

# The success of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic: A comparative analysis in the 10-year perspective

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**Abstract:** Along with global influences and changes brought by the ages, expectations and needs of citizens have multiplied in the vast majority of the world. For this reason, governments have to cope with problems in numerous policy areas. In this process, as unofficial public policy actors, think tanks undertake significant tasks in order to provide various policy alternatives and even solutions to governments. Therefore, the participation of think tanks in the policy-making process makes a crucial contribution to policy outputs. The number of think tanks, the policy areas in which they operate, and their global interactions are functional indicators of a country's level of development. The foremost aim of this paper is to put forth the worldwide success of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic in a comparative manner. To this end, "Global Go To Think Tank Index Reports" (GGTTT Rankings) are taken as the starting point in order to conduct a 10-year perspective analysis with regards to domestic economy policies, international economy policies, education policies, foreign policies and international affairs, defence and national security policies, and university-affiliated think tanks. Furthermore, functional determinations and policy recommendations will be offered in a systematic way for the think tanks in both countries.

**Keywords:** think tanks, public policy, participation, Turkey, Czech Republic

## INTRODUCTION

Even though states possess many distinctive characteristics of their own, operations that are carried out on a daily basis are quite similar. Governments aim to solve the current problems of a country or improve the followed policies. In this manner, public policies can be

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said to have the utmost importance. The concept of public policies has been discussed and described by many scholars in the literature from various points of view (see Eyestone 1971; Dunn 1981; Hill 1997; Sabatier 2007; Dye 2013; Cochran et al. 2010; Birkland 2016; Peters 2016; Kraft and Furlong 2018). Within the process of formulating public policies, which includes the decisions and actions taken by the government regarding various topics, it is evident that unofficial and international actors assume operational positions, as functional as those of official actors. Especially in countries where democratic decision-making mechanisms are established and unofficial actors assume a role in the policy-making process, more productive and long-lasting policies can be acquired. Even though the participation of individuals in the policy-making process as unofficial actors can be limited (Howlett and Ramesh 1995, 59), their contributions to the policy-making process of other civil political agents, such as think tanks, are invaluable.

Think tanks are organisations that advise policymakers or inform the public through activities such as publications or conferences in various policy areas (Yıldız et al. 2013, 189). Think tanks have become more widespread, especially after the 1980s, and have been intensively involved in the policy-making process ever since (Denham and Garnett 2004); such that, the number and effectiveness of think tanks have substantially increased not only in developed countries but also in numerous other states as well. Governments have asked for the support of think tanks when faced with problems and have developed joint projects together. Thus, think tanks have become effective unofficial actors throughout the world, particularly in the United States of America. Various scholars have presented significant endeavours and studies to the literature, regarding the successes of think tanks. The indexes of mentioned successes contain micro, meso and macro-scale grading (see Ruble 2000; Thunert 2003; Trimbath 2005; McGann 2019).

GGTTT index reports are rather inclusive data packages, presented within the scope of the Think Tanks Civil Society Program. Thus, the majority of studies conducted within the literature, regarding the success indexes of think tanks, include the GGTTT reports (Özgür and Kulaç 2015, 84). In the creation of the GGTTT reports, there is a detailed process which consists of several stages. For example, in the first round of the preparation process of the report in 2018, a call for the nomination was sent to more than 8100 think tanks and roughly

12800 journalists and policy actors. In the second round, which is also called peer/experts rankings, think tanks with 10 or more nominations were chosen for e-survey. In the last round, an expert panel was organised so as to make the final decisions and selections. Panellists were also given the opportunity to submit their suggestions about the process (GGTTT 2019, 30). GGTTT index nomination and ranking have various criteria that need to be taken into consideration by the evaluators. Some of these criteria can be listed as ability to recruit and retain elite scholars and analysts; the quality, number, and reach of its publications; media reputation; ability to include new voices in the policymaking process; ability to bridge the gap between policy-makers and the public (GGTTT 2019, 31-33).

The main purpose of this study is to present the success of leading (competing internationally) think tanks that are actively involved in various policy areas in Turkey and the Czech Republic. The analyses of the paper will put forth the strengths and weaknesses of these institutions so as to provide policy recommendations to improve the quality of their activities and policy involvement.

