

**IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca
Lucca, Italy**

**The Role of 'Public' in Public-Private Partnerships: Reading the
Cultural Heritage Management Practices of Turkey**

**PhD Program in Management and Development of Cultural Heritage
XXV Cycle**

**By
M. Işıl原因 Gürsu
2013**

The dissertation of M. Işıl原因 Gürsu is approved.

Programme Coordinator: Maria Luisa Catoni, IMT Institute for Advanced Studies

Supervisor: Lorenzo Casini, La Sapienza Università di Roma

Tutor: Denise La Monica, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa

The dissertation of M. Işıl原因 Gürsu has been reviewed by:

**IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca
2013**

CV and Presentations

CURRICULUM VITAE

May 30, 1982	Born in Istanbul, Turkey
2005	BA in Tourism Administration Bogazici University. Istanbul, Turkey
2008	MA in Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management Koç University. Istanbul, Turkey
2006-2008	Teaching Assistant at Koç University
2009-2010	Museum Outreach Coordinator in Istanbul Archaeological Museums Development Project by TURSAB. Istanbul, Turkey
2010-	PHD candidate in Management and Development of Cultural Heritage IMT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca, Italy
2013-	Cultural Heritage Management Fellow for Aspen- dos and Pisidia Projects British Institute at Ankara, Turkey

PRESENTATIONS

I. Gürsu (2009) *"Tourism, Archaeology and Privatization: A View from Turkey"*. Paper presented at the conference "Traditions and Transforma-

tions: Tourism, Heritage and Cultural Change in the Middle East and North Africa Region” organized by Leeds Metropolitan University, Jordan, Amman, 3-6 April, 2009

I. Gürsu (2011) *“If you do not visit, we will take it away: The Forced Connoisseurship for the Italian Cultural Heritage”* presented at the “Materiality, Memory and Cultural Heritage” Conference organized by Istanbul Technical University and Yeditepe University, Istanbul, 25-29 May, 2011

I. Gürsu (2012) *“Private Steps in the Public Corridors: Managerial Experiments with Cultural Heritage in Turkey”* presented at the Inaugural Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies: ‘Re/theorising heritage’, organized by the International Journal of Heritage Studies and the Heritage Seminar at the University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, June 5-8, 2012.

I. Gürsu (2013) *“Putting the Pieces Together: What Would the Finished Puzzle Tell?”* presented at the 17th Roundtables on Transnationality, lecture series on “Travel and Museums: Rethinking the Modern Experience, organized by Irmgard Coninx Stiftung, Berlin, June 26-29 2013.

Table of Contents

CV and Presentations	iii
Table of Contents	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Abstract	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. Background	1
2. Scope of the thesis.....	6
3. Disposition of the chapters	7
Chapter 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY.....	9
1. Heritage Studies.....	10
2. Conceptual Framework.....	12
2.1. Definition of Cultural Heritage Management and PPPs	12
2.2. Definition of “Many Publics” for Cultural Heritage.....	16
3. Methodology	17
3.1. Research Questions.....	18
3.2. Research Design	18
3.3. Research Strategy	19
Chapter 2: PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS & CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT	22
1. The Rhetoric of PPPs	23
1.1. PPPs as a result of Global Trends: New Public Management..	28
1.2. Citizen versus Customer	31
2. PPPs in Cultural Heritage Management.....	35
2.1. ‘Public’ in PPPs for Cultural Heritage Management.....	39
2.1.1. State in Society	41
2.2. Cultural Heritage Management as a Public Service.....	43
2.2.1. The issue of ownership	45
2.2.2. Public understanding of public ownership	46
3. Examples of PPPs in Cultural Heritage Management.....	51
3.1. Creating Public Value through PPPs.....	55
Chapter 3: “PUBLIC” AS STATE: RECENT APPROACHES TO CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT	64

1. General Context.....	64
1.1. Cultural Policy and Changing Role of the Citizen	66
1.2. New Public Management in Turkey.....	73
1.3. Cultural Heritage Management as a Public Service	79
2. Public Discourse on Cultural Heritage Management	87
2.1. Legislative History of Cultural Heritage in Turkey	87
2.2. Laws related to Cultural heritage enacted after 2004.....	93
2.3. Politicians' Statements and Acts	104
3. Public Private Partnership Projects	116
3.1. Istanbul Archaeological Museums Development Project.....	117
3.2. Commercial Centers Project	123
3.3. Ticket Offices Project	126
4. A Comparison of Two States: Turkey and Italy	130
4.1. Analysis of Italy's Recent Cultural Heritage Management Practices: NPM, Privatization and "Valorizzazione"	130
4.2. An example of the State Language: "If you do not visit, we will take it away."	138
4.3. Comparison: A summary of Turkey's recent approach and its similarities to and differences from the Italian approach.....	149
Chapter 4: "PUBLIC" AS PEOPLE: FIELD STUDY & FINDINGS...153	
1. The Field Study	153
1.1. Reason for the Selection of the Case	155
1.2. Details about the sites	157
2. Analysis and Discussion of Findings.....	157
2.1. Presentation of the Results.....	159
2.2. Discussion of the Results.....	174
3. Public Value Framework	176
3.1. Why use PV Framework?.....	176
3.2. Analysis through PV Framework	178
Chapter 5: CONCLUSION	186
1. Contribution of the thesis.....	186
2. Suggestions on Further Research	187
3. Concluding Remarks	188
Appendices.....	193
Bibliography	227

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Lorenzo Casini for all his constructive support and sincere comments during the course of my studies. I would also like to thank all of my colleagues in the MDCH, 25th cycle for being such great company and making the last 3 years memorable for so many reasons, and especially to Tihana Puc who always had the time and the right words 'in case of my emergencies' for all of her smart suggestions and unconditional support.

Some people have been extremely helpful for the completion of the thesis. I don't think that I could express my gratitude to Prof. Gul Pulhan in any language that I know. Her intellectual guidance as well as practical suggestions has shaped not only my thesis but also my professional life. Tesekkür ederim Hocam!

Special thanks to Prof. John Carman and Prof. Katia Segers for accepting to be my external referees and for hosting me at their universities; University of Birmingham and Vrije University, Brussels. Prof. Carman's work has been very inspiring for me, thus receiving his approval meant a lot.

I was very lucky to start working as the Cultural Heritage Management fellow at the British Institute at Ankara couple of months before the submission of the thesis. I was lucky not only to be involved in a project that perfectly matched my research interests but also to be surrounded with great people (This could be the dream of any PHD candidate during the last months: having friends who had completed their PHDs thus very well aware of all your emotional conditions rather than your usual friends who would constantly ask you: are you in the library, AGAIN?). I will never be able to thank you enough for all the support I got from you.

My family, Nuran, Tamer and Sertay have been very supportive and they deserve huge thanks for bearing with me during this process!

The last but not the least thanks are to Koray who has provided unconditional understanding and many practical solutions to my PHD related problems. You have made the field survey (like many other things in life) so much easier in so many ways! And now I can answer your eternal question: "how many pages did you write today?": "243..."

Abstract

This thesis attempts to analyse the notion of “public” as it is used in the cultural heritage field focusing on the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) projects that have emerged in Turkey in the last decade. The study has two main fields of inquiry: the first one is the “public as state”, and the second one is “public as people”. The way in which these two parties interact on cultural heritage management issues is another important aspect of this work.

The notion of “public as state” has been investigated through the laws, protocols and recent PPP projects that have come onto the scene in Turkey. The main source of inquiry comes from state discourse based on media analysis, the analysis and categorization of different laws implemented since 2000, and also the language that has been employed by the state. The second concept, “public as people” has been investigated through a field survey conducted with 124 people at 21 different archaeological sites and museums.

The intention here is not to measure the success of the existing projects or, by no means to offer generic suggestions to improve their practices; but rather to analyse the context that has led to the emergence of the first examples of PPP in the cultural heritage sector in Turkey and to place this process in a theoretical framework.

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

Being a country blessed with the remains of various past civilizations, Turkey is rich in terms of cultural assets¹, which are traditionally owned, managed and conserved by the state itself. However, Turkey's inefficient and inadequate bureaucratic management of its cultural heritage coupled with chronic shortage of money resulted in a search for new models for the management of this valuable heritage. In line with this, the latest undertakings (since 2000) of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism indicate a willingness to involve the private sector in the management of public heritage institutions such as museums and archaeological sites. "Public-Private Partnerships" is the term of reference preferred by the politicians and decision makers to describe such activities. The world of PPPs is one that has failed to agree on a common set of terms and definitions. For a large majority, including the Ministers of Turkey, PPPs are what each authority chooses to define as a PPP. Defined in one way or another, many different institutions seek to form such ventures since they have been interpreted as strategic tools for providing flexibility in the changing economic environments. Moreover, they are appraised as being creative and "courageous" attempts. The call for cooperation from the ministries does not go unanswered by the private sector and it results in specific concessions with different organizations that are willing to help out to "preserve" the heritage.

These new arrangements in the field of cultural heritage can be evaluated as a global phenomenon, which is the outcome of the financial pressures on the public sector and the need to find new institutional structures with a role for the private sector. Even though certain arrangements generate successful results and bring new opportunities for the development of Public-Private-Partnership in this field, many

¹ There are 11.377 registered archaeological sites and 94.388 registered monuments, 78 ancient cities in Turkey; it is usually underlined however that Turkey has a long way to go about updating its registration of cultural heritage.

scholars believe that there are still crucial concerns about policies to be adopted.²

In line with the transition towards a full free-market system and adaptation of a neo-liberal economic model; as its extension in the cultural arena, the Turkish State has reformulated its cultural policies such as public spending cuts, opening central administration to the concept of enterprise, promoting privatization with various incentives and subsidies, and therefore paving the way for the state-private sector partnerships. In this sense, the wave of public fund reductions in the field of culture around the world has been washing the shores of Turkey since the 2000s coinciding with the current AKP (Justice and Development Party) government's rise to power in 2002.³

The reforms in the public sector in Turkey can be given as an example to global movement of "new public management". Under this movement, the most remarkable step was taken with the initiative of AKP to put the Public Sector Reform into its Urgent Action Plan and also into the government plan in 2002. The New Public Management move has been taken into consideration in the drafting of a Law entitled "Public Management Basic Law Draft."⁴

Within the framework highlighted above and as a country with a centralized management tradition to its cultural heritage for centuries, Turkey has started to search for new models through which the financial burden of maintaining and managing cultural heritage will not be

²See Linder, Stephen. 1999. *Coming to terms with Public-Private Partnerships: A Grammar of Multiple Meanings*; Wettenhall, Roger. 2003. *The Rhetoric and Reality of Public-Private Partnerships*; Kamaruddin, Nor Azlina Binti, Mohd Tusirin Hj Mohd Nor Rosmah Mat Isa and Nor Liza Abdullah. 2011. *Value creation in public private partnership: effect of commercial and social entrepreneurship on performance*.

³The reduction of the share of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the general budget is highlighted in the 9th Five-Year Development Plan (2007-13). It was reduced from 0.7% in 1992 to 0.4% in 2008.

⁴See Demir, Ömer. 2004. *Kamu Yönetiminin Yeniden Yapılandırılması ve Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı (Restructuring of Public Administration and Draft Law on the Basic Law of Public Administration)*.

solely placed on the shoulders of the state. This very recent shift in the mind-set of Turkish decision makers is traceable in different protocols, projects and organizational models that are assembled to alter, partially or totally, the daily operations of the public institutions that are the intermediaries between the State and the cultural heritage.

The first such example in the field of museum management was the Istanbul Archaeological Museums Development Project which came to life as a result of a protocol between Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Turkish Travel Agencies Association (Tursab) in 2009. The project aimed to support the activities of a public museum through a sponsorship contract which enabled Tursab to become the main sponsor and the partner institution for the Turkey's oldest museum. Another example was the 'Project on the Management, Implementation, Development, Supply of Services and Products for the Commercial Centers of Archaeological Sites and Museums'. The project resulted in the assignment of a private company as the authorized institution to set up sales units (cafes and book/souvenir shops) at 55 museums and archaeological sites in 2009. The last but not the least important project was the "Modernization and Management of the Entrance Control Systems and the Operation of Ticket Offices of Archaeological Sites and Museums" that came to life in 2010. As a result, Tursab-MTM partnership, which is a private initiative, has started running the ticket offices at public museums and archaeological sites which generate 85% of the whole entrance revenues. In Turkey, there are 189 museums and 131 archaeological sites which have been arranged for visits, thus 320 units which have public access. 190 of them have an entrance fee. 47 out of 190 make 85% of the total revenue generated from ticket offices and these were the ones which had been subject to this public-private partnership project.

All of these projects have been a hot button issue in the national media. It has been reported that according to the officials, they are important steps to create a bond between cultural heritage and Turkish citizens who have not shown enough interest in visiting such sites.⁵

⁵ For such a statement see the Minister's speech about the ticket offices project, available in Turkish at: <http://www.muzeder.org/haberler.asp?id=308>

While these restructurings seem to concentrate on “minor details” related to the administration of these institutions, the accumulated impression one gets from them is a potential change in the people’s understanding of state ownership of cultural heritage.

Among all the possible definitions of cultural heritage, this thesis concentrates on the ones which emphasize the public (as people) component in the creation and management of heritage. Thus the statement of Harrison et al as “it (heritage) exists only through the reading which it is given by communities and human societies in the present”⁶ explains the inspiration to investigate the role of public in the creation of the listed projects.

A very good example of the reflection of the mind-set under new public management in the field of cultural heritage management was the introduction of museum card for Turkish visitors in 2008. When it was first promoted, the museum card enabled the Turkish visitors to visit archaeological sites and museums which belonged to the ministry all year long and for unlimited times. The price was 20 Turkish liras (less than 10 Euros). It was highly welcomed by the frequent visitors to museums and 3.636.847 cards were sold from June 2008 to December 2012⁷. Initially an initiative of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the production, promotion and sales of the card was made by Tursab. After Tursab was authorized to run the ticket offices of many archaeological sites and museums, the privileges of the card were changed substantially. In addition to a 50% increase in the price, the number of times that a visitor could enter one museum/site was limited to two. The reflection of NPM movement and the transformation of citizens into customers in the course of a PPP project are best summarized by an official from the ministry.

“Museum card was just a beginning; our aim was to create awareness about our cultural properties and museums. 400 thousand cards were sold in 2008, reaching to one million in

⁶Harrison et al. 2008. *The Heritage Reader*, p: 3.

⁷This information can be reached at :

<http://dosim.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAA6A849816B2EF59A7CAAE7DD7E6A>

2012. Thus it has served its purpose and completed its mission. Now it is time for different projects.”⁸

Another issue about the role of the state is the designation of the relationship between tourism and cultural heritage. Özdoğan⁹ points out that the Turkish state has strangely adopted a pure tourism oriented strategy in the enhancement of its cultural heritage; this approach had implications on the formation of public perception as well. The justification for the preservation of cultural heritage came to be restricted to their tourism potential and did not lead to form a local stewardship for the sake of cultural heritage per se. It might even lead to an understanding that cultural heritage is a product to be marketed to foreigners. This mind-set is a recent one. The changing cultural policies that Turkish Republic has adopted and their impacts on the cultural institutions and citizens will be further discussed in the 3rd chapter in order to show what has changed in the last decades leading to the increased emphasis placed on the “marketing” of cultural heritage.

PPPs can be seen as one outcome of the restructuring of the public sector with a management culture that focuses on the centrality of the citizen or customer. The affect of the citizen- consumer transformation on the overall aims of museums is very much in conflict with the museums’ authoritative past.¹⁰ “The customer is encouraged to accept the product that is offered, while a museum dedicated to an educational purpose will encourage a far more complex response. Its goal will be to develop critical appreciation where enjoyment and understanding are combined with the self-confidence to exercise an informed personal taste. The goal of such a museum is not a herd of customers but an in-

⁸ The speech can be reached from the news “A step back in the museum card” at Sabah Newspaper, 21.01.2013, available at:

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/Turizm/2013/01/21/muzekartta-geri-adim>

⁹Özdoğan, Mehmet. 2011. *Arkeolojik Kazılar Bilimsel Çalışma mı? Toprak Hafriyatı mı? (Are Archaeological Excavation Scientific Inquiries? Are they digging through earth? P: 57.*

¹⁰See d’Harnoncourt, Anne, Paul J. DiMaggio, Marilyn Perry and James N. Wood. 1991. *The Museum and the Public.*

dividualized public which has learned what it *does not*, as well as what it *does* like.”¹¹

Projects, which have high emphasis on increasing visitor numbers, entrance revenues or decreasing the costs of preserving cultural heritage, are not unique to Turkey. Inspired by the same global movements, more countries adopt a business-oriented tone when talking about their cultural heritage and underline the need to enhance them in many ways, which were not thought of in the previous centuries. An example which this thesis will present in the 3rd chapter comes from Italy and is about a communication campaign which aims to invite Italians to visit museums and archaeological sites in their country, with the threatening slogan: “If you do not visit, we will take it away”. This campaign in the context of its preparation and presentation will be compared to similar campaigns in Turkey. It has also been influential for the preparation of one of the survey questions that was asked to Turkish visitors at archaeological sites and museums that had been subject to a PPP project.

2. Scope of the thesis

In the light of this background, this thesis is going to analyze the emergence of PPPs in Turkey as a managerial model for the management of cultural heritage. The single case study that is selected is the PPP project for the running of ticket offices by a private initiative. In other words, this thesis investigates the ways in which “public-private partnerships” that have been introduced to the cultural heritage field since 2000 being presented in the public discourse (public as State) and been understood by the public (public as People) in Turkey. This study was particularly triggered by the interest in the questioning of the relationship of cultural heritage management and the contemporary society in Turkey. In order to shed light on this relationship and to answer the questions that have been posed, 124 interviews are conducted with visitors to archaeological sites and museums which have been subject to ticket offices PPP project in Turkey. The collected data has been analysed with computer software and interpreted afterwards.

¹¹Ibid, p:57.

It is important to investigate the ways in which states deal with cultural heritage not only because they are the institutions with the decision making authority but also because they are very influential in shaping people's understanding of cultural heritage through various acts.

The focal point of this thesis is "people" and the possible influences of the state on their perceptions of cultural heritage. The historical analysis rests on the attempt to explore the state-people relationship in the context of cultural heritage.

The significance of this study stems from the fact that partnerships between the state and the private sector to fulfil public functions including the management of cultural heritage are on the rise, and, in the case of Turkey, there is currently a call for exchange of ideas on the issue. Despite the political importance and the popularity of the subject, no previous research has been conducted on this topic. Additionally, the search for a global influence on the formation of PPPs allows the subject to be studied from different angles including comparing its similarities and differences with other countries' experiences.

3. Disposition of the chapters

The thesis starts with the conceptual framework and methodology chapter which discusses the methodologies that are chosen to analyse the PPP process in Turkey, reviews the conceptualization of cultural heritage management and its references to 'the public' and tries to position this work within heritage studies.

The following chapter, the second one, aims to analyse the concept of PPP using a deductive approach departing from the evolution of general tendencies and policies about the public sector, its effects on the cultural institutions and its relation with cultural heritage. The chapter is composed of three main sections; the first one is exclusively about PPPs as they are studied in business administration and the literature review of those studies mainly from management, business and public administration. The second part draws on PPPs' relationship with cultural heritage management and offers different theoretical inquiries that emerge from this marriage. The last part's point of departure is certain examples of PPPs from different countries in order to shed light on the creation of public value through these projects.

