

The Motivation of Think Tank's Rise in Talent Policy Decision Making and the Implicit Value Preference Lying behind this Phenomenon ——Taking Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development as Example

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Abstract: Since reform and opening up, as “internal reference” agenda setting model by think tank becomes the norm, and it becomes increasingly frequent that government entrust think tank to undertake policy reform research project, the rise of think tank in policy-making has become a consensus among academics and decision-makers. However, scholars develop different opinions on the political logic behind this phenomenon, giving quite an academic space on the motivation and the inner value of think tank's rise. Taking talent policy as example, analyzing the motivation of think tank's under the “capacity - constraint – incentive” framework, and finding that, the contradiction between the complexity of “new” talent policy making and the lack of experience in talent policy endows the decision-makers' demand for talent think-tank's intelligence; The top-town performance evaluation mechanism makes it necessary for provincial government to introduce policy to fulfill the talent index; The competitiveness of provincial talent policy makes it a preference for provincial government to introduce policy so to seize more talents and make more performance, and the constraint and incentive both add more governmental reliance on talent think tank. Then through analysis of think tank's participation in “preliminary research-agenda setting- program designing-ultimate decision making” four phases, so concluding that the think tank's rise in decision-making doesn't serve the purpose of democracy, but serve the purpose of partial science under the willing of governmental proactive learning. Current decision-making is still stay on monopoly of the process of policy making by the administrative system. Policymakers absorb advice from think tank selectively with premise on superior Government Departments' preferences, so achieving the balance of political authority and rational decision.

Key words: the rise of think tank; talent policy making; Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development; policy making process; inner value

1. Introduction

The think tank is called the "fifth power" outside the legislature, administration, judiciary and media(Li Jianjun、Cui Huyi,2010^[1]). As early as January 2004, the CPC Central Committee's Opinions on Further Prosperity and Development of Philosophy and Social Sciences clearly stated in the name of the CPC Central Committee for the first time in the history of the Party that "Party committees and governments should make frequent demands to the community of philosophy and social sciences, make more outstanding achievements of philosophy and social science used in the decision-

making to solve the severe problems of reform, development and stability, so that the community of philosophy and social sciences become the 'think tank' and 'brain trust' of the party and government. Both governmental decision-makers and think-tank researchers, believe in the past 10 years, the role of think tanks becomes quite prominent especially since the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008 (Xu Xiaohu、Chen Qi, 2012^[2]) .

On the one hand, the “internal reference” agenda setting model becomes the norm. Since the reform and opening-up, from the perspective of the agenda proposal and degree of public participation, the "closed-door model" and the "mobilization model" of the policy agenda setting have been gradually diminished, while the "internal reference model" by the think tank becomes the norm (Wang Shaoguang, 2006^[3]) . Think tank could serve provincial party committee, the provincial government, the relevant leaders of the central government directly through internal reference publication; or provide reference research reports and arguments to the decision-makers through their long-term commissioned research relationship with the government department. Also, it becomes increasingly frequent that government entrust think tank to undertake policy reform research project. Take National Development and Reform Commission as example, in the center of the Second Five Economic and Social Development Plan, the Commission opens biddings to think tank for 39 research projects in 8 areas. Thousands of experts participate and their research results are used to plan drafting (Zhang Ping, 2010^[4]). So, the policy development with think tank’s participation and interference has become the mainstream of decision-making.

Scholar develop different opinions about the rise of think tank. Some believes, think tank, as the intellectual elites, might be incorporated into mighty elite alliance, in the process of policy making, there is the probability of transition from the monopoly of the process of policy making by the administrative system to the monopoly of the mighty elite alliance giving ideas for policies(Xu Lan、Zhu Xufeng, 2009^[5]). Other hold opinion that, participation of decision-makers in decision-making shows that the policy-making model is moving towards democratization and scientification (Hu Angang,2011^[6]). "Authoritarianism" theory coming from Western can’t explain China's political logic anymore(Wang Shaoguang,2011^[7]). Whether the rise of think tank in policy-making means elitist via democratization of policy making is still worth considering. In order to get in-depth knowledge about Chinese think tank’s participation in policy making, several questions need to be answered: why there is a rise of think tank in policy making, how the think tank participates in decision-making and what the inner value lying in this phenomenon is. This article chooses Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development as typical think tank to explore its participation in Zhejiang talent policy making.