#### METHODOLOGY AND DATA SELECTION

This paper is an attempt to present the current state, historical development and success of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic over the last 10 years in a variety of policy areas. Turkey and the Czech Republic were chosen as case countries as they had a similar number of think tanks in 2008 when the GGTTT reports were first published. Another reason for their selection was also their different development, whether it is historical, cultural, economic, etc. The aim of this comparison is to determine whether the cultural and social situation can affect the emergence and development of think tanks. Comparing these two different countries would make it possible to filter out the social factors mentioned. As the Czech Republic also acts as a member of the European Union (EU), the methodological approach that was applied, for example, in Akman (2018), will be fulfilled. Hence, GGTTT ranking reports (secondary data) which have been published for the last 10 years were consulted. Concordantly, the success of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic will be compared in terms of their area of research such as education policy, foreign policy and international affairs, domestic economic policy, international economic policy, and defence and national security policy. Besides, think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic will be

contrasted in terms of their special achievement of best-university affiliated think tanks. The development of the number of think tanks in both countries and their success rankings in the world will also be scrutinised. Furthermore, a different analysis will be made by using Wilcoxon test so as to have a comprehensive analysis for the comparison of the think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINK TANKS IN TURKEY

The fact that think tanks, which have an effective place in the public policy process, operates only in developed countries creates fundamental problems regarding the participation of unofficial actors in the policies. It is seen that think tanks have achieved successful results in the developing countries in recent years with the effect of globalisation and made significant contributions to the public policy process. Think tanks are considered an effective and affordable solution, as it is not possible for governments to have a specialist in every field to provide solutions to the problems they face in the process of public policy-making (Hwang 1996, 19). In this context, think tanks serve as a bridge between decision-makers using political power and the information they need (Köseoğlu and Köktaş 2017, 549).

In the pre-1939 period, think tanks emerged in the US and English-speaking countries, where industrialisation, urbanisation and economic development generally existed. The development of think tanks in Turkey showed a slower pace compared to the US and European countries. As Yıldız et al. (2013, 195) stated, Turkey is not one of the countries where Think Tanks historically developed early. The Constitutions of 1961 and 1982 provided the legal basis for NGOs, and the number of think tanks increased (Toktaş and Aras 2012, 254). Discussions have been made about think tanks in Turkey generally after 1993. These discussions and debates were generally within the context of foreign policy and economic programs of Turkey (Keskin 2005, 53). In Turkey, unlike the US, the establishment of think tanks led by the private sector is not a common practice. Thus, think tanks in Turkey are established with the encouragement of the government rather than the private sector. This shows that there are essential differences between the two countries in terms of decision-making processes (Zariç 2012, 9).

The number of think tanks in Turkey has experienced massive increases in the 2000s. The main reasons for this increase are the need

for information and analysis, the contribution of civil society to the development of democracy, the development of communication technology, the globalisation of funds, and support for civil society from developed countries, liberal politics, the EU membership process, the removal of barriers to globalisation and freedom of association (Toktaş and Aras 2012, 254-255). However, the importance of think tanks in Turkey is not yet fully understood. In addition, universities, government and industry seem to be inadequate for cooperation (Zariç 2012, 8).

Gül and Yemen (2016, 657) state that the number and activity of think tanks in Turkey are not at a sufficient level, and the researchers conducted on these organisations are also limited. In this context, even the number of think tanks in Turkey was increased especially in recent years; it is still lower than in many countries. According to the latest GGTTT ranking report, there are totally 48 think tanks in Turkey that operate in various policy fields. Think tanks in Turkey have different affiliations in terms of their organisational structure and finance. The major affiliations can be listed as government-affiliated think tanks (such as Centre of for Economic and Social Research, Bahçeşehir University; Global Political Trends Centre, Kültür University), government-affiliated think tanks (such as Centre for Strategic Studies) and political party affiliated think tanks (such as Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research) (McGann 2019.) Turkish think tanks have problems in terms of finance, permanent staffing, efficient use of time and access to current information (Karabulut 2010, 101). Think tanks in Turkey can participate the policy process to more effectively and efficiently depend on the resolution of the problems mentioned. Hereby, the policy process in Turkey can be more functional and long term.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINK TANKS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

The basic overview of the development of think tanks needs to be linked to the question of their definition. In this context, Schneider (2003) recalls that the term think tanks are often used in different contexts and meanings, which causes some difficulties in identifying them. Their common feature for think tanks in the Central European Area is their nationwide scope (solving problems at the local level is not a frequent phenomenon - cf. Klimovský 2009). Their content is already different because the persons (natural and legal) behind their

origin pursued different goals by their establishment. Other authors are also struggling to find think tanks in the Czech Republic. Císař and Hrubeš (2016) state that there is no database or official list of these institutions in the Czech Republic. Thus, they combine several sources for their analysis or carry out their investigations. For this reason, this survey does not aim to create a complete overview of these institutions. Rather, the aim is to capture the essence of these institutions and outline their activities.

