

# Table of Contents

<b>List of Tables and Figures</b> .....	11
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	17
<b>Vorwort</b>	
<b>Think Tanks im Geflecht von Politik und Öffentlichkeit.</b>	
<b>Vergleichende Anmerkungen zur Situation in der Bundesrepublik</b>	
<b>und in den USA (Prof. Dr. Winand Gellner)</b> .....	19

## Part A

### Practical and Theoretical Concerns

#### Chapter 1

##### Introduction:

<b>What's the matter with think tanks?</b> .....	25
1.1 Think tanks as a subject to which politicians and academics are paying increased attention .....	25
1.2 Approaching the matter and developing the focus of this study .....	31
1.3 The actual impact versus the impact of the perceived impact .....	32
1.4 Research questions and dissertation focus .....	33
1.5 Two main hypotheses .....	34
1.6 Falsification of the two main hypotheses .....	35
1.7 Implications of the two main hypotheses .....	35
1.8 Methodology .....	37
1.8.1 Participant observation .....	38
1.8.2 Questionnaire and expert interviews .....	40
1.9 Analyzing think tanks is a matter of perspective .....	42
1.10 Comparing issues of U.S. and German think tanks .....	44
1.11 Comparative analysis of the relationship between the financial marketplace of resources and the political marketplace of ideas .....	45
<i>References for Chapter 1</i> .....	47

#### Chapter 2

##### Definition of think tanks:

<b>What's the matter in hand and mind?</b> .....	50
2.1 The "think" and the "tank" .....	50
2.2 Definition of think tanks .....	52

2.2.1	Core definition .....	51
2.2.2	Operational definition .....	54
2.2.3	Working definition for this comparative analysis: Think tanks' communicative roles .....	54
2.3	Drawing definitional boundaries based on the communicative role concept .....	56
2.4	Identifying distinct communicative roles of U.S. and German think tanks .....	61
2.5	Methodological opportunities and implications of the communicative role concept .....	62
	<i>References for Chapter 2</i> .....	66

**Part B**

**Environmental Forces**

**Chapter 3**

<b>Institutional environment</b> .....	71
3.1 Opportunity structures of U.S. and German think tanks .....	72
3.1.1 Presidential versus parliamentary system .....	72
3.1.2 Role of political parties and the electoral system .....	73
3.1.3 Patterns of coalition government in Germany and divided government in the U.S. ....	78
3.1.4 Different shapes and roles of the opposition .....	78
3.1.5 Federal/national and sub-national structures .....	80
3.1.6 Supranational governance structures .....	83
3.1.7 Decisive roles of constitutional courts .....	85
3.1.8 Complex and changing nature of parliaments .....	86
3.1.9 Media as an important catalyst in both systems .....	89
3.1.10 Different and changing mechanisms for the aggregation and articulation of information, expertise, and interests .....	92
3.1.11 Different and changing notions of civil service .....	94
3.2 Strategic behavior of U.S. and German think tanks to cope with their institutional environment(s) .....	101
3.2.1 Permeability and the flow of human capital .....	101
3.2.2 Strategic orientation of U.S. and German think tanks towards their institutional environments .....	104
3.3 Institutional environment and think tank behavior in comparative perspective .....	106
<i>References for Chapter 3</i> .....	110

## **Chapter 4**

<b>Legal environment</b> .....	116
4.1 Constitutional court decisions and political/campaign finance regimes .....	116
4.1.1 The legislative context in Germany .....	117
4.1.2 The legislative context in the U.S. ....	129
4.2 The legal frameworks of political financing and their implications from a comparative perspective .....	139
<i>References for Chapter 4</i> .....	144

## **Chapter 5**

<b>Funding environment</b> .....	147
5.1 Funding in general perspective .....	147
5.2 Particular aspects of the U.S. and German funding regimes .....	150
5.2.1 Governmental versus non-governmental funding .....	151
5.2.2 Different subtypes of governmental and non-governmental resources .....	153
5.2.3 U.S. and German think tanks' perspectives for future funding .....	159
5.3 Interrelationship of the institutional and funding environments .....	162
5.4 Organizational consequences of these environmental forces .....	163
5.5 Funding environments of U.S. and German think tanks in comparison .....	165
<i>References for Chapter 5</i> .....	168

## **Chapter 6**

<b>Labor supply and demand environment</b> .....	170
6.1 Labor supply and demand in general perspective .....	170
6.2 Funding and employment opportunities .....	171
6.3 Academic infrastructure and employment opportunities .....	173
6.4 Institutional/legal constraints and employment opportunities .....	180
6.5 Labor demand and supply environment in comparison .....	190
<i>References for Chapter 6</i> .....	192

## **Chapter 7**

<b>Technological and media environment</b> .....	194
7.1 Distinct channels of impact/communication .....	194
7.2 Media as a gatekeeper exercising different types of biases .....	195
7.2.1 Political/ideological biases .....	195
7.2.2 Situational/contextual biases .....	197
7.2.3 Structural bias .....	200
7.3 Potential and actual impact of these biases on the opportunity structure and behavior of U.S. and German think tanks .....	202
7.4 New technologies as alternative opportunities for direct, "unbiased" communication and fundraising? .....	217

