## Table of contents

Executive summary	1
Introduction	2
1 European think tanks : limited knowledge, important stakes	7
1.1 The study of think tanks is recent, especially in Europe	7
1.2 Think tanks are central to the history of European integration	8
1.3 Think tanks' role in E.U. decision-making and construction processes is potentially important	11
2 State of play : an verview of think tanks Europe-focused think tanks in the E.U. and E.U. Member States	16
2.1 General overview	16
2.1.1 Key facts	16
2.1.2 When and why they were created	19
2.1.3 Missions	21
2.1.4 Research areas	24
2.1.5 Audiences	27
2.1.6 Activities	29
2.1.7 Publications 2.1.8 Funding	33 34
2.1.9 Staff	36
2.1.10 Euro-think tanks' perception of their own work	36
2.1.11 Independence, a core value	38
2.1.12 Performance measurement	40
2.2 Country reports	43
2.3 Euro-think tank specificities in the new E.U. Member States	78
2.4 Provisional conclusion	79
3 The point of view of recipients and observers of think tank work	85
3.1 Do decision-makers, journalists and academics find Euro-think tanks useful?	85
3.2 Provisional conclusion	91
4 Challenges, dilemmas and strategic choices	94
4.1 Threats and opportunities	95
4.2 Dilemmas and strategic choices	98
4.2.1 Independence, academic rigor and the requirements of political influence	99
4.2.2 Think tanks and the E.U. 'democratic deficit': think tanks' role between public opinion and political elites	103

4.2.3 Developing synergies in a context of increased competition	105
5 Parting thoughts	115
5.1 Possible U.S. lessons for the future of Euro-think tanks	115
5.2 Encouraging the development of think tanks	117
5.3 Suggestions for future research	120
Conclusion	123
Annex 1 : List of Euro-think tanks surveyed	124
Annex 2 : Main European think tank networks encountered	132
Annex 3: Methodological issues, list of interviews, questionnaires	135
Annex 4 : References	145
Case studies	
The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Can German foundations be considered think tanks?	18
The Centre for European Reform, a credible and influential advocacy tank	102
Friends of Europe, a quasi-think tank bridging the E.U. democratic deficit by satellite?	104
The Lithuanian Free Market Institute evaluates its public image	105
The Centre for Economic Policy Research, Europe's first 'Think-Net'	109
Tables :	
Table 1 : Euro-think tanks	4
Table 2 : Overview of the Euro-oriented think tanks surveyed	17
Table 3 : Euro-specific think tanks, creation periods	20
Figures :	
Figure 1 : Think tanks' stated mission (E.U. 25)	22
Figure 2 : Think tanks' stated mission (former E.U. 25)	23
Figure 3 : Think tanks' stated mission (new Member States)	23
Figure 4 : Areas of research which European think tanks declare concentrating on	25
Figure 5 : Neutral - Pro - Anti-E.U. think tanks	27
Figure 6 : Main audiences of 41 think tanks in the U.K., Germany, Italy, Brussels	28
Figure 7 : Types of policy-makers cited by think tanks as a main audience (UK, Germany, Italy)	29
Figure 8 : Principal activities reported by think tanks	30

## **Executive summary**

- Ideas and the shapers of ideas have always been central to the European 'project'. Potentially, they have an important role to play in the formulation of public policies, in democratic decision-making, and in providing support to Member States and the European Union's diplomatic efforts. Yet the groups that seek to generate and disseminate policy ideas related to the European continent - 'Euro-think tanks' - have never been studied as a distinct community within the 25 E.U. Member States.
- Using nine criteria derived from previous literature, 149 think tanks have been identified and analysed. 36 are 'Euro-specific' organisations that specialise in European policy issues. For the remaining 113, Europe is a significant research area among other issues.
- They employ nearly 3,000 researchers working more or less closely on policies related to Europe. Communities of researchers working within 'Euro-think tanks' are particularly large in Germany, Austria, Poland, and the U.K. They are relatively underdeveloped in France and Italy. Only 5 per cent work with E.U. actors from Brussels, the rest are based in the Member States.
- Overall, think tank 'supply' is relatively limited, as the sector is somewhat fragmented and focuses on issues - such as institutional matters - where there is significant overlap. Certain policy areas - such as the environment - are relatively neglected. Euro-think tanks' audience is limited, as well as the range of methods they use. Organisations that use a mode of operation founded in Anglo-American practice seem to predominate.
- Qualitative interviews confirm that Euro-think tanks, although welcomed by policymakers and observers of the sector, have not yet found their place fully in European policy-making: the value they add is not perceived clearly, they are seen as moderately useful, and even sometimes elitist. Overall, they are believed to have a limited impact on policies and public opinion.
- Enlargement has not affected Euro-think tanks' operations much. Academia's increasing entrepreneurship throughout Europe, growing competition, both from within and outside the sector, and, most importantly, financial difficulties due to reduced public funding are however reshaping the market.
- Euro-think tanks are seeking to meet changes in their operating environment through more deliberate fund-raising, networks and cooperation, greater specialisation, financial transparency, and even performance measurement. Traditional perceptions of independence and their role vis-à-vis the mass public are challenged.
- Yet the sector is also getting stronger as smaller, more specialised and militant players join the 'market of ideas'. Actors adapt to new financial imperatives, learn the 'advocacy' game and how to use the media.