The annual GGTTT Index Report (McGann 2019) has become the basis for identifying think tanks in the Czech Republic. According to its data, a total of 27 think tanks were operating in 2018. However, only 13 of these organisations are mentioned in the rankings. The next step in creating an overview of think tanks was to research key publications in this area. The procedure used by Císař and Hrubeš (2016) was used to find the current overview. The basis is searching for think tanks through the Internet when a search query was entered "think tank site: cz". As a result, it was possible to complete the overview from the yearbook.

Most of the think tanks currently in operation were founded in the early 1990s. This is the period of transition of Czechoslovakia and later the Czech Republic as a socialist country to a full market economy. This transformation began in 1989 by the so-called Velvet Revolution. The aim was to democratise the Czech lands and influence the minds of citizens. It is interesting to note that the roots of think tanks in the Czech lands can be traced much deeper into history. The oldest think tank can be considered the current Masaryk Democratic Academy, which professes the legacy of the Workers' Academy founded in 1896. It aimed to educate the working class. The second oldest think tank is the Institute of International Relations Prague (IIR). It claims to be a follower of the Institute for International Policy and Economics, founded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1958, although this institution was abolished in the 1970s. After 1989, the current IIR has once again subscribed to the legacy of this institution.

As mentioned above, the early period of many think tanks was the early 1990s. The majority of independent institutions established at the time were aimed at issues such as political system transformation, foreign policy, ecology and human rights (cf. Vladovič 2008). The emerging think tanks are mainly promoted by the Liberal Institute, conservative and Christian ideas (CDK, Civic Institute).

In the early 1990s, in addition to the above-mentioned think tanks promoting liberal ideas in particular, institutions of a purely educational nature were established. CERGE-EI (the founder is Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University (FSS ChU) and Czech Academy of Science (CAS), CESES (the founder is FSS ChU) and CENERS (the founder is Faculty of Social Studies Masaryk University in Brno) can be given examples. These institutions implement Master and Doctoral degree programs. In particular, CERGE-EI was intended from the outset to create an internationally recognized educational institution. It is currently considered a centre of excellence that carries out independent academic research.

There are also think tanks that are founded by individual politicians. One example is CEP, founded by former Prime Minister and later President of the Czech Republic Václav Klaus. Alternatively, purely party think tanks arise:

- Masaryk Democratic Academy (Czech Social Democratic Party),
  - Center for Social Market Economy and Open Society (Czech Social Democratic Party),
  - Glopolis (Greens),
  - The Institute for Christian Democratic politics (Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party),
  - Institute for Politics and Society (political group ANO),
  - Institute for Right-wing Politics (Civic Democratic Party),
  - TOPAZ (political party TOP09).

The last type is independent think tanks, which were created in recent years. As a representative, Think Tank Freelancer can be mentioned, which is purely consulting in the field of business support. Alternatively, the Center of Excellence for Good Governance and Good Governance, which, in addition to promoting the concept of good governance, deal with the provision of internal audit and advisory services.

The question of financing Czech's think tanks is dependent on their activities. Purely educational academic think tanks receive institutional support from the state and further seek to obtain grants for specific science and research projects (in a similar regime as in the Czech Republic where public universities are financed).

Think tanks founded by political parties and movements are basically funded from the state budget. Under the Act on Association in Political Parties and Political Movements (Act No. 424/1991) these organizations act as so-called political institutes. They are entitled to draw funds from the state budget if at least one deputy was elected for the party and movement in at least two of the last three consecutive terms of office to the Chamber of Deputies (see § 20). The condition is transparent funding, where all flows of funds must be realized by bank transfer and each donor must be clearly identified (for more see Nguyen 2018).

Other think tanks use their own funds for their financing (own publishing and sale of literature) or for creating basic analyses or conceptual strategic documents for public administration organizations and others. They are also often linked to foundations and grant organizations and EU funds. They also receive part of the funds from donors or their own membership fees. Since conferences and training seminars are also frequent activities, these activities can be complemented as a possible source of funding.

#### DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section of the paper provides an analysis of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic. Various graphs and tables will be generated so as to have a detailed comparative analysis. The starting point for comparing the think tanks in the selected countries was approximately the same number (see in the methodology section). However, their number has changed over the course of ten years. While in the Czech Republic their number remains stable according to the GGTTT, in the case of Turkey their growth is apparent (see Graph 1). However, this is the total number of think tanks considered by the yearbook in their partial evaluations. For the evaluation itself, the number of think tanks that are “getting through” into the final rankings of individually monitored indices is important. The aim of the comparison is to evaluate only powerful think tanks that have succeeded in both “competition” and internationally.