2. The motivation of the think tank’s rise in policy making

Scholars explain the motivation of the think tank’s rise in policy making at macro level: empirical decision-making has been unable to solve the increasing complex policy problems, then needing the think tank to play the role of rational external brain;

as the interest differentiates among multi-subjects, the think tank needs to function as a platform that integrates and screens the diverse interests (Xuan Lan, 2014^[8]; Wang Dong, 2015^[9]). But this kind of macro-interpretation seems to be rather a speculation for motivation of think tank's rise, which is back stepped from the function of the think tank. Therefore, motivation of think tank's rise in talent policy making is analyzed under the "capacity - constraint - incentive" structure, in which the government's capacity determines whether there is a need for think tanks, and constraints and incentives determines the degree of the need for think tanks.

2.1 Capacity perspective: the difficulty of “new” talent policy making via lack of experience in talent policy making

There are four stages divided in the history of talent policy: as 1978 Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee established the basic national policy of respecting knowledge and talent, marking the phase of restoring talent's status. Then in 2003, the “Decision on Further Strengthening the Work of Talents” document defines the principle of party managing talents which marks the beginning of phase of party managing talents, and “the strategy of reinvigorating the country through talent” evolves into national development strategy. In 2010, “Medium to Long-term Plan for the Development of Talent, 2010-2020” makes the task of talent planning clear for the first time, which is called the phase of clear talent planning, stressing the major projects such as introducing high-level talents and the major policies such as favorable entrepreneurship policy. In 2016, “the Opinion on Deepening the Reform of Talent Development System and Mechanism” signals the beginning of a new phase of comprehensive reform deepening. As figure1 (The central personnel administrative regulations, administrative regulations, judicial interpretation and organization provisions from 1980 to 2014) shows, 2003 and 2010 are two turning points of talent policy. From 1980 to 2002, there accumulating 205 policies with 10 per year; from 2003 to 2009, there accumulating 267 policies with 38 per year and 38 in 2003; from 2010 to 2014, there accumulating 616 policies with 123 per year.

As shown above, the real formulation and implementation of detail talent policies is started in 2003 which means the history of policy planning is less than 20 years. Chinese talent policy planning is highly connected to and relies on the demand of Chinese specific economic development, that means no general applicable talent program from the past experience or other countries can be for Chinese reference and replication (Rodrik,2007^[10]), so the think tank's research is needed to provide policy planning advice. The talent policy's research industry has seen an exploration of think tanks of private-run and government-subsidy since 2008, several representative think tanks are listed:

In 2008, the earliest known and authoritative talent think tank(private-run), the Center for China and Globalization(CCG) was established;

In 2010, Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development was established, on the basis of Zhejiang University Talent Development Strategy Research Center;

In 2011, China Institute of Global Talents was established;

In 2011, Guangdong Institution of personnel science was established;

In 2012, Jiangsu Academy of Talent Development was established;

In 2015, Hubei Guanggu institution of Talent Development was established.

Seen from the time talent think tank founded, the think tank's establishment follows talent development strategy closely. The first authoritative think tank CCG's emergence derived from the demand of introducing oversea high-level talents since the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2008. Then there was an exploration of think tanks around 2010.

