

# Conclusion

Euro-think tanks play a useful role in the process of European integration and for policy-makers in Europe in general. We have seen throughout this report how they fulfil many of the roles presented in Section 1, as do their peers elsewhere. They do indeed, to varying degrees, carry out "basic research on policy problems and policy solutions"; they provide "advice on immediate policy concerns that are being considered by government officials"; they evaluate government programs, they "serve as facilitators of issue networks and the exchange of ideas"; they "serve as suppliers of personnel to government and as a place for politicians and policy-makers who are out of power to recharge their batteries"; and they help interpret "policies and current events for the electronic and print media." They help make European democracy a reality by acting as incubators and facilitators of ideas.

Yet, we have also seen how the sector as a whole is strong in absolute terms (3,000 researchers represent nearly a fifth of the total staff employed by the European Commission!), but also relatively fragmented and isolated in the sense that not all its members are as effective at disseminating their research as they could be. Existing players face growing competition from within its own ranks and from new entrants, as barriers to entry to the 'marketplace of ideas' are relatively low. There is some overlap of issues. Public funding is decreasing; private funding is not yet taking its place. Corporate donors and foundations face obstacles to fund independent policy research at the E.U.-level and the sector itself has grown too dependent on public funding.

Meanwhile, think tanks face new dilemmas, as E.U. politics and think tank activities are becoming more partisan and they need to fight for media attention. Potential users of their work, decision-makers, journalists, academics, are not using think tanks to their maximum value. In many countries, the former still need to learn what a healthy think tank sector can contribute to policy-making and democracy.

While we found many pessimists within and outside the sector, we believe that there are encouraging signs that Euro-think tanks are in fact experiencing the beginnings of a new era. Decision-makers, both in the public and private sectors, indicate growing signs of interest, both in Europe and in independent policy research, even in very centralised France. The diversification of funding resources may in the future encourage greater research quality and innovation, if the corporate sector understands that it too should support the public mission services provided by think tanks, and if think tanks in turn are willing to open themselves up to greater financial scrutiny. This could in turn lead to greater private funding streams. Academics are also engaging more with their think tank colleagues and with other areas of applied research. Cooperation and other forms of exchange between think tanks at the E.U. level are increasing. Anglo-American mastery of media relations techniques is spreading.

The current changes in Euro-think tanks' environment may cause some casualties in the next few years, but many in the sector are also confident that, eventually, European think tanks will emerge stronger. After all, these are the organisations that specialise in analysing trends and drawing lessons for the future.

## **ANNEX 1 – LIST OF EURO–THINK TANKS SURVEYED**

The entirety of the data collected and used for the analysis provided could not materially be presented in printed form. We therefore provide here only a list of the organisations surveyed and invite readers to consult Notre Europe's website for a summary of the data collected on think tanks' contact details, missions, key activities and publications, teams, budgets, and research topics :

<http://www.notre-europe.asso.fr>

The data presented in the on-line table was collected throughout the summer of 2004, by telephone, by email, and through the organisations' website. The opportunity, which most seized, was given to all the think tanks surveyed to review the data provided.

### **THINK TANKS LIST**

#### **UE-BRUSSELS :**

Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS)  
Centre for the New Europe (CNE)  
European Centre for International Economics (nom provisoire)  
European Policy Centre (EPC)  
European Trade Union Institute (Institut Syndical Européen) (ETUI)  
Lisbon Council for Economic Competitiveness  
Observatoire Social Européen  
European Institute for Asian Studies (EIAS)  
International Security Information Service, Europe - ISIS Europe  
Institut Européen de Recherche sur la Coopération Méditerranéenne et Euro-Arabe (MEDEA)

#### **AUSTRIA**

Institut für Europäische Integrationsforschung (EIF)  
Österreichisches Institut für Europäische Sicherheitspolitik (ÖIES)  
Europainstitut der WU Wien (Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence)  
The interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (ICCR)  
Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS) Institute for Advanced Studies  
Europäisches Zentrum für Wohlfahrtspolitik und Sozialforschung  
Österreichisches Institut für internationale Politik (OIIP)  
Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (WIIW)  
Zentrum für angewandte Politikforschung (ZAP)  
Österreichisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (WIFO)  
Austria Perspektiv (ein Institut der Österreichischen Wirtschaft)

## BELGIUM

Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Sécurité (GRIP)

Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB)

## CYPRUS

European Institute of Cyprus

The Research and Development Center – Intercollege

Civilitas Research

## CZECH REPUBLIC

EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy

Policy Center for the Promotion of Democracy

Prague Institute of International Relations

Center for Economics and Politics

Civic Institute

## DENMARK

Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS)

## ESTONIA

Institute for European Studies

Estonian Foreign Policy Institute (EVI)

Praxis Center for Policy Studies

The Estonian Institute for Futures Studies (ETI)

## FINLAND

The Finnish Institute of International Affairs

ETLA, Research Institute of the Finnish Economy

Pan-European Institute

Finnish Business and Policy Forum (EVA)

Pellervo Economic Research Institute (PTT)

Labour Institute for Economic Research

## FRANCE

Confrontations Europe

Europe 2020

Fondation Robert Schuman

Notre Europe

European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)

Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS)

Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI)

## GERMANY

Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP)

Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (ZEI) an der Universität Bonn

Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES) an der Universität Mannheim

Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung (ZEW) an der Universität Mannheim

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) - Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit

Forschungsinstitut der deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP)

Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (CAP) an der Universität München

Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung

Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik (IFSH) and der Universität Hamburg

HAUS RISEN-Internationales Institut für Politik und Wirtschaft (Hamburg)

Bertelsmann Stiftung

Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW Berlin)

Institut für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel (IfW)

Ifo-Institut

Hamburgische Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv (HWWA) - - Hamburg Institute of International Economics

Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung Halle (IWH)

Institut für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (IWG Bonn)

Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung

ASKO-EUROPA-STIFTUNG

Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (SEF)

## GREECE

ELIAMEP, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy

EKEM, Hellenic Center for European Studies

EKEME, Greek Center of European Studies and Research

Institute for International and European Economic Relations

Research Institute for European and American Studies

Centre of European Constitutional Law, Themistocles and Dimitris Tsatsos Foundation

Center for International and European Economic Law

Society for Social and Economic Studies (EKOME)

## HONGARY

Foundation for Market Economy

Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Institute of Economics of Hungarian Academy of Sciences (IEHAS)  
Policy Research Centre of the Századvég Foundation  
International Center for Economic Growth (ICEG) European Center

#### IRELAND

Institute of European Affairs (IEA)  
Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI)

#### ITALY

Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)  
Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali CENSIS  
Centro Studi Politica Internazionale (CeSPI)  
Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)  
Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale (SIOI)  
Fondazione di ricerca Istituto Carlo Cattaneo  
Centro di Ricerca e Documentazione Luigi Einaudi

#### LATVIA

Centre for European and Transition  
Latvian Institute of International Affairs  
Institute of Economics, Academy of Science (IEAS)  
Baltic International Center for Economic Policy Studies (BICEPS)  
Centre for Public Policy (PROVIDUS)

#### LITHUANIA

Institute for International Relations and Political Science  
Lithuanian Free Market Institute  
Lithuanian Regional Research Institute  
Institute of Labour and Social Research

#### NETHERLANDS

The Cicero Foundation (CF)  
Centre for European Security Studies (CESS)  
Initiative Referendum Institute Europe (IRI Europe)  
Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael

#### POLAND

Adam Smith Research Centre  
Center for International Relations  
Center for Social and Economic Research  
Institute of Public Affairs

Foreign Trade Research Institute

Gdansk Institute for Market Economics

#### PORTUGAL

Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais (Institute of International Strategic Studies) - IEEI

Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais (Portuguese Institute of International Relations) – IPRI

#### SLOVAKIA

Centre for European Policy

Institute for Economic and Social Reforms

Institute for Public Affairs IVO

M.E.S.A. 10 - Center for Economic and Social Analyses

Slovak Foreign Policy Association

#### SLOVENIA

Institute for Economic Research

#### SPAIN

Asociación de Investigación y Especialización sobre Temas Iberoamericanos (AIETI)

Centro de relaciones internacionales y cooperación internacional (CIDOB)

Fundación Pablo Iglesias

Fundación para el análisis y el estudio social (FAES)

Instituto de Cuestiones Internacionales y Política Exterior (INCIPE)

Institut europeu de la mediterrània (IEMed)

Real Instituto Elcano

#### SWEDEN

Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS)

Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI)

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

Timbro

Center for Business and Policy Studies (SNS)

#### UNITED KINGDOM

Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR)

Centre for European Reform (CER)

EU Policy Network (EPN)

European Foundation

Federal Trust for Education and Research

Institute for European Environmental Policy (IEEP)

The Policy Network

British Institute of International Comparative Law (BIICL)  
Centre for Defence Studies (CDS), King's College London  
European Policy Forum (EPF)  
Foreign Policy Centre (FPC)  
International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)  
Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)  
Overseas Development Institute (ODI)  
Royal Institute of International Affairs/Chatham House  
Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)

## ANNEX 2 – MAIN EUROPEAN THINK TANK NETWORKS ENCOUNTERED

Think tanks do not operate in a vacuum, in particular in the field of European affairs. They form networks and are surrounded by organisations that perform similar activities. One of the striking features of the think tanks we studied was the enormous number of links which they had with think tanks and other organisations both across Europe and in other parts of the world.<sup>161</sup> These links varied enormously both in type and depth (cf. section 1.2 for a discussion of causes of think tank 'internationalisation').

### THINK TANK LINKS REPORTED IN THE SURVEY

We encountered different types of relationship :