We also consider that the comparative states are influenced by different cultural, political, economic, social and other factors. This is also evident in the yearbook, where think tanks are also compared only based on geographical criteria. Turkey is included in the Middle East and North Africa group, while the Czech Republic is part of the Central and Eastern Europe region. It can be assumed that there are



similar factors within these groups that have an impact on cultural and political developments in the countries concerned. These local reports included 11 think tanks for Turkey and eight think tanks for the Czech Republic. However, it is also necessary to consider the placement of these institutions in the ranking for evaluation. It was, therefore, necessary to extend the assessment from a purely quantitative character to a qualitative dimension. This qualitative dimension should also reflect the position of the think tanks in the relevant ranking.

Before the actual comparison, it was verified whether the distribution of think tanks across regional rankings is of the same nature. It was, therefore, necessary to evaluate the hypothesis  $H_0$ , which states that the distribution functions of both two samples are identical. Against this is the hypothesis  $H_1$ , which claims that the distribution functions of the two samples are not identical. Wilcoxon test (for more details see e.g. Kubanová 2003), which belongs to nonparametric tests, was used. Its use is related to the fact that within the analysis the normality of the probability distribution of the population was not verified. Two independent selections were evaluated through this test, with the selection  $(X_1, X_2, X_m)$  representing Turkish rated think tanks and the selection  $(Y_1, Y_2, \dots, Y_n)$  representing Czech rated think tanks. The two selections were arranged in one non-decreasing sequence, and the order was determined. Furthermore, the sum of the order of  $T_1$  values (the order of Turkish think tanks) and the order of  $T_2$  values (the order of Czech think tanks) was found. Test criteria  $U_1$  and  $U_2$  were further calculated as:

$$U_1 = m \cdot n + \frac{m(m+1)}{2} - T_1$$

$$U_2 = m \cdot n + \frac{n(n+1)}{2} - T_2$$

Where:  $m$  - represents the number of Turkish think tanks

$n$  - represents the number of Czech think tanks

$T_1$  - sum of Turkish think tanks

$T_2$  - sum of serial values of Czech think tanks

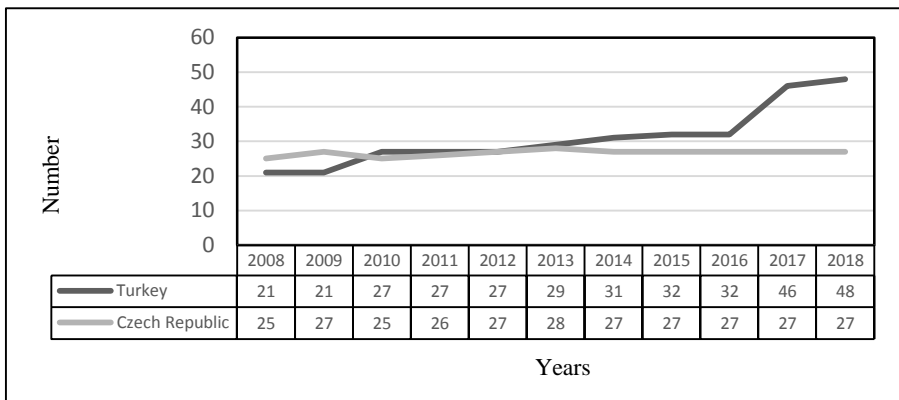
The test criterion is then determined as  $U = \min(U_1, U_2)$ , the critical area being defined by the relation  $W = \{U: U \leq w(\alpha, m, n)\}$ . The critical value of  $w(\alpha, m, n)$  was found in the respective tables for the Wilcoxon test for two selections. The significance level was chosen at 0.05. Because the number of think tanks is different in the two countries under review, the ranking of the relevant think tank for 2015-2018 entered this test. From these values, over four years the average

was calculated and then entered the Wilcoxon test. The resulting value  $U = \min(48.5; 39.5)$  is compared to the critical limit  $w(0.05; 11; 8) = 19$  (see e.g. Linda and Kubanová 2004). The test criterion value did not fall into the critical area. This implies that the zero hypothesis was not rejected. The distribution of functions is identical. Hence, further analyses and comparisons will be carried.