In the third and fourth chapters, the notion of public is divided into two as the State and the People and each of them is analyzed separately. On the State part, I look at the public discourse through:

- Politicians' statements (from ministry's web site, newspapers and magazines),
- Contents of the legislations that have been formulated after 2000s,
- Projects that have been designed by the public offices, mainly Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Three of PPP projects have been selected and analyzed within the public value framework thus in terms of the values they create (for what); procedures and processes involved in their designs and implementations (how); main actors involved in their creation (by whom) and the last but not the least the public that they are addressing (for whom).

The fourth chapter of the thesis mainly presents the results of the field survey, which was undertaken in order to understand the public perception of PPPs. The case, which is chosen for this study, is the ticket office-outsourcing project that took place at 47 archaeological sites and museums in different cities in Turkey. The collected data is analyzed using SPSS and discussed in the light of previous points. This part of the study will also give more insight about this particular project, in terms of the history and the touristic potential of the sites that have been visited. The final analysis and discussion of the findings aim to answer the research questions in the light of statistical and descriptive data. The application of public value framework to the PPP project, which is under consideration, will offer the opportunity to look at it with a critical and a theoretical perspective.

Chapter 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis refers to many studies conducted under different disciplines including business administration, law, political science, cultural theory, archaeology, social anthropology and museum studies. This is partially due to the fact that the newly emerged or still emerging field of cultural heritage management is very multidisciplinary and also PPPs can be analysed from different perspectives. According to Filippucci¹² “scholars now theorize heritage as a diverse range of social practices, processes and experiences through which people invest things, sites and practices with value and sentiment, and claim them in collective ownership or guardianship to affirm continuity, authenticity and identity; this investigation also frequently examines the ways in which such processes are institutionally ‘managed’ through policy and legislation.” The method which is employed for this study does not focus on a static picture of the present situation or fixed sets of goals and rules producing definitive results. The approach here is one that focuses on process rather than on conclusive outcomes. The process under investigation here refers to the period after 2004 in Turkey related to the new policies that have been developed in the cultural heritage field, especially the path leading to the formation of specific PPP projects. In line with the preferred method, the aim is not to measure the success of these particular projects but rather analyse the processes themselves which led to their formation. A second line of inquiry is to examine their effects on the public understanding of cultural heritage and in particular public understanding of state ownership of cultural heritage.

This chapter discusses the methodologies that are chosen to analyse the PPP process in Turkey, reviews the conceptualization of cultural heritage management and its references to ‘the public’ and tries to position this work within heritage studies.

¹²Filippucci, Paola. 2009. *Heritage and Methodology: a view from social anthropology*, p: 320.

1. Heritage Studies

Heritage studies is a new and multi disciplinary area within Arts and Humanities, drawing expertise from a range of disciplines like archaeology, anthropology, architecture, art, history, sociology and tourism. Increasing number of scholars has begun to mention the need for its investigation as a distinct research area.¹³ Most of the definitions of heritage management, which will be discussed in detail below, have been descriptive with a few exceptions that have attempted to place it in a disciplinary or a theoretical context providing a reflection on the range of methods that may be employed in Heritage Studies.¹⁴ Some of them¹⁵ responds to the problem of theorising heritage studies by offering the use of archaeological theories like new archaeology while acknowledging the relationship of archaeology with law: "Archaeology as a discipline developed in tandem with legislation which established archaeological and other 'Western' knowledge systems as the expert forms of knowledge on which decisions about the preservation of the material traces of the past would rest."¹⁶

One of the first attempts to reflect on the theorization of cultural heritage management and the methodologies that the heritage studies were using or could use was the British Academy-sponsored conference

¹³ For different scholars who wrote on this subject see: Smith, Laurajane. 2008. *Towards a theoretical framework for archaeological heritage management*; Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and John Carman. 2009. *Heritage Studies: An outline*.

¹⁴Such exceptions are: Merriman, Nick. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case*, Merriman used surveys thus quantitative research in order to reveal the perceptions of citizens towards the past, museums and cultural heritage, for another approach which profits from quantitative analysis to construct a theoretical interpretation for heritage see Uzzell, David L and Ballantyne, Roy. 1998. *Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation: Problems and Prospects*. For a theoretical exploration of the relationship between heritage management and other disciplines like archaeology and a discussion on the ways in which aspects of heritage management relate to the theory and practice of archaeology as a research discipline see Carman, John. 1996. *Valuing Ancient Things: archaeology and law* and Byrne, Denis. 1991. *Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management*.

¹⁵Smith, Laurajane. 2008.

¹⁶ Smith, Laurajane, 2004 quoted in Harrison, Rodney. 2008. *The politics of the past: conflict in the use of heritage in the modern world*, p: 8.

"Making the Means Transparent: Research Methodologies in Heritage Studies" on 22-24 March 2004 organized by John Carman and Marie-Louise Stig Sørensen¹⁷. The volume which arose out of research activities and collaborations conducted around this conference, *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, meticulously goes through the literature of heritage studies starting from the 1980s and formulates three main categories which are found within the literature: commentary, guidance and research. Aiming to bring new ideas to the methodologies that are employed by these existing studies within the heritage field, "specific case studies as well as sharing the insights gained and the solutions selected in each case rather than listing many methods that have been or can be used such as semiotics, discourse analysis, various forms of interview and participant observations, use of media and computer software, psycho-metric analysis, spatial or material studies, etc" are being analysed.¹⁸ The main cases of reference are the ones which investigate texts, objects and people as the main sources of inquiries for heritage studies.

Cultural heritage is created in the interpretation of material things and many of the scholars agree that heritage is no longer about the past but "draws on the power of the past to produce the present and shape the future."¹⁹ The characteristics of heritage are not self-defined but are created in the interpretation of material things. "It (heritage) exists only through the reading which it is given by communities and human societies in the present."²⁰ Therefore the attempt to integrate different

¹⁷ For more information on the conference: Annual Report ,2003–2004. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Available at: <http://www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk/reports/miar-report-2004.pdf>

¹⁸Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and John Carman. 2009, p: 4.

¹⁹ See Harrison, Rodney. 2008. *The politics of the past: conflict in the use of heritage in the modern world*. Labadi, Sophia and Long, Colin. 2010. *Heritage and Globalisation* analyses heritage which is more increasingly packed and served as a global product and for a rather harsh critique on the (ab)use of history/past to serve the contemporary needs and the capitalistic motivations see Lowenthal, David. 1996. *Stewardship, sanctimony and selfishness – a heritage paradox*.

²⁰Harrison et al. 2008. *The Heritage Reader*, p:3.

methodologies to understand the heritage-related phenomena is grounded on this reading.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Definition of Cultural Heritage Management and PPPs

Schofield²¹, looking at the 'heritage' of cultural heritage as a concept, recognizes the differences that dominate the attempts to create a unified terminology. The scholarly literature in English language uses different terms such as archaeological heritage²², archaeological resource(s)²³, cultural heritage,²⁴ cultural resources²⁵ or cultural property²⁶. It seems quite unlikely that one of these terms will soon gain more acceptance than the others; but they are not non-exclusive either since some authors tend to use more than one of these terms²⁷. One of the reasons for the differing terminologies seems to be geographical. In the UK, the term archaeological heritage or resources is in more common use than cultural resources, which is more favoured in the US and Australia.

On an ideological level, *heritage* emphasizes the social values that are ascribed to cultural property by its surrounding communities and underlines the continuity between the past and present whereas *resource* is more detached from emotional attachments and emphasizes the contemporary use value rather than the symbolic value. Carman finds the term property as applied to culture problematic due to its complicated relationship with the ownership issue.²⁸ On the other hand, the termi-

²¹Schofield, John. 2008. *Heritage Management, Theory and Practice*.

²² See Cleere, Henry. 1989. *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* and Smith, Laurajane. 2008.

²³See Darvill, Timothy. 1987. *Ancient Monuments in the Countryside* and McGimsey, Charles R. and Davis, Hester A. 1977. *The Management of Archaeological Resources. The Arlie House Report*.

²⁴ See Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Archaeological Theory and The Politics of Cultural Heritage*.

²⁵ See Lipe, William. 1984. *Value and meaning in cultural resources*

²⁶ See Merryman, John Henry. 1986. *Two Ways of Thinking about Cultural Property*.

²⁷ For instance Smith uses both cultural heritage and archaeological heritage.

²⁸ See Carman, John. 2005. *Against Cultural Property: Archaeology, Heritage and Ownership*.

nology also varies in different countries due to language differences but still the meanings are similar such as cultural patrimony, cultural goods, cultural assets etc.²⁹ Governments have felt the need to form various definitions of heritage to facilitate its management by the State; similarly, definitions are called for by the legal systems, which operate through these definitions that are taken as the starting point.³⁰ In a similar vein, each international convention defines cultural heritage for its own purpose.³¹

Called by one name or another, cultural heritage (as it is referred to for the purposes of this study) in its broadest sense includes “monuments, buildings, landscape, artefacts and objects, as well as cultural traditions, music, theatre and dialect; it can be aesthetically pleasing and it can be ugly, unsafe and unprepossessing; it can be tangible –as many of these things are- or intangible. It can also be old, and it can be new. It is something valued by society, by specific groups within society and by individuals.”³² It is not difficult to find similar quotations which tend to use various adjectives to describe the qualities of cultural heritage. This situation makes it difficult to prioritize the importance of these attributes or to find a binding attribute for all. Whereas the value given to cultural heritage seem to be a strong candidate, then all manner of questions arise such as who is going to give this value, whether we are going to expect a consensus on the decision if something is of value or whether there is going to be a required minimum number of people

²⁹ For different uses of the term, for instance in Italy see Pinna, Giovanni. 2002. *Heritage and “Cultural assets”*; in USA see NAGPRA (The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) which prefers cultural patrimony; and for another example see Tasmania from the State of the Environment Report, which uses cultural objects.

³⁰See the presentation of Casini, Lorenzo on The Globalization of Cultural Property Law. 2011 at the *1st Annual Unlisted International Conference. The sustainable preservation and conservation of archaeological cultural heritage*. Available online at:<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQHND5rmJGM>

³¹ See the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict; 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property; the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects.

³²Schofield, John. 2008. p:19.

who will agree on that, whether these people should be citizens of the country where the cultural heritage is found or whether it should be the international community, and how we can make sure that what is of value currently will be of value for the future communities.

The inquiries seem to be numerous.

It is obviously much more demanding to define the boundaries of cultural heritage management when there are so many question marks about the definition of the cultural heritage itself. There is no exact terminology for the topic that everyone acknowledges as being a management issue.³³ For example Lipe³⁴ defines cultural heritage management as being “concerned with what things will be retained from the past and, how they will be used in the present and future, thus represents the self conscious emergence of consideration for an ordinarily implicit process that must be as old as human culture.” One of the most comprehensive definitions of cultural heritage management is as follows: “An umbrella term for activities affecting cultural resources; includes the preservation, use, protection, selective investigation of, or decision not to preserve, prehistoric and historic remains; specifically, includes the development of ways and means, including legislation and actions, to safeguard extant evidences or to preserve records of the past.”³⁵ Kerber adds that cultural resource management is “research, activities or legislation that seeks to conserve, protect, and/or interpret historic and prehistoric archaeological resources.”³⁶

Heritage management is also defined as “the management of visitors in an historic place in the interest of the historic fabric and the enhancement of visitor appreciation and experience.”³⁷

Based on the definitions on an archaeological basis, archaeological heritage management can be conceived as a process which first of all “fulfils part of a Western cultural, political and ethical concern with conservation and curation of material remains, secondly institutionalizes

³³ See McManamon Francis and Hatton A. 2000. *Introduction: Considering Cultural Resource Management in Modern Society*.

³⁴ Lipe, William. 1984, p: 3.

³⁵ Kerber, Jordan, E. 1994. *Introduction*, p: 3.

³⁶ *ibid.* p: 7.

³⁷ See Orbasli, Aylin. 2010. *Tourists in Historic Towns. Urban Conservation and Heritage Management*, p: 162.

archaeological knowledge and ideology within state institutions and discourse and thirdly is implicitly concerned with the definition of, and debates about cultural, historical, social and national identities.”³⁸ Cleere³⁹ who has conducted a considerable number of studies on cultural heritage management defines the archaeological heritage management as follows: “Archaeological heritage management has an ideological basis in establishing cultural identity, linked with its educational function, it has an economic basis in tourism, and it has an academic function in safeguarding the database.”

PPPs, as a derivate of privatization as some argue, and their use in culture have been the subject of some scholarly research.⁴⁰ The framework that is being used by those scholars composed of different sections like broadcasting, publishing, cinema, performing arts and so on is way larger than the one which will be adapted here in this study. Cultural heritage as previously defined includes all these areas; however, for the purpose of this study, its use will be limited to museums, archaeological sites and monuments with a historical importance. Limiting the framework of the thesis to Turkey the listed properties refer to the ones that are owned by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and have been subject to particular partnership projects for their potential to create income. The term which will be referred to is “cultural heritage management” instead of its alternatives like archaeological resource management or simply “heritage management”; moreover the management of cultural heritage refers to all of the administrative activities which result in a change of the present condition of the cultural heritage whether in terms of its physical condition, its accessibility or its interpretation for the uses of the public for different purposes including education, leisure, socio-economic development or national pride, etc.

In a similar vein, for the purposes of this study, the term PPP refers to any kind partnership project that is created to add value to a traditional

³⁸Smith, Laurajane. 2008, p: 62.

³⁹Cleere, Henry. 1989, p: 10.

⁴⁰See the articles in *Privatization and Culture* edited by Peter B. Boorsma, Annemoon van Hemel and Niki van der Wielen.

public sector activity. Other definitions of PPPs which can be found in the literature will be further investigated in the following chapter.

2.2. Definition of “Many Publics” for Cultural Heritage

Another important concept which needs clarification for its use for the purposes of this study is the “public” and the identification of different and many publics concerned with cultural heritage.

The analysis of the ‘public’ in ‘public-private partnerships’ has two main fields of inquiry. The first one is taken as “public as state” and the second one is “public as people”. In many studies, especially regarding public archaeology, the notion of general public and the need to build relations between the general public and the experts is underlined.⁴¹ McManamon⁴² highlights the fact that “the general public is a big category; it includes just about everyone” and he believes that in order to send focused messages to different groups of people based on their interests, the general public should be divided into different groups such as students and teachers, managers, and archaeologists, native Americans etc.

One of the main consequences of the public understanding and interaction with the past in the last century has been the rise of the “burgeoning industry that focused on preservation and conservation of cultural heritage places, whether they were intact, in ruins or increasingly, even invisible.”⁴³ In this way, cultural heritage management should be seen as a discourse that is mobilised for different social and political ends.⁴⁴ For instance, departing from the inspirational work of Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Production*, Harrison et al explains the rising interest in heritage by looking at the opportunities that the new technologies (like photography) brought to help people remember. “.... this newfound expectation of the forensic qualities of personal memory had an influence on the growth of the heritage industry as

⁴¹ See Matsuda, Akira. 2004. *The Concept of the Public and the Aims of Public Archaeology*.

⁴² See McManamon, Francis. 1991. *The Many Publics for Archaeology*, p: 123.

⁴³ Harrison et al. 2008. *The Heritage Reader*, p:7

⁴⁴ Ibid.

people developed new expectations of remembrance at the collective level.”⁴⁵

The emergence of the industry can be traced to the rising demand for these services; on the supply side however, we have organizations like states. It is important to investigate the ways in which states deal with cultural heritage not only because they are the institutions with the decision making authority but also because they are very influential in shaping people’s understanding of cultural heritage through various acts.

Bearing in mind all these discussions related to ‘the publics’ of cultural heritage, this study critically examines the way in which the state expresses ideas and performs certain actions. It also investigates peoples’ understandings of these actions and their possible reactions with reference to the specific case of PPP projects in cultural heritage management of Turkey. The first stage of inquiry calls for an understanding of how the state talks through laws and regulations and therefore how the public discourse is constructed.

For the analysis of the people’s reactions, a field study has been conducted in which visitors to museums and archaeological sites were interviewed concerning their general attitudes towards cultural heritage and towards specific PPP projects. The details of the field survey will be explained below in the methodology section, and the derived data will be further analysed with the presentation of the results in the 4th chapter of this study.

3. Methodology

This study, mainly inspired by heritage studies, combines different fields of inquiry, not only because heritage studies is a multidisciplinary field, but also because PPPs as a political, legislative and managerial phenomena can be investigated using different methods. Therefore, based on the research questions formulated below, the most appropriate methods have been selected.

⁴⁵Ibid, p:6.

3.1. Research Questions

Main Research Question:

How are “public-private partnerships” that have been introduced to the cultural heritage field since 2000 being presented in the public discourse (public as State) and been understood by the public (public as People) in Turkey?

Secondary Research Questions:

- How does public understanding of state ownership of cultural heritage affect their general attitude towards cultural heritage?
- What are the series of changes in the legislative framework and the shifts in the government’s mentality that have led to the creation of PPPs? – Compared to the situation prior to the 2000s, what are the new notions that are being introduced and promoted?
- To what extent do the global movements in public management produce similar practices in cultural heritage management and thus lead to the convergence of the experiences of two different countries like Italy and Turkey?
- How is public value created through PPPs in the cultural heritage field and how does the Turkish State see its people when PPPs are built; as citizens or consumers?
- Do the PPPs have an effect on people’s interest on cultural heritage?

3.2. Research Design

The research design for this thesis is a case study. Yin reflects on the case study method as follows:

“As a research strategy, the case study is used in many situations to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political and related phenomena. Not surprisingly, the case study has been a common research strategy in psychology, sociology, political science, social work, business and community planning. In all of these situations, the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena. In brief, the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful char-

acteristics of real life events such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, etc."⁴⁶

The case that is going to be analysed is the emergence of PPPs in Turkey as a managerial model for the management of cultural heritage. The single case study that is selected is the PPP project for the running of ticket offices by a private initiative. The public (as people) response and understanding of this particular transformation is investigated through collection of data from the visitors to the museums and archaeological sites which have been subject to this partnership project.

3.3. Research Strategy

The basic research strategy is quantitative; data is collected by the use of structured interviews. The data is analysed with SPSS Release 20 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), a most widely used computer software for the analysis of quantitative data for social sciences.

The method used is the application of structured interview to a sample size of 124 visitors at 21 different sites (museums and archaeological sites). The goal of the structured interview is for the interviewing of respondents to be standardized so that differences between interviews are minimized.⁴⁷ Thus all the interviews were conducted by the researcher, ensuring that all the questions were read out exactly and in the same order as they were printed on the schedule. Even when interviewees were visiting sites in groups, one of them has been addressed for the questions and his/her answers were recorded. Although the presence and intrusion of others during the course of the interview was not specifically discouraged, special attention was paid to record answers of one specific individual. This survey aims to measure the visitor perception at museums and archaeological sites which have been subject to public-private partnership projects in Turkey. Since the projects have been a public issue in the national media and they claim to create a bond between Turkish citizens and cultural heritage, the study targets Turkish visitors and excludes foreign ones.

The sampling method is convenience and the population is composed of the domestic visitors at 47 sites, subject to this particular project. Due

⁴⁶ See Yin, Robert K. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, p: 1.

⁴⁷ See Byrman, Alan. 2007. *Social Research Methods*.

to the lack of statistical data⁴⁸ regarding the number of Turkish visitors, the exact number of the whole visitors' population is hard to estimate. One hint that is being used by the government officials is the number of free entrances. After the introduction of museum card which enables Turkish visitors to enter all the sites which belong to the Ministry, without paying a fee (for twice to the same museum/site), the number of free entrances has risen. Although the number of free entrances cannot precisely give the exact number of Turkish visitors, it is presented on the list below with the names of the sites that have been subject to the ticket offices' outsourcing project.

