁹ However, the concept of civil society did not receive a significant reassessment in the West.

During the same period philosophers and critics of the Left likewise found the term of little interest. Marxists used the term negatively if at all. For them civil society was identified with bourgeois society, which is the sphere of needs inextricably linked to the productive base of capitalist society and therefore by definition in need of constant police and regulation by the state.¹⁰ Members of Frankfurt School considered the concept of civil society a prism through which the contradictions and conflicts of capitalism were refracted.¹¹

The term gained popularity in the late 1960's among radicals disaffected with Marxism.¹² The traditional structures of left politics were rejected in favour of social movements, which had been seen as authentic embodiments of social demands and interests.¹³ For Gramsci "civil society" is the ensemble of organisms commonly called "private" as opposed to that of "political society" or "the state". These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of "hegemony", which the dominant group exercises through society, and on the other hand to that of "direct

⁸ *ibidem*. p.11.

⁹ *ibid.* p.12.

¹⁰ *ibid.* p.15.

¹¹ *ibidem*.

¹² *ibid.* p.16.

¹³ *ibidem*.

domination” or command which is exercised through the State and “juridical” government.¹⁴

By the 1970’s and 1980’s civil society started to promise democracy and prosperity. It offered autonomy and the means to exercise it. The term was finally fully defined after its adoption by groups and intellectuals agitating against the authoritarian states and regimes in Eastern Europe and Latin America.¹⁵ By the 1970’s Social movements on the issue of women, the environment, peace, security or those opposing nuclear power and war become crystallized through the creation of organizations to implement their agendas.¹⁶ This phenomenon can be linked to the emergence of social responsibility conception as a result of democratization process. These social movements have obtained to increase their voices and to reach more people with the development of communication technologies.

Today the concept of civil society is seen as a supplement –not a substitute– to the illegitimacies of the present political system. Sunil Khilnani considers that the concept of civil society as the idea of the late twentieth century, a notion championed across the globe.¹⁷ Different kind of nongovernmental actors have emerged as relevant actors of the international society with the end of the Cold War. Most of them have international and transnational characteristics that have been formed to enable the spread of civil society in whatever country or culture they enter. Among these groups, the most important ones are civil society organizations, lobbies, pressure groups, interests groups, nongovernmental organizations, private or public

¹⁴ Femia, Joseph, “Civil Society and Marxist Tradition”, in Kaviraj and Khilnani, op. cit., p.139.

¹⁵ Hall, John, *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*, Polity Pres, 1996, Cambridge, p. 224.

¹⁶ Stromquist, Nelly P., “NGOs in a New Paradigm of Civil Society”, *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2002, p.62

¹⁷ KHILNANI Sunil, “The Development of Civil Society”, in Kaviraj and Khilnani, op. cit., p.11.

philanthropic foundations, think tanks and business associations. By the way we must not forget organizations like Lions Club (established in 1917) or Rotary Club (established in 1905) which are also civil society movements which are not interest oriented and based on philanthropy. In fact the emergence of social movements which aim to produce more social goods and which seek to participate to the policy-making processes is not relying on the past.

These above mentioned actors are all part of what is increasingly coming to be known as the nonprofit or “civil society” sector. Sometimes it’s not easy to distinguish these actors from each other, since they operate in a complex multilevel interrelationship. They often stand in opposition to each other, at other times they operate together on issues of mutual interest.

It can be argued that the rise of civil society has started to weaken the uniqueness of nation states. Some writers argue that in relation to the “crisis of the state”, which has been underway for two decades, this questioning of state has focused attention and new expectations on the civil society organizations which operate in societies through the world.¹⁸ Political leaders in many part of the world have displayed these new expectations as Tony Blair’s emphasis on “third way” in the U.K, Gerhard Schröder’s “Middle Way” in Germany, and Former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin’s declaration: “Yes to a market economy, no to a market society”¹⁹.

¹⁸ Salamon, L.; Anheier, H.; List, R.; Toepler, S.; Sokolowski, W.; “Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector”, The John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Baltimore, 1999, p. 4.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 5.

Consequently, this process has generated new types of relationships. Constructivist International Relations Theory calls this type of relationships “Multilevel complex relationships”. Contrary to the classical IR theory, informal contacts between policy-makers and civil society are possible and decisions can be made based on in this new type of relationships. This thesis will attempt to conceptualize the new organizations emerging from these types of relationships, which are fundamentally different from the traditional civil society organizations.

These new organizations issuing from multilevel relations among private sector, civil society and policymakers stand in opposition to the realistic approach. In a realistic approach of International Relations, the openness of the political sphere to various actors is neglected. The realistic approach is a state centric approach and does not pay attention to influences of NGOs, international organizations or pressure groups. The existence of nation states is essential; only relations which occur between the state and another state can be called international relations. Today the power of international society challenges the theory of structural realism raising questions about its deductive approaches.

We can argue that the structure of the international political system has apparently shifted after the introduction of a wider range of public and private policy actors due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, democratic consolidation, economic development, and greater prospects of political stability in Latin America, Asia and especially in Eastern Europe.²⁰ Various kinds of nongovernmental actors and groups have started to occupy a visible position in international relations. When analyzing

²⁰ Stone D., Think Tanks, International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences.

these actors it's appropriate to look at the period after the demise of the Soviet Union which opened political space for the policy entrepreneurs of civil society.

The establishment of the Helsinki Citizen Assembly is a good example in Europe of these new entrepreneurial organizations called NGOs. Helsinki Citizen Assembly was formed by intellectuals who had decided to formalize their existing network with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Václav Havel was the head of the movement. Mary Kaldor (United Kingdom), Mient-Jan Faber (The Netherlands) and Sonia Licht (Serbia) formally leaders of the movement against nuclear weapons in Europe, were pioneers in the creation of Helsinki Citizen Assembly.²¹ The Assembly had had elite characteristic; the formers of the movement such as Yorgo Papandreu, Václav Havel came to important positions in their countries in a few years.

In fact, Helsinki was the result of a transnational network of citizens who desired the creation of democratic civil society that would reach to the level of citizens. The main concerns of the movements were peace, respect for human rights, respect for environment and pluralism.²² Taciser Belge emphasizes that Helsinki Citizens Assembly's first forum in Prague was the celebration of the explosion of Soviet Union's repressive regime. In contrast to other civil society movements, a few bankers and economists were also invited to Prague in order to include interested persons from these disciplines in the movement.²³

It can be seen that with the general phenomenon of transnational communications among individuals, civil society, business and intelligencia, governments no longer

²¹ Interview with Taciser Belge, Founder of Helsinki Citizens Assembly, 13 May 2006, Istanbul.

²² *ibidem*.

²³ *ibidem*.

hold the total control of foreign relations. Today in Europe, the existence of these actors and their impact on the policy-making process is fully recognized. An example of this lies in the act of the lobbying which is no longer spoken of a pejorative sense in Europe. In Brussels there are currently 4,700 accredited lobbyists to the European Parliament.

We can say that today there is a “positive” interdependence between states. States which have common interests cooperate and behave according to certain rules. Not only individuals but states come together to form a regime in order to solve their common problems under the umbrella of supranational organizations such as the European Union. This phenomenon brings to mind us ‘the mutual learning process’ notion.

Through the information and communication technology tools, these various actors can easily access who they want and can disseminate their ideas. This is evidently related to the development of information technologies. Here the problem of the quality and reliability of the information emerges as a knife edge. The increasing of the information causes uncertainty. The proliferation of the information disseminated by the internet raises the question of whether the information has qualitative or quantitative influence over society.

1.2. Typology of NGOs

In this part a typology will be developed by which Civil Society Organizations may be distinguished from each other, thus enabling the understanding the analysis of the

principal characteristics of these organizations. The aim is to complete the field mapping and gather together the general characteristics of civil society organizations. After the gathering and the establishment of what qualities create civil society organizations, the typology can be settled.

At this point the determining characteristics of NGOs must be defined. All organizations which comprise nongovernmental entities have these following characteristics²⁴:

- An organizational structure– they have an institutional presence and structure
- They operate outside the state apparatus and are institutionally separate from the state
- They do not distribute profits– they do not return profits to their managers or to a set of “owners”
- Citizens are free to join or not join to pursue common purposes
- They have a self-governing characteristics and are fundamentally in control of their own affairs
- Membership is voluntary– no one is legally required to join and they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money.

To develop the NGO typology the essential common characteristics of the non-state actors must be defined. Once defined these characteristics form the fields of the typology. In order to clearly designate these characteristics similar characteristics

²⁴ Salamon; Anheier; List; Toepler and Sokolowski; op. cit., p.xvii.

under specific notions have been collected and different alternatives to each characteristic attributed. The fields that have been formed are as follows:

- Organization Type

Small Cadre	Professional	Elite Clubs	Free Membership
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- Social Ground

Middle to Upper Class	Middle to Lower Class	Political or/and Business Elite	Professors and Students
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- Volunteers or Professional Staff

All Volunteers With Paid Secretariat	Mostly Volunteers with a Strong Team of Professionals	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professionals
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- Revenue Sources

Member Fees	Corporate Sponsors	Individual Donors
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State Subsidies	NGO Subsidies	International and Supranational Organizations Funding
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- Relations with Governments

Organically Linked to a Government	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	No Organic Link with a Government and Low Cooperation	No Organic Link with a Government and No Cooperation
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- National/ International/ Transnational Structures

National	International	Transnational
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- Interests and Objectives

Generally Materialistic Aims	Generally Post- Materialistic Aims	Specific Objective
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- Audience

Mostly Providing Free Information to General Public	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Information Selling To Specific Interest Groups
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- Members and/or Contributors Earning their Livelihood Depends on Activities of the Organization

Yes	No
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- Interest Area

Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Addresses Single Issue
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This typology will serve as an analytical tool to make rational and consistent interpretation of NGOs. Furthermore it will provide a useful framework to distinguish civil society organizations from each other. In addition this framework will serve as a guide, but it is important to note that the framework is not to be seen as a rigid structure; the framework will mainly help identify variables and relationships to which attentions should be directed.

Before placing different kind of NGOs into our typology, the field of the typology must be explained in detail since it is important to clarify the fields in order to perceive the variables and the derivations of the characteristics.

Organization Type

Small Cadre	Professional	Elite Clubs	Free Membership
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As can be seen the organization type of NGOs have been separated into three categories. Small cadre organizations are juxtaposed mass organizations, where membership is free and does not rely on political or social tendencies. However, in a small cadre organization, a person who joins the organization must have the same social and political vision with the other members. In this type of organizations the membership does generally occur by recommendation. Such an organization consists of a limited membership with a common mission and vision. A person who wants to join such an organization is expected to be on the same ideological wave length with the other members.

Professional organizations rely on a profession. The practitioners of these professions generally join these types of organizations in order to defend rights of their profession or the sector in which they operate.

Elite Clubs are the groups which contain notable and important people of the society coming from areas such as the business world, media or politics. They are not open to anyone; the participation requires recommendation or invitation.

Organizations which have a free membership structure can be also called “mass organizations”. The organization is open to anyone who is willing to donate time or money to the entity.

- Social Ground

Middle to Upper Class	Middle to Lower Class	Political or/and Business Elite	Professors and Students
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NGOs rely on a social ground; the members of the organization usually come from the same social class. This characteristic is important for understanding the member profile of the organization. Here a general categorization for upper to lower class can be made by putting them into two categories. Elitist organizations which consist of political or/and business elite are by nature separate from such organizations. Organizations gathering together professors and students as academic think tanks, now also must be differentiated from these organizations.

- Volunteers or Professional Staff

All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Mostly Volunteers with a Strong Team of Professionals	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively High-Paid Professionals
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Usually there is not a professional team in small NGOs; there is only a secretariat responsible for the operational works and other activities are done by volunteers. In bigger NGOs, such as those which are internationally based or in think tanks, a professional team works full time. In Europe for example, there are notable Unions which have a strong team working in order to defend members’ rights. Furthermore there are some organizations in which the professionals are given corporate-like wages, and the numbers of their volunteers are significantly less than other NGOs.

Such organizations are not member oriented and stand in opposition to what is generally conceived of as essential for civil society.

- Revenue Sources

Member Fees	Corporate Sponsors	Individual Donors
State Subsidies	NGO Subsidies	International and Supranational Organizations Funding

The revenue sources of NGOs are multiple. However they may be generally separated into six categories. Member fees are fees taken from the members of the NGO. It's actually an annual fee. Corporate sponsors consist of private firms which donate to NGO. Individual Donors are usually people who give money to the NGO for a project, the publishing of a study, etc. State subsidies are the funds given by the states to an NGO. Very often NGOs provide funding for other NGOs. For instance, an NGO working on Human Rights issues in the USA can provide funding to an Asian NGO which works for human rights in Borneo. In addition to these revenue sources, International and Supranational Organizations, such as the European Union, World Bank or NATO, have funding programmes for NGOs.

- Relations with Governments

Organically Linked to a Government	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	No Organic Link with a Government and Low Cooperation	No Organic Link with a Government and No Cooperation
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The relationship of nongovernmental organizations with governments is an important issue to discuss. Some of the NGOs such as think tanks working for governments

have organic ties with governments. However it's not an appropriate characteristic for an organization which is nongovernmental. Some of the NGOs have a great deal of cooperation with governments such as business associations because they wish to influence policy-makers. Although all NGOs almost by definitions have relations with governments in order to influence the policy-making process. It is also possible that some of them have no cooperation with governments relatively to the strength of their opposition to the governments in power.

- National / International/ Transnational Structures

National	International	Transnational
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We have three categories national, international and transnational by which nationality is defined. Here it will be reasonable to give an analytic description of national, international and transnational in order to clarify the concepts of what they are.

National means “*of or relating to nationality*”²⁵. National organizations operate in the boundaries of a state and they do not have organic or administrative ties with other national organizations.

International describes interaction between nations or encompassing several nations.²⁶ International organizations have members from different nations and they have organizational and administrative ties. The decisions are taken together and to

²⁵ The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

²⁶ The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004.

some extent the members must respect the rules of the organization. However membership to the organization does not mean a transfer of sovereignty, all members have their own profit and operate independently in this sense.

The meaning of transnational is “*relating to or involving several nations or nationalities*”.²⁷ In transnational structures we generally see the association of people from different countries having different national identities. They are not concerned with representing their nation. The organization activities are financed by the money coming from different resources and from different countries. Usually these transnational organizations have transnational aims; they do not defend the interests of one nation; they do represent global interests such as environment, stability or security. In contrast to the term international, *transnational* relations consists of relationships between and among individuals and other entities, regardless of nation-state boundaries.

The typology being established here will use the term transnational rather than supranational which means “*extending beyond or transcending established borders or spheres of influence held by separate nations*”.²⁸ The supranational concept is generally used for supranational organizations where the Member-state governments have power and sovereignty but they must share their power with other actors. The European Union, The United Nation, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), The International Red Cross and The Arab League etc, may be describe as supranational organizations.

²⁷ ibidem.

²⁸ ibidem.

In this typology NGOs are considered national, international or transnational relative to their organization structure, membership profile and objectives.

- Interests and Objectives

Generally Materialistic Aims	Generally Post- Materialistic Aims	Specific Objective
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The issue of an NGO's interests is essential to understanding the place and the standing of NGOs in politics. Interest can be separated into two categories: materialistic and post-materialistic. Materialistic means *"primarily concerned with material objects and worldly activities, as contrasted with spiritual, moral or philosophical concerns; especially, concerned primarily with gaining money and the things that money can buy."*²⁹ As for post-materialistic, the adjective means primarily concerned with transcendental activities. Post-materialism gives high priority to the ideal of a society based on ideas instead of money. Furthermore some of organizations work on a single issue by having a specific objective and aim.

- Audience

Mostly Providing Free Information to General Public	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Information Selling To Specific Interest Groups
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NGOs engage in many activities; these activities are, generally speaking, as follows: lobbying, providing paid private research and information, providing public research and information, political action, organizing conferences, influencing public opinion,

²⁹ Dictionary Definition of Materialistic, Webster's 1913 Dictionary.

agenda settlement etc. To distinguish these activities from each other it's important to know their target group, their audience.

Here I categorized audiences into three categories: general public, policy makers and specific interest groups. NGOs generally have public oriented activities such as influencing public opinion, providing free information and assuring awareness. Activities toward policy makers are generally lobbying, agenda settlement etc... Furthermore, NGOs have private activities as selling information to specific interest groups.

- Members and/or Contributors Earning their Livelihood Depends on Activities of the Organization

Yes	No
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In traditional NGOs the volunteers of the organization do not earn their livelihood from the activities of the organization. Furthermore dedication to the NGO is the key concept of the volunteerism. Generally, the volunteers of NGOs work without having a profit from the organization and they also pay their member fees, which they sometimes donate to the NGO. However, today there are also some types of NGOs where members gain their livelihood from the organization.

- Interest Area

Addresses Multiple Issues	Addresses Single Issue
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Some of the NGOs work on multiple issues; this means that they do not have a focus in a specific interest. However some of the NGOs only have a specific concern and they act in order to realize it. Interest Area has not might been confused with interest

and objective. For instance a NGO can work on the increasing of human rights and it can work on many issues related to this concern. However an interest group defending employee rights will probably active in a single issue.

After defining the fields of the NGO's typology, I will place all civil society organizations which will be investigated during the study into this typology. These organizations are: Business Associations, Unions, Environmental Associations, Public Benefit Foundations and Women's Associations, Think Tanks, Supranational Organizations and Think Firms. Then to be more concrete, examples of the primary civil society organizations will be given.