- Contact with another think tank, e.g. through meetings or discussions. This allows in some cases the sharing of best practice.<sup>162</sup>
- Joint hosting of an event : this enables a think tank to have access to a new audience outside its home country. The local 'partner' think tank – with its greater knowledge of the national political scene – can assist in the organisation of an event abroad. Then the first think tank would reciprocate the arrangement for any events organised in its own country.
- Partnership with (an)other think tank(s) for a single research project: This type of ad hoc collaboration is favoured by many of the think tanks in the survey. It provides the opportunity to incorporate a broader range of perspectives into the research while allowing think tanks to maintain their independence from other bodies.
- Participation in multi-partner, multi-sector research projects and networks: these usually involve a range of participants, including universities, scientific experts, and other national research bodies, in addition to think tanks. The best example are the 'Networks of Excellence' funded by the E.U. under the 6th Framework Programme for research, although there is a range of other types. It was not clear from our interviews with European think tanks how active they are in these networks. The research content of each network project is usually fairly specialised and it seems that universities – which have a larger number of specialised researchers – are more successful at getting funding for them.<sup>163</sup> More research is certainly needed to understand better think tanks' participation in such networks. There are one or two examples of think tanks taking part in other networks, not directly related to the 6th Framework Programme. For example, FORNET is a new network which shares ideas among academics and practitioners on different aspects of European foreign policy.<sup>164</sup> There is also a large number of think tank networks operating at the European level. Struyk (2002) has provided a conceptual framework for the discussion of such networks, but essentially they come about when a group of think tanks which share common interests decide to establish a formal network. The network organisation may or may not have institutionalised structures existing outside the individual think tanks.



- Sharing a joint forum with another think tank to promote a particular policy area: this may involve a degree of joint funding and also a sharing of personnel. One example we found is the 'European Security Forum' set up recently by CEPS and IISS in Brussels to enable joint events to be hosted, and joint papers to be written, on European defence and security matters.<sup>165</sup> Another example would be the biannual conference of directors and representatives of institutes of international affairs (fortunately shortened to CDRILA).
- Direct funding by one think tank of another think tank: this is not a common practice between Euro-think tanks, although there were some examples.<sup>166</sup>

#### THINK TANK NETWORKS IN EUROPE

The table below lists some of the main think tank networks which we came across in our survey. There were also others which seemed important: for example the network of European environmental policy institutes (whose members are IEEP, IPAE, and Ecologic); the network of directors of Nordic and Baltic institutes; and the biannual meetings of the institutes of international affairs. However, none of these currently has a website. This list is therefore not meant to be exhaustive, but to provide an initial overview.

The networks are usually one of two types: either a network which simply brings together different think tanks but has no independent viewpoint (e.g. EPIN; TEPSA, which was founded in 1974 and was one of the first such network set up in Europe); or an 'epistemic' network, which groups together institutes of a similar policy outlook and which is usually more advocacy-oriented. The best example of this latter type in our survey is the Stockholm Network, a relatively new network of free market think tanks with members in Britain, Scandinavia, and France with offices in London.

The ones that are most cohesive tend to be the ones which are administered and core-funded either by a single think tank, or by an external donor (Struyk, 2002). Examples of the more cohesive networks would be TEPSA, which receives E.U. funding and was established on the initiative of the Federal Trust; EPIN, created at the time of the Convention and hosted and run by CEPS (CEPS hosts the secretariat of a number of networks<sup>167</sup>); and the OSI-Related Policy Centres network in Eastern Europe, funded by the Open Society Institute and run from their Budapest office. European think tanks may also belong to a global network of research institutes. One example is the Global ThinkNet, which convenes policy dialogue meetings of think tanks and politicians and is administered by the Japan Centre for International Exchange.

A number of factors arguably limit the impact which networks can have. These include the extra administrative burden which they can create for a think tank participating in the network (for example they may have to organise events or publish papers on behalf of the network); the lack of a strong 'corporate' identity which the network can suffer from; and also the precariousness of funding arrangements for them, especially if they cannot find a long-term donor.

Think tanks have also developed other strategies to increase their impact abroad. One is to open a new office or offices overseas, a trend seen amongst many American think tanks, such as RAND and the Aspen Institute, but less common among the European ones. We did though come across a number of Euro-think tanks which had set up branches outside their home country, either in Brussels or further afield.<sup>168</sup> This enables them to build better links abroad with new constituencies, such as the European institutions, while still retaining their domestic base.

Another strategy adopted by think tanks in this respect is to develop a network of researchers based in different countries and to administer this 'think net' from a single office. This is the organisational form used by the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) (See Case Study). This type of operation has undoubtedly been made easier by the spread of information technology. Some think tanks, which do not have the organisational capacity for either of these strategies, have instead chosen to establish themselves as 'online only' think tanks, such as the recently formed E.U. Policy Network, although whether this will take off as a phenomenon remains uncertain. Finally, there are a number of online discussion forums which now exist and have a number of similarities to think tanks. One example would be Open Democracy, an online organisation promoting debate on a range of policy issues. Strictly speaking though, these are not think tanks because conducting policy research is not their main activity.

