THE EMERGENCE OF THINK TANKS AND MEDIATOR INTELLECTUALS IN TURKEY

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THE EMERGENCE OF THINK TANKS AND MEDIATOR INTELLECTUALS IN TURKEY

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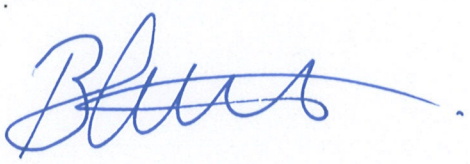

ABSTRACT

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This study examines the rise and development of think tanks in Turkey over the past five decades from a field-analytical perspective. In spite of the rapid growth and increasing effects of think tanks, few case studies have been conducted on the historical and current influences of these institutions in Turkey. Based on fourteen in-depth interviews with staff members of various think tanks, first hand observations, secondary resources, and descriptive statistical data, this dissertation aims to fill the void by presenting both a historical outline and present day landscape of the think tank field. As distinct from the large part of the existing literature on think tanks in political science and international relations, this analysis presented here also attaches particular importance to understand the dynamics of knowledge production as well as the modes of intellectual intervention that think tanks undertake, relocating the issue in the sociology of intellectuals. The historical analysis argues that although the earliest think tanks outcropped in the 1960s, think tanks began to exhibit field-like properties in the mid-1990s. It follows that the proliferation of think tanks was accompanied by the emergence of a specific kind of intellectual conduct, the “mediation”, along with the rise of a particular type of knowledge production, the “policy knowledge”.

Keywords: Think Tank, intellectual, field, mediation, intellectual production, policy.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE DÜŞÜNCE KURULUŞLARININ VE

ARABULUCU ENTELEKTÜELLERİN DOĞUŞU

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'de düşünce kuruluşlarının ortaya çıkışını ve gelişimini alan analizi perspektifinden ele almaktadır. Düşünce kuruluşlarının hızla yayılmasına ve etkilerinin artmasına karşılık, Türkiye'de bu kurumların gerek tarihsel gerekse günümüzdeki etkileri üzerine çok az vaka çalışması yapılmıştır. Düşünce kuruluşu araştırmacılarıyla yapılan on dört derinlemesine mülakat, birinci elden gözlemler, ikincil kaynaklar ve tasviri istatistiksel veri seti gibi kaynaklara dayanan bu tez, hem düşünce kuruluşlarının tarihsel gelişimiyle ilgili açıklayıcı bir çerçeve çizmeye hem de alanın günümüzdeki manzarasını betimlemeye çalışarak önemli bir boşluğu doldurmayı hedeflemektedir. Siyaset bilimi ve uluslararası ilişkiler alanlarında çalışan araştırmacıların bu alanda yaptığı araştırmaların kahir ekseriyetinden farklı olarak, bu çalışmada geliştirilen yaklaşım düşünce kuruluşları alanındaki bilgi üretiminin dinamikleri ve entelektüel müdahalelerin analizine özel bir önem atfederek nesnesini entelektüeller sosyolojisi bağlamında kurmaya çalışmaktadır. Söz konusu tarihsel analize göre, ilk düşünce kuruluşları 1960'larda ortaya çıksa da, bu kuruluşların alan benzeri bir uzam karakteri kazanmaları 1990'ların ortalarına tekabül etmektedir. Düşünce kuruluşları alanının doğuşunun aynı zamanda kendine has bir entelektüel icra tarzı (arabuluculuk) ve muayyen bir bilgi üretim faaliyetinin (siyasa bilgisi) ortaya çıkışıyla eş zamanlı olarak gerçekleştiği sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Düşünce kuruluşu, entelektüel, alan, arabuluculuk, entelektüel üretim, siyasa.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Adalet Partisi/Justice Party
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi/Motherland Party
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/Justice and Development Party
ASAM	Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi/Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies
BİLGESAM	Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi/Wise Men Center for Strategic Research
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany/Hıristiyan Demokrat Birliği
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi/Republican People's Party
DP	Demokrat Parti/Democrat Party
DPE	Dış Politika Enstitüsü/Foreign Policy Institute
DPT	Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı/State Planning Office
DİSA	Diyarbakır Siyasal ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Enstitüsü/Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research
DİTAM	Dicle Toplumsal Araştırmalar Merkezi/Tigris Communal Research Center
EEC	European Economic Community/Avrupa Ekonomi Topluluğu
ESAM	Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi/Economic and Social Researches Center
EU	European Union/Avrupa Birliği
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/Friedrich Ebert Vakfı
FNS	Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung/Friedrich Naumann Vakfı

HP	Halkçı Parti/Populist Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund/Uluslararası Para Fonu
İAV	İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı/Economic Research Foundation
İKV	İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı/Economic Development Foundation
İPM	İstanbul Politikalar Merkezi/Istanbul Policy Center
KAS	Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung/Konrad Adenauer Vakfı
LDT	Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu/Association for Liberal Thinking
MBK	Milli Birlik Komitesi/National Unity Committee
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi/Nationalist Movement Party
OBİV	Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri Vakfı/Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development/Ekonomik Kalkınma ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı
ORSAM	Ortadoğu Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi/Center for Middle Eastern Studies
SAEMK	Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüdler Milli Komitesi/ National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies
SAM	Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi/Center for Strategic Research
SAREM	Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüt Merkezi/Strategic Research and Study Center
SAV	Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı/Social Research Foundation
SDE	Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü/Institute of Strategic Thinking
SETA	Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı/Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research

SHP	Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti/Social Democrat People's Party
SİSAV	Siyasi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı/Political and Social Studies Foundation
SODEP	Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi/Social Democracy Party
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany/Almanya Sosyal Demokrat Partisi
TASAM	Türkiye Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi/Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Research
TBMM-ARMER	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Araştırma Merkezi/Turkish Grand National Assembly Research Center
TDV	Türk Demokrasi Vakfı/Turkish Democracy Foundation
TEPAV	Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı/Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey
TESAV	Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı/The Foundation for Social, Economic and Political Research
TESEV	Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı/Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TİKA	Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı/Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TOBB	Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği/The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
TÜBİTAK	Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu/Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
TÜSES	Türkiye Sosyal, Ekonomik, Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı/Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation
TÜSİAD	Türkiye Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği/Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association

UN	United Nations/Birleşmiş Milletler
USAK	Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu/International Strategic Research Organization
USTAD	Uluslararası Stratejik Tahlil ve Araştırmalar Merkezi/International Strategic Analysis and Research Center
WB	The World Bank/Dünya Bankası
YDH	Yeni Demokrasi Hareketi/New Democracy Movement

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, there has been an observable increase in the number of think tanks[1] in Turkey. These organizations have generated numerous policy reports and bulletins, and their affiliated policy researchers have become more visible in both national and international media discussions and academic conferences for the last ten-year period. For a person living in Turkey, it is almost inevitable to encounter a think tank-affiliated intellectual figure, particularly those who are specialists of foreign policy, on TV panel discussions devoted to the analysis of a contemporary heated social and/or political issues. Television, as Bourdieu points out, creates the reality, instead of merely recording it (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 22). Inspired by Bourdieu's ideas on television, one can safely claim that think tank-affiliated intellectuals as "fast-thinkers" evaluating the burning incidents in the country and its adjacent regions in the 24 hours of news channels is directly a part of the social construction of (socio-political) reality. Yet, their activity is not limited to TV discussions; at the same time, these intellectuals exist in different social fields such as the economy, politics, academia, and the media by mediating and shuttling between them.

Do think tanks and their affiliated intellectuals or "policy experts" as it is used in the literature have a political impact on politics to their accelerating visibility, or has their role and impact been dramatized? I decided to deal with this problem since I have always been interested in knowing about the intellectuals and their relations with politics. Moreover, a social scientific knowledge regarding the emergence and influences of

[1] The term "think tank" may sound fuzzy and imprecise. It is actually a nebulated term which has vague connotations that opens up the possibility of different interpretations. Instead of providing an a priori definition of the term at the outset, I will scrutinize different descriptions of it in the following chapters.

think tanks has not been adequately produced yet in Turkey. This study will try to build think tanks in Turkey as an empirical object with the tools of sociological investigation. For this reason, it has the intention to fill in a vacuum in the literature by contributing to the understanding of such organizations and new forms of intellectual production and intervention situated within it.

1.1. Design and Method

This study will apply the methodological approach developed by Pierre Bourdieu, particularly as it is integrated into the cardinal concepts of *field*, *habitus*, and *capital*. One of the main merits of this perspective, i.e., the field theory, lies in its relational conception of structure. Bourdieu persistently stresses that the proper object of socio-analysis is not *entities* or *things*, but rather a set of *relations*. By courtesy of the notion of *field*, which refers to a relatively autonomous social context both shaping and constraining the human action, he gives the possibility to a researcher to shift the analytical focus from the "organization" (think tanks) or the "actor" (intellectuals) to the system of relations in which they are embedded. For this reason, this perspective rejects to use any a priori category of "think tank" or "intellectual" by regarding the definition of a concept as an empirical question. The refusal of working with pre-defined concepts is also a very requirement of the principle of *reflexivity* stipulating sociologists to establish a twofold "epistemological break" from both folk categories (common-sense) generated on their research object, and, in many cases, prior scientific knowledge (scholastic common-sense) produced about the categories and concepts of their specific research object. The principle of *epistemological break* constitutes the first step of the threefold hierarchy of epistemological act on which scientific knowledge rely. This phase is chased by the process of *constructing the object*. For, the object of scientific research is not given or self-evident as positivist empiricism deems, on the contrary, it should be won and built by the sociologist the way that it no longer has

in common with naive categories of the spontaneous sociology. The final stage, *applied rationalism*, hinges on verifying outcomes achieved by means of the entire technical and logical transactions used in the construction of the object.[2]

In order to understand the system of relations within the think tank universe, this study was predicated on a multi-method research procedure with the following empirical components:

a) I collected and examined "limitedly" available archival and organizational documents, and other materials such as personal memoirs of think tank founders in order to construct a historical narrative regarding the emergence of think tanks. In the absence of rich archival resources, it is inevitable to make reference to secondary sources.

b) I conducted 14 in-depth interviews with people variously settled throughout the think tank universe, from policy experts and researchers to upper managers and founders. The interviews lasted 45-90 minutes depending on interviewees' devotion and communicativeness. Almost all of the interviews were carried out in interviewees' offices and tape recorded with their permission.

c) I carried out first-hand observation in diverse think tank settings. Throughout a month and a half in Ankara and following several months in Istanbul, I attended various think tank events, including panel and roundtable discussions, conferences, workshops, and seminars. At these events, I observed speeches and discussions, established informal dialogues with both think tank fellows and employees, participators and followers of think tank activities.

d) I built a database regarding the educational backgrounds of think tank-affiliated intellectuals at seven major think tanks taking

[2] Bourdieu, Chamboredon, and Passeron's *The Craft of Sociology* [1968] (1991) is the *locus classicus* text where this epistemological framework, inspired by Bachelard and Canguilhem who were representatives of French tradition of historical epistemology, are elaborated.

place in my sample. This data comprises of educational degrees earned and academic disciplines studied by in-house staff described as “experts”, “researchers”, or “analysts”. Those who are weakly affiliated with think tanks, “research assistants”, and “administrative staff” are not included. In addition, I create a database of gender distribution in the think tank field. These databases enabled me to discover internal configuration of the field of think tanks.

This study poses a series of questions as to both the origins and locations of think tanks in the social space (namely their social topography) and modes of intellectual intervention and production within it:

i) What engendered their exceptional appearance and growing visibility in Turkey, particularly over the last decade? Are these reasons only related with the pro-active foreign policy of Turkey aiming at being a role model or leader state in its region as it has been constantly uttered by politicians and specialists or are there any deeper reasons of this process? If so, to what extent are they associated with the complicating structure of the bureaucratic field or changing character of the political field and its new necessities?

ii) Do think tanks and their affiliated policy experts have an impact on Turkish politics proportional to their accelerating visibility, or has their role and impact been dramatized? If they fulfil an important function in policy-making, then how so or through which mechanisms? If not, why do a plethora of intellectuals still flood into these organizations?

iii) What are the forms of intellectual production and intervention within the think tank universe and to what extent do they differ that of scientific ones? Do think tank affiliated intellectuals share an occupational ethos, a set of mental and bodily dispositions,

styles, and manners which constitutes a specific and discernable habitus?

To find an answer to some of these questions, I interviewed with representatives from eleven contemporary think tanks in Turkey: six of them are from Ankara (SETA, SDE, USAK, LDT, TEPAV, and TBMM-ARMER), four from Istanbul (TESEV, BİLGESAM, SAV, and İPM) and one from Diyarbakir (DİSA). I should indicate that the making of this sample was not totally based on my informed choice. Before starting my fieldwork, I had read several descriptive studies on think tanks, especially on Anglo-American ones, which could have been an inspiration for my sample. Nevertheless, contrary to my expectation, studies that I read perplexed me concerning how to represent a think tank space instead of clarifying the matter. As I will discuss in the next chapter, these studies offer a plethora of classification of think tanks with respect to their funding sources, affiliations, political dispositions, modes of organizations, main functions, area of specializations, staff characteristics and so on. I did not find this mainstream typological approach convincing for it straps think tanks to the well-defined type by excluding potential overlaps that can occur between different types specific to a single think tank. For that reason, I decided to construct my sample by selecting some major think tanks in Turkey, rather than striving to propose a new typology. Nevertheless, it was highly difficult to answer the question of which think tanks in Turkey are surely prominent, major or influential is (and also the question of what a think tank is in Turkey). Above all, the basic problem is that there are very few objective measurements through which one can determine which think tanks are truly essential or effective in Turkey. For example, if we try to determine prominent think tanks in Turkey in terms of their budget sizes, we will fail due to the fact that a vast majority of think tanks in Turkey are not transparent about their budget sizes and source of funding.[3] In the absence of a clear financial size on which one can rely, it may be said that the historical importance of a certain think

[3] As far as I know, only the TEPAV and the TESEV's financial statements and annual budget sizes are publicly accessible on their websites.

tank could be a criterion to designate major think tanks in Turkey. However, this option also is not beneficial since a great majority of active Turkish think tanks are an offspring of the 2000s. When compared to their centennial counterparts in the US or Europe, they are destitute of both a historical experience and continuity and institutional reputation that a deep-rooted history can provide. Under these circumstances, I put media visibility and recognition of think tanks forward as main measurements of their efficacy.

I also scanned global think tanks rankings, which have been annually released by The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania since 2007, before designating my sample. According to the 2013 Global Go To Think Tank Index, there are 6826 think tanks all over the world and 29 of them are located in Turkey (McGann, 2014, p. 23). In this index, the TESEV and the LDT, two foremost think tanks that I included in my sample, are ranked among the "Top Think Tanks Worldwide". The USAK and the İPM are also marked among influential think tanks in different categories. However, it is quite difficult to find out how an embryonic think tank such as the International Strategic Analysis and Research Center (*Uluslararası Stratejik Tahlil ve Araştırmalar Merkezi*/USTAD), founded in 2011 in Mardin, was ranked amongst the "top defense and national security think tanks" in the world, whereas some influential and well-known think tanks such as the SETA, the SDE, and the SAM, perceived as predominant figures in the field by many accounts[4] did not find a place anywhere in such an all-inclusive index.

This made me question the validity and efficacy of think tank rankings. Even though, these indexes can give us an idea concerning the think tank landscape across the globe, methodological and conceptual problems with them abound. For one thing, as I will discuss in detail in the following chapter, the national environments in which think tanks

[4] Most of my interviewees, for instance, declare that some think tanks which were not ranked in the index, particularly the SETA, have come to the front recently.

operate vary and so do the manners in which they perform their roles. More than that, we even do not exactly know which organizations ought to be acknowledged as think tanks and which ought not to, due to the prevalent ambiguity and amphiboly of the conceptualizations of think tanks. Furthermore, as one expert criticizes (Koellner, 2013, p. 1), output, public outreach, and other performance-based criteria are not properly operationalized or weighed in think tank rankings. As a result, I approached such ranking indexes with caution, even though I still welcome their effort to construct an entire map of think tanks.

Some think tanks, which are included in the scope of think tanks indexes such as the SETA and the SDE, have come to the fore in recent years with their increasing visibility and activeness; therefore, I thought that putting these prominent think tanks under the scope would be helpful to grasp the present day effects of Turkish think tanks. However, one may ask why I incorporated other think tanks in my sample. In fact, simply because of "practical reasons": During my fieldwork, I asked many think tanks including the ESAM, the ORSAM, the TESAV, the 21. Century Turkey Institute, the TASAM, and the Ankara Strategy Institute for an appointment via e-mail or telephone. Some of these think tanks did not reply to my request (in the affirmative) and some never returned to me again despite their promises. In the and, my sample comprising of eleven think tanks took its final shape.

1.2. The Sociology of Intellectuals

This dissertation is mainly based on the intersection of literature of the sociology of intellectuals and think tank literature. To crystallize my theoretical position, I would offer a brief and critical reading of these two literatures respectively in terms of both their benefits and shortcomings.

In its wavy history, the sociology of intellectuals sometimes emerged as a well-defined sub-discipline of sociology with its own categories and specific modus operandi, at other times it was subsumed under

conterminous fields such as the sociology of professions and expertise, the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of science, and the sociology of elites. In order to crystallize the main approaches, theoretical orientations, and new trends within the field, I will benefit from the articles of Kurzman & Owens (2002) and Eyal & Buchholz (2010) providing ideal-typical classifications of the whole corpus of the field.

According to Kurzman & Owens (2002), there has been three distinct approaches in the history and development of the sociology of intellectuals, from the founding moment of the field in the late 1920's: the approaches treating intellectuals as *class-in-themselves*, as *class-bound*, or as *class-less* (p. 63).

The first approach was inaugurated by French philosopher Julien Benda (1928), who wrote one of the founding documents of the sociology of intellectuals, *La Trahison des Clercs* (The Treason of the Intellectuals). In his book, Benda contrasted intellectuals as a distinct social group who intervene in the public sphere on behalf of universal values with "the laymen", whose function lays mainly in the pursuit of material interests (Benda, p. 43). Benda's heroic Dreyfusard image of the intellectual class-in-itself obviously bears a normative tone, which dictates what the role and tasks of an intellectual ought to be, has lost its effect in the mid-twentieth century. Lewis Coser's classic study *Men of Ideas* (1965), in the same direction with Benda, regards intellectual output as an end in itself (in equivalent term of the artistic field, "art for art's sake") and the intellectual as a man who live for, rather than live off, ideas with the specific intellectual ethos. Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas (1957) at first popularized the term "new class" to identify the position of intelligentsia under state socialism.

Konrad & Szelenyi (1979) carried this analysis onward and placed intellectuals and technocrats as a "new class" distinguishing themselves from other classes with their monopoly on "teleological knowledge" at the

heart of socialist administrations in Central and Eastern Europe.[5] The "new class" thesis was welcomed by American sociologist Daniel Bell (1976) in order to render the "rise of the new elites based on skill" (p. 362) and the idea of professionalism providing a new ethos for such a group in post-industrial societies. Finally, Alvin Gouldner (1979) claimed that the new universal class, which is composed of technical intelligentsia and critical intellectuals, at the bottom are replacing the proletariat and gaining authority through their social knowledge, cultural capital, and the ideology of professionalism. In Gouldner's controversial work, the new class is caught in the tension between "universalistic aspirations", i.e., defending universal truth and morality and "particularistic interests", i.e., rewarding cultural capital and increasing their political power to achieve the foregoing (Kurzman & Owens, 2002, p. 72).

Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci's work on intellectuals is the well-known exemplar of the *class-bound* approach in the literature of the sociology of intellectuals. As a keen opponent of the consecrated depiction of the intellectual brought into the literature by Benda, Gramsci emphasizes the allegiance of intellectuals to other social groups. He strictly repudiates the idea of intellectuals as an autonomous and independent social group, which was alleged by the "traditional intellectuals" of the ancien regime such as the man of letters, the philosopher, and the artist by labelling it as a self-illusory "social utopia" (Gramsci, 1980, p. 8). Rather, every social group coming into existence creates its organic intellectuals strata which gives it homogeneity and awareness of its function in economic, social, and political fields (p. 5). In capitalist societies, the bourgeoisie as an essential social class created its "organic intellectuals" who are the dominant class' deputies "exercising the subaltern functions[6] of social hegemony and political

[5] Konrad and Szelenyi (1979, p. 63-67) offers a historical typology of intellectuals' structural position in society of different ages: the intelligentsia as an *estate* (the age of traditional distribution-Western European capitalism), as a *stratum* (free-market capitalism), and as a *class* (rational distribution).

[6] The concept of "function" is key to grasp Gramsci's approach to intellectuals. In the eyes of Gramsci, all men are intellectuals by nature since there is no human activity, even the most degraded and mechanical ones, from which all the forms of intellectual

government" (1980, p. 12). Gramsci's intervention, which has spread amongst Marxists, as well as some non-Marxists, social theorists, has made Benda's work considerably forgotten. C. Wright Mills (1945), for instance, laid emphasis on the ascending boundedness of intellectuals to the interlock power machinery of elites and, in a highly pessimistic tone, claimed "the material basis of his initiative and intellectual freedom is no longer in his hands" (p. 236).

As a redolent of Gramsci's distinction between the "traditional" and "organic" intellectual, Foucault made a distinction between the "universal" and the "specific" intellectual. The former was able to transcend his class origins and advocates universal values "as the spokesman of the universal", "the consciousness/conscience of us all", and "a free subject" (Foucault, 1989, p. 126). Eventually, writing as the sacralizing mark of the intellectual has disappeared, each individual's specific activity has become the basis for politicization, and it has become possible to develop connections between diverse forms of knowledge (p. 127). This historical transformation has paved the way for the emergence of a new intellectual type, i.e., the "specific intellectual" situated within specific sectors such as the university, the hospital, the laboratory etc. According to Foucault, this new kind of intellectual is no longer the "bearer of universal values", rather it is the person who uses his knowledge and competence in the field of political struggle (p. 128). The intellectual has a three-fold specificity: that of his class position (whether as petty bourgeois in the service of capitalism or 'organic' intellectual of the proletariat) that of his conditions of life and work, and the specificity of the politics of truth in our societies (p. 132).

Both Gramsci's concept of "organic intellectuals" and Foucault's notion of "specific intellectuals" more or less have affected a great number of scholars from different disciplines. With heated debates, the class-bound approach has been theoretically revised and operationalized in order to

participation can be excluded (p. 9). However, only a small group fulfils the intellectual function in society as "functionaries" of the fundamental social group (p. 12).

explain the role of intellectuals not only in contemporary Western societies, but also in different socio-cultural universes and trajectories, especially in the non-Western world.[7]

Karl Mannheim, in his famous book *Ideology and Utopia*, distanced himself from the view that intellectuals constitute a distinct social class (Benda) or they comprise at least an appendage to a social class (Gramsci). Drawing on the works of Alfred Weber, Mannheim asserted "socially unattached intelligentsia" (*freischwebende Intelligenz*) are an "unanchored, *relatively* classless stratum" (1979, p. 137-138). According to Mannheim, intellectuals are able to transcend their class of origin by attaching themselves to classes to which they did not belong by courtesy of education (p. 141). Looking at the mid-twentieth century American sociology, it can be clearly seen that the structural-functionalist paradigm, which was somehow influenced by Mannheim, reserved a special role for intellectuals, not as organic representatives of a group, but as occupants of a special role stressing non-material and symbolic factors of effective social action (Kurzman & Owens, 2002, p. 68).

Edward Shils, the leading sociologist of this period, defines the function of the intellectuals in the social "system" as eliciting, guiding, and forming the expressive dispositions within a society through their provision of models and standards and the presentation of symbols to be appreciated (Shils, 1972, p. 5). He also wrote that the inherent tension between the intellectuals' universalistic ideals and the more mundane value orientations embodied in the actual institutions of any society led to an intra-intellectual alienation or dissensus (1972, p. 7).[8] Finally, Sadri's (1994) and Collins' (2002) works emphasizing the relative autonomy of intellectual life from its social context and the intellectuals' "detachment

[7] Some significant studies in this approach belong to Said (1996), Laroui (1976), Karabel (1996), Brym (1987), and Eyerman (1994).

[8] Shils identifies five historical traditions that have played a great part in forming the relations of the modern intellectuals to authority: the tradition of scientism, the romantic tradition, the apocalyptic tradition, the populistic tradition, and the tradition of anti-intellectual order. (p. 18-21).

from ordinary concerns" (Collins, p. 19) can be safely deployed within the *class-less* approach.

As Eyal (2010) points out, the classical problematic of the sociology of intellectuals was strongly dominated by the problem of "allegiance" from its very inception: Who are the intellectuals[9] and to what do they owe allegiance? Indeed, this chronic definitional cul-de-sac has shackled the study of intellectuals from its inception. For instance, the sustained debate concerning their class position, as briefly outlined above, firstly was about whether they owed allegiance to their own class (as suggested by *class-in-itself* approach) or to another social class (as suggested by *class-bound* approach). The same logic of investigation is also in pursuit of a set of moral and/or material values to which intellectuals devote themselves such as to the truth, universal values, the life of the mind, the sacred, ideas, material interests and so on. Therefore, the field was preoccupied with finding a myth of origin or meta-narrative to explain the appropriate conditions under which the intellectual as a particular social type emerge and flourish. Instead of this mode of thinking, Eyal and Buchholz suggest a new sociological research project what they call as "the sociology of intervention" that is mostly based upon field analysis.

Bourdieu's strategy to tackle intellectuals provides a new base for the sociology of interventions. Bourdieu's (see 1969, 1975, 1988, 1990, 1991a) alternative approach to the sociology of intellectuals rejects any attempt to define intellectuals, in a priori sense, as a distinct social type with a set of substantive properties. To him, the act of definition is par excellence a matter of symbolic power within intellectual fields so that there can be no "objective" definition of intellectuals.[10] He underlines that one of the major issues at stake in symbolic struggles occurring in the

[9] It should be noted that any definition of intellectuals is a self-definition as Bauman (1987, p. 2) underscores. Therefore, it is a futile endeavor to ask the question "who are the intellectuals" by expecting a bundle of objective answers.

[10] In *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu writes: "The question of the definition of the intellectual, or, rather, of specifically intellectual work, is separable from the question of defining the population which can be allowed to participate in this definition." (1988, p. 269).

intellectual field is the legitimate definition of the term intellectual and the demarcation of the field. Thus, rather than taking "predefined" intellectuals as a unit of analysis, as is in the actor-centered modes of explanation, Bourdieusian research programme approach its object by constructing the "intellectual field" in which intellectual practices are embedded and interrelated as a whole. This analytic shift also gives the possibility to the analysis of particular modes of intellectual intervention, struggle for symbolic power with various resources including cultural, political, economic, and social capital, and "competition for cultural legitimacy" (Bourdieu, 1969, p. 91) within intellectual fields instead of showing the characteristics of the intellectual as a distinct social type and where its allegiance lie. Replacing the concept of "class" which has been prevalent in the study of intellectuals with the concept of "field", Bourdieu distances himself from both the *class-less* (free-floating intelligentsia) and *class-bound* (the organic intellectual) approaches. However, in field analysis, the problematic of allegiance to some extent is preserved, when assessing the degree of autonomy of a particular intellectual field from other fields (Eyal & Buchholz, 2010, p. 124).

According to Eyal & Buchholz's (2010) classification, there are three strands in the intellectual fields/markets approach constitutively drawing upon Bourdieusian methodological tools and concepts:

> a) The first analyzes the making, structure, and transformation of specific relatively autonomous intellectual fields such as the academic and the literary field (e.g., Bourdieu 1975, 1988, 1996, Ringer 1992, Kauppi 1996, and Sabour 2001). In this line of research, the problematic of allegiance is overcome yet preserved in the sense that it accords to the question of autonomy. Field analysis rejects any normative attributes of allegiance and draws attention to how fields as relatively autonomous arenas of struggle and its structure cause field-specific and internal alliances, oppositions, and contentions.

b) The second strand uses the field analysis to explain the emergence, success, or failure of certain models of intellectuals and related modes of public intervention (e.g., Sapiro 2003, 2013, Boschetti 1988, Heilbron & Sapiro 2007, Eyal 2002, and Medvetz 2012a). These studies provide genetic account of features of the diverse particular types and prototypes of different specific intellectuals and their modes of intervention, politicization, and engagement.

c) The third and the last strand within the intellectual field literature distances itself from the problems of allegiance or autonomy and examine the modes of intervention themselves (e.g., Eyal 2000, 2003, and Posner 2001). Most of these studies deal with the documentation and typification of modes of public intellectual engagement with respect to positions that intellectuals occupy.