The sites and the number of free entrances (including the entrances with museum card) for the year 2012 are as follows:

1. Aksaray, Ihlara Valley - 113.772
2. Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum - 113.799
3. Alanya Castle - 59.520
4. Antalya Museum - 66.628
5. Aspendos Archaeological Site - 82.679
6. Myra Archaeological Site - 63.413
7. St. Nicholas Church - 83.149
8. Olympos Archaeological Site - 93.148
9. Patara Archaeological Site - 54.058
10. Perge Archaeological Site - 38.165
11. Phaselis Archaeological Site - 31.759
12. Side Museum - 9.992
13. Side Ancient Theatre - 40.516
14. Simena Archaeological Site - 6.448
15. Termessos Archaeological Site - 6.733
16. Aphrodisias Archaeological Site - 24.926
17. Didyma Archaeological Site - 10.208
18. Miletus Archaeological Site - 6.642
19. Assos Archaeological Site - 57.291
20. Troia Archaeological Site - 101.852
21. Gaziantep Zeugma Mosaic Museum - 92.028
22. Hatay Museum - 59.856

⁴⁸ The General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration records the number of visitor however there is no separation between foreign and Turkish visitors.

23. Hagia Sophia Museum - 812.108
 24. Chora Museum - 60.089
 25. Istanbul Archaeological Museums - 193.287
 26. Istanbul Great Palace Mosaics Museum - 9.285
 27. Topkapı Palace Museum - 931.460
 28. Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum - 76.156
 29. Pergamon Archaeological Site - 47.918
 30. Pergamon Asklepios Archaeological Site - 28.374
 31. Ephesus Museum - 52.559
 32. Ephesus Archaeological Site - 381.523
 33. St. Jean - 43.839
 34. Chasm of Heaven and Hell - 56.477
 35. Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology - 68.759
 36. Kayaköy Archaeological Site - 11.163
 37. Kaunos Archaeological Site - 8.283
 38. Knidos Archaeological Site - 12.420
 39. Mausoleion - 8.451
 40. Sedir Island - 8.814
 41. Derinkuyu Underground City - 110.692
 42. Göreme Open Air Museum - 207.041
 43. Kaymaklı Underground City - 114.571
 44. Özkonak Underground City - 2.010
 45. Zelve Archaeological Site - 54.218
 46. Sümela Monastery - 113.758
 47. Trabzon Hagia Sophia Museum - 59.553
- Total number of free entrances is 4.689.390.

Departing from this specific case study, the thesis questions the essence of PPPs in the cultural heritage management practices in Turkey. This requires the conceptualization of PPPs and also reading of the dynamics which dominate the cultural heritage scene in Turkey. These are the two main aims of the remaining chapters. The following chapter looks at the PPPs from different angles in order to link these arguments to the contemporary managerial decisions and in the end investigate the attitudes and reactions of the general public towards these decisions in the case of Turkey.

Chapter 2: PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) has become a buzzword for decision makers lately. It is a seemingly innocuous term with an American style catchy abbreviation, but maybe more importantly, it is not as controversial as the term 'privatization'. Thus it is preferred by those who are not willing to spark public debates on social issues. Its usage intends not to hurt the feelings of those who are immediately alarmed by the prospect of intervention of the private sector in public fields. The presence of the final word "partnership" softens the impact; it refers to collaboration, some kind of a gift-giving attitude without the obvious expectation of direct monetary returns on investment for the parties involved.

Favoured by many politicians and private sector leaders, PPPs have also attracted a certain amount of academic interest without leading to any consensus either on the definition of the concept or on the nature of the cooperations that can be analysed under its auspices. What seems to be the only consensus regarding the PPPs is that there is no consensus on how to define them.⁴⁹

PPPs have been diffused to many sectors including the social ones; this diffusion has made the term 'partnership' a dominant slogan in the rhetoric of public sector reform, arguably capturing that status from privatization, which held similar dominance throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Langford has described the word as "undoubtedly one of the most misused in the contemporary administrative lexicon", and argued that perhaps "partnering is just a fad."⁵⁰

Defined in one way or another, such cooperative ventures between the state and private business to fulfil public functions are on the rise⁵¹. In

⁴⁹ See Khanom, Nilufa Akhter. 2009. *Conceptual Issues in Defining Public Private Partnerships*.

⁵⁰ Regarding the diffusion of PPPs, see Wettenhall, Roger. 2003. *The Rhetoric and Reality of Public-Private Partnerships*, See Langford, John. 2002. *Managing Public-Private Partnerships in Canada*, p: 72 for the description of the word.

⁵¹ See Linder, Stephen and Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau. 2000. *Mapping the Terrain of the Public-Private Policy Partnership*.

recent years, convinced of the benefits of greater private sector involvement in the provision of public infrastructure or services, many countries have turned to various forms of PPP as important alternatives to more traditional means employed for the delivery of public services. These sorts of ventures have been interpreted as strategic tools for providing flexibility in the changing economic environments. The common belief is that through these partnerships, the skills and assets of each sector are shared in delivering a service or facility for the use of the general public.⁵²

This part of the study aims to analyse the concept of PPP using a deductive approach departing from the evolution of general tendencies and policies about the public sector, its effects on the cultural institutions and its relation with cultural heritage. The chapter is composed of three main sections; the first one is exclusively about PPPs as they are studied in business administration and the literature review of those studies mainly from management, business and public administration. The second part draws on PPPs' relationship with cultural heritage management and offers different theoretical inquiries that emerge from this marriage. The last part's point of departure is certain examples of PPPs from different countries in order to shed light on the creation of public value through these projects.

The overall goal is to investigate the current uses of the term with its potential to open further discussions on the contemporary cultural heritage management practices in different contexts.

1. The Rhetoric of PPPs

The world of PPPs is one that has failed to agree on a common set of terms and definitions. For a large majority, PPPs are what each authority chooses to define as a PPP. This might be partially due to the belief that the issue is so transparent that it needs no further definition. Different scholars or institutions tend to emphasize different aspects in the

⁵² For more information on the advantages of PPPs, see *The National Council for Public-Private Partnerships. How PPPs Work?* Available at: <http://www.ncppp.org/howpart/index.shtml#define>

definition of the term. For instance, The World Bank defines them as “joint initiatives of the public sector in conjunction with the private, for profit and non-profit sectors”, referring to the main actors as the government, business and civic organizations.⁵³ In these partnerships, each of the actors contributes resources (finance, human, technical and intangibles, such as information or political support) and participates in the decision making process. Savaş’s broad definition of the term as “an arrangement in which a government and a private entity, for-profit or non-profit, jointly perform or undertake a traditionally public activity” draws attention to its area of operation. Accordingly, he defines PPPs narrowly as a “complex relationship –often involving at least one government unit and a consortium of private firms– created to build large, capital-intensive, long-lived public infrastructure, such as a highway, airport, public building, or water system, or to undertake a major civic redevelopment project.”⁵⁴ As this definition highlights, PPPs first emerged in the sectors that required infrastructural investments. Private participation in these sectors had traditionally been limited to separate planning, design and construction contracts on a ‘fee for service’ basis following the specifications of the public agency.⁵⁵ Yescombe lists the key elements of PPPs as follows:

- “A long term contract between a public-sector party and a private-sector party;
- For the design, construction, financing and operation of public infrastructure by the private party;
- With payments over the life of the PPP contract to the private-sector party for the use of the facility; made either by the public-sector party or by the general public as users of the facility;
- With the facility remaining in public-sector ownership, or reverting to public sector ownership at the end of the contract.”⁵⁶

⁵³World Bank. 1999. *Working Together for a Change: Government, Business and Civil Partnerships for Poverty Reduction in Latin America and the Caribbean*, p: 4.

⁵⁴See Savaş, Emanuel, S. 2005. *Privatization in the City: Successes, Failures, Lessons*, p:18

⁵⁵See Jürriado, Rein. 2006. *Learning in Public-Private Partnerships: Evidence from the Swedish Cultural Services Sector*.

⁵⁶ See Yescombe, Edward, R. 2007. *Public-Private Partnerships: Principles of Policy and Finance*, p:3

These studies usually tend to make a simple, for or against decision for the outcomes of PPPs. For those in favour, PPPs guarantee enhanced performance, accelerated production, access to fresh sources of finance and/or expertise, a better pooling and sharing of risks, opportunities for business expansion, and so forth. For others, however, the promises of PPPs are seen as “potentially damaging to the public interest and to the cost-effective delivery and accountability of public services.”⁵⁷ Khanom’s conceptual paper on the definition of PPPs analyses the literature and arrives at three main approaches in the definition of PPPs; the first one is viewing PPPs as a management or governance tool, the second as a development strategy and the last one as a language game⁵⁸. According to those who identify it as a language game, PPPs do not create new results or impacts but are just another jargon created to describe an already existing model. That is probably why according to common opinion of experts, including those of the World Bank, there is no unique model of public-private partnership in the world.⁵⁹ The relationship between the public and private party is a contractual one since ‘partnership’ is not the right concept in the legal sense. “Partnership is largely a political slogan in this context.”⁶⁰ In a similar vein, the concept is sometimes regarded as a “derivate of the privatization movement, which captivated conservative leaders in western liberal regimes on both sides of the Atlantic throughout much of the 1980s.”⁶¹ Besides being a derivate, Wettenhall notes that it is also seen as an alternative to or a feature of some other models like contracting out since PPP tends to have a positive relationship with discourse about “The

⁵⁷For supportive ideas see Savas, Emanuel, 2005 and 1982; for the opposing ones see Wettenhall, Roger. 2003. *The Rhetoric and Reality of Public-Private Partnerships* and Hayllar, Mark Richard. 2010. *Public-Private Partnerships in Hong Kong: Good Governance – The Essential Missing Ingredient?*

⁵⁸See Khanom, Nilufa Akhter. 2009. *Conceptual Issues in Defining Public Private Partnerships*.

⁵⁹ See Amunts, Dmitry. 2005. *Public-Private Partnership as Means of Cultural Heritage Safe-guarding*.

⁶⁰Yescombe, Edward, R. 2007, p: 3.

⁶¹ See Linder, Stephen. 1999. *Coming to terms with Public-Private Partnerships: A Grammar of Multiple Meanings*, p: 36.

Third Way'', mutual obligation and trust⁶². Terms such as policy networks, public management, multi stakeholder partnerships, modern governance and others have been coined to refer to similar phenomena all of which cover innovative ways of cooperation between public and private sectors. Although the forms of PPP can be numerous with respect to terminology, they have the common characteristics of building up an enduring relationship between at least one public and one private organization, each of which is a principal, and bring some kind of resource to the partnership.⁶³

Although the partnership idea represents a different set of conceptual premises altogether, Linder underlines the fact that "the movement of privatization in the 1980s endorsed the existence of a clear boundary separating the two sectors by contesting the division of responsibility between them."⁶⁴ In this regard, PPPs may become challenging given that public organizations have traditionally been managed differently from private organizations.⁶⁵ Jüriado lists some of the differences as:

- The constraints on the public organizations which cannot mobilise financial resources as easily as private organizations since they are subject to political control,
- The differences on the vitality of profit orientation which leads to a distinction in the working culture of public and private organizations,
- The applicability of union agreements and the resulting work practices vary in public and private sectors⁶⁶.

Additionally, Evers underlines the differences between the "public administration and private management techniques" in reference to the ethos of public workers and the ethos of skilled industrial work and competition. Public administration and private business represent

⁶² See Muetzelfeldt 2001; Chalmers and Davis 2001; Zifcak 2001 quoted in Wettenhall, Roger. 2003.

⁶³ See Peters, B. Guy. 1998. *'With a Little Help From Our Friends': Public-Private Partnerships as Institutions and Instruments*.

⁶⁴ Linder, Stephen. 1999, p: 36.

⁶⁵ See Hood, Christopher. 1995. *The New Public Management in the 1980s: Variations on a Theme*.

⁶⁶ See Jüriado, Rein. 2006. *Learning in Public-Private Partnerships: Evidence from the Swedish Cultural Services Sector*, p: 4.

nearly two different worlds, where either hierarchies or markets set the tone⁶⁷.

The idea of market setting the tone is quite controversial when it is applied to the public sector, especially for the social and cultural public services. For instance, in some of the interviews with leaders of social organizations conducted by Evers, Rauch and Stitz⁶⁸ there were recurrent remarks like:

“We aren't anymore a public institution but rather a social enterprise” (a school director); or

“We have to learn to respect the commercial dimension of what we are doing, cope with state regulations and at the same time get better rooted locally by more fund and friend raising” (the director of a museum).

A similar example is the statement of Mario Resca, the former General Director for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage at the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities:

“Italy's cultural patrimony is a strategic asset like oil, with zero costs because it is there.” Mr. Resca adds, “of course you have to protect it and care for it, but it has a value that we can leverage and develop.”⁶⁹

These statements indicate the convergence of public and private sectors from different perspectives. However, we cannot assume that PPPs show the same characteristics in every situation. As summed up by Osborne, PPPs are a divergent phenomenon in the terms listed below, which are also of importance for this study:

- The theoretical models available for understanding and evaluating them,
- The different partners- government, business, the voluntary and non-profit sector and the local community – which can be involved in PPPs and

⁶⁷ See Evers, Adalbert. 2004. *Mixed Welfare Systems and Hybrid Organisations – Changes in the Governance and Provision of Social Services*

⁶⁸Quoted in Evers 2004.

⁶⁹ Quoted in an interview in The New York Times. Povoledo, Elisabetta. 2008. *Cheeseburgers Get Into the Mix in the Italian Debate on Museums*.

- Their prevalence in and impact on different parts of the world.⁷⁰

The third term will be further elaborated in the 3rd chapter, during the comparison between Italy and Turkey regarding both countries' recent cultural heritage management practices and the increasing willingness to make the private sector a dominant actor in the cultural heritage field.

The reasons why different countries converge in their practices regarding the traditional public services can be grounded on recent global trends like new public management.

1.1. PPPs as a result of Global Trends: New Public Management

In the 1980s and 1990s, many countries have come up with reforms, which introduced the private sector, or its business-management thinking to public sector organizations with goals like improved efficiency, effectiveness and financial stability. This phenomenon has also attracted scholars' attention within management and public administration studies and has been termed as 'new public management (NPM)'.⁷¹ Over the last three decades, NPM has become fashionable amongst politicians, policy-makers and scholars of public sector management.⁷² The main motivation for the rise of studies in NPM is due to the turbulent environments that the public sectors are facing all around the world. Accordingly, global challenges that have been knocking the doors of different countries have resulted in attempts to rejuvenate public service systems through externalization, privatization or 'companization' by the governments.⁷³ NPM, although one of the most widely accepted, has not been the only concept to define these attempts; Osborne and Gaebler⁷⁴ call it 'reinventing government' while

⁷⁰ See Osborne, Stephen. 2007. *Public Private Partnerships: Theory and Practice in International Perspective*.

⁷¹ Hood, Christopher. 1995.

⁷² See Paulsen, Neil. 2006. *New public management, innovation, and the non-profit domain: New forms of organizing and professional identity*

⁷³ See Zan, Luca. 2005. *Managerial Rhetoric and Arts Organizations*.

⁷⁴ See Osborne, David and Ted Gaebler. 1993. *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*.

the United Nations refer to it as ‘responsive governance.’⁷⁵ For the purposes of this study, the term NPM will be used throughout the text. One of the most notable characteristics of NPM is the transition from a bureaucratic model based on norms to a managerial one based on performance.⁷⁶ Kettle argues that NPM requires the replacement of the traditional bureaucratic command and control mechanisms with market strategies.⁷⁷ NPM incorporates the importation of private sector management systems and techniques into the public services.⁷⁸ Such principles require administrators to become managers. For instance, in the UK, transfer of private sector managers into the public sector has brought about change.⁷⁹ Increasing demands, technological changes, escalating costs, and shortages of funds and other resources mean that modes of governance, structures, and practices continue to be the focus of significant reform.⁸⁰ Accordingly, very few sectors or countries seem to be immune from the diffusion of the NPM mentality characterized by the attempts to construct organizations that are “innovative, responsive to client needs, and market focused.”⁸¹ One of the main reasons why the concept has been diffused might be the tendency to associate the state bureaucracy with non-efficiency and to see it as non-inspiring for the services that require managerial skills. However, as Zan puts it in an ironic way, “it is within the State bureaucracy that, historically speaking, major managerial innovations took place.”⁸² Similarly:

“There is no reason why a private firm should be more or less efficient than a public one simply by virtue of the fact that the

⁷⁵ For more detailed information on the UN discourses about PPPs, see United Nations, 2005. *World Public Sector Report 2005: Unlocking the Human Potential for Public Sector Performance*.

⁷⁶ See Calogero, Marino. 2010. *The Introduction of New Public Management Principles in the Italian Public Sector*.

⁷⁷ See Kettle, Donald F. 2000. *The Global Public Management Revolution*.

⁷⁸ See Ciarniene, Ramune, Algimantas Sakalas and Milita Vienazindiene. 2005. *Strategic Thinking in New Public Management*.

⁷⁹ See Sözen, Süleyman and Ian Shaw. 2002. *The International Applicability of “New” Public Management: Lessons from Turkey*

⁸⁰ OECD, 2005 quoted in Paulsen, Neil 2006.

⁸¹ Paulsen, Neil. 2006, p:16.

⁸² Zan, Luca. 2005, p:8.

former one is owned by shareholders and the other is owned by the government on behalf of the community at large.”⁸³ Although the applicability of the move as a global one has been challenged by some scholars like Sözen and Shaw and some even argue that NPM is nearing exhaustion⁸⁴, the reforms have nevertheless resulted in impacts that reach far beyond the domain of the public sector. One of the arguments is the existence of “non-specific calls for efficiency, almost as if the private sector was somehow “genetically” better off in managing organizations compared to the public sector”⁸⁵. Under the ideal scenario or in countries where the concept was introduced at least two decades ago with established standards and norms like Australia, the parties, which will provide services to public sector, are expected to operate within a framework that represents public sector ethics.⁸⁶

PPPs have been regarded as the product of this overall public sector reform, NPM, due to the fact that it encourages the governments to profit from the potential benefits supplied by the private sector. Paulsen⁸⁷ mentions outsourcing, joined-up government and private financing initiatives along with the PPPs as the children of the reform. Yescombe confirms the relationship between PPPs and NPM due to the characteristics of the reform that encourages:

- “Decentralization” of the government;
- Separating responsibility for the purchase of public services from that of their provision;
- Output or performance-based measurements for public services;
- Contracting-out public services to the private sector;
- Privatization of public services.”⁸⁸

⁸³ See Throsby, David. 1998. *Rethinking State’s Role: Privatization, Economics and Cultural Policy*, p: 52.

⁸⁴For instance see Ferlie, Ewen and Peter Steane. 2002. *Changing Developments in New Public Management*.

⁸⁵Zan, Luca. 2005, p:6

⁸⁶For guidelines see Australian Public Service Commission. 2003. *The Australian Experience of Public Sector Reform*.

⁸⁷Paulsen, Neil. 2006.

⁸⁸Yescombe, Edward, R. 2007, p: 16.