MAIN EURO-*THINK TANKS* NETWORKS ENCOUNTERED \*

Name/website	Date founded	Description	Geographical coverage	Number of member institutes	Secretariat
Association of European Conjecture Institutes (AIECE) <a href="http://www.econ.ucl.ac.be/CONJ/aiece2002/index.html">www.econ.ucl.ac.be/CONJ/aiece2002/index.html</a>	1957	Promotes exchange of statistical and institutional information to encourage economic development	17 E.U. countries, Switzerland, Norway and Yugoslavia	43 (some are government agencies)	Belgium (IRES)
TEPSA (Trans-national European Policy Studies Association) <a href="http://www.tepsa.be">www.tepsa.be</a>	1974	Promoting international research on European integration	EU	22	Brussels (TEPSA)
Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCo) <a href="http://www.euromesco.net">www.euromesco.net</a>	1996	Foreign policy research and analysis of security issues	35 member countries of Euro-Med Partnership (E.U. and North African states)	45 (includes university institutes)	Lisbon (IEEI)
Centres de recherche liés à l'OSI <a href="http://lgi.osi.hu/ppi/">lgi.osi.hu/ppi/</a>	1997	Capacity-building for East European think tanks	Eastern Europe	18	Budapest (Open Society Institute)
European Forecasting Research Association for the Macroeconomy (EUROFRAME) <a href="http://www.euroframe.org">www.euroframe.org</a>	1998	Economic modelling, forecasting and analysis leading to E.U. policy recommendations	Netherlands, Germany, Ireland, GB, France, Italy, Austria, Finland	9	Berlin (DIW)
ENEPRI <a href="http://www.enepri.org">www.enepri.org</a>	2000	International diffusion of joint research, aiming to increase public awareness of the European dimension of national economic policy issues	Europe, including candidate countries	23	Brussels (CEPS)
European Policy Institutes Network (EPIN) <a href="http://www.epin.org">www.epin.org</a>	2002	Promoting pan-European policy dialogue and research	28 European countries, including all E.U. member states, accession and candidate countries	37	Brussels (CEPS)
Stockholm Network <a href="http://www.stockholm-network.org">www.stockholm-network.org</a>	2004 (bien que l'initiative date de 1997)	Network of free market European think tanks	UK, France, Sweden, Brussels	120	London

\* Networks with predominantly think tanks as members, based in Europe and with a website.

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<sup>161</sup> On the other hand, we were studying think tanks working on international themes and these were probably more likely to have international links than think tanks working on domestic issues.

<sup>162</sup> For example if a new think tank director wishes to learn how an existing think tank operates. Or it is simply to share ideas. In the latter case, it usually occurs between think tanks holding similar research interests and/or outlooks, such as international affairs institutes or free market think tanks.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. for instance the list of current projects at [www.cordis.lu](http://www.cordis.lu)

<sup>164</sup> It was set up in January 2003 and is funded by the Commission. It is managed from the London School of Economics and has other universities involved; one of its principal partners is TEPSA and among its other partners are many of the European foreign affairs think tanks. [www.fornet.info](http://www.fornet.info)

<sup>165</sup> Cf. [www.eusec.org](http://www.eusec.org)

<sup>166</sup> A number the well funded German foundations, including the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, give financial support to new think tanks in Eastern Europe. The Robert Schuman Foundation also assists sister institutes in the CEECs.

<sup>167</sup> ENEPRI (European Network of Economic Policy Research Institutes), [www.enepri.org](http://www.enepri.org); ENARPRI (European Network of Agricultural and Rural Policy Research Institutes), [www.enarpri.org](http://www.enarpri.org); ELISE (European Liberty and Security), [www.eliseconsortium.org](http://www.eliseconsortium.org); EPIN (European Policy Institutes Network), [www.epin.org](http://www.epin.org); CS (Climate Strategies), [www.climate-strategies.org](http://www.climate-strategies.org); ESF (European Security Forum) - run jointly with the IISS, London, [www.eusec.org](http://www.eusec.org); ECRI (European Credit Research Institute), [www.ecri.be](http://www.ecri.be).

<sup>168</sup> The only truly 'trans-national' European think tanks in this regard found in our survey were: the German party foundations, such as FES and KAS, which had branches spread all over the world; IISS which has offices in London, Washington and Singapore and has members in over 100 countries around the world and a significant presence in Asia; and IEEP, the UK-based environment think tank which opened a Brussels office in 2001.

### ANNEX 3 – METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

#### HOW TO RECOGNISE A THINK TANK: HOW OUR NINE CRITERIA WERE IDENTIFIED

Defining think tanks is not an easy task, considering the diversity of potentially relevant organisations. We concur with Sherrington (2000) who argues that, "with respect to the EU, it is futile to strive for one meaning—an exclusive definition simply cannot be applied to EU-oriented think tanks given the varying contexts in which E.U. policy is shaped." Indeed, it is our belief that no single definition can fit all groups that are involved in the production and dissemination of information about policy. Wallace and Garnett (1998), as quoted by Sherrington (2000), also argue: "It makes little sense to define a "think tank" too precisely. The functions which think tanks fulfil – research relevant to public policy, promotion of public debate, the questioning of the conventional wisdom, the formulation and dissemination of alternative concepts and policy agendas – can be fulfilled in many ways, under different constraints."

Yet, finding and applying a clear definition is crucial for a rigorous analysis. As the world of think tanks becomes richer and diverse, it is also bound to be studied and discussed more often. The term is used ever more vaguely in the media. It is therefore useful to seek a more refined understanding of what makes think tanks specific in the world of policy formation.

The working definition used here is derived from six flexible criteria initially proposed by Weiss (1992, viii), for what she calls "policy analysis organizations." She states that think tanks 1) are permanent organizations, 2) are not responsible for the operations of government, 3) have specialized staff with expertise, 4) are policy oriented, 5) produce analysis and advice, 6) and put emphasis on communicating their research to policymakers.

In the light of our research and other scholars' contributions, the first criterion is a clear demarcation between, for instance, temporary research teams and organisations that aim to last (e.g. committees of experts set up by the European Commission).