7.5	U.S. and German think tanks' different ways and means of coping with their distinct (media) environments .....	222
	<i>References for Chapter 7</i> .....	224

**Chapter 8**

	<b>Intellectual environment</b> .....	226
8.1	“Wissenschaftlichkeit” and the German type of “(dull) pragmatism” .....	226
8.2	The changing meaning of “ideas” in U.S. intellectual history .....	241
	<i>References for Chapter 8</i> .....	250

**Chapter 9**

	<b>Competitive think tank environment</b> .....	254
9.1	Evolution of U.S. and German think tanks .....	255
9.2	From contract research to public policy research—A sketch of German think tank history .....	257
9.3	From “academics to ideologues”—A sketch of U.S. think tank history .....	278
	<i>References for Chapter 9</i> .....	287

**Part C**

**Characteristic Behavioral Responses to the Environmental Forces**

**Chapter 10**

	<b>Different families, types, and brand identities of think tanks</b> .....	291
10.1	Different types of think tanks .....	292
10.2	Distinguishing different families of think tanks .....	294
10.2.1	The politically/ideologically non-identifiable family of academic and contract research think tanks .....	294
10.2.2	The politically/ideologically identifiable family of advocacy and party think tanks .....	300
10.3	Families, types and brand identities in perspective and seen from different perspectives .....	307
	<i>References for Chapter 10</i> .....	314

**Chapter 11**

	<b>Financing behavior</b> .....	316
11.1	Organizational perspectives towards funding .....	316
11.2	Financing from governmental versus non-governmental sources .....	320
11.3	Relative magnitude of governmental and non-governmental financing .....	322
11.4	Subtypes of governmental and non-governmental financing .....	323

11.5	Funding prospects .....	330
11.6	Distinct “endowments” of the different families and types of think tanks .....	332
11.7	Different outlook for funding .....	334
11.8	Putting the typical financing behaviors in perspective .....	337
	<i>References for Chapter 11</i> .....	341

## **Chapter 12**

<b>Staffing behavior</b> .....	342
12.1 Several aspects of think tanks’ staffing behavior .....	342
12.2 The total and the relative number of staff .....	342
12.3 Relative scholarliness .....	344
12.4 Relative seniority of research staff .....	345
12.5 Type of researcher .....	349
12.6 Mobility types of research staff .....	354
12.7 Typical in-house versus external research staff ratio .....	367
12.8 Different aspects of staffing put into perspective .....	377
<i>References for Chapter 12</i> .....	383

## **Chapter 13**

<b>Research organization behavior</b> .....	385
13.1 Think tanks’ perspectives on their research organization .....	385
13.2 General matters for think tanks’ research organization .....	386
13.3 More specific matters for the research organization of a think tank .....	395
13.3.1 Top-down versus bottom-up research agenda setting .....	396
13.3.2 Organizational research (infra)structure .....	402
13.3.3 Degree of specialization .....	403
13.3.4 Think tanks’ distinct condition(s)/ability to react towards changes in their environment .....	406
13.3.5 Outsourcing versus in-house research .....	410
13.3.6 Geographic specialization .....	412
13.4 Research organization patterns as a reflection of the distinct environmental constellations .....	421
<i>References for Chapter 13</i> .....	427

## **Chapter 14**

<b>Service and product marketing behavior</b> .....	429
14.1 Interpretation of supply and demand .....	429
14.2 “Oligopolistic” versus pluralistic market(ing) context .....	430
14.3 “Typical” exceptions .....	431
14.4 Allocation of resources .....	432
14.5 Services and products .....	434

14.6	Content and packaging .....	443
14.7	Distinct audiences and target groups .....	453
14.8	Media (visibility) related activities .....	459
14.9	Distinct roles assumed by the different types and families of think tanks .....	462
14.10	Service and product marketing behavior in perspective .....	466
	<i>References for Chapter 14</i> .....	474

**Part D**  
**Findings**

**Chapter 15**

<b>Conclusion and further perspectives</b> .....	479
15.1 Think tanks' different ways and means of coping with and impacting their marketplaces .....	479
15.2 U.S. and German think tanks from a comparative perspective .....	480
15.3 Different types and families of think tanks in perspective .....	482
15.4 Basic types of organizational approaches .....	483
15.5 Survival of the fittest—Coping with environmental factors .....	485
15.6 Impact of the fittest—Affecting change .....	486
<i>References for Chapter 15</i> .....	489

**Appendices**

Appendix 1 Questionnaire .....	491
Appendix 2 U.S. think tanks .....	504
Appendix 3 German think tanks .....	512
Appendix 4 Test of potential biases .....	523
Appendix 5 U.S. think tanks considered for in-depth interviews .....	524
Appendix 6 German think tanks considered for in-depth interviews .....	526
Appendix 7 Completed in-depth interviews in the U.S. ....	529
Appendix 8 Completed in-depth interviews in Germany .....	530
Appendix 9 Questions for the in-depth interviews (English version) .....	532
Appendix 10 Questions for the in-depth interviews (German version) .....	537

<b>Deutsche Zusammenfassung</b> .....	543
---------------------------------------	-----