My study will mainly correspond to the second strand within the intellectual field literature. This is because, this line of research enables the researcher to explain the emergence of a new intellectual field or field-like space as seen in the example of the US think tanks. Medvetz (2012a), in his study on the effects of American think tanks on policy-making, claimed that think tanks constitute a hybrid and interstitial intellectual field situated between the fields of economy, politics, academia, and the media. He also argues that this new liminal field makes possible the emergence of a new public figure, whose authority is based on the capacity to travel between different forms of authority such as scientific expertise, economic capital, political power, or media access. Eyal (2002), in his analysis of the relations between academic Middle Eastern studies and military intelligence, shows that the research institutes have become the site where diverse types of capitals and relations are accumulated and converted into both political power and academic influence. As a “lesser field”, the research institute thus lay in the liminal space between the bureaucratic, the academic and the media fields, connected them, yet produced its relational reality of separate

fields (Eyal, 2013, p. 177). Shifting analytical focus from the organization to the system of relations in which they are embedded, the field analysis, makes quite possible to study such "boundary organizations" like think tanks and research institutes as emergent fields and analyze the new forms of intellectual production, habitus, and modes of intervention rooted within them.

1.3. Different Perspectives on the Think Tank

The entrance of the topic of think tanks as an object of study into the academic discourse, even American academia, is a relatively new phenomenon when compared to the long history of the term.[11] Medvetz (2012a, p. 29) attributes this lack of academic interest particularly to the liminal organizational characteristics of think tanks that outwardly placed them in-between the subject matters of traditional academic disciplines such as political science, history, and sociology.[12] The topic of think tanks received its first genuine attention from the scholars operating within the elite theory approach inaugurated by sociologist C. Wright Mills, especially G. William Domhoff (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 30). In this subsection, I would like to concisely glance at the existing academic knowledge produced concerning think tanks in accord with Medvetz (2012a) who subsumes the think tank studies under three distinct theoretical perspectives; *the elite theory*, *pluralism*, and *institutionalism*.[13]

[11] The early usages of the phrase that vaguely refers to a scorning statement about one's brain or head, which can be found on both newspaper articles and novels, traces to the late nineteenth century in American popular discourse. The more specific sense of the word referring to a kind of organization debuted to the English Language in 1958. For a brief history of the term, see Medvetz (2012), p. 25-29.

[12] For another interpretation on why think tanks historically have drawn little attention of social scientist, also see Rich (2004), p. 6-10.

[13] During my literature search, I have encountered some Marxian analyses on think tanks and intellectuals. However, it is apparent that this perspective is not strong or widespread in comparison with the aforesaid perspectives. Therefore, I will not discuss it in detail here. I can simply remark that especially Gramsci-inspired analyses (see Desai, 1994 and Blank, 2003, and Neubauer, 2012) are remarkable in this vein. Desai (1994), for instance, analyzes think tank affiliated (organic) intellectuals' role in the

The first perspective claims that think tanks ought to be analyzed, not as neutral research centers, but rather as weapons at the disposal of the ruling class' political program. Following C. Wright Mills [1956] (2000), the elite theory delineates think tanks primarily as the "intellectual machinery" of a firmly interlocked power network of political, military financial, and corporate elites. For instance, in his well-known book on the American power elite, Domhoff (2006, p. 103) argues that:

> In concert with the large banks and corporations in the corporate community, the foundations, think tanks, and policy discussion groups in the policy-planning network provide the organizational basis for the exercise of power on behalf of the owners of all large income-producing properties.

As seen in the quotation, this point of view regards think tanks as intrinsically lobbying firms in the guise of neutral and technical research centers. In this model, think tanks are not treated as distinct forms of organization, but mere instruments in the hands of a wealthy and powerful elite network. Their function is to fulfil "the deepest and most critical thinking within the policy-planning network" (Domhoff, 2006, p. 87). In accordance with this mode of explanation, Peschek who favours the "oligarchic model" of policy-making suggested by Dye (1978) and Domhoff [1967] (2006), analyses think tanks "not only as objective producers of research and recommendations, but also as active agents linked to power blocs and policy currents, reflecting and in turn shaping ideological shift and political regroupings in a time of momentous economic transformations" (1987, p. 2).

On the other hand, the pluralist view, as clearly opposed to the elite theory, proposes that think tanks should be examined, not as instruments of the ruling class, but as an organizational breed among many other societal groups competing to affect public policy including lobbying firms, labor unions, social movement organizations, identity-based associations

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intellectual and discursive production and reproduction of the neoliberal hegemony of the Thatcher era from a neo-Gramscian standpoint.

and so on (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 8-9). Andrew Rich, for example, represents this relatively optimistic view of think tanks and policy expertise at the outset of his book:

> [B]y most all appraisals, more experts are good for policy making. For much of the twentieth century, this judgment was accurate; experts fulfilled these mandates. Even if their work sometimes used by others for quite political purposes, experts remained ostensibly neutral and detached. Experts offered ideas and policy prescriptions that were rigorously crafted, rational, and, in the long run, helpful to the work of decision makers (2004, p. 3).

However, in the final chapter of his study, Rich criticizes the role of present think tanks in the policy making process for having become focused more on providing skewed and biased commentaries rather than neutral analysis (2004, s. 204). Such a jeremiad on the "degenerating" role of policy experts is widespread in the pluralist literature.[14] Since they attribute a normative authority to policy experts by whom the policy making process to be rationalized, pluralists often reprimand the transmutation of "impartial" policy expert to "partizan" ideologues.

The main difference between these two perspectives, as Abelson (2002, p. 36) indicates, is that the pluralists by and large illustrate think tanks as "one voice among many" in the political sphere while the elite theorists seek to demonstrate that think tanks are actually nodes in an interlocked elite policy-planning network. After all, in spite of their ostensible differences, the *elite theory* and the *pluralist* perspectives converge on a reductionist tendency. In the former case, think tanks are reduced to a simple tool at the disposal of prosperous and competent sponsors. By depicting think tanks as disguised lobbying firms or an advocacy group,

[14] A similar "pluralist" concern is conspicious in the Genç's analysis of Turkish think tanks: "As Turkey becomes more pluralistic, the public sphere is becoming more lively and crowded with opinion leaders, activists, researchers, and journalists, as well as print, visual, and social media and NGO's. However, in the enlarging 'open society', there is a tendency to produce opinion and ideas based solely on impressions and political, socioeconomic, and ideological positioning, instead of on neutral and analytical data" (2013, p. 101).

this objectivist view degrades them to the status of epiphenomenon. With the hyper-functionalist fallacy conceiving the social world is a representation or a performance in which the social action as "the acting-out of roles, the playing of the scores or the implementation of plans" (Bourdieu, 1990b, 52), this perspective imagines think tanks as mere intermediary institutions of economic, political, or military power. For this reason, as Medvetz (2012a, p. 9) contends, the elite theory may propose a convincing macro-structural picture of the networks linking think tanks to interlocked elite groups; however, it is less enlightening when the point comes to how these networks virtually translate into political effect. Accordingly, it could be fairly claimed that the language of the elite theory perspective, which relegates think tanks to static phenomena by ignoring the symbolic dimensions of it at the expense of material ones, is too mechanical and functionalist to describe think tanks adequately.

On the other hand, in the pluralist perspective, the problem is the naive literal motivation to consider uncritically or to take account of only the self-identity claims of think tanks as neutral producers of expert knowledge, rather than instruments of a kind of power. By contrast with the elite theory, the pluralists broadly avoid ascribing any essentialist character or function to think tanks. Nonetheless, they also have few general claims regarding think tanks so that it is sometimes impossible to recognize a think tank in the wide sea of interest group struggles (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 9). As Steven Lukes shows, the pluralist literature is based on the hypothesis that different actors and interest groups compete almost ultimately to influence decision-making processes in different issue-areas in which "there is no overall 'ruling elite' and power is distributed pluralistically" (2004, p. 5).

These are well-known standard critiques of the elite and pluralist perspectives that many critical scholars agree on. However, as Medvetz demonstrates, the real nature of the discrepancy between them becomes only apparent from a vantage point fortified with the sociology of intellectuals:

> Put simply, if we take a step back and consider the wider relationship between the elite theorists and the pluralists themselves, then the debate begins to seem less like a straightforward argument about think tanks per se than an euphemized battle between two sets of intellectuals over their own proper social role (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 10).

As a result, by following Medvetz (2012a, p. 11), we can say that the two perspectives get stuck in what Gil Eyal and Larissa Buchholz (2010) call the "problematic of allegiance" in their approach to intellectuals. As mentioned above, by this phrase, Eyal and Buchholz refer to a mode of analysis focused on the question of an intellectual's terminal fidelity or commitments which characterizes the great majority of approaches in the classical sociology of the intellectual. The main problem with thinking concerning intellectuals in this way is that it tends to oblige scholars to assign an ideal, mission, or function to which the intellectual devote themselves to. Consequently, scholars operating with this mode of analysis have to establish a separating line between authentic intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals.

The antinomy between the elite and the pluralist perspectives, therefore, can be read under the light of their definitional insights about the intellectual. Whereas the elite theory perspective propounds that think tanks are not genuinely units of intellectual intervention and production and their affiliated experts are not truly intellectuals, but rather mere servants of power, the pluralists tend to see think tanks as a kind of intellectual organization and experts as free-thinking intellectual producers.

The third and chronologically the most recent perspective that academic scholars have used to analyze think tanks is *institutionalism.* The family approaches that can be subsumed under the rubric of institutionalism seems to provide some correctives to the aforesaid drawbacks of the elite and the pluralist theories. As distinct from these two perspectives, the institutionalists "focus on the structural environments in which think tanks

are embedded, the rules and norms that shape their behavior, and the organizational arrangements and processes to which they must respond" (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 12-13). The main veins in this approach focus on "epistemic communities"[15], or "policy-planning networks" (Burris, 1992) of politically engaged professionals and experts. For example, Teichler (2007) portrays think tank-affiliated policy experts sharing the same "normative beliefs" and "consensual knowledge" as members of a distinct epistemic community and investigates how they shape the political agenda and contribute to the policy making process.

Describing the think tank-affiliated actors as professional experts in an epistemic community and think tanks as members of the "organizational ecology" (Hannan & Freeman, 1989), the institutional approach seems to suggest an escape from the problematic of allegiance of classical sociology of intellectuals that hampered both the elite and the pluralist theory. However, as Medvetz (2012a, p. 14) points out, when applied to think tanks, the idea of shared certain brand of expertise, scientific knowledge, and normative belief tends to conceal as much as it illuminates. For, it is too difficult to assume that think tank-affiliated actors are obviously engaged in a coherent professional ethos, being equipped with different sets of skills, credentials and form of expertise.

1.4. Think Tanks in Turkish Academic Discourse

Compared to the North American and British experience, think tanks are relatively new organizational forms for Turkey. And the think tank-affiliated intellectuals are emerging social actors. Accordingly, the topic of think tanks is a considerably new phenomenon for Turkish academics. Any student of the topic can readily see that Turkish think tank literature dates back only since the early 2000s.[16] Before this term, there were only

[15] Peter Haas (1992, p. 3) defines *epistemic community* as "a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area."

sporadic references to the term *think tank*, if we leave off several articles that were directly about the topic. Seemingly, just several academics have approached think tanks as their research object and moved them toward to the center of their analyses.

Looking at the studies dealing with the topic, it is evident that there is much elusiveness around the idea of a think tank. First of all, there is even a disagreement about the naming of these organizations in the Turkish language. If studies using the term "think tank" without translating it into Turkish are left aside, a plethora of phrases can be seen such as *düşünce küpü* (Alpkaya & Kavas, 1993), *akıl deposu* (Bora & Peker, 1999), *düşünce üretim merkezi* (Erhan, 2005), *düşünce kuruluşu* (Güvenç 2006, Taşkın 2006), *düşünce fabrikası* (Tezcek, 2009), *stratejik araştırma merkezi* (seen both in the heading of the compilation and the large majority of the articles in Kanbolat & Karasar, 2009), *düşünce merkezi* (Sönmez 2009, Kanbolat 2009), and *araştırma merkezi* (Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt, 2010).

Second, a similar nominal disagreement is prevalent in the denomination of think tank-affiliated actors or think tankers. In this case, when some academics prefer the category of "researcher" (araştırmacı), others use more weighty terms such as "strategist" (*stratejist*) or "expert" (*uzman* and/or in more specific sense *siyasa uzmanı, bölge uzmanı, strateji uzmanı* etc.). In this study, I will prefer the term "intellectual" in a more generic and neutral sense to keep away from the "rhetorical" connotation of the terms of *expert* and *strategist* prevailing as a dominant discourse in the studies on think tanks in Turkey. With a clearly expressed opinion that there is a lack of expert(ise) regarding think tanks in terms of both quality and quantity, many academics take a normative stance towards their research subject. By a "normative stance", I mean that they propound the lack of expertise not as a statement derived from scientific

[16] For instance, see Okman (1987), Baker & Şen (1994), Bora (2001), Erhan (2005), Uzgel (2005), Karabulut (2005, 2012), Keskin (2005), Aydın (2006), Güvenç (2006, 2007), Taşkın (2006), Karakurt (2007), Bilhan (2008), articles in Kanbolat & Karasar (2009), Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt (2010), Kurt (2011), Aras & Toktaş (2012), Tezcek (2009, 2011), Kaya (2012), Sala (2012), Genç (2013), Yıldız et al. (2013), and Çınar (2014).

investigation but as one of the fundamental problems that think tanks should overcome at once.[17] It is possible to observe that there is an almost exact correspondence between the think tank-affiliated social actors' jeremiad about the lack of expert – I lean on a finding of my field research here – and academic scholars' approach to the issue.

Third, the literature existing on think tanks is mostly descriptive and superficial in nature. This fact is, no doubt, related to the topics novelty and peculiarity that make it difficult to explore. Furthermore, I would argue, this can be also associated with the lack of methodological and epistemological vigilance by scholars that any work of social science requires. Such a problem can be seen, for example, in Aziz Aydın's work on "the genesis of think-tank culture in Turkey" (2006).[18] Aydın begins his study with a presentation of the think tank literature as usual in order to construct a general framework for think tanks including their definitions, classifications, historical developments, functions, influences, and funding. Nevertheless, he neither discusses the pros and cons of the different perspectives on think tanks by establishing a critical dialogue with the literature, nor does he offer a new viewpoint by which we may handle think tanks. The main body of his work is devoted to "the evolution of think tanks in Turkey" in which all of the organizations in Turkey that seem as think tanks (total number is 46) are mentioned in terms of their founders, foundation years and places, working areas, publications etc. in one or two pages. Such a presentation of the topic, which is characterized with the rehearsal of the basic information about Turkish think tanks, seems more of a catalogue that one can clearly see by looking at the web sites of the mentioned organizations rather than a historical analysis through which one can hold a view as to how and why these organizational bodies have spawned in the social structure. In the absence of any scientific problem or an intellectual puzzle,

[17] As a representative sample, see Karasar's (2009) article bringing forward some proposals for the cultivation of what he calls "ideal expert".

[18] It is the first dissertation concerning think tanks, submitted to the Department of International Relations of the Middle East Technical University.

methodological and epistemological wariness, and a representative sample, it is inevitable to construct a prosaic narration about the genesis of "think tank culture" keeping power relations between elite groups from analysis.

Moreover, Aydın's study's shortcomings can be found in many similar academic research associated with the topic. These shortcomings may be ascribed to the limits of the analytical and methodological tools of the discipline of "international relations" in Turkey. It is easy to diagnose that most of the scientific research on think tanks in Turkey has been done by those who are operating in the international relations discipline which is sometimes located as a sub-branch of political science in the Turkish academic field, but largely is promoted as a distinct and relatively autonomous working area. These studies commonly have handled think tanks as an ascending actor in Turkish foreign policy, playing a role in the formation of national securitization and foreign policy making and transfer processes. Even though the studies[19] are somehow significant to understand the affect of these organizations, they all tend to belt think tanks to its mission in the field of foreign policy.

Fourth, the existing literature is also rife with quasi-scientific and even idealistic accounts about the role of think tanks, hinging upon conspiracy theorising or ideological constructions, rather than clear evidence or argumentation derived from scientific investigation. Dramatically, such a kind reasoning can be even encountered in the writings of academic social scientists alongside military officers and diplomats, "seeing like a state" and speaking the language of power politics (*Machtpolitik*), by locating these organizations (*strategic research centers* in their lexicon) as one of the builders of the national and official state strategies. To illustrate, Çeçen (2009, p. 196) imagines Turkish think tanks as national forces that would eternize the Turkish Republic by amplifying it in a contentious new world order through creating the "new Turkish thought",

[19] See especially Karaosmanoğlu & Onulduran (2004), Erhan (2005), Güvenç (2006, 2007), Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt (2010), Aras & Toktaş (2012).

as distinct from exterior think tanks which are “Trojan horses of imperialim”. Needless to say, such pseudo-scientific essays in which authors project their ideals, expectations, and value-laden judgements onto their objects hinder a scientific understanding of the subject matter.

Last but not the least, most of the studies concerning think tanks of Turkey have tended to use organization-centered modes of explanation which analytically focusing on the organization *per se* rather than taking think tank-affiliated actors as their unit of analysis. By this determination, I would not like to trivialize the organization-based approach and put actor-based modes of analysis forward at the expense of the former. But rather, I want to emphasize that these “two separate but complementary modes of analysis” (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 25) can be interconnected through the field-analytic perspective shifting our focus from static organizational entities or actors to dynamic system of relations (i.e., *field*) of which they are part. By virtue of this combination, despite the tension between them, we can both construct the place of think tanks in the broader social space and understand the specific *illusio* of a distinct kind of social agent; both objectivist social topology of the think tank space and subjectivist phenomenology of policy think tank-affiliated intellectuals; both material and symbolic dimensions of policy research.

CHAPTER 2

HOW TO THINK ABOUT THINK TANKS?

The introduction chapter provided a bird's eye view of think tank literature as well as the general corpus of the sociology of intellectuals. In this chapter, I will be discussing think tank literature again with respect to a few but substantial problems, which are more or less salient throughout the prominent studies in this area. To suggest a more fine-grained argumentation and even reconstruction regarding my research object, I find such a discussion necessary and ineluctable.

2.1. The Problem of Definition

What is a think tank or how should one define it?[20] This is the fundamental question all of the scholars who wants to grasp the think tank and its location within society have attempted to adress. It could be comfortably said that the peculiar difficulty every scholar compromises on is that the category of think tank per se is elusive, unsteady, and controversial. Many scholars begin their discussion by propounding the specific hardness of an accurate and encompassing description of think tanks. For instance, as Abelson argues, "These organizations elude simple definition, in large part because there is no consensus about what constitutes a think tank" (2002, p. 8). Stone and Garnett, in the same direction with Abelson, label the term think tank as "slippery" and imply

[20] In his blog on think tanks, Enrique Mendizabal, who is an independent researcher and adviser to think tanks, agglomerates different ways of defining think tanks. Interestingly enough, at the end of his article, he asks the reader to answer the poll to determine the most useful way of defining think tanks. The options in Mendizabal's poll may give an idea concerning the definitional variation of think tanks: legal definition, existing normative definitions, size and focus, evolution or stage development, funding sources, balance between research, source of arguments, manner in which research agenda is set, influencing approaches, audiences, affiliation, relational definitions, functional descriptions. See, Mendizabal (2011).

the specific difficulties of defining think tanks due to "the diversity of style, activity and focus of these organizations, alongside cultural variations" (1998, p. 3).[21] Weaver and McGann (2009) also write "defining think tanks, and establishing clear boundaries as to which organizations fit within the category, is one of the most conceptually difficult tasks in analyzing these organizations" (p. 4).

However, expressing the fuzziness and ambiguity surrounding their subject matter do not hamper the scholars to *normatively* define think tanks in a priori sense at the outset of their analyses. For the scholars, if think tanks are a voice like many other organizations in civil society or the public sphere as pluralists often utter, it should draw the line between them and similar organizational bodies such as activist organizations, pressure groups, consultant firms, government research bureaus, university-affiliated policy centers etc. This is because, "the boundaries between think tanks and other groups are blurring" (Stone, 2007a, p. 151). For this reason scholars have tried to give a normative account of the think tank separating it from its akin organizations. As Medvetz subtly demonstrates, they have tried to resolve the problem of demarcation "by simply stating that 'true' think tanks are policy-oriented research organs marked by formal separation from government, party, and market institutions" (2012a, p. 31). The hyphothesis of formal independence or autonomy can be seen most by the Anglo-American authors operating within both pluralist and institutionalist traditions.

For instance, Weaver and McGann give an operational definition of think tanks based on mostly Anglo-American experience. In their view, think tanks are "policy research organizations that have *significant autonomy* from government and from societal interests such as firms, interest groups, and political parties" (emphasis added; Weaver & McGann, 2009, p. 5). In similar way, Rich defines think tanks as "independent, non-interest-based, non-profit organizations that produce and principally rely

[21] In their introduction to their new compilation about think tanks, *Think Tank Traditions* (2004) that is a follow-up monograph of *Think Tanks Across Nations* (1998), Stone and Denham note that all of their contributors point to the dilemma of definition. (2004, p. 2).

on expertise and ideas to obtain support and to influence the policy making process" (2004, p. 11). In a relatively new article on the topic called *Revisiting the Think-Tank Phenomenon*, Pautz (2011) devotes several pages to "redefine" the think tank. He revises the definition by claiming that the "not-for-profit" criterion, which is a strong component of the definitions of Weaver & McGann and Rich, should be excluded from any definition of the think tank due to its mere legal characteristics and ineffectiveness to understand particularly the UK and the US think tanks that enjoy charitable status and tax-exemption status respectively. Nonetheless, this revision does not let the author to surpass the premise of independence or autonomy. According to Pautz's redefinition: "think-tanks are non-governmental institutions; *intellectually, organizationally and financially autonomous* from government, political parties or organized interests; and set up with the aim of influencing policy" (emphasis added; Pautz, 2011, p. 423).

In my point of view, this definitional frame is not too illuminating to approach the think tank phenomenon for several reasons. First of all, as indicated above, this definition prioritizes the British, American, and Canadian think tank models over its counterparts in the rest of the world. In Continental Europa, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the term *think tank* may be used to refer to organizations directly affiliated with or dependant on universities, government agencies, political parties, unions, companies, trade associations or interest groups. For instance, as Gellner points out, "the German political system has only a few institutions which correspond directly to the organizationally independent US-style think tanks. Typical German think tanks are the research institutes and advisory bodies which are associated with a foundation or an interest group" (Gellner, 1998, p. 82). In addition to the absence of organizational autonomy, most of the German think tanks are also financially dependant to the support of the Federal Government or the *Länder*. The trajectory of Northeast Asian think tanks also differs from the Anglo-American experience of think tanks and destabilizes the normative definition promoting the concept of independence. In this region, think

tanks *typically* are affiliated with a corporation or an industry, a political party, a university or the government.[22] At the inception of her article on think tanks in Japan, Korea, China, and Taiwan, Ueno addresses the definitional impasse:

> If we use the Western definition of a think tank as a non-profit, nongovernmental research institution that generates independent policy research and recommendations on domestic and international issues for the purpose of serving the people, and if we exclude the research arms of private industry, there are almost no think tanks in east Asia (Ueno, 2009, p. 223).

The Turkish experience regarding think tanks constituting the research object of this study also destabilizes the definitional approach based on the idea of formal independence. For instance, some of the leading and extensively recognized think tanks in Turkey have organic links with universities like the Istanbul Policy Center, (affiliated with Sabancı University), with trade associations like the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (founded and still supported by The Union of Chambers and Commodity), or with government agencies like Center for Strategic Research (the research center of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Second, the tenet of organizational or financial independence easily leads to the corollary suggestion of "*cognitive* independence"[23] (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 32). This concept sometimes appears as "intellectual independence" or "scholarly autonomy" in the works on think tanks. To illustrate, Pautz suggests, "scholarly autonomy is important for an

[22] Think tanks in Japan, for instance, have been historically used by the government or the ruling party to promote economic growth by making developmental plans related to the vast national investments (Ueno, 2009, p.228). This case shows that think tanks could operate as a consulting or a planning board rather than an *independent* policy research organization in the countries practising corporatist developmental strategies.

[23] The notion of cognitive independence or autonomy has been one of the most essential problematics of the sociology of intellectuals, knowledge, and science from their inceptions. For the purpose of my discussion, I will operationally use it in the sense of intellectuals' *relative autonomy* from the constraint of existing institutions and obligations of political or economic forces.

organization if it is to be classified as a think-tank" (2011, p. 422). Diane Stone who has numerous papers on think tanks connects these different types of autonomy together on the assumption that independent policy research institutes "do not have a fixed or dependent policy position – they are *intellectually independent*. The nature of their work is determined by the institute rather than any specific *interest*" (emphasis added; Stone, 1996, p. 15). In one of her similar studies, she defines *scholarly independence* as a concept, which is reliant on certain practices within a think tank such as the process of peer review or commitment to open inquiry instead of directed research (Stone, 2004, p. 4-5). However, I am not convinced by this narrow identification since it reduces the concept of scholarly autonomy to an intra-organizational problem. Rather, scholarly autonomy is related to the *degree of autonomy of the field* or field-like space in which think tank-affiliated intellectuals create their intellectual productions. In other words, the notion of cognitive, intellectual, or scholarly autonomy, refers the field's capacity "to insulate itself from external influences and to uphold its own criteria of evaluation over and against those of neighboring or intruding fields" (Wacquant, 2007, p. 269).[24]

From my standpoint, Stone's emphasis on the intellectual independence of think tanks and their affiliated experts is neither convincing nor explanatory. Instead of investigating empirically how or to what extent the actors of think tank space are free from constraints or interests of external forces, this approach "prejudge the character of think tank and its products" (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 32).[25] Put it differently, authors clinging to the premise of independence obstruct the construction of think tanks as a research object by approaching it as given pre-constructed object. I would like to argue that the task of a socio-scientific study which is to

[24] It also should be noted that only the constitution of a relatively autonomous intellectual field is able to bring about the appearance of a cognitively independent intellectual figure, "who does not recognize nor wish to recognize any obligations other than the intrinsic demands of his creative project" (Bourdieu, 1969, p. 91).

[25] Such a prejudgment can be seen in the statements like, "think tanks are a repository of 'independent' and 'scholarly' experts" (Stone, 2007a, p. 152).

some extent related to intellectuals would be more than to sanguinely label some intellectuals, intellectual practices and products as "independent" by their nature without probing what kind of intellectual practices think tanks attend to.

2.2. The Problem of Location

Another problem, which is closely associated with the problem of definition, any scholar somehow faces, is how to locate think tanks accurately with respect to the state, civil society, and market. Most of the scholars have tended to solve the problem of location by treating think tanks as a form of civil society organizations specializing in the production of knowledge relative to the process of public policy. This stance especially prevalent in the academic studies of think tanks that can be gathered under the rubric of pluralist model conceiving think tanks as a distinct organizational entity among many others in civil society. McGann and Sabatini's following expressions evidently epitomize this position:

> Civil society comprises range of associations that occupy the space between government and its citizens. Think tanks are one type of civil society organization. As objective, independent policy analysts and producers representing neither the public, nor the private sector, think tanks constitute an important part of a strong civil society (McGann & Sabatini, 2011, p. 13).

However, I do not find the concept of civil society compelling enough to analyze think tanks and their place in social space for some reasons. The first reason is that the concept of civil society does not reflect the complexity of the social world in which the sharp lines between the civil society and its "constitutive other", the state and the market, are blurring. For the purposes of my argument here let me define the concept of civil society operationally as the aggregate of institutions and organizations

apart from both the state and the market economy.[26] This tripartite division of society - state, civil society and the market which is truly a product of the 19th century social thought - was based on the assumption that these three sectors of the social world are independent of each other and their boundaries can be distinguished.[27] I would like to argue that this "holy trinity" of early modernity is not sufficient to explain the social reality of our time since it became blurred with the overlapping and intertwined boundaries of state, civil society, and the market. Through the 20th century, civil society mostly has been a terrain to be assimilated or invaded by the market and the state. For this reason, I contend that civil society is not a sphere which is autonomous and independent from the invasion of economic and bureaucratic fields. The following passage draws attention to the analytical futility of separating these three spheres from each other:

> [T]he distinction of state/market/civil society is quite simply an implausible one, as any real actor in the real world knows. The market is constructed and constrained by the market and the civil

[26] In their monumental treatise, Cohen and Arato (1992) propound a normative model of civil society referring a societal realm of interaction different from both the state and the economy with the following organizing chief characteristics: "(1) *Plurality*: families, informal groups, and voluntary associations whose plurality and autonomy allow for a variety of forms of life; (2) *Publicity*: institutions of culture and communication; (3) *Privacy*: a domain of individual self-development and moral choice; and (4) *Legality*: structures of general laws and basic rights needed to demarcate plurality, privacy, and publicity from at least the state and, tendentially, the economy. Together, these structures secure the institutional existence of a modern differentiated civil society" (p. 346).