TYPOLGY of NGOs

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organizations	Interest Area	Type Name
Professional	Political or/and Business Elite	Mostly Volunteers with a Strong Team of Professionals	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Generally Materialistic Aims	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addresses Single Issue	Business Associations
Professional	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation or Low Cooperation	National	Generally Materialistic Aims	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addresses Single Issue	Labor Unions
Free Membership	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees, NGO Subsidies, Individual Donors	No Organic Link with a Government and Low Cooperation	National	Generally Post-Materialistic Aims	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addresses Single Issue	Environmental Organizations
Free Membership	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Individual Donors, NGO Subsidies	No Organic Link with a Government but Low Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Providing Free Information to General Public	No	Addresses Single Issue	Women's Associations
Free Membership	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors, NGO Subsidies, State Subsidies	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Generally Post-Materialistic Aims	Mostly Providing Free Information to General Public	No	Addresses Single Issue	Public Benefit Foundations

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organizations	Interest Area	Type Name
Small Cadre	Professors and Students	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	Corporate Sponsors, Individual Donors, State Subsidies	No Organic Link with a government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Academic Think Tanks
Small Cadre	Political or/and Business Elite	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	State Subsidies	Organically Linked to a Government	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	State Related Think Tanks
Small Cadre	Political or/and Business Elite	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	Member Fees Corporate Sponsors, International and Supranational Organizations Funding	No Organic Link with a government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Elitist Think Tanks
Elite Clubs	Political or/and Business Elite	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Corporate Sponsors, Member Fees	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	Supranational	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addressees Multiple Issues	Supranational Groups
Small Cadre	Middle to Upper Class	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	State Subsidies, Corporate Sponsors, Individual Donors, NGO Subsidies, International and Supranational Organizations Funding	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Think Firms

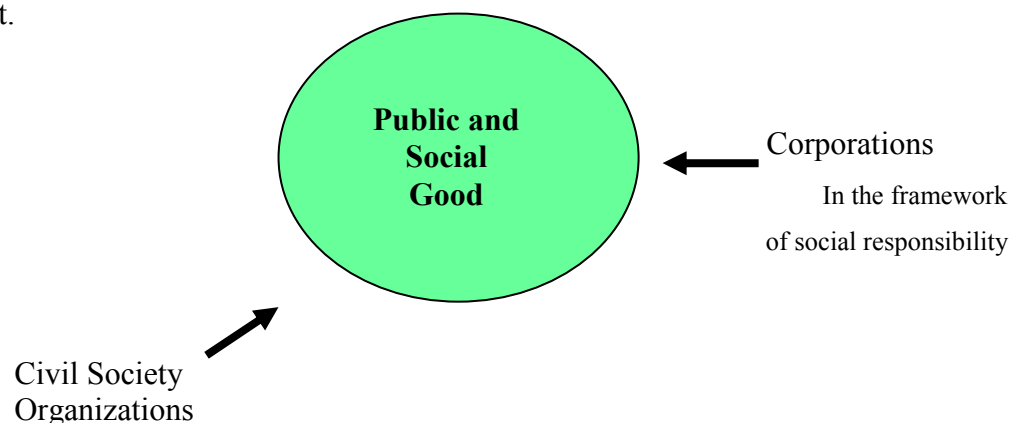
TYOLOGY OF NGOs- EXAMPLES

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area	Type Name/ Example
Professional	Political or/and Business Elite	Mostly Volunteers with a Strong Team of Professionals	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Generally Materialistic Aims	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addresses Single Issue	Business Associations: TÜSİAD (Turkey), MEDEF (France), CONFINDUSTRIA (Italy)
Professional	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation, No Organic Link with a Government and Low Cooperation	National	Generally Materialistic Aims	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addresses Single Issue	Labor Unions: DISK (Turkey), TUC (United Kingdom)
Free Membership	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees, NGO Subsidies, Individual Donors	No Organic Link with a Government and Low Cooperation	National	Generally Post-Materialistic Aims	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addresses Single Issue	Environmental Organizations: TEMA (Turkey)
Free Membership	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Individual Donors, NGO Subsidies	No Organic Link with a Government but Low Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Providing Free Information to General Public	No	Addresses Single Issue	Women's Associations: Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates (KAD-ER), Mor Çatı (Turkey)
Free Membership	Middle to Lower Class	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors, NGO Subsidies, State Subsidies	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Generally Post-Materialistic Aims	Mostly Providing Free Information to General Public	No	Addresses Single Issue	Public Benefit Foundations: Turkish Education Foundation (TEV), Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV)

The primary classical civil society organizations having classical purposes and defending post-materialistic or purely materialistic interests are placed into the general NGO typology. It is obvious that there are many type of organization which does not fit these above mentioned general characteristics. For instance Greenpeace is an example to the transnationalization of a social movement related to its transnational structure. On the other hand, Global Environmental Conversation Organization (WWF) which is also a transnational environment organization similarly to Greenpeace, it receives funding from states and corporate sponsors in contrast to Greenpeace.

However the most common characteristics of the primary civil society organizations are given in order to help to understanding of the various organizations issued from them.

The claim is that all of these organizations have been altered with the impacts of external factors and opportunities. In Europe, these external factors are the democratization process and the Europeanization. Today the derivations of these above mentioned NGO types operate and gain new characteristics related to the conditions of the day as corporations which operate in an instable and competitive market.



The derivations of classical NGOs are generally formed by being influenced from the common external factors. The first of these factors is globalization. In the most of classical NGOs, the cooperation with international NGOs and the motive to create transnational umbrella organizations are observed. Mostly in women's associations, the cooperation with international partners is crucial. Today, the transnational women rights networks are very strong and active in the international society. In the European Union the women's associations lobbying activities are very well known which are gathered under the umbrella of European Women Lobby which brings together over 4000 women's organizations across Europe.³⁰

Similarly, the European Business Associations came together under the umbrella of UNICE, (the Union of Industries of the European Community) and they promote the rights of European Business towards the European Union. The success of UNICE in Social Dialogue process which has started with "European Single Act" in 1987 and its acceptance by the European Commission as a social partner confirms its importance in the EU.³¹ It conferred on the European Commission a duty to promote social dialogue between the parties and to consult with them when taking community decisions, including some areas for mandatory consultation of the social partners.³²

That shows that the new political context at the European level pushes the creation of new type of characteristics in NGOs. In general, the decreasing of national interests and the transfer of the presentation of interests to a transnational level are observed. For instance, in the past national NGOs were trying to effect their own government

³⁰ About EWL, www.womenlobby.org

³¹ Quermonne, Jean-Louis, *Le Système Politique de l'Union Européenne*, Montchrestien, Paris, 2001, p. 97.

³² The European Social Dialogue Background Fact Sheet n°1 , 2003, p. 2., www.uapme.com

in order to defend their rights but today the NGOs, by being mobilized under the European Umbrella organizations with their European equivalents, form pressure groups against governments.

Furthermore the new funding opportunities have caused the changes in the revenue sources of the NGOs. In a sense the rigid and keen attitudes of some NGOs has started to melt. For instance the labor unions have also altered their behaviors by the impact of external factors as funding opportunities. The main revenue source of a labor union is generally Member Fees but today labor unions profit also from project-based funding offered by the EU.

1.3 Think-Tanks

As discussed in the previous section, NGOs perform a myriad of roles in today's society. Each of them operates independently in the international society and tries to achieve their goals. In this part the focus will be on think tanks. Think-tanks and supranational groups will be investigated. The fact that think-tanks have different objectives and structures which are not always same must be taken into account.

1.3.1 The Emergence of Think Tanks in International Society

Think tanks are now an accepted facet of political life. Therefore advice-giving traditions go back through the millennia like the priests, soothsayers, chamberlains

and kitchen cabinets³³ which used to help government officials in the formulation of public policy.³⁴ The ease with which think tanks have slipped into popular and academic discourse is quite noticeable. This has resulted in augmented attention on the role of non-state actors in society, and ties in with a more rigorous questioning of the accountability and legitimacy of contemporary political structures.

According to HarperCollins's Dictionary of American Government and Politics, "think tank is a colloquial term for an organizational segment whose sole function is research, usually in the policy and behavioral sciences".³⁵ Another explanation from Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines a think tank "as a person or a group of people –usually experts in some field– who are regarded as a source of ideas and solutions to problems".³⁶

The word 'think tank' stems from the RAND Corporation, which operated as a closed and secure environment for US strategic thinking after World War II.³⁷ RAND Corporation in its mission statement explains that "*RAND Corporation developed a unique style, blending scrupulous nonpartisanship with rigorous, fact-based analysis to tackle society's most pressing problems*".³⁸ Today, "Think tank" is a commonly used phrase referring to independent research centers that study and advocate social, economic and political policies.

³³ The phrase is used informally in modern times in reference to a President's or presidential candidate's closest unofficial advisers.

³⁴ Weiss, Carol H., *Organizations for Policy Analysis: Helping Government Thinking*, Sage Publications, California, 1992, p. vii.

³⁵ The Meaning of a think tank, The HarperCollins Dictionary of American Government and Politics, Jay M. Shafritz, HarperPerennial, 1992.

³⁶ The Meaning of a think tank, Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1973, U.K.

³⁷ Stone, Diane, "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", Hanoi, 2005, p. 2.

³⁸ RAND History, <http://www.rand.org/about/history/>, Accessed on April 4th 2006 at 10:45.

It is a public non-profit organization which gathers together experts and concerned individuals to discuss, to engage in dialogue, to deliberate, to suggest, and to answer questions about public and private policies. A “think tank” focuses on isolating problems, research, and problem solving, that leads to possible solutions. Think tanks also focus on forming a common ground agreement that contributes to addressing a problem or concern. They serve as catalysts for more thought and action and encourage the engagement of all citizens in the discussion process and formulation of action strategies. Here the differentiation point of think tanks from the other nongovernmental organizations is the non existence of “interest” in a classical sense.

Think tanks are as diverse as the world itself. They vary in size, legal form, policy ambit, longevity, organizational structure, standards of inquiry, and political significance. Some claim a ‘scientific’ or technical approach to policy problems. Others are overtly partisan or ideologically motivated. Think tanks are most numerous in the USA. The stronger party systems, corporatist decision making, strong bureaucracies, and fragile philanthropic sectors have dampened the development of think tanks in the Commonwealth parliamentary systems of Western Europe. However we witness their proliferation in Europe relatively to the present dynamics. Democratic consolidation, economic development, and greater prospects of political stability in Latin America and Asia have provided the right conditions for think-tank array. The failure of the Soviet Union also opened political spaces for policy entrepreneurs.³⁹

³⁹ Stone, Diane, Think Tanks, International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences.

Institutes of International Affairs, namely IIAs, emerged around the world in the aftermath of the First World War. We can link the emergence of think tanks to the concern of security in the period after the First World War. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, generally known as Chatham House, and the American Institute of International Relations (CFR) are the founding generation of the transnational elite that now transcends national boundaries. They constitute the building blocks of the contemporary world order.⁴⁰

The creation of Chatham House and CFR was determined by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920. The proposed version regarding the foundation of these institutions was the foundation of an institute of international affairs with 2 branches: one British, the other American. The aim was to assist policy-makers by generating supportive public consensus via these institutes.⁴¹ But when the delegates returned to their homelands, they decided to establish separate national organizations composed of experts, journalists, academics, international lawyers and practitioners of foreign affairs.⁴²

In the public deliberation of foreign affairs, IIAs play a crucial role by generating elite consensus and in mobilizing public opinion.⁴³ The Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation in the USA were formed shortly after the establishment of CFR and used the same organizational model. The Chatham House model also inspired a number of IIAs in Europe, such as Centre d'Etudes de Politique (1935) in

⁴⁰ Parmar, Inderjeet, "Institutes of International Affairs: their roles in foreign policy-making, opinion mobilization and unofficial diplomacy", in Diane and Andrew, 2004, op. cit., p. 33.

⁴¹ Parmar, Inderjeet, "Institutes of International Affairs: their roles in foreign policy-making, opinion mobilization and unofficial diplomacy", in Diane and Andrew, 2004, op. cit., p. 33.

⁴² *ibid.* p. 22.

⁴³ *ibid.* p. 19.

France, Institut des Relations Internationales (1947) in Belgium, Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (1933) in Italy, and Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Internationale Zaken (1945) in the Netherlands.⁴⁴

The remarkable point to be made about the proliferation of these institutes in the world is their funding sources. Accordingly to Parmar, the European IIAs modeled on Chatham House were founded by American Foundations.

These IIAs, in addition to their policy research role they played, have a very important role in mobilizing public opinion to support governments' policies such as Anglo-American Post War Cooperation, the formation of UN and the Bretton Woods System.⁴⁵ These institutes were already occupying a similar role, when World War II they operated as unofficial diplomats.

Among IIAs' goals, the most essential are influencing public opinion and public education. But when we stress their "public" definition, the definition was restricted to a small group of the society rather than the broader society in line with the elitist structure of these institutes.⁴⁶

When the spread of think tanks cross-nationally is analyzed, specific conditions such as a tolerant political culture and freedom of speech must be taken into account. Furthermore it's also important to consider how government institutions and political actors interpret and respond to political problems. All of these components affect

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 21.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 23.

⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 29.

think tanks' mode of operation and their opportunity or capacity for policy input and influence.⁴⁷

Stone emphasizes that “*cultural understandings of independence, the degree of think tank autonomy, and the extent of interest in policy and political issues vary dramatically, not only from country to country, but from one institute to another*”.⁴⁸

This makes difficult to give a general definition of think tanks and to portray its characteristics.

As for the transnationalization of think tanks, this can be explained by the growing power of transnational policy communities. In a European context think tanks emerged in tandem with the growth of the European Union. The emergence of European think tanks will be deeply investigated in the next chapter.

The influence of think tanks over the policy making process is quite difficult to measure. Researchers working on the issue agree that they have atmospheric influence rather than direct influence in politics. In general, think tanks and governmental relations depend on the policy style of a country and on the type of the think tank. However it is undeniable that if a think tank is to influence the policy-making process, it must have some engagements with government, while at the same time making certain to preserve their intellectual autonomy.⁴⁹

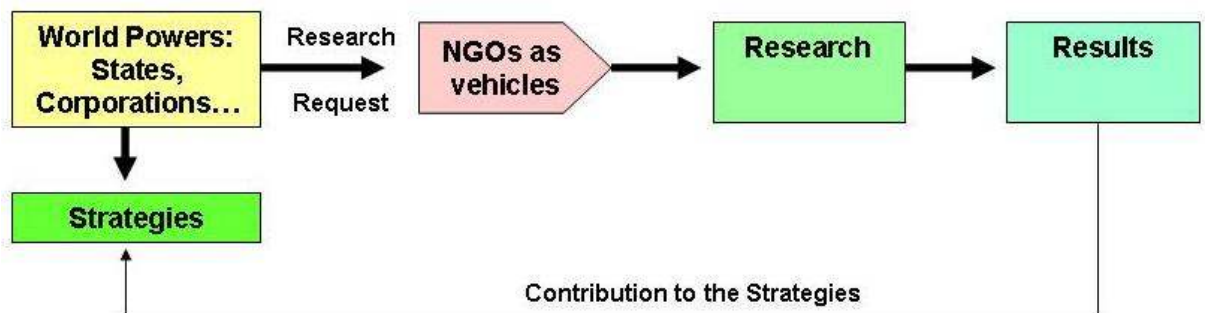
⁴⁷ Parmar, Inderjeet, “Institutes of International Affairs: their roles in foreign policy-making, opinion mobilization and unofficial diplomacy”, in Diane and Andrew, 2004, op. cit., p. 29.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* p. 5.

⁴⁹ *ibid.* p. 10.

Think tanks can be seen as a strategic location for the generation of consensual knowledge and for the use of this knowledge to influence government agendas”.⁵⁰ To show the impact of think tanks in the policy making process, how, where, and to whom this “expertise originated knowledge” is distributed must be focused on. Stone writes that “part of the problem in addressing the impact of think-tanks is the ontological distinction between knowledge and power that reigns in social science”⁵¹

IAs such as Gramsci are essential to understanding the basic argument against such organizations. Gramsci considers that “non-state *“private organizations”* of the ruling class forces to elaborate a societal consensus behind a hegemonic project” which was being constructed to institutionalize Anglo-American power in the postwar world.⁵² We can schematize Gramsci’s argument as following:



According to this argument, think tanks and NGOs support the hegemonic project by contributing to the objectives defined by world powers in the arena of international or supranational power.

⁵⁰ Stone, Diane, Capturing the political imagination: think tanks and the policy process, London and Portland, 1996, p. 37.

⁵¹ *ibid.* p. 113.

⁵² Parmar, in Stone and Denham, 2004, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

1.3.2 Think Tank Typology

In this section think tanks will be placed into NGO typology, so as to identify their characteristics. It's crucial to keep in mind that there are various kinds of think tanks which vary in structure, size and objective. For that reason the different think tanks will be placed into the NGO typology so as to expose their points of differentiating.

But before starting, a literature review must be made and a glance taken at the typologies of think tanks. Stone's think tanks typology differentiates think tanks relatively to their activity types. Thus she categorizes think tanks activities into three types:⁵³

- Knowledge, analysis and expertise
- Advocacy and argumentation
- Organizational and technical services

She argues the first type of think tanks provide knowledge on specific issues relatively to their research interests. In this case think tank research supplements government research, or can provide research on demand for corporations or other institutions.

As for think tanks which generate advocacy and argumentation, Stone mentions that "think tanks can often provide intellectual legitimation of norms".⁵⁴ According to Stone, think tanks with their expertise and their easy access to policy-making processes via global policy networks disseminate their ideas forcefully.

⁵³ Stone, Diane, "Think Tanks Beyond Nation-States" in Stone and Denham, 2004, op. cit., p. 42.

⁵⁴ Stone, Diane, "Think Tanks Beyond Nation-States" in Stone and Denham, 2004, op. cit., p. 43.

The last type of Stone's think tanks typology provides organizational and technical services. This type of think tanks consists of entities which operate as vehicles to facilitate the national and international information flow between policy-makers and the "educated" public. They also represent a legitimate and neutral vehicle to filter sets of argument and information. According to Keohane and Nye, "the politics of credibility"— of status, trust and representation— is an important dimension of demand for think tanks services in the "information age".⁵⁵ The credibility of think tanks and their "mediator" role has also recognized and acknowledged by United Nations in 1999. The roles of think tanks are thus at present defined as:⁵⁶

- Communicating and translating global values and agreements to regional and local audiences;
- Reviewing international agreements and recommending the formulation of national and regional policy options;
- Convening and building alliances among NGOs and civil society;
- Training and teaching fledgling NGOs on organizational management, planning and advocacy (ODC, 1999:7).