The second is trickier though. Weiss's objective in stating that think tanks are not responsible for the operations of government is in some cases difficult to apply. Organisations that are appointed by public officials to undertake research governed by the state's needs, such as government research agencies are nevertheless excluded. The question of think tanks' autonomy goes beyond their relations with government authorities. On the one hand, Stone, Denham and Garnett (1998) argue with reason that "the notion that a think tank requires independence or autonomy from the state in order to be 'free-thinking- is a peculiarly Anglo-American notion that does not travel well into other cultures" and that, for instance "to talk of independence as a defining characteristic of think tanks makes little sense in the French cultural context." What about advocacy tanks, for instance, which research and recommendations are governed by a predetermined view of the world? They may not apply scientifically exact methodologies and usually receive more funding from sources favourable to their agenda. The research of the great majority of EU-focused think tanks in fact is governed by the idea that further integration and enlargement of the European Union is necessary. As

such, they also serve the interest of various actors, including the Commission and certain parties that fund them to a large extent. On the other hand, Stone et al. believe, as we do, that think tanks should be able to define their research agenda independently from government missions, as well as from other actors, be they corporate interests or political parties. As they argue, this may be a "relative" autonomy as "such organizations may operate within government (...) or be attached to a profit-making corporate entity." Essentially though, "these institutes attempt to maintain their research freedom and at least claim not to be beholden to any specific interest." The idea of "independence", although necessary, clearly remains elusive.

As explained by Stone (2000, p.156) for instance, "the distinction between an independent think tank and an official or state-funded think tank is not clear cut. In reality, complete autonomy and independence for think tanks is illusory. Self-generated research agendas, financial autonomy, a dispassionate scholarly focus and retaining organisational distance from official forums may bolster intellectual integrity but it also undermines the potential for policy relevance and input." As she argues, all think tanks are, to some extent, shaped by their political environment, whether through their tax status, public funding, or because they have been created by the government, or have been co-opted by official organisations, are linked to parties, etc. McGann and Weaver (2000, p.5) advocate pursuing "a middle course", restricting their study to organisations that have "significant autonomy from government and from societal interests such as firms, interest groups, and political parties", while recognizing that "autonomy is a relative rather than an absolute term, and that the operational definition of think tanks must differ from region to region." In practice, we have tried to determine how they preserve their capacity to determine their own research agenda by asking this very question, by looking at statutes and the origins of staff and funding, and generally assessing the organisations' ability to work autonomously.

Being "policy oriented", producing "analysis and advice" and communicating their research are also core characteristics of think tanks. As stressed by McGann and Weaver (2000), it "is the transformation of political problems into appropriate public policy solutions" that justifies their existence. Sherrington (2000) adequately states that think tanks' "primary aim is to disseminate that research as widely as possible with the intention of influencing policy-making processes," unlike interest groups or public interest NGOs that analyse policies and propose policy alternatives on an ad hoc basis, but not as their primary activity. In fact, Stone (2000) sees this as the very essence of think tanks: "Think tanks have one thing in common: the individuals in them attempt to make academic theories and scientific paradigms policy-relevant." This allows to draw a line, albeit at times blurred, between think tanks and institutions that only seek to disseminate ideas, but do not have a research capacity that can contribute to policy making (such as Forum Europe, A Gauche, en Europe, the Bruges Group, and Friends of Europe). We have also excluded bodies that do not publish or do not have a website (e.g. Centro Europa Ricerche in Italy). Academic research centres that study policy-related issues but do not seek to shape policy debates and decision-making processes were also excluded (there are for instance numerous 'borderline' cases in Portugal that have not been included for this reason).

In this respect, although Weiss includes only policymakers as think tanks' target, several authors (Stone, 2000; Sherrington, 2000) include both policy-makers and the public. For Stone (2000), "the term "think tank" is used here to mean independent (and usually private) policy research institutes (...) actively seeking to educate or advise policy-makers and the public through a number of channels." Denham and Garnett (1998) also argue that think tanks try to influence the climate of opinion and to inform public policy decisions. This, in our view, is important, as think tanks for the most part produce and market ideas. In other words, they do not merely seek to produce expertise, but also to propagate their ideas. Although their ultimate aim is to see their ideas implemented, the general public therefore being a strategic, yet secondary target, we argue that both aspects of think tanks' operations are equally important.

We also believe that a useful distinction to add to Weiss's original list is that think tanks, as suggested *inter alia* by Stone, Denham, and Garnett (p.4), are not degree-granting institutions. This allows drawing a line between purely or primarily academic research outfits (e.g. EUI in Florence) and training institutes (e.g. EIPA in The Netherlands) on the one hand, and think tanks that may include different types of training in their activities as part of their wider goals (e.g. Clingendael Institute, also in The Netherlands). Regarding consultancies that offer services equivalent to think tanks, the distinguishing factor in our view is that these outfits only operate on a commercial basis, however scientific their research practices, while think tanks operate for a certain view of the public good. Whether as advocacy or academic think tanks, they perform essentially a public service.