[27] As Wallerstein et al. (1996, p. 36) argues, the sharp distinction between the market, the state, and the civil society is one of the lines of cleavage in the system of disciplines of the social sciences being structured in the late nineteenth century. In this division of labor, sociology as the science of the civil society distinguishes itself from economics (science of the market) and political science (science of the state). According to the same authors, the social sciences was institutionalized under the epistemological and methodological impact of deterministic models within the natural sciences, particularly Newtonian physics based on the idea of certainty, linearity, reversibility, and equilibrium. Burawoy, on the other hand, sees sociology as originated from and protecting the interests of civil society as distinct from political science and economics manufacturing ideological bombs that justify both "state despotism" and "market tyranny" (Burawoy 2005, p. 24). Both Wallerstein and Burawoy admit that the boundaries of state, economy, and society are blurring. Nevertheless, when Wallerstein suggests that social sciences should give up this trilateral framework, Burawoy maintains the division by attributing a normative and privileged role to sociology adhered to society in defence of the public.

> society. *And the civil society is defined by the state and the market.* One cannot separate these three modes of expression of actor's interests, preferences, identities, and wills into closeted arenas about which different groups of people will make scientific statements, *ceteris paribus* (emphasis added; Wallerstein, 1999, p. 246-247).

In Bourdieu's conceptual framework that I will deploy in this study, state-civil society-market division does not carry any value in an analytical sense. As Swartz points out, Bourdieu refuses to parcel out the social order into three separate entities or spheres (2013, p. 184). Rather, he offers one to think that the *social space* is consisted of differentiated and relatively autonomous domains what he calls *field* such as artistic, scientific, economic, or political. This model gives us a more dynamic and complex representation as to the social world in which the boundary and the degree of autonomy of any field is an empirical question. I will elaborate this point later, but now, in the context of my discussion here, permit me to quote a passage from one of Bourdieu's later books, *The Social Structures of the Economy*. In this work, Bourdieu rejects the deeply rooted state/civil society dichotomy in harmony with his general endeavor to transcend Cartesian dualities of social theory:

> It is not easy to determine concretely where state ends and 'civil society' begins. … In fact, abandoning the dichotomy, which may produce its effects in 'debates on the state of society', we have rather to speak the language of differential access to specifically bureaucratic resources – law, regulations, administrative powers, etc. - and to power over these resources, which the canonical distinction, as noble as it is empty leads us to forget (Bourdieu, 2005b, p. 163-165).

To crystallize this point, let me shortly discuss the example of the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı*, *TEPAV*), which is thought to be one of the most significant think tanks in Turkey by many accounts. Where should

we definitely situate the TEPAV with regard to state, civil society and the market? One could remark that the TEPAV was founded with the fund provided by the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (*Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği, TOBB*) which is an organization that represents the private sector which consisted of the commerce and industry chambers, and, it has developed projects and laid out policy proposals in the name of the TOBB since its foundation. For this reason, one could easily claim that the TEPAV seems as a lobbying firm operating in the market rather than working as a typical civil society organization. In other respects, one could underscore that the TEPAV is not a profit-oriented organization but a non-profit one, and therefore, it is outside of the market. Moreover, one could maintain his/her argument by indicating that the TEPAV is not, after all, an official government agency or a public institution. As a consequence, s/he could suggest that it should be located within the civil society as a non-governmental research organization.

Nonetheless, I would contend that the arguments mentioned above are not convincing for a social scientific analysis of think tanks. The TEPAV's official separation from the state, for instance, may be important in terms of tax law, but tells us very little concerning its influence. After all, the TEPAV is in close connection with governmental institutions from the presidency to the ministries: "We are ultimately an actor in Ankara. By means of our connections, we could enter the rooms of ministries in which laws are prepared to work together with them" said one of the senior officials of the TEPAV (author interview, December 30, 2013). Moreover, it could be said that the TEPAV's non-profit status does not make it automatically "non-market". Its considerable portion of funding and endowment springs from the TOBB and the private sector. It should be also added that the TEPAV, from its inception, has championed a "market-centered growth strategy" (Tezcek, 2011, p. 235-247) and gave intellectual support to the consolidation of the private sector and well-functioning market.

In addition to aforementioned analytical problems, I also have some drawbacks concerning the explanatory power of the term civil society in the context of Turkey. In the debates regarding the Turkish experience of socio-political modernization and capitalist development, the state-centric modes of explanations such as the "center-periphery" model (Mardin, 1973) and the "strong state tradition" thesis (Heper, 1985) has been methodologically and epistemologically influential.[28] In these studies, the Ottoman-Turkish state tradition, if any, is described with the duality between a strong political/bureaucratic center and a weak periphery. According to Heper (1985), this strong state tradition in which political, economic, and social power is concentrated on the Ottoman state was taken over by modern Turkish politics and impeded the emergence of a powerful civil society. Mardin's analysis similarly is based on the inference of "the lack of civil society" (Mardin, 2007, p. 18) in the Ottoman-Turkish social order characterized with the enduring and stable political and military structures. In Turkish history, a sphere of civil society functioning as a mediator to appease the social conflicts between the center and the periphery as seen in the history of Western societies is not found (Mardin, 1995).[29]

I will not trace the whole story of the concept of civil society in Turkish social science literature. Rather, I would like to assert that the civil society debate in Turkey has got stuck in the "problematic of absence" for decades. By this phrase, I mean that social scientists have primarily dealt with the question of whether or not there is a civil society in Turkey. The concomitant problem that Turkish academic scholars have tackled with is how to draw the line between the civil society and the state. The "problematic of demarcation" or where the boundaries of the civil society lie, as Bourdieu indicates, have produced and reproduced the useful but

[28] For critiques of "center-periphery paradigm" and "strong state tradition thesis", see respectively Arlı (2006) and Dinler (2009).

[29] Mardin's "the lack of civil society" thesis has some orientalist implications in terms of implying that the absence of a civil society a la Occident in Turkish history is a flaw that should be overcome. For a detailed analysis of Mardin's work and its relation to Orientalism, see Arlı (2004). It should be also noted that from a different standpoint, Küçükömer (1994) also emphasizes the absence of civil society.

actually empty dichotomies like the state and civil society among social scientists.[30]

Additionally, it could be argued that many left wing and liberal Turkish intellectuals have paid attention to the notion of civil society as a *normative* category of political discourse rather than an *analytical* category from the 1980's to the present in parallel with the renaissance of the idea of civil society throughout the world. In 1970s and 1980s, the Central and Eastern European dissident intellectuals deployed this concept as an integral part of their political discourse that they had developed to democratically oppose Soviet power. The Polish exiled intellectual Leszek Kolakowski, for instance, regarded the destruction of the autonomy of civil society, namely of independent social life, as the key feature of communist totalitarianism (Goldfarb, 1998, p. 90). In the lexicon of the Czechoslovakian dissident intellectuals, in the same vein as the Kolakowski's formulation, the concept of civil society referred to the "self-organization of the society" sharply contrasted with the "mechanical order of the state plan"; to put it more explicitly, it connotes an alternative kind of art of government - actually a neoliberal one - based on individual responsibility of citizens and the rule of law central, rather than state intervention to socio-economic activities and central planning (Eyal, p. 67-72).

What I would like to accentuate is that the concept of civil society has been used by many members of the intellectual field of Turkey not as an operational and analytical term but as a discursive and value-laden buzzword. The Özal period, for instance, was welcomed by many

[30] In passing, I would like to accentuate some limits of the state-centric modes of explanation in theorizing the state by drawing on Timothy Mitchell's sophisticated criticism of statist approaches. As opposed to the approaches taking the state as a separate self-sustained entity, whether an agent having subjective intentions such as rule-making and policy-making or an organization autonomous from society, Mitchell (1992) proposes to examine the state as a "structural effect" of political practices constantly blurring the boundaries between the state and society: "The state should be addressed as an effect of detailed processes of spatial organization, temporal arrangement, functional specification, and supervision and surveillance, which create the appearance of a world fundamentally divided into state and society" (Mitchell, 1992, p. 95).

intellectuals as a deepening of political pluralism, demilitarization, and democratization, a strengthening of the market economy and an "autonomization of politics and civil society" (Göle, 1994). They have seen the emergence and expansion of civil society as an antidote to the domination of the repressive state, a prerequisite for the democratization of the political society, a sphere of freedom in which identities and new social movements find an opportunity for representation. This is why many scholars have shifted their analytical focus from the state to (civil) society from the 1980s. Furthermore, it can be also observed that these intellectuals accused their opponents, who are criticizing or objecting to the reforms and implementations to consolidate civil society and the market, of being archaic and statist (Taşkın, 2013, p. 278). It can even be claimed that the ideological polarization between the left wing and right wing intellectuals prevalent in the intellectual field during the 1970s has been replaced by the new main dividing line between "statists" and "civil societists" in the intellectual field after the 1980s. The latter camp has tended to constitute politics through the binary opposition between the despot state (in Turkish, the phrase of *ceberrut devlet*) and the oppressed society.

The think-tank literature in Turkey is filled with emphases on think tanks', which are considered as parts of civil society, a positive contribution to the democratization of political culture in a normative way and with a positive presupposition. In their reasoning, scholars have tended to establish a simple cause and effect relationship between two variables, the proliferation of think tanks and the progress of civil society and democracy. This posture is clear in one of the comprehensive studies on the topic. Aydın's following expression epitomizes this sanguine pluralist account of think tanks by ruling power relations out of his analysis:

> [L]ike in the other countries, think tanks in Turkey contribute to a mere plural and open society by promoting a diversity of political analyses and policy opinion. A diversity of think-tanks strengthens the democratic functioning of society by educating the public and providing another forum for political debate and participation. Thus

one of the main functions of think-tanks is to strengthen civil society in Turkey (Aydın, 2006, p. 134).

2.3. Constructing the Object: A Field-Analytical Approach to Think Tanks

I have propounded some problems and limitations prevailing the modes of definition, conception and analysis of think tanks and think tank intellectuals. In this sub-chapter, I would like to propose a more generative socio-scientific approach to think tanks, e.g. the relational sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, which would enable us to overcome aforesaid predicaments of the literature focusing either on Anglo-American experience or its Turkish counterparts.[31] Permit me first to delineate the conceptual repertoire of relational socio-analysis of Bourdieu, after that I will discuss how this tool box would provide advantages in understanding our subject matter.

According to Bourdieu, sociology presents itself as a *social topology* and thus, the entire social universe could be represented as a space (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 723). This topological understanding of society or *field theory*[32] is constructed on the concepts of *social space* and *field*. In this frame, the concept of *social space* refers that the whole social structure could be topologically represented as a relational and multidimensional configuration of positions generated by the composition and volume of different varieties of resource, i.e. *capital* current in a given moment. In modern societies, *fields* as various differentiated and relatively autonomous domains of action in which agents such as individuals, social classes or groups strive for obtaining valuable resources and designating the criteria of legitimation comprise of social

[31] Medvetz's (2012a, 2012b) seminal Bourdieusian study on American think tanks that I take inspiration is the first attempt to develop both a relational conception and the general theory of think tanks.

[32] For a comprehensive account on its characteristics, histories and versions in the social sciences, see Martin's (2003) classical paper.

space.[33] A field, as Bourdieu purports specific to the artistic field, is a two-dimensional peculiar locus as a "field of forces" and "field of struggles" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 30). It is primarily a field of forces (*magnetic field*), where mutual relations between positions and dispositions are constrained and hierarchically ordered by (both symbolic and material) external mechanisms. Nonetheless, it is also a field of struggles (*battlefield*), where agents and groups are aiming at preserving or transforming of the configuration of potential and active forces (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101) and vying over the control of valued material and symbolic resources at stake in spite of the external constraints. A succinct definition of field encapsulating these points, in Bourdieu's own words, as follows:

> In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97).

A relational social analysis based on field theory then should initially begin by describing the special social space, e.g., the field, which is going to be scrutinized, whether of academia, law, literature and so on. As Martin (2003, p. 23) indicates, even though they are connected in the substratum of the same social space, fields may be treated as analytically distinct (and their scope and degree of autonomy is an empirical question). Only through such a construction, the scholar can form a basis to understand the logic of the game peculiar to the field; a game in which

[33] For an analytic and elaborative account on the relation between the notions of social space and field, see Vandenberghe (1999), p. 53.

there is an ongoing struggle between the dominants and the subordinates, in other words, those who have an interest in preserving the rules of the game and those who are attempting to invalidate it.

What advantages could this model provide us to analyze think tanks? The first virtue of this approach is that it enables the researcher to shift his or her analytical focus from a particular object or entity labelled as *think tank*, or individuals to the system of social relations (that of struggle, cooperation, hierarchy, intellectual production etc.) in which they are established (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 34-35).[34] Scholars, as outlined above, have tended to treat think tanks as static and peculiar "things" with substantial properties that every members share such as being autonomous, independent, non-profit, free-thinking and so on. For that reason, they have taken a kind of *substance* as their major unit of inquiry, rather than a dynamic space of *relations* that think tanks reside.[35] Furthermore, the relational social analysis refuses to deploy a unit of analysis such as the individual, group, society, organization or state prior to the empirical investigation. The overarching point is that with respect to the structure and characteristics of the field that is going to be examined, all of these different units could be included in the analysis not as separate entities with their essential properties but as participators of a social game with their positional features. In our case, actors within the field are not only think tanks and intellectuals, but also individuals and organizations, for instance, providing financial support to think tanks; people or institutions benefiting from the knowledge or ideas that think tanks produce and so on.

The concomitant benefit is that the field-analytic approach rejects describing a phenomenon on paper or in a priori way. Thus, in this

[34] Bourdieu reminds us that the true research object of social science is not individuals or institutions but "it is the field which is primary and must be the focus of the research operations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 107).

[35] The choice between *substantalist* and *relationalist* modes of analysis constitutes the most fundamental dilemma that sociologists face. And this choice is of course the result of the socio-ontological preference between the point of view conceiving the social world as consisting in static things or substances and that of seeing it as consisting in dynamic processes or relations (Emirbayer, 1997, p. 281-282).

framework, the intellectual independence of think tanks or cognitive autonomy of think-tank affiliated intellectuals is not a given quality immanent in their (pre)definition, but a question one can only answer through empirical research. Moreover, it should be noted that the boundary of categories of the social world are objects of permanent symbolic contest amongst individuals and groups in regard to the field-centered mode of investigation. This symbolic struggle of demarcation and definition is principally prevalent in intellectual fields:

> In fact, one of the major issues at stake in the struggles that occur in the literary or artistic field is the definition of the limits of the field, that is, of legitimate participation in the struggles. Saying of this or that tendency in writing that 'it just isn't poetry' or 'literature' means refusing it a legitimate existence, excluding it from the game, excommunicating it. This symbolic exclusion is merely the reverse of the effort to impose a definition of legitimate practice, to constitute, for instance, as an eternal and universal essence a historical definition of an art or a genre corresponding to the specific interests of those who hold a certain specific capital (Bourdieu, 1990a, 143-144).

For that reason, Bourdieu (1990a) warns us to be wary of the positivist vision, which for the needs of statistics arbitrarily determines who the real intellectual is and who is not, or what the real essence of the intellectual is (p. 143). In that vein, one of the central findings of my field study is that social actors of the think tank universe have different perceptions on both the think tank and the intellectual. The crucial point is that almost all of my interviewees, though in different degrees, was part of the symbolic struggle over what it *truly* means to be an intellectual or what a *true* think tanks is. Similar to the symbolic exclusion imposing the legitimate practice of novel or poetry in the literary field, the think tank space also tends to have its symbolic mechanism of exclusion enforcing its habitants, for example, to writing a *policy paper* in accordance with legitimate procedures of policy knowledge production prevailing in the field.

Another point is that the field analysis approach also provides us a relatively non-normative understanding of social order by comparison with widespread yet facile divisions such as state-civil society-market. In addition to its inadequate explanatory power to construe the complexity and intertwinement of social spheres[36], one of the shortcomings of this tripartite distinction, as I have pointed out above, is its conceptual baggage laden with normative presuppositions concerning the socio-historical trajectories of non-Occidental societies. I contend that the field theory provides a more operational and flexible tool set which could be employed in different national traditions and socio-historical experiences without falling into the pitfall of normativity. As Bourdieu indicates, "each national social space has its specific structure" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 726) and therefore the researcher should construct a field by considering the specific history of his country.[37]

Last but not least, field analysis as *topological* approach as I indicated above enables us to surpass the deficiencies of *typological* understanding of think tanks.[38] The mainstream scientific studies on think tanks, whether done in the Anglo-American world or Turkey, have tended to describe think tanks by developing typologies. Weaver (1989), for instance, in his well-recognized article, separated think tanks into three distinct types: "university without students" (the most academic and scholarly think tanks), "contract research organizations" (the most bureaucratic and consulting think tanks), and "advocacy tanks" (the most

[36] By indicating the complexity of social reality, I refer to a cardinal rigour of social sciences and particularly sociology. "The peculiar difficulty of sociology", Wacquant writes, "is to produce a precise science of an imprecise, fuzzy, wooly reality. For this it is better that its concepts to be polymorphic, supple, and adaptable, rather than defined, calibrated, and used rigidly". (Wacquant, 1992, p. 23).

[37] However, it should be noted that despite all of his epistemological vigilance and methodological sophistication prioritazing analytical concepts over normative terms, Bourdieu still espouses a normative position when he sees the autonomy of the fields of cultural prodcution as a positive signal. See particularly Bourdieu 1991a. This is most evident when he defends the autonomy of intellectuals against the penetration of the money and political influence into the field of cultural production. From my standpoint, Bourdieu's minimalist normative position-taking in defence of the autonomy of the fields is ultimately compatible with or logical outcome of his methodological approach.

[38] For a discussion on the topological representations versus typological representations of think tanks, see Medvetz (2012a), p. 132-137.

ideological and politically-engaged think tanks). McGann (2007, p. 11-12), replaces this early typology based on academics, advisors, and advocates with a new trilateral typology: "traditional think tanks" concentrating on scholarly policy research, "think-and-do tanks" conducting policy research and public outreach, and "do tanks" focusing on the repacking and disseminating of other think tanks' productions. Moreover, he classifies think tanks according to their types of affiliation, organizational structure and culture, and philosophical and political orientation. For instance, he distinguishes four specific types of affiliation for think tanks: party-affiliated, government sponsored, private or for-profit, and university based. In one of his earlier articles, he had distinguished not four but six different types of affiliation including the "quasi-governmental" and "quasi-independent" (McGann, 2002, p. 15).[39] In his study on Turkish think tanks, Aydın (2006, p. 115) adapts McGann's latter typology of affiliation by replacing the type of "quasi-governmental" with the "the branch offices of foreign think tanks".

This typology and all other typologies *ostensibly* seem judicious and persuasive. Nevertheless, I would argue that typologies tend to mystify as much as they enlighten. First of all, "they force us to establish arbitrary lines of separation among think tanks" (Medvetz, 2012a). Indeed, in spite of the whole diversification, it is almost impossible to find a think tank that can be associated with only one type. For example, a think tanks does not overtly pertain to just a particular or distinct type, but rather adhere mostly to more than one type. If we take the Turkish experience of think tanks into account, we could see that Weaver's renowned triple typology does not work well. This is because; a clear majority of think tanks in Turkey tend to heavily rely on academics as researchers. Furthermore, one can easily measure that many of these academics at the same time belong to the academic field as full-time and part-time faculty members,

[39] It can be noted that McGann uses the category of "autonomous and independent" instead of the category of "private and for profit" in the same article. Moreover, he claims that his typology captures the full range of think tanks all over the world; however, think tanks outside the United States generally are not as not autonomous as their American counterparts be (McGann, 2002, p. 15-16).

or graduate and doctoral students. This basic empirical fact suffices to destabilize the boundaries between the category of "university without students" and the other two categories.[40]

More than that, some think tanks operate both as an academic organization (university without students) and political or ideological (advocacy tanks) one at the same time. I would like to ensample this case by referring to a particular think tank; the Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (*Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Toplum Araştırmaları Vakfı, SETA*). As a research-based institution, SETA declares in its mission statement that it pursues "international scholarly standards" in its knowledge production processes (SETA Foundation, 2012). When compared to its counterparts in Turkey, SETA employs and mobilizes a relatively large group of academic researchers and experts from different disciplines and exuberantly produces policy papers to which SETA owes much of its prestige.

However, this is only one face of Janus. On the other hand, it can be said that SETA also operates like an "advocacy tank" by performing an ideological function or intervening for the political agenda for the benefit of the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP*) which has been in power since 2002. For that reason, SETA has been castigated by opponents of the AKP as being a partisan and propagandist think tank recently. In the past months, a columnist accused SETA of blurring "the line between independent thinking/analytical research and government advocacy ... to the point of almost being indistinguishable" (Bozkurt, 2013).[41] A pluralist also may charge SETA with producing ideas and knowledge based on political and ideological positioning, rather than neutral standing. However, I would disagree. As opposed to pluralists' Pollyanna tenet of neutrality, I claim that taking a political position or being implicitly or explicitly proximate to a political party, an interest group

[40] For educational backgrounds of expert staff at seven major think tanks, see Appendix.

[41] On the following day, SETA made a statement to the press on its website and labelled the allegations within this newspaper article as "black propaganda" against itself. See, http://setav.org/tr/seta-hedef-yapilmak-isteniyor/haber/14266

or an ideology is not an exception, but rather a norm for think tanks in Turkey. As Hatem Ete, the coordinator of Political Research at SETA, indicates, think tanks already produce knowledge from a political position:

> We have a position. When we write a text, we propound how we see an event from our perspective. We do not avoid this. ... The fact that our texts are related to a position does not irritate anyone. After all, if it is a think tank, it is supposed to have a position (author interview, January 6, 2014).

To put it another way, SETA like many other think tanks is a polymorphic organization which is trying to perform more than one function at the same time. On the one hand, it is true that SETA produces relatively eligible resources that make it influential in the policy-making processes; on the other hand, it appears, in any case, as an apologist of governmental actions. Against the reductionist inclinations of typologies rendering think tanks with one static function or property and drawing clear-cut lines between different types, I assert that think tanks in Turkey can be treated as characteristically mixed blood, multi-functional, and dynamic organizational unities that could not be adequately grasped by these typologies. If we think by Weaver's typology, we cannot really comprehend this bi-dimensional, even multi-dimensional, peculiarity of Turkish think tanks. This is because, both of these functions, despite an on-going tension between them, are constitutive elements of think tanks' identities and in the absence of any of them we can unwittingly miss the whole story.

Weaver's normative typology, as can be seen, does not fit in with the Turkish experience in relation to the discourse on think tanks. What about the others? McGann's typology, as noticed above, is a representative of a widespread trend in identifying the differences between think tanks in terms of their external connections. A think tank can be a party-affiliated, a government sponsored, a private, or a university based organization and so on. There are, of course, some think tanks in Turkey coinciding more or less with one of these types. Nevertheless, the crucial point is

that think tanks in Turkey have been deprived from properly arranged legal characteristics such as a charitable status (the UK) or a tax-exempt status (the US). This deprivation, to a large extent, makes intelligible the organizational diversity within the think tank world. To put it differently, the constitution and development of a think tank in Turkey may not be a product of intentional and rational calculation of its founders, but rather be the result of agents' strategic[42] responses to the structural restrictions (such as legal regulations) of the field. Therefore, a think tank can change its mode of organization over time. The following passage concisely encapsulates this point:

> In the absence of clear legal regulations for civil society organizations like think-tanks, the statues of think tanks launched by universities are subject to university regulations. Think tanks outside the university structure or official regulations are generally organized as foundations, associations or commercial enterprises. … A think tank may be established as an association if it decides to operate on a non-profit basis. This option exempts the think tank from tax obligations and financial regulations. … Foreign institutions are primarily organized as associations, and the number of representative branches of foreign think tanks has increased. The advantage of association status is the relative ease of establishment and the freedom of organizational structure. … Regardless of the limitations of foundation status, think tanks which operate as part of other extensive foundations or have additional aims such as the establishment of universities prefer this kind of status. Additionally, if the government accepts a foundation as a public interest institution, it can receive tax-deductible donations (Aras & Toktaş, 2012, p. 255-256).

[42] I use the term "strategy" here in the Bourdieusian sense. Bourdieu deploys the term to stress the interest-oriented character of human action aiming at maximizing symbolic or material benefit. However, as distinct from subjectivist forms of theory of action such as rational choice theory conceptualizing the concept of strategy as intended pursuit of targets based on rational calculation and conscious choice of individual actors, Bourdieu understands strategies as improvisational conducts, stemming mostly from agents' *practical sense*, which enables them to cope with unforeseen and changing situations.

Consequently, my analytical strategy is clearly derived from the conceptual toolbox of Pierre Bourdieu. I have already spoken of why I adopted his field-analytical approach as my central analytical strategy. Nevertheless, in this study, I will use his conceptual framework in its most extended form. This is because, the empirical case that I selected in fact does not precisely conform to the ideal-typical *field* whose properties have been introduced. At the following subpart, I will briefly argue recent extensions in the field theory and clarify how these revisions can be operationalized in conceptualizing think tanks.

2.4. The Field of Think Tank as a Space between Fields

The study of intellectuals applying field theory approach has been guided by a presupposition that the intellectual production and intervention tend to take place within substantially institutionalized and autonomous social spheres with well-defined boundaries. As a result of this presupposition, Bourdieu, his disciples, and other researchers deploying field analysis approach have been disposed to choose relatively institutionalized fields as their empirical cases. The academic field, for instance, has empirically attracted many scholars; as an highly institutionalized field and strictly bounded site in which knowledge producers integrate with formal structures such as faculties, departments, academic disciplines, and professional associations establishing administrative coordinates of intellectual intervention and knowledge production (Bourdieu 1988, 1996a, Ringer 1992, Kauppi 1996, Sabour 2001). Nonetheless, an emerging body of literature on intellectuals and experts have challenged this blueprint by focusing upon fields that are relatively less institutionalized.

These studies (Eyal 2002, 2006, 2013, Medvetz 2012a, 2012b, Stampnitzky 2011, 2013, Panofsky 2011, Vauchez 2008, 2011, Mudge & Vauchez 2012, Jacobs & Townsley 2011 to name a few) have centered upon so-called “weak”, “interstitial”, “liminal”, “lesser”, or “in-between”

fields of intellectual and knowledge production with permeable and porous boundaries making them susceptible to external intervention and influence, in contradistinction to the conventional applications of field theory constructing fields as separate and highly autonomous arenas of action with specific norms, defined boundaries, and distinct logic and resources distinguishing them from other fields. Interstitial fields represents ill-bounded and intersectional spaces of "oriented between and towards multiple arenas of knowledge production, consumption, and legitimation, including academia, the media, and the state" (Stampnitzky, 2011, p. 3). In my point of view, these new lines of inquiry finds its most mature expression in Gil Eyal's conceptualization of the "spaces between fields". Therefore, I will lay stress on this concept below in lieu of providing a complete discussion of the literature.[43]

Gil Eyal's idea of "spaces between fields" (Eyal, 2013) suggests a theoretical revision and extension to Bourdieu's approach by problematizing the conventional reading of field theory and entering it into a generative dialogue with the Latourian actor-network theory. In fact, this offer is a product of an empirical problem he confronted when studying on the history of Orientalist expertise in Arab affairs in Israel. In his socio-historical analysis, Eyal (2006) finds out that the position of research institutes in the network of intelligence expertise, where Middle Eastern studies and military intelligence intercept and blend, destabilizes the boundaries between the academic field, the bureaucratic field, the media, and the other states.[44] This positional peculiarity of research institutes

[43] It is worthy of note that those who contribute to the revision of the field analysis are scholars operating in the sociology of professions and expertise as well as the sociology of intellectuals. Especially the sociology of professions is where the concepts of "field" and "ecology", in Andrew Abbott's sense of term, can enter into a fruitful dialogue. Indeed, the concept of ecology, which refers to an intermediate social structure in which a particular individual action takes place (Abbott 2005a, 2005b), has strong affinities with the field notion. As analytical constructions and heuristic instruments, both they assist researchers to represent the social world with regard to a topological way of thinking. Even, some scholars from this area of study, such as Mudge and Vauchez (2012), compounds insights from the "linked ecologies" model of Andrew Abbott (2005a) with the Bourdieusian field analysis to handle less institutionalized forms of professions and expertise.