### *The Number of Think Tanks*

The number of think tanks in a country is highly crucial for the public policy-making process. Many developed countries have a large number of think tanks conducting research and developing projects in numerous policy areas. The numerical development of think tanks in both countries can be monitored from the graph provided below.

Graph 1. Number of Think Tanks in Years  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)



As can be seen from the graph presented above, the number of think tanks in both countries was quite similar according to the initial GGTTT reports. The number of think tanks in Turkey has increased steadily in the 10-year period. In this context, as a promising development, their number has more than doubled which can be evaluated as a promising development. On the other hand, the number of think tanks in the Czech Republic made no major progress and remained almost the same. In 2008, the number of think tanks in the Czech Republic was 25 (McGann 2009, 15) and only in 2018, this number rose to 27 (McGann 2019, 38). Therefore, it is possible to claim that Turkey showed great progress in terms of the number of think tanks when compared to that of the Czech Republic.

*Top Think Tanks in the World (Non-US)*

The world success ranking of think tanks is presented on an annual basis in the GGTTT reports. The overall world ranking in these reports has been designed in two ways as “Non-US” and “US and Non-US”. In this paper, the data in the “Non-US” ranking category was considered for analysis in order to put forth the success level and situation of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic.

Table 1. Top Think Tanks World (Non-US) Ranking  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	2	2
2017	2	2
2016	2	2
2015	2	-
2014	2	-
2013	2	-
2012	2	-
2008-2011	-	-

According to the reports, starting from 2012, every year two of Turkey’s think tanks managed to grab a spot in the ranking called “Top Think Tanks in the World (Non-US) (McGann 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019). However, in the first years (between 2008 and 2011), Turkish think tanks were not eligible to be in the list of top think tanks in the world. When the case of the Czech Republic is probed, think tanks could not place in the top think tanks world ranking between 2008 and 2015. Nonetheless, in the last three years (between 2016-2018), think tanks in the Czech Republic have shown satisfactory progress and achieved to occupy two spots in the world ranking (McGann 2017; 2018; 2019). When the data on top think tanks world ranking are interpreted, the success of one of the Turkish think tanks called the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) comes to the forefront. TESEV managed to take the 39<sup>th</sup> place in the top think tanks world ranking list in 2017 (McGann, 2018: 58). In contrast, the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI), one of the most successful think tanks in the Czech Republic, ranked the 103<sup>rd</sup> in 2017, its best rank throughout the years (McGann 2018, 60).

*Domestic Economic Policy*

The financial situation of countries directly influences the life quality and standards of citizens. Hence, most countries make arrangements in the field of the economy for the purpose of providing citizens with efficient social services and support. Also, the effectiveness and involvement of think tanks have a major impact on the success of domestic economic policies. It is possible to examine the success of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic from the table below which is a brief reflection of GGTTT ranking reports.

Table 2. Top Domestic Economy Policy Think Tanks  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	1	2
2017	1	2
2016	1	2
2015	1	2
2014	1	1
2013	1	1
2012	1	-
2008-2011	-	-

According to the table provided above, think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic were not able to secure a spot in the top domestic economic policy think tanks ranking between the years 2008 and 2011 (McGann 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012). However, in the following years, one of the think tanks in Turkey managed to rank among the most successful think tanks in the world in terms of domestic economic policy. Think tanks in the Czech Republic made better progress compared to their Turkish counterparts, and more of them secured a place in the rankings over the last four years (McGann 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019). A Turkish think tank called the “Association for Liberal Thinking (ALT)” managed to rank 27<sup>th</sup> in the world ranking with regards to domestic economic policy in 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2018. The Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education-Economics Institute (CERGE-EI) also showed similar performance and became the best think tank in the Czech Republic in terms of domestic economic policy. Moreover, the CERGE-EI managed to rank 69<sup>th</sup> in 2013, 2014 and 2015 in the world ranking for domestic economy policy (McGann 2014, 54; 2015, 92; 2016, 79).

*International Economic Policy*

International economic policy is undoubtedly essential for all countries to be able to maintain their financial stability and development. Hence, countries make relevant policies concerning the area of the international economy. In this process, countries cooperate with one another and often make shared decisions in order to reach their short and long term set goals. Think tanks, especially in developed countries, play a fundamental role by scrutinising the issues regarding policies in question from various aspects. This way, countries seize opportunities to have different policy options regarding international economic policy. The performance of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic in terms of international economic policy can be analysed by reading the table below.