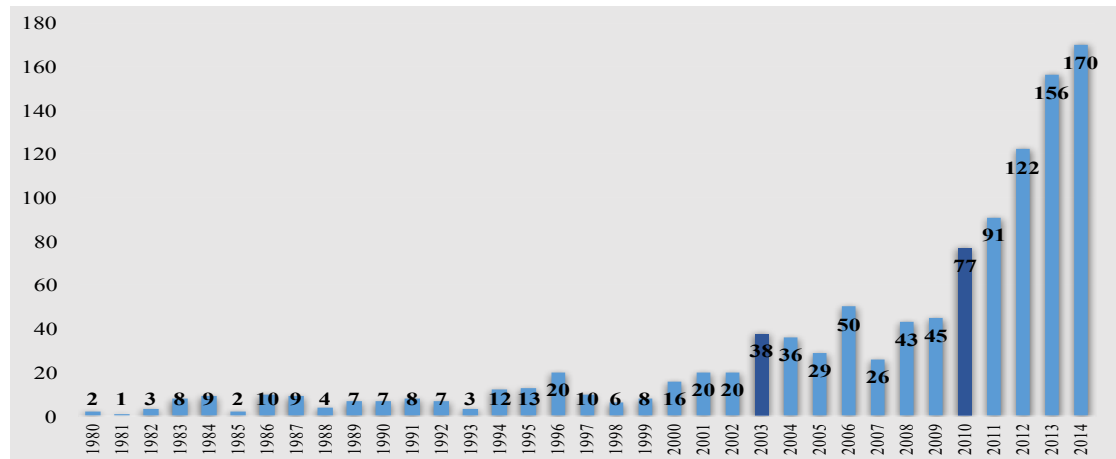


Figure 1 Number of central talent policies from 1980 to 2014

2.2 Constraint perspective: pressure of provincial talent policy making from top-town performance evaluation system

Under the cadre responsibility system, “the strategy of reinvigorating the country through talent” was interpreted to detailed talent policies of provincial government. The most important talent policy is “1000 talents” plan. In December 23, 2008, “Central Talent Coordination Group’s Opinions on Implementation of Overseas High-level Talents Plan” proposed to introduce over 2000 strategic scientists and top talents, and required provinces to work on developing provincial talents introduction plan. Central government set numbers of “1000 talents” introduction as appraisal index of provincial governmental performance so to decompose task at every level. On January 13, 2009, Zhejiang Province held provincial work conference on oversea high-level talents introduction and pointed out the deployment of introduction plan making; on February 9, Personnel Department of Zhejiang Province issued "notice on the delegation to the United States and Canada to carry out the activities of overseas high-level talent introduction”; on July 24, the General Office of CPC Zhejiang Provincial Committee and the General Office of Zhejiang Provincial Government issued the “notice on Implementing the Innovative Talents Introduction Program and the notice on Interim Measures for the Overseas High-level Talents Introduction Program of Zhejiang Province”. Special group of “1000 talents” carried out evaluation on implementation and periodical effect of “1000 talents” plan each year. For example, Performance assessment report of 2012 pointed out that, the numbers of experts in Zhejiang that was selected as National “1000 talents” has reached 155, which ranked fourth lagging

Beijing, Shanghai and Jiangsu. In order to achieve the goal of “securing fourth and contending for third” in the standing, Zhejiang needed to carry out a series of competitive talent policies.

As Figure 2 shows, the change of amounts of Zhejiang talent policies almost follows the change of central talent policy. Through the performance evaluation index such as number of “1000 talents” as part of pressure transmission mechanism, provincial government is pushed forward with talent policies making with the help of think tank.