For the sake of completeness, we have chosen not to restrict our research to non-profit organisations, as proposed by McGann and Weaver (2000), as this would risk eliminating a large number of relevant organisations in the European context. In fact, this criterion derives from a North American context, and proves more easily applicable there than in Europe, as experienced by these authors, considering that not all E.U. Member States allow this type of organisation. We have not limited ourselves either to multi-disciplinary organisations, but have included specialised organisations (e.g. IRI Europe in The Netherlands).

## LIST OF INTERVIEWS

The following qualitative interviews were conducted in person or by telephone. In a small number of cases by email (indicated).

### POLICY MAKERS

1. Christine Verger, Secretary General of the socialist group, European Parliament, 14.07.2004
2. Maïté Abram, director, European Movement Belgium, 14.07.2004
3. Sylvie Goulard, Group of Policy Advisors, European Commission, 14.07.2004
4. Aivar Roop, Director of the European movement in Estonia, 14.07.2004
5. Marina Féat, Researcher, French Permanent Representation to the European institutions, 15.07.2004

6. Odile Chenal, Deputy director, European Cultural Foundation, 16.07.2004
7. Eneko Landaburu, Director general, DG External Relations, European Commission, 19.07.2004
8. Nicole Gnesotto, Director, EUISS, 19.07.2004
9. Jacques Delors, President, Notre Europe, 26.07.2004
10. Helle Thorning Schmidt, former Danish MEP, founder of Progressivt Centrum (Danish think tank), 27.07.04
11. Joachim Bitterlich, former advisor to Helmut Kohl, 11.08.2004
12. Lucy Powell, Campaigns Director, Britain in Europe, 13.08.04
13. François Lamoureux, Director general, DG transport and energy, European Commission, 18.08.2004
14. Lykke Friis, Dansk Industri, 18.08.04
15. Henrik Kröner, Secretary General, European Movement International, 19.08.2004
16. Grégoire Verdeaux, Advisor, Cabinet of Michel Barnier, Foreign Affairs Minister (France), 2.09.2004
17. Hubert Heiss, Head of Unit, Chancellery (Germany), 2.09.2004
18. Pierre Jonckheer, Member of the European Parliament (Belgium), 3.09.2004
19. Juan Ignacio Morro, civil servant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State Secretariat for European Affairs (Spain), 7.9.2004
20. Androula Vassiliou, Member of the European Parliament (Cyprus), 27.08 and 8.09.2004
21. Amaya Bloch-Lainé, Director, German Marshall Fund of the U.S., Paris, 9.09.2004
22. Lord Grenfell, Chair, House of Lords EU Select Committee, UK Parliament, 13.09.2004

#### MEDIA

1. David Cronin, political correspondent, European Voice, 15.07.2004
2. Françoise Croigneau, Chief-editor, international affairs, Les Echos, 27.08.2004
3. Ana Alonso Montes, Spanish journalist, member of the international editorial office of El Mundo, 30.8.2004
4. Quentin Dickinson, Deputy Director, Radio France, Brussels, 31.08.2004
5. Martine Dubuisson, journalist, Le Soir (Belgium), 3.09.2004
6. Anthony Manduca, Associate editor, The Times, Malta, Expert in International Relations and E.U. affairs, 3.09.2004
7. Aija Lulle, journalist, Neatkariga (Latvian newspaper), 3.09.2004
8. Erkki Bahovski, journalist, Chief-editor, European affairs, "Postimees" (Estonian daily newspaper), 6.09.2004
9. Paul Gillespie, Foreign Policy Editor, Irish Times, 08.09.04
10. Ian Black, former Brussels Correspondent, The Guardian, 13.09.04



## ACADEMICS

1. Iga Krasnowska, Center for International Relations (Poland), 14.07.2004
2. Jean Pisani-Ferry, economist, founder of the European Centre for International Economics, 19.07.2004
3. Renaud Dehousse, Jean Monnet Professor and Director of the European Centre at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris, 28.07.2004
4. Franklin Dehousse, Professor, University of Liège, assessor of the European Studies department of IRRI (Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, Belgium), 5.08.2004
5. Jacques Rupnik, CERI (Centre d'Etude et de Recherches Internationales, France), 19.08.2004
6. Yves Mény, President of the European University Institute (Florence), 21.08.2004
7. Simon Hix, Professor of European and Comparative Politics, Department of Government, LSE, 24.08.04
8. Martin Thunert, Professor, University of Munich, author of several books on think tanks,<sup>169</sup> 30.08.2004
9. Roderick Pace, Director of the European Documentation and Research Center, Malta 1.09.2004
10. Diane Stone, Reader in Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, 3.09.04
11. Josef Braml, Researcher, SWP (Germany),<sup>170</sup> 7.09.2004

## THINK TANKS

1. Abraamides Lysandros, Director's deputy of the Research & Development Center-Intercollege, 08.07.2004
2. Radek Spok, EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy (Czech Republic), 09.07.2004
3. Barbara Lippert, Stellvertrete Direktorin, Institut für europäische Politik (IEP), 9.07.2004
4. Monica Cauchi, Communications officer of the European Documentation and Research Center, 09.07.2004
5. Ludger Kühnhardt, Director at the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI), Bonn Universität, 9.07.2004
6. Mr. Hutter, responsible for the E.U. project, Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, 12.07.2004
7. Judas Vorrath, Research and Programme Coordinator, Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (SEF), 12.07.2004
8. Jürgen Turek, Managing Director, Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (CAP) an der Universität München, 12.07.2004
9. Andreas Theophanous, Director of Research & Development Center-Intercollege, 12.07.2004
10. Aksel Kirch, Director of the Institute for European Studies in Estonia, 12.07.2004
11. James Ker-Lindsay, Director of Civilitas Research, 12.07.2004 and 01.09.2004
12. Erik Terk, Director of the Estonian Institute for Futures Studies, 13.07.2004
13. Giles Merritt, Secretary General, Friends of Europe, 13.07.2004
14. Rolf Langhammer, Vice-president of the Kiel Institute for World Economics (IfW), 13.07.2004

15. Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Arbeitsgebiete : Internationale Organisationen, Konfliktprävention, Europäische Integration, Osteuropa, Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, University of Hamburg, 13.07.2004
16. Silvia Stiller, Head of Research Programme European Integration and Spatial Development, Hamburgische Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv (HWWA), 13.07.2004
17. Andres Kasekamp, Director of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute, 14.07.2004
18. Marlène Arany, Secretary General, TEPSA, 14.07.2004
19. Karel Lannoo, Chief Executive, Staffan Jerneck, Deputy Director, Centre for European Policy Studies, 14.07.2004
20. Ann Metter, Executive Director and co-founder, Paul Hofheinz, President and co-founder, Lisbon Council, 15.07.2004
21. Daniela Manca, Research Fellow, International Security Information Service, Europe, 15.07.2004
22. Graham Mather, Director, European Policy Forum, 15.07.2004
23. Michael Landesmann, Director of Research, Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche (WIIW), 15.07.2004
24. Raita Karnite, Director of the Institute of Economics in Latvia
25. Henrietta Riegler, Senior Researcher for southeastern Europe, Österreichisches Institut für internationale Politik (OIIP), 16.07.2004
26. Dr Schmidt, Managing Director, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW Berlin), 16.07.2004
27. Joseph Melchior, Assistant Professor / Europaforschung, Österreichisches Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaft (ÖGPW), 16.07.2004
28. Elizabeth Phocas, Deputy Director, ELIAMEP, 16.07.2004
29. Charles Grant, Director, Centre for European Reform, 16.07.2004
30. Brendan Donnelly, Director, Federal Trust, 16.07.2004
31. Thomas Fischer, Project Manager, Bertelsmann Stiftung, 19.07.2004 (mail)
32. Dr. Michael Paul, Head, Research Secretariat, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), 19.07.2004 (mail)
33. Tanja Gewis, Management, Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS), 19.07.2004
34. Otmar Höll, Director, OIIP Österreichisches Institut für internationale Politik (OIIP), 19.07.2004
35. Leslie Agius, Director of the Foundation of International Studies, 19.07.2004
36. Hynek Opolecky, Policy Center for the Promotion of Democracy (République Tchèque), 20.07.2004
37. Thanos Veremis, Director of EKEME, 20.07.2004
38. Dr Hermann Schmitt – Projektleiter, Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), 20.07.2004
39. Mrs Bapuly, Researcher-lawyer, Institut für Europäische Integrationsforschung (IEF), Wien, 20.07.2004
40. Marek Jakoby, M.E.S.A. 10 - Center for Economic and Social Analyses, 20.07.2004 67.

41. Peter Zsapka, Centre for European Policy (Slovaquie), 20.07.2004
42. Anders Mellbourn, Director, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 21.07.2004
43. Annita Kishi-Manentzou, Director's assistant of the European Institute of Cyprus, 21.07.2004
44. Eckard Bolsinger, Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Internationales Institut für Politik und Wirtschaft (Hausrissen), 21.07.2004
45. Dr Helga Haftendorn, Vice-President of the research institute, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), 21.07.2004
46. Kristina Meskova, Institute for Economic and Social Reforms (Slovaquie), 21.07.2004
47. Jens Rasmussen, Personnel Department, Danish Institute for International Studies, 21.07.2004
48. Harri Lorentz, Research Associate, Pan-European Institute, Finland, 22.07.2004
49. Jan Hrich, The Institute of International Relations-IIR (Czech Republic), 22.07.2004
50. Egle Baroniunaite, Project manager of the Lithuanian Regional Research Institute, 23.07.2004
51. Stephen Yeo, Chief Executive Officer, CEPR, 23.07.2004
52. Robert Dover, Director, E.U. Policy Network, 25.07.2004
53. Ana Pinto, Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais, 26.07.2004
54. Pedro Courel, Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos Internacionais, 27.07.2004
55. Pascale Joannin, Director, Fondation Robert Schuman, 27.07.2004
56. Richard Whitman, Head of European Programme, RIIA, 27.07.2004
57. Tatiana Muravska, Director of the Centre for European and Transition Studies, 28.07.2004
58. Jean Nestor, former Secretary General, Notre Europe, 28.07.2004
59. Pilar Tena, Director of institutional relations, Real Instituto Elcano, 29.7.2004
60. Stanley Crossick, Founder, European Policy Centre, 29.07.2004
61. Brona Pinterova, Institute for Public Affairs (Slovaquie), 30.07.2004
62. Michael Meier, Desk officer for Western industrialised countries, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2.08.2004
63. Hans-Werner Sinn, President of CESifo Group, IFO-Institut, 2.08.2004
64. Margriet Drent, Executive Director, Centre for European Security Studies, 3.08.2004
65. Peter van Ham, Deputy Head of Studies, Clingendael Institute, 3.08.2004
66. Sacha Godeschalk, Rand Europe, Leiden, 3.08.2004
67. Bruno Kaufman, Initiative & Referendum Institute Europe, 4.08.2004
68. Vita Terauda, Director of the Centre for Public Policy PROVIDUS in Latvia, 05.08.2004
69. Sonja Puntischer-Riekman, Director, Institut für Europäische Integrationsforschung (IEF), Wien, 10.08.2004
70. A.D. Papayannides, Member of the Board of EKEME, 10.08.2004 (email)
71. Carolina Mateu, Communications officer, IEMED, Spain, 11.8.2004
72. Maria Palsson, Director of Communications, Timbro, 12.08.2004