Table 3. Top International Economic Policy Think Tanks  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	1	1
2017	1	1
2016	1	1
2015	1	1
2014	1	-
2013	1	-
2012	1	-
2011	1	-
2008-2010	-	-

As seen in the table provided above, Turkish think tanks have managed to secure a place in the world ranking of top international economic policy think tanks since 2011. Each year, one think tank achieved to be in the ranking list. However, think tanks in the Czech Republic made it to the ranking list only in the last four years (McGann, 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019). There is also a small number of think tanks from Turkey and the Czech Republic that showed great success among the top international economic policy think tanks. For example, EDAM became 22<sup>nd</sup> in 2011 (McGann 2012, 53), whereas the Institute for Democracy and Economic Analysis (IDEA) became 65<sup>th</sup> in 2015 (McGann 2016, 97). It can, thus, be proposed that think tanks from each country should be more involved in their respective country’s

international economic policy for the purpose of securing higher places in the GGTTT world ranking.

*Education Policy*

Education is a functional tool for the development of human capital. Governments attach importance to education policies in an effort to produce a competent young generation. In this context, the problems that occur in the education field require immediate action. Thus, official policy actors tend to cooperate with relevant think tanks so as to have multiple policy alternatives. There are a few think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic whose main focus is on the country’s education policy. The GGTTT reports are worthwhile and essential to observe the success of think tanks in both countries that operate in the education sector.

Table 4. Top Education Policy Think Tanks  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	2	1
2017	2	1
2016	2	1
2015	2	1
2014	2	1
2013	2	1
2008-2012	N/A	N/A

The data in the table given above demonstrates the current state and the previous success of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic. The think tanks in both countries have managed to be in the ranking list of top education think tanks since 2013. The ranking in terms of education was not generated between the years 2008 and 2012. The number of think tanks in the education ranking was two for Turkey, while this number was only one for the think tanks in the Czech Republic in the last six years. One of the notable think tanks in the Czech Republic, the Center for Social and Economic Strategies (CESES), achieved great success and ranked 7<sup>th</sup> in 2015 and 2016 (McGann 2016, 81; McGann 2017, 78). A Turkish think tank also managed to rank among respectable think tanks in the education sector. This organisation, Istanbul Policy Center at Sabancı University (IPC), ranked 25<sup>th</sup> in 2013 (McGann 2014, 55).

*Foreign Policy and International Affairs*

In parallel with the development of globalisation and communication technologies, cooperation between countries has increased to significant levels. The interaction between countries, especially in the last 20 years, has assumed great dimensions. Thus, the process of formulating foreign policy has become functional and substantial. Think tanks support governments by providing them with policy analysis reports. Therefore, the success of think tanks is overwhelmingly essential for governments to allow a smooth foreign policy-making process.

Table 5. Top Foreign Policy and International Affairs Think Tanks  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	5	3
2017	4	3
2016	4	3
2015	4	3
2014	-	3
2013	-	2
2008-2012	N/A	N/A

When compared with other policy fields, think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic have been far more successful regarding the matter of foreign policy and international affairs. As can be deduced from the table given below, five Turkish think tanks managed to be in the list of top foreign policy and international affairs in 2018 (McGann 2019, 130-135). Furthermore, Turkish think tanks attained great success between 2015-2017 and each year four think tanks ranked in the list (McGann 2016; 2017; 2018). Think tanks in the Czech Republic had a stable performance in the last five years and, in each year, three think tanks managed to hold a place in the success ranking. Some of the think tanks from each country have notable successes in the GGTTT reports. The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV) managed to rank 40<sup>th</sup> in 2015 and 2016 in the ranking list of top foreign policy and international affairs (McGann 2016, 87; McGann 2017, 84). A think tank from the Czech Republic (Europeum-Institute for European Policy) also had a noteworthy success and placed 49<sup>th</sup> in the ranking list in 2018 (McGann 2019, 131).

*Defence and National Security Policy*

Defence and national security are key elements for countries to ensure their survival. Hence, most countries give maximum priority to public policies related to defence and national security. Numerous legislative, institutional and administrative regulations are formulated by official policy actors for the purpose of having effective policies. The participation of think tanks in the aforementioned policy processes is overwhelmingly functional and crucial in terms of policy design and alternatives. Think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic also play an active role in shaping defence and national security policies. The data about top defence and national security think tanks in GGTTT ranking are significant indicators when determining and assessing the success of think tanks in both countries.