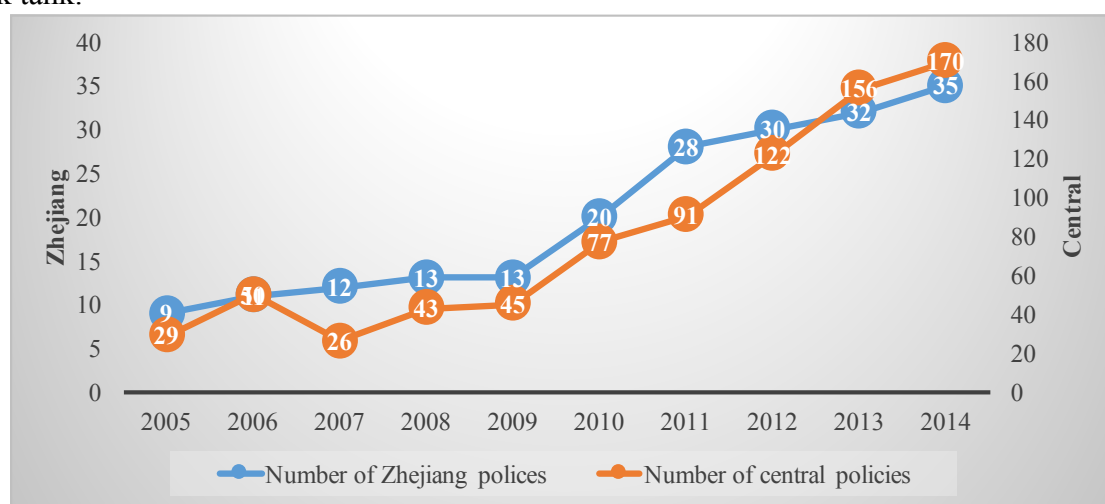


Figure 2 Number of talent policies of Zhejiang and Central government

2.3 Incentive perspective: the drive to make provincial advantaged policy due to the competitiveness of provincial talent policies

From 1983 to now, the number of talent policies in 31 provinces (or municipality directly under the Central Government) has reached 3083, far more than 1088 of central government (see Figure 3). With the rise of local government’s discretion, local government has more ability to remake policy in the process of implementing central policies. Different from generally favorable social security policy and generally applicable regulations, talent policy is partially open and motivating for policy target where the premise is the great competition and difference among provinces. The provincial talent policy would arise severe scramble for talents. On the one hand, the central government's policies are mostly top-level designs of principles, so all localities need to give differentiated and competitive advantages to the policy in the process of principle-based policy-making. On the other hand, local governments must gather multi-intelligence to introduce policies as early as possible so as to reap first-mover advantage.

The provinces (or municipalities) ranking top-ten in numbers of talent policies are: Shanghai (283), Zhejiang (235), Jiangsu (219), Beijing (216), Guangdong (186), Chongqing (153), Henan (143), Fujian (136), Shandong (134), Hubei (110). The provinces (or municipalities) ranking top-ten in contribution rate of talents are: Beijing (57.20%), Shanghai (50.84%), Tianjin (43.24%), Guangdong (39.27%), Jiangsu (36.18%), Shanxi (34.15%), Zhejiang (33.30%), Chongqing (32.75%), Hunan (31.50%), Fujian (31.39%). The contribution rate of talents is closely

related to the number of talent policy seen from above. In other word, local government make efforts to introduce policies not only for seizing more talents, but also for giving full play to the economic and technological achievements from talents.

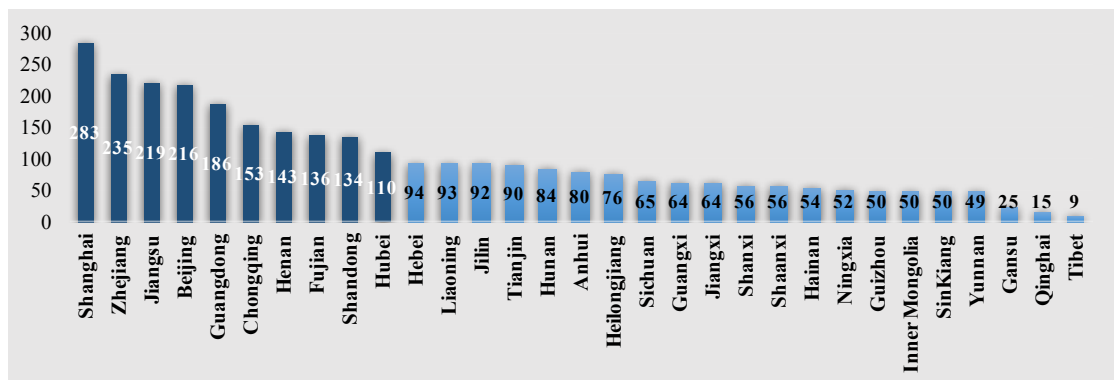


Figure 3 Number of talent policies of 31 provinces (municipalities)