[44] Actually, I will not summarize the whole findings or arguments of Eyal's work to the aims of my discussion here. For details, see Eyal 2002, 2006, and 2013.

brings the problem of distinction and boundaries between fields into question. The question is that: If the research institutes are sites "where multiple resources, financial, academic, administrative, and social connections, are accumulated and converted into political influence, academic power, and even high-level political appointments" (Eyal, 2013, p. 171), how and where can one specify the location of them in the social space through the lenses of field theory?

This is why he needs the concept of *space between fields*, an interstitial and hybrid field-like space with its own modality of activity, relational reality, valuable resources, and specific logic and history. After all, the fact that *field* is not a concrete entity, an essence, or a thing but a notion, a heuristic hypothesis (Eyal, 2013, p. 162) and a metaphor to discover and represent the social universe so that it is a futile endeavor to reify it in a Durkheimian sense. Bourdieu himself, as I indicated above, spoken of and analyzed analytically distinct and autonomous spheres such as the religious field, the literary field, the economic field; however, he did not say much on relations between fields apart from the degree of autonomy of a particular field. The concept of autonomy, as Eyal justly implies, refers to actors' orientations but says very little concerning how to describe the modality of their activities (Eyal, 2013, p. 160-161). Table 2.1 summarizes the differences to be discussed below:

Table 2.1: Dimensions of the contrast between the conventional concept of the field and its revised version

	The Conventional Concept of the Field	**Revised Version of the Concept of Field**
Structuring	mature, well-established	immature, weak
Location	separate, distinct, bounded, relatively isolated sites	intermediate, interstitial, intersectional, liminal, in-between domains
Degree of Institutionalization	more institutionalized	less institutionalized
Degree of Autonomy	more autonomous	less autonomous, more heteronomous
Boundaries	well-defined	permeable, porous
Response to External Interventions	refraction	reflection
Resources	field-specific forms of capital	various forms of capital originally belonging to adjacent fields
Unit of Analysis	fields	spaces between fields
Mode of Relationality	analysis of the structure of relations between intra-field agents	analysis of the relations between fields themselves

This line of argument putting emphasis on the modality of activities alongside the orientations of actors can help us to better grasp the repertoire of action of a "think tanker". In fact, during my study, I have been preoccupied with how to describe the action of a think tank-affiliated social actor: Are their activities political, academic, or journalistic? For the most part, a typical think tank-affiliated intellectual in Turkey combines these three modalities of action within his identity. To illustrate this point,

let me provide an example of Fuat Keyman, the director of the Istanbul Policy Center, who can be considered as a salient representative of this type. He is one of the reputable and foremost political scientists and experts on international relations, democratization, globalization, and civil society in Turkey. As a professor, he is teaching at universities and publishing academic articles and books as is expected. Besides, these activities that can be classified as purely academic, he also regularly writes columns in op-ed pages of newspapers. Keyman also frequently appears in diverse television discussion programs to comment on actual socio-political problems and advancements. In addition to his academic and journalistic activities, he directs a prestigious think tank in Turkey along with taking place in the field of think tanks as a member of peer review (BİLGESAM's Journal of Bilge Strateji) and academic boards (USAK Academic Council) of various think tanks in Turkey. As Keyman himself says, he can be safely characterized as a "hybrid intellectual" (author interview, February 17, 2014).[45]

Keyman's statement about himself is a generative starting point to understand the matter. This hybridity and multi-dimensionality that Keyman speaks out does not pertain to only intellectuals, but also think tanks as organizational bodies. I have already stressed this point above specifically to SETA operating partly as a scholarly research center and partly as an advocacy organization. Some think tanks also partly operate like a consulting firm, an activist organization or a technocratic group and so forth.

Herein, one can object to my argument by arguing that think tanks, in the last instance, are policy research organizations conducting policy-relevant research and disseminating policy-relevant ideas and they should be evaluated as members of the political field[46], trying to affect

[45] Considering Turkish intellectual history, it can be claimed that think tank-affiliated intellectuals with their dispositional hybridity that Keyman indicates – part academics, part journalist and TV commentators, part advisor, part exponent and so on – constitute the most hybrid intellectual group ever seen in Turkish intellectual history.

[46] Bourdieu defines the political field as the domain of struggles in which political agents and institutions produce political products, programmes, analyses, and commentaries

policy-making processes. This suggestion, which is actually embraced by many of the scholars studying think tanks, at first glance seems reasonable. After all, to anyone somewhat familiar with think tanks, it is obvious that almost all of these organizations try to find a way of access – formal or informal – to politicians, bureaucrats, party executives, and governmental agencies in order to have an effect on policy processes. Yet, this fact alone does not suffice to conceptualize think tanks as habitants of the political or bureaucratic fields. In fact, many think tanks in Turkey also pay attention to avoid some modes of access to the political and bureaucratic fields such as establishing "too much political access, or in any case, access of the wrong form" (Medvetz, 2012b, p. 121). For instance, Keyman emphasizes that being proximate to a certain political party leads think tanks to suffer from a legitimacy problem (author interview, February 17, 2014). In order not to confront such a legitimacy problem, many Turkish think tanks strategically abstain from establishing close links with a single party or at least rhetorically declare that they are equally distant to every political party, ideological positions or identities.

Consequently, think tanks, in general, have to deal with a complex and "dynamic balancing act" (Medvetz, 2012b, p. 122) oscillating between engagement and closure or involvement and detachment from the politics, the state, academia, the media, and the market. Think tanks, therefore, can be situated at the crossroads or the *space between fields* of these more established spheres of action as Medvetz (2012a) already did in his Bourdieusian study on American think tanks:

to suggest "the production of politically effective and legitimate forms of perception and expression" (1991b, p. 173).

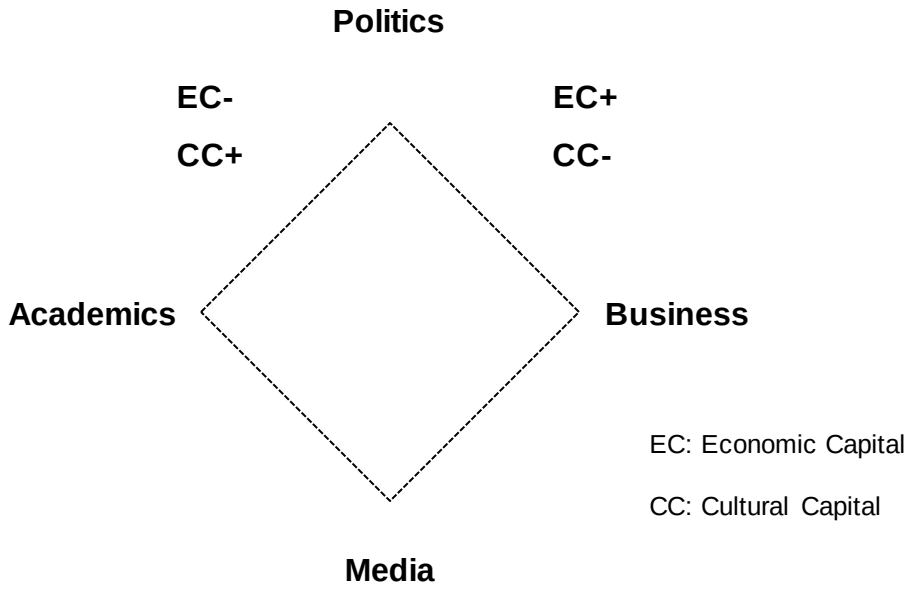

Figure 2.1: The space of think tanks. Partially adapted from Medvetz (2012a, p. 39)

As Medvetz's diagram[47] suggests, think tanks constitutes an intersititial field which is a relatively bounded social space with its anchoring fields yet also relatively autonomous with its own norms, hierarchies, history, and dynamic. This hybrid and liminal space is a site where several forms of capital such as political, economic, cultural, and journalistic – I will elaborate this point later – are gathered and balanced by policy researchers. To put it more explicitly, the field of think tanks can be thought as a "hybrid subspace of knowledge production" (Medvetz, 2012a, p. 42) which is located in the social space where the academia, journalism, market, and politics meet. Therefore, the field of think tanks as a sphere where a particular form of knowledge that can be called as *policy knowledge* are produced and disseminated has certain consequences for intellectuals, who dwell in or traverse this field. The field of think tanks tends to impose its own logic of the intellectual

[47] It should be noted that Medvetz offers this diagram not as a general theory of think tanks in itself, but a heuristic hypothesis to construct the think tank space as a sociological object.

production to its inhabitants and demands obedience from them to the rules of the game. This is why the analysis of think tanks is actually the socio-analysis of intellectuals.

CHAPTER 3

THE GENESIS OF THINK TANKS IN TURKEY

The previous chapter propounded some major predicaments that any researcher can face in studying think tanks and offered a way out via the instrument of the Bourdieusian methodological approach. The purpose of this chapter is to present a historical overview of the genesis of think tanks in Turkey.[48] My main thesis is that the Turkish think tank field was formed and gained its field-like properties in the 1990s, even though the prototypes of these organizations dates back to the early 1960s. In this chapter, rather than focusing on the organizations themselves – and the question of what the first think tank in Turkey was which is highly contested and also futile for my aim here – I will try to demonstrate how the formation of think tanks are the offspring of the mutual relationships between economic, cultural, and the political-bureaucratic elite groups of Turkey. I also should add that my analysis here would largely rest on secondary literature and data due to the limitedness of archival records and organizational histories of the early think tanks. On this basis, I will attempt to develop a historical baseline for the understanding of the genesis and development of think tanks in Turkey on the following pages.

3.1. Think Tanks in the Making: An Attempt for Explanation

The historical roots of Turkish think tanks lie in the early 1960s and its cardinal socio-political and economic transformations. The most substantial of these was the transition to a planned economy with the

[48] I owe the concept of the "genesis" of a field to Gorski (2013). See his seminal article on Bourdieusian theory and socio-historical research in which he discusses different forms of field change along with how and through which mechanisms fields emerge and crystallize.

purpose of quick industrialization mainly based on the inward oriented model after the 1960 coup d'etat. For that reason, focusing on the 1960 coup as a constituent moment can shed light on the story of initiation of think tanks in Turkey.

The 1960 coup that puts end to the ten-year period of the Democrat Party (DP) rule can be understood as the movement of a politically and historically autonomous faction of the state, i.e., the Turkish Armed Forces, against the government. The military coup was implicitly supported by a large segment of the intelligentsia, university students, and bureaucrats who were, as Keyder (1979, p. 25) points out, bearers of a secular and etatist ideology whose origins could be found in the Committee of Union and Progress and the Republican People's Party's authoritarian conception of social change. On the following day of the coup, the military officers, more precisely the members of the self-proclaimed National Unity Committee (*Milli Birlik Komitesi, MBK*), summoned five law professors including the rector Sıddık Sami Onar from the University of Istanbul to Ankara for preparing the new constitution. These professors instantly issued the first declaration of the Constitutional Committee, which resembles to "a modern-day *fetva*" (Zürcher, 2004 p. 242), justifying the military intervention by describing it not as an ordinary political coup d'etat, but as a revolution:

> It is not right to regard the situation in which we find ourselves today as an ordinary political coup d'etat. The political power which should represent the conception of the State, law, justice, morality, public interest and public service and should protect public interests had for months, even years, lost his character, and had become a material force representing personal power and ambition and class interests (as cited in Ahmad, 1977, p. 162).

As it can be deduced from the declaration written by the pro-coup professors, the DP had become a spokesman of class interests in the eyes of the military officers. Preferring liberal economy policies eliciting

savage capital accumulation and unfair distribution income, the DP sheered away from the principles of planned economy that had been implemented in Turkey up until 1950s. For that reason, in the new constitution prepared by the appointed committee of allied university professors in 1961, legislators paid strict attention to "lay the foundations of a 'social democratic' balance" (Keyder, 1979, p. 26) within society and to steer the capitalist economy to a planned and coordinated development route. To this end, the new constitution provided a constitutional basis for the State Planning Office (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, DPT*), which was equipped with broad authorities in the fields of economic planning as well as social and cultural development (see article 129 of the 1961 Constitution).

With the establishment of the DPT, the country's post-coup economic trajectory apparently was taking a new form as Boratav (2007, p. 117-118) indicates that this period in which economic policies rested on a five-year progress plan varies from the former periods of the Republic. Indeed, pro-coup bureaucrats and intellectuals' anti-populist developmentalist ideology, which "extolled the role to be played by a technocratic elite in the industrialization of the country" (Keyder, 1987, p. 146), seemed to find its expression in the foundation of the DPT.

To sum up, the 1960 coup made way for transition to a mixed economy based on development through interventionist and planned industrialization. On a macro-structural level, this transformation can be interpreted as the "precocious success of the industrial bourgeoisie in carrying out its project" (Keyder, 1987, p. 146) which was actualized with the help of a large segment of the bureaucrats, military officers and intellectuals.

As I indicated during the inception of this chapter, the *early* think tanks in Turkey come into the picture at that moment as a consequence of the historical cooperation between certain segments of the capitalist class, intelligentsia and political-bureaucratic elites. That is to say, the pioneer Turkish think tanks were organizational embodiments of the cooperation

between the growing industrial class and the technocratic fractions of the intelligentsia and bureaucracy. Yet, I should stress that in this cooperation between capitalists and intellectual producers, these actors were in a vertical relationship, rather than a horizontal one. The growing industrial fraction of the capitalist class needed an intellectual organ to intervene in the political and bureaucratic fields on behalf of its policy choices in the circumstances of a planned developmental episode. This intellectual organ could have come into the existence only with the availability of a group of intellectuals who would prioritize the interests of their funders in their production without seeking *too much* autonomy from economic and political constraints. For that reason, their coalition was built on a hierarchical relationship instead of an equal one. We can comfortably claim that the genesis of think tanks in Turkey cannot be adequately explained without ignoring this collaboration amongst Turkish elite groups.

My explanation concerning the derivation of think tanks in Turkey converges on the basic assumptions of the elite theory tradition, which was presented in this study – and in most of the other studies in the area - as one of the two main perspectives on think tanks together with the pluralist approach. The elite theory, as Medvetz (2012a, p. 52-53) argues, takes the primacy of "class relations" and "class interests" as a basis in order to explain the origins of think tanks and saw them as elite organizations in terms of their makeup. Nevertheless, my argumentation differs from the elite theory in some respects. Above all, the elite theorists tend to underestimate and subordinate the role of intellectuals *vis-a-vis* other segments of the elite by describing them as simple "intellectual machineries" or "lobby-like" organizations of a powerful elite network.[49] In my analysis, intellectuals are not "docile bodies" at the service of the economic elite of Turkey, more precisely of the industrial bourgeoisie, but significant actors of a power struggle in society as cultural elites. Although

[49] For example, C. W. Mills, in his classical work *The Power Elite*, distinguishes three groups of power elite - the military, corporate, and, political elite – and does not attach too much importance to the cultural elite.

their cultural capital were a lesser valuable kind of power in comparison with the capitalists' ever increasing economic capital, think tanks could not come into existence in the absence of the voluntary partnership of scientists, academics, economic planners, engineers, journalists, and other experts. In this respect, their position at that moment can be best recapitulated with Bourdieu's proverbial phrase: they were "a dominated fraction of the dominant class" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 145).

Furthermore, the elite theory, by and large, put the accord, collaboration, and partnership between different elite segments forward. By depicting elite subgroups as firmly "interlocked" parts of the single ruling class, this perspective excludes intra-elite struggles and conflicts from the analysis. Unlike the elite theorists, I do not wish to trivialize the importance of the intra-class and intra-elite contentions theoretically; however, with respect to the scope of my study, I will not address them here. In fact, the period witnessed numerous disagreements and conflicts amongst capitalists, bureaucrats, politicians, and, intellectuals: contentions between the moderate and immoderate wings of the MBK, the supporters of private industry and the fervent etatists, the industrialists and the landowners, the CHP and the AP and so on.

I should add that my explanation also varies from the pluralists' arguments. As I indicated above, the pluralist theorists are apt to see think tanks as independent civil society organizations, their proliferation could be explicable with factors such as civil society voluntarism, political and philanthropic culture, governmental reforms, and constitutional changes (Stone & Garnett, 1998, p. 6). Especially the last factor, e.g., the constitutional change, has been highly acclaimed and used by a great majority of Turkish scholars to clarify the emergence of the earliest think tanks in Turkey (for instance, Güvenç 2006, Aydın 2006, Bağcı & Aydın 2009, and Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt 2010). These studies claim that the adoption of the 1961 Constitution after the 1960 coup d'etat, paved the way for the establishment of the first think tanks by extending the realm of freedom such as freedom of thought and freedom of association encouraging citizens to set up research organizations apart from the

government. Beyond any doubt, the 1961 Constitution created the *legal* infrastructure of these organizations with its relatively liberal articles. Nevertheless, this does not suffice to treat the constitutional change argument as the root cause for the proliferation of think tanks as many scholars did. For, law, or more directly constitution-making process, in post-coup Turkey can be evaluated as expressions of social power relations of that time. My argument concerning law *prima facie* may seem to come closer to the approach of what Bourdieu called "instrumentalist view of law" conceiving law as *direct reflections* of existing power relations in which the interests of dominant groups are uttered, as Louis Althusser exemplifies this perspective with his theory of the apparatus (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 814). What I would like to emphasize is that the juridical field becomes more vulnerable to the social constraints and pressures in the moments of military coups in which the usual functioning of the legal order are suspended. That is what was exactly realized after the 1960 military coup in Turkey where the constitutional committee which was going to prepare the constitution was appointed by the sovereign junta, the MBK, and not allowed too much room to freely determine the constitution from the demands of the military administration. For that reason, on one hand, the 1961 coup broadened the scope of fundamental rights and liberties as perpetually depicted by commentators, it constructed many tutelage institutions narrowing the area of democratic parliamentary system on the other.

After this theoretical excursus revealing the parallelisms and discrepancies between my study and the existing literature, I can directly focus on some of the early think tanks founded in 1960s in the following section. It is not surprising to see that almost all of the earliest think tanks were concerned with the macroeconomic policies, or more directly the goal of development through industrialization, of the country. Needless to say, they were all established and funded by industrial capitalists of the time. The major think tanks of that term were The Economic and Social Studies Conference Board (*Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti*), the Economic Research Foundation (*İktisadi*

Araştırmalar Vakfı, IAV), The Foundation for Economic Development (*İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, IKV*), and the Economic and Social Researches Center (*Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, ESAM*).

3.2. A Brief History of the Proto-Field, 1961-1993

The Economic and Social Studies Conference Board (hereafter The Conference Board) could be considered as the precursor of think tanks in Turkey.[50] It was founded under the leadership of Nejat Eczacıbaşı, a leading progressive capitalist of the term, in Istanbul in 1961. In addition to Eczacıbaşı holding company itself, The Conference Board was funded by both national business community convening in the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (*İstanbul Ticaret Odası, İTO*) and the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (*İstanbul Sanayi Odası, İSO*) and foreign development aid agencies and foundations such as the US Agency for International Development and the Ford Foundation (Aydın, 2006, p. 49). According to Eczacıbaşı, the Conference Board was going to mainly try to investigate both short run and long run economic and social problems aroused out of the development process based on the mixed economy (Eczacıbaşı, 1982, p. 149). To this end, the Conference Board conducted conferences regarding the heavy economic matters of the term such as export-oriented industrialization, import substitution, and foreign trade with the participation of globally known figures (Vural, 2013, p. 263).

More importantly, it was going to endeavour to find out and improve what Eczacıbaşı called "the Turkish economic and social reality" (1982, p.

[50] "The Conference Board", originally the National Industrial Conference Board, was actually the name of a business membership and research organization founded in 1916 in New York by a group of industrialists lead by Magnus W. Alexander, a German-born American electrical engineer and designer for the General Electric Company, to provide economic and business knowledge for member companies to deal with the issues of the time, notably worker's compensation law, labor strikes, and boycotts. Nejat Eczacıbaşı and Feyyaz Berker, two prominent industrialists of the term, were participating in meetings and benefiting from publications of this association to which they affiliated. As Berker and Uras (2009, p. 96) points out, the "Turkish" Conference Board and the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association (*Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği*, *TÜSİAD*) indeed saw this association as a role model in designing their organizations.

150). According to him, this reality could be nothing but a scientific truth. Within a strongly articulated discourse of neutrality, the Conference Board was launched as a platform over any political and economic tenet or ideology in its activities.[51] His credence to the authority of science and technology[52] in resolving the fundamental problems of a new socio-economic order found its expression in the mode of organizing in the Conference Board:

> At those times [the early 1960s] the three important segments of society were entirely disconnected with each other. *The state* had not relied on free enterprise; *the private sector* had been afraid of the authority of the state authority; *the scientists* of our universities had lived in seclusion. The Conference Board began to work by bringing these three important parts of our society close together. The Board of Trustee was going to comprise of fifteen people and each section was going to be represented by a third (emphasis added; Eczacıbaşı, 1982, p. 150).

Eczacıbaşı's understanding of think tanks based on the cooperation between the state, the private sector, and the scientists epitomizes my explanation that I offered concerning the derivation of think tanks in Turkey. Indeed, the Conference Board could be conceived as a "tripartite organization" (Buğra, 1994, p. 138) in which bureaucrats (the state), industrial capitalists (the private sector), and the intellectuals (the scientists) congregate to influence public policy choices and make a contribution to the development of a intellectual milieu in support of the

[51] The origin of what I call "the discourse of neutrality" can be seen in the example of the Conference Board. Many think tanks, from now on, will pay attention to underline their neutrality, objectivity, and independence from any ideology, political party, or interest group in their official mission statements.

[52] It should be noted that Eczacıbaşı's rationalist worldview must be derived from his scientific experiences in 1930s Germany where he spent his academic career at prominent educational institutions of the term. He studied chemistry at Heidelberg University, then received his doctoral degree in the same discipline from the University of Berlin in 1937. He also conducted post-doctoral researches on hormones and vitamins at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute to 1939.

business community, in a period in which socialist ideas rapidly gained popularity among intellectuals.

Another example of early think tanks that I would like to address was the Economic Research Foundation (*İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, İKV*), which was established on the initiative of the ITO and the ISO in 1965 in Istanbul. Like the Conference Board, the IKV also stood up for the mixed economy as a representative of the private sector, both industrial and commercial capitalists, that were in need of state assistance for accumulating economic capital. In the terms of political economy, the whole activity of the Conference Board and the Economic Research Foundation may be subsumed under two clusters: Reports and conferences, aiming to guarantee capital accumulation, regarding the import substitution industrialization policies and that expressing the blossoming inner capitalists' need for foreign currency (Tezcek, 2011, p. 132).[53]

In addition to the transition to the mixed economy, there was also a more specific reason pushing the holders of economic capital to set up such a machine of intellectual production. This was the Ankara Agreement, which concluded in 1963 with the intent of inaugurating the process of accession of Turkey into the European Economic Community (EEC). The Ankara Agreement was the precipitating incident of Turkey's on-going affair of full integration to the European Union. The Agreement created the need for the production of what can be called as a kind of know-how, a specialized knowledge that would provide the technical infrastructure to the integration of economic and commercial policy that the EEC saw as requisite. As Güvenç points out, from 1967, a time the IKV actively started works, to 1980s, it produced numerous reports – almost 80% of all publications on the subject of the EEC in Turkey – on technical

[53] In this chapter, I aim to analyze the social relations giving birth to think tanks by wittingly leaving the content or discourse analysis of think tanks' intellectual outputs such as reports, conference papers, journals, and policy briefs out of my scope. For a detailed analysis of the IKV's reports since its foundation to the present, see Tezcek, 2011, p. 139-215.

dimensions, not political or cultural ones, of the relationship between the Turkey and the EEC (2006, p. 162).[54]

The activities of the IKV was not limited to conducting research that the capitalists need to convey their policy preferences to the political and bureaucratic fields or carrying out studies that the EEC-Turkey relationship requires. This early-established think tank was also operating as a lobby-like organization in Europe, especially in Brussels, on behalf of the industrial and commercial chambers. Unlike any other early think tank operating in 1960s, the IKV acted as an influential part in Turkey's external affairs by conducting diplomatic contact with the European Economic Community organizations particularly regarding economic issues. Güvenç indicates that the IKV was conceived by the traditional actors of Turkish foreign policy not as a rival but as a supportive and complementary element due to its close link with the rightist governments based on mainly the technocratic discourse of "public interest" (2006, p. 162). Therefore, the IKV found a chance to function abroad under cover of the state even though policy experts operate outside the formal boundary of the state. On the other hand, it was seen that the ex-bureaucrats and diplomats such as the DPT-affiliated planners or ambassadors had worked in the IKV in 1960s in particular.

The Economic and Social Researches Center (*Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi, ESAM*) can be considered as an organization worth mentioning even though it has been ostracized from the better part of the studies on Turkish think tanks. The ESAM was established by a group of technocrats, entrepreneurs, and politicians in 1969 in Ankara. Although he did not officially take part in the founders' committee of the association, Necmettin Erbakan, the secretary general of the TOBB at that point, is said to be the real founder of the ESAM. Within the same

[54] For the whole list of reports and other publications produced by the IKV, see http://www.ikv.org.tr/ikv.asp?ust_id=70&id=208. After drawing several reports bringing diverse planning experiments forward, the IKV shifted its helm towards producing more technical knowledge that Turkey-EEC relations elicited.

year, Erbakan was going to be elected as an independent member of parliament from Konya after his nomination from the AP had been rejected by Süleyman Demirel, the chairperson of the party. In the following year, Erbakan founded the National Order Party (*Milli Nizam Partisi, MNP*), which was the first political party that adopted the ideology of the National Viewpoint Movement (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*). Therefore, we should initially cast an eye over the socio-economic imagery of early Erbakan activity to be able to understand the ESAM's place in the history of Turkish think tanks.

Erbakan was an outstanding mechanical engineer who completed his PhD at Aachen University in Germany in the early 1950s. After finishing his doctoral training, he had a chance to closely observe the functioning of the German motor industry by working for a while at the Deutz Motor, a major engine manufacturer of the time. He was greatly impressed from the post-war German development experiment based on heavy industry. According to him, there was nothing but qualified and experienced man-power in the post-World War II Germany (Erbakan, 1974, p. 103). Exactly like Germany, Turkey could develop and become industrialized through its own means. For that reason, Erbakan firmly believed that for Turkey to become fully independent it had to complete its autarchic industrialization reposing on manufacturing industry, or in the words of Erbakan, "machinery-generating machinery industry" (1974, p. 97), in place of assembly industry.

On the other hand, Erbakan also attached great importance to moral development targeting to raise Islamic awareness in Turkish society. It was considered as vital as economic and techno-scientific development so that from the outset of the MNP program, the party set "synthesizing moral and material development in a felicitous and circumspect way" (article 3) as its essential goal. The ESAM, in tandem with the party, was going to operate like a research and development center to realize these aims regardless of whether the party in power or not.

Let me elaborate some differences and similarities between the ESAM and the other think tanks that I referred to here. Just like its analogous organizational bodies of the period, the ESAM also believed that the production and application of the technical knowledge might both accelerate industrialization and be a remedy in solving the fundamental problems of it. Furthermore, it could be claimed that the ESAM outstripped other think tanks in championing planned development with its passionate discourse of "heavy industry" that resonated during the 1970s. However, unlike its fellow think tanks that I addressed here, the ESAM was reluctant to deploy what I call the discourse of neutrality underlining the independence from an ideology, political party, or interest group. On the contrary, this research institute had never strived to cloak its close link with the parties of the National Viewpoint Movement.[55] Even, as a senior official of the institution avers, it was the ESAM that played a crucial role in generating and promoting the idea of *Milli Görüş* as a worldview (Ersoy, 2009, p. 230). As distinct from the Conference Board, the IAV, and the IKV which were sponsored by Istanbul-centered circles of industry and commerce as well as international developmental foundations, the ESAM relied upon more modest funds provided by mainly provincial entrepreneurs who would be labelled as "Anatolian tigers" in 1980s.