Table 6. Top Defence and National Security Think Tanks  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	4	3
2017	4	3
2016	4	3
2015	4	1
2014	2	1
2013	2	-
2008-2012	N/A	N/A

According to the table provided above, no think tank was attested in the ranking for the defence and national security until 2013. In 2013, two think tanks from Turkey managed to find a spot in the ranking. From 2015 to 2018, the number of Turkish think tanks remained the same, and four accomplished think tanks in Turkey succeeded to hold a place in the ranking (McGann 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019). When the situation of the in the Czech Republic is analysed, it is possible to construe that the performance of think tanks in terms of defence and national security is quite promising. Especially in the last decades, three think tanks from the Czech Republic succeeded in ranking among the top defence and national security think tanks (McGann 2017; 2018; 2019). The Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM) is one of the prominent think tanks in Turkey which ranked 15<sup>th</sup> in the ranking list consisting of the best defence and national security think tanks in 2014 and 2015 (McGann 2015, 88;



McGann 2016, 75). PSSI also displayed great success and managed to be the 63<sup>rd</sup> think tank in the world in terms of defence and national security in 2018 (McGann 2019, 111).

*University-Affiliated Think Tanks*

In the GGTTT ranking reports, the best university-affiliated think tanks ranking is categorised as a special achievement. Universities are key actors in teaching and conducting research. Since think tanks have been traditionally regarded as research institutes, universities have maintained an active collaboration with think tanks. By doing so, some of the think tanks were founded as university-affiliated think tanks. In the GGTTT ranking reports, it is possible to observe the success level of university-affiliated think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic.

Table 7. Best University-Affiliated Think Tanks  
(It was generated by using data from GGTTT reports published between 2009-2019)

Years	Number of Think Tanks	
	Turkey	Czech Republic
2018	2	2
2017	2	2
2016	2	2
2015	2	2
2014	-	1
2013	-	1
2012	-	1
2010-2011	-	-
2008-2009	N/A	N/A

University-affiliated think tanks of the Czech Republic have managed to take place in the GGTTT ranking since 2012. In 2013, the Centre for Economic Research and Graduate Education-Economics Institute (CERGE-EI) performed a satisfactory performance and became 32<sup>nd</sup> in the best university-affiliated think tanks ranking (McGann, 2014: 90). Yet, think tanks of the Czech Republic could not succeed to be in the ranking list between 2010 and 2011. On the other hand, there was not a ranking of the best university-affiliated think tanks between 2008 and 2009. Although Turkey has more than 200 universities, solely two university-affiliated think tanks managed to be in the ranking list in the last four years. As a promising indicator of progress, the Centre for Economic and Social Research, Bahçeşehir University became 62<sup>nd</sup> in 2018 (McGann 2019, 204).

## OUTLINE OF THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Another aim of the analysis was to find out whether Turkish or Czech think tanks tend to rank among the top of the Global Go To Think Tank Index. In a basic comparison of individual sub-indices, which always evaluate a certain area of activity of think tanks, it was impossible to use any of the statistical methods. The representation of Czech and Turkish think tanks was very low within each index. Therefore, all sub-indices and data were aggregated. Each ranking is constructed here as unique. The ranking of the institution in the ranking thus represents an independent view.

The GGTTT includes over 50 scales. At the same time, Turkish think tanks penetrated a total of 21 evaluation indicators, while Czech think tanks ranked only in 15 rankings. It should be noted at this point that the deployment of think tanks is in many cases not the same for both countries. Alternatively, there are only one to two Turkish and one to two Czech think tanks in the ranking. In these cases, a basic comparison of these institutions is given below. More frequent representation of both Czech and Turkish think tanks occurred only in the indicators “Foreign Policy and International Affairs” and “Defense and National Security Policy”.

However, from a statistical point of view, the number of think tanks for both countries is low in the sub-rankings. Therefore, the analysis of all Czech and Turkish think tanks, which placed in one of the rankings ranked within five years, was proceeded. Again, the normality of the probability distribution of the analysed data was not verified. Therefore, it was again decided to proceed with data analysis using non-parametric tests. Also in this case, the Wilcoxon test was chosen for the analysis.

The procedure was analogous to previous analysis. The basis of the analysis was to gather all positions of Turkish and Czech think tanks across individual sub-rankings. To exclude the influence of think tanks, which appeared only once in the rankings, the average ranking of each think tank over the last four years (i.e. between 2015 and 2018) was evaluated. It follows that those think tanks that appeared only once in the ranking were excluded from the ranking. This avoids some distortion. This is particularly significant when a new think tank appeared in the ranking at the end of the reporting period. In this case, it is not guaranteed that the relevant think tank will be included in the ranking in the coming years.