Here comes the summarization, the contradiction between the complexity of “new” talent policy making and the lack of experience in talent policy endows the decision-makers’ demand for talent think-tank’s intelligence. The top-town performance evaluation mechanism makes it necessary for provincial government to introduce policy with all efforts in order to fulfill the talent index. The competitiveness of provincial talent policy makes it a preference for provincial government to introduce policy so to seize more talents and make more economical and social benefits. The constraint and incentive both add more governmental reliance on talent think tank.

3.The rise of think tank under the demand of policy-making in provincial government: taking Zhejiang Institution of Talent

Development as example

Table 1 The characteristic of Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development and foreign typical think tanks

	Chinese think tank (Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development)	American think tank (Brookings Institution)	German think tank (Leibniz-Gemeinschaft)	France think tank (Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques)
Financing system	Governmental subsidy (500 thousand Yuan per year) +project money	Private donation (mainly) +Fund’s donation (mainly) +Governmental subsidy (limited)	Governmental subsidy (mainly) +Private donation + Fund’s donation	Governmental project money +Enterprise’s donation
Management system	Council management	Director management	Hierarchical management	Director management

Staff composition	Officials + scholars	Revolving door	Qualified experts	Officials + scholars
Model of issues initiation	Government entrusting	Research results selling by multiple channels	Academic results publication	By the power of media
Interdependence of operation	Fourth place	Second place	First place	Third place

As mentioned before, in order to get the competitive advantage of talent policy so to scramble for more talents, Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development was founded in 2010 to provide intelligence for talent policy making. Before exploring the detailed process of its participation in policy making, a basic introduction of its characteristic is listed as follows.

3.1 The financing system of Institution

The nature of the financing system is private-run and government-subsidy. Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development was formed on the basis of Zhejiang University Strategy Research Center of Talent Development by Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department and Zhejiang University, therefore, it has the of private-run and government-subsidy. Unlike the US think tank, the financing pattern of Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development is made up of government funding and research project funding, at the meantime, Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department allocated 500,000 Yuan as work funding, which is used for daily administrative office operation and external researcher salary. Recent years, the main source of funding is the enterprise and government project research contract, and funding received from government are mainly remuneration of project research. While funding from private donations and foundations is virtually non-existent.

3.2 The management of Institution

The nature of the management system is council management system. Council, Institution and Academic Committee constitute the organization management structure of Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development. Council is the decision-making guarantee agency, in which the minister of Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department acts as honorary chairman, the party secretary of Zhejiang University acts as chairman, the leadership of department of Zhejiang provincial government and professors of Zhejiang University act as directors, organization department of each prefecture-level city act as group director. However, since its establishment, the council is only present at the opening ceremony. So there is essential distinction between our council and US council's management system(Zhou Qi, 2013^[11]), the US council follows president responsibility system, developing and implementing policy. The research projects determining, the researchers selecting and other important issues are handled by Institution of Talent Development, which is in charge of academic researching and administrative management. Institution of Talent Development is divided into two parts--scientific research team and institution office,

scientific research team is the major force of daily work. The Academic Committee members are made up of talent specialists from institutions of Talent Development and universities all over the country, who can act as intellectual supplement and promote the exchange of ideas between Institution of Talent Development and other think tanks.

3.3 The staff composition of Institution

Staff system is composed by government officials and academic experts. Although it does not have the “revolving door” system(Xu Gongcheng, 2010^[12]) which enables stuff a bidirectional flow between government and think tank, it is the flowing platform of the elite from all fields. Part of them are retired officials who put forward operational suggestions for talent policy relying on their rich political experience in policy making and provide more chances of frequent cooperation and efficient negotiation between the think-tank and the government by their interpersonal relationship network established in their career. The others are professors, who provide innovative ideas for talent policy with their solid and professional knowledge of human resources management and long-term experience in scientific research projects. At the same time, the Institution also becomes the gathering platform of cultivating talents. In the Institution, researchers who are recruited in short-term contract period such as two or three years, can edge into universities or government departments after intensive think-tank decision projects.