Now different kinds of think tanks from the entire world will be placed into the general NGO typology. Concrete examples of how think tanks work within this typology will be offered.

⁵⁵ *ibidem*.

⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 45.

THINK TANKS TYPOLOGY

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International / Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area	Type Name/ Examples
Small Cadre	Professors and Students	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	Corporate Sponsors, Individual Donors, State Subsidies	No Organic Link with a government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Academic Think Tanks: U.S: Rand Corporation, AEI, Brookings Institute Belgium: CEPS Belgium: ESI Turkey: Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü (Institute for Strategic Studies)
Small Cadre	Political or/and Business Elite	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	State Subsidies	Organically Linked to a Government	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	State Related Think Tanks: Malaysia: Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ISIS)
Small Cadre	Political or/and Business Elite	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	Member Fees Corporate Sponsors, International and Supranational Organizations Funding	No Organic Link with a government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Elitist Think Tanks: Turkey: Dış Politika Enstitüsü (Foreign Policy Institute) U.K: Chatman House Belgium: IRRI-KIIB France: IFRI

1.4 Supranational Groups and Organizations

At this point it's also important to emphasize the place of supranational groups in the society. In addition to supranational organizations such as the European Union or the United Nations, today the smaller association of corporate, government and opinion leader under supranational group structures is seen. By saying supranational groups, groups such as Evian Group, Bilderberg Group and the World Economic Forum are considered. These groups distinguish from classical NGOs related to their functioning and concerns.

When the common characteristic of these groups are observed, their strongest commonality is their transnational structures. On the other hand related to their assigned influence in world politics they are named supranational groups. That means that these supranational groups have a crucial influence in the orientation of world politics related to the persons which participate to their activities. The composition of these groups consists of the most important opinion, business and government leaders of the world. These groups may viewed as international human networks which act and operate together in order to achieve common goals but these goals are various.

Bilderberg Group consists primarily of influential politicians and business people. Due to its secretive nature, the group is the subject of numerous conspiracy theories. The group meets annually at five-star resorts throughout the world. The original intention of the Bilderberg group was to further the understanding between Western

Europe and North America through informal meetings between powerful individuals.⁵⁷ The Bilderberg Group was the brainchild of Joseph Retinger, an American whose high-profile career brought him into contact with many high-ranking military and political leaders worldwide. Retinger's dream was to unite the world in peace –a peace brokered by powerful supranational organizations– which he believed would be less susceptible to the short-term ideological whims of national governments.⁵⁸ Retinger believed that multinational organizations could create and enforce unity between nations by dictating and enforcing consistent and effective economic and military policies.⁵⁹ However, the group has also been depicted as an international cabal of the influential and the affluent politicians, financiers, and media and business moguls; the elite of the elite. In Bilderberg Meeting 2005, Mustafa Koç, Cüneyt Ülsever and Ali Babacan represented Turkey.⁶⁰

Evian Group is a coalition of corporate, government and opinion leaders. The goal of the group is the enhancing of global prosperity for the benefit of all and the greater prospect of peace. The group states its mission as *“fostering an open, inclusive, global market economy in a rule-based multilateral framework, with a focus on Asia-Europe economic relations. In recognizing the turbulence – and, in some cases, anxieties – that globalization causes”*. For instance, Evian Group is committed to discussing how the multilateral trading system can best function for the enhancement of global prosperity and building confidence between members of the global economic community.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Declared Purpose, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilderberg_Group

⁵⁸ The Origins of Bilderberg Group, www.parascope.com

⁵⁹ ibidem

⁶⁰ See Annexe 1- Bilderberg 2005 Meeting, List of Participants

⁶¹ About Evian Group, www.eviangroup.org

To understand better the general structure of these groups, these groups will be placed into the general NGO typology and to show how they differentiate themselves from classical civil society organizations or movements. Then the characteristics of these groups will be discussed in comparison to classical NGOs.

SUPRANATIONAL GROUPS TYPOLOGY

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area	Type Name/ Examples
Elite Clubs	Political or/and Business Elite	All Volunteers with Paid Secretariat	Corporate Sponsors, Member Fees	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	Supranational	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	No	Addressees Multiple Issues	Supranational Groups: Bilderberg Group, Evian Group, World Economic Forum

The supranational organizations are explicitly elite groups which are composed by political leaders, CEOs of world biggest corporations and opinion leaders. The organization structures of these groups are very closed. Only invited persons can attend these groups' meetings and for instance the meetings usually are not opened to the media. That shows that these groups are not public oriented. For sure the social ground of these groups is political and business elites.

In these organizations there is not a membership system, these organizations must be considered as platforms which permanently bring together the policy and business elite of the world. The members of the groups are the participants of the meetings. There is a board of management which carries out the operational work of the group and which may be considered as a secretariat.

These groups have usually specific objectives as mentioned above such as fostering global market economy, creating the dialogue between Western Europe and North America, generating peace etc...

The audience of these groups is usually policy-makers; their audience is certainly not the public. For instance, the topics of the Bilderberg Groups Meetings are kept secret and attendees pledge not to divulge what was discussed. The supranational groups address multiple issues related to world politics.

CHAPTER II- European Think Tanks and the Emergence of Think Firms

2.1 The Emergence of European Think Tanks

There has been a significant increase in the emergence of Europe based think tanks since the early 1990s. Evidently the interests and the research areas of those in the European Union are related to the deepening and widening of the EU. This increase arises from the demand for specialized knowledge, new ideas and policy alternatives.⁶² According to Heidi Ullrich, “the trend of non-state actors in EU is partly a result of the difficulties surrounding the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty”.⁶³ With the Maastricht Treaty, the concept of greater transparency in EU policy making was codified. The development of Social Dialogue Mechanisms and this demand to bring the European Union and its Citizens closer together was emphasized. All these facts have encouraged the involvement of non-state actors in the European policy-making processes.

It’s evident that the Europeanization of national policy-making and the enlargement of the European Union challenge the classical mechanisms of its decision-making. Furthermore the intervention of non-governmental actors in the EU was welcomed by many European institutions. The importance of these interventions has emphasized by the European Commission on 2 December 1992:

⁶² Ullrich, Heidi, “European Union Think Tanks: generating ideas, analysis and debate” in Stone and Denham, 2004, op. cit., p. 52.

⁶³ *ibidem*

*“The Commission has always been an institution open to outside input. The Commission believes this process to be fundamental to the development of its policies. This dialogue has proved valuable to both the Commission and to interest outside parties. Commission officials acknowledge the need for such outside input and welcome it”*⁶⁴

The European Union is a multi-level and multi-arena game. 25 different policy systems exist in the organization each reflecting national power structures –and national policy networks– which determine then the “national interest” when compromises with the EU must be made. Héritier describes the EU regulatory system as a “patchwork of different national regulatory styles”.⁶⁵ With the supremacy of EU law over the national law, the national policy-making styles and national policy frameworks are challenged by EU legislation. In this sense, the range of potential actors in this change process is enormous and the patterns of interactions between these national and transnational actors are sometimes unpredictable.

The European Union is a political construction of the member states, but it’s evident that there is lack of governance, especially the lack of a European government with which will to coordinate the policies of complicated system of some 25 states. After the last enlargement, EU level policy-making process has become more and more complicated and blurred. With the inclusion of a wider range of public and private policy actors into the process, the locus of decision has shifted from nation-state

⁶⁴Commission of the European Communities, ‘An Open and Structured Dialogue between the Commission and Special Interest Groups’ Brussels, SEC (92) 2272 final, 2 December 1992.

⁶⁵ Héritier, Adrienne, “The Accomodation of Diversity in European Policy-Making: Regulatory Policy as Patchwork”, Journal Of European Public Policy, Vol. 3, No. 3., p. 149-167.

level to transnational level. These actors –particularly national ones– need to adjust to the empirical reality of the situation.⁶⁶

Keohane and Nye's model of complex interdependence is appropriate to understand current structures existing in EU. The interdependence theory can be seen as the phenomenon of 'trans-governmental communication' and the existence of 'informal ties between governmental elites'. This dimension of inter-State relations can not be accommodated within the traditional realist conception of States as unitary actors. In the European Union today there is the uncontested influence of interest groups, lobbies and pressure groups in the policy-making process. Obviously, in Europe there is a multi-level policy making process in which lobbyists, national and transnational interest groups, national actors and think-tanks act in order to influence the process accordingly to their interests. Adler and Haas discussed the main question of political process in terms of who learns what, when, to whose benefit and why?⁶⁷

In the case of uncertainty, in a structure complex as the EU, it is very difficult to adopt the rational actor model. In such a situation, a classical approach can completely ignore the importance of other key actor in the process. The research of Mazey and Richardson on policy-making in the EU emphasizes that all interest group respondents interviewed in their study noticed the fluidity and unpredictability

⁶⁶ Richardson, Jeremy, "Policy Making in the EU, in European Union: Power and policy-making" in MAZEY and RICHARDSON, eds. 1996. *The logic of organization: Interest groups, in European Union: Power and Policy Making*, Routledge, London, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Haas, Peter; Adler, Emmanuel; *Knowledge, Power and International Policy Coordination*, edited by Peter Haas, University of South Carolina Press, 1996, p. 370.

of the political process.⁶⁸ Simply put it's very difficult to identify actors in the system because the process is large and shapeless.

Accordingly to Haas the politics of uncertainty leads to a certain mode of behavior.⁶⁹ This means when policy-makers face an uncertain situation, they must on necessity turn to new and different sources of advice. This can be also seen as the production of the latest advances policy coordination. In this situation, the policy-maker has to decide which strategy fit his interests. This situation requires an expert knowledge in specific areas, and think tanks members have this expertise.⁷⁰ Accepting epistemic communities as the sources of knowledge, in the case of uncertainties in politics, fully challenge mainstream international relations approaches.

With the deepening and widening of the European Union, in Brussels, in the heart of European Union the proliferation of think-tanks has been witnessed. These think-tanks create and conclude strategic partnerships with other European think-tanks. The reason of this rapprochement with other think tanks can be seen as the need to form high-level and multistakeholder think-tanks which can create a platform for policy elites for dialogue on an issue.⁷¹

The increasing power of these kinds of think tanks was first due to the growth in market value of their expertise, knowledge and ideas. Smith takes an interesting approach to the market of idea: "Reports and studies typically responded to the questions raised by policymakers and their staffs. To survive, the research

⁶⁸ Mazey; Richardson, 1996, op. cit. , p. 11.

⁶⁹ Haas, op. cit. 368

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 14.

⁷¹ King Baudouin Foundation Autumn/Winter 2005 Newsletter, Editorial of Luc Tayart de Borms, p. 2.

organizations, dependent on contractual relationships, now had to ‘market’ their services to the government. Ideas were ‘sold’ and research products were supplied to the contractor”.⁷² Furthermore, it means that in our days there is an evolution of a very specific manifestation of think tanks, since they produce the issue-related knowledge in exchange for recognition and power. Godelier considers this phenomena as following; “For relations of domination and exploitation to be formed and reproduced in a lasting fashion, they must be presented as an exchange and as exchange of services”⁷³

2.1.2. Brussels-Based Think Tanks

In order to understand the standing and the role of European think tanks it will be appropriate to introduce them briefly before putting them into our typology. For that reason we are going to glance at the functioning and the structure of a few European Think Tanks emerged to the development of European idea.

In Brussels everyday there are at least 3 think tanks meetings bringing together those “who could not have any other occasion to come together”, including former commissioners, EU officials, academicians, NGOs, students etc... The most actives of those think tanks are European Policy Center (EPC), The Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Friends of Europe (FOE) and King Baudouin Foundation (KBF).

⁷² Smith, J.A., *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite*, The Free Press, New York, 1991, p. 116.

⁷³Godelier M, *The Mental and the Material: Thought Economy and Society*, London and New York, 1984, p. 160.

The Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) can be considered as the most known think tanks of Brussels. CEPS was established in 1983. It has a substantial permanent staff of approximately 30 persons from 15 countries, half of whom are researchers and frequently former Eurocrats or established academics. CEPS also has an extensive network of external collaborators, including some 35 senior associates with extensive experience working in EU affairs. Their quote is “Thinking ahead for Europe”. Among the goals, in their mission statement is the desire “To build collaborative networks of researchers, policy-makers and business across the whole of Europe”. CEPS seeks to provide a forum for discussion among all stakeholders in the European policy process.

CEPS has a strong reputation both within the Commission and the national arenas for producing work of a high academic standard. Funding is obtained from membership fees, contributions from official institutions (European Commission, other international and multilateral institutions, and national bodies), foundation grants, project research, conferences fees and publication sales. CEPS disseminates its findings and views through a regular flow of publications and public events.

As for The King Baudoin Foundation, KBF was created in 1976 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of King Baudouin’s reign. The focus of the KBF is social justice, civil society, health and contemporary philanthropy. The organization primarily supports deliberative democracy practices because it aims to close the gap which exists between political decision makers and citizens at European level.⁷⁴ An example of the activities of KBF to promote understanding is as follows: in 2005 the

⁷⁴ Godelier, 1984, op. cit., p. 160.

organization funded a study that looks at the training of imams in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, the UK, Germany and Sweden in order to contribute to better integration of Muslim communities in European Society.⁷⁵ Furthermore, KBF also runs projects in Central Africa. They funded a project against HIV/AIDS in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda and promote projects in the Balkans against human trafficking.⁷⁶ In light of these activities it may be fairly stated that KBF runs its activities with an overall philanthropic strategy. The differentiating point of KBF from other European Think Tanks is its fund providing activities. Furthermore KBF helps American donors achieve their philanthropic goals in Europe.

KBF has annual expenditures of € 40 million, of which 87% is earmarked for projects, supports priority issues.⁷⁷ One of the priority issues of KBF is migration and multicultural society and the foundation operates in order to encourage integration and multicultural coexistence, as well as to influence political decision making in Belgium and Europe. By positioning itself as a European Foundation based in Belgium, KBF has the mandate to tackle critical issues on European and international level.⁷⁸ KBF's primary mission seems to drive charitable projects.

Friends of Europe (FoE) is Brussels' liveliest think-tank. It aims to stimulate new thinking on the future of Europe and broaden the EU debate. It is non-profit, with no national or political bias, and a membership base that is as youthful as it is

⁷⁵ Husson, Jean François, "Pour une Formation des Imams en Belgique", Fondation Roi Baudouin Publications, Janvier 2006, Brussels, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Godelier, op.cit., p. 4.

⁷⁷ *ibidem*.

⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 11.

influential. Their goal since 1999 has been to take discussion of the key issues confronting the EU outside the Brussels elite by linking up with major think tanks and media in Europe's national capitals. In addition, *Friends of Europe's* activities cover a wide range of topics and aim to take stock of the state of Europe's key policy areas. FoE's style and ethos is to provide an open forum for EU and national policymakers, business leaders and NGOs. As well as appealing to EU policymakers, their events are popular with the youth, government representatives, researchers and professional consultants who do so much to help shape EU legislative initiatives.

The European Policy Centre (EPC) is an independent think tank founded in 1996, committed to making European integration work. The EPC works at the 'cutting edge' of European and global policy-making providing its members and the wider public with rapid, high-quality information and analysis on the EU and global policy agenda. It aims to promote a balanced dialogue between the different constituencies of its membership, spanning all aspects of economic and social life.⁷⁹

In line with its multi-constituency approach, members of the EPC comprise companies, professional and business federations, trade unions, diplomatic missions, regional and local bodies, as well as NGOs representing a broad range of civil society interests, foundations, international and religious organizations. KBF and EPC signed a strategic partnership agreement in October 2002. The partnership aims to build on the distinctive strengths of the two organizations in order to contribute more effectively to the EU integration process. KBF as it is a more philanthropy

⁷⁹ EPC Annual Report 2003, p. 2.

oriented by cooperating with EPC aims to increase its contribution to the EU integration process.

One of the primary aims of European think-tanks is to promote the enlargement of the EU. They primarily seek to inform citizen about enlargement issues. In this respect, think-tanks have focus groups where priority issues are being discussed. They usually bring together no more than 12-15 experts drawn from relevant governments, corporations, EU institutions, NGO's and think-tanks.⁸⁰ For example, Friends of Europe (FOE) has a special focus group on Turkey's accession to the EU. In June 2004 FOE's organized an international conference called "Turkey's EU End Game" with the participation of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, etc. Furthermore, FOE organizes workshops, conferences and special meetings with high level actors (prime ministers, former bureaucrats etc...) These kinds of informal associations of state actors with the non-state actors are generating a new type of relationship which may be defined as a process.

This process is on-going and neither the contribution nor the role of actors taking part in the process is pre-determined. Through these mutual relations they redefine their interests and their positions. These changes in their assumptions and interpretations help to frame and structure collective understanding and action, which constitute the most meaningful notion of learning in international relations.⁸¹ This means that actors in the process can change their interests and adjust their position to consider new courses of action. This process therefore places emphasis on the

⁸⁰ Friends of Europe, Agenda Spring 2004, 2004, p. 3.

⁸¹ Adler, "Cognitive Evolution", p. 50-54, in Haas and Adler, 1996, op. cit., p. 385.

importance of competition and cooperation. The more the actors learn in the process about related issue, the more they are more motivated to define new interests and alternatives. It is also a creative process that builds towards mutually determined goals.

Brussels-based think tanks also work on problematical issues to expose the main points of the problem and to discuss it. In this purpose think tanks have also partnerships with foreign NGOs. For instance IRRI-KIIB and Marmara Foundation from Turkey organized a conference, “EU and Islam: the Turkish Model” in Brussels, with the participation of historians, journalists, commissioners and academicians.⁸²

2.2. European Think Tanks Typology

When we look at the past studies on the issue, the Ullrich typology of European think tanks identifies four categories:

- **EU Internal Think Tanks:** The Group of Policy Advisors (GPA), known by its French name “Cellule de Prospective”, operating within the European Commission, providing expert policy advice and preserving a link with external research institutes and associations.
- **Brussels-Based EU Think Tanks:** Having access to EU and visiting member-state officials. Independent from any member-state government.
- **Member-State EU Oriented Think Tanks:** Operating with various objectives according to their national interests.