Unlike the founding moment of Turkish think tanks, e.g., the 1960s, the following decade is said to represented stagnant years for the proliferation of these organizations. Although the former think tanks continued to operate, no considerable institution was founded apart from the Foreign Policy Institute (*Dış Politika Enstitüsü, DPE*) in these years. This can be heavily ascribed to the fact that the technocratic discourse, predicated on the idea of development and modernization by virtue of science and technology, that all of the early think tanks had adopted, intensely started to be represented by the engineers, the sprawling social

[55] To the present, two presidents, four prime ministers, a good deal of ministers, and numerous bureaucrats and mayors had been member of the ESAM (Ersoy, 2009, p. 226).

stratum of this period. As a corollary of the rapid industrialization thrust of the post-coup era, the number of technicians and engineers that the industrial manufacturing process needs considerably increased. As Göle (2008, p. 115) indicates, the number of engineers that had been 15.500 in 1960 became 17.700 at a rate of a 13,5% increase. Nonetheless, the rate of increase between 1965 and 1970 come to the 77,4%, from 17.700 to 31.400. Approximately the three out of four of these engineers were employed in the public sector at that time (Gevgilili, 1973, p. 25).

Nilüfer Göle's socio-historical study on the making of the identity and ideology of the Turkish engineers can help us in order to grasp the rationalist and "technicist" ideas prevailing in 1970s. According to Göle (2008), the engineers as a socio-professional elite stratum did not only endeavor to ameliorate their vocational circumstances through professional associations and syndicates, but also aimed at changing the political and economic system of Turkey through the revolutionary strategies such as National Democratic Revolution (*Milli Demokratik Devrim*) thesis. Göle contends that Turkish engineers were pursuers of Saint-Simon rather than Lenin because of the fact that they were, in substance, bearers of an elite group consciousness, based on a social model in which the most rational mode of organization that is appropriate to the necessities of the industrial production is embraced, under the mask of revolutionary vanguardism (2008, p. 185).

After this short intermission, we can return back to our subject. The DPE was built by Seyfi Taşhan, a businessman and journalist with strong interests to foreign policy issues, in such a period, 1974, in Ankara. In fact, the Journal of "Foreign Policy" (Dış Politika Dergisi) had been published, both in Turkish and English, by the same person along with Fahir Armaoğlu (a professor of political history), Suat Bilge (a diplomat and politician), and Altemur Kılıç (a diplomat and journalist) three years ago represents the core of this organization (Güvenç, 2006, p. 163). Taşhan says that the main target of the journal was to introduce Turkish foreign policy priorities and problems to foreign diplomats and decision makers and to illuminate the Turkish public regarding what is going on

beyond Turkey's border (ORSAM, 2013, p. 108). Indeed, the efforts of the DPE aiming at the international audience and decision makers through publications and diplomatic contacts related to the hot diplomatic issues of the term such as the Cyprus question and war, US arms embargo against Turkey, and other problems with the Western world made it a crucial organization for the Turkish state.[56] In addition to these activist and didactic concerns, Taşhan's underlying aim in publishing such a journal was to retrieve the foreign policy discussions from ideological polarization between the left and the right and to provide not political but objective evaluations as to Turkish foreign policy preferences (Güvenç, 2006, p. 163). For that reason, it is quite possible to allege that the DPE and the Foreign Policy Journal converged on the former think tanks by embracing the discourse of neutrality and objectivity in its activities of intellectual production.

However, the DPE differs from its predecessors with its substantial focus on a specific area of policy, e.g., the foreign policy as is evident from its name. As stated above, passionate attachment for the ideal of economic development and concomitant prioritization of the economic policies over others were the common denominators of the earliest think tanks such as the Conference Board, the IAV, the IKV, and the ESAM. Distinct from these organizations, the DPE left economic and developmental issues out of its scope and centered upon the diverse aspects and problems of Turkish foreign policy. It seems that the DPE attached particular importance to fill the void between the bureaucratic and academic sphere by banding decision makers of foreign and security policies such as diplomats, foreign policy officers as well as retired diplomats and generals with academics operating particularly within the discipline of international relations together through conferences, panels, and working groups. Therefore, along with Karaosmanoğlu and Onulduran (2009, p.

[56] For example, at the request of the US diplomats, the DPE publishes books concerning the Armenian question (ORSAM, 2013, p. 109), which acquired currency in the mid-1970s due to the ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) attacks on Turkish diplomats. The DPE, in turn, made use of the government support and encouragement.

350) we can label it as the first think tank in the field of foreign policy in Turkey.

Just as the 1960 coup d'etat that represented a founding moment in the history of the development of Turkish think tanks, the 1980 military intervention also had a certain impact on the making of new think tanks and what specific role they would play; even if the consequences were quite different in some instances. While the former military coup had paved the way for the institutionalization of a mode of development based on economic planning and import-substitution industrialization strategy, the latter targeted to restructure the economy by means of a series of IMF-inspired economic neo-liberal reforms in order to create an export-orientated free market (Öniş, 2010, p. 51). In the post-1980 coup term, the civil-military bureaucratic elite reached a settlement to implement the economic policies partaking in the 24 January decisions, which had been made under the guidance of Turgut Özal in the last pre-coup Demirel cabinet. Özal took part in the post-coup cabinet (1980-1983), which was formed under the prime ministry of retired admiral Bülend Ulusu, as a state minister in charge of the economy.

The post-coup government exhibited an intrinsic doubt towards party politics or more generally the existence of a political field polarized with respect to conflicting ideologies and interests and immediately closed existing political parties. In addition to the military tutelage prevailing during the period, the post-military government's "bureaucratic managerialism" created new forms of *technocratic tutelage* (Açıkel, 2005, p. 206). Indeed, many technocrats and managers were invited particularly from the United States (the IMF and the World Bank) to Turkey and given extraordinary authority to commence economic liberalization and structural adjustment programs to accelerate the integration of Turkish economy into global capitalism (Açıkel, 2005, p. 206).

The political and economic implications of military interventions in Turkey has been extensively studied by the students of Turkish political history.

The original purpose of my cursory examination here is to find out how these transformations affected the peculiar developments of think tanks. As I emphasized above, the early think tanks of the post 1960 coup d'etat was the organizatonal offspring of the consensus between the different segments of the elite around the idea of development aiming at transforming the economic structure from agrarian commercial orientation to domestic market based industrialization. Think tanks of that term were designed as organizational bodies through which the emerging industrial capitalists could convey their demands to policymakers and the powerful planners of the DPT. Even, Emre Gönen, one of the previous secretary-generals of the İKV, says that the İKV was established as a kind of alternative of the DPT (Güvenç, 2006, p. 162).

However, the post 1980 military coup economic reforms intended to start a new export-oriented economic phase as distinct from the import-substitution strategies of the former period. The transformation of economic strategies and the gradual globalization of Turkish business circles posed new risks and uncertanties for especially small and medium sized enterprises (Tezcek, 2011, p. 185). For that reason, the think tanks associated with these circles such as İKV and İAV produced numerous reports during 1980s in order to obviate potential problems that enterprises could encounter and enhance their capacity of growth and competition in an emerging market economy. In other words, while the agenda of think tanks during the post 1960 coup planned development period was to give a boost "to the administration of capitalism in Turkey in a rational way" (Erder et al, 2003, p. 6), the function of such think tanks in the post 1980 term was mainly to aid the business world in adapting to the new conditions of the market.

In this period, new think tanks as the Marmara Group Strategic and Social Research Foundation (*Marmara Grubu Stratejik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı*), aiming at developing economic and political adjustment strategies to global transformation, came into play. The Marmara Group Foundation was established by Akkan Suver, a journalist and politician, in İstanbul in 1985. As Suver himself states (Büyük Kulüp Dergisi, 2011) in an

interview, the great majority of the İTO executives, many academics from the universities located in İstanbul, some retired military officers and bureaucrats as well as prominent members of the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*, *ANAP*), the party in power at the time, were their supporters and subscribers. Looking at the mission statement of the foundation (2012), we can see how the foundation put emphasis on the economic and democratic transformation of Turkey in the direction of contemporary values. However, among its stated aims, what is more important for us to grasp is the peculiar history of think tanks in Turkey with its mission of supporting the transition from "traditional to modern" practices in political and economic life. Think tanks of the term need to construct their institutional identities by elevating the ascending discourses of the 1980s that are posited in sharp contrast to that of the past two decades: international expansion against inward-oriented economy, civil society and market against the state, private sector against public sector, individualism against collectivism, good governance against public administration and so on.

On the other hand, in the absence of party politics – the political parties and the parliament remained closed during the period of 1980-1983 – the military government needed organizations that would fill the void of representation in foreign relations, notably in the relations with European institutions. The Political and Social Studies Foundation (*Siyasi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, SİSAV*) was founded by professor Memduh Yaşa with the private sector's support just after the military coup, in 1981. As Güvenç (2006, p. 164) points out, the SİSAV lobbied for Turkey in the presence of the Council of Europe, where the parliamentary assembly had convened in the absence of Turkish parliamentarians. The Foundation for Middle East and Balkan Studies (*Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri Vakfı, OBİV*), founded by the retired ambassador Vahit Halefoğlu in İstanbul in 1984, in a similar vein, targeted towards international audiences, decision makers and the opinion leaders in the Middle East and Balkans through international meetings and publications (Aydın, 2006, p. 59) and aimed at enhancing Turkey's political and

economic relations with the countries within these regions. These cases demonstrate that think tanks such as SİSAV and OBİV were used by the government as policy instruments by way of retired military officers and diplomats that they incorporated. This also displays that early think tanks did not consider it important in becoming organizationally and intellectually autonomous from the bureaucratic field. Like the DPE, the SİSAV and the OBİV also endeavored to retail and lobby for the official policies, particularly foreign policy, of the state in the presence of international institutions through conferences, seminars, and meetings, rather than trying to influence the decision/policy making processes with an independent stance.

After the adoption of the 1982 Constitution, the generals directed their attention to the political restoration program comprising the creation of new political parties in a political environment where pre-existing parties had been closed and their cadres had been banned from politics for ten years. On 24 April 1983, the Political Parties Law came into force and the day following the National Security Council turned a new page in the political life of the country, removing the ban on politics (Ahmad, 1993, p. 188). Even though no less than 15 parties were formed within a couple of weeks, just two of them came to the fore; the ANAP and the SODEP.[57] These two parties were also distinguishable in terms of their close relations with both foreign and domestic political party-affiliated think tanks. Hence, the 1980s also witnessed the emanation of think tanks linking intellectual practices to political practices and publicly advocating certain political ideas in contradistinction to the former Turkish think tanks attentive to be supra-partisan and even technocratic in their activities. To find out how such a mode of think tank come out in Turkey within this decade, we pre-emptively should glance at the experience of German party think tanks, or "political foundations" as they opt for to be called, seen as role models by two Turkish think tanks founded at the end of the

[57] It should be noted that the Social Democracy Party (*Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi*, *SODEP*) merged with the Populist Party (*Halkçı Parti*, HP), another newcomer party which was founded in 1983, and this new party made up of this fusion was named as Social Democrat People's Party (*Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti, SHP*).

1980s: The Turkish Democracy Foundation (*Türk Demokrasi Vakfı, TDV*) and the Turkish Social, Economic, Political Research Foundation (*Türkiye Sosyal, Ekonomik, Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı, TÜSES*).

In Germany, there is no independent policy research tradition on a privately funded non-profit basis as it is known in the Anglo-American world (Weilemann, 2009, p. 169). On the contrary, Germany has a longstanding tradition of state-funded academic "applied basic research", particularly in the field of economics (Thunert, 2004, p. 71). As discussed in the previous chapter, most scholars, especially those who are much cited in this literature, identify think tanks as non-profit (ergo; intellectually independent) organizations by positing this criterion as a prerequisite for being a real think tank. However, as Pautz (2014, p. 440) points out, whereas in the English-speaking world the term think tank is used to evoke images of scientific objectivity and detachment, in Germany the term is rather deployed to call advocacy-oriented policy research institutes, either interest group-based policy research organizations or political party-affiliated foundations. Although there is a small number of institutions corresponding directly to those organizationally independent and non-profit Anglo-American style think tanks in Germany, more typical ones operate as the advisory bodies and research institutes associated with a social movement, interest group, political party and so on.

Two long-established German political party-affiliated think tanks, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), are safely said to have impressed Turkish politicians and intellectuals of the term in their attempt to establish an institution that would conduct research and produce ideas (as implied in the German term *Denkfabrik* meaning "thought factory") in political, economic, and social issues. Furthermore, this impression does not remain a mere inspiration, it achieves the level of interplay and collaboration when German think

tanks opened branch offices in Ankara.[58] In a word, the KAS[59] is a think tank and consulting agency, whose origins dates back to 1956, directly affiliated with the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU). It conducts research related to politics and the history of Christian democracy, grants scholarships, and offers civic education not only in Germany, but also in a great deal of the country where it has offices. The FES, founded in 1925 in Germany, is also a political foundation, committed to the values and ideas of social democracy, aiming at promoting democracy and development worldwide as well as supporting the enlargement of the European Union, in association with the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

As a result of the political cooperation between the CDU and the ANAP which came into power in 1983, the KAS could open a branch office in Turkey (Bağcı & Aydın, 2009, p. 89). The principal focus of study of the KAS Turkey Office, since its foundation, has been to support democratization and reform process in Turkey with intent to making the country become attuned to the European (Union) institutions and structures. It also has given countenance to decentralization process in civil administration and empowerment in local administration, economic policies based on social market economy principles protecting small and medium size enterprises, and intercultural and interfaith dialogue (KAS Turkey Office, 2014). The KAS also supported the activities of and collaborated with the TDV, a think tank in a close relationship with the ANAP, the ruling party of the term, yet organizationally independent of it.

The TDV was founded in Ankara in 1987 by a group of people predominantly consisted of prominent politicians of the ANAP such as Rüştü Kazım Yücelen, Mehmet Necat Eldem, Güneş Taner, Eyüp Aşık,

[58] I should note that The KAS and the FES ought not to be considered as domestic think tanks focusing solely on German politics. Rather, they are huge organizational networks operating in more than a hundred countries. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the KAS as the best and the FES as the second "best think tank network" in the world in a recent ranking survey, *Global Go To Think Tank Report 2014* (McGann, 2014), conducted by the Think Tank and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania.

[59] For details regarding the history and activities of the KAS, see Weilemann (2009).

İmren Aykut, Mesut Yılmaz, and Bülent Akarcalı along with outstanding academics like Ergun Özbudun, and industrialists like Şarık Tara (Aydın, 2006, p. 62). The political-economic outlook of the TDV can be located as liberal, calling for a free market economy, business-led economic development, rule of law, civil society-based liberties, and a political system operating in compliance with liberal democratic principles. As a liberal pro-ANAP think tank, the TDV have paid particular attention on conducting research related to the history and the actual situation of Turkish democracy, and offering civic education aiming at making democratic ideals as shared values of all citizens by organizing panels, conferences, forums, seminars and similar meetings free for all.

The FES is the oldest political party-associated foundation in Germany, established in 1925 as originally an educational institute for the German working class. Nowadays, it spends most of its budget on overseas developmental aid and political education (Pautz, 2010, p. 188) as well as on the constitution and consolidation of democratic state structures, civil society, and social justice. The FES also provides research and ideas that the SPD politicians utilize in preparing party programmes and developing policies. The strong German social democratic political experience that gets strength from political party-affiliated think tanks seemed to have impressed Erdal İnönü, the leader of the SHP, the largest social democratic party in Turkey at the time, to design a think tank taking the FES that opened a branch office in Turkey in 1988, as a model. In this way, the TÜSES was founded in 1989 in İstanbul by a large segment of social democratic intellectuals and politicians of the period.[60] According to Haluk Ülman, who was responsible for the foreign policy research at the TÜSES, the chief goal of the think tanks was to generate ideas for a leftist party, e.g., the SHP, in all areas (Güvenç, 2006, p. 166). During the first half of the 1990s, the TÜSES brought into connection with European social democratic parties and think tanks, conducted policy research, organized numerous conferences, and published a wide range of policy papers aiming at proposing far-reaching social democratic policy

[60] For the full list of founders, see http://www.tuses.org.tr/hakkimizda/tuses-kuruculari

options in almost all policy areas including economy, health, industrialization, tax, energy, environment, technology, education, culture, domestic, foreign policy and so on.

The TDV and the TÜSES take important places in the history of the making of think tanks in Turkey in some ways. Primarily, they are first examples of political party-affiliated think tanks, based around the German experience of political foundations such as the KAS and the FES.[61] Unlike most of the earlier think tanks which were attentive to be supra-partisan, technocratic, or politically neutral, they have not wavered to manifest their political and economic positions. In addition to their research activities, they have also operated as an activist organizations, giving a boost to the promotion and dissemination of political ideas and policy preferences of their mother parties. On the other hand, their strong ties with political parties made their existence bound up with the power configuration in the political field at a given time. For that reason, their rise and fall is parallel to the boom and bust episode of the political parties to which they are associated. For instance, the TÜSES, which had enjoyed increasing sources of funds, media visibility, and popularity during the late 1980s and the early 1990s, considerably lost its effectiveness and research activities with the merge of the SHP with the CHP and its defeat in the 1995 general elections (Güvenç, 2006, p. 166). Even though the TÜSES and the TDV are still active to a certain extent, both of them are far away from their heydays.

In a nutshell, this chapter tried to develop a historical narrative concerning the emergence and dissemination of Turkish think tanks, which can be recapitulated as follows. In the first historical stage (1961-1970), economic elites wanting to intervene in politics, e.g. the İstanbul-based industrial capitalists ascending by virtue of import-substituting industrialization founded several progenitors to today's think tanks. Their

[61] In order to prevent a contradiction in terms, I should shed light on the use of the term affiliation here. In spite of strong personal, intellectual, and ideological links to political parties with which they are connected, these think tanks at least are not financially or organizationally dependent to the parties. They also should not be deemed as in-house research and development departments or foreign affairs tools of the parties.

main aim was to convey their economic policy preferences to the political and bureaucratic fields by means of these organizations to which they fund. In a political field in which political parties played a relatively weak role in the making of economic decisions and planning in comparison with the DPT bureaucrats, the think tank-affiliated intellectuals found an opportunity to influence planners through policy papers, conferences, and other tools of intellectual intervention embellished with a strong supra-partisan and technocratic rhetoric. By this means, they made a crucial contribution to the business community in their attempt to consolidate their social position as a class in a country where socialist ideas become influential among the foremost intellectuals and bureaucrats of the term.

The second historical phase (1971-1980) witnessed the think tanks' increasing knowledge production regarding foreign policy issues as well as their involvement in external affairs on behalf of the private sector and the state. The limitations of the Turkish state in releasing its foreign policy preferences into circulation and in dealing with technicality of foreign relations generated a need for intellectuals and specialists who could lend a hand to the state and also to the private sector in their diplomatic attempts. It could be also argued that the lack of a political context in which the interventions of think tanks could be considered and influential due to the economic crisis and political instability prevailing during the term prompted think tanks to shift their helm from domestic politics to diplomatic issues. In this period, think tanks such as the IKV and the DPE indeed played a part in relations and negotiations with the EEC and in promotion and advocacy of Turkish foreign policy in international settings.

Finally, the last phase (1981-1993) represents the gradual institutionalization of policy expertise within political party-affiliated think tanks, which can be conceived as organizational fruits of the radical restoration of political and economic fields during the post-coup term. In this period, the state drew upon certain think tanks as foreign policy tools in the absence of parliamentary diplomacy. The rebirth of party politics with the formation of new parties and alliances in a modified political field

created a need for intellectuals who are able to assist in producing and advocating political ideas, policy proposals, and a programme for the sake of political parties. As long as they were useful for the state and political parties, think tanks did not have great difficulty in finding funds from the private sector or the public sector. Even, certain think tanks enjoyed a tax-exemption status as well as a considerable amount of government assistance. (Table 1 sums up my historical argument).[62]

Before finishing this chapter, we may ask: What lessons do we derive from the history of think tanks in Turkey? The main lesson is that the universe that early think tanks resided in can be considered as an *appandage* to the political/bureaucratic and economic fields, rather than an intellectual field per se, enjoying a high level of autonomy away from the necessities and demands of political, bureaucratic, and business actors. Even though all of these think tanks were established by an ensemble of political/bureaucratic, economic and intellectual elites, the later component has always been inferior to and dependent on the former ones. As Bourdieu (1990, p. 145) says when he defines intellectuals, they were indeed "a dominated fraction of the dominant class".

According to my argument, the think tank universe has gained its field-like characteristics in the middle of the 1990s. For that reason, the historical account I developed in this chapter limited itself to look at the previous history of that constituent moment. In the next chapter, I will try to examine the internal composition and dynamics of the think tank field in detail.

[62] Note that table 1 presents an ideal-typical representation of my historical argument. In order to provide a more lucid narrative, I only take the most distinctive "demand" and "role" of each term into consideration.

Table 3.1: Three phases in the emergence and formation of think tanks in Turkey

	Political-Bureaucratic Demand	***Economic Capacity***	***Role of Think Tank Intellectuals***
1961-1970	Economic development planning	Accumulation of capital under the import-substituting industrialization	Technocratic ideas
1971-1980	Diplomatic activism	Economic instability, deepening crisis, and the recovery in collaboration with the WB, IMF, and OECD	Lobbying and economic advisory
1981-1993	Foreign policy planning and political consulting	The rise of export-oriented capital with neo-liberal restructuring and integration into the world economy	Policy expertise and political activism

CHAPTER 4

EXPLORING TERRA INCOGNITA: PECULIARITIES OF A STRANGE FIELD

In the preceding chapter, I have trailed the nascense and historical development of think tanks. The goal of this chapter is to depict the field of think tanks in Turkey in its current form. According to my central argument, the field of think tanks was gained its field-like properties in the mid-1990s in consequence of a series of factors. After a short presentation of these factors, I will provide an analysis concerning the internal configuration of the think tank field by predicating on an original database, interviews, and field observations.

4.1. Think Tanks on the Rise: From the Mid-1990s to the Present

The proliferation of think tanks is a worldwide phenomenon gaining momentum in the 1980s. Social scientists working on think tanks enumerate a wide range of "world-historical" factors to explain this proliferation around the world as follows: constitutional changes and government reform, democratic consolidation, political stability and economic development in the greater part of the world, the development of domestically based intellectual elites, rising press freedom, philantrophy and voluntarism within civil society, the intensification of political debate and opposition, the positive attitudes of political leaders and political culture, the governance and development programmes of the WB, the UN, and the EU, the increasing complexity and technical nature of policy issues, globalization and the growth of non-state actors, the information and technological revolution, the demand for high quality research, policy analysis, and ideological argumentation (Stone 2004, p.

6; Stone 2007b, p. 264-266, Rich, 2004, p. 31-34; McGann, 2014, p. 6). Needless to say, these factors vary by countries in terms of degree of influence. Furthermore, there is also a multifarious set of national elements that differentiate organizational and operational characteristics, functions and capacities of think tanks between countries. For that reason, the worldwide spread of think tanks could be better understood as an "uneven and combined development" process taking distinctive shapes in different socio-historical trajectories, rather than a unilinear evolution based on the sequence of necessary stages.

In Turkey, certain political and social developments have become the driving force behind the emergence of the think tank field in the mid-1990s. For instance, as scholars operating in the international relations disicpline observes (Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt 2010, Aras & Toktaş 2012, Aydın 2006, Güvenç 2006), the end of the Cold War, the strenghtening relations between the EU and the Turkey, the breakdown of foreign policy consensus after the first Gulf War, and the relative liberalization, democratization, and pluralism giving rise to the new actors such as think tanks speaking up about new foreign policy and security preferences. Leaving the discussion about the role and affect of think tanks in securitization and foreign policy making to international relations experts, I would like to address the outcomes of this process that are key for my analysis.

For one thing, think tanks' desire to influence foreign policy making and to set a new course for Turkish foreign policy in a so-called "new world order" engendered the appearance of new think tanks presenting themselves as "centers for strategic research".[63] Besides, the state entered into the sector by establishing state-affiliated think tanks, or centers for strategic research with the popular denotation of the concept in the political discourse of the term. The Center for Strategic Research

[63] For instance, KÖK Strategic and Social Research Foundation (1991), the Yükseliş Economic and Strategic Research Foundation (1993), the Center for Strategic Research (1995), the National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies (1997), the Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (1999), to name a few. Since the 2000s, the number of such centers has increased dramatically.

(*Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, SAM*) established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Committee for Strategic Research and Studies (*Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüdler Milli Komitesi, SAEMK*) established as a government-affiliated committee in the Council of Higher Education, and the Strategic Research and Study Center (*Stratejik Araştırma ve Etüt Merkezi, SAREM*) established as a Turkish General Staff-affiliated body are primary government-affiliated think tanks of this period.

The wide use of the term *strategy* in denoting think tanks is a new practice one cannot encounter before the 1990s except sporadic references. This may be explained by the fact that the word strategy accumulates symbolic capital and gains legitimacy in the political discourse throughout the period. If words have the power to create reality instead of merely representing it, we can claim that the word strategy has created a specific reality for think tanks within the formative years of the field. The state's use of this word to describe government-affiliated institutions have fortified and routinized its power. Indeed, the deployment of this word in think tank names is still a fashionable practice and supposed to bring prestige to the institutions. In addition, it should be noted that it is not the simple deployment of this word in denomination at issue. We can add that the researchers operating in strategic research centers have heavily relied on military terminology as well as the jargon of realist theories of international relations using concepts like geopolitics, geoculture, national security, sphere of influence, power politics, soft power and so on.

Nonetheless, one should be wary of any interpretation reducing the proliferation of think tanks to the developments in foreign policy as many scholars in Turkey have done. As I have already indicated in the first chapter, these scholars operating in the discipline of international relations tend to harness think tanks to their missions in the field of foreign

policy and securitization.[64] This academic discourse also nurtures the prevalent perception that think tanks just deal with foreign policy issues (author interview, Galip Dalay, December 25, 2013) by ignoring domestic political and social questions. Accordingly, this approach tends to obscure as much as it enlightens when it comes to comprehending the specific role that think tanks play.

The genesis of the field of think tanks in Turkey is unlikely to be understood without making reference to the increasing credibility of liberal and libertarian thoughts in the post-Cold War period. In a historical moment in which Western liberal democracy is proclaimed as the final form of human government, the spread of the liberal ideas and values among a certain part of intellectuals is an intelligible occurrence. In parallel with liberal intellectual resurgence in the world, many think tanks that adopted a liberal worldview came into the picture in Turkey during the 1900s: the Turkey branch office of Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FNS), the German liberal party-affiliated think tank; the ARI Movement (*Arı Hareketi*), a liberal activist think tank originally founded within the ANAP; the Association for Liberal Thinking (*Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu, LDT*) established by a group of liberal and libertarian intellectuals; the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, TESEV*), re-established and reorganized form of the Conference Board; and the New Democracy Movement (Yeni Demokrasi Hareketi, YDH), a political party and intellectual movement set up by a bunch of liberal intellectuals that label themselves as "the second republicans".[65]

[64] It is not surprising that one of the most comprehensive research counducted on think tanks in Turkey bears the subheading "Foreign Policy and National Security Culture in Turkey". See, Aras, Toktaş & Kurt (2010).