3.4 The model of policy issues initiation of Institution

The Institution puts forward policy issues mostly through the government-entrusting projects. Unlike America which uses multiple platforms to “sell” their research results influencing policy-making, Europe which initiate issues by the power of the media, the Institution tends to be slightly passive. The most channels to influence the agenda setting are relying on the commissioned projects by Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department, so providing advice and suggestions in the form of policy reports and internal reference.

3.5 The independence of Institution

The operation of Institution is half-independent. The Institution grew out of the Talent Development Strategy Research Center of Zhejiang University, due to the aim of Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department, that is, transforming the cooperation model of scattered talent research into mechanism for sustainable long-term cooperation research. There are four kinds of think tanks, the folk think-tank which is independent and market-oriented, academic think-tank which is subordinated to academic departments, departmental think-tank which is subordinated to Party and government, and the top-level think-tank which is subordinated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council (Wang Shaoguang, Fan Peng, 2011). The Institution has advantages in research methods of academy think-tank and advantages in feasible policy recommendations of departmental think-tank.

4.The process of Institution’s participation in Zhejiang New Talent

Policies making

Under the framework of policy process theory, the phase of Zhejiang New Talent Policies making is divided into four periods: former research, agenda setting, program designing and the ultimate decision-making.

4.1 Phase of preliminary research

Since Institution establish in 2010, the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department commissioned Institution to carry out 20 research projects (see Table 2). During the past six years, eight research projects initiated by Institution were directly related to Zhejiang New Talent Policies. Among them, the “Research on advancing the reform of talent development system and mechanism” and “Research on comparison of domestic and abroad new talents policies and Zhejiang countermeasure”, the two researches directly serve the overall design and framework of Zhejiang New Talent Policies. Another six research results serve some provisions of New Talent Policies. Some of the other 12 research projects serve as the summarization, such as “Evolution and characteristics of Zhejiang talent policies since reform and opening up 30 year ago”. Some of them don’t appear in the detail provisions but serve as reference and guidance for New Talent Policies. The series of pre-research of Institution is the intellectual investment and knowledge accumulation of New Talent Policies, laying an important foundation for the introduction of New Talent Policies.

Table 2 Research projects of Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development and its relation to Zhejiang New Talent Policies

	Research projects of Zhejiang Institution of Talent Development	Zhejiang New Talent Policies
Direct relative	2011: Report on construction of Zhejiang special talent zone	24th : Construction of talent management and reform testing district
	2011: Research on effective oversea high-level talents introduction mechanism	5th: Oversea high-level talents introduction
	2012: Research on innovative technological talents development mechanism	9 th : Startup of scientific and technological personnel from university and research institutions
	2013: Research on motivating scientific and technological personnel from university and research institutions to front-line manufacture	8th: Integration of producing, teaching and research
	2013: Enterprise Institute: platform of collaborative innovation	6th : Construction of post-doctoral research station and academician workstation
	2014: Research on advancing the reform of talent development system and mechanism	Full text
	2015: Research on comparison of domestic and abroad new talents policies and Zhejiang countermeasure	Full text
	2015: Research on policy advice of bringing enterprise’s role of talent	19th : Independent evaluation

	development into play	and identification of skilled personnel by enterprise
Indirect relation	2010: Evolution and characteristics of Zhejiang talent policies since reform and opening up 30 year ago	Preliminary report and summarization
	2010: Evaluation index research of city's talent competitiveness and evaluation of main cities in China	
	2011: Research on change of demand and supply of human resource in Zhejiang labor market	
	2012: Comparative research on talent policy in Zhejiang, Guangdong, Jiangsu and Hubei	
	2012: Evaluation report on massive talent projects and policies in Zhejiang	
	2011: Research on construction of international trade talent zone to better international trade pilot of comprehensive reforms development	Guideline of framework
	2012: Research on index system of scientific talent work	
	2010: Research on transforming and upgrading of Zhejiang's economy and the strategy of reinvigorating the province through talents	
	2012: Research on development of new-aged entrepreneurs in Zhejiang	
	2014: Research on professional standards of administration executive in universities and research institutions	
	2014: Research on composite index of talent development in Zhejiang	
	2015: Research on policy of constructing province of optimal talent ecology	