⁸² See Annexe II, Seminar Programme

- **University-Based European Research Institutes:** Independent in terms of research, having links and collaboration with other think tanks

Ullrich's typology is based on the primary functions of European think tanks.

According to Ullrich, European think tanks have three primary functions:⁸³

- Generating ideas
- Policy-oriented analysis
- Furthering debate

Type of think tanks	Generating Ideas	Policy-oriented analysis	Furthering debate
Internal		<i>GPA- Group of Policy Advisors</i>	
Brussels-based	<i>CEPS</i>	<i>EPC- European Policy Center</i>	<i>FOE- Friends of Europe</i>
Member-state (UK)	<i>Royal Institute of International Affairs</i>	<i>EPF- European Policy Forum</i>	<i>CER- Center for European Reform</i>
Continental	<i>IFRI- Institut Français des Relations Internationales</i>	<i>EIPA- European Institut of Public Administration</i>	<i>KAS- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung</i>
University- based research institute	<i>Robert Schuman Center</i>		

Selected EU think tanks: a typology by Heidi Ullrich⁸⁴

As can be seen below, Ullrich places European think tanks relatively to their primary functions. After analyzing the Ullrich's typology of European think tanks, European

⁸³ Ullrich, Heidi, "European Union Think Tanks: generating ideas, analysis and debate" in Stone and Denham, 2004, op. cit., p. 56.

⁸⁴ ibid. p. 54.

Think Tanks will be placed into the general NGO typology, which in turn will allow the common characteristics of European Think Tanks to be unveiled.

These think tanks are: IRRI-KIIB, Chatham House, Center of European Policy Studies, Friends of Europe, King Roi Baudouin and European Policy Center.

EUROPEAN THINK TANKS TYPOLOGY

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area	Type Name/ Examples
Small Cadre	Political or/and Business Elites	Mostly Volunteers with a strong team of Professionals	Member Fees, Government Subsidies	Organically linked to a government	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Elitist: IRRI-KIIB, Chatham House, Friends Of Europe, European Policy Center, The King Roi Baudouin Fondation
Small Cadre	Professors and Students	Very Few Volunteers with Paid Professional Staff	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors, State Subsidies	No Organic Links with governments but high cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas	Academic: CEPS

When trying to originate a typology for European think tanks, various types of think tanks must be distinguished. To do so they will be placed into two categories according to their personnel profile, their organization structure and their funding sources: academic and elitist.

Among Brussels based European think tanks CEPS has a different structure. CEPS consists of academics rather than politicians and elites. The organization aim is to provide academic research. CEPS claim that by obtaining funding from a variety of sources, they guarantee their independence. In 2005, CEPS had revenues totaling € 5.9 million, a growth of 12 % as compared to 2004. For 2006, CEPS expects a further growth, and have budgeted total revenues of € 6.8 million. It can be argued that this is a very high budget for a think tank. Relatively to these high budgets CEPS's team members are highly paid.

As for EPC, EPC aims to promote a balanced dialogue between the different constituencies of its membership, spanning all aspects of economic and social life.

2.3. Think Firms

The intention in this section is to expose the emergence of new type of organizations which will be called "Think Firms". Their characteristics, objectives, structures and the financing model of think firms will be defined. For this reason, these groups will be placed into the general NGO typology so as to explicitly expose their

characteristics. In this way these entities may be conceptualized to show their place and influence in International Society

First the typology of these organizations and their spread in Europe will be given. In addition, the study will especially focus on two civil society organizations which operate in Turkey and which are different from classical civil society organizations having close characteristics to think firms: ARI Movement and European Stability Initiative.

2.3.1 Think Firms Typology

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area
Small Cadre	Middle to Upper Class	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	State Subsidies, Corporate Sponsors, Individual Donors, NGO Subsidies, International and Supranational Organizations Funding	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Policy Areas

Here the essential point to emphasize is the distinguishing characteristics of these organizations. Hence the characteristics of these think firms must be elucidated by using the general typology of civil society organizations.

As with all civil society organizations, think firms are not lucrative. They do not have an economic interest. Thus they do not attempt to make a profit from their activities. But the issue that most distinguishes the think firm is that the members and/or contributors of a think firm usually gain their livelihood from the activities of the organization. This means that people involved with a think firm are employees in the traditional sense rather than the volunteer workers as in a classical civil society organization. Formally people who work for a civil society organization in order to reach the objectives of the organization are not employed by this entity; they may very well give money for the maintenance of the organization and for the realization of its activities. In contrast the core team of a think firm is gainfully employed by this think firm.

Another issue to investigate is the membership of these groups; it is evident that in contrast to other NGOs, these groups do not have flexible membership systems; they are small cadre organizations. That pushes us to see these groups as civil corporations and to call them "Think Firms". Think firms do generally have a few members; the existing of these members is generally required by the law in order to have a non-profit entity statue. The non existence of volunteers decreases the power of think firms. The missing of volunteers' support generally generates dependency to external financing. Hence think firms by being supported by external sources they do

not be totally independent in comparison to member based civil society organizations.

In a big NGO like Greenpeace, a good secretary and administrative staff are necessary for the proper functioning of the NGO. However in addition to these staff, the volunteers or the members of the movement do not ask money in consideration of their work for the NGO. This issue seems to be one of the most important characteristics which distinguish think firms from the other NGOs as Greenpeace.

What distinguishes think firms from organizations such as Greenpeace is they do not support any ideology or political action. They are objective and they can work on any issue relatively to their research interest which is their specific objective. We can not call their interest type as “materialistic” interest since think firms aim to support the generation of stability in a region, or the creation and maintenance of human rights. These aims are more transcendental aims for the benefit of the public; in this sense the “post-materialistic” notion of interest helps define what think firm is. However think firms do not only have post-materialistic interests. They usually have a specific objective and they operate in order to fulfill this specific objective.

Briefly think firms are not concerned purely with the protection of environment or with the gender issues. They operate on many issues but always around a specific objective. To consider an interest as a post-materialistic interest more basic concerns are needed. Post-materialism is defined as an economic philosophy that emphasizes quality of life and environmental sustainability issues instead of the creation of income and the acquisition of material possessions. Post-materialism gives high

priority to values such as more citizen input in government decisions, the ideal of a society based on ideas instead of money, and maintaining a clean and healthy environment, rather than to values associated with the philosophy of materialism such as economic growth, a strong national defense, and "law and order".⁸⁵

It may be fairly stated that all of these organizations are formed by educated middle class people. However the relationship among think firms and similar groups to this class issue must also be explored. It is evident that membership is not comprised laborers or business people. For that reason it can not be said that think firms have a social background in a classical sense. This means they do not especially defend the interests of a social class, but consist of well educated middle class people who possess similar backgrounds. It can be argued that the members of think firms come from a common social and cultural background in that they have graduated from the same high schools or colleges or have worked in similar institutions such as supranational organizations, business associations, universities or biggest international corporations.

The financial model of these groups is crucial to understanding their place in the typology and to distinguish them from other NGOs. Understanding this difference is also crucial to understanding their place in the schema of World Politics. The investigation of their funding sources will enable their independence from nation states to be discussed.

⁸⁵ The meaning of Post-Materialism, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post-materialism>

Think firms receive funding from various entities for different activities. These funding usually occurred at project basis. In fact the realizations of small projects which are funded from different entities do not always contribute to the overall objective of the NGOs. For instance, a women's association can operate many small projects by receiving funding from the European Commission but the problem is that the objectives and priorities of the project calls do not always fit NGOs objectives. A women's association whose objective is to assure the participation of women to the political life can coordinate a project which aims the training of women on computer using. Nükhet Sirman argues that this type of activities estranges NGOs from their main purposes.⁸⁶

In a rational market these think firms receive funds, they construct a positive image in the media, and their employee profile consists of people who are overqualified. Thus, they work as enterprises with the difference that they are not profit oriented. They do not produce economical goods but social and cultural products. It is possible to make the claim that they are not truly interest-oriented because the think firm structure does not purely consist of volunteerism. These think firms, which do not necessarily classical interests, cleave to work on specific topics and receive funding from different sources for their projects.

Furthermore the characteristics of a social movement are missing in think firms. Generally when we talk about a civil society movement, this traditionally means civil mobilization, which is the ability to bring together all interested parties. Here there is an emotional attachment to the cause. For example, Taciser Belge considers that the

⁸⁶ Interview with Nükhet Sirman, Boğaziçi University, 18 May 2006, Istanbul.

mobilization against the nuclear weapons in Europe to be was the last social movement. Though today we live in the “world of projects”, there is de facto no unified social movement.⁸⁷The NGOs behaves and operates according to the rules and practices of its project interests– *project-mania*. Social movements are sets of actors with common purposes and solidarities.⁸⁸Think firms are set of people who come together with a rational purpose in mind rather than an emotional one.

It must be emphasized that what is interesting is the emergence of these types of activities relatively to the demands coming from international society and the opportunities assured by different actors such as governments or NGOs. The “firm” characteristics of the think tank do not diminish the quality of the research or its work; neither will it reduce its efficiency.

These think tanks do not have political or ideological interest. Because these groups do not represent ideological interests, they do not represent political interest in terms of classical IR theory, or in any sense that other traditional IR theories anticipate. These groups operate in order to identify, defend and disseminate specific issues which are important to them. They conduct their research or their activities in specific topics as human rights, socio-economic development, participative democracy, immigration or stability etc. If these groups are investigated via the constructivist approach, the emergence of new interests can create changes and these actors can contribute to better understanding of each other by operating in an area of concern that benefits all the involved parties. This area can generate mutual learning process between concerned parties.

⁸⁷ Interview with Taciser Belge, 6 May 2006, Istanbul.

⁸⁸ Khagram, Sanjeev; Riker, James V.; Sikkink, Kathryn, *Restructuring World Politics*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2002, p. 177.

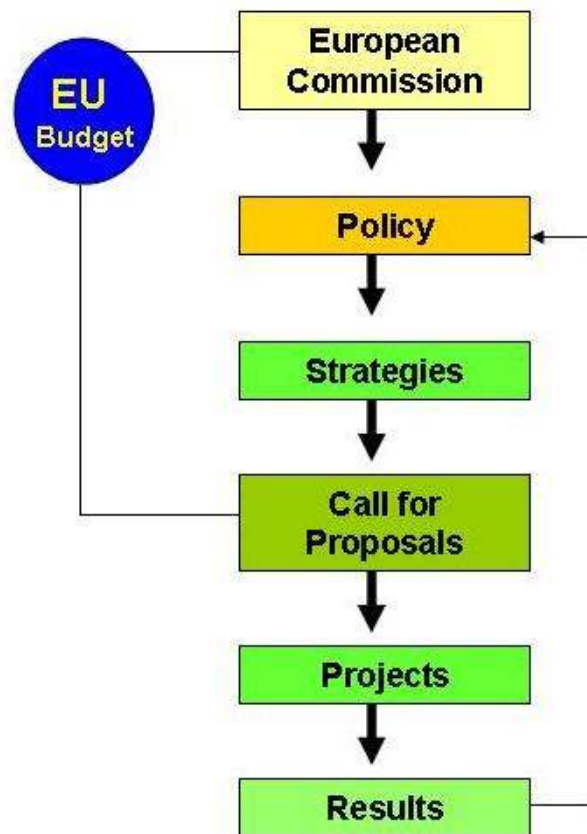
Think firms do not defend their members' interests differently from business or employee associations. Thus, they do not have the purpose of maximizing the interest of their members. Rather, it is true the personal interests and concerns of the members of think firm and their specific objective –which is no a materialistic aim– that come together and create a new type of organization.

There is an economic base to the creation of think firms. 1990^s created a new market: the market place of ideas. In this market the commerce of ideas is object of principal trade. With the increase of private and public funds earmarked to civil society in Europe and the rest of the World, new actors have emerged to make use of this new capital. Here it is essential to emphasize that funds earmarked for such a form of commerce distributed according to relevant issues. This means that a NGO which receive funds from a government uses this money in order to contribute to the non-materialistic objectives determined by the fund provider. In this sense NGOs receive mainly project-based money. By implementing the relevant projects think tanks serve both non-materialistic and sublime objectives while also assuming their livelihood.

How independent these entities are from the funding organizations or from the government is a very complex question. On the one hand these entities work to contribute to the objectives of the fund provider entity, since they receive their sources from them according to specific issues. On the other hand, as they are independent research institute which have no organic ties with another entity, they attempt to preserve their autonomy –mainly their intellectual autonomy. However, the limits and the barriers of the study or the project are pre-determined by the fund

provider entity. For instance, the European Commission gives money to the projects which are eligible within their criteria and which are relevant to their policies and specific strategies. Here it is clear that the researcher can not be totally independent from the fund provider entity, and most probably its study should not reveal results that stand in opposition to the expectations of the fund provider entity.

To further elucidate this issue, the funding mechanism of the EU can be given as an example:



European Funding Mechanism

This process clarifies how the money hunting activity is practiced; hence it is important to investigate how these think firms receive their funds, how they are

informed about the funding opportunities, which channel they use in order to receive funding and what type of lobbying activities they execute. These think firms are usually members of some networks connected to their specific research interests. Think firms usually receive funds through these networks and their constant connections with fund providers. In the third chapter of the study when analyzing ESI and ARI Movement as case studies, these issues will be thoroughly investigated these issues in order to test the hypothesis.

With the enlargement of the European Union and the need for harmonization between all the policy fields of member states, the need for nongovernmental organizations and their expertise has been enhanced. The support of NGOs in the enlargement processes, and the creation of the civil dialogue have been among the priorities of the European Union. "Social dialogue" by which the Commission consults with social partners at European level, is regulated by articles 137-139 of the Amsterdam Treaty. In the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, article 47 sets out the general principles of participatory democracy in the EU. This article mentions, in particular, the maintenance of open, transparent and regular dialogue between the European institutions and representative associations and civil society. It also mentions that the Commission "shall carry out broad consultations with parties concerned in order to ensure that the Union's actions are coherent and transparent".⁸⁹

In the new member states and in Accession and Candidate Countries, where civil society culture is not as well developed as it is in Northern European Countries the NGOs and think tanks that work closely with the European Institutions have

⁸⁹ Amsterdam Treaty, <http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/a14000.htm>

proliferated since the end of the 1990s. For example, it is well known that a “NGO Bourgeoisie” has been emerged in Bulgaria. At that time, there were almost 2000-3000 NGOs working on EU issues in Sofia. This was the result of the appearance of new opportunities for the civil society organizations by a democratization process.⁹⁰ This was a market where the competition is very high and actors are various. Today in Sofia most of the think tanks are eliminated and only NGOs with strong basis are survived.

By the democratization process in the Eastern Europe countries, a transfer of funding sources to these countries by international foundations is occurred. For instance Soros Foundation and Open Society Institute started to work in Sofia in 1990, just before the collapse of the Soviet Union. At this time, the Open Society Institute financed many national NGOs in Bulgaria.

The funds earmarked to Bulgaria and other Eastern Europe Countries were displaced by the changes in the existing context. Thus today the Soros Foundation offers much more financing to NGOs operating in Macedonia and Croatia. Open Society Macedonia affirms its mission as follows: “*Our mission is integration of Macedonia within as a prerequisite for EU integration*”.⁹¹

This phenomenon is a result of transition process of East European Countries and it is related to their integration process to the EU. Therefore with funding opportunities offered by the EU to these countries along the enlargement process has created this market. The PHARE Programme was one of the pre-accession instruments financed by the European Union to assist the applicant countries of Central and Eastern

⁹⁰ Interview with Mustafa Türkeş, Associate Professor, Middle East Technical University, 23 March 2006.

⁹¹ About the Foundation, <http://www.soros.org.mk/default.asp?lang=eng&menuid=14>

Europe in their preparations for joining the European Union.⁹² Another programme is the TACIS Programme, which was launched in 1991 by the European Commission to provide grant-financed technical assistance to 12 countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia with the aim of enhancing the transition process in these countries.⁹³ By providing funds to different civil society organizations have started to create projects in order to submit then to the EU. The project-making phenomena which may referred to as “Project-mania”, has caused NGOs to acquire new characteristics. Here a tighten relation between the sources of financing and the activity of the think firm is observed.

The main common characteristics of these think firms can be quoted as following:

- Nonpartisanship
- Specific Objective
- Addressing Multiple Policy Areas
- Institutional Independence
- Intellectual Autonomy
- Diverse Funding Sources
- Over Qualified Personnel
- International Ties
- Assuring the Livelihood from the Activities of the Think Firm

⁹² <http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/pas/phare/>

⁹³ Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.
http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/ceeca/tacis/index.htm

2.3.2 Differences Between a Private Firm and a Think Firm

In this section the aim is to examine the behavior of nonprofit organizations and to identify in what ways they are similar to or different from profit-maximizing private firms. In respect of the hypothesis which is emerging civil society organizations operate as commercial firms, the differentiation points must be emphasized. Thus, the claim is that the links between commercial sector and nonprofit sectors are growing rapidly, and the relations are becoming very complicated to define. The issue of the independence of non profit organizations is perhaps the primary issue, as had been said in the previous section.