[65] Some of these intellectuals were Asaf Savaş Akat, Cengiz Çandar, Mehmet Altan, Etyen Mahçupyan, Kemal Derviş. The party, led by businessman Cem Boyner, was completely defeated in its first election, e.g., the 1995 general elections, with a voting rate below 1%. Apparently, the YDH was not a mass party mobilizing large crowds although it was organized as a political party aiming for power. It was not, on the other hand, a think tank in the strict sense of the word although it originated from an idea movement. Rather, as Baker & Şen (1994, p. 27) concisely set forth, it was a striking

In order to interpret the liberal intellectual resuscitation of the term, I will focus on the LDT as a case.[66] The LDT presents itself as an "idea movement" (Yayla, 2013) intending to influence "the climate of opinion" (author interview, Özlem Çağlar Yılmaz, December 12, 2013) and to train young liberals through academic conferences, education seminars, panel discussion, publishing journals and books introducing and promoting liberal ideas. The emphasis on the importance of ideas is neither trivial nor perfunctory. The LDT, by and large, have undertaken the mission of opposing the dominant actors who occupy the central positions of the intellectual field. If we accept the intellectual field as, at least analytically, a world a part (Bourdieu 1990a) with its own dominated and dominators, its challengers and incumbents, we can safely assert that intellectuals who espouse left and socialist ideas were close to the second pole even in the 1990s. This means that the left-wing intellectuals were still more powerful than any segment of the intelligentsia in the struggles that occur in the field on defining the "real" intellectual as well as legitimate intellectual practices. For that reason, in the eyes of the LDT, as Gürpınar (2009, p. 53) rightly remarks, socialism is a father that has to be killed for the sake of proving itself and overcoming the Oedipus complex.[67]

Indeed, the LDT has constructed its "authentic" sense of liberalism on the basis of the negation of socialism in Turkey stigmatized as an aggregate of corporatist, collectivist and communitarian ideas. The Kemalist and nationalist intellectual milieus, of course, is positioned on the other side of the front-line in the intellectual battlefield. What distinguishes the LDT from other think tanks of that term, notably from the centers for strategic research, is that it prioritizes generating and disseminating ideas in the

example of a general movement in which the political activity become identical with or even take the place of think tank activity.

[66] Note that, my purpose is neither to examine the LDT case in detail nor to write its history. See, Özipek (2005), Gürpınar (2009), and Yayla (2013).

[67] Yayla's observations on the Turkish intellectual field of the period from 1960s to 1980s is particularly illuminating in this respect (2013, p. 82-87). According to him, being an intellectual was identical with being a leftist in the these years. Therefore phrases such as "right-wing intellectual" or "conservative intellectual" was being perceived as oxymoronic within the field.

intellectual field instead of doing research for policy issues. Atilla Yayla, one the founders of the LDT, states that the most important field of power in a society is not the political power, yet, contrary to what is believed, is the intellectual power in the long run (2013, p. 66).

Notwithstanding his intellectualism, however, Yayla lays stress that ideas are unable to go beyond to be intellectual gymnastics of an inner circle unless they contribute to solving the concrete problems of the country. (2013, p. 135). For that reason, he writes that the LDT should carry out lucid works and studies based on technical knowledge regarding concrete bases and potential impacts of public policies and become competent to announce these studies to the public (2013, p. 134-135). Indeed, Yayla seems to perceive the essential difference between an idea movement and a think tank: research for the sake of policy versus research as an end itself. In a word, the more the LDT performs the first task, the more it will become a *typical* think tank.

In short, the 1990s have witnessed a sharp increase in the number of think tanks, both those strategic research centers, generally founded by government agencies, conducting foreign policy and security research for the use of decision makers from a nationalist and etatist standpoint and those liberal and pro-free market ones, lead by intellectuals and businessmen, working for the consolidation of the civil society and market as well as democratization of the country. Therefore, it may not be an overstatement to say that the genesis of the field was marked by the dichotomy between “the two cultures” of the think tank.

Within the same decade, a new structural transformation occurred in the media field, which we take into account in order to grasp the think tank boom that have left its mark in history over the last twenty years. This was the abolishment of the thirty-year period state monopoly, represented by the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation), over radio and television broadcasting in 1994. Following the abolishment, industry giants started investing in the sector by establishing private television channels. In parallel, new discussion program formats in which

academics, journalists and "journalist intellectuals" (Bourdieu, 1998) take place swept through the news channels. In a short time, the media field become characterized by an intense concentration of media ownership and the establishment of cross-media oligopolies. In a country with a polarized political context like Turkey, the media inevitably have become instrumentalized, showing paralellism with or upholding the views of certain political parties, communities or social movements. As Turkish politics become more reactive to the news media, think tanks began to intevene in the political agenda through media organs. Nowadays, television commentators can procure strong symbolic buttress to the politicians. This is why many think tank intellectuals have been joining TV discussion programs not only to present an "expert opinion" concerning a socio-political issue, but also to promote and advocate certain policy choices by molding public opinion.

Thinking with the logic of the field theory, the rise of private media structurally transformed the social space in which they had operated. In a quite simplified way, it could be said that the essential change was the transformation of the triadic structure that had existed from the early 1960s into a quadripartite structure that established the rules of the game think tanks would play.

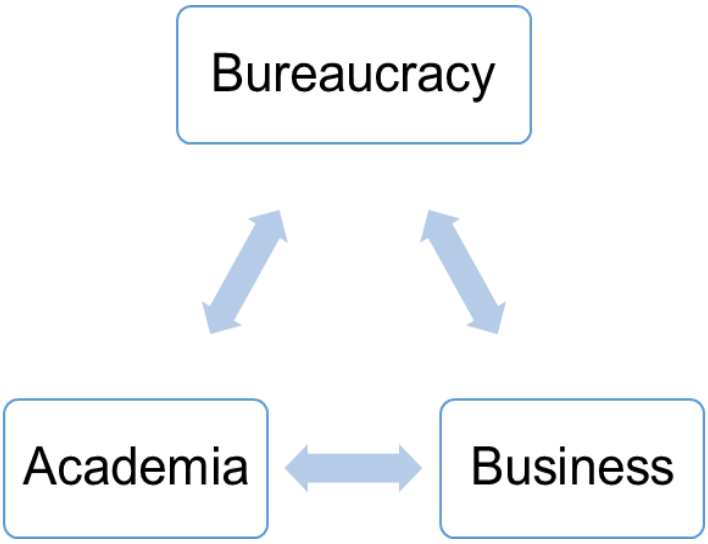

Figure 4.1: Tripolar structure of the think tank proto-field

As the simplified diagram (figure 4.1) illustrates, the social space that early think tanks resided, what I called the proto-field of think tanks, was a sphere between academia, the buraucracy, and the business. In this term, approximately between the early 1960s and the mid-1990s, think tanks tried to have an affect upon their audience, consisted of policy makers, polticians, business people through a set of activities including publications, meetings, conferences, consultancy, and even diplomacy. Parallel to the growth of the mass media, televisions, newspapers and recently social media sites have become mediums through which think tanks seek recognition, advocate certain political acts, and mold public opinion.

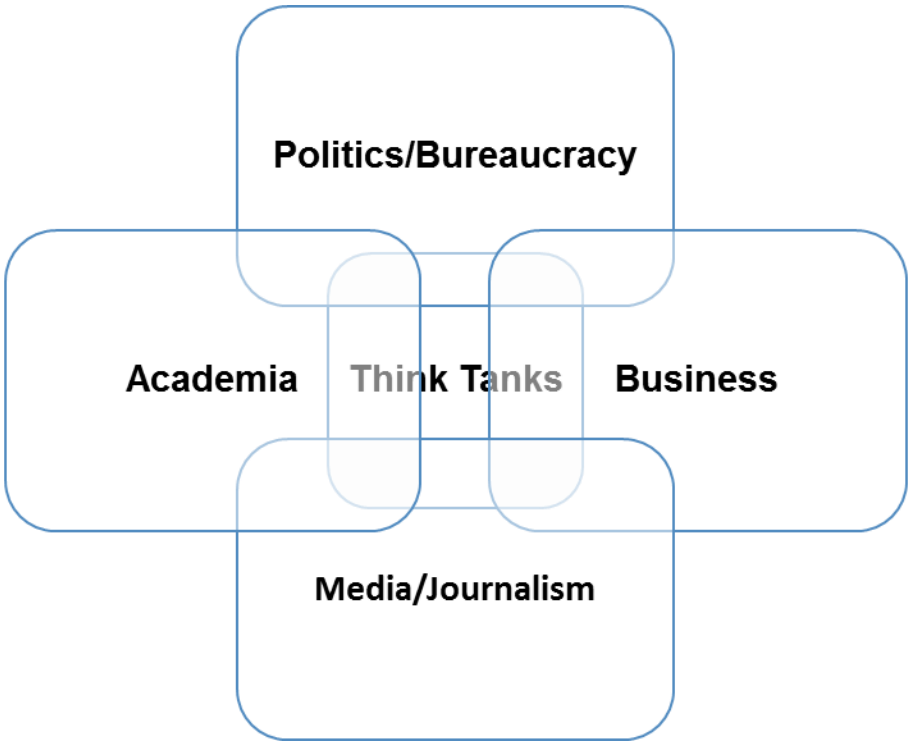

Figure 4.2: Quadrupolar structure of the think tank field

The following diagram (figure 4. 2) ilustrates the field of think tanks in its current form. With the growth of the mass media in the mid-1990s, think

tanks started to locate in an intermediate area enclosed by four poles that can be seen in the diagram. For that reason, my emphasis on the media is not trivial: Media organs are rather *sina qua non* for think tanks than mere mediums. I will specifically address the relationship between the media and think tanks above. Here, it may suffice to mark that the journalistic field today imposes its pressures more and more on other fields (Bourdieu,1998, p. 56), notably on the field of think tanks, which is more heteronomous space than any other field of cultural production.

We should also look at think tanks that are mainly interested in economic policy. As I emphasized in the previous chapter, the common ground of all the early think tanks was that they were all established by or with the support of the industrial capitalists of the period to conduct research to influence development and the economic policy making process. It should be comfortably asserted that the capitalist class today needs think tanks more than they were needed in the past. Transition from the inward-oriented model of 1960s and 1970s in which big business accumulated capital in the domestic market to the export-oriented model in which the business world started to extend out to the foreign market, no doubt, have brought new problems and entailed new risks for investors. The increasing transnationalization of the Turkish business world and the growing integration of the country into the world economy in the post-2000 era intensified this process by posing new risks, notably for small and medium sized enterprises (known as *KOBİ*) that have developed from the early 1990s onward with the expansion of the neo-liberal globalization to the Anatolia (Öniş, 2010, p. 48). The international expansion process is ridden with vicissitudes and risks that cannot be easily envisaged by both large-scale and small enterprises. In order to survive in a stiff competition environment, they need think tanks that would equip them with practical and technical knowledge (*know-how*) in coping with risks and uncertainties. In addition, as the Turkish economy has become rule-based and more competitive as a result of the structural reforms of Kemal Derviş, the minister of economy of the period 2001-2002, the policy-based routing and public policy design – the two things

that economy-oriented think tanks do well – have become key to affect economic decision makers more than ever (author interview, a TEPAV director, December 30, 2013).

During the first decade of the new millennium, new think tanks focusing on economic policies, sustainable economic growth, local and regional development came in sight. Among many others, two think tanks established by representatives of the private sector come to the forefront: Koç University-TÜSİAD Economic Research Forum and the TEPAV. The former is a think tank formed jointly by Koç University and the TÜSİAD, the business association established by leading Turkish industrialists and businessmen in 1971 in order to represent the big business. The latter is a think tank that was founded under the patronage of the TOBB, an umbrella organization of the private sector representing all the local chambers and commodity exchanges in the country.

Even though they serve the interests of the different segments of the capitalist class, both of them were designed to generate knowledge that would resolve the problems of entrepreneurs. Enjoying a considerable endowment fund that many think tanks are deprived of, these think tanks are able to mobilize outstanding academic scholars and experts to conduct comprehensive business and economic policy research to meet the needs of economic growth.[68] The emphasis on the economic growth and development is salient in the mission statements of both think tanks. Indeed, as a TEPAV director stresses, their main operating principle is quite simple: to enhance the private sector for Turkey's economic growth (author interview, a TEPAV director, December 30, 2013). Hence, such think tanks, more or less, can be evaluated as engines for economic growth through private sector development.

[68] When it comes to affecting policy makers, these think tanks also prove that they are really efficacious. For instance, the draft report about the progress plan prepared by a TEPAV research group lead by Güven Sak provided main policy inputs for the ninth development plan (2007-2013) of the DPT (Tezcek, 2011, p. 236). Thus, the TEPAV could guarantee government assistance and cooperation particularly in industrial issues on behalf of small and medium sized enterprises represented by the TOBB.

In short, in the mid-1990s onwards, think tanks began to be perceived as vital and essential tools from which different social actors could benefit in affecting the political sphere and public opinion, disseminating and advocating ideas, solving specific problems and so on. In recent years, we have been witnessing the new wave of *think tank-ization*, a process in which social movements, identities, and even religious communities along with political parties, the state, and business world establish think tanks. This boom, together with a set of implications, has brought two discernable outcomes: the spatial dispersion of think tanks has extended beyond two metropolitan cities and organizational forms of think tanks has become diversified.

By the 2000s, the spatial location of think tanks had been İstanbul and Ankara, two major cities of the country where economic and political, and cultural capital are concentrated. Currently, there are numerous university-associated research centers, widespread albeit inert, across the country. Another reason of spatial diffusion is the appearance of research-oriented thematic think tanks focusing on certain problem areas such as the Kurdish question. For instance, Diyarbakır hosts two foremost think tanks of the region, conducting in-depth policy research on the different aspects of the Kurdish question, from the mother tongue-based bilingual education to the village guard system: The Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social Research (*Diyarbakır Siyasal ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Ensititüsü*, *DİSA*), the Tigris Communal Research Center (*Dicle Toplumsal Araştırmalar Merkezi*, *DİTAM*).

The second point is that organizational forms of Turkish think tanks vary to a considerable extent. An organizational sociologist can even suggest that there are almost no distinct attributions that all of the organizational bodies pertanining to the think tank category partake. Thinking with the jargon of the organization theory, we could argue that think tanks compose a *non*-homogenous assemblage of organizations situated in the "organizational field", sets of organizations, in the aggregate, "constitute a recognized area of institutional life" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148). As I discussed above, scholars researching think tanks

have been inclined to develop numerous typologies in order to deal with the heterogeneous character of think tanks. And, I also laid emphasis on the handicaps of such in tackling with think tanks as organizations. Typologies, in fact, fail to show organizational change in the course of time because the fact that they draw inflexible and distinct lines between "types". In other words, they ignore *temporality* of organizations at the cost of providing a descriptive representation of the think tank field.

In their seminal article, organizational sociologists DiMaggio and Powell underscores this point by saying that: "In the initial stages of their life cycle, organizational fields display considerable diversity in approach and form. Once a field becomes well established, however, there is an inexorable push towards homogenization" (1983, p. 148). Authors labels this process as "institutional isomorphism". Three substantial mechanisms bring forth this process: mimesis, coercion and normative pressure. Think tanks in Turkey, as discussed before, constitute a weak field rather than a well established one. It is also in its initial stages with the words of DiMaggio and Powell. Therefore, it appears to be possible to understand why the Turkish think tank field is composed of characteristically heterogeneous and polymorphic organizations by chasing the logic of institutional isomorphism. If DiMaggio and Powell are right, think tanks in Turkey are likely tend to become more and more similar over time. According to them, incoming organizations tend to observe and mimic the model of what they regard the most succesful players or trend-setters in the field. Such a mimesis can be seen in the influence of the ASAM on the newcomer think tanks presenting them as strategic research centers. Its organizational style, based on regional and thematic research units (in Turkish *araştırma masaları*) evoking the modus operandi of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Bora, 2001), has been inherited by many think tanks focusing on security and foreign policy. A researcher and director associated with the USAK even points out that, new think tanks that were under the influence of the ASAM immediately embraced the term "strategy" without questioning its military

resonances[69] (author interview, Mehmet Güçer, December 20, 2013). Yet, although we can find some indications of isomorphic tendencies, all in all, the field is characterized by polymorphism and heterogeneity.

To sum up, *the field of think tanks* has been crystallized since the mid-1990s as a result of many societal and political developments and new necessities. The formation of this "interstitial" (Medvetz, 2012a) field, a bounded space of interaction located between the four poles of the politics, media, business, and academia was allied with the genesis of the "mediators" (Osborne, 2004), a think tank-affiliated intellectual who compounds incompatible social skills from the aforementioned contiguous social universes bringing think tanks into being. In the following subsections, I will focus on the relations between think tanks and its adjacent fields.

4.2. Crystallization of the Field: Signals of Relationality

From the outset, let me remind you of the recent version of the field theory that I applied in this study. As distinct from the "mature" fields of Bourdieu, with a quite distinct logic, defined boundaries and forms of capital, these so-called "weak", "interstitial", "liminal", "lesser", or "in-between" fields – conceptualization varies by scholars – are characterized by the lack of autonomy by the reason of the intersectional and intermediate social space in which they operate. In a word, they are *heteronomous* social spaces, far from the ideal-typical sense of the Bourdieusian field identified as a *relatively autonomous* social context. Think tanks, both symbolically and materially, are contingent upon the social worlds around

[69] Note that, the ASAM was established by the renowned nationalist political scientist Ümit Özdağ studying on the areas such as security, intelligence, terror, and ethnic conflicts from a "geo-strategic"perspective. The 21. Century Turkey Institute, a new think tank founded under the directory of Özdağ, incorporates numerous research center purporting to serve Turkish society and Turkish world. This think tank exemplifies a thinking disposition which is still widespread in the field, a dispostion that fetishises the concept of strategy by "strategizing" of everything and thinking of everything as strategic. For that reason, it is not out of the common for such an institute to have a centre for "theostrategy" research employing theologists or, more precisely, self-proclaimed "theo-strategy" experts.

them. By contrast with the presupposition, many scholars writing on intellectuals have taken for granted, that intellectuals enjoy fully cognitive autonomy, intellectual producers associated with think tanks, as I have stressed many times, conduct policy research and generate policy knowledge in conditions of serious restriction aroused from their neighboring fields. For that reason, one cannot duly discover the specificity of the think tank field without looking through social actors taking place in the adjacent fields, notably those who are holders of economic and political power, which think tanks are dependent on.

Wacquant (1992, p. 17) uses the analogy of prism in order to illustrate what the autonomy of a field means: if a field is *adequately* autonomous, "it refracts external forces according to its internal structure". If not, it does *reflect* external determinations originated from neighboring or intruding fields in lieu of *refracting* them pursuant to its own interior logic. The biological concept of "interstitial" used by researchers revising Bourdieu's field theory also facilitate to understand this point. Like interstitial, which means a *space between objects*, compartments surrounding the cells of a tissue, interstitial fields are *spaces between fields*. Due to the boundaries of interstitial fields are porous and permeable, these fields are more subject to external influences when compared to a conventional Bourdieusian field.

Nonetheless, while the think tank field is connected to institutions of economic and political power, it does not follow that this field is reducible to them. More precisely, while the field of think tanks is located at the overlapping intersection of several more institutionalized spheres, e.g., the political, economic, academic and journalistic fields, which it evolved out of, it is not identical or synonymous with them. Despite their intrinsically heteronomous trait, Turkish think tanks gradually have taken a distinctive, shall we say field-like, character since the mid-1990s, a change that could be pursued along several constituent dimensions.[70]

[70] Medvetz (2012a, p. 116-124) argues that the growth of network ties and formal linkages among think tanks, the invention of new intellectual products and practices and

First, think tanks have started to attract the interests of academic researchers beginning from the 2000s. As I discussed in the first chapter, there is a considerable increase in the number of academic publications focusing on Turkish think tanks in that period. Yet, it should be overemphasized that the social scientific studies regarding think tanks is superficial and cursory with a few exceptions. On the other hand, the word of the think tank, or *düşünce kuruluşu* with the most common idiom in Turkish, has become also a widely used category, so to speak a buzzword, in Turkish political discourse within the last decade, especially with their increasing visibility in the media debate. It is not a mere lexical shift at issue. The growing use of the category in the political and media discourse, the accumulated academic knowledge regarding think tanks along with worldwide think tank indexes and directories have made a significant contribution to the cohesion of this category in our intellectual and political vocabulary.

The second and more important point is that novel forms of intellectual production and intervention apart from academic (and of course journalistic) research has shown up in the same period. As well known, in the countries that have a deep rooted history of think tank experience like the US, there are certain formats of intellectual production that can be subsumed under the category of "policy reports" or "policy papers". In the following subsection, I will elaborate how these new forms differ from the academic modes of intellectual production. For the present, I would like to point out that Turkish think tanks, at least the prominent ones, have gained ground in finding the right and effective formats of policy paper for their target audience.

Third, I would like to underscore that the emergence of think tanks has led to the emergence of a new type of intellectual that I prefer to call as "mediators" by following Osborne (2004). At the end of this study, I will

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the creation of knowledge about them contributed to the installation of the think tank category in the social world as well as the formation of the think tank field in the United States at least from the 1970s. His argument will give inspiration and provide a comparative leverage for my discussion concerning the distinctive aspects of Turkish think tanks they have acquired since the mid-1990s.

provide a discussion concerning the modus vivendi and hybrid dispositions of this new type of intellectual figure. For my discussion, I shall stress that think tank-affiliated intellectuals have gradually carved out a slot for themselves between the more institutionalized spheres of the media and academia, the academic and journalistic intellectuals.

Finally, I want to point out the relations of cooperation and competition among think tanks. The heavy increase in the number of think tanks within the last two decades is a factor that increases competition amongst the actors in the field for material and symbolic resources which are at stake in the field. In this respect, the interstitial field of think tanks carry the fighting spirit to a certain degree, even though it is not comparable with fierce competition occurring in the ideal-typical Bourdieusian "battlefield" due to the bounded and heteronomous nature of think tanks. Centering too much upon the struggle and competition, for that reason, would hamper us to grasp the simultaneous trend towards cooperation both amongst Turkish think tanks and between domestic think tanks and the external actors.

In Turkey, collaborative relations among think tanks initially can be traced through a series of meetings that players in the field participate in. For instance, in May 2010, fourteen think tanks presenting themselves as centers for strategic research (*stratejik araştırmalar merkezi*) held a meeting in Ankara in order to form and improve a cooperation between the institutions, after the first two meetings were conducted in 2007 and 2008 (Ortaç, 2010). What is more important is that they came to a mutual agreement in establishing a head organization called the "Turkish Think Tank Platform" (*Türkiye Düşünce Kuruluşları Platformu*) through which they would jointly conduct conferences and exchange of ideas.

Another observable tendency of cooperation is frequently conducted consultation meetings between think tanks and government agencies. For example, in December 2012, a consultation meeting was conducted in the Ankara Development Agency (*Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı*) with the participation of nine think tanks operating in Ankara ("Strateji ve Düşünce

Kuruluşları", 2012). A similar consultation meeting was conducted under the presidency of the Minister of Development Cevdet Yılmaz in Ankara in February 2015 with attendance of the representative from ten major think tanks ("Düşünce Kuruluşları İstişare Toplantısı", 2015). Examples of such meetings abound. Another of them was hosted by the The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, *TBMM*) in 2013. In the meeting, The TBMM Secretary General İrfan Neziroğlu emphasizes the vitality of knowledge sharing and experience transfer between think tanks and the TBMM and its research center TBMM-ARMER. He states that think tanks generate outstanding reports and they share this reports with parliamentarians and politicians (Durmaz, 2013).

To conclude, Turkish think tanks, day after day, become more aware of each other through an array of cooperative activities. Looking at these activities, one can clearly realize how think tanks who occupy different positions in a political or ideological spectrum come together for the sake of collaboration. For that reason, if one solely focus on the divergent ideological tendencies of think tanks by categorizing them to their implicit or explicit proximities to political parties and movements and postulate that the field is *only* characterized by a vicious hostility, s/he miss the other side of the story.

4.3. The Rules of the Game: Think Tanks and Policy Research

In this subsection, I will focus on how think tanks relate with the more established fields around them to find an answer to the question of what kind of game a think tank really play, rather than centering upon the system of relations between the actors in the field. The key issue is that the field of think tanks is shaped not only by the structure of intra-field relations between agents but also, and rather, by its proximity to coterminous fields. As I have underscored from the inception of this study, one cannot adequately understand the think tank universe unless s/he takes into account both the pressures and demand derived from its

adjacent fields. For that reason, I shift my focal point from the structure of relationships between intra-field agents to the relations between the fields themselves; from a kind of relationality to the other.

From the perspective of the field analysis, this line of inquiry could be seen somewhat unconventional. A conventional Bourdieusian field, a highly autonomous and structured social space shaping the relations of agents, possesses its own associated forms of specific *capital* that the members of the field vie to establish monopoly over them: "cultural authority in the artistic field, scientific authority in the scientific field, sacerdotal authority in the religious field" (Wacquant, 1992, p. 17). Spaces that overlap and crosscut multiple institutional fields like the case of think tanks is troublesome to grasp within this classical framework (see Eyal 2002, 2013, Panofsky 2006, Stampnitzky, 2011, Medvetz 2012a). In fact, there is no specialized form of capital in the field of think tanks that agents of the field strive to obtain. Rather, as Medvetz shows (2012a, p. 140), they try to gather and balance various resources such as academic, political, economic, and media capitals belonging to the more institutionalized fields adjacent to think tanks. To put it metaphorically, they labor to reach to and carry weapons from the outside to their *battlefield* to exert their effect.

In the context of the Turkish think tank space, thus, four types of resource, e.g., *capital*, are at stake. First and foremost resources that think tanks strive to assemble are *economic* and *political* capitals. The former could be understood as pecuniary resources and endowments that any think tank aspires to enhance. In recent years, some think tanks have endeavored to create their "equity capital" through selling their intellectual outputs in the "marketplace of ideas" in order to reduce their dependence on external entities. *Political capital*, in Bourdieu's theory of the political field (Bourdieu, 1991b), refers to what agents, individuals or institutions, in the political field struggle to accumulate: the capacity and skills to mobilize crowds around a common goal, to win elections, to design public policies and so on. In terms of think tanks, it refers to skills such as to produce relevant policy knowledge, to establish bonds with or gain

credibility of political actors, and to intervene in the political agenda in an influential way. *Academic capital*, in a word, refers to indicators of scientific competence. Since educational credentials and degrees can be evaluated as objectified forms of this sort of capital, I generated a database concerning the educational backgrounds of expert staff of major think tanks (See, Appendix). Finally, *media capital* expresses the capacity to access to printed and visual media along with the ability of making and advocating arguments in television discussions.

4.3.1. Financial Dependency of Think Tanks

Think tanks in Turkey, in common with most of their counterparts in the other parts of the world, are contingent upon external institutions to sustain their activities. To be more precise, they are financially and economically dependent social organizations, rather than being self-sufficient entities creating their own resources for their survival. To illustrate, the rise and fall of the ASAM constitutes the most striking example of the financial dependence to sponsors. When the ASAM had been one of the well-situated think tanks of the last decade, it had to suspend its activities due to the fact that their main sponsor firm, the Ülker Group, opted to withdraw financial support reaching to one and a half million dollars per annum (Yetkin, 2008).

It would be interesting to document funding patterns as well as annual budgets of Turkish think tanks to measure economic capital which is at stake in the field. However, one of the main obstacle to achieving this is, as Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt points out (2010, p. 54-55), the lack of transparency in terms of financial structure and sources of finance in the field.[71] For that reason, who contributes to think tanks to what extent

[71] Despite their emphasis on the opacity of financial structure and sources, the same authors do not refrain from classifying think tanks according to their budget sizes. In their sorting (Aras, Toktaş, & Kurt, 2010, p. 79-80), there are think tanks that have a big budget (over 1 million dollars), moderate budget (between 250 thousand and 1 million dollars) and small budget (between 50 thousand and 250 thousand dollars). However, their categorization comes out unjustified and unelaborated because they say almost

remains an open question. Even so, we can at least enumerate the potential financial sources for think tanks; individual or foundational endowments, government grants, project funds, selling of intellectual products and services, membership fees and so on. It should be pointed out that it is exceptional to find a think tank that relies on one hundred percent business sector or on the state for its financing. Most think tanks, even those which have ample sources of donation, typically compete for various research project-based money or sell their publications.

Overall, think tanks are not equivalent in the sense of accessing these resources. The uneven distribution of economic capital makes some think tanks privileged vis-à-vis other ones scarcely continuing their activities. For instance, think tanks that have strong ties with the business community such as the TEPAV and the İKV enjoy ample means they possess through the endowments they receive by the TOBB, the TÜSİAD, and other industrial and commercial bodies. A director from the TEPAV states how the support they take from the TOBB help them to extend their impact and interest areas:

> From my point of view, the most important thing that makes you a think tank is endowment. You ought to assure a primary pecuniary resource in order to get back on the road without being driven away from any political winds. … As I see it, the field of study a think tank chooses is related to where it receives its donations. For example, since we take endowments from the TOBB, we have a quite extensive field of study and set of targets (author interview, a TEPAV director, December 30, 2013).