Weber noted the separation of public and private as a hallmark of the modern, bureaucratized state⁸⁹. Now with the introduction of the public reforms that give birth to the convergences between the public and the private sectors, this separation is becoming much more blurred. As is highlighted by Paulsen this convergence is composed of many different elements and involves a wide range of stakeholders “forcing a fundamental challenge to the existing roles and identities of professionals in both the public and non-profit sectors.”⁹⁰

There seems to be a consensus on the idea that states should play a significant role in the provision of some public services due to the presence of externalities which cannot be delegated to the private sector; provision of merit goods which would otherwise be underprovided or public goods which need to be available to everyone and the inability of the private sector to carry the weight of investments with very long term return.⁹¹

As is noted earlier, the effects of NPM have been visible in different public sectors and considering their dependence on public funding, arts organizations represent a further field of study for comparative analysis. According to Zan, “cultural organizations – for the most part public or at least dependent on public funding – take part, more reluctantly than willingly, in this process of ‘economizing’ that has found in a particular way within Thatcherism the ideal historical-economic context for the development of value for money approach, with an emphasis on the use (and value) of public money.”⁹²

1.2. Citizen versus Customer

PPPs can be seen as one outcome of the restructuring of the public sector with a management culture that focuses on the centrality of the citizen or customer. Accordingly, one of the key elements in NPM is the promotion of consumer sovereignty in the provision of public ser-

⁸⁹ See Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*

⁹⁰Paulsen, Neil. 2006, p: 17.

⁹¹Yescombe, Edward, R. 2007

⁹²Zan, Luca. 2005, p: 8

vices.⁹³ This element redefines the role of the individual who receives the service as a consumer rather than a citizen. This new consumer-oriented citizen role refers to a huge change in the understanding of "evolutionary" practices, as they are usually promoted, in the public sector services. Additionally, the way in which the governments approach to the people is being revised to the extent that politicians and decision makers begin see the nation composed of aggregate of isolated and mindless consumers as opposed to free and rational citizens. Since neo-liberal movements, which are evident in various sectors and in various political systems around the world, indicate a strong tendency to create corporate States, the citizens has started being seen as consumers. Partridge gives the following accounts on the consumer and citizen models. According to him, the model consumer is the perfect egoist, "economic man."

"Economic man sees the world through 'the mind's I' and is motivated by the desire to 'maximize preference satisfaction. 'Values' are interpreted as 'prices' – willingness to pay – and thus moral value is 'factored out.' Those with something to sell – be it a product, a service or a candidate- address the consumer with any device found to be effective: imagery, slogans, deception, fallacy, 'spin,' and even slander and outright lies, if one can get away with it."⁹⁴

On the other hand, the ideal citizen is portrayed as follows:

"The ideal citizen considers himself or herself as one equal member among many engaged in cooperative activity for mutual advantage. This point of view enables one to recognize excellence in individuals ("virtues") and in societies ("justice"). ... "Moral values" are independent of economic values ("prices"). In political debate, the ideal citizen is unmoved by devious salesmanship and is persuaded by "the better

⁹³The effects of NPM on the citizen vs. consumer separation has been investigated by Aberbach, Joel D. and Tom Christensen. 2005. *Citizens and Consumers* Paulsen, Neil. 2006 and Canclini, Nestor. 2001. *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts*.

⁹⁴Partridge, Ernest. 2003. Consumer or Citizen? *The Crisis Papers*, available at <<http://www.crisispapers.org/Editorials/consumer.htm>>

case" – the clearer presentation of facts, the greater weight of evidence, and by the more coherent and consistent argument."⁹⁵

In a similar vein, personal satisfaction is given increased importance as the determining element in the relationship between the state and the citizens when they are seen as customers of public services. In this case, self-interest becomes more important than the community-interest since it focuses on citizenship as a set of individual rights, rather than of obligations to others in the community or nation.⁹⁶ Paulsen explains the regime under which citizens are turned into customers with an emphasis on the changing role of the public sector employees:

"Public sector employees have traditionally seen themselves as the providers of public services, fulfilling obligations to administer and deliver tax-payer funded services to the public. However, in the NPM agenda, one could argue that public servants have become policy developers and government advisors, managers of tender processes, and contract managers concerned with ensuring that funded service providers are accountable for meeting the key performance indicators as specified in service contracts."⁹⁷

The commercialization and corporatization of the public sector brings us to Harold Lasswell's basic concept about what politics is all about: *Who gets what, when and how?*⁹⁸ The consumer concept avoids answering Lasswell's question based on the following:

- "It assumes that it is easy to define who government's customers are and that the political process will value the opinion of each individual or group equally.
- Citizens are supposed to be equal in a democratic society. Customers on the other hand are not equal and it is widely accepted that the level of service they get is a function of what they pay.

⁹⁵Ibid

⁹⁶Aberbach, Joel D. and Tom Christensen. 2005.

⁹⁷Paulsen, Neil. 2006, p: 25.

⁹⁸Lasswell, Harold Dwight. 1958. *Politics: who gets what, when, how*.

- What the private sector actually does when it comes to customers. Customer satisfaction (in the private sector) is a means to make profits. This legitimates a much higher level of *customer manipulation* than one expects in the public sector.”⁹⁹

In line with the customer manipulation, Edelman’s approach is also meaningful: “Political actions chiefly arouse or satisfy people not by granting or withholding their stable substantive demands, but rather by changing the demands”¹⁰⁰. In a similar vein, Adorno, who has been credited with coining the famous term “culture industry” in 1947 with Horkheimer, defines the place of the customer in the culture industry, stating that, “The consumer is not king, as the culture industry would like to have us believe, not its subjects, but its object . . . The masses are not the measure but the ideology of the culture industry, even though the culture industry itself could scarcely exist without adapting to the masses.”¹⁰¹

Nestor Canclini, in his book *Consumers and Citizens*, analyses many of the ways in which citizens have been transformed into consumers as a result of neo-liberalism. He states:

“Men and women increasingly feel that many of the questions proper to citizenship such as:

– Where do I belong, what rights do I have, how can I get information, and who represents my interests? – are being answered in the private realm of commodity consumption and the mass media more than in the abstract rules of democracy or collective participation in public spaces.”¹⁰² He takes the notion of citizens and consumers and dissects the heritage industry to show how patrimony is consumed and commoditized. The affect of the citizen- consumer transformation on the overall aims of museums is very much in conflict with the museums’ authoritative past.¹⁰³ Moreover, “the customer is encouraged to accept

⁹⁹Aberbach, Joel D. and Tom Christensen. 2005, p: 236.

¹⁰⁰Edelman, Murray Jacob. 1971. *Politics as symbolic action: mass arousal and quiescence*, p: 7.

¹⁰¹Adorno, Theodor. 1991. *Culture industry reconsidered*, p: 99.

¹⁰²Canclini, Nestor. 2001. *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts*, p: 15.

¹⁰³The discussion of the future of museums and their public is elaborated by d’Harnoncourt et al with a special inquiry on whether to serve the museums’ public with economic

the product that is offered, while a museum dedicated to an educational purpose will encourage a far more complex response. Its goal will be to develop critical appreciation where enjoyment and understanding are combined with the self-confidence to exercise an informed personal taste. The goal of such a museum is not a herd of customers but an individualized public which has learned what it *does not*, as well as what it *does* like.”¹⁰⁴

2. PPPs in Cultural Heritage Management

Within the scope of neo-liberal political movements in the global arena, many states turn to PPPs in order to find solutions to financial problems in public sectors. Harvey describes neoliberal principles as deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provisions.¹⁰⁵ Inspired by the overall privatization atmosphere, “partnerships arise as a derivative reform in areas where full privatization seems less traceable, perhaps due to technical problems attending the assignment of property rights”¹⁰⁶; to which cultural heritage represents an example. The second part of the chapter aims to investigate the use of PPPs by applying the framework to partnerships in the cultural sector whose products are intangible and provide aesthetic value to the consumers.¹⁰⁷

One of the reasons why most of the decision makers have turned to the use of PPP terminology rather than privatization is also the reason why PPPs have been identified as a language game. In this regard, the literature on privatization of culture or cultural heritage gives insight into the path which led to the creation of PPPs as a management model for cultural heritage in different parts of the world.

or educational motivations. See d'Harnoncourt, Anne, Paul J. DiMaggio, Marilyn Perry and James N. Wood. 1991. *The Museum and the Public*.

¹⁰⁴d'Harnoncourt et al. 1991, p: 57.

¹⁰⁵See Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*.

¹⁰⁶For a discussion on the transition from privatization to partnership movements, see Linder, Stephen. 1999, p: 37

¹⁰⁷See Hirsch, Paul M. 1972. Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems.

Schuster looks at the privatization initiatives in the field of cultural heritage. In his opinion, there are various transactions in this field that can be associated with privatization, but the level of this association may differ in scale. In other words, contracting out the management of a cafe in an archaeological site is not equal to leasing the total site to a private party in terms of its association with privatization. As Schuster suggests, in these cases it is difficult to pin down the tipping point in any systematic way and there would be many disagreements on the exact moment of the occurrence of the tipping point, but many would agree that one exists in every country's practice.¹⁰⁸ Although the laws and regulations related to the introduction of the private sector to the field of culture have been in force in many countries, especially since the 1980s, in the forms of sponsorships or tax benefits, it is still among those fields that have attracted little academic research. Additionally, Boorsma complains that articles on privatization are generally confined to a specific type of privatization to a wider framework.¹⁰⁹ Definitions of privatization and culture in the literature point to three main categories. Vogelsang distinguishes simple privatization, which is a change in the ownership, from liberalization and deregulation.¹¹⁰ Liberalization refers to the changes in the rules of the market, of market participation and conduct whereas deregulation is the change in public regulation and the introduction of fewer constraints to the market.¹¹¹ Deregulation refers to increased autonomy that puts the organization at a greater distance from the government. Related to the concept of autonomy, Boorsma¹¹² gives five other subcategories. The first is the sale of public organizations or public assets, the second one is the creation of a more

¹⁰⁸See Schuster, Mark J. 1998. *The Hybridization of Museums and the Built Heritage*. The literature related to privatization and culture is quite limited, in addition to Privatization and Culture, edited by Peter B. Boorsma, Annemoon van Hemel and Niki van der Wielen to which Schuster has contributed with the chapter mentioned above and another remarkable work is *Privatising Culture* by Chin-Tao Wu which concentrates on the contemporary art scene and the intervention of corporations to the art market thus out of scope of this thesis.

¹⁰⁹ See Boorsma, Peter B. 1998. *Privatizing the Muse 'and all that Jazz'*

¹¹⁰See Vogelsang, Ingo. 2006. *Network Utilities in the United States: Sector Reforms without Privatization*

¹¹¹Ibid

¹¹²Boorsma, Peter B. 1998

internally independent public or private organization. The third is contracting out; and the fourth refers to the mobilization of volunteers through which non-public workers carry out work for the public. The last concept of autonomy is the application of user fees. In this sense, privatization refers to a change in ownership, legal status of the organization, the type of personnel doing the work and most importantly in funding. Another important distinction in the privatization argument is the one between financing -which refers to investment and funding- and sales of public belongings.

In line with the definitions provided, Boorsma lists 7 different types of privatization in the cultural sector¹¹³:

- Divesture: organization is sold to a private enterprise.
- Free transfer of property rights.
- Transformation of a state organization into a more independent organization like foundations/trusts.
- Agency model, which empowers a public manager in the course of 'new managerialism' that refers to the self-administered integral management.
- Contracting-out in which work is done by hired private companies like security and cleaning.
- Use of volunteers.
- Private Funding.

In most of the cases the projects, which are promoted under the PPP title, fall into one of the categories offered by Boorsma. Peacock touches upon the subject of privatization within the framework of supply and demand for heritage services. He states, "heritage services without pure public goods characteristics could be privatized in one form or the other, but with activities regulated and possibly subsidized to conform to heritage objectives."¹¹⁴ In line with Boorsma's classifications, Peacock mentions the application of user charges in museums or putting publicly operating services out to competitive tendering as possible privatization options. Still he mentions that privatization does not require that heritage services should be provided by profit-making enter-

¹¹³Ibid

¹¹⁴Peacock, Alan. 1995, p:192.

prises¹¹⁵. One of the main reasons why these enterprises should not or could not substitute the State in the provision of heritage services is underlined by Canclini. He states, “in some countries, the cultural action of the public sector was reduced to protecting the historical heritage (museums, archaeological sites, etc.) and promoting traditional arts (visual arts, music, theatre, literature). The premise here is that, given declining attendance, these forms of culture would not survive without artificial respiration from the government.”¹¹⁶ Dependant on government for one or another reason, the issue of managing heritage should be analysed in the wider context of the evolution of public sector¹¹⁷. Therefore in the context of the “transformation of the public sector, there are crucial issues that affect cultural heritage organizations related to the more general administrative processes affecting public entities, their design, rules and decision making processes” ¹¹⁸ in addition to the rising number of organizational restructurings that the heritage organizations are being exposed to. Being one of these restructurings, PPPs, can be seen as a derivative of privatization. On many occasions, they are established with the expectation that they will find creative ways for a more effective exploitation of the economic potential of cultural heritage and promote it to a larger audience.

On the topic of the privatization of state owned cultural heritage, Palumbo is quite critical. Defining cultural heritage exploitation and cultural heritage use as two different methods of heritage management, he strongly argues that one of the key issues is to control the quality of private intervention¹¹⁹. He does not believe that the private sector should totally be kept out of the picture; however, he does not hesitate to borrow Settis’s idea that improving services with the help of the private sector is one thing; encouraging the private sector to support conservation and maintenance is another.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵Ibid

¹¹⁶Canclini, Nestor. 2001, p: 100.

¹¹⁷See Guo, Yinqiang , Shuguang Liu and Luca Zan. 2008. *Management of Cultural Heritage in China*.

¹¹⁸Ibid, p: 13.

¹¹⁹ See Palumbo, Gaetano, 2006. *Privatization of State Owned Cultural Heritage: A critique of Recent trends in Europe*.

¹²⁰ See Settis, Salvatore. 2007. *Italia S.p.A. L’assalto al patrimonio culturale*.

2.1. 'Public' in PPPs for Cultural Heritage Management

In its general sense, public can mean either the state or the people. When it comes to the PPPs, the term is used in the former sense. However, a deeper analysis of the PPPs shows that public as the people is another focus point. In other words, public as the people are the principal respondents for the PPPs. Therefore, in these types of projects, the notion of public requires a multi-layered reading.

One of the main pillars in the building of the modern nation-state is rooted in 'the public' and 'the private' distinction.¹²¹ This distinction, however, takes 'the private' as 'the people' and therefore when applied to PPPs, does not offer insight into the characteristics of the two parties that are taking place in the partnership. Rather, what they do describe with private are the citizens who are subject to the control of the states through the authority granted on them. Giddens similarly remarks that a 'private sphere of "civil society" is...in tension with... the "public" sphere of the state'. In this regard, the concept of 'the public' equipped with authority does not necessarily coincide with the concept of 'the public' consisting of the people.¹²² In order to eliminate this confusion some scholars make the distinction very clearly in their work. For instance: "As applied anthropologists, we work not for decision makers or government officials but for citizens--the public as we define the term. Our work is always in the interest of a "public" as opposed to the interest of the "state".¹²³

"The bureaucracy of the modern state, based on the later concept of 'the public', generally operates through systems of law and regulation rather than through the search for consensus and community con-

¹²¹Such a distinction is put forward by theoreticians such as Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* and Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*.

¹²²Quoted in Matsuda, Akira. 2004. The Concept of the Public and the Aims of Public Archaeology.

¹²³Johnston, Frank, Julia Paley, Paula Sabloff, Peggy R. Sanday and Abby Corrigan. 1997. Public Interest Anthropology. Available at <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~psanday/public2.html>

trol”¹²⁴. The lack of search for consensus when relinquishing public management tasks in favour of the private sector makes some of the partnership projects Government-Private Partnership rather than a Public-Private Partnership¹²⁵ alerting us to be more sparing in the use of the word Public for the sake of sounding right or convincing.

Therefore the proper use of the term might lie in the importance of building relations with the public in the field of cultural heritage where one of the main actors is the State itself. Especially in cultural heritage studies, in the fields of museums and archaeology, the emergence of new museology or public archaeology are the examples of these efforts. They focus on the creation of a bond with the non-professionals and question the legitimacy of the museums or archaeological excavations from the perspective of their meaning for the public. Regarding the concept of public in cultural heritage management Schadla-Hall¹²⁶ suggests that the concept is not comprehensive, because it may exclude the vast majority of people who are not established archaeologists. In particular, no opportunity would be provided for non-archaeologists to engage in archaeology. In a similar vein, Carman argues that:

“This limited sense of the heritage as a ‘public’ phenomenon contrasts with that taken towards ‘public’ things in other disciplines. In popular usage, the ‘public figure’ is rarely someone to whom the ordinary individual has access... In economics, the concept of ‘public goods’ by no means excludes the possibility of their non-availability for use by individuals... These sociological and economic understandings that the ‘public realm’ of social life can have nothing to do with actual people have been combined into a recognition of its strongly corporate nature.”¹²⁷

In sociology there has long been a recognition that the public interest does not necessarily ensure access of individual members of the popu-

¹²⁴ See Carman, John. 2002. *Archaeology & Heritage. An Introduction*, p: 101.

¹²⁵ See Hayllar Mark Richard. 1999. *Reforms to enhance accountability and citizen involvement: a case study of the Hong Kong hospital authority*

¹²⁶ See Schadla-Hall, Tim. 1999. *Editorial: public archaeology*.

¹²⁷ See Carman, John. 2005. *Against Cultural Property: Archaeology, Heritage and Ownership*, p: 46.

lation but refers instead to a specific domain of social action.¹²⁸ In parallel to this, the state administration serves the public interest in cultural heritage by controlling the private¹²⁹, which may possibly exclude public access to and engagement in for example archaeology – ironically, for the very sake of the ‘public interest.’¹³⁰ One of the main principles that the cultural heritage management practitioners follow is that they act as the guardians of items preserved in the public interest¹³¹ and there is a “wide measure of agreement in the literature of cultural heritage management that archaeological remains and their treatment are a matter of ‘public’ concern.”¹³²

2.1.1. State in Society

Many political scientists are posing new kinds of questions about the state and developing new methodologies to answer them; these inquiries are far beyond the scope of this thesis; however, they offer interesting insights for the discussion of the public in a reciprocal way in a partnership project. This requires thinking about the relationship between the two publics, in other words, between the state and the people. One of the approaches that are used to investigate this relationship at a theoretical level is the state-in-society approach.¹³³ Migdal claims that actual states are shaped by two elements, image and practices. In the image, the state, although separated from the general population of the territory, is the avatar of that population. It also “posits an entity having two sorts of boundaries: (1) territorial boundaries between the state and other states and (2) social boundaries between the state and its (public) actors and agencies – and those subject to its rules (private)”¹³⁴. Therefore, one of the aims that are put forward by Migdal is to investigate the ways in which societies and states interact with each

¹²⁸ See Benn, Stanley I. and Gaus, Gerald F. 1983. *The public and the private: concepts and action*.

¹²⁹Matsuda, Akira. 2004.

¹³⁰Schadla-Hall, Tim. 1999.

¹³¹Cleere, Henry. 1989. *Introduction: the Rationale of Archaeological Heritage Management*.

¹³²Carman, John. 2005, p: 45

¹³³Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*.

¹³⁴Ibid, p:17.

other and question the perception which sees the state as a homogenous entity. He shows how fragmented the states are.