Non profit organizations are supposed to be different from private firms, for whom commercialism is their livelihood. It's evident that though the characteristics of non profit organizations are different from private firms, non profit organizations still operate in the context of a market economy. This means that they have to purchase inputs on the market and have to finance it from their revenue sources. Non profit organizations are still unlike general private firms in what they have different relationship with the government. The government subsidizes the revenues of non profit organizations through tax laws, but also gives them direct subsidies.⁹⁴

Estelle James, Jerald Schiff and Weisbrod have done important studies on the issue. According to their model, nonprofit organizations are viewed as multi-product organizations potentially producing three types of goods which contribute to the organization's mission. The first good is some type of collective good, which

⁹⁴ Weisbrod, Burton A., *To Profit or Not Profit: The Commercial Transformation of the Nonprofit Sector*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, Cambridge, p. 61.

comprises the organization's output mission, such as, for example the preservation of cultural heritage, establishment of the dialogue between cultures, medical aid to third-world countries etc... The two other types of goods involve private goods which are not related to the primary mission of the organization but which are potential sources of revenue for financing the primary mission-related output.⁹⁵ The difference between these two private goods is that one of them is incidentally related to providing the mission related good, and the other is ancillary to the mission.⁹⁶

In brief, according to this model, non profit organization chooses to provide three types of goods⁹⁷:

- a preferred collective good, which is difficult to sell in private markets (e.g., basic research)
- a preferred private good, which can be sold in private markets, but which the non profit may wish to make available to some consumers independent of their ability to pay (e.g., access to higher education)
- a non-preferred private good, which is produced solely for the purpose of generating revenue for the preferred good (e.g., paid advertising on public television)

When these three goods are classified analytically, the classification of revenue sources falls into three categories:

- Donations: Contributions, gifts and grants
- Membership Fees
- Ancillary (Commercial) Activities

⁹⁵ *ibid*, p. 48.

⁹⁶ Weisbrod, 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁹⁷ *ibid*. p. 49

When the variables which affect non profit organizations' behaviors are observed, it's important to define the managers of these organizations and their preferences. Non profit organizations may behave as if they were individuals with unique utility functions. They may also behave as if they were run by a committee of managers, each of whom has distinct goals. Furthermore a non profit organizations' aims may be multiple and in conflict with each other and it is especially important to emphasize that there is no simple measure of efficiency or the trade-off being made among goals.⁹⁸ This characteristic is very different unlike from that of private firms, where maximum profit characterizes the organization's goal.

In his study, Weisbord makes a differentiation between donative revenues of non profit organizations and donative revenue which is exogenous – those revenues coming to the organization essentially regardless of its activities and donations (which are endogenous). Weisbord argues that many non profit organizations devote resources explicitly to fund-raising, since it is in effect an ancillary activity to the main purpose of raising revenue.⁹⁹

Weisbord also argues that an exogenous decrease in donations may be expected to cause non profit organizations to expand commercial activities. However Nonprofit Organizations and private firms can be expected to make different decisions about how to engage in “commercial” activities. Universities are increasingly contracting to sell research services to private industry, and the contracts usually require the

⁹⁸ *ibid.* p. 51.

⁹⁹ Weisbord, 1998, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

university to keep the research results “under wraps”. Such an arrangement conflicts with a university’s original mission of the dissemination of knowledge.¹⁰⁰

In fact for any organization the source of revenues influence output decisions and output decisions which in turn influence revenue availability. For this reason the choosing of the financing source is critical for non profit organizations.

This commerciallike behavior of non profit organizations is also extending to labor markets. According to Weisbrod, in the United States non profit arts organizations and symphony orchestras have been accused of succumbing to union pressures to generate high salaries; the arguments have suggested that these non profit organizations are acting like private firms rather than public-service organizations.¹⁰¹

Today in Turkey research centers having different statues and aiming to conduct projects have been established in the universities. These centers have auxiliary structures. They mainly focus on an issue and they profit from funding opportunities as think firms. Eğitim Reformu Girişimi in Sabancı University and Sosyal Politikalar Forumu in Boğaziçi University are the examples for such structures.

2.4. Europe: A Breeding Area for Think Firms

That the Think Firm phenomenon is directly related to the increase in private and public funds earmarked to the civil society and to the needs of the market. The increasing need of civil ideas and source of nongovernmental information, the post-

¹⁰⁰ ibidem.

¹⁰¹ ibid., p. 11.

material market of ideas is the result of the development of these actors in civil society. In this sense Europe is an ideal breeding-ground for think firms.

Think tank notion is a new comer to the European political area. The recent profusion of think tanks is generally related to the depth and complexity of European Debate now going on. For instance in Europe there are many think tanks which operate in the political era but they are not comparable to American think tanks which have a strong organizational and political power. The European think tanks have been usually emerged with a specific objective and they operate in European context, sometimes in cooperation with American think tanks –mostly cooperation at financial level– Most of these emerging idea providing entities can be considered as think firms.

For instance, in France there is a think tank called “The Fondation pour l’innovation politique”, foundation for political innovation, which aims to provide innovative policies which are indispensable since “political life exists from now on in an international, European and globalized context” and “it is advisable to find original principles for organizing the political community”. The Foundation’s goal is to renewing public debate in France and elsewhere in order to better build tomorrow’s world.¹⁰² The various example of the kind of little entities can be observed across Europe.

In the last chapter two civil society organizations operating in Turkey and having some closer characteristics to think firms will be investigated in the last chapter. For

¹⁰² What the foundation does, www.fondalop.org , Accessed on April 16th 2006.

that reason before investigating them it will be appropriate to have a glance at the field and to recognize its actors and specificities. Recent initiation of Turkey's integration process into the EU, the role and the influence of nongovernmental actors on EU-Turkey Relations has increased. However, it must be noted that the relationship between Turkish and European NGOs basically begins in 1995 with the Customs Union Negotiations.

There are several NGOs which have been involved in the Turkey's accession process to the EU. Some of these groups have only a single concern such as the integration of Turkey to the EU. Others are now active on different issues, but all of them support or stress Turkey's integration to the EU. As defined above there are many NGOs in Europe such as think-tanks, business associations, unions or cultural foundations, which work on European issues like immigration, enlargement, economy or culture. When the agendas of these groups are observed many of them have special work groups on Turkey not to mention the many events they organize during a year about Turkey's accession to the EU which is done in collaboration with Turkish institutions. When we look at these groups working on Enlargement issue, their concern is not only Turkey. They work on the effects of the integration of 10 new countries to the EU; they work on Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia issues. However all of them handle the Turkey issue in a different manner and many with particular concern about Turkey's relationship to the EU.

In addition to these NGOs, there are also many Turkish groups or some Turkey based foreign NGOs which support and also work on Turkey's accession to the EU. Heidi

Ullrich mentions that the European Union acts as a policy magnet for think tanks.¹⁰³ This shows how the regional dynamics or situations affect the creation of new type of structures. The reason for the creation of these new civil organizations is the complex structure of EU decision-making processes which generates uncertainties and this provides information requests. Thus as the Union needs specific information analysis and advice on several issues as migration, enlargement or science, think tanks become useful translators of the abstract modeling and helps to create more rational policy processes. By providing in-house research capacities and alerting elites to change global circumstances, they make themselves indispensable.¹⁰⁴

The emergence of new communities is not strictly explicable by classical relationship models in IR because the ‘Europeanization’ of the relationships. For instance, these communities as think-tanks do not really fit the Anglo-American definition of think-tanks. In the Anglo-American sense, think tanks are information provider communities, relatively to their characteristics– a think tank can defend an ideology, provide information on specific issues for a government, etc... Although these communities provide information via reports or publications, they also engage in different activities such as organizing conferences, doing field research, etc...

Furthermore in the relations between the EU and Turkey, the attributed roles of the existing actors have metamorphosed. Besides civil society organizations operating as social corporations the classical interest oriented organizations have engaged in further activities social and cultural topics. For instance, TUSIAD has represented Turkish Business now for nine years in Brussels and is the most recognized Turkish

¹⁰³ Stone; Denham, 2004, op. cit., p. 7.

¹⁰⁴ *ibidem*.

community in Brussels relatively to its activities. When TUSIAD objectives are observed their mission is to defend Turkish Business interests by taking part in Euro-groups in the heart of EU. However TUSIAD has done much more than its mission objective to promote Turkey in Europe. An exhibition about Turkish Ceramics taken place in the TUSIAD buildings in Brussels or a meeting financed by TUSIAD about 'European Security and Turkey' are the bases of this assumption

CHAPTER III- ARI Movement and European Stability Initiative as NGOs supporting Turkey's Integration Process to the European Union

Having defined the classical NGOs, think tanks and think firms in the first and second chapter, the last chapter will focus on two civil society organizations operating in Turkey: the ARI Movement and the European Stability Initiative (ESI). The claim is not that they show the typical characteristics of think firms, but rather than they have many characteristic which are very close to think firms. This shows the civil society organizations emerging relatively to the political context are creating new markets and opportunities and are adaptable entities.

What makes the study of these new organizations fascinating is how different they are from each other while at the same time being so much alike. The changes in the global world order have forced organizations to start to put into practice the same methods to insure competitiveness and to become influential. The phenomenon of “project-mania” is one of the results of this process in which every civil society organization is engaged, mercilessly competing to receive funding for its projects. In Turkey all kinds of civil society organizations, especially with the initiation of the integration process to the EU, have started to compete in fund raising. This is a new aspect of the civil society organizations in the country. Before, civil society organizations were fighting for their cause and they were competing for their rights. Today NGOs compete to obtain funding and to create a good network by using all the available tools such as lobbying, advertising, print and visual media etc.

As for the uniqueness of these organizations, all of them operate as derivations of classical NGOs, and they have very variable characteristics whose combination causes creation of new type of civil organizations.

The common characteristics of ARI Movement and ESI can be quoted as following:

- being established in Turkey;
- operating in EU- Turkey issues;
- having a strong team of professionals;
- relatively highly-paid staff
- addressing multiple issues;
- having specific objective;
- project-mania;
- no strong emotional attachment to the cause;
- professionalism
- fund-raising
- oriented to policy-makers

ARI Movement and ESI are chosen among the groups recognized by the European Union– groups which have a place on the *carnet d'adresse* of the Turkish Delegation of the EU. This is important to highlight as it concerns their credibility and influence.

In a context where the communication and the transmission of the data are more important than ever, the emergence of these types of communities is crucial. Today

these communities have an incontestable credibility in the society; they have the tools to influence public opinion and policy-makers, and to set the agenda. When these organizations are viewed from the perspective of Turkey's Accession to the EU, the accession of Turkey depends partially on European citizens' personal decision— as in France and Austria, a referendum will be held about Turkey's membership to EU. For this reason the preparation of public opinion, the important of raising crucial issues and the development of a strategy of civil action occupies an important place in this process.

In order to make the investigation of the ARI Movement and ESI more concrete, to provide first hand information interviews made with the staffs of these organizations will be used. How these organizations are different from classical NGOs, will therefore, of necessity, be discussed if they possess some of the more remarkable characteristics of think firms. For this reason the main characteristics of these organizations were investigated during my interviews and in the publications of the organizations. The primary reason for such an inquiry is to show in what ways NGOs such as ARI Movement and ESI are either different from or similar think firms.

Another issue which should be mentioned is the approach of Turkish society to these groups. In Turkey, these types of organizations are the subject of numerous conspiracy theories. For this reason the issue of credibility, along, with the analysis of the ARI Movement and ESI must be discussed.

Before passing to analyze these 2 NGOs I would like to emphasize that there are multiple organizations operating in Turkey which can also be accounted for

appropriate examples to think firms but here I choose the ARI Movement and ESI related to their structure which are almost unique for Turkey.

3.1. ARI Movement

3.1.1 ARI Movement's History, Objectives and Functioning

The ARI Movement is an “independent social movement” founded in 1994, in Turkey, after the end of Özal period in Anavatan Partisi- Motherland Party (ANAP). According to Erkut Emcioğlu, General Coordinator of the ARI Movement for International Relations, “independent social movement” means that the ARI does not have an affiliation to any entity and is therefore completely independent.¹⁰⁵ Emcioğlu describes the use of the word social related to the fact that the ARI Movement is an organization which provides ideas and policies for Turkish Society and which aims to instruct the politicians of the future.

Legally the ARI Movement consists of three parts: the ARI Foundation, the ARI Association and the ARI Enterprise. This structure was formed in order to enable this NGO to profit from the different opportunities of each legal status. For instance, ARI Enterprise publishes and distributes Turkish Policy Quarterly (TPQ), the official magazine of ARI.

As a result of the interviews with ARI Members, it will be argued that as the ARI Movement has passed through different periods the aims and also objectives are

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Erkut Emcioğlu, General Coordinator for International Relations, ARI Movement, 12 May 2006, Istanbul.

changed. Thus in the ARI Movement, evolution has always occurred relatively to the political and social context of Turkey, and to the opportunities provided independently of such a context by individual ARI members. That has rendered ARI Movement an organism which evolves, changes and accommodates to the environment. For that reason ARI Movement will be analyzed around these specific milestones and relatively to the reactions of the organization to change.

In the beginning, the ARI Movement had had close ties with ANAP. The movement was seen as the Youth Club of the party because many members were young bankers and business men who had been educated in United States and had good relations with Mesut Yılmaz, the head of the ANAP at that time.¹⁰⁶ The first coordinator of the ARI Movement was Kemal Köprülü, the son of a famous Turkish journalist and the Monaco honorary consul Tuna Köprülü and the former press attaché of Washington Embassy Ertuğrul Köprülü.

When the political context in which the ARI Movement emerged is observed, we see the government of REFAH-YOL coalition and the unhappiness of the society about the present political conditions. In an interview made with Kemal Köprülü, Köprülü explained that the ARI Movement had not been born as the youth club of ANAP, but rather ARI was born by young who were seeking solutions to political problems.¹⁰⁷

In the same period the emergence of new parties and leaders, such as Cem Boyner and the New Democracy Movement (YDH), Besim Tibuk and the Liberal Democrat

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Elif Demircan, Assistant Director for International Relations of ARI Movement, 7 April 2006, Istanbul.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Kemal Köprülü and Haluk Önen made by Zafer Özcan, Aksiyon Magazine, no:505, 09 August 2004.

Party, Yusuf Bozkurt Özal and New Party appeared on the Turkish political scene.¹⁰⁸ ARI Movement differed from the New Democracy Movement, which had been formed by intellectuals like Ali Bayramoğlu, Cengiz Çandar and Mehmet Altan etc... ARI was a movement of the professionals formed by Anglo-American values rather than an intellectual movement.

The founders of the ARI Movement decided to act and to look for solutions as a result of their uneasiness about the current situation of the society. ARI members had not chosen to be active in politics, but they aimed to provide new human resource that could be applied to political issues. One of the ARI members argues that the founders of the ARI Movement primarily bankers and financiers have a pragmatic approach. They do not break off connections with the political establishment even if they are bothered by the situation. Thus at this time, ARI Movement started to cooperate with ANAP. This cooperation provided mutual benefits for both ANAP and the ARI Movement. Mesut Yılmaz established connections with Istanbul's capitalism through the ARI Movement and the ARI Movement found a channel to access political life without being active. During the years with ANAP, members of ARI assisted Mesut Yılmaz during its foreign travels and even prepared his travel programmes.¹⁰⁹

The second milestone for the ARI Movement was the period after the February 28 process. By the 28 February process ARI Movement had caught the opportunity to touch to the political life. The ANASOL-D coalition government followed the REFAH-YOL government. But by the end of 1998, the ARI Movement had

¹⁰⁸ *ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ Interview Elif Demircan

disconnected from ANAP and from every other political movement. With this rupture the members of ARI decided to refrain for any direct political action. Some members willing to play active role in politics have always been encouraged by the movement relatively to the Movement's objectives. For instance Nesrin Nas and Sibel Çarmıklı joined ANAP through the ARI Movement to be continued in ANAP after the ARI Movement's rupture from the party.

Haluk Önen, the General Coordinator of the ARI Movement, explained that during this period members realized that offering human resources to influence politics was not sufficient.¹¹⁰ Structural changes were necessary in the society, and only these changes could ensure participatory democracy. According to Önen, by this period the ARI Movement had decided to shift its focus to security issues. This is why ARI Movement organized its first Security Conference in 1999, and in this way entered the Global Security networks of think tanks working on issues of security. Önen pointed out that the realization of the Security Conference was a very important tool for entering the global NGOs network.¹¹¹

After the 28 February Period, the ARI Movement changed little during the administration of Can Gürlelel, who was the General Secretary at this time. Relatively to the academic background of Gürlelel, ARI had started to behave as a think tank; publishing booklets, writing constitution and had worked for a while as a superstructure organization. This structure became stronger with Sinan Ülgen who joined the ARI Movement. In this regard it can be argued that the organization has

¹¹⁰ Interview with Haluk Önen, General Coordinator, ARI Movement, 23 May 2006, Istanbul.

¹¹¹ *ibidem*.

also been shaped according to the managers' capacities and backgrounds, irrespectively of the ARI Movement's overall objectives.

After 1999, Kemal Köprülü changed his position of “primus inter pares” and became the leader of the Movement. ARI Movement then started to implement the GENC-NET project with the financial support of the International Republican Institute (IRI). Başak Ekim, the Turkey Representative of IRI, has brought in to manage the GENC-NET project. Until this above-mentioned date youth was not among the priorities of the movement. Several members of the ARI Movement argue that it was only with the implementation of the GENC-NET project that the ARI Movement confronted the social reality of Turkey for the first time. IRI provided a strong budget and developed an action plan for GENÇ-NET. For the implementation of the project descending into the field was a must. That has been a big challenge for ARI Movement and for ARI's recognition of Turkey.

In the framework of the project, the members of YoungARI between the ages of 18 and 25 started to visit different cities throughout Turkey every year, to meet with local university students, NGO members and youth leaders. Workshops have been organized and teams of young people were formed in order to design solutions to a problem they have identified in their community. This hands-on, practical approach is designed to build problem-solving skills and give young people a positive experience in creating change.¹¹² Through the annual conferences, YoungARI has reached young people from almost every city in Turkey and brought them to Istanbul. The project mainly seeks to help prepare today's youth for the

¹¹² Youth, <http://www.ari.org.tr/english/youthnet.asp>

responsibilities they will face as Turkey continues to develop in an increasingly global and interconnected world.¹¹³

The project was financed by IRI until 2003. After 2003, the ARI Movement has started to finance GENC-NET project through its own resources. Zeynep Damla Gürel, the deputy of CHP, Emre Ergun, the director of GENC-ARI, are two people emerging from GENC-NET project.¹¹⁴ Thus today, one of ARI's main missions is to help raise the young society leaders of the future.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, with GENC-NET, the ARI Movement has accessed to the heartland of the country so that it may significantly expanded its social base by the integrating young people into the movement.