4.2 Phase of agenda setting

As mentioned before, early in 2015, the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department commissioned Institution to carry out “Research on advancing the reform of talent development system and mechanism” which aims for the New Talent Policies. The Institution is a contributor to ultimate agenda setting of New Talent Policies.

On May 25, 2015, Shanghai municipal government issued “Views on accelerating the construction scientific and technological innovation center of global influence”, and put forward the “instruction of market-oriented innovation-based institutional mechanisms, innovative entrepreneurial talents introduction, better innovation environment formulation” and other policy advice. At that time, out of its policy sensitivity and the opportunity of the research, the Institution submitted a report to Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department, which called "Deepening the reform of institutional mechanisms, carrying out innovation-driven development strategy comprehensively and speeding up the construction of scientific and technological innovative province—— facing the challenges and opportunities from Shanghai 22 technological innovation provisions”. Less than one month, on June 22, the Department summoned the Institution to the meeting “Shanghai 22 technological innovation provisions and Zhejiang’s countermeasures”, which discussed

the comparison of the talent policies in two areas, the impact 22 Provisions bring, advantage and disadvantages of Zhejiang talent policy. July 2015, the New Talent Policies project was established. August 2015, the Institution submitted an internal inference named “Deepening the reform of institutional mechanisms and carrying out innovation-driven development strategy comprehensively—— facing the challenges from Shanghai 22 technological innovation provisions” to Zhejiang provincial government, and the inference got the instruction that is “for every department’s read and study” from then governor Li Qiang. After the instruction, on September 2015, the New Talent Policies began to be drafted in full swing.

4.3 Phase of program designing

The New Talent Policies is drafted by Talent office of Zhejiang Provincial Organization Department. Talent office invited the Institution to first round of ideological communication, and absorbed their former research results into the first draft. On the basis of fundamental thinking, the Talent office carried out 11- prefecture-level-cities’ research to solicit ideas from experts, departments and municipal governments. Due to different level of development among 11 cities, different functions and focus among departments, they put forward their special policy demands out of diverse interests. Together with feedback from the Institution, the next draft was rather a “hodgepodge”. At the same time, the provincial party committee organizations began to deploy more than 20 research projects open to departments and institutions for special studies.

Through the New Talent Policies drafting process, there are four rounds of former discussion and more than 30 changes in policies drafting among which the Institution participates four times. In the fourth round, the Department invited the Institution to participate in the consultation (the 18th draft), Institution pointed out that the 18th draft was not clear and focused and should focus on instruction of innovative province. Despite the New Talent Policies project started very early, until March 21, 2016, the time that “the Opinion on Deepening the Reform of Talent Development System and Mechanism” was introduced, the New Talent Policies had not yet been formally promulgated. After the introduction of the central “Opinions”, Zhejiang policies faced with the dilemma that its content overlapped the “Opinions”, so its drafting goal needed to be changed turning from “covering all bases” to “a higher plateau on basis of Opinions”. Therefore, March 2016, the New Talent Policies was re-drafted, highlighting the characteristics of “focus on ecology, market-oriented, use-based, classified management”. After repeated demonstration, adjustment and brewing, in the Central “Opinion” forum open to provinces, Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee Organization Department reported its policy program to the Communist Party Central Committee's Organization Department and got recognition. Then provincial deployment and executive meetings passed the revised “Opinions on deepening the talent development system and mechanism reform to support talents’ innovation (Draft for Soliciting Opinions)”. The phase of internal design was ended.