73. Ronald J Pohoryles, Chairman & Director, Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research (ICCR), 13.08.2004
74. Atis Lejins, Director of the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 17.08.2004
75. Inga Kanasta, Director's assistant of the Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 17.08.2004
76. Richard Gowan, Head of European Research, FPC, 18.08.2004
77. Tomas Dahlman, Director, SIEPS, 18.08.2004
78. Erich Hochleitner, Director, Österreichische Institut für Europäische Sicherheitspolitik, 20.08.2004
79. Pierre Lepetit, Executive Director, Institut Français des Relations Internationales, 25.08.2004
80. Ulrika Stuart, Chief Information Officer, SNS, 27.08.2004
81. Francois Lafond, Deputy Director, Policy Network, 2.09.2004
82. Ms Buggel-Asmus, Information Manager, ETUI, 3.09.2004
83. Roderick Pace, Director of the European Documentation and Research Center, 01.09.2004
84. Pete Glennon, Administrator, Institute of European Affairs, Dublin, 3.09.2004
85. Jill Donoghue, Research Director, and Pete Glennon, Administrator
86. Philippe Pochet, Director, OSE, 10.09.2004
87. Marco Incerti, Researcher, EPIN/CEPS, 13.09.2004

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<sup>169</sup> In particular: "Think Tanks in Germany" in Stone, Denham, Garnett, 2003. "Conservative Think Tanks in the United States and Canada" in: Rainer-Olaf Schultze, Roland Sturm and Dagmar Eberle (eds.): *Conservative Parties and Right-Wing Politics in North America*, Opladen (Germany): Leske&Budrich, 2003, 229-254. "Players Beyond Borders? German Think Tanks as Catalysts of Transnationalisation" in: *Global Society*, No.2, April 2000, 191-212.

<sup>170</sup> Author of *Think Tanks vs. "Denkfabriken" ? US and German Policy Research Institutes Coping with and Influencing Their Environments*

## QUESTIONNAIRES

The three following questionnaires were used for interviews with managers of think tanks, decision-makers and journalists, and academics. Additional questions were asked when the interviews justified going beyond these initial questions.

### THINK TANK MANAGERS

1. What was the rationale for the creation of your think tank ?
2. How do you decide your research priorities ?
3. At what stage of the decision-making process do you usually intervene ? Before: when public policies are being created; or after, in reaction to proposals that are being examined ?
4. How do you seek to preserve your independence ?
5. How would you define a think tank in Europe ?
6. According to you, what are the key factors that determine think tank's influence ? The key factors that determine its credibility ?
7. What think tanks do you consider the most influential ?
8. What current trends are visible in think tank development across Europe ?
9. What are the main challenges facing think tanks today (competition, funding...) ?
10. What is the impact of E.U. enlargement on your activities? And for other think tanks working on European affairs ?
11. What are the other think tanks interested in European affairs in your country ?
12. Can you estimate your media-coverage: interviews, TV, press articles/editorials, quotations, etc. ?
13. What is the benefit for you of having links with other think tanks in Europe ?

### POLICY-MAKERS

1. Do you often use think tanks as information sources?
2. Do you contact them on your own initiative, or do they seek contact with you?
3. What is your opinion about such contacts: useful/not very useful, why ?
4. What do you expect from think tanks? What role can they play in the European construction and integration process?
5. What are the think tanks you consider influential?
6. According to you, what are the key factors of influence for a think tank ? Of credibility ?
7. Would you say that independence from other interests (such as political, ideological, etc.) is an important factor of credibility for a think tank ?
8. What are the major trends of think tanks' development today ?
9. Would you work for a think tank yourself ? Why ?

## ACADEMICS

1. Are think tanks important actors of the European construction and decision-making processes?
2. What role do you think they play ?
3. Is their contribution to policy making for Europe adequate ?
4. Could / should anything be done in [relevant Member State] / in the European Union to encourage the development of think tanks ?
5. What are the key characteristics of an influential think tank? Of a credible think tank ?
6. What are the most influential think tanks ? Why ?
7. What are the current trends of think tank development in [relevant Member State] ? In other countries ?
8. What is your opinion about the nature and work of [relevant Member State's] think tanks, compared, for instance, to the nature and work of U.S. think tanks ?
9. Are you aware of studies or surveys that deal with think tanks in your country ?

## ANNEX 4 – REFERENCES

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