The last milestone for ARI has the 2001 Crisis and the arrival of Kemal Derviş to Turkey. At this time Kemal Derviş had close relationships with Kemal Köprülü. The relationship was so close that in his first days Derviş used ARI office in Istanbul. At this time, the ARI Movement's closeness with Derviş gave ARI a political aspect rendering the movement more alluring and prestigious. In a way the ARI Movement is turned to its starting point, when began with a close relationship to a politician.

Recently, in May 2006, the ARI Team has mostly changed with the participation of three new researchers. The new General Secretary for International Relations of ARI, Erkut Emcioğlu foresees that ARI will be able to act as a think tank by focusing more on research and by publishing studies and reports with the contribution of these new researchers. In opposition to Emcioğlu, Haluk Önen argues that ARI does not

¹¹³ ibidem.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Dr. Emre Akdoğan, ARI Member, 18 May 2006, Istanbul.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Erkut Emcioğlu

seek to be a think tank, but aims to continue working on increasing participatory democracy.¹¹⁶

In different periods the Movement also gained members with a vision relatively that was close to ARI according to the context of the day. Thus at the present there are different cliques in the ARI Movement, depending on which generation they came from: the idealists of GENC-NET period, activists in politics etc.

In 2002 ARI started to run the “Human Rights for Everybody” project. The aim of the project which was financed European Commission was the contribution to the increasing of the awareness and the sensitivity of Turkish youth between 18 and 30 ages to human rights. The project’s duration was 3 years and the budget was 1,200,000 \$. In contrast to the usual EU funded project, “Human Rights for Everybody” was not financed by following the formal procedure, but was funded by “collection” from the EU at the time of Karen Fogg, EU Commission's Turkey Representative. The unusual nature of the fund has been strongly criticized by ARI’s adversaries.

Through the financing offered by this project, ARI Movement entered a period of prosperity during which it rented a new office in Maslak and increased its number of employees to 25. Until this time, the leading revenue sources of ARI Movement was Member Fees, but the fund coming from the EU turned ARI into a project dependent institution. Thus ARI was transformed into a “project-maniac” NGO. The movement accommodated this new mode Today ARI has now prepared nearly 30 mostly micro-

¹¹⁶ Interview with Haluk Önen.

projects for the EU. In the last period of the “Human Rights for Everybody” project, ARI Movement confronted economical difficulties and changed its office to a less prestigious address.

When ARI’s objectives are observed, the ARI Movement adopted the following five values as its principles for democratic change in Turkey¹¹⁷:

- Rule of law
- Transparency
- Accountability
- Ethics
- Participatory democracy

In this sense, the ARI Movement encourages members who want to take part in direct political action. According to Elif Demircan, Assistant General Secretary for the International Relations of the ARI Movement, ARI Movement’s members do not have common or unique political tendencies. There are people in ARI who support right, left or liberal political ideologies. They cohabit in the same platform. Needless to say there is no extreme right or left supporters in the movement.

ARI executes its activities in the triangle of youth, local development and international relations. It must be emphasized that these activities are not independent from each other. For instance the aim of the local development activities

¹¹⁷ Interview with Haluk Önen.

is the generation of new opportunities for young people. The international partners of ARI have also supported these activities.¹¹⁸

ARI's international relations activities are fairly consistent. They consist of foreign visits, conferences, roundtables, etc... The members of ARI are not really part of the international relations activities; they are mostly interested in domestic politics and GENC-NET activities. The administration of the ARI Movement is guiding force behind its IR activities. The power of ARI Movement in international relations is mainly based on individual connections of the administration – especially on Kemal Köprülü's individual connections.

The purpose of International Relations activities is not implicitly open. Kemal Köprülü explains that “the State can not access everything alone and is not able to do necessary lobbying and promotion of Turkey.”¹¹⁹ However he does not explain what ARI does in this sense or through which tools ARI presents Turkey lobbies on its behalf. Haluk Önen insists that ARI's activities in International Relations must be assessed through the perspective of security, and Domestic activities must be assessed by the perspective of youth.¹²⁰

In the framework of IR activities, ARI organizes Roundtable Meetings in which opinion leaders from politics, the media, and the academic world take part as guests. One of ARI's members expressed the thought that ARI's activity or interest areas can

¹¹⁸ Interview with Elif Demircan.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Kemal Köprülü by Çiğdem Mater, Akşam Journal, 26 July 2004.

¹²⁰ Interview with Haluk Önen.

change according to the context, but ARI's most important trump card is carefully guarded by its members is its connections.¹²¹

The ARI Movement defines its mission as the establishment of a new understanding of volunteerism for Turkish youth that encourages them to adopt the values of participatory democracy into their everyday lives, promotes participation in civil society, the creation and dissemination of information, at the national and local level, the formation of institutes and the concept of institutes as vehicles for participation in the democratic process, and finally, encourages structural and intellectual change in the social and political arena.¹²²

The chairman and the founder of ARI, Köprülü defines the primary mission of ARI as the attempt to increase the level of participation in all aspects of political and civic life in Turkey. According to Köprülü, one of the ARI Movement's main goals has been to foster the creation of new civil society groups and institutes and to help support and sustain Turkey's transformation into a modern, European-style democratic society.¹²³

Haluk Önen, the present general coordinator of ARI Movement, claims that the main purpose of the ARI Movement since its foundation is to create a better managed and more credible country, an influential player in world affairs. The ARI Movement seeks a model of participatory democracy based on factual information and intellectual development, both in Turkey and around the world. It also wants to

¹²¹ Interview with Güçlü Atılgan, ARI Member, 18 May 2006, Istanbul.

¹²² ARI Mission, <http://www.ari.org.tr/vizyon.asp>, Accessed on February 13th 2005 at 21:36.

¹²³ Chariman's message, http://www.ari.org.tr/english/chairman_message.asp Accessed on February 13th 2005 at 22:15.

increase of the number of civil society leaders and the fostering of their leadership role in Turkish life.¹²⁴

The common purpose of ARI members can be summarized as concerned with the functioning of the society when it is compared with the Parsonian¹²⁵ society model which is the ideal of ARI Members.¹²⁶ The motive of change drives the movement's call to action.

The ARI Movement carries out its goals and projects through committees composed of volunteer members, and with the support of ARI's professional office staff. The total number of the members is nearly 200. The Professional staff consists of 13 people and is composed of experts in various fields of expertise. The Professional staff coordinates relations for the ARI Movement's projects and activities, supports committees formed by members, and provides coordination among committees.¹²⁷ ARI Members often volunteer in-kind services to the committees, according to their particular field of expertise.¹²⁸

ARI used to have nearly 25 staff but at the time their number has been reduced to 13. This reduction is related to ARI's financial problems, and also to the belief that the organization operates better with a more qualified team of professionals working in a focus manner on their areas of expertise.

¹²⁴ ARI Vision, <http://www.ari.org.tr/vizyon.asp>

¹²⁵ Parsonian model means the view of American sociologist Talcott Parsons to the society who noted for developing the structural-functional approach to studying social systems.

¹²⁶ Interview with Emre Erdoğan.

¹²⁷ Who we are?, www.ari.org.tr

¹²⁸ About ARI, www.ari.org.tr

ARI Movement central office is in Istanbul and a provincial office is located in Ankara. ARI offices are the centres in which daily activities and communications are managed.

3.1.2 ARI Movement's Revenue Sources

The revenue sources of NGOs are usually indicated in their web pages under financing sources or budget information section. In the ARI's web page there was no financial disclosure, but this data was added to the web site under the name of "our funding sources" in April 2006. When we analyze this data, the funding sources are classified by projects, publications and conferences, and are separated in general and corporate sponsors. In the general sponsors section the revenue sources of ARI are explained in detail. Thus, the financing of ARI activities consists of three main sources¹²⁹:

- Member Fees
- Corporate Sponsors
- Individual Sponsors

Haluk Önen explained that member fees constitute % 60-70 of operating revenue at the annual budget for 2005.¹³⁰ As the ARI Movement is a movement based on voluntary contributors the greatest source of revenue for the organization is the financial contributions and in kind aids of volunteers. Every year ARI volunteers

¹²⁹ Fon Kaynaklarımız", <http://www.ari.org.tr/sponsorluk/index.asp> , Accessed on April 30th 2006 at 15:20.

¹³⁰ Interview Haluk Önen.

regularly donate to the movement, though of course some donate more than others.¹³¹

The volunteers pay all the foreign and domestic travels' expenditures, and they also cover ARI Office's stationery and equipments needs as aid in kind. Except ARI members, third persons also donate to the movement.¹³²

The ARI Movement finances all its activities under the main heading of "Youth", "Local Development" and "International Relations" with revenues coming from corporate sponsors. It also finances its publications with donations from these entities.¹³³ ARI publications, which are prepared in order to serve ARI Movement's mission, are usually financed by corporate sponsors; the logos of the sponsors are in the books. For instance, "A New Model for Local Development: Local Development Institutes" was sponsored by Uzel Holding, "Making Democracy" by Dolphin Maritime Shipping and Commerce and "Liability to Render Account" by Yapı Merkezi S.A.¹³⁴

ARI Movement also publishes a magazine in English called Turkish Policy Quarterly four times a year. TPQ is distributed to foreign public opinion leaders, political leaders and in academic circles, and aims to give objective, confidential and academically valuable information. The sponsors of the magazine are revealed in every issue by their logos.¹³⁵ The last issue of TPQ- Spring 2006, was co-financed by the European Commission. Similarly the 2004's Summer Issue of TPQ was produced through the cooperation of NATO's Public Diplomacy Division because of NATO Istanbul Summit has being held at the time.

¹³¹ Fon Kaynaklarımız", <http://www.ari.org.tr/sponsorluk/index.asp> , 30 April 2006.

¹³² Ibidem.

¹³³ ibidem.

¹³⁴ ibidem.

¹³⁵ Fon Kaynaklarımız", <http://www.ari.org.tr/sponsorluk/index.asp> , 1 May 2006.

The ARI Movement has also project-based partnerships with international organizations. ARI claims it is particularly concerned with getting funds from an institution which has similar vision to ARI. In this sense NATO, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, The International Republican Institute, National Democratic Institute, European Policy Center and Generation Europe are ARI Movement's financial partners.¹³⁶ It's significant to note however that ARI Movement gets funding from NGOs which have the different ideological tendencies for example as National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute. When Erkut Emcioğlu was asked about this his answer was because the ARI Movement does not defend any political or ideological movement, the organization can get funds from any organization if their purpose is similar to ARI's mission.

"Human Right for All" and "European Agenda" projects of ARI are financed by European Commission, "Sustainable Development Strategies for Turkey" article competition and "The Participation of Analphabet Women to the Social Life/ Kars" are financed by World Bank, "Training on Europe for Youth" is financed by EU and Denmark Embassy, "The Creation of Awareness on EU Issues for Youth Initiatives" and "Project Management Training" are sponsored by Denmark Embassy.¹³⁷ ARI Movement works mostly with the Swedish, Danish and Dutch Consulates in Istanbul; in 2006 they received the most funding from the Dutch Consulate.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Fon Kaynaklarımız", <http://www.ari.org.tr/sponsorluk/index.asp> , 1 May 2006.

¹³⁷ ibidem.

¹³⁸ Interview with Erkut Emcioğlu.

3.1.3 ARI Movement Supporting Turkey's Integration to the EU

The Helsinki Summit in 1999, which was a generally accepted milestone for Turkey-EU relations. ARI sped up its EU-related operations to the point where in the last couple of years, the focal point of ARI's work has become the EU. ARI established its Brussels office in October of 2003. The Brussels office aims to function as a bridge between Turkey and the European institutions and support Turkey in carrying out effective and stable reforms.¹³⁹ It also aims to communicate the views of Turkish civil society to official and civil sectors all around Europe. Demir Murat Seyrek has operated as the Brussels representative of ARI since its establishment.

The ARI Movement believes that Turkey's full membership to the EU will be an important asset both to Europe, Eurasia and the Middle East. The ARI Movement has attempted to trigger an in-depth debate to the Turkey-EU relations. By offering different Turkish and European perspectives and approaches on various issues, the ARI Movement hopes to generate a greater international awareness of Turkey's role in the European Union.¹⁴⁰

ARI has close relationships with many European think tanks and international entities and organizes many events in partnerships with them during the year. ARI has partnership with EPC, LYMEC (European Liberal Youth), Center for European Reform (CER), Oxford University, Eastern Mediterranean University, Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), Local

¹³⁹ 2004-2005 Activities of ARI Movement's Brussels Office, prepared by Murat Demir Seyrek, 2005, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ 2004-2005 Activities of ARI Movement's Brussels Office, p. 1.

Democracy Agencies (ALDA), The Young European Federalists (JEF-Europe), Chatham House, European Parliament, etc...¹⁴¹

ARI not only organizes big conferences, but also roundtable meetings. For instance, on 24 March 2006, ARI organized a roundtable event with the participation of the former prime minister of Sweden, Carl Bildt.¹⁴² As for abroad activities, on 14 November 2005, ARI Movement and the Royal Institute of International Affairs held a joint roundtable discussion on the Cyprus problem at Chatham House with the participation of Ferdi Sabit Soyer, the Prime Minister of TRNC.¹⁴³ ARI also organized a panel in collaboration with the EPC on "Turkey's Accession to the EU: How Prepared is the Turkish Economy?" with the guest speakers such as Kemal Dervis, Matthias Ruete (European Commission's Director responsible for Turkey), Wim Philippa (Secretary-General of the European Round Table of Industrialists), and Sinan Ulgen (a Member of ARI Movement) on 11 May 2004 in Brussels.¹⁴⁴

In September 2004 to support Turkey's candidacy to the European Union, ARI Movement launched a 100-day-campaign targeting European and Turkish decision makers and public opinion to create an atmosphere in favor of starting accession talks between the EU and Turkey. ARI Movement's 100-day-EU campaign endeavored to reach out to all the related parties in Europe's key capitals, the USA and Turkey with the events and activities.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 3.

¹⁴² The news of the meeting with the former prime minister of Sweden, Carl Bildt, <http://www.ari.org.tr/carlbildt.asp>

¹⁴³ 2004-2005 Activities of ARI Movement's Brussels Office, p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 6.

¹⁴⁵ 2004-2005 Activities of ARI Movement's Brussels Office, p. 8.

3.1.4 ARI Movement is a Think Firm or What?

Now the ARI Movement will be placed into the NGO typology to see to which type of NGO ARI best fits. The preliminary claim this paper makes is that ARI is different from traditional type of NGOs. Indeed, some of its characteristics are very close to think firms.

ARI MOVEMENT

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area
Small Cadre	Middle to Upper Class	Mostly Volunteers with a Strong Team of Professionals	Member Fees, International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors, NGO Subsidies, Individual Donors, State Subsidies	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	National	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Issues

The characteristics of ARI are nonpartisanship, objectivity and independence. The General Coordinator of ARI for International Relations, Emcioğlu emphasized that the ARI Movement does not have any affiliation and it is a movement that is completely independent of outside influences.

When the question to which organization from Turkey ARI is similar to was posed, Emcioğlu answered by stating that ARI's activities and connections are unique. However, Emcioğlu also claimed that ARI may be similar to French Think Tanks, explaining that in France think tanks are based on people which have connections with important entities. These think tanks do not have affiliations but obviously the members have influential affiliations. Emcioglu says that ARI is independent, but the people who manage ARI have many connections throughout the world.¹⁴⁶

ARI is a *Small Cadre* organization, Emcioğlu emphasized that ARI is not an *Elite Club* but on the other hand it is not a mass organization either. Business people coming from different sectors or young volunteers are members of ARI. These people do not have a common political tendency. However, both groups have similar social ground; they come from middle to upper classes. Relative to the Establishment of the ARI Movement by young bankers educated in States, ARI has been continued with a similar member profile.

The way one of the ARI members expressed it during an interview was that ARI members have been identified with Yuppies by the rest of the society. The term

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Erkut Emcioğlu.

"Yuppie" emerged in the early 1980s. Usually they are highly-educated and upwardly-mobile, and are from their early twenties to early-to-mid thirties in age. These people tend to hold jobs in the professional sectors, with incomes that place them in the upper-middle economic class. Önen, the General Coordinator of ARI draws attention to the fact that only %6 of ARI members are entrepreneur. The rest are professionals.

Another important issue to emphasize is that ARI seeks to provide human capital for Turkey. Haluk Önen pointed out that many well known and successful people who are active in politics and professional life have emerged from the ARI Movement. This indicates that ARI provides a ground and network to people who have the potential to be successful by giving them the possibility of access to a variety of well-placed individual. Thus it can be argued that ARI, by coaching the leaders of the future, provides a social rather than an economic good.

Membership to ARI is open to everybody which can contribute something to ARI. However, as ARI do not have a lot of members, most of the members are very active and are engaged in the voluntary actions of the organization.

In May 2006 three people from the ARI Team have changed, Emcioğlu thinks that with their added participation ARI will be able to act as a think tank by focusing more on research and by publishing studies and reports. When the ARI Movement is observed, most of them have PHD degrees, are very well educated and having international experience. Relatively to the qualifications of the team, researchers are relatively highly paid when compared with other NGOs' employees.

Emcioglu has just started to work in ARI and he is sincerely telling that ARI has many contacts and for that reason all functions very well and rapidly. If someone from the organization wants to have access to something he can do it easily through ARI network. It means that beside good salary ARI also provides useful and prestigious connections for its staff.