It is worth noting that the involvement of the think tank in programming design was the opportunity it maximizes its impact. Talent Institute participated in revisions

four times, and put forward a more scientific and forward-looking policy design program based on its long-term and grass-roots research results. The Department has a selective adoption of its recommendations. Some ideas are absorbed such as the “independent evaluation by employer”, “scientific and technological personnel startup”. But for the most welcomed suggestion by high-level talents, “more open household registration policy” is not absorbed by the Department, for its conflict with the upper law and political risk of not approved by the central higher authorities. This can be called selective absorption.

4.4 Phase of ultimate decision-making

After the final request for the views of the provincial departments, on June 6, 2016, “Opinions on deepening the talent development system and mechanism reform to support talents’ innovation was officially promulgated. After the promulgation, the Institution was commissioned to give lessons about the interpretation of New Talent Policies to the minister of the Department, officials from provincial bureau.

Throughout the process of New Talent Policies’ introduction and Institution’s participation, the basic characteristics of think tanks involving in decision-making can be concluded as follows.

In terms of the influence in decision-making, there are two key sectors of decisive impact in the introduction process. First is the governor representing the supreme provincial executive departments of decisive impact on agenda setting. Second is the Communist Party Central Committee's Organization Department of decisive impact on decision-making. The Institution’s impact is represented in its contribution to agenda setting through the entrusted research channel that is endowed by the Department. The Institution’s impact is faint compared to departments in administrative system. In terms of participation, the think tank did not participate in the whole process. The Institution participated in the phase of the “preliminary research”, “policy agenda setting” and “program designing”. The depth of participation can only be reflected in the preliminary research, and the Institution is a limited intelligence supplement in other two phases. In the role of think tanks, the Institution acts as government advisers, and the process of policy issues initiation is suspected to be equivalent to the process of consultation and argumentation only on the "major issues" of governmental concern. On the other hand, the Institution acts as the window that collects and transmits the voice of people and interest groups. In terms of the absorption of think tanks, the government has taken a selective absorption of the think tank, as the preference of superior Government Departments will be considered firstly.

5. Discussion on value orientation of decision-making with think tank’s

rise

There are several western theories regarding think tank’s effect in decision-making. Elitism theory see think tank as intellectual elites equal to political, economic, military elites and play a comparative important role in decision making (Dye T R, 1986^[13]). In the theory of pluralism, think tank is a group with its own interests such as trade

unions and environmental organizations, so participating in group competition in policy making (Truman D B, 1960^[14]). The enlightening model in theory of knowledge application, the role of think tank is to build a bridge between knowledge application and policy-making (Weiss C H,1979^[15]). The three theories view think tank as elite, interest group and knowledge bridge respectively. However, from the analysis of motivation of think tank's rise and its participation process These theories can not exactly summarize the characteristics of Chinese think-tank participation in policy-making.

(1) Firstly, what's the motivation of think tank's rise in talent policy making? On the one hand, it's until 2003 that the principle of "party managing talents" is established and until 2010 that the detail task of talent development is defined. Due to the less than 20-year's policy history, government's lack of experience makes it necessary to ask for think tank's intelligence supplement. On the other hand, the pressure from the top-down talent index system and the competitiveness of provincial talent policy make government more dependent on think tank.

(2) Secondly, does the participation of think tank mean democracy decision making? Policy failure is the biggest failure in China (Gao Fusheng、Zhu Sibe, 2009^[16]). In order to avoid mistakes in policy making, policymakers with limited ration turn to the experts for their knowledge in policy's feasibility, cost-benefit and social effect (Kindon,J W.,2003^[17]). The growing attention and invitation of think tank from government reflects that government's resolution of free of faulty decision and scientific policy. However, as analyzed before, think tank has slight influence, don't participate in whole phases, and its views are absorbed selectively, these evidences indicate that current decision-making is still stay on monopoly of the process of policy making by the administrative system, and think tank doesn't own enough capacity or vote with its feet to influence the final decision. For provincial government, the final policy need to be granted by central government and then draw advice from think tank selectively, so achieving the balance of political authority and rational decision.

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