Think tanks bound up with government agencies such as the SAM and the TBMM-ARMER also does not experience financial difficulty owing to a share they get from government and parliamentary budgets. The same thing can be said of think tanks those which operate under auspices of

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nothing about which think tanks find fund from where and in what ways. Such a cursory classification ensamples the widespread obsession of *typification* seen in scholars studying on think tanks.

universities. For instance, Fuat Keyman, the director of the İPM, says that the financial support of the Sabancı University provides assurance them in surpassing what he calls the problem of sustainability (author interview, February 17, 2013).

Think tanks which are deprived of the financial assistance of powerful sponsors contend for state funds offered by various governmental organizations such as the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (*Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu*, *TÜBİTAK*), The Republic of Turkey Promotion Fund (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Tanıtma Fonu Genel Sekreterliği*), and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (*Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı*, *TİKA*), development agencies, ministries and the like. They also seek international sources of financing such as the EU fundings or other project-based funds provided by institutions like the Open Society Foundations, the National Endowment for Democracy, German party-affiliated think tanks and so on. In the absence of stable economic resources, or "a philantrophic culture and a bourgeois ethics" that is the trademark of the US think tanks (author interview, Vahap Coşkun, February 21, 2014), "project fetishism" (*projecilik*) appears as a potential way out for many think tanks even if they are reluctant to do it.

Apparently, think tanks in Turkey depend heavily on external sponsors for financial support. More than that, many of the great majority of them substantially bank on short-run contributions. To put it more plainly, their very existence are beyond their own control and agency; the ultimate decision makers that would determine their destiny are those who economically support think tanks. Needless to say, financial resources enable think tanks to make research and generate policy knowledge. Yet, the crucial point from the lenses of the field analysis is that such an over-dependence on sponsors and clients have certain restraints on the production of policy knowlege. After all, to what extent think tanks are able to go beyond the demands and interests of those who subsidize them is the besetting question that think tank-affiliated intellectuals are unwilling to face. A noteworthy answer to this question comes from the

Social Research Foundation (*Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı*, *SAV*), a radical research organization that differs from other think tanks by holding left-wing ideas and solutions in social and economic issues. The SAV actually occupies a marginal position in the field of think tanks by challenging the acknowledged norms of policy research. In their eyes, making contact with the market or the state for fund undermines their activities based on voluntariness:

> Not to receive fund provides credibility and independence to us. For example, some people had suggested us to make an application to the EU projects, but we did not. If you strive to find money, you must recast your organizational model completely. This is why labor unions have broken down. Plus, the institution from which you receive fund directly designate what you will write (author interview, Serap Kurt, March 14, 2014).

Think tanks that are not categorically opposed to engage in project-based funds try to develop some strategies to overcome the over-reliance on sponsors. The first strategy that I identified is the effort to generate considerable income through putting intellectual products on the market. For instance, Galip Dalay from SETA indicates that they are able to generate approximately 40% of their expenditures by selling their publications and preparing ad hoc reports for various clients for a fee. (author interview, December 25, 2013). The second and the more prevalent strategy is to diversify funding sources in order not to be at one sponsor's mercy. Perhaps the most preoccupied think tank-affiliated actor with this issue is Atilla Sandıklı, the president of BİLGESAM and founder of some other think tanks. Sandıklı argues the increasing predominance of the business logic at the Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Research (*Türkiye Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*, *TASAM*) of which he was one of the founders as a main reason for living:

> As we [TASAM] come to be known and receive projects, the president started to see us as workers and himself as a boss. Thus, the independent operation principle of a scientific research

> center became tainted. ... In addition to the employer-employee relations, the problem of resourcing is another factor threatening the independence of think tanks. ... In order to overcome this problem, we expanded the number of our sponsors by six. For that reason, even if one or two of them go bankrupt or withdraw the support, we are able to move on (author interview, June 2, 2014).

4.3.2. Think Tanks and Politics: Between Involvement and Detachment

The financial dependence prompts think tanks to lay out their work having regard to the needs and demands of their sponsors and clients. Rendered with the words of the field theory, this refers to a renunciation from intellectual or cognitive autonomy to a certain degree. When it comes to the relations of think tanks to political actors, it is possible to say that all think tanks seek to establish ties with political actors, notably political parties, policy makers, and political activist groups, to have a voice and impact on existing political issues. According to my finding, the main controversy within the think tank field is not over whether think tanks should get in touch with political actors or not, but over how and to what extent they ought to bring into connection with these actors. In other words, what is at stake is the "problem of involvement and detachment" in Elias' sense of the term (Elias, 1956). And, I should add that this controversy could be safely read as a symbolic struggle over the very definition of the category of think tanks and of the intellectual.

Some members of the field, such as Hatem Ete from the SETA, see the political engagement with a political entity as the identification mark of think tanks: "After all, think tanks function as a project of a political identity" (author interview, January 6, 2014). Similarly, when I address the problem of the definition of think tanks in my interview with Ahmet

Yıldız, the head of the TBMM-ARMER, he confidently pose the political positioning as the distinguishing feature of think tanks:

> There is considerable problems in definitions. From my standpoint, all think tanks have a political position. Second, the better part of them, if not all, are engaged to certain political tendencies. This could be a political party, a non-governmental organization, or a social movement (author interview, January 2, 2014).

This view argues that a think tank could be only deemed to be succesful as long as it achieves to balance the production of policy knowledge and political advocacy. This is why Ete defines an intellectual as a person "who blends knowledge with a political position, but does not allow the knowledge s/he produced confined to the limits of that political position" (author interview, January 6, 2014). Here, we can clearly observe the problem of involvement and detachment. Accordingly, a think tank-affiliated intellectual should bring knowledge and political predispositon together to be intellectually powerful; however, at the same time, he should not become a secterian or partisan who is mired in his own political milieu. Still, it is not so easy to play this equilibrium game and to preserve cognitive autonomy in a field encompassed by the political field. An expert staff member from the SDE, a think tank proximate to the government party, concedes that:

> These institutions [think tanks] alternate between generating knowledge in real terms and performing swordsmanship, as newspapers did at one time. This dilemma can arise from the institutions by themselves. But rather, expectations of political parties in the second direction bring about such an ambiguity (author interview, Murat Yılmaz, December 24, 2013).

Other prominent think tanks hold the idea that a think tank ought not to be too close to a certain political locus. This line of argument calls for an impartiality to the different political actors or at least equal distance to

every political positions. It automatically follows that they question the legitimacy and credibility of such think tanks as Fuat Keyman, the director of the İPM, does:

> The most important problems encountered by think tanks are the problem of capacity (funding and sustainability) and the problem of legitimacy. Some think tanks have legitimacy problem due to their proximity to the government, but they have capacity. This problem can be overcomed with treating other actors equally and collaborating with them (author interview, February 17, 2014).

In order not to confront such a legitimacy and problem, these think tanks strategically refrain from establishing close links with a political party or at least rhetorically announces that they are equally distant to every political and ideological position. On the other hand, think tanks which are connected to the main segments of the capitalist class tend to remain more neutral to political agents since they are mainly interested in the technicality and design of economic policies. To put it differently, because they generate the knowledge on behalf of the private sector, they are able to adopt a technocratic or at least a pragmatic attitude towards their political interlocutors. A director from the TEPAV draws attention to this point:

> Think tanks like us can work with both labour unions and employer unions at the same time on the same issue. We can also work with both the AKP and CHP. … We built a capacity. We have a credibility related to technical competence. And we have an operational network under favour of the TOBB. For that reason both the AKP, CHP and MHP read and communicate with us (author interview, December 30, 2013).

Others take a supra-partisan and politically detached stance to reach the loosely defined ideal of "optimality". These think tanks highlights the concepts such as common mind, synergy, and brainstorming to manifest themselves as broad-minded, intellectually independent and politically

supra-partisan. The BİLGESAM is the paragon of that kind of organizations aiming at creating a vision for the future of the country in a way that would be the reflection of the common mind:

> We do not take a political party as a reference, but do the society, the people. Our studies reflect the Turkish optimal. Namely, there are always points on which everyone does not compromise, but we set forth the intersection point of all positions. We try to develop the common mind here, not the mind of a political position (author interview, Atilla Sandıklı, June 2, 2014).

How can we explain these differences? From my point of view, the problem of involvement and detachment presented here is partly attributed to the lack of codified or structured procedures that would regulate the relations between political agents and think tanks. In Turkey, people who are familiar with think tanks easily identify which one of them are proximate to which political party. The perplexing point is that the same think tanks portray themselves as impartial and non-partisan in their mission statements and in public settings. Their "presentation of the self", in Goffman's sense of the term, vary by audiences; while they present themselves to the broader public audience as intellectually independent and politically neutral, they also may present their allegiance to their political clients in the back stage.

Either this or that way, think tanks seek to enter into connection with political agents to exert their effect on policy making. Almost all think tank members indicate that politicians increasingly need and demand for policy-related research and knowledge as well as symbolic support and advocacy. To be sure, academia is not duly functional to generate the knowledge of which politicians are in need due to the fact that academics are highly tardy researchers contemplating on, broadly speaking, disciplinary-driven or interest-ridden questions rather than policy-related issues dictated by the political agenda. Moreover, as I will discuss below, purely scientific research and knowledge production procedures and

processes demands a long period of time and thus cannot address a politicians' needs to instant knowledge.

Expert staff of think tanks, hovewer, could foresee potential risks in particular areas that politicians cannot easily undertake and/or inform them about beforehand. The bureaucrats, for example, are ideally supposed to serve to the same purpose. In a country like Turkey where the buraucratic field is subject to ongoing struggle for the control of the strategic locations and stakes of the field, politicians could benefit from think tanks in short-circuiting the bureaucracy and accelerating the decision-making process. In comparison with bureaucrats, think tanks exert an "influence without responsibility" (Denham & Garnett, 1999) over policy due to idea that they are officially non-authoritative entities. Developing this phrase, I may add that think tanks seek "credibility without accountability". So long as political elites find these institutions credible and serviceable, they become an indispensable part of not only policy making but also doing politics. Lastly, think tanks can also be utilized as a greenhouse where future high level politicians, administrators, and political consultants are developed.[72]

4.3.3. Think Tanks and the Media: A Mutualistic Relationship

In order to survive and succeed, think tanks indispensably have to establish relationships with decision makers and sponsors. Furthermore, they also have needed to establish ties with media organs in a political environment which have become more and more susceptible to the news media from the mid-1990s to the present. For the most part, the relationship between the media and think tanks is a mutually beneficial one.

[72] The AKP has already started to benefit from former leading think-tank affiliated intellectuals as advisors, party executives, or members of parliament. Some of them are Yasin Aktay, Etyen Mahçupyan, Hatem Ete, Taha Özhan, İbrahim Kalın to name just a few.

Think tanks seek access to the printed and visual media organs for several purposes. In the first place, many think tanks seek public visibility with the intention of increasing their political impact. According to my findings, think tanks follow several distinct but interrelated strategies in this regard. Ideologically or politically neutral think tanks see public visibility as a crucial oppurtunity and instrument of political effect. Politically engaged think tanks, in addition to the first strategy, also benefit from media coverage as a medium of advocacy. I also should add that insider or embedded think tanks which have established strong ties with the power elite of Ankara behind closed doors have not needed media coverage to exert their political influence. For that reason, it is important to keep in mind that public visibility through media coverage is not a mark of policy influence per se.

As I indicated above, for a think tank it is not always possible to directly access policy makers. In the circumstances, access to mass media enables think tanks to make authority claims on particular policy areas and thus affect policy debates. Appearing on television and publishing op-ed pieces in the newspaper, think tank members can indirectly influence political elites and policy makers in a environment where media opinion and commentary have considerable impact on policy makers and political elites. They also can increase their recognizability and credibility in the eyes of their political and media clients. The head of the USAK-Center for Social Studies puts it when I ask him why think tanks attach importance to public visibility:

> When we publish a report, we dispatch it to almost all decision makers. It is like a throwing a stone at the well. Someone gets back to you, others do not. But, you have a media coverage, you are recognized. In this way you lift your effectiveness (author interview, Mehmet Güçer, December 20, 2013).

After all, increasing influence and recognition as well as advocacy via media coverage are almost self-evident profits that many think tanks

seek, not only in Turkey, but also around the world.[73] In what follows, I will rather focus on the think tanks' specific role in molding public opinion. In their Bourdieu-inspired study on media intellectuals and opinion production in the United States, Jacobs and Townsley (2011, p. 13) analitically identify the "space of opinion" as a sphere located at the overlapping intersection of several institutional orders such as academic, journalistic and political fields, where elite actors debate serious issues of common concern. As distinct from the classical image of public sphere including face-to-face deliberations and informal conversations between citizens, the space of opinion is a field in which "media intellectuals", i.e., think tank-affiliated intellectuals, journalists, columnists, opinion researchers, activists and the like, comment on the hot issues through the news, entertainment and social media.

Following Jacobs and Townsley's conceptualization, I suggest that Turkish think tanks as suppliers of "expert opinion" are one of the main members of such a space of opinion and media punditry. This brings us to the second major mission of think tanks in Turkey: To mold "public opinion" by producing opinion concerning policy issues and disseminating it by means of media organs. This complementary mission go hand in hand with the first mission that influence policy makers through policy research. Taken all together, these missions provide us and idea regarding the question of what a think tank really does.

Most of my respondents laid weight on the importance of opinion formation as a crucial role of a think tank. Even, some members of the think tank field posit that the most substantial function of think tanks is to influence and transform public opinion (author interview, Harun Kaban, December 12, 2013). Some of them make a clear division between two

[73] The increasing public visibility of think tanks as a worldwide phenomenon has triggered new discussions on the normative idea of "public intellectual" in the sociology of intellectuals in recent years. For instance, Mistzal (2012) argues that think tank expert's monopolization of public forum can present a threat to the quality of public debates in Western democracies. In today's context, she suggests, the omnipresent of media makes think tank intellectuals as almost the main authority in charge of ideas. For her, the rise of think tank intellectuals as public figures also hinder the abilities of academics to act as public intellectuals.

audiences, policy makers and the general public, and determine the kind of activity they will conduct according to agents that whom they want to influence:

> We ask a question after conducting an activity: Do we want to influence policy makers or the public opinion? If we want to raise awareness in the public opinion about an issue, we conduct panel discussions about that topic and seek media coverage. But, there is already an awareness about some topics such as the Palestine question in the public. In this case, it is more logical to try to directly affect policy makers (author interview, Galip Dalay, December 25, 2013).

However, we should be cautious about the implications of media opinion and commentaries disseminated in particularly television discussion programs. To be sure, public debate today is organized mainly through media organs and public opinion, if any, is uttered in discussions between television commentators, all of whom pretend to represent common good with a mission of raising the awariness of the public in key issues. Indeed, the journalistic field in general, and television in specific, has a very special power to form the opinions, perceptions, and beliefs – in a word, "collective representations" in Durkheim's sense of the term – of citizens. Having said that, the journalistic field in itself is a highly heteronomous space, subjected to the constraints of the market and political power more than any other fields of cultural production (Bourdieu, 2005a, p. 41). In the sight of the field theory, closeness to power invariably comes to mean complicity and violation of the autonomy of the field. And, television constitutes the most heteronomous sector or subfield of journalism (Bourdieu, 2005a, p. 41). That is to say, those who speak on television are consciously or unconsciously subject to a very subtle and "invisible censorship" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 15-18). Permit me to crystallize this point with the words of one of my respondents who frequently appears in TV debates:

> Turkish media needs more opinion leaders as it become diversified. Think tanks are like the storage centers that would dispatch these opinion leaders to them. Besides, they feel comfortable since they more or less predict what a think tank member would articulate. They choose participators among the differences [different perspectives] they manage to categorize. Ultimately, they do not summon a person who would become unfavorable (author interview, Murat Yılmaz, December 24, 2013).

These statements provide us insight concerning how a television discussion is prearranged behind the scenes. In the absence of "unfavorable persons", many tv discussions take the shape of a monologue in which all participators advocate and promote certain political positions, rather than an fruitful dialogue through which participators are open to being convinced by a counter argument. In other words, television discussion shows fail to satisfy standardts of rational deliberation or reason by providing distortion as often as they provide lucidity, and self-serving performances as well as careful deliberation and argumentation (Jacobs & Townsley, 2011, p. 5).

With these restrictions in mind, we can finally focus on the think tanks researchers' effort to distinguish themselves from other opinion producers taking place in media debates. Many of them place themselves in a position between academics and journalists in terms of intellectual profundity and rhetorical style. They try to find a style through which they will be both convincing and pellucid to political agents and the broader public without being neither too scholarly nor too superficial. With an articulated claim on authority and expertise concerning heavy matters, think tank-affiliated intellectuals argue that, in comparison with academic scholars and journalists, they are the most proper candidates who would satisfy the demand of expert opinion in the media field:

> Relationship between media and academic is not workable for the both sides. When media organs appeal to academics, they

> don't find a performance what they expected. Academic scholars express opinions that are slightly related to current issues. Journalists, on the other hand, only speak on daily issues. For news channels, think tank experts make and impression that they would cover the expectations (author interview, Hatem Ete, January 6, 2014).

4.3.4. The Dynamics of Knowledge Production outside the University

The preceding subsection pointed out the role of think tanks in forming and influencing the wider climate of opinion mainly through media organs. This subsection will rather focus on how and to what extent policy research policy-oriented knowledge they strive to generate differ from the procedures of academic research and social scientific knowledge production. Discerning these differences as well as similarities is a vital point for conceiving policy research as a discrete mode of intellectual practice and intervention.

At the outset, I ought to underscore that think tank-affiliated researchers mostly come from or synchronously operate at the academic field. When compared to deep-rooted think tanks in the Anglo-American and European world gathering a variety of professionals from other more institutionalized fields such as journalists, bureaucrats, politicians, company executives together as expert staff, Turkish think tanks are overwhelmingly contingent upon academic social scientists for the production of policy knowledge. Two third of the researcher staff at think tanks included in my sample either have studied for a doctorate or earned a doctoral degree (see Appendix). This means that they are (supposed to be) familiar with the logic, temporality, and procedures of scientific knowledge production. This point is pivotal since the specific *illusio*, i.e., the tendency of players to believe in the importance and legitimacy of the game they collectively agree to play, of think tank-affiliated actors is

formed as a consequence of a two fold performance, complementary and contradictory at the same time. On the one hand, they constantly endeavor to distinguish themselves from the pure academic scholar and think tanks from universities by downplaying academia in many respects; they still hold to renumerate the academic field and utilize a scientific way of knowledge production on the other.

Think tank members, as if they speak with a single voice, in chorus lay weight on how academia lives in a vacuum far from the actual political developments and remain incapable to bring forward policy proposals that would help overcome existing policy problems. When it comes to the question of why academia is ineligible to produce relevant policy knowledge, they put forward different reasons depending upon their ideological positions. Those who are proximate to liberal values complain about the lack of academic freedom that would enable and exhort academics to conduct research about key issues and disseminate its findings and proposals to the broader public along with the scientific audience. Vahap Coşkun from the DİSA, a Diyarbakır based think tank conducting in-depth research pertinent to the Kurdish question, express: "Academicians doing research in think tanks presumably feel themselves more comfortable than they feel in the academy. The muggy air and restrictive environment of the academy turn into a realm of freedom in think tanks" (author interview, February 21, 2014). Conversely, socialist research centers aiming at producing knowledge from which class politics would benefit, bemoan the commercialization of the academic field: "We must ask whether science is still being done in the academy. Because, looking at many things like technoparks, it is obvious that they try to generate knowledge serving to the needs of the market" (author interview, Serap Kurt, March 14, 2014).

The lack of autonomy and academic freedom under conditions of political and bureaucratic constraints, commercialization and economization serving demands to the market, or conformism of living in an ivory tower are some standard criticisms directed to academia by think tank intellectuals. The level or substance of criticism vary by the positions of

think tanks. The thing that does not change is the the fact that academia is the "constitutive other" of think tanks, an other which is on the one hand prior and superior to them, yet cumbersome and decayed on the other. And they add that their very presence is the affirmation of the collapsing monopoly of universities in the area of scientfic knowledge production. One way or another, think tanks recite the disfunctionality of the academy as one of their *raison d'être*. After all, it is possible to say that if there were an academic field responding to the demand for policy knowledge, there would be no need for think tanks. The further question here is that how knowledge produced by these organizations differs from that produced in universities. According to my findings, there are considerable differences in terms of temporality, credibility, and research outputs.

In the first place I would like to dwell on the temporality steering the generation of policy knowledge. This is a crucial point since the fact that historical process bringing about the social differentiation of spheres of activities does refer not only to *territorrial* expressions such as Weber's "value spheres" or Bourdieu's "fields", but also, as Dick Pels reminds (2003, p. 4), to diversity of *temporal* cultures according to which each distinctive social activity operates its own specific rhythm and time. If fields have differential paces and social times, the field of think tank should has its own temporality. This distinctive temporality could be better perceived by comparison with temporalities of adjacent fields, namely the academic and political ones.

By comparison with other professional occupations such as politics and journalism, science is a slower activity characterized by the "lack of haste" (Pels, 2003, p. 2). Although there are many individual stimulations as well as institutional pressures within the academic field accelerating the scientific research, the academic notion of time is still at a distance from the swift rhythm of the political world. The policy research conducted by think tanks, on the contrary, is a very "hasty" practice that has to keep pace with the political agenda in order to be relevant and effective. For that reason, academics operating in think tanks encounter a problem of temporization. While they are used to concentrating on several topics

they have selected for a long period of time to research and write at university, academic scientists associated with think tanks have to hasten or curtail their research procedure at the expense of the infraction of occupational ethics to fulfill the needs of their clients and consumers.[74] Thinking with the concepts of field theory, we may note that these academics operating in think tanks experience a *hysteresis* effect, a time lag or mismatch between habitus and field occuring as a result of socio-cultural and economic change, due to the disparity and disruption between their scientific *habitus* and the temporal structure of the think tank *field*. Asked to name the main differences between the policy research and pure academic research, a think tank-affiliated researcher who is at the same an academic researcher, he more or less described such an effect:

> We don't tackle with the DNA of tomato here. Rather, making a salad from it serves our purposes. It should not to be thought that we deviate from academic ethics and discipline. What we want from our personnel is to produce papers which are academically straighthead but not pure academic. Naturally, they should be as fast as possible. … We have wittnessed that many recondite professors who came here could not produce anything. They are not incompetent, they just can't accommodate themselves (author interview, Mehmet Güçer, December 20, 2013).

The DNA metaphor actually is not trivial. As a matter of fact, Turkish think tanks began to give form to novel forms of publications as intellectual outputs distinguishable from academic ones. Two significant examples are "policy reports", in-depth analyses of particular policy issues, and "policy briefs", succinct summaries of specific policy issues and proposals about their solution. Apart form these, think tanks produce shorter and transitory policy papers called "policy notes", "perspectives", "opinions"

[74] An experienced member from the field admits, "Sometimes, problems elicited by power relations occur. Problems such as ignoring some points and details or saying them implicitly can occur as well" (author interview, Murat Yılmaz, Deecember 24, 2013).

and the like, analogous with op-ed pieces and columns, aiming at influencing less important current affairs.

The trademark of all these policy papers, as distinct from most of the academic products, is that they all intend to provide clear proposals and options for policy makers. In brief, all policy papers are supposed to have a host of viable suggestions of which policy makers can put into practice. They reprocess and transform scientific knowledge into a more practical knowledge form from which their target audience would benefit. Therefore, at the end of policy reports, authors write their suggestions and best policy options item by item in a a confident way. Unlike many academic scholars, authors of policy reports do not have the luxury to ruminate about their subject matter or prevaricate over words and sentences where they are not entirely assertive about: “There are pretty much predicates in our studies” says a researcher, “We don’t keep away from making self-assured and sharp sentences” (author interview, Hatem Ete, January 6, 2014). Needless to say, writing in a plain language by avoiding theoretical and conceptual discussions is a key to generate an effective policy paper. Özge Genç from the TESEV, a think tank collaborating with prominent academics in policy research for the most part, reflects: “Academicians take an overtly normative and idealist stance in some matters. Sometimes, they generate extremely theoretical papers. In principle, they are just supposed to make a clear analysis and suggest concrete proposals” (author interview, March 11, 2014).

As is seen, intellectual outputs of think tanks could be discriminated from purely academic products with regard to the style of writing, scientific profundity, organization of the text and the like. However, an overarching question still remains unanswered: Where does the intellectual credibility of a think tank product really come from? A scholar pondering upon suchlike question specific to British think tanks concludes that due to the fact that think tanks conduct research outside academia or any other agreed intellectual framework within which its value could be judged, there is no basis for intellectual authority and credibility for a think tank product, any more than the fact that someone worked so hard to make it

valuable (Cummings, 2005, p. 167). In other words, while we can judge scholarly credibility of scientific arguments with respect to their methodological and theoretical frames or empirical evidences, we cannot follow the same protocols in assessing think tank productions.

It is true that think tanks in Turkey like their counterparts around the world has been fraught with a problem of constituting intellectual authority and credibility in the absence of a framework with agreed conventions, principles, and norms that make a think tank output intellectually credible and valuable. Actually, for some think tanks "scientific authority" or "academic credibility" is not an objective in its own right. "Following academic and methodological rules is not a virtue per se. There are various knowledge levels and types. Frame of reference makes it [a policy paper] credible," a think tank member tells me in an interview (author interview, Özlem Çağlar Yılmaz, December 12, 2013). This view again brings us to the ideological positioning of think tanks that we have already discussed. In this case, the notion of credibility is derived from the criterion of whether a policy paper speaks consistently from a philosophical and/or political viewpoint (a "frame of reference" like liberalism or social democracy) or not. After all, think tanks appeal to political actors rather than a scientific audience. The overarching point is to achieve this without falling into the trap of "ideological bias" or "political activism" (author interview, Etyen Mahçupyan, March 24, 2014). Nevertheless, I should restate that there is no criterion of credibility agreed upon by all think tanks. And, some of them still try to enhance their "academic" credibility by giving the reason that they already cling to scientific methods and work with academic researchers. Before finishing the chapter, I would like to point out that as the field of think tanks become more institutionalized and the relational orientation of agents within the field increase in the medium and long term, the internal standards and protocols of policy research and knowledge production will become more crystallized and distinctive from that of academia.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

THINK TANK INTELLECTUALS AS MEDIATORS

In this study, I have endeavored to construct think tanks as a sociological object with the instruments of Bourdieusian field analysis. In addition to Bourdieu's and his followers' studies, I have drawn from empirical and theoretical works of many sociologists working on intellectuals including mainly Gil Eyal, Thomas Medvetz, and Thomas Osborne. The concept of field indeed was of prime importance to my analytical strategy aiming at disposing of two prevalent analytical strategies deployed by many studies on think tanks. As distinct from such accounts, the unit of analysis of this study was neither think tanks as organizational or institutional bodies *per se*, nor think tank intellectuals as individual social actors, but rather *the field of think tanks* as an interstitial space located between the intersection of more institutionalized fields of politics, business, media, and academia. Inspiring from Bourdieu's call for a "*double reading*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 152), a research principle that should be taken seriously by any researcher to overcome the dichotomy between "internalist" and "externalist" accounts prevailing in the study of cultural production fields, I tried to historicize my empirical objects by considering both the relations of them with their adjacent spheres from which they accumulate material and symbolic resources and the intra-field relations of struggle and competition between the agents. In our case, the internalist readings have tended to delienate think tanks as hothouses of independent intellectual procuders by assuming that they are self-sufficient social actors operating according to its own logic whereas the externalist explanations have inclined to reduce the very existence of think tanks to wills of an array of forceful social agents or to

the direct effects of socio-economic transformations or crises. As discussed in the first chapter, the former account is represented by pluralist scholars, while the latter is by elite theorists.

This study also differs from the general body of think tank literature with its conceptual, methodological, and theoretical tool box. It is worthy of note that a great majority of scholars who are taking think tanks seriously and publishing books and articles regarding them mostly operate within the disciplines of political science, international relations, policy studies, or management; not only in the Anglo-American world, but also in Turkey. As I particularly accentuated, the overwhelming majority of publications related to Turkish think tanks belong to Turkish international relations scholars. Their studies, in a widespread manner, have treated think tanks as an ascending actor in Turkish foreign policy, acting a part in the formation of national securitization and foreign policy making and transfer processes. It is almost impossible to find a discussion concerning the dynamics of knowledge production or implications of intellectual intervention emanating from the think tank universe in their articles. This is, of course, neither inexplicable nor perplexing. What I would like to point in this regard is that due to their disciplinary inclinations and modus operandi, these scholars tend to belt think tanks to its mission in the field of foreign policy by neglecting or even consciously ignoring a discussion concerning such questions. Therefore, although they are somehow helpful to grasp the affect of these organizations, these studies are superficial and unsatisfying. This study, as opposed to the reductionist tendency of the international relations approach, tried to treat think tanks from a standpoint fortified with the insights and tools of sociology of intellectuals and knowledge.