ARI Revenue Sources are multiple. Its leading revenue source is Member Fees. %60-70 of the revenues is assured from member fees.¹⁴⁷ Some of these members donate generously to the organization. The ARI Movement also has sustainable partnerships with foreign NGOs, and these NGOs, such as the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, The International Republican Institute, and The National Democratic Institute donate money to ARI every year.¹⁴⁸ NGOs' subsidies constitute %20 of ARI's Revenues. Furthermore the ARI Movement organizes Security Conference every year with the partnership and financial support of NATO. In addition, the ARI Movement receives project-based funding from the European Commission. Corporate Sponsors have also made important contributions to ARI Budget. Haluk Önen pointed out that corporations donate or make in kind donations to ARI in the framework of their social responsibility projects.

The multiplicity of ARI's Revenue Sources, is one of the points which differentiates the Movement from traditional civil society organizations. ARI Movement gets support from all possible revenue sources including State Subsidies as ARI has financial partnership with Swedish Government.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Haluk Önen.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Erkut Emcioglu.

The organization establishes relationships, operates in a network, and receives permanent funding from different entities. Haluk Önen emphasized that an organization such as the ARI Movement which works on security and youth issue in Turkey, should not finance these activities with funds coming from outside the country. Haluk Önen's argument is a refutation of the way in which the GENC-NET project was started, which was done with aid from the International Republican Institute, which is an American think tank. Haluk Önen makes a point that ARI does not cooperate with organizations as the SOROS Foundation which have ideological tendencies.¹⁴⁹

It can be claimed that organizations such as the ARI Movement have not been created with a social motive of mobility, but rather, have come about because a group of people having specific objectives and a common vision. When this type of groups is compared with social movements, omnipresent sentimental side of social movement is lacking.¹⁵⁰ Of course both these types of organization are based on common motives but ARI's motives are more rational than those a social movement. The professional and materialistic characteristics of the organization have been created to extend beyond the emotional side.

As for relations with governments, the ARI Movement has always had a strong relation with them. Relatively to the government's line and ideological tendency, these relations are sometimes close, sometimes further away. Emcioğlu claims that at

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Haluk Önen.

¹⁵⁰ Keck, Margaret E.; Sikkink, Kathryn, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Cornell University Press, 1998, p. 27.

the moment the ARI Movement members are bothered by AKP's policies and political disability, but more the less have relations with the government. Furthermore the ARI Movement expresses its thoughts and comments on government work most often through press conferences. For instance, on 24 March 2006, in a roundtable event with the participation of the former primer minister of Sweden Carl Bildt, the ARI Movement proclaimed its standing on the issue of European Union and its criticism of Turkish Government policies with the following statement from the press release: "We do not consider Turkey's accession to the EU as a simply economical advantage or as a foreign policy success. We consider Turkey's membership to the EU as a process which will complete the steps we have taken forward on the road to Democracy initiated by Atatürk and we heartily support it. We support this process with our events organized in Turkey and abroad. However we worry about the decrease of the acceleration of the EU process. We invite all interested parties and especially the government to take due precautions in order to sustain the acceleration".¹⁵¹

ARI's objective is placed in the Specific Objective category of the typology because when ARI's objectives are observed it may be seen that ARI works on this specific issue: Turkey and the increase of Democratic participation in Turkey. This makes the ARI Movement closer in concept to think firms than an NGO because the movement has a specific objective. As pointed out before, think firms do not defend materialistic interest. However, they do not especially have post-materialistic concerns such as the environment or peace. As defined before post-materialism gives high priority to values such as more citizen input in government decisions. This

¹⁵¹ Interview with Haluk Önen.

purpose of post-materialism fit ARI's objective of the ensuring of participatory democracy in Turkey but on the other hand ARI is considered with the security issues which is a value associated with materialism. These are the points where ARI is closer and far to think firm concept.

For example if the ARI Movement is compared with the Board of Economic and Social Studies Conference established by Nejat Eczacıbaşı in 1961 (established by TESEV in 1994) a basic difference is seen and this difference is ARI's lack of an interest in a classical sense. In the Board of Economic and Social Studies Conference, the aim was to defend private sector rights. Thus there was a class interest. Although Eczacıbaşı aimed to engage in the development of social policies and discuss these matters through a triangle of business representatives, academics and politicians, the classical interests of the private sector were represented.¹⁵²

However, though the ARI Movement has a specific objective, it addresses multiple issues. ARI with the aim of increasing political participation runs activities on many fields such as those concerning the European Union, Economy and Youth. Haluk Önen insists that ARI does not produce solutions in accordance to the needs of the society. Rather, ARI seeks to provide more sustainable solutions in the respect of youth, security, EU, etc...

ARI Movement's main audience is policy makers because its activities are generally high level meetings or roundtables which are not open to the general public. Only the ARI Team, Members of the ARI Movement and guests can participate to these

¹⁵² Buğra, Ayşe, *Devlet ve İşadamları*, İletişim Yayınları, 1995, İstanbul, p. 201.

meetings. Furthermore, when ARI's conferences are considered, they are organized on a specific issue with the participation of interested parties. These conferences do not aim to provide general public information.

Haluk Önen answer makes clear is the public is definitely not the ARI Movement's audience.¹⁵³ According to Önen, the ARI Movement tries to create sensitivity to democracy in the society, but it does so by focusing on young people. He also said that ARI is the fifth most important organization in the media after AKP, DYP, MHP and CHP. In fact the general society does not know ARI well. He is binding it to the nature the ARI Movement's activities. On the other hand ARI is sometimes subject to conspiracy theories in the society. One of the ARI members expressed that ARI Members have generally been sidelined in the society related to these public impressions.

According to Haluk Önen, ARI's audience is generally the policy-makers. The ARI Movement is seen as a reference institution by International foreign policy institutions as a result of the ARI Movement's IR activities.

Turkish Policy Quarterly is an effective tool for disseminating ARI ideas to the society and policy-makers. Though TPQ costs 18 YTL and is only sold in DNR bookstores. Nigar Göksel, the editor of TPQ Magazine said that TPQ Magazine is mostly bought in the DNR Airport Store, which is explicitly not general public oriented. The content of the magazine changes relatively to the projects of ARI. For instance, the Spring-2006 issue of TPQ takes on the Youth issue related to the ARI's

¹⁵³ Interview with Haluk Önen.

new project on Youth. As the project has been realized by EU funding, the EU takes its place as the co-financer of this issue.

ARI Movement has an evident difference from classical NGOs in that it has a strong team of professionals. Though there is always a paid secretariat who manages operational activities in civil society organizations and there are volunteers which work in order to fulfill organization aims, these volunteers do not earn their livelihood from the organization; their livelihood usually depends on their professional work. But in the ARI Movement the staff of 13 people earns their livelihood from the organization's activities. When we compare the number of the ARI Movement's professional staff with its member's number, the proportion is 13/200. When we compare this proportion with the case in a Union the proportion is highly less. It can be argued that this is a characteristic peculiar to think tanks, but it must be emphasized that the ARI Movement is *not* a think tank.

Furthermore the members of ARI are very important because in contrast to a think tank, they are stakeholders to whom the organization is responsible. Rather than producing an academic research, ARI satisfies its members' social need in the American way by providing an alternative voice. In the periods where the revenue sources of the ARI Movement consists of mostly member fees, ARI works more closely with its members. However, during a project financed by EU, the priorities of the ARI Movement's members are replaced by the priorities of EU foreseen in the framework of the project call. This can be considered as part of the impact of "project-mania."

Beside the salary, an organization like the ARI Movement brings connections and prestige to its staff. By being a part of that network, staffs make connections which can be advantageous for their professional and social status. Emre Erdoğan, one of the ARI Movement's members believes this characteristic makes ARI more alluring. For instance Kemal Derviş used the ARI Movement's office during its first months in Turkey; this gave the movement an Aura of power. The members have always been influenced by these close relationships with important people in Turkey or the rest of the world. Ayşe Buğra terms this alluring relation as following: "Dostane bir hava içinde bir arada bulunmak", being in friendly relations with someone important.¹⁵⁴

The employees of the ARI Movement are not highly-paid when compared with European NGOs. But it is important to emphasize that employees working in a well financed project such as ARI's EU funded Human Rights project have usually receive high salaries.

To sum up it can be argued that ARI does not bear much similarity to other NGOs in Turkey. Some of ARI characteristics are very close to how a think firm was previously defined: project-mania, strong professional team, being part of an international network, multiple revenue sources, specific objective rather than a pure interest, and working on multiple issues are all indications of ARI's think firm structure. ARI's International Relations activities explicitly serve to ARI's think firm characteristics as they are not based on members. Furthermore it can be argued when an opportunity is offered ARI can easily change its current interests, to take

¹⁵⁴ Buğra, Ayşe; op. cit, p. 335.

advantage of the opportunity. However, in ARI's GENÇ-NET activities the institution is very far away from a think firm and here operates as a public benefit foundation.

3.2. European Stability Initiative- ESI

3.2.1. ESI's History, Objectives and Functioning

The European Stability Initiative is a non-profit research and policy institute, created in recognition of the need for independent, in-depth analysis of the complex issues involved in promoting stability and prosperity in Europe. ESI was founded in July 1999 in Sarajevo by a multi-national group of practitioners and analysts with extensive experience in the Balkan Region. Actually, the establishment of ESI relies on the results of a longer brainstorming of people coming from many countries and working for international organizations. These people, who were unhappy with the way political decision makers are made, were thinking that the quality and the quantity of information that the people have were very insufficient.¹⁵⁵ Their motivation was to help international institutions to understand their environment and in to advance the integration of the Balkans into the European Union following the end of the Kosovo War.¹⁵⁶

Following these principles, a decision was made to set up a think tank. Germany was determined to be the best location as German Association Law has a certain tax free status for Non Profit Associations. However it was very difficult to set up the association. During the first years the founders were working from their living room. ESI kept alive during these years by small donations coming from small donors.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Robin Gosejohann, Head of Administration, ESI, 18 May 2006, Istanbul.

¹⁵⁶ ESI Story, www.esiweb.org

ESI first report was about the international efforts to promote the returns of normalizing in Bosnia. The first big report was dissecting the anatomy of Bosnia's post-war nationalist regimes. At this time ESI was still looking for a donor to finance its research. However, sending the report to 900 email addresses put ESI on policy makers' map for the first time.¹⁵⁷ Following the large echo of Bosnian Power Structures, ESI appeared on the map of European media for the first time.¹⁵⁸ With the hiring of new staffs ESI started to grow.

After the first major report, the Financial Times described ESI as a "think tank changing thinking on Bosnia".¹⁵⁹ The Economist wrote in June 2000:

"recently the ICG's influence in the Balkans has been challenged by that of the European Stability Initiative." The first funding for ESI came for research in Montenegro and was provided by the US Institute of Peace.

ESI hired and started to grow. Its success was assured. ESI focused on Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Serbia and is well known in these countries. ESI's research methodology is based on Field Research which is a keyword for ESI. ESI uses only field research and believes that only through field research a study can provide reliable numbers, stories, peoples, etc. ESI conducts its researches through a process of materials collection from on site observations. Though this usually consists of several hundred pages, the final report is restricted to 20-30 pages which are full of information (analyses, statistics) and so forth.

¹⁵⁷ www.esiweb.org

¹⁵⁸ *ibidem*.

¹⁵⁹ *ibidem*.

In its first five years of operation, ESI has had a substantial impact on international policy towards South Eastern Europe. Its advice has been sought regularly by a range of policy makers across the region. In order to promote discussion and debate among the policy community, all ESI publications are widely distributed and available on its website free of charge.

The overall objective of ESI as a think tank is to provide natural, fresh and inspiring analyses to policy-makers. In fact, ESI seeks to directly assist policymakers engaged in difficult decisions on complex issues. However, ESI claims that their audience is both public and policy-makers. ESI sends its reports and newsletters to 11,000 people by e-mail. Most of these people put their e-mail addresses on the ESI web page in order to receive ESI news. It is observed that people forward and disseminate ESI's work to others. Thus ESI reports are read probably by 15,000- 20,000 people.¹⁶⁰ Most of these people are from European Countries.

The European Union and the Enlargement is one of the main concerns of ESI. In an article that first appeared in the *Journal of Democracy*, ESI first used the concept of "member state building" as a particularly sophisticated and successful form of institution-building¹⁶¹:

"Applied in countries that have been formally recognized as candidates for EU membership—currently Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Turkey—it is a model unique to the European continent. While the success stories of traditional capacity-building and authoritarian state-building are few and far between, the European

¹⁶⁰ ESI Story, www.esiweb.org

¹⁶¹ *ibidem*.

member-state building model has accomplished revolutionary transformations over the past decade."

The article also introduced the notion of the "Helsinki Moment" (referring to the 1999 EU Helsinki Summit and its impact on candidate countries) to highlight the choice the EU faced in the Western Balkans:

"The open question for 2005 is: will European leaders show the same boldness and vision as they did five years ago for Central Europe, the Eastern Balkans and Turkey when it comes to the Western Balkans? Will the countries of the Western Balkans experience their own Helsinki Moment?"

In April 2000, ESI established its headquarters in Berlin. After the high-level policy seminar in March 2000 organized by the Swedish Foreign Ministry and ESI, ESI was invited to Washington DC. There the heads of ESI introduced the organization to the US think tank community such as the US Institute of Peace, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Carnegie Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute and so forth.¹⁶²

Today ESI has a team of 32 people which consist of volunteers and employed staff. ESI's experienced and multidisciplinary team is committed to providing policy makers with relevant strategic analysis. The head of administration in Istanbul, Robin Gosejohann explained that ESI has a very flexible working system; staff does not need an office to work in or an administration to work under. What Gosejohann pointing out is if a staff has a lap top he can work from anywhere he wants. ESI's main office is currently in Istanbul. The administration is very small and consists of

¹⁶² ESI Story, www.esiweb.org

the head of administration and the book keeper. ESI is still a small think tank. It wants to grow but also wished to be sure the growth is healthy. In this sense they prefer building the organization at a slow, steady fare.

The analysts work on a free lance basis, but mostly with long term contracts. This means that if there is a big project to work on, ESI makes contracts with persons from the ESI team. The total number of ESI employees therefore varies.

The very fact that ESI is registered as a non profit association also means that ESI has members. ESI actually has 18 members and thus narrowly attains the minimum number of members asked by the German Association Law. A few of the 18 members are among the core staffs of ESI, which means that to be an analyst you do not have to be member of ESI. Members are people who used to work or still working for International Organizations like United Nations, the World Bank, Office of The High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, etc. These members are very international, multidisciplinary and they all have international experience.

In contrast to other civil society organizations, having more members is not a priority for ESI. They have members or member meetings are only to maintain the exigencies of the law to keep their non profit status. Someone can gain member status only by being suggested by a member of ESI. Then majority vote system is used to decide whether the person will qualify for the membership.

ESI does not organize conferences alone and they prefer to make presentations in different events around the world. On occasion ESI co-organizes conferences with the cooperation of partners such as Wilton Park or the King Baudouin Foundation.

Usually ESI provides the content and their partner provides the logistics. ESI do not have generally common projects with other entities. Thus it usually has its own projects and runs them alone.¹⁶³

3.2.2 ESI Revenue Sources

Under normal circumstances one of a NGO's main revenue sources is member fees. Since ESI has only 18 members, member fees can not constitute a revenue source for the organization. Thus ESI depends on the financial support of different institutions. ESI's efforts depend on the contributions of governments, corporations and private individuals to fund its activities. ESI co-operates in close partnership with other research institutions, governments, international agencies, NGOs, the media and the private sector. So ESI maintains its financial health through a network of Strategic Partners and Supporters. ESI believes that they are only able to offer their analysis and services free of charge through the financing of their supporters. ESI usually applies for projects according to the request of the European Commission, European Governments or Ministries. ESI does write many proposals and does fundraising.

Although the budget of ESI quadrupled between 2000 and 2004, there was still little core funding and no lead donor. The support of smaller European governments proved decisive. The first European government to support ESI was Sweden. Project funding from Sweden, the Netherlands, Ireland, Luxembourg and Switzerland allowed ESI to persevere. Crucially, from 2003 onwards, the Norwegian foreign ministry also provided significant project funding for ESI research. This was

¹⁶³ ESI Story, www.esiweb.org

supplemented by funding from US private foundations: the German Marshall Fund, Mott Foundation, the Open Society Institute and the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation.¹⁶⁴

ESI seeks funds from organizations willing to support specific areas of research. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation helps ESI to support local efforts to map social and economic trends. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office are supporting municipal research. Their support allows ESI to present information to an even wider audience. ESI has also been working with the British Department for International Development on the Bosnian Governance Assessment. The Open Society Institute and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund are supporting ESI's Capacity Building Projects, and the EU does so with ESI's ongoing research on the Kosovo economy.

The Governments of Sweden, Slovenia, Ireland, Canada, Germany and the Dutch Embassy in Sarajevo have been dedicated supporters of ESI. The United States Institute of Peace and the US Mission to NATO have funded the ESI Montenegro project, enabling the organization to produce two reports and a policy proposal.

The Swedish Institute for International Affairs sponsored and co-organized ESI's first high-level brainstorming seminar, inviting key policy makers and regional experts to develop new policy concepts for the future. Core funding of ESI has been provided most notably by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and the Swedish government.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Robin Gosejohann.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, DIE ERSTE Österreichische Spar-Casse Foundation, Department of International Development of UK Government, Swedish Government, European Commission, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada, Slovak Government, Open Society Institute, Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland, The Federal Foreign Office of Germany, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United States institute Of Peace, the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, US Mission to NATO, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Foreign & Commonwealth Office London, Norway Ministry of Foreign Affairs, King Baudouin Foundation, Körber Stiftung, Wilton Park etc. are all supporters of ESI.

ESI's Islamic Calvinists Report was not funded by any Turkish institution. It was paid by ESI's own budget. The reason was that, as ESI was a new comer in Turkey, had nothing to show people as reference when they were applying for funds. After the success of its Islamic Calvinists report ESI believes now they can apply for funding in Turkey. However there have been some frustrations in the search for financing. Nigar Göksel believes that it is because many European Institutions are unaware on Turkey's issues. She argues that Turkish corporations rather than a foreign entity should finance a national NGO.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Nigar Göksel, Analyst in ESI, Editor of ARI Movement TPQ Magazine, 26 May 2006, Istanbul.