In many countries, including Turkey, state is the main actor in the heritage field; as the owner, collector, protector/controller and promoter of the cultural heritage. The presence of State in the field of cultural heritage cannot be reduced to the making and applying of laws. These different roles have the potential to create conflicts of interest when undertaken by the same entity and in reality it is possible to observe a fragmented state rather than a homogenous one when these roles are being performed. For instance, Carman questions the vicious cycle of state ownership and the control of cultural heritage by the state:

“If acquisition by private individuals or by an authority other than the State of origin of an object results in the loss of a heritage object’s purpose, we should not suppose that State ownership diverts heritage value away from the collectivity of members of the community claiming affinity with the heritage object – the community itself as an ‘organic’ society – and towards the State as an institution. The result here is that the institution of the State – only one of a number of ways in which any society may organize itself- accrues to itself the sense of community carried by the heritage and thereby affirms its own authority as if it is the natural and only legitimate carrier of a sense of community. The symbolic value of a community’s sense of heritage is converted into that of a ‘national heritage’ from which the nation state only can acquire prestige, in return for exercising control over that heritage. In other words, State ‘ownership’ of heritage does not fulfil the purposes of the heritage, but instead gives greater prestige and authority to the State as an institution. This connection is mediated through technologies of ownership and control which in turn serve to justify and reify the control over heritage exercised by the State.”¹³⁵

Within the framework of the state-in-society approach, the social boundary between the state and its citizens and the extent to which

¹³⁵Carman, John. 2005, p:76.

they are evident in cultural heritage can be investigated. As Migdal¹³⁶ puts it, in this scenario, the State is not only separated (in the sense that is used by Weber), it is elevated. When it comes to the management of cultural heritage, and also other public services, leaks in state authority occurs only through market and globalisation.¹³⁷ The dominance of market rules over public services brings us to questioning whether cultural heritage management can be regarded as a public service and if so, how?

2.2. Cultural Heritage Management as a Public Service

Most of the organizations in the cultural heritage field have close relations with the public sector, either because they are themselves branches of some public body, or because they depend on public funding¹³⁸. In line with this, in some countries including Turkey, a substantial amount of heritage services are being offered as a public service, mostly due to the history of organizations offering these services and the dominant mentality on the uses of heritage at a particular period of time. Public services, or services of general economic interest as defined by the European Commission are “ economic activities that public authorities identify as being of particular importance to citizens and that would not be supplied (or would be supplied under different conditions) if there were no public intervention. Examples are transport networks, postal services and social services.” They include cultural heritage services as well.

Heritage services can range from dissemination of scientific discoveries to the presentation of these findings to the general public or to the sales of books or food and beverage at the sales units of museums, historic buildings and archaeological sites. Evers underlines the difference between a museum café or a shop and normal ones through the discourse of public service: “a museum builds up a museum shop and café, run professionally and with a clear commercial target; but a large part of the personnel are volunteers and the whole operation serves the aim to

¹³⁶Migdal, Joel S. 2001, p: 17.

¹³⁷Thomas, Roger M. 2008. *Archaeology and Authority in the Twenty-first Century*.

¹³⁸Zan, Luca, 2005.

get additional resources for its global cultural mission as a public service¹³⁹. Though not everyone seems to favour this argument of CHM as a public service. For instance, Walsh argues that “the provision of heritage services is *not* a public service, but is one driven by economic demands. Where heritage centres and private museums do flourish in deprived regions, they flourish not out of some benevolent desire to provide a cultural service for local residents, but rather out of a desire to cash in on the tourist trade. The provision of cultural services through the market implicitly denies an idea of public service, and therefore threatens to exaggerate the class divides that already exist, as those who have will get more, while those who have not, receive less. The heritagization of space in deprived regions is not designed to provide locals with cultural services, but rather to wallpaper over the cracks of inner city decay in an attempt to attract revenue of one sort or another”¹⁴⁰.

Implicit financial expectation from public investments has become commonplace with the transition to market-driven mode of governance which has been termed as NPM, as previously discussed. This transition, according to Haque¹⁴¹, has resulted in a “shrinking socioeconomic role, narrowing composition of service recipients, worsening condition of accountability, and declining level of public trust”. These side effects have been emphasized by those who are against the PPPs since these forms of management decrease the level of accessibility of a public service. Haque states that the ‘publicness’ of public service has usually been understood in terms of its distinguishing features, including its service norms such as impartiality and openness, its principles such as equality and representation, its monopolistic and complex nature, and its long-term, broader social impacts. Thus the ‘publicness’ of public service may become questionable if these features are marginalized by the principles of business management.¹⁴²

¹³⁹Evers, Adalbert. 2004. *Mixed Welfare Systems and Hybrid Organisations – Changes in the Governance and Provision of Social Services*, p: 8.

¹⁴⁰Walsh, Kevin. 1992. *Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*, p: 135.

¹⁴¹Haque, Shamsul. 2001. *The Diminishing Publicness of Public Service under the current mode of governance*, p: 65.

¹⁴²Ibid

In the field of culture, for instance, Schuster mentions a publicness/privateness hybrids scale and how the intervention of the private sector at differing levels causes a change in this scale.¹⁴³

In the most common cases, organizations and models keep differing in their positions on this scale depending on various factors including economic and political conditions and the need to respond to changing and challenging environments. When confronted with similar arguments, for the preservation of archaeological heritage in particular, Carman suggests viewing heritage as a form of corporate saving. He states that “the archaeological heritage can be seen to exist in the public domain, the realm of the group rather than the individual, endowed with an ‘otherworldly morality’. The idea of the ‘otherworldly’ expresses the aura of the public domain quite nicely: it is not of the everyday in which things are used up, discarded, bought, sold, or just ignored. The public domain is a special place —above and beyond the reach of the individual and yet something in which the individual has a legitimate interest and rights.”¹⁴⁴ One can build a parallel between the ‘otherworldly’ concept and Hirschman’s approach to nondurable goods. He says that “some of the most durable (that is, renewable) and least disappointment-prone pleasures in life are those to be gotten from nondurable goods that are literally consumed, that vanish in the act of consumption.”¹⁴⁵ Both of these arguments bring us to another important notion about the PPPs in cultural heritage management: ownership.

2.2.1. The issue of ownership

It is conventionally held that the appropriate form of ownership for heritage assets is that of the State origin. However, there are many arguments on the topic, for instance; to the problems related to ownership, Merryman responds with an increase in ownership opportunities, thus favours the free circulation of heritage assets.¹⁴⁶ Renfrew favours placing ownership in the hands of a single authorized entity.¹⁴⁷ Car-

¹⁴³Schuster, Mark J. 1998. *The Hybridization of Museums and the Built Heritage*.

¹⁴⁴ See Carman, John. 1995. *The Importance of Things: archaeology and the law*, p: 21.

¹⁴⁵ See Hirschman, Albert O. 1979. *Shifting Involvements*, p: 28.

¹⁴⁶ See Merryman, John Henry. 1994. *A Licit Traffic in Cultural Objects*.

¹⁴⁷See Renfrew, Colin. 2001. *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership*.

man, on the other hand, claims that the notion of ownership itself is the problem in handling the ancient remains, and offers open access as a property type. Within open access or non-property category, there are no associated duties whereas the associated rights belong to individuals, to use for any purpose¹⁴⁸. As previously stated, the common practice around the globe for cultural heritage ownership is state possession and this implies that rights deriving from this possession belong to agencies which are to enforce rules about access and use while individuals become responsible to observe rules set by agencies.¹⁴⁹ The most important outcome of treating the heritage as an object of ownership is reducing its symbolic value to use value. According to Carman, it does not matter whether this is achieved by a private individual in the name of the market or by a corporate body such a museum or an organ of the nation-state in the name of 'the public.'¹⁵⁰ It is also one of the important characteristics of the contemporary activities regarding cultural heritage, that they are "carried out as part of institutional and public concerns and the concept of ownership has changed; rather than belonging to individuals, heritage became something that was deemed to be held in trust."¹⁵¹

2.2.2. Public understanding of public ownership

Discussing the decentralization movements in the management of cultural heritage in Italy, Zan et al emphasises the implications of the so-called Tremonti Law¹⁵², which has enabled the sales of culturally significant monuments in Italy. According to Zan et al, one of the results of the pure economic exploitation of cultural heritage has been on the "public understanding of State ownership of cultural heritage."¹⁵³ The issue of "public understanding of public ownership" is a key to this

¹⁴⁸Carman, John. 2002.

¹⁴⁹Cole, 2002 quoted in Carman, John. 2002.

¹⁵⁰Carman, John . 2002.

¹⁵¹Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and John Carman. 2009. *Heritage Studies: An outline*. In *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, p: 14.

¹⁵² The Tremonti Law and Italy's recent restructurings in the field of cultural heritage will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 4 as a separate case.

¹⁵³See Zan, Luca, Baraldi, Sara Bonini and Christopher Gordon. 2007. *Cultural Heritage Between Centralisation and Decentralisation*.

study as well. PPPs, as a way of private intervention into a public field, cause a change in this understanding over time. Therefore, having a correct understanding of this perception would provide the ground for success in cultural heritage management projects. Ownership for its own sake can simply be defined as for paying for something in order to earn the right to use it; when it is about the public ownership, there is a collective acquisition. It is quite complex to offer comprehensive economic models, which would explain why people do buy certain products and services; it becomes even more complicated when it is a public action and there is a decision to invest the collected taxes in certain areas on behalf of the general public. There are attempts to have an understanding of this notion through the “willingness to pay” studies and they have also been adapted to cultural heritage. Another interesting insight to the problem of satisfaction/dissatisfaction derived from paying for services directly or indirectly has been offered by Hirschman. He states that:

“On the one hand, direct payment should make the customers more critical and quality conscience if the service is supplied without the immediate cash quid pro quo. On the other hand, the very fact of payment often sets up the presumption that one must have received an adequate counter-value, so that people will tend to blame themselves if the outcome of the transaction is unsatisfactory. It's perhaps in part because of the strange psychological mechanism that publicly financed services are so much more frequently and strongly criticized than those rendered on a private basis.”¹⁵⁴

Management and conservation of cultural heritage has gradually become a task of the state, thus making it a topic for the publicly financed services and all the complications it entails for the public perception. However, this second part can be considered as a recent phenomenon. For instance, Carman looks at the early laws and regulations like Treasure Trove in England or the 17th century Swedish law about assigning all antiquities to the royal family and arrives at the conclusion that unlike such early approaches, contemporary heritage practice requires heritage to serve the community or to be of concern to the gen-

¹⁵⁴Hirschman, Albert. 1979, p: 44.

eral public rather than a limited circle of royal families or politicians.¹⁵⁵ However, due to the accumulated practices over centuries in addition to the contemporary situation in which we see the States as stewards, custodians and owners of cultural property, or tangible heritage, we cannot underestimate the role that is still being played by the state as an institution. Especially in some countries where the bond between cultural heritage and the people is not very strong and states still offer the supply of heritage services, government strives to create demand for these services, thus leading to the vitality of the perception of the State by the users. Thatcher¹⁵⁶ affirms that state traditions are developed over time and inherited, thus difficult to change quickly. Therefore the changes in the heritage practices are not likely to result in immediate alterations in the minds of the people regarding the relations between cultural heritage and the State.

The complex relationship between nation and the state has been investigated by many scholars including Weber, Parsons and Migdal to name only a few. Foucault also looks at the government citizen relationship through the lens of “governmentality”. The governmentality concept elaborated by Foucault in his lectures at the College de France investigates the ways in which the government thinks or functions under neo-liberalism. In this interpretation, the government does not explicitly order the citizens to do one thing or another. Instead the citizens are told that they are free in their choices; it is through these autonomous people that governmentality is internalized.¹⁵⁷ This is very much in line with the effect of state traditions in the ways that people understand and interact with cultural heritage. Sorensen and Carman approach this interaction through the analysis of the development of a distinct public sphere with the associated idea of public. They state that “the emphasis was on the public and the casting of society into two partners- the public and the state did, however, also create the potential

¹⁵⁵Carman, John. 2005.

¹⁵⁶ From the presentation titled “State Traditions and the Regulations of architectural heritage: A comparison of France and England 1870-2011” by Mark Thatcher, paper presented at Inaugural Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, Gothenburg, 2012.

¹⁵⁷See Foucault, Michel. 2002. *Toplumu Savunmak Gerekir*. (Turkish edition of compilation of the Lectures at College de France 1975-1976)

for tension between knowledge producers and consumers, a characteristic that came to dominate much of the heritage debate towards the end of the twentieth century”¹⁵⁸ The notion of “public understanding of public ownership of cultural heritage” rests not only on this tension, but also on the rooted state traditions, which are different for each country. There are recent endeavours, which aim to bring museums or archaeological excavations to a closer point for the public through public archaeology or new museology as summarized by Weil as “chang[ing] from an inward concentration on collections to a newly articulated outward concentration on the various publics and communities they serve.”¹⁵⁹ However, these initiatives need long-term commitment in order to replace the rooted tension and the state traditions.

For instance, Turkish community reaction towards archaeological excavations that take place on their land is usually determined by the fear of public ownership, which would lead to the confiscation of the land. This situation in turn becomes an element of public perspective on the role of State as an authoritarian institution with the power to enforce such actions.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, one of the main struggles that Britain had to face as an obstacle to the enactment of the first Ancient Monuments Protection Act was against property rights.¹⁶¹ In some cases archaeological excavations are seen as obstacles to construction projects, in other words, to development. (see Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan’s statement on the Marmaray excavations¹⁶²).

Another aspect, which has an effect on the public perception, is the authority of the state. Looking at the British regime for protecting ancient monuments which is built around the selection of monuments of national importance by officials, Thomas claims that the authority of the state has played a significant role in “establishing the view of Britain’s archaeological past, through the choices that have been made about

¹⁵⁸Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and John Carman. 2009, p: 15.

¹⁵⁹Weil, Stephen. 2004. *Collecting Then, Collecting Today: What’s the difference?* p: 284.

¹⁶⁰Özdoğan, Mehmet. 2006. *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç olarak Arkeoloji*.

¹⁶¹Thomas, Roger M. 2008.

¹⁶² “Turkish PM blames archaeological 'stuff' for Marmaray Tunnel delay”

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=hh-pm-blames-archeological-findings-for-8220marmaray8221-delay-2011-02-27>

which things were, and which were not, considered to be of national importance.”¹⁶³ Related to national importance, national pride that stems from the ownership of certain sites within the borders of some specific territory is an important element of the public perception. For instance, Bartu investigates the different interests in the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, which is located in central Turkey, close to the town of Çumra in the city of Konya. One of the interests that are in parallel to the public ownership is the one displayed by the local politicians. These interests became evident with the organization of a symposium in the summer 2000 called “Çumra – From Çatalhöyük to the Present”. Rather than claiming an ethnic continuity of the populations, the aim of the meeting was to underline the present ownership of the site.¹⁶⁴ This pride in ownership is obviously expected to be materialized through the development of an economically powerful cultural tourism industry.

Another example of the impression regarding the public understanding of public ownership of cultural heritage is specific to the source nations (following the terminology of Merryman, who divides the world into source and market nations based on the supply and demand of cultural property) like Italy, Turkey, Greece, and so on.¹⁶⁵ In these places, past instances of smuggling of cultural heritage and the contemporary inquiries about their return have remarkable effects on the formation of public understanding, leading to discussions on “who owns past” or “common heritage of mankind” and so on. In these cases, understanding of public ownership in the source nations is twofold; the inefficiency of the source States about protecting what is found on these lands and the desire of the market States to collect cultural objects resulting in a change in the ownership of cultural heritage.

¹⁶³Thomas, Roger M. 2008, p:140.

¹⁶⁴See Bartu Candan, Ayfer. 2007. *Remembering a Nine-Thousand-Year-Old Site: Presenting Çatalhöyük*.

¹⁶⁵ For concrete cases of source nations, see the restitution of the Euphronios crater from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (USA) to Italy; more information at: http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/19/arts/design/19bowl.html?_r=0 ; The case of the Elgin Marbles at <http://www1.american.edu/ted/monument.htm> ; Turkey’s latest campaign for the return of the illicitly taken artifacts at: <http://www.economist.com/node/21555531>

Although the public understanding of public ownership of cultural heritage is very much related to individual experiences and perceptions on the State and the cultural heritage, the general context that surrounds the interaction of these two notions cannot be underestimated.

3. Examples of PPPs in Cultural Heritage Management

The last part of the chapter looks at some PPP projects for the management of cultural heritage mainly from Europe. However, many more countries around the world are developing similar management models looking at the existing ones. Verma states that “the PPP model has been applied for the development of heritage properties in a few cases, but the basic incentives for the private partner in most of these implementations have remained limited to philanthropic/ goodwill aspects, availability of tax concessions, advertising opportunities or real-estate prospects.”¹⁶⁶

The mushrooming of these projects has been inspirational for the organization of a conference titled “International Seminar: Public-Private Partnerships in the Management of Cultural Heritage Assets – a European Challenge” in 2007 in Berlin.

This conference addressed issues like economic aspects, effects of privatization and successful models of PPPs in the cultural heritage field. Although it is very difficult to decide on the success criteria for the evaluation of such projects, the examples chosen for this particular conference have been the ones who were willing to participate in academic debates on a delicate issue.

One of these projects was the management of Schönbrunn Palace in Austria. The palace is a public asset; the overall site and complex of Schönbrunn is owned by the Republic of Austria but is managed by a private company, Schloss Schönbrunn Kultur –und Betriebsges.m.b.H since 1st October 1992 due to the legislation allowing the hiving off for privatization of the Palace's operating company. The organization is a limited-liability company, solely owned by the Republic of Austria, and

¹⁶⁶See Verma, Sandeep. 2007. *Sharing of Risks & Rewards in Public-Private Partnerships for Conservation & Management of Heritage Monuments in India: Exploring the possible contours of a Model Concession Agreement*. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1464694>.

was headed up by two managing directors; technical and commercial until September 2012 when the commercial managing director became the sole director.¹⁶⁷ The private company is controlled by a Supervisory Board and advised by "Historico-Cultural Advisory Council". As the web site of Schloss Schönbrunn Kultur –und Betriebsges.m.b.H announces, the company collects income from the operations and is required to make necessary expenditure. The income is derived from different channels. "The enormous quantity of funds needed for the renovation work has been yielded from the outset through a varied package of measures. Entrance charges, for instance, have been significantly increased, but at the same time, the range of facilities on offer has been diversified. Higher income from the sale of souvenirs and catering operations has also contributed to the increase in revenue, as has the imposition of commercial levels of rent and other charges for special events. Ultimately, these activities, coupled with a rationalization of internal procedures, have led to an increase in net product per employee."¹⁶⁸ The recognizable business language tone in the descriptions of the managerial activities might stem from the fact that the company is being supported by Contrast Management-Consulting¹⁶⁹ in matters like "process management" and implementation of a "balanced scorecard".

Another example is the management of The Roman Theatre and Museum in Orange, France. Its management is handed over to a private company called "Culturescapes" by the city of Orange through a specific concession described as; "a delegation of public services agreement is a framework under which Culturespaces provides a significant investment, takes on staff and is commissioned to manage all aspects of the site including promotion and communication, at its own risk for a

¹⁶⁷ The information about Schönbrunn Palace management has been gathered from the projects web-site: <http://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/company/schoss-schoenbrunn-kultur-und-betriebsgesmbh/using-maintaining-financing.html>

¹⁶⁸ Quoted from the web-site: <http://www.schoenbrunn.at/en/company/schoss-schoenbrunn-kultur-und-betriebsgesmbh/using-maintaining-financing.html>

¹⁶⁹ More information about the consulting company can be found at: <http://www.contrast-consulting.com/en/references/schloss-schoenbrunn-kultur-und-betriebsgesmbh-skb-84/>

minimum of 20 years. Culturespaces bears all the costs, receives all the money taken and pays the owner royalties.”¹⁷⁰ The theatre and the museum in Orange are not the only monuments and museum managed by Culturespaces; they manage 13 more sites.