The tested hypothesis  $H_0$  represents a situation where we assume that the distribution functions are identical. To verify the hypothesis, values  $U = \min(277.5; 222.5)$  were calculated, which are again compared with the critical value. This is now defined as  $w(0.05; 25; 20) = 163$  (see e.g. Linda and Kubanová 2004). Since  $U > w$ , it follows from the given relationship that we do not reject the hypothesis  $H_0$ . We can, therefore, state that the deployment of Czech and Turkish think tanks across the GGTTT charts does not differ.

## CONCLUSION

Public policy-making process is a functional one in terms of solving the problems and addressing the needs of the citizens. It can be said that unofficial and international actors play a key role in the aforementioned process, as much as official actors do. Think tanks, as unofficial actors, are an integral part of the policy-making process. Even though the number, variety in the field of operations, financial structure and power of think tanks differ from one country to another, the analysis and policy recommendations put forth by them are quite paramount. Thus, the activities of think tanks in many developed, or even developing countries, in various fields of policies are reckoned among official actors. By this means, alternatives for policies are increasing in number and governments obtain the opportunity to make healthier decisions.

The annual worldwide success indexes of think tanks are included in the GGTTT reports. These internationally-valid reports form a competition platform for think tanks, so to speak. When global achievements of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic are compared, it is possible to gain some meaningful insight. Although in 2008, when GGTTT reports were first started to be published, the number of think tanks in both countries were virtually the same; over the past years, that number increased significantly in Turkey, whereas it remained almost the same in the Czech Republic. As of 2012, think tanks in Turkey started to appear among the most successful think tanks global indexes. Czech think tanks, however, started to take rank on such indexes only in the last three years. Think tanks both in Turkey and the Czech Republic can be said to prevail in some specific politic areas, such as defence and national security, education, domestic economic policy, foreign policy, international affairs, and international economic policy. It can be claimed that within the period of ten years, Turkish think tanks have been more successful compared

to their Czech counterparts in most of the aforementioned policy areas. It is also evident that Czech think tanks are especially prevalent in domestic economic policy and social policy areas, compared to their Turkish counterparts. In addition, when think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic are evaluated within the scope of Special Achievement, it can be concluded that they achieved quite similar successes. In fact, think tanks from both countries have attained more or less the same accomplishments in categories such as best university-affiliated think tanks.

Comparative and statistical analysis has shown that, despite minor differences between the Czech and Turkish think tanks, selected institutions of both countries occupy significant positions in international evaluation. This testifies to their good work with a high impact on their interests. In both rankings, think tanks connected to universities ranked the most. It can be concluded that the spirit of academic independence also penetrates into these organizations. E.g. in the Czech Republic, both representatives of these think tanks (CERGE-EI and CESES) are in some sources classified as standard educational institutions and their orientation as a think tank institution is often neglected. Both think tanks offering accredited master's and doctoral degree programs. The high professionalism of the provided education is guaranteed by the presence of qualified staff of the parent scientific and research institutions. The impact of political ideology in this case is minimal.

Other successful think tanks include institutions that were founded by prominent figures of political and social life. It is interesting that think tanks were placed in the top positions, which again try to act as independent organizations. The advantage of these institutions is the fact that they can benefit from the lifelong experience of personalities who held high office positions, ministerial positions, or were socially active persons.

However, it is also worth mentioning think tanks that did not rank in the charts. For the Czech Republic, these were all think tanks that are directly established by political parties. The economic aspect of their functioning is ensured by the right to funding from the state budget. We can compare this situation with the financing of successful think tanks. These are mostly financed by grants (their award is preceded by a competition between other applicants from the ranks of universities and scientific research organizations) or from their own activities (most often publishing activities and provision of expert analyzes). We

can therefore state that the competitive environment supports the qualitative aspect of the activities of these institutions.

A few recommendations can be made in order to further develop think tanks and increase their active participation in the policy-making processes. To begin with, the number of think tanks in both countries, especially in the Czech Republic, should increase. For instance, the number of think tanks in just one state of the U.S. is multiple times more than the number of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic combined. Additionally, current think tanks must be financially supported through various projects, conducted both by central and local governments. Think tanks in both countries should make use of the experiences of retired bureaucrats, former ministers and experts, and joint policy reports should be prepared. Successful strategies and policies regarding think tanks, followed in the U.S., the U.K., Germany and France should be treated as an example, in order to increase the achievements of think tanks in Turkey and the Czech Republic. Hereby, in the years to come, think tanks from both countries may get the opportunity to appear even more on the success indexes regarding various fields of policies.

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