3.2.3 ESI Supporting Turkey's Integration to the EU

In June 2004, ESI held its regular members' meeting at the Swedish Consulate in Istanbul.¹⁶⁶ Where it launched its new project to date: ESI Turkey. According to Gosejohann, ESI has always been interested in the Black Sea Region and very much in Turkey.¹⁶⁷ Going to Turkey and applying ESI's research methodology it was a logical next step for the organization. ESI idea was to go to the heartland and discovering what they were covering by centuries since the Ottoman Empire period.¹⁶⁸

ESI's Turkish Office was established in 2004 July. ESI's legal status in Turkey is a representative of ESI/Germany. Gerald Knaus, the founder of ESI, works in Istanbul Office, but he does not have an employee status, he is a member of ESI and the director as well.¹⁶⁹ However, he works as a free-lance analyst for ESI projects. The ESI Turkey team consisted of five analysts: Gerald Knaus and Verena Knaus, Erkut Emcioglu, a lawyer who studied in France, Enis Köstepen, an expert sociologist in field research and Nigar Göksel, political scientist with international experience.

ESI focuses on three issues in Turkey: social and economic developments in different regions of the country, reform of the Turkish state in the context of EU accession, and the enlargement debate both in Turkey and in EU member states. Members of ESI Turkey have traveled extensively throughout Anatolia. ESI has established contacts with Turkish media and the academic community in Istanbul,

¹⁶⁶ ESI Picture Story, www.esiweb.org

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Robin Gosejohann.

¹⁶⁸ *ibidem*.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Nigar Göksel.

and with other think tanks, especially Kemal Derviş' EDAM (Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies) and ARI Movement.

According to ESI, the integration of Turkey into the EU represents one of the largest and most important challenges in the coming years. This poses a number of new dilemmas to the EU, but also brings the potential to strengthen Turkish democracy.¹⁷⁰ ESI believes Turkey has gone through profound transformation, especially in the past 5 years and that transformation is a success story for the EU. However, ESI recognizes there are daunting challenges. Underdevelopment in provinces of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia is seen by ESI to be one of the most urgent issues both Turkish and EU policy makers face with regard to Turkey's integration in the EU.

An early focus of ESI in Turkey was Central Anatolia and the province of Kayseri. The data it collected was published in its first major report on Turkey: *Islamic Calvinists*. The ESI team started with case studies of social change in rural communities and looked at the impact of agricultural reforms and the consequences of urbanization and internal migration. ESI then applied its field research methodology to discover the reality behind the prejudices. It discovered a society in the midst of extremely rapid social and economic change. For ESI, Kayseri was a mirror of trends across the Turkish heartland. The report described the extraordinary social and economic changes which have taken place in the Central Anatolian province of Kayseri, turning an old silk-route trading town into a major industrial centre. The story of Kayseri's success created little controversy. What some found provocative was the argument that, on its path to prosperity, Central Anatolian

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Robin Gosejohann.

society had also found an accommodation between capitalism and traditional Islamic values.

The report triggered an enormous amount of interest in Turkey, with op-ends in all of the major papers and a series of televised debates.¹⁷¹ One commentator devoted no less than 8 opinion pieces in the mass circulation *Hürriyet* to denouncing the report. However, most commentators, including the Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül, supported the analysis that in Central Anatolia "economic success has created a social milieu in which Islam and modernity coexist comfortably."¹⁷²

According to ESI, one of the most difficult challenges facing Turkey on its road to Europe is the vast regional disparities between the West and the East of the country.¹⁷³ To gain a better understanding of the difficulties facing the East and South East of Turkey, ESI began research in the city of Diyarbakir, first in early 2005 and then more intensively in the autumn. This research is still ongoing.

ESI thinks that the European policy research community has not invested significant attention to Turkey issues. The result of this lack of investment is that much of the debate within Europe on Turkish accession remains on an abstract level. Economic and demographic data needs to be updated and the changes in the social, political and economic spheres in Turkey need to be incorporated into the ongoing debates. At the moment few European institutions (besides the European Commission) are engaged in actually doing this. The development of a deeper understanding of contemporary

¹⁷¹ See Annexe III and IV.

¹⁷² ESI Story, www.esiweb.org

¹⁷³ Interview with Nigar Göksel.

Turkish society, recognition of the changes which have taken place, and the challenges it is still facing is crucial to the establishment of a realistic EU policy towards Turkey. Hence ESI aims to address the growing need for empirical and field based analysis on Turkey during this period of rapid change, and to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics in Turkey.

In its “Islamic Calvinist” Report, ESI argues that among Europeans who are skeptical of Turkish membership of the European Union, it is common to hear the view that Turkey has two souls, only one of which is Western.¹⁷⁴ Central Anatolia, with its rural economy and patriarchal, Islamic culture, is seen as the heartland of the ‘other’ Turkey. According to ESI, while Anatolia remains a socially conservative and religious society, it is also undergoing what some have called a ‘Quiet Islamic Reformation’.¹⁷⁵ ESI has presented its “Islamic Calvinists” report in many conferences in Europe. It must be emphasized that ESI’s mission is not to convince anybody, neither Turks nor Europeans, but is to show the trends have been established through the field research. In the Islamic Calvinists Report’s ESI’s concern was to give Europeans an honest look at the other face of Turkey.

According to Gosejohann ESI is very much in favor of the “enlargement of the European Union” idea, and therefore may be considered a pro-enlargement organization. He explains that ESI has a mission to explain Europe to the Turks and explain Turkey to the Europeans.¹⁷⁶ According to Erkut Emcioğlu, ESI considers that the EU enlargement also increases for the role of the European Union in world politics. Gosejohann also relates ESI’s presence in Turkey to the start of Negotiation

¹⁷⁴ “*Islamic Calvinists*” Report, ESI, September 2005, Berlin-Istanbul.

¹⁷⁵ *ibidem*.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Robin Gosejohann.

Talks between EU and Turkey on 3 October 2005 as the background idea is European Union.

ESI has just started to work on a new project in Turkey: the capacity building project. The idea is to establish small think tanks in Southern European Countries. Through this framework ESI aims to coach and teach through workshops the national and regional NGOs how to organize and maintain an NGO.¹⁷⁷ ESI has already given workshops in Macedonia and Kosovo. Now ESI plans to conduct these workshops in Serbia. ESI has established two new think tanks in Macedonia and another respected think tank in Kosovo called Kosovo Stability Initiative. The Capacity Building project is a very large and long term project for ESI. ESI also anticipates the creating of think tanks in Turkey and to teach them their research methodology.¹⁷⁸

One of the other long term projects of ESI is the Europeanization and European Debate project. In this project senior analysts will travel to conferences and giving presentations about ESI research in order to disseminate ESI's research results. Long before the French and Dutch referenda on the EU constitution in 2005, ESI had began researching public attitudes towards further enlargement in key EU member states. One of these projects was analyzing the discussion about Turkey in European Countries; ESI started this project in Austria and in the Netherlands. In addition, ESI will further analyze the facts of Turkey's relationship to Europe by investigating like "who are the main actors of the debate?" "Who influences public opinion?" in Germany and in France.¹⁷⁹ In this way ESI also aims to create mutual learning and understanding between Europeans and Turks. The results of the Netherlands and

¹⁷⁷ *ibidem*.

¹⁷⁸ *ibidem*.

¹⁷⁹ *ibidem*.

Austria study will be presented at the third week of May 2006 in these countries through the cooperation of the Dutch Consulate.

3.2.4 ESI is a Think Firm or What?

ESI will be placed into the NGO typology in order to see to which type of NGO ESI fits best. The preliminary claim— much as the same with the ARI Movement— is that ESI is different from traditional NGOs and also has some of characteristics of a think firm. However, in contrast to the ARI Movement, ESI is a think tank and has a transnational structure.

European Stability Initiative

Organization Type	Social Ground	Volunteers or Professional Staff	Revenue Sources	Relations with Governments	National/ International/ Transnational Structures	Interest and Objectives	Audience	Members and/or Contributors Gaining their livelihood from organization	Interest Area
Small Cadre	Professors and Students	Very Few Volunteers with Relatively Highly-Paid Professional Staff	International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Corporate Sponsors, NGO Subsidies, State Subsidies	No Organic Link with a Government but High Cooperation	Transnational	Specific Objective	Mostly Sharing Information with Policy Makers	Yes	Addresses Multiple Issues

ESI can be called as a small cadre organization. The number of ESI members, just 18, is quite low when compared to other NGOs. This differentiates ESI from classical NGOs which are based on members and volunteerism. Furthermore the membership to ESI is restricted; only by suggestion someone can join ESI and his selection is subject to the majority vote of the ESI members. This picture shows us explicitly that ESI is not a mass organization.

The small size of ESI suggests ESI is a think tank, but there are think tanks which have hundreds of members. ESI is a typical small cadre organization which can not be joined by anybody even if he has common vision with ESI members.

ESI believes few think tanks which can be compared to ESI. Mr. Gosejohann could give only the name of Center for European Reform (CER) a British think tank established in London.¹⁸⁰ However CER is structurally more similar to Brussels-based European think tanks than ESI; they have approximately 200 members and are far more active in organizing conferences and meetings.¹⁸¹

ESI's does not have a social ground of employees or entrepreneurs. ESI is an organization formed by academicians and people which have international experience in International Relations. ESI's internship programmes enable students to join as well. The ESI team is formed by people who have at least PHD degree in their discipline. Thus ESI social ground can be seen as Professors and Students.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Robin Gosejohann.

¹⁸¹ www.cer.org.uk

In proportion to its member number ESI has a strong team of 32 analysts. These staff members work on a free lance basis but they have many characteristics of full time employment as they continually work for ESI projects. Except permanent employees, staffs take project-based roles in ESI. Relatively to the high fundraising activities of ESI and their qualifications, staffs work with high salaries on projects.

The leading revenue source of ESI is NGO Subsidies, which it receives from world wide NGOs. ESI also receives also funding from International and Supranational Organizations Funding, Governments and Corporations. In a civil society organization the financing is usually ensured by member fees, but in ESI this is not a case. Rather than member fees ESI procures its financing from external sources. This characteristic is a very important point for it claims to be a think firm since in ESI there is no responsibility of the managers to their members. To be more explicit, it can be argued that in ESI there is no stakeholder as there are a few members. In a classical NGO, the managers and the institution have responsibilities toward the members who are paying member fees and are joined by a common motive. The functioning and the surviving of the organization rely on the funds provided by NGOs or corporations. However, the surviving of a Labor Union relies only on member fees.

We can bind this characteristic of ESI to Gramsci's criticisms of think tanks: "Are these organizations responsible towards their fund provider?" or can they provide their social goods independently from these entities.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Bobbio, Norberto, "Gramsci and the Concept of Civil Society", in KEANE, John, *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*, Verso, 1988, London, p. 75.

ESI receive funding from governments but the principle is that ESI does not receive funds from the government of the country where the organization conducts its research. Thus diverse funding base constitutes the financial independence and ensures that ESI is not dependent on a unique body. It is the most certain method for a think tank to preserve its intellectual autonomy.

ESI as an independent think tank does not have organic links with a government, but the organization has cooperated with many governments. This cooperation *is* related to government's subsidies.

ESI works on multiple issues and has several projects going at the same time. For instance, Turkey is one project and even in ESI Turkey has several projects, running on different issues.

ESI has a transnational structure related to its establishment and function. ESI emphasizes its transnational characteristics with following statement: "The administrative headquarters are in Berlin, where ESI is registered as a non-profit association, but we are not really a "German" think tank".¹⁸³ ESI had been established by people coming from different countries but as it is necessary to create a legal entity, ESI is registered among German non profit organizations. People from many different countries work for ESI. The founding members of ESI were people which had spent many years working in post-war Bosnia. These are roughly Chris Bennett, a British Slovene, David Steward Howitt, a Scott, Minna Jarvenpaa, a Finn, Gerald Knaus, an Austrian, Felix Martin, a British, Marcus Cox, an Australian, Eric Pierre,

¹⁸³ Who we are, www.esiweb.org

Swedish ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina during and right after the war, Alex Stiglmayer, a German, Paul Hockenos, an American etc.

The transnational structure of NGOs is common in transnational social movements such as environmental activists. However ESI has the unique characteristic of a transnational think tank structure. Similarly to transnational social movements, the motive that brought together its founders was an attempt to a new approach to policy-makers on complex issues. The difference between transnational social movements and ESI lies in ESI's desire to be a mediator and take a constructive approach. Nigar Göksel said the aim in setting up ESI was not to establish an organization to mobilize the citizens of Kosovo on a specific issue.¹⁸⁴ The concern was more restricted and personal. 8-10 persons with experience in the region decided to set up an organization which will use different methods in order to display the realities of the region. These persons had more professional uneasiness related to the method of research rather than emotional uneasiness related to the regions problems.

To sum up it can be argued that the emotional attachment to the cause which exists in social movements is missing for this transnational organization. Like Greenpeace has a transnational structure and operates over the world. In contrast to ESI, the concern of Greenpeace is single and they act in order to defend this interest: the protection of the environment. As the concern is explicitly clear there is a strong emotional attachment to the cause. Rather than this emotional attachment ESI's motive is to find a middle way and providing an alternative view to the situation. ESI members do not protest against governmental policy in the streets but Greenpeace has a strong

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Nigar Göksel.

activist characteristic that utilizes direct action and therefore confrontation. In brief, organizations such as ESI do not rely on moral values like social movements.

ESI has chosen to operate and intervene in politics as a think tank, an information provider. ESI can be compared to Helsinki Citizens Assembly in relation to the context of emergence. The Helsinki Citizens Assembly choose to be an assembly and to provide alternative solutions in order to deal with human rights problems, but its interest has never been being a think tank; the choice was to be more wide basis organization. ESI has made the decision is different to be a small cadre first hand information provider think tank.

Even though ESI addresses multiple issues, the organization has a specific objective. This objective is to provide independent in-depth analysis of the complex issues involved in promoting stability and prosperity in Europe.¹⁸⁵ This specific objective is obviously post-materialistic because it is not related to a materialistic interest. ESI does not defend an interest but runs researches and studies on the axis of stability and prosperity in Europe.

ESI's main audience is the policy-makers. ESI members affirm that in first five years of operation, ESI has had a substantial impact on international policy towards South Eastern Europe and its advice was sought regularly by a range of policy makers across the region.¹⁸⁶ For instance, Olli Rehn, the head of Enlargement Unit of EU visited Kayseri having been influenced by the ESI study about "Islamic Calvinists".

¹⁸⁵ About Us Section, <http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=11>

¹⁸⁶ *ibidem*.

ESI sends its reports mostly to policy-makers but also to anybody who has put his e-mail address on the ESI web page. ESI claims that their aim is not to convince people on an issue but to show the real facts all of which have been gathered through in-depth field research by ESI analysts. When ESI analysts were asked if it is possible to express its views only by sending reports, Nigar Göksel answered that ESI has also participated in many conferences and round table meetings in order to transmit their experiences in Turkey and to present their reports.

CONCLUSION:

This study has focused on the new type of civil society organizations which have emerged in relation to the Europeanization and democratization processes in Europe. Civil society organizations have proliferated during these transition periods and acquired new characteristics. They have been generally motivated by specific objectives which are far from those of the classical interest of NGOs – neither materialistic, nor post-materialistic.

This study by developing a general NGO typology has shown how these new civil society organizations may be roughly distinguished from each other. It must be emphasized that this typology has served as an analytical tool to distinguish the main characteristics of NGOs; it is not possible to make rigid distinctions by using it. The framework has been created to help identify variables and relationships to which attention should be directed.

The new type of civil society organizations is called “think firms”. The structures and work methods of think firms are sometimes very close to commercial firms. It has to be noted that the approach of the think firms to the area of interest is very different from classical civil society organizations. In a think firm, there is not a strong emotional attachment to the cause. The existing attachment of the members to the cause exists at professional level than the emotion of that created volunteerism. The motives and profiles of people working for a think firm are mostly different from a volunteer working in a civil society organization.

Another important discovery during the study is the phenomena of project-mania now occurring among civil society organizations. These projects are usually funded by external entities as other NGOs, governments, or supranational organizations such as the European Union. The civil society organizations compete and work in order to receive the funds offered by these entities. This reveals an estrangement from the purposes of traditional civil society organizations. The new civil society organizations have become entities which operate in order to fulfill fund-raising needs.

The argument is that today civil society organizations have been forced to adopt by external factors. They generally reproduce the existing ways of thinking rather than generate a new set of thought. They have been shaped by being influenced over the conditions of their environment. Their impact in the policy-making process is open to discussion. The emerging civil society organizations operate in the framework generated by the state, and generally reproduce state policies.

The funding resources of the think firms create the basis of this argument. Think firms usually only produce projects which are funded by external resources, since they do not have a basic source of support, such as volunteers donating to them. This financing mechanism generates a dilemma: *generating alternative ideas to change the system while by being supported by the system.*

During the study the general literature of civil society organizations are used in order to define different type of organizations. Furthermore the emerging literature of

European think tanks has also contributed to understanding of these new structures. Therefore because of the lack of conceptualization on the issue, during the thesis a new concept is created which is: “think firm”. The first hand data gathered in the interviews and during my past researches are used as primary sources.

During the thesis the think firm concept is used as an ideal type and the ARI Movement and the European Stability Initiative have been investigated by this respect. It must be emphasized that a comparative study between these organizations is not made. I would be more interesting to have more cases and compare them from the perspective of “think firm” concept.

I think it would be interesting in the future to work on the influences of these new types of civil society organizations over society, the question of credibility and reliability forms the focus of the discussion. Furthermore, creation of a demand for nongovernmental information by the EU states or the EU itself has rendered possible the success of these entities. Another question to discuss is the way epistemic communities have emerged on more concrete issues, such as biomedicine or nuclear energy. These communities can show the same influence on more political and cultural issues, and can they serve as a platform for dialogue between concerned parties.

APPENDIXES

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