A model which is quite different from the first two due to its philanthropic nature is the “Adopt a Monument” project of the government of Rajasthan in India. The Adopt a Monument scheme was conceived to utilize the instrument of public-private participation to restore the cultural heritage. It allows corporate houses and private individuals to adopt historical monuments in the state.¹⁷¹ Verma, concentrating on the risk and rewards in the public-private partnerships for management of cultural heritage in India, underlines the scope of agreement for this particular scheme as follows:

“The private partner is expected to finance publicly body-led execution of works, but private partner-led execution is permissible. There is no role for the involvement of the private partner in the provisioning of services, although possibilities exist with the new legislative amendments.”¹⁷² This situation produces the least possible risk that is supposed to be undertaken by the private parties since their reward is limited to ‘goodwill’ and philanthropic value arising out of project visibility.

Another project with the same name, adopt-a-monument, is realized in Scotland with a different main goal. In the latter case, the idea is to “provide volunteer groups with the practical advice and training they need to care for and conserve their local heritage.”¹⁷³

The last instance, which is regarded as a “privatization” rather than a PPP example, is the case of national museums in the Netherlands. The privatization of these museums commenced in 1994. Convinced of the

¹⁷⁰ Quoted from: <http://www.culturespaces-entreprise.fr/en/innovative-vision/new-model-cultural-partnership>

¹⁷¹ For more information: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-12-17/pune/28261657_1_fort-historical-monuments-restoration

¹⁷² Verma, Sandeep. 2007, p: 11.

¹⁷³ <http://www.archaeologyscotland.org.uk/?q=node/43>

success of these restructurings at the museums, including the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam and the Boerhaave Museum for the History of Science in Leiden, Engelsman finds the term “privatization” quite misleading -without hesitating to entitle his article “Privatization of museums in the Netherlands: Twelve years later”. The restructuring of national museums in the Netherlands regards the transform of the state-owned national museums into private-sector organizations. Engelsman states that, “privatization is quite a misleading term; since it suggests that the public funding of museums would be replaced by private funding... this was neither the intention, nor the case. Essentially, it was privatization in the sense that national museums – as organizations – were no longer state institutions, staffed by civil servants operating under the political responsibility of the Minister, but instead private-sector organizations to which the tasks of caring for, exhibiting and studying the national collections were devolved from the government.”¹⁷⁴ However this privatization movement has been blamed for creating a lack of security at these museums. According to a survey performed by the Netherlands newspaper *Dagblad Trouw*, some 1.3 million objects were missing (they were misplaced, stolen, or loan agreements were missing) from the national museums, all of which had been privatized between 1990 and 1995.¹⁷⁵ Despite this ambiguous situation regarding the security issues, Engelsman claims that the so-called privatization moves have resulted in a “public who has increasingly come to like museums and museums which have increasingly come to like the public.”¹⁷⁶ Engelsman refers to the increased interest to take part in national museum boards of the 200 elite in Netherlands, as a justification for the national museums becoming well connected to realms of civil society, and these influences help shape the museums’ perceptions of their position and role in society.¹⁷⁷ For instance, the supervisory board of the Van Gogh museum, as of 2010, is composed of

¹⁷⁴Engelsman, Steven. 2006. *Privatization of Museums in the Netherlands: twelve years later*, p: 39.

¹⁷⁵ Based on a special report dated September 13, 2000; a summary of the report is available at: <http://www.museum-security.org/00/158.html>

¹⁷⁶See Engelsman, Steven. 1996. *Dutch National Museums go ‘private*, p:53

¹⁷⁷ Engelsman, Steven. 2006.

one chair who is an Independent administrator and supervisor; a treasurer who is a member of the international executive board and a partner at PricewaterhouseCoopers along with four members, one of whom is a partner and strategy consultant at Booz & Company, and another one who is the Director of De Nederlandsche Bank NV.¹⁷⁸

3.1. Creating Public Value through PPPs

The examples provided above have the potential to open up discussions on several dimensions, including the terminology (whether PPP is the right terminology to describe these different projects) or the level of private participation on each single case. I would like to focus on the concept of “value creation” through these projects with an emphasis on their main objectives by referring to the “public value framework.”

The identification of values attached to cultural heritage has been the topic of many academic studies. After Alois Riegl’s pioneer identification of the value of the historic monuments for the society in 1903, the next significant assessment of values came from William Lipe:

“Value is not inherent in any cultural items or properties received from the past, at least not in the same sense as, say, size or colour or hardness. Value is learned about or discovered by humans, and thus depends on the particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames or reference held by the particular individuals or groups involved.”¹⁷⁹

This is in line with Carman’s view on the values as the construction material for the protection of archaeological material; archaeological material is not protected because it is valued, but rather it is valued because it is protected.¹⁸⁰

According to Klamer, value can be examined in a social and cultural sense apart from the frequently investigated economic ones. He mentions the value of national pride and identity, and the role which the social values play, such as the one used to support the subsidization of

¹⁷⁸ The names of the supervisory board can be reached at :
<http://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/vgm/index.jsp?page=220591&lang=en>

¹⁷⁹ See Lipe, William. 1984. *Value and meaning in cultural resources*, p: 8.

¹⁸⁰ See Carman, John. 1996. *Valuing Ancient Things: archaeology and law*.

the arts. Thus he concentrates more on the manifestations of the phenomenon of value.¹⁸¹ On the other hand, Lipe's famous categories of values attached to cultural heritage as associative/symbolic, informational, aesthetic and economical values take cultural heritage per se rather than analysing it with reference to an accompanied activity.¹⁸² This categorization was inspirational for future studies and has become the "cornerstones of evaluative systems globally."¹⁸³ For example, Thorsby's discussion of the means through which the value is assessed and incorporated into heritage policy formation and implementation, examines basic distinctions between different types of value relevant to heritage as individual *versus* collective value, and private *versus* public value. He, therefore, incorporates the values of Lipe into the "collective" category, whereas the individual ones are those of use, non-use and beneficial externalities¹⁸⁴. The summary of heritage value typologies devised by various scholars and organizations given by Mason offer a chronology of the value assessment in cultural heritage:

Reigl (1902): Age, Historical, Commemorative, Use, Newness

Lipe (1984): Economic, Aesthetic, Associative-symbolic, Informational

Burra Charter, Australia ICOMOS (1998): Aesthetic, Historic, Scientific, Social (including spiritual political, national, other cultural)

Frey (1997): Monetary, Option, Existence, Bequest, Prestige, Educational

English Heritage (1997): Cultural, Educational and Academic, Economic Resource, Recreational, Aesthetic.¹⁸⁵

An addition to this list comes from the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for the Society known as the Faro Convention signed by the Council of Europe as of 27.10.2005. This convention "recognises the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross disciplinary concept of cultural heritage" shifting the emphasis to the democratization of the identification of cultural heritage values. This brings the need (or has already brought the need which is being recognized by the convention) for the identification and

¹⁸¹ See Klammer, Arjo. 2003. *Value of Culture*.

¹⁸² Lipe, William. 1984.

¹⁸³ Schofield, John. 2008, p:23.

¹⁸⁴ See Thorsby, David. 2007. *The Value of Heritage*.

¹⁸⁵ Mason, Randall. 2002. *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*.

measurement of social value. In line with this, de la Torre and Mason mention that: "The stakeholders of social values are usually members of the public who have not traditionally participated in our work or had their opinions taken into consideration. Today, as we recognize the importance of including all stakeholders in the process, we must turn to other disciplines to bring these new groups into the discussions."¹⁸⁶

In some instances PPPs have been promoted as a way to integrate these new groups in the managerial decisions regarding cultural heritage (for instance, see Verma who claims that PPP projects "have generally met with widespread approval from stakeholders in the cultural property management process, since they are highly inclusive and transparent in their approach"¹⁸⁷)

In a similar vein, one of the most important elements in the PPP formation is the emphasis on the creation of value for the stakeholders that will be affected by the process and the consequences of the projects. The Flemish decree about PPPs, which was issued in July 2003, defines PPP projects as "projects that are carried out by public and private parties jointly and in a partnership in order to create a *value-added* dimension for those parties."¹⁸⁸ Similarly Jüriado argues that "governance of services as public-private partnerships should not only be assessed from a cost perspective. Although PPPs are seen as a way to reduce public spending on services, the word 'partnership' entails more than the one-dimensional cost view."¹⁸⁹ According to Kamaruddin et al, in order to eliminate the possible conflicts in the partnership there is a need for a mechanism to "synchronize competing values of different stakeholders."¹⁹⁰ Therefore, there is a need to have a general framework for the values that are being searched by the public and the private parties involved in such projects. In most scenarios, the willingness of the private party to participate is explained either by the expectation of fi-

¹⁸⁶De La Torre, Marta and Randall, Manson. 2002. *Introduction*, p: 3.

¹⁸⁷Verma, Sandeep. 2007

¹⁸⁸ See Swennen, Frederik. 2011. *To Whom It may Concern: the Essay on Public Private Partnerships on Cultural Heritage*, p: 14.

¹⁸⁹Jüriado, Rein. 2006, p:15

¹⁹⁰ See Kamaruddin, Nor Azlina Binti, Mohd Tusirin Hj Mohd Nor Rosmah Mat Isa and Nor Liza Abdullah. 2011. *Value creation in public private partnership: effect of commercial and social entrepreneurship on performance* p: 2067.

financial returns or corporate social responsibility, whereas the public parties' involvement calls for a multi layered analysis due to the fact that they represent more diverse groups. The target user (the general public in the case of PPPs), whose subjective realization on the amount of value received, becomes the judge of the value creation process.¹⁹¹ Dixon and Kouzmin suggest the use of "social entrepreneurship as value creating mechanism" in order "to maintain the public sector organizational integrity by upholding their professional and technical standards; enhance public sector abilities to generate necessary changes to achieve commercial orientation; and enhance public sector desire to seize the changes necessary to achieve this commercial orientation."¹⁹²

All these discussions on the values and how they are used in the cultural heritage management discourse in the context of a more general public sector transformation call for frameworks to investigate the phenomena from the public management perspective. Such framework is that of public value. It has been almost two decades since the "public value" framework emerged, articulated first time at the Harvard Kennedy School by Moore. Moore refers to 'public value' as an analytical framework that can be employed to evaluate the operations of the public sector organizations.¹⁹³ Public value framework suggests that public sector organizations are there to "add or create value for the public, and that therefore the best way of measuring their success is to look at it in terms of what the public cares about."¹⁹⁴

Public value can correspond to shareholder value in the private sector, but it is expressed through the democratic realm, rather than the market place.

Moore sets out the essence of the public value framework as follows:

"Let me start with a simple, bold assertion: the task of a public sector manager is to create public value . . . there are two reasons [that this sounds shocking] . . . government is rarely seen

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² See Dixon, John and Alexander Kouzmin. 1994. The Commercialization of the Australian Public Sector: Competence, Elitism or Default in Management Education? p: 55.

¹⁹³ See Moore, Mark 1995. *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*.

¹⁹⁴ See Clark, Kate. 2006. *Introduction*

as an institution that can “create value” [and] this concept seems too open-ended.”¹⁹⁵

Being the first scholar to coin the term public value, Moore has concentrated more on the process of its creation than on conceptualizing it. The theory was formulated for the use in the teaching of executives in public sector leadership and management, one of which would be built from the ground up and which would draw on their experience.¹⁹⁶ Therefore the basic aim was to create a strategic management framework for public sector managers.¹⁹⁷ A detailed look at this framework gives insight into its overall structure. Moore¹⁹⁸ claims that, public managers must consider three things:

- “the public value that their organizations seek to produce (which can be seen in its aims and objectives),
- the sources of legitimacy and support they can rely on to provide authorization and resources, and
- the operational capacity including the staff, financial and technical resources.”¹⁹⁹

Moore also “focuses on what might constitute ‘public’ value, in other words, how the working practices of public servants might contribute to particular sorts of benefits found only in public services. This public value might simply be new public services (extended library opening hours is one of Moore’s examples), increased trust in public institutions (‘I trust my library service more’) or a contribution to an established public good (‘the library is open longer, so I can read more books and be better educated’)”²⁰⁰

Public value focuses on:

1. A wider range of value than public goods;

¹⁹⁵Moore 1994 quoted in Alford, John and Janine O’Flynn. 2009. *Making Sense of Public Value: Concepts, Critiques and Emergent Meanings*.

¹⁹⁶Alford, John and Janine O’Flynn. 2009.

¹⁹⁷See Moore, Mark and Khagram Sanjeev. 2004. *On Creating Public Value: What Business Might Learn from Government About Strategic Management*.

¹⁹⁸Moore, Mark. 1995

¹⁹⁹Ibid

²⁰⁰Lee, David John, Kate Oakley and Richard Naylor. 2011.

2. Outcomes more than outputs; and
3. What has meaning for people, rather than what a public-sector decision maker might presume is best for them.

More significantly, it connotes an active sense of adding value, rather than a passive sense of safeguarding interests.²⁰¹

Praised and at the same time criticized by other scholars, public value has come to be defined as Paradigm, as Rhetoric, as Narrative and as Performance.²⁰² For that matter, it has been one of those concepts, which has managed to attract enough scholarly attention. This could also explain why it can be nominated as an “umbrella” term, following Hirsch and Levin’s terminology.²⁰³ They “point to the predictability of the struggle between those who attempt to develop broad encompassing “umbrella” concepts (i.e., public value) and those who challenge them, the “validity police.” Umbrella concepts attempt to tie together different research elements or phenomena, connecting the messiness of the “real world” to concepts, and they appear to be more prevalent in fields lacking a unifying theory.”²⁰⁴

The application of a public value framework to culture has been led by the BBC in the UK; ‘Building Public Value’ report from June 2004 and a lecture given by Gavyn Davies (then chairman of the BBC) in the same month which, when published in November 2004, was entitled ‘The BBC and Public Value’.²⁰⁵ Another important step was the organization of a two-day conference in January 2006 that was devoted to ‘Capturing the Public Value of Heritage’, by The Heritage Lottery Fund, DCMS, English Heritage and the National Trust in UK. It was designed to reflect on use of the concept in cultural heritage.²⁰⁶

Apart from the framework developed by Mark Moore, there are also complementary approaches by scholars such as Jorgensen and Boze-man who focus on public values that refer to subjectively held norms or

²⁰¹Alford, John and Janine O’Flynn. 2009.

²⁰²Ibid

²⁰³ See Hirsch, Paul. and Levin, Daniel. 1999. *Umbrella Advocates Versus Validity Police: A Life-Cycle Model*.

²⁰⁴Alford, John and Janine O’Flynn. 2009.

²⁰⁵ See Lee, David John, Kate Oakley and Richard Naylor. 2011. *The public gets what the public wants? The uses and abuses of ‘public value’ in contemporary British cultural policy*.

²⁰⁶Clark, Kate. 2006.

principles. Analysing the literature about public values from 1990 to 2003, they come up with the following figure, which is a snapshot of the interactions of different parties during the process of public values creation.

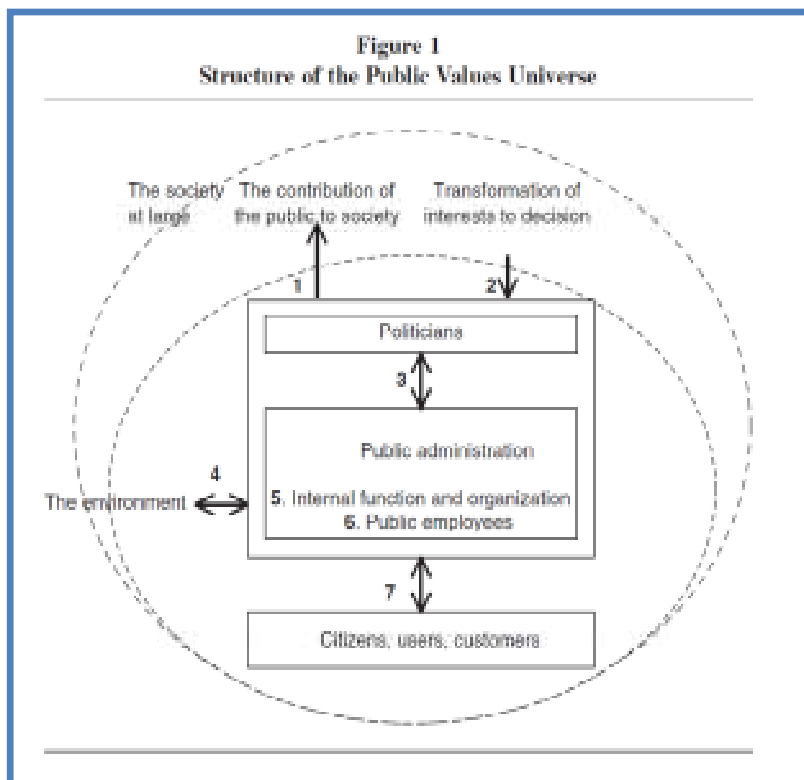


Figure 1: Structure of the Public Values Universe, taken from Jorgensen and Bozeman (2007).

PPPs: For what – how – by and for whom?

In light of these, I investigate PPPs in the heritage field, in terms of the values they create (for what); procedures and processes involved in their designs and implementations (how); the main actors involved in their creation (by whom) and last but not the least the public that they are addressing (for whom):

For What: the expected outcomes, value to be created by PPPs.

How: the design of PPP contracts, dynamics of formation of PPPs

By whom: Key actors involved in the decision making process

For whom: “Public” who might be locals as well as tourists.
Analysis of the PPPs’ “target”.

Going back to the PPP examples that are outlined in the previous section, the applied public value framework can be summarized as follows:

Public Value Framework				
Name of PPP	For what	How	By Whom	For Whom
Schön Brunn Palace	To offer its visitors a contemporary range of cultural and leisure facilities in harmony with the historical ambience	The operating company's contract with the state is based on a usufructuary right.	The Republic of Austria & Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges. m.b.H.	For the international and domestic visitors
Theatre – Orange	To promote and enhance the particular setting of the monument. To provide exciting and lively visits.	Through a concession agreement	Orange City Council and Culturespaces Company	For the international and domestic visitors
Adopt-a-Monument India	As an instrument for public-private participation for preserving the State's rich heritage	Through a philanthropic sponsorship contract	The City of Rajasthan and private sponsors	For tourists and local visitors

Adopt-a-Monument Scotland	A nation-wide Community Archaeology scheme that provides volunteer groups with practical advice and training	Through the Adopt-a-Monument Scheme	The Council for Scottish Archaeology (CSA) and funded by Historic Scotland	For locals and volunteers who would like to participate in archaeological work
The Netherlands Museums	To transform state-owned national museums into private-sector organizations	Through a change in the regulations and with an agreement about institution specific issues	Minister of Culture of the Netherlands	For the general public and for the professional S

I propose to use this framework not as a performance measure or an empirical theory but rather as a tool to understand the process that is taking place in Turkey without the introduction of the concept of “public value” into the political discourse. The detailed justification for the selection of this particular framework, which has been developed in the US and widely accepted or considered in the UK, Australia and New Zealand, will be provided in the 4th chapter where the results of a field survey will be presented in reference to a public value framework. As Talbot underlines, “it is clearly too early to tell if Public Value [will] take-off . . . It is however not too early to see that Public Value potentially offers a very different theoretical and practical approach to the understanding and practice of public management”²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁷See Talbot, Colin. 2006. *Paradoxes and Prospects of 'Public Value'*, p: 19.

Chapter 3: “PUBLIC” AS STATE: RECENT APPROACHES TO CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

This chapter investigates the various conducts that the state applies as an institution with the authority, to shape the cultural heritage scene. New concepts that are implemented through the issuance of new laws and regulations, in addition to the undertaking of different PPP projects, are analyzed in depth for the Turkish case. Before describing the projects in detail, a general framework is presented, with references to the points that have been raised in the literature review, namely the emergence of NPM and the general privatization movements which can be considered as the pillar for the designation of particular PPP projects in the field of cultural heritage management. The main emphasis is on Turkey; however, in accordance with the research questions, a comparison between Italy and Turkey is made regarding their recent attitudes towards the management of their countries' cultural heritage, a duty that is defined in the constitutions of both countries.

1. General Context

Similar to the transition to the free-market system and the neo-liberal economic model in the USA and the UK during the 1980s and its consequences in the field of culture, the Turkish State has also formed new cultural policies that find their expression in cutting public spending, opening administration to enterprise culture, propagating privatization with various incentives and subsidies, and paving the way for state-private sector partnerships. In this sense, the wave of public fund reductions in the field of culture around the world has been washing the shores of Turkey since the 2000s coinciding with the current AKP (Justice and Development Party) government's coming to power.²⁰⁸ AKP was elected with a great majority in the 2002 general elections and formed a single-party government. It then broke away from its initial

²⁰⁸ The reduction in the share of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism from the general budget is highlighted in the 9th Five-Year Development Plan (2007-13). It was reduced from 0.7% in 1992 to 0.4% in 2008.

supporter, the Islamist Refah Party. Despite this move, however, the perception of the AKP as a threat to the secular regime continued to be widespread among certain parts of society who feared the party's secret religious fundamentalist agenda. As a result of this ambiguous image, the secular circles were on high alert, closely watching every move of the AKP.²⁰⁹ AKP's answer to the mentioned worries came through building an agenda on globalization policies and European Union integration. These two motivations were interpreted as the AKP government's aspiration to show that it has adopted the original Republican mission to catch up with the modern world. It will be helpful to remember this very brief introduction to the general political situation while interpreting the cultural heritage scene.

Despite undergoing some experiments in the public administration field over the last 2-3 decades, Turkey is still a centralized country. The current constitution of the Turkish Republic, which came into force in 1982, declares that the public administration in Turkey is based on centralization and local administration (article 123), and the administration of the provinces is based on the principle of devolution of wider powers (article 126).²¹⁰ In centralized administrations, the presence of the State in the matters related to cultural heritage cannot be overlooked. This presence is constructed through cultural policies, and is usually the reflection of a more generic scenario with multiple political matters. For instance, the ways states use culture and cultural heritage in order to build nation-states, to justify certain actions, to shape a role for the citizen, and sometimes even to select the cases to be forgotten have been the subject of many studies.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Regarding the analysis of the approaches to AKP government from different social circles see Aksoy, Asu. 2009. *The Atatürk Cultural Center and AKP's "Mind Shift" Policy* and Çınar, Menderes. 2003. *Is the progressive Agenda Being Handed Over to Globalization?*

²¹⁰ The constitution of Turkish Republic is available in English at:
<[http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf_dosyalari/THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY.pdf](http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf_dosyalari/THE_CONSTITUTION_OF_THE_REPUBLIC_OF_TURKEY.pdf)>

²¹¹ For different cases in which archaeology and cultural heritage has been used in order to build nation-states or to prove the presence of certain nations at certain geographies see Meskell, Lynn. 1998. *Introduction: Archaeology Matters*; for the ways in which the Ottoman Empire used the material cultural heritage that was found within its territories as part of Westernization aspirations see Shaw, Wendy. 2004. *Possessors and Possessed: Muse-*

Considering all these effects, this chapter of the study starts describing the context of the general political and cultural climate in Turkey. A brief analysis of the history of cultural policy making with the outcome of a changed role for the citizens in Turkey is followed by the emergence of a new style of public management with a specific emphasis on the issue of privatization from the first part. In the light of this, the general context also devotes some lines to the investigation of cultural heritage management as a public service.

1.1. Cultural Policy and Changing Role of the Citizen

In 2007, the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism focused his speech on the radical change in the government's perspective on cultural policy:

"Ministries have policies. We have a tourism policy. We have a masterplan for tourism. We have been discussing the tourism plan for the period up to 2023 in detail. Yet we do not have a cultural policy. We have cultural programs but we do not want to impose a certain culture on society. That is, we do not want to impose the culture that we like and we prefer on society. On the contrary, we want to work the way the modern world does. And this is what the modern world is doing: making culture accessible for everyone."²¹²

This is the first instance in which an official from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism is proudly presenting the absence of cultural policy in Turkey; however he is delivering this speech in 2007 when many laws have been issued and many projects in the field of culture have been undertaken at a remarkable pace with the active participation of the public sector. Before arriving at the 'No-Policy' period, cul-

ums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire. For an interesting analysis of the cultural policies of the early Turkish republic and how they were used to foster a collective 'forgetting' of certain pasts see Özyürek, Esra. 2007. *Introduction: The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey.*

²¹² The speech was delivered at a meeting in Sakarya, organized by a local NGO. Quoted in *Yeni Asya Newspaper*, 07.01.2007, "Mustafa Isen: Turkey has no cultural policy." (In Turkish)

tural policy making in Turkey can be read from different sources for a time span from the Ottoman times to the beginnings and the later periods of the Turkish Republic.

The first official attempt to formalize a policy in the field of culture can be traced to the late Ottoman Empire Period. Following the issue of the Tanzimat Decree (1839), which introduced a series of changes in Ottoman society, important initiatives were taken for the institutionalization of culture. Reactions to Western ambitions to take away archaeological heritage from Ottoman lands resulted in increased interest towards antiquities. As a consequence, regulations were formulated followed by the creation of the first museum of the Empire. The Imperial Museum, now Istanbul Archaeological Museums, was the concrete outcome of certain policies with strong connotations with the State agenda. Displaying objects, which were mainly of Greco-Roman and Byzantine heritage, from the excavations on the lands under Ottoman hegemony, the Imperial Museum was assigned a role as a communicative device to show how the Empire embraced various cultures under its roof. While European Museums were filled with collections that were taken from around the world, particularly from colonized dependents, Ottomans used the new museum as a tool to legitimize their presence on these lands and to cope with increasing nationalism movements.²¹³

For centuries, on the contrary to what Westerners did, the Ottomans did not deem it necessary to collect or conserve these objects except in palace collections and *vakıf* (foundation) works.²¹⁴ In the Ottoman Empire, the action of collecting did not find its roots in the private collections like the ones in Europe, the first systematic collection activities were based on the state initiative. Since the early 18th century, the 6th century Byzantine church, Aya İrini, which is located within the first courtyard of the Ottoman Imperial Palace, Topkapı, was used to store

²¹³Shaw, Wendy. 2004.

²¹⁴ Gürol, P. "Conflicting Visualities on Display: National Museums from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic" <<http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/030/008/ecp0830008.pdf>>

antiquities. In mid 19th century (1846), the building hosted collections of The Magazine of Antiquities including remains of Constantinople, Christian and Islamic Relics. These collections belonged to the state and were composed of objects which were collected on sultan's orders. The travellers' accounts give information about the condition of the collection in the 19th century. These accounts indicate that the collection in Aya Irini was open to elite and preferably to foreign visitors.²¹⁵ Nonetheless, these collections were strictly closed to the local people of the city. The first courtyard of the palace was where the locals would go for many reasons including administrative issues, and the public access to this courtyard was unlimited. Although the collections were kept in a building which was located in an area with unlimited public access, no one was allowed to see what was inside, unless they were an Ottoman elite/high rank official or a foreigner. The power of this collection stemmed from the fact that it was a source of curiosity.

The controlled access to these collections came to an end with the establishment of the Imperial Museum and transfer of these artefacts to their new location. The new museum could be visited, but there was an entrance fee. Wednesdays were reserved for women. The entrance on Tuesdays was 5 Kuruş and other days it was 2,5 kuruş.²¹⁶ It is probable that local communities might have been even discouraged to pay a visit since in some instances violent groups wanted to break into the museum and the guards had to close the museum and lock themselves in. The fact that the museum always had an entrance fee; which was higher on Tuesdays might be due to the presence of a market in the nearby area or the Ottoman tradition of inviting the public to the Topkapı Palace on Tuesdays. In any case, the goal does not seem to foster demand but rather to control it. Though it would be a bit unfair to claim that the museum was totally isolating itself from the local community, since Wednesdays were reserved for ladies.

²¹⁵ For a traveler's account to Istanbul during 19th century see Flaubert, Gustave, *Oeuvres Completes: Voyages and Gautier*, Constantinople. 1885.

²¹⁶ See Pasinli, Alpay. 2003. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri* (Istanbul Archaeological Museums).

When the Turkish Republic was proclaimed in 1923 overthrowing the Ottoman Empire, the museums and other cultural institutions became the promoters of the new regime. In the following years of the early Republican era, cultural policies played a fundamental role in the foundation of a modern Turkey and the establishment of national identity. Cultural policies were one of the key components in the charting of development strategies because culture was seen as an ideal that can lead people to internalize the values of the revolution with its emphasis on the creation of a classless egalitarian society; it also led the way to embracing the modern lifestyle. As a result, the State assumed the responsibility for creating cultural demand and for engaging fully in the production of art and culture.²¹⁷ In this case, the presence of state was felt through the supply of cultural and artistic services. The State had some expectations from the citizens in return. Following the perspective of Duncan²¹⁸ who mentions the “evidence of a political virtue” and “an indication of a government that provided the right things for its people”, participation in a cultural event like visiting a museum was regarded as a duty of the citizen. In order to fulfil the Kemalist ideal of attaining the level of contemporary civilization, every citizen was required to sacrifice his rights and pay his dues to the State.²¹⁹

The intervention of the State into the lives of the citizens was weakened in the 1950s with the election of the Democrat Party which, for the sake of liberalism, transformed ideological meanings assigned by the reformist policies of the early Republican era. Cultural institutions lost political importance as tools of social transformation. For instance until the 1960s no new museum buildings were built and the ones existing ones were seen as the storehouses of the past without a political or social function.²²⁰

In the 1970s, increasing attention is given to tourism; as a result cultural policies marked the period as one of targeting the promotion of Turkey

²¹⁷ See Seçkin, Aylin. 2009. *The Political Economy of Cultural Policies*.

²¹⁸ See Duncan, Carol. 1991. *Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship*, p: 88.

²¹⁹ See Unsal, Deniz. 2009. *Museum Establishments and Cultural Policy in Turkey*.

²²⁰ See Koçak, Orhan. 2001. *Cultural Policies from 1920s to 1970s*.

as a tourism destination. This can be seen as a part of the transition to a market-based modernization project from a state-led top-down modernization project as the state elite negotiated membership of the European Union.²²¹ Triggered by this situation, a section devoted to culture appeared in the third five-year development plan (1973-77), though the implementations were rather limited.²²² In the following 20 years, the Turkish cultural scene underwent transformations both in the existing cultural structures and in the emergence of new institutions like NGOs specialized in the cultural field or private museums. Most of these endeavours were achieved by private sector initiatives and especially by the contributions of a few wealthy Turkish industrialist families like Sabancı, Koç or Eczacıbaşı, who followed the example of or even competed with each other either to found a museum, a research center dedicated to cultural studies or foundations; these would change the cultural scene in Turkey.

One of the main difference between the early Turkish republic and the Ottoman empire in terms of the provision of social services was this: the single-sided support provided by the philanthropist families without any expectation of return during the Ottoman Empire period was taken up by the State and interpreted as part of its social policies following the foundation of the nation-state during the early Turkish republic. However, with the transition to a neo-liberal economy, more room for enterprises has been opened up in the concurrently forming cultural scene. Following the State's support for this field with incentives and sponsorships, this relationship has started to become a double-sided one. This has led to a situation where more private companies show up for public tenders related to culture with a pure business mentality aiming at creating commercial success.²²³ This double-sided relationship has been caused by changes in the State's cultural policies at the same time. This change, which corresponds to the end of 1990s and beginning of 2000s, reveals itself primarily in government statements and subsequently in the bills passed.²²⁴

²²¹Özyürek, Esra. 2007.

²²²Seçkin, Aylin. 2009.

²²³Ince, Ayça. 2010. *Cultural Centers in Istanbul: Changing Cultural Policies in the 2000s*.

²²⁴Ibid

The transition to “No-Policy” is a remarkable one for Turkish cultural policy making. Since the very early Republic era, the State had direct and clear messages which were transmitted through the cultural policies. The emphasis on not having a policy shows that issues related to culture are not being evaluated from an ideological perspective and the discourses are being based on a more populist and service oriented policy. In the end, the Ministry abandons the desire to develop content and produce culture or cultural products on one hand, while reducing its financial support through privatization and leasing and shifting its investments to the field of tourism, which might facilitate economic development on the other.²²⁵

Another issue which is evident in the discourses of the current government and which has obvious implications for the cultural policy and management is the trial for joining the EU. As a result of this trial the government agreed to start the review process for cultural policies led by the Council of Europe. In most cases these attempts are appreciated and supported by the private sector as well. In this regard, Öniş questions the recent interest of the private sector in the field of culture as a sign of willingness to gain access to the EU on the private sector’s part. He states that “having acquired sufficient wealth, the private sector embarked on initiatives to transform, develop and even “civilize” society as a reflection of its concerns for creating a legitimate social image.”²²⁶

Not only the private but also the public sector is relying on the potential success of the EU accession in the field of culture. On the other hand, Breznik criticizes European cultural policies for having two conflicting goals. According to her, these policies claim to broaden access to cultural goods in the name of ‘democratization’, but through liberalization, once again in the name of ‘democratization’, they destroy the effects of their own measures and impose limits on the access to culture.²²⁷ These two points have been presented by Turkish decision

²²⁵Ibid

²²⁶Öniş, Ziya. 2005. *Entrepreneurs, Citizenship and the European Union: the changing nature of state-business relations in Turkey*, p: 182.

²²⁷ See Breznik, Maja.2004.*Cultural Revisionism: Culture between neo-liberalism and social responsibility*.

makers as the potential success points: democratization and liberalization.

For instance, in the 9th Five-Year Development Plan (2007-13) culture is discussed as a sub-section to “Civil Issues”. The development of culture and the reinforcing of social dialogue are briefly mentioned. Although the plan touches on the significance of cultural policies as part of the EU integration process, it makes no concrete proposals in the direction of projects involving culture. The importance of collaboration between the public and the private sector and the need for focusing on the necessary legal regulations are underlined.²²⁸ However, there are no attempts to materialize successful outcomes through “democratization” with more emphasis being put on economic success. For instance, the Ministry’s approach of leasing land instead of selling it and intervening in its utilization is significant as an indication of the government’s cultural policies in the 2000s.²²⁹ The “public-private collaboration model” is especially used for the Ministry’s cultural institutions and property that cannot be completely privatized, mostly that with cultural heritage status. This model will be discussed in more detail with an analysis of concrete projects in a later section.

As a summary, the shift in the policy of the central government can be explained with reference to three fundamental aspects:

“The first pertains to decentralization strategies where decision making, administration and implementation are transferred from the central to the local, rendering local as being central on the cultural scene. Second comes the strategy where the public relinquishes its management tasks in favour of the private sector, especially in terms of the management of cultural infrastructure. Finally, there is the provision of generous tax subsidies to encourage private sector investments to take place in culture.”²³⁰

²²⁸Seçkin, Aylin. 2009.

²²⁹Ince, Ayca. 2010.

²³⁰See Enlil, Zeynep and Asu Aksoy. 2010. *Cultural Economy Compendium: Istanbul*, p:73-74.

1.2. New Public Management in Turkey

Chapter 2 of this thesis has discussed the emergence and diffusion of the NPM concept referring to examples from different parts of the world. Borrowing the highlights from that section, this part will construct the concept for the Turkish context in order to investigate its impact on cultural heritage. As mentioned, Kettle argues that NPM requires the replacement of “the traditional bureaucratic command and control mechanisms with market strategies”²³¹, thus it “incorporates the importation of private sector management systems and techniques into the public services.”²³² Both of these situations result in the convergence of the public and private sectors. Relatively new for Turkey, this convergence has been observable in different countries since the 1980s. The 80s were a turning point for Turkey as well, in terms of the restructuring of the state administration. Changes which shaped present circumstances were rooted in that period. Therefore, a closer look to the turning point where the private sector flourished and was welcomed to undertake the tasks that traditionally belonged to the public sector since the establishment of the Turkish Republic, requires an overview of the history of privatization in Turkey.

Prior to 1980, the economy of Turkey relied mainly on state enterprise²³³. The reversion of the longstanding policy of state dominance took place on January 24, 1980. Turkey adopted free market policies through liberalizing foreign trade, streamlining and privatizing state run industries, devaluing the currency, removing price controls and reducing the budget deficit by eliminating the government assistance in state run businesses introduced by the Özal government.²³⁴

At the first stage of the privatization program the focus was on telecommunications, the cement industry and airport services. The rationale for the Turkish privatization program was the reduction of state activities in industry and commerce and the allocation of government funds mostly to traditional public services such as education, defense,

²³¹ See Kettle, Donald F. 2000. *The Global Public Management Revolution*, p:1-2.

²³² Ciarniene, Ramune, Algimantas Sakalas and Milita Vienazindiene. 2005. *Strategic Thinking in New Public Management*, p:760.

²³³ See Gold, Stuart. 1989. *The Costs of Privatization: Turkey in the 1980s*.

²³⁴ Ibid

health and to infrastructural investments.²³⁵ The economic liberalization of Turkey in the post-1980 era is, in many aspects, “a case of what Banerjee and Lindstead call a “double-jeopardy scenario”: pressure from powerful international institutions to open markets and raise exports resulting in higher levels of external debt, which forces the country to export natural resources and commodities at lower prices, while importing manufactured goods at higher ones.²³⁶

The political analysis of the last two decades displays a constant engagement with privatization movements. For nearly 25 years, Turkey has been attempting to transfer its state-owned businesses to the private sector. Following a financial crisis in 1994, and another in 2001, the country has begun to privatize many sectors of its economy.

A glance at the privatization transactions carried out from 1986 to 2012 shows that the last decade has been the most extensive period of privatization. The transactions of 1986 to 2002 amounted to nearly 7 billion dollars whereas the period from 2002 up to and including 2012 had a volume of nearly 39 billion dollars, corresponding to 85% of all transactions that took place.²³⁷ The privatization movements have penetrated into different sectors of the economy with the proposals of the current Turkish government, AKP. The wide range of sectors that were included in the privatization scheme by AKP is a source of concern for the opponents of the current economic policies because the government is seeking to privatize many sectors as a remedy to budget deficits and inadequate management.

Alongside with the increased interactions with the private sector, the current government has started to favour the private management style thinking as a new way for the administration of the public offices. Although no longer “new” for many countries, for Turkey “new public management” is considerably new. Torres mentions the spread of NPM

²³⁵Tecer, Meral. 1992. *Privatization in Turkey*.

²³⁶ See Yardımcı, Sibel. 2007. *Festivalising Difference: Privatization of Culture and Symbolic Exclusion in Istanbul*.

²³⁷ The details of the privatization transactions are available at:

http://www.oib.gov.tr/program/uygulamalar/1985-2003_gerceklesenler.htm

rhetoric in different countries, though not always with the same meanings.²³⁸

How did the concept evolve in Turkey and what kind implications it may have brought into the management of cultural heritage?

First of all, the healthy diffusion of such reforms in the public sector depends on the economic and social state of readiness of the country. Otherwise the attempts for reforms are doomed to be top-down restructurings without any useful results.²³⁹ The lack of preparation was the main reason while many attempts failed. For instance, several public administration reform initiatives were planned in Turkey at different periods, albeit without success. In the 1960s, the project known as MEHTAP, in the 1980s, the project called KAYA, and in the second half of the 1990s another draft public reform was prepared. The reports of these projects were completed; however, most of the issues related with the reforms could not be actualized.²⁴⁰

The most remarkable step was taken with the initiative of AKP to put the Public Sector Reform into its Urgent Action Plan and also into the government plan in 2002. The New Public Management move has been taken into consideration in the drafting of a Law entitled "Public Management Basic Law Draft."²⁴¹ The draft attracted a lot of public attention for various political and social reasons that are far beyond the scope of the thesis.²⁴² However, it is important to note that, despite all

²³⁸See Torres, Lourdes. 2004. *Trajectories in public administration reforms in European Continental countries*.

²³⁹ See Nohutçu, Ahmet and Asım Balcı. 2008. *Giriş: Kamu Yönetiminin Yeni Perspektif ve Dinamizmi: "Kamu"nun Yönetilmesinden "Kamu"nun Yönetmesi Anlayışına Doğru (Introduction: New Perspective and Dynamics of Public Management: From the Management of Public to the Public Management)*

²⁴⁰Demir, Ömer. 2004. *Kamu Yönetiminin Yeniden Yapılandırılması ve Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı*, available at: <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=tr&message=article&art=133>

²⁴¹Ibid

²⁴²The draft Law passed by Parliament in 2004 was vetoed by the President of the time, Ahmet Necdet Sezer. The consequent President, Abdullah Gül, has approved the Parliamentary draft. The law is being criticized for being a threat to the nation-state and the unity of Turkey due to the introduction of 25 Development Agencies and the increased authority given to the municipalities. For more information see: Sözen, Süleyman. 2012. Recent Administrative Reforms in Turkey: A Preliminary Assessment. *International Jour-*

the criticisms it generated, the principal elements of this draft were consequently introduced into the Turkish public management system through the issuance of regulations on related matters. These matters can be briefly summarized as the attempts to transfer central government powers to local administrations and to achieve fiscal decentralization. The transfer of central authority from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to local authorities for matters related to the management of archaeological heritage is both an outcome and a reflection of the main restructurings in the public management field.²⁴³

Another step towards new public management was the law that enables the transfer of managers who have worked in the private sector to the public sector without being subject to the usual public selection process.²⁴⁴ As Shaw and Sözen argue, new public management incorporates the importation of private sector management systems and techniques into the public services. Such principles require administrators to become managers. For instance, in the UK, transfer of private sector managers into the public sector has brought about change. By contrast, in Turkey the movement has traditionally been in the opposite direction – like the high-ranking bureaucrats becoming general managers in the private sector- and public sector values entering the private sector.²⁴⁵ However, the results of this particular restructuring in the public sector will change the scene. The law numbered 6111 that came into effect as of 13/02/2011 sets out the criteria for the transfer; for high positions a minimum experience of 12 years is called for. For any kind of transfer to take place, the candidate has to be a university graduate and must have worked at the private sector for 8, 10 or 12 years depending

nal of Business and Social Service. 3(9):168-173. Available at: http://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_3_No_9_May_2012/19.pdf

²⁴³For more information on this transfer, see the section within the same chapter, at section 2

²⁴⁴ Newspaper article related to the details of the draft law is available at (in Turkish): <http://www.muhassebedergisi.com/sosyal-guvenlik/ozel-sektorde-12-yil-calisan-kamudagenel-mudur-olabilecek.html>

²⁴⁵Sözen, Süleyman and Ian Shaw. 2002. *The International Applicability of "New" Public Management: lessons from Turkey.*

on the requirement of the new position in the public sector.²⁴⁶ Such transfers would incorporate private values into the public sector, which is an important attribute of new public management. This change, apart from being a confirmation of the introduction of NPM into the Turkish administrative systems, could create some other results upon its widespread application. For instance Haque, mentioning the challenges NPM brings to the publicness of public services, states that “in the countries where the top civil servants are being directly recruited from outside, negative impacts on the morale of internal candidates hoping for promotion to such senior positions are strongly felt.”²⁴⁷

The results of public reforms in Turkey can be categorized as the managerial and the governance reforms²⁴⁸. NPM, along with privatization and decentralization is the product of managerial reforms. The most important effect of governance reform is on the citizen-state relationship; Sözen claims that these reforms have resulted in a changed role of state in society in Turkey and in an administrative system which has been moving from a “state-centred” administration to a more “citizen-centred” administration.²⁴⁹ The tendency is on the “voluntary citizenship” as opposed to “forced citizenship” of the first wave of modernism in the 1930s in Turkey and also a clear break away from the “sultan’s people” perspective from the Ottoman times.²⁵⁰ The terminology, consumer/citizen-centered administration is not a notion that is created by the academicians in order to identify the nature of the transition in Turkey. Rather, it was clearly mentioned in the first book explaining the philosophical background of the Public Management Basic Law Draft; the law itself does not explicitly use the term but the book

²⁴⁶ Quoted from the law; available in Turkish at: <http://www.hamarat.av.tr/newsready.asp?id=512&cadno=6&KANUN%20NO:6111%20T ORBA%20YASA%20TAM%20MET%DDN>

²⁴⁷ See Haque, Shamsul. 2001. *The Diminishing Publicness of Public Service under the current mode of governance*, p:74.

²⁴⁸ See Sözen, Süleyman. 2012. *Recent Administrative Reforms in Turkey: A Preliminary Assessment*.

²⁴⁹ Ibid

²⁵⁰ See Oran, Baskın. 2008. *Türkiye’de Azınlıklar: Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İçtihat, Uygulama* (Minorities in Turkey: Concepts, Theory, Lausanne, National Legislation, Case Law, Implementation)

called “Restructuring in the Public Management, Change in the Management to Manage the Change” does.²⁵¹

The reflection of this consumer/citizen emphasis in the public administration field on the cultural heritage scene can be observed with the changing role of the experts (public workers who are employed at museums or as archaeologists) with regard to their relationship with the wider society in Turkey. Having a strong state tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish state has never been very good at creating an administrative culture which is responsive to the needs of the citizens. Furthermore, public officials generally see themselves as a state official representing the state rather than servants of the public.²⁵² The reflection of this fact on the cultural heritage scene in Turkey has been one of the reasons for the negligible public attendance and detachment from the country’s museums and archaeological sites, which, in the end, have been excluded from potential itineraries or marginalized as tourist products, thus perceived as interesting to someone else. The change in the roles of the public officials, as a result of the changed notion of the state, can create a difference in this situation. Additionally, it might also require these officials to manage stakeholder relations; an interesting concept to define this quality is the “organizational ambidexterity”. Gibson and Birkinshaw define organizational ambidexterity as the “capacity to simultaneously achieve alignment and adaptability at a business-unit level.”²⁵³ Based on this concept Hsieh states that “organizational ambidexterity” can be achieved when the organization creates an “encouraging atmosphere for the individuals who can decide how to divide their time between alignment and adaptability-oriented activities.”²⁵⁴ In this regard, these individuals become multi-taskers, which is going to be an unusual expectation from the changed roles of the civil servants in the cultural heritage field in Turkey.

²⁵¹ See Bilgiç, Veysel. 2008. *Yeni Kamu Yönetimi Anlayışı*. (New Public Management Perspective)

²⁵² Sözen, Süleyman. 2012.

²⁵³ See Gibson, Cristina B. and Julian Birkinshaw. 2004. *The Antecedents, Consequences, and Mediating Role of Organizational Ambidexterity*, p:212.

²⁵⁴ See Hsieh, Jasper. 2010. *Strategic Stakeholder Orientations and Performance Consequences – A Case of Private Nonprofit Performing Arts in the US*, p:15.

1.3. Cultural Heritage Management as a Public Service

State is the main actor in the management of cultural heritage in Turkey; ownership of cultural heritage is also granted to the state. The 63rd article of the constitution of the Turkish Republic regarding the conservation of cultural and natural properties states that:

“Article 63: The state shall ensure the conservation of the historical, cultural and natural assets and wealth and shall take supporting and promoting measures towards that end.

Any limitations to be imposed on such privately owned assets and wealth and the compensation and exemptions to be accorded to the owners of such, as a result of these limitations, shall be regulated by law.”²⁵⁵

The activities related to cultural heritage are mainly the subject of public administration, executed predominantly by the Minister of Culture and Tourism. The share of the ministry from the annual budget of the state is traditionally limited to 0.5%.

Between 1973 and 2003, this ministry has been converged and separated a couple of times as the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism. In 2003, two different ministries were merged once again as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Thatcher notes the philosophy behind the responsible ministry for cultural heritage as one of the factors showing the dominating mentality of the state in reference to the use of its cultural heritage. For instance the assignment of the Interior Ministry as the responsible ministry for cultural heritage in France until 1959 refers to the desire to have ultimate control and protection over heritage²⁵⁶. In a similar vein, having museums and archaeological sites under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, as was the case in Turkey until the 1970s, shows the association that the Turkish Republic builds between educating its public and the display of its heritage; or

²⁵⁵Turkish constitution is available at:

<http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf_dosyalari/THE_CONSTITUTION_OF_THE_REPUBLIC_OF_TURKEY.pdf>

²⁵⁶ From the presentation titled “State Traditions and the Regulations of architectural heritage: A comparison of France and England 1870-2011” by Mark Thatcher, paper presented at Inaugural Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, Gothenburg, 2012.

more of promoting the museum visit as part of the duty of the new citizen. The recent arrangement of having the cultural heritage under the supervision of a ministry which is responsible for both culture and tourism can be interpreted as a sign of the constructed attachment of these two fields.

The organizational chart of the positions related to culture of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is as follows:

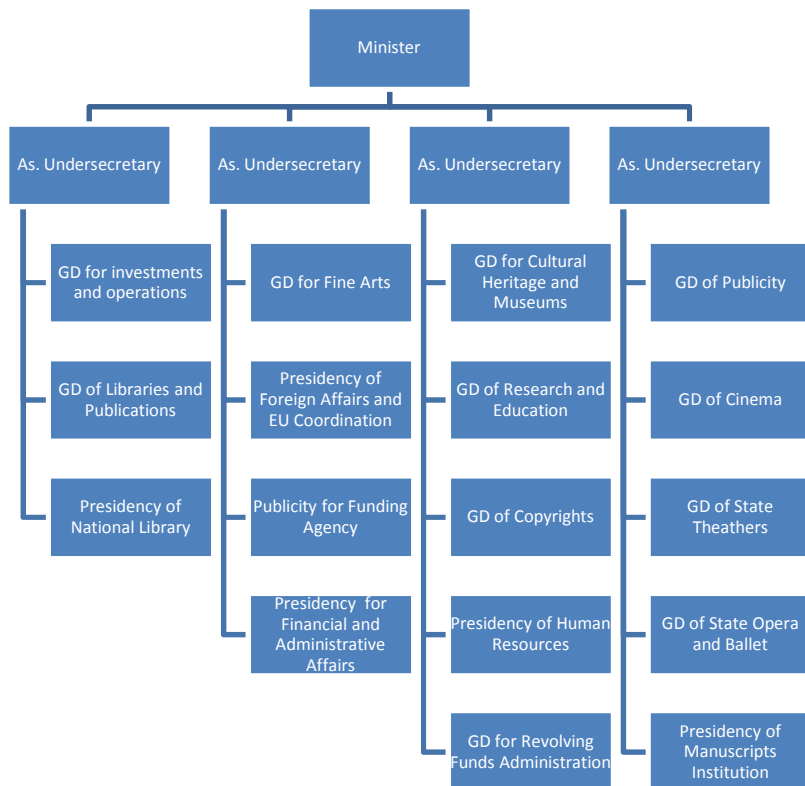


Figure 2: The central organizational chart for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (taken from Ministry's web site; simplified (the), translated from Turkish).

An interesting fact about the organizational chart of the ministry is the categorization of most of the directorates not under a common theme but under one assigned to deputy secretaries. There are also some units

that are assigned directly to the minister or the undersecretary but they are related to the running of the ministry itself rather than its core activities (not shown in the simplified chart).

Within the ministry, the directorate which is the most dominant in the cultural heritage field is the “General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums”. The general directorate operates through the principles of centralization and the principle of devolution of wider powers with its central and peripheral organizations. The same organizational structuring is applied to the Ministry itself as well; the periphery institutions for the ministry are the Provincial Directorates for Culture and Tourism.

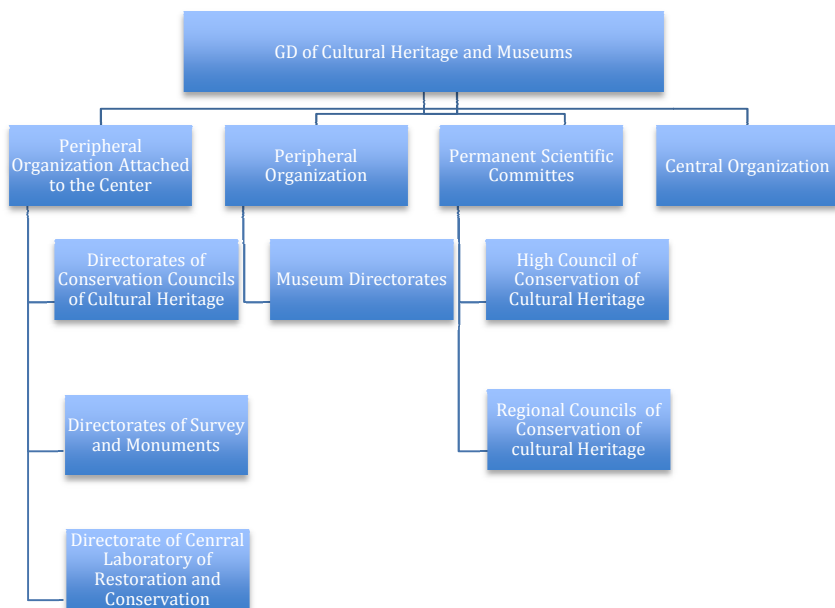


Figure 3: The Peripheral organization chart of the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, taken from Ministry’s web-site; translated from Turkish

The main offices and their branches within the central organization of the general directorate are listed as follows:

1. Deputy Director
 - a. Presidency of Illicit Antiquities Office
 - i. Illicit Antiquities Agency Directorate (AD)
 - ii. Cultural Facilities AD
 - iii. World Heritage Sites AD
 - iv. Legislation AD
 - b. Presidency of Museums Office
 - i. Museum Services AD
 - ii. Development of Museums AD
 - iii. Private Museums AD
2. Deputy Director
 - a. Presidency of Restoration Office
 - i. Restoration AD
 - ii. Investments AD
 - iii. Investigation AD
 - iv. Aid AD
 - b. Presidency of Implementation Office
 - i. Museum Implementations AD
 - ii. Archaeological Sites Implementations AD
3. Deputy Director
 - a. Presidency of Excavation Office
 - i. Excavation AD
 - ii. Museum Excavations AD
 - b. Presidency of Councils Office
 - i. Councils AD
 - ii. Identification AD
 - iii. High Council AD
4. Deputy Director
 - a. Presidency of Estate Office
 - i. Confiscation AD
 - ii. Estate AD
 - iii. Incentives AD
 - b. Presidency of Strategy Office
 - i. Strategic Planning AD

- ii. Budgeting AD
 - iii. Publications AD
- 5. Deputy Director
 - a. Presidency of Administration Services Office
 - i. Human Resource AD
 - ii. Administrative Affairs AD
 - iii. Archive AD

Some peripheral branches of GDCHM are directly linked to the center, namely:

- Directorate for Regional Conservation Councils for Cultural Heritage: until 2011 these included also the Natural Heritage. However, a recent amendment has separated the natural and cultural heritage; now the protection of natural heritage is assigned to another commission under the Ministry of the Environment and Urbanism. Pulhan underlines that this situation creates a conflict with the main principle of the 1972 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which Turkey ratified in 1983.²⁵⁷ Additionally, it is also against the tendency within the heritage discipline which is becoming more inclusive with an increased importance on the integrity of the landscape; and with the notion of heritagescape, as a means of interpreting and analysing heritage sites as unique social spaces that offer an experience of the past.²⁵⁸ This approach is receiving increasing recognition from scholars all around the world
- Directorate for Surveying and Monuments,
- Directorate of the Central Laboratory for Restoration and Conservation.

The peripheral organization is composed of the museum directorates. Even though they occupy a lower level in the organizational charts of the ministry, museum directorates have a crucial role in the cultural heritage scene in Turkey. In 2011, there were 189 museums and 131 archaeological sites open for visits in Turkey and each of these units, de-

²⁵⁷ See Pulhan, Gül. 2012. *Türkiye’de Kültürel Mirasın Anlamı ve Yöntemi* (The meaning and method of Cultural Heritage).

²⁵⁸ See Garden, Mary-Catherine E. 2006. *The Heritagescape: Looking at the Landscape of the Past*.

pending on their location, are under the supervision of one museum directorate. The funding of these directorates comes from the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums, which has a 15% share of the ministry's income. When this amount becomes insufficient to continue the operations of these units, another unit of the ministry, namely the General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration, is called on for support. This unit is responsible for handling the commercial operations that are administered at these cultural sites including ticketing, cafes and shops or renting of the venues for functions etc. This administration was founded in 1979 by means of a special law and is a financially self-sufficient unit. It is also the architect of the recently initiated PPP projects. While relinquishing some of its core activities in favour of the private sector, which will eventually result in an intended self-dissolution, the founding of such an administration within the ministry was a step towards more autonomous structuring of the commercial activities. The public officers in the Revolving Funds administration underline the belief that the private sector is much better equipped than themselves for commercial activities.²⁵⁹

With the promulgation of new laws, the local authorities have also been assigned tasks for the management of cultural heritage. (These laws will be analyzed in more detail in the next section). Especially for preservation, use and control activities, the Greater City Municipalities and Special Provincial Administrations have been given new roles. These include the establishment of conservation, implementation and control offices, expropriation of land, preparation of site management plans and the collection of contribution fees from the property taxes for supporting the restoration works. As concrete steps, some municipalities like Bergama have set up site management teams under the roof of the municipality to prepare a UNESCO World Heritage nomination application for the town and the nearby antique site. Other examples are the companies founded by the municipalities in order to manage heritage

²⁵⁹Akdoğan, Neşe Kılıncım. 2012. Guest speaker at Site Management and Privatization in Cultural Heritage Management in Turkey Conference. 20th April 2012 organized by Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations and JM Kaplan Fund, session on Management of Cultural Heritage Sites in Turkey: Ideals and Realities.

sites like Kültür Co.s by Istanbul²⁶⁰, Bursa²⁶¹ and Malatya²⁶² Metropolitan Municipalities.

Additionally, the private sector has been encouraged to take part in the management process through the introduction of various incentives. One of the outcomes of this encouragement was the design of PPP projects by the Ministry; another outcome was a project of the General Directorate of Foundations known as Restore, Operate, Transfer, inspired by the Build, Operate, Transfer projects which were invented by the Turkish government and applied by other countries for projects that required heavy investments.²⁶³

As the framework drawn above indicates, in Turkey the ministry is the most important institution for cultural heritage; however it is not