My work, on the other hand, can be read as an attempt to surpass the discord between those who rhapsodize about think tanks and those who castigate them. The former position is fundamentally represented by the authors of a comprehensive compilation on Turkish think tanks (Kanbolat & Karasar, 2009). This compilation is ridden with essays emphasizing the vitality and necessity of think tanks for Turkey and complaining about the

problems of such institutions like the lack of experts, resources, and the habit of strategic thinking. The latter approach towards think tanks can be seen in the essays of socialist and liberal authors (for instance, Bora 2001, Taşkın 2006, Çınar 2014). These authors aim to expose and condemn the servility of think tanks that they see as politically and ideologically engaged to dominant powers. Even though their criticisms can be deemed as valuable, the way they treat these organizations is extremely normative and full of value-laden judgements. In an epistemological plane, these two opposing views on think tanks are like the two sides of the same coin. While the authors from the first side establish, so to speak, a "love affair" with their research object, the others are said to have established a "hate relationship" with those organizations. In this present study, I tried to construct think tanks as a sociological object pursuant to reflexive social scientific protocols of knowledge production without becoming mired in either pseudo-scientific encomia or normative criticism. In addition, I would like to add that multidimensional social phenomena such as think tanks should be studied from an analytical perspective as far as possible rather than a normative one.

Moreover, this dissertation also varies from the manistream typological accounts on think tanks with its emphasis on the topological logic arising from the field theory. In this place, I will not replicate my criticisms concerning the deficiencies of typologies that have been widely acclaimed by researchers around the world. As far as the Turkish think tank experience is concerned, we cannot speak of clear-cut distinctions or deep-seated types corresponding to typologies. From the lenses of the field theory, it is likely to say that Turkish think tanks differ from each other with respect to the position they occupy and to the pole (academic, political, bureucratic, or mediatic) they are proximate in the field.

Let me make explicit some tendencies of differentiation here, hinging on my historical argument concerning the genesis of the field. As it can be remembered, the early think tanks were founded by İstanbul-based industrial capitalists wishing to intervene in politics in an era of import-

substituting industrialization. Though the economic structure and capacity of Turkey has considerably changed within the last five decades, the different segments of capitalist class still and increasingly make use of think tanks in many ways. Enjoying ample means they possess through the endowments they receive from their powerful sponsors such as the TÜSİAD, the TOBB, or other commerical and industrial bodies, they are able to conduct in-depth economic policy research. They are also extremely useful in predicting potential risks that any enterprise could encounter in the market and producing efficient solutions to them. In the conditions of so-called "knowledge-based economy", they appear as invisible engines for economic growth through private sector development. To sum up, think tanks which are proximate to the business world and economic capital distinguish themselves from other think tanks with their goal-oriented operating principles, highly specialized researcher staff, technocratic and supra-partisan stance.

On the other hand, the founding moment of the field in the mid-1990s is marked by the simultaneous rise of the two diametrically opposed think tank cultures: those strategic research centers, generally founded by government agencies, conducting foreign policy and security research for the use of decision makers from a "nationalist and etatist" standpoint and those "politically liberal and pro-free market" ones, lead by intellectuals and businessmen, working for the consolidation of the civil society and market as well as democratization of the country. This duality is still visible in the field, albeit not as apparent as it was in the context of the 1990s.

The another factor differentiating this study is its emphasis on think tanks' specific role in the "opinion production" in addition to the production of "policy knowledge".[75] In the Anglo-American world, authors tend to drive forward one of these two functions by ignoring the other. At best, they

[75] The distinction between the opinion and knowledge may seem unclear. For the purpose of my argument, I deploy the term opinion as a belief or conviction implying a position taking. As distinct from knowledge, or at least from its scientific and specialized forms, opinions are ready to be sent to laymen or to the broader public in a rhetorical form primarily via media organs.

conceive these two tasks as the functions of different “types” of think tank. Accordingly, while “university without students” (academic think tanks) generate ideologically unbiased and scholarly rigorous policy knowledge, “advocacy tanks” sell ideologically distorted opinions in the marketplace of ideas from an unbashedly partisan position. According to my findings, the historical peculiarity of Turkish political and intellectual landscape have forced think tanks to fulfil these two contradictory but complementary duties, e.g., policy research and political advocacy, at the same time. With the words of the field theory, the space of “knowledge production” and the space of “opinion production” overlap each other in Turkish field of think tanks, at least from the rise of the media field in the mid-1990s. Before that term, think tanks had exerted their influence behind closed doors throughout three decades. Their audience and clients fundamentally had been a group of bureaucrats, politicians, or business people. Today, think tank intellectuals seek to intervene in public by making their opinion known and try to mold the opinions of others, namely “public opinion”. And, as Turkish politics become more susceptible to the news media, think tanks began to intervene in the political agenda through printed, visual and social media organs. By regulating and molding “public opinion” as media pundits, commentators, columnists, think tank intellectuals today symbolically bolster and overtly advocate certain political agents and their actions.

At the cost of repetiton, I should lay emphasis on the fact that less institutionalized and more heteronomous weak spaces such as the think tank field is not suited to be analyzed like a conventional or ideal-typical Bourdieusian field analytically posited as a highly autonomous microcosm of social action with a specific history, coherent internal logic and distinctive forms of capital. For that reason, I focused on the relations between the fields themselves *rather than* relations between the intra-field agents throughout the study. As a result, I concluded that think tanks are both materially and symbolically dependent upon their neighbouring fields and such a high degree of dependence directly influence their identity constructions and self-representations. In the same vein, it could

be said that it also forms a new hybrid intellectual habitus and even give rise to the genesis of a new type of intellectual what I prefer to call "mediators" by following Osborne (2004).

In passing, let me clarify a point. By underscoring the heteronomous nature of these organizations, I do not claim that think tanks are only parasitically nourished from symbolic or material resources of coterminous fields. It is true that they procure methodological and conceptual tools and research personnel from the academic field, pecuniary support from the state or market forces or gain public visibility and reputation through the media and so on. Nevertheless, what is at stake is rather a symbiosis; more precisely, a set of reciprocally beneficial interactions between think tanks and the aforesaid fields. To put it roughly, this quid pro quo situation partly explains the unprecedented boom in the number of newcomer members entering into the field.

In this picture, what mainly arouses my interest is the rise of a new kind of intellectual with a discernable intellectual habitus. Understanding the formation or structuration of the habitus of a think tank intellectual is crucial for my discussion here. Roughly speaking, the concept of habitus refers to a set of durable bodily and mental dispositions, integrating previous social experiences and functioning as a pattern of appreciation and perception that regulates social action. This notion recalls us that the social action cannot be relegated into either external restraints or subjective whim, the structure or the agency. In our case, think tank-affiliated social actors are imposed upon norms and rules of this emerging sphere of social action. However, they cannot be simply regarded as conformists to such external constraints. Rather, as I indicated with the biological metaphor of symbiosis, structure and agency here is not in uncompromising conflict. Structures in this case *enable* agency even more than they *constrain* as Giddens' idea of "duality of structure" and Bourdieu's "generative structuralism" imply. Thus, as I hope to show in the fourth chapter, they are rather strategic improvisers who are at the same time trying to respond and adapt to both structural restrictions and oppurtunities offered by the space in which they operate.

In other words, they are neither “independent intellectuals”, in both the analytical and normative sense of the term, as scholars working within the mainstream pluralist political science claim, nor “apparatchiks” (agents of the apparatus) or mere “subservient intellectual machineries” at the mercy of powerful elites as elite theorists and some Marxian accounts assert.

What is certain is that think tank intellectuals perform in an area that is highly affected by the Turkish field of power. Having an abstract character, the (meta)field of power is “the space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy the dominant positions in different fields” (Bourdieu, 1996b, p. 215). More precisely, it is a system of struggles in which powerful holders of various institutionalized species of capital (economic, cultural, political and the like) enter into rivalry with each other to designate which resources will be the most valuable and legitimate in advanced societies. In fact, my aim is not to discuss the system of positions in the Turkish field of power. Instead, I would like to highlight again that the *weak* field of think tanks in Turkey is subject to “an external or heteronomous principle of hierarchization” that applies to the field the hierarchy prevalent in the field of power, rather than “an internal and autonomous principle of hierarchization” that hierarchizes in compliance with the values specific to the field (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p. 8).

This logic indicates that each particular field generates its own autonomous and heteronomous poles. For instance a field of art can become polarized around those who subscribe to the idea of “art for art’s sake” or opt for art forms favorable to the demands of people who politically and economically dominate the field as it seen in the example of European “bourgeois art”. This logic provokes me to ask the question that to what extent think tanks can generate an autonomous pole in that sense. As my findings suggest, think tanks tend to produce applied, oriented, and practical forms of knowledge, e.g., “policy knowledge”, rather than basic or fundamental research or “knowledge produced for

the sake of knowledge". If such a knowledge production process as one of the identification marks of think tanks, it would be a naive optimism to expect them to carve out a niche for the intrinsic demands of their "creative projects" (Bourdieu, 1969), if they have any, in such a subspace of knowledge production.

This brings us the intermediating role of think tank intellectuals. Scholars from different disciplines and perspectives have actually referred to this mediating role of think tanks with different characterizations. In this respect, this study shares a similiar insight with certain analyses on think tank intellectuals. For instance, Thunert (2000) locates German think tanks as "catalysts" contributing to the internationalization of policy making and policy discourse in Germany. Smith (1993) identifies American policy experts operating in think tanks as "idea brokers" trying to compromise the principles of scholarly investigation with the needs of partisan politics. Suggesting that think tanks are a manifestation of knowledge/power nexus, Stone (2007b) view them as "mediators" between science and society, decoding, interpreting, and reformulating socio-economic realities. Desai (1994) uses Hayek's term of "second-hand dealers" in analyzing neoliberal British think tanks. According to Desai, these institutions are not typically intellectual originators but second-hand dealers that collect, distill and preserve certain strands of ideas and widely diffuse them in current polict debates. Examples abound.

From my point of view, the most remarkable study on the increasing salience of such a certain kind of intellectual function all over the world can be found in the Osborne's analysis of "mediators" (2004). Offering a heuristic typology of different types of intellectual conduct according to the four dimensions, e.g., the substance, rationale, stylization, and strategy of the intellectual work, he adds "experts" and "mediators" to Bauman's classical intellectual models of "legislators" and "interpreters". It should be noted that Osborne does not situate his argument in causal or explanatory terms; legislation, interpretation and mediation are *epistemic forms* upon which individuals or even the same individual draw

to legitimate or make sense of a specific kind of intellectual attitude. For the purpose of my discussion, I will only make reference to mediators here. Let me quote a long passage from Osborne's paper encapsulating the gist of his argument (Osborne, 2004, p. 440-441):

> This is the intellectual worker as enabler, fixer, catalyst and broker of ideas. Perhaps the salient feature, though, is the association of mediators with movement. The mediator is simply the one who gets things moving. This would mean that the sense of 'mediation' does not lie in the fact that the mediator is someone who mediates in a 'spatial' sense, that is, who stands between two (or more) sets of interests, simply as a passive 'intermediary'. It lies, rather, in the fact that for the mediator an idea is seized or appropriated as much as it is created out of nothing (in Deleuze's language, the mediator is a bit like an empiricist - always 'in the middle of things'). It is not creation ex nihilo; rather, creativity is emergent, the product of interactions and processes rather than inspiration. Thus for the mediator to invent is already - and perhaps only - to mediate. Furthermore, the sense of 'mediation' is meant here to draw attention to the fact that ideas are of no premium unless they are capable of being 'mediatized' - not just run out in the mass media but in the sense of being performative, capable of arousing attention and making a communicative difference.

Osborne's descriptions corresponds to a large extent think tank intellectuals in Turkey. They really aim at bringing their scientific knowledge and expertise into the service of decision makers or other clients by packaging them in an understandable, marketable, accessible, and practical form. The substance of their intellectual work is thus facilitating "vehicular ideas" and stylization is embodied by mediation requires an "aesthetic attitude" towards ideas, in the sense of seeing them as discrete, contingent and particular (Osborne, 2004, p. 441).[76] On

[76] Even, "The mediator's very ontology of intellectual production", writes Osborne (2004, p. 443), "is to facilitate an idea".

the other hand, the function of think tank intellectuals in Turkey is not limited to generating policy knowledge in a useful form. As I discussed above, they also act a very crucial part in the formation of public opinion by bringing ideas decisively into the public focus mainly through news media organs. In this sense, their strategy is to make ideas and opinions steadily liquid and mobile by releasing them into circulation in different spheres. To sum up, think tank intellectuals in Turkey can be thought as the *par excellence* example of a new kind of intellectual conduct, namely "the act of mediation". Undertaking a never-ending effort to reconcile and balance various contradictory functions (academic, political, journalistic and so on) they also represent the genesis of a new intellectual habitus and even a way of life.

Before finishing my argument, I would like to ask a provocative and normative question as to mediator intellectuals. If "speaking truth to power" is not a Panglossian idealism, but the genuine task any intellectual should seek to fulfil as Said suggests (1996, p. 102), (to what extent) can think tanks intellectuals succeed in telling the truth to power? I am not so sure. For, if we express by reformulating Clifford Geertz's famous phrase concerning the semiotic concept of culture (Geertz, 1973, p. 5), the think tank intellectual could be conceived as an animal suspended in webs of power he himself complicitly has spun. And, although there are some signals of search for relative independence from external pressures, it does not seem easy for them to break such dependencies in a short time. Time will tell the truth.

APPENDIX

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

The database presented here is based on the academic backgrounds of the research personnel (n=167) at seven think tanks that take an important place in my sample. The data were gathered in March 2015 and do not reflect the personnel change that may have occurred after that time. In order to establish such a database, I drew from the curriculum vitas and resumes of think tank-affiliated research staff at each particular organizations. I should underscore that I only included the in-house staff described as “expert”, “researcher”, “analyst”, or “research fellow” who are currently active. Those who are weakly affiliated with think tanks such as “traniees” and “visiting fellows” as well as “research assistants”, “administrative staff”, “members of the board of directors” and “members of the advisory committee” are not included in the count.

Thus, I achieved to extract a group of people focusing chiefly on the research and knowledge production from a more broad cluster. Pursuant to the logic of the data, I also excluded think tanks that rely heavily on external researchers for their projects and avoid to employ staff member apart from a couple of people from the data set. In addition, I comprise a database of gender distribution in the think tank field, predicating on the same research staff. This data can provide us insight concerning the question of who really mediates between the fields.

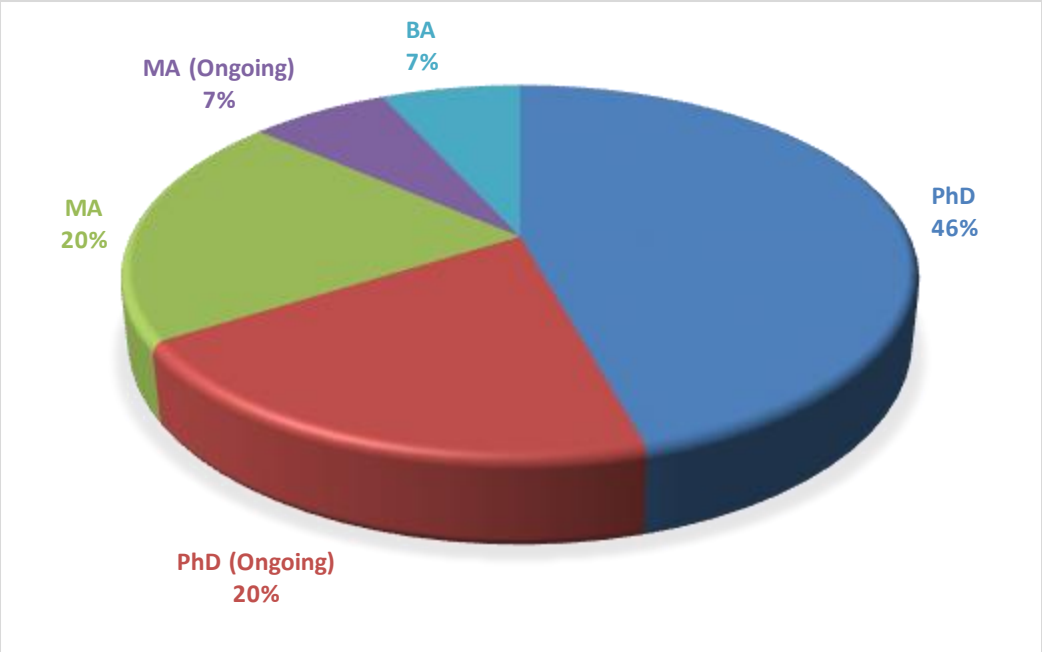

Figure A.1 : Research staff characteristics in terms of educational background

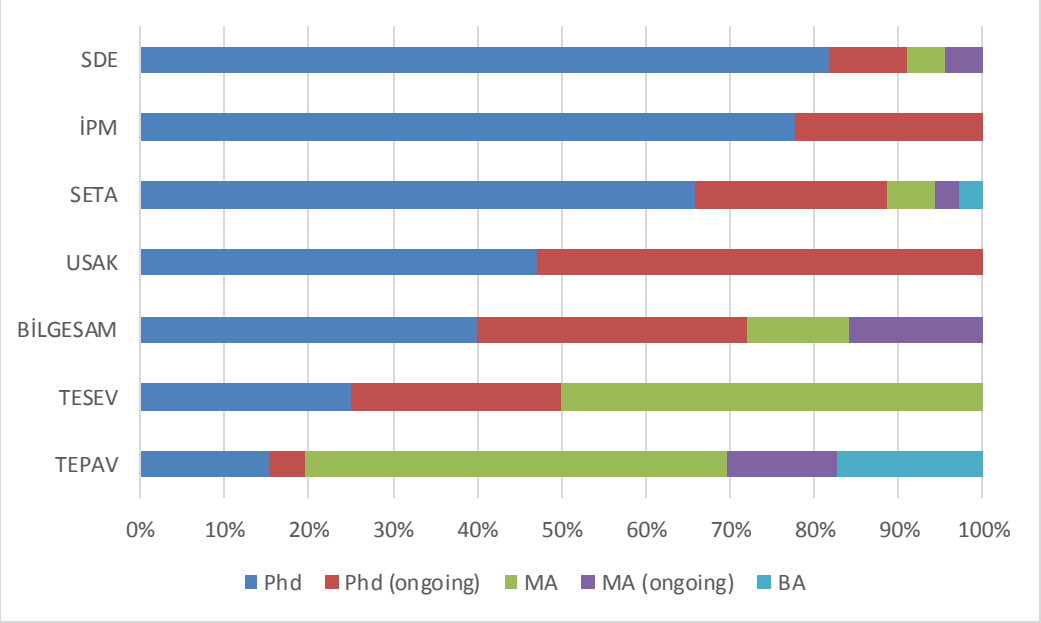

Figure A.2: Educational attainment of research staff at prominent think tanks

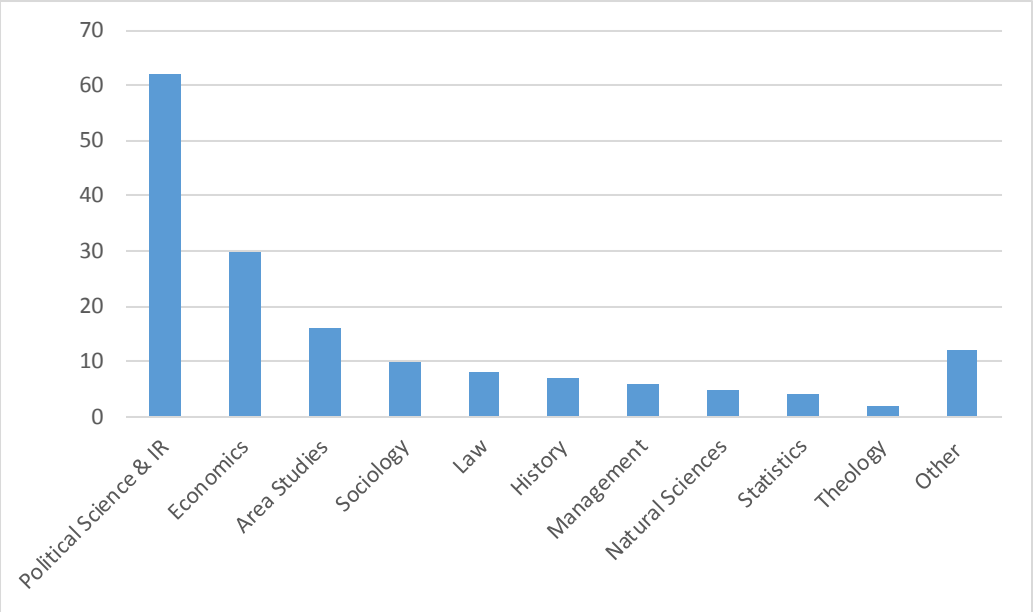

Figure A.3: Academic disciplines studied by research staff

("Other" includes: Journalism, Literature, Psychology, Criminology, Anthropology, Education, Urban Planning, Cultural Studies, Development Studies)

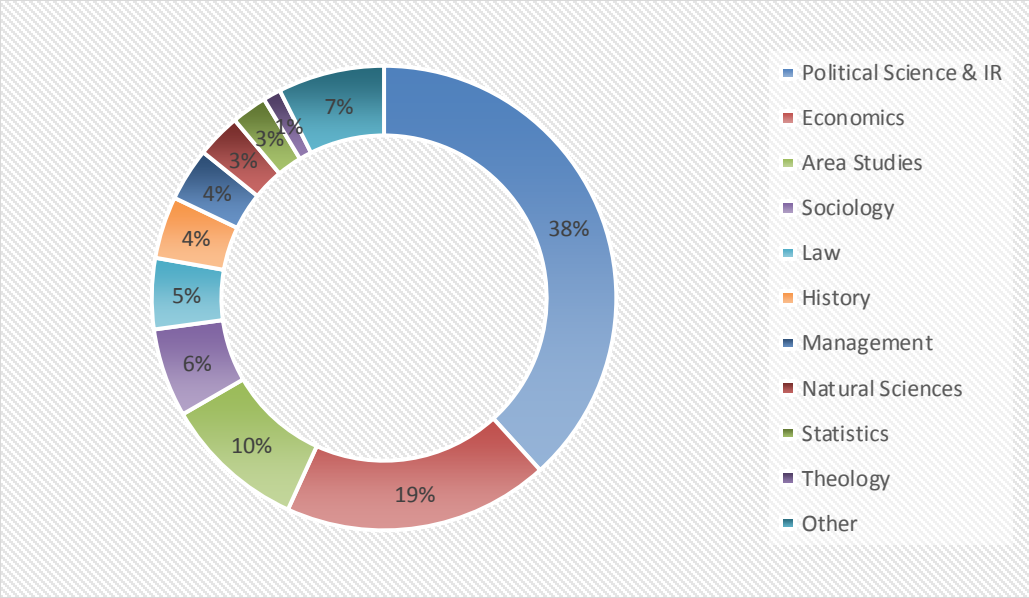

Figure A.4: Proportion of academic disciplines attained by research staff

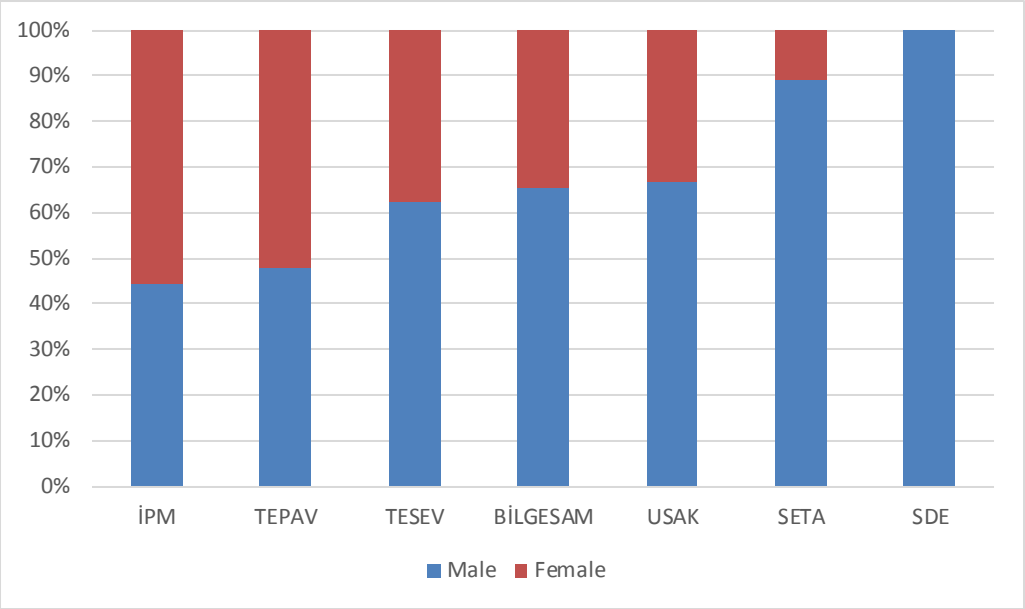

Figure A.5: Gender distribution in major think tanks

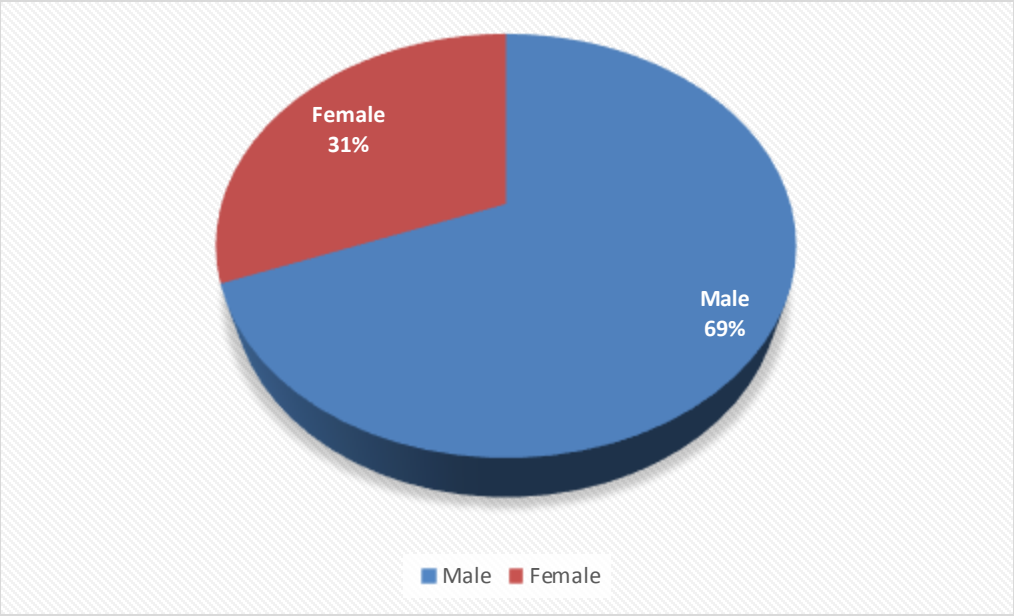

Figure A.6: Gender distribution in the space of think tanks

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. Özlem Çağlar Yılmaz, LDT	December 12, 2013
2. Harun Kaban, LDT	December 12, 2013
3. Mehmet Güçer, USAK	December 20, 2013
4. Murat Yılmaz, SDE	December 24, 2013
5. Galip Dalay, SETA	December 25, 2013
6. A director, TEPAV	December 30, 2013
7. Ahmet Yıldız, TBMM-ARMER	January 2, 2014
8. Hatem Ete, SETA	January 6, 2014
9. Fuat Keyman, İPM	February 17, 2014
10. Vahap Coşkun, DİSA	February 21, 2014
11. Serap Kurt, SAV	March 11, 2014
12. Özge Genç, TESEV	March 11, 2014
13. Etyen Mahçupyan, TESEV	March 24, 2014
14. Atilla Sandıklı, BİLGESAM	June 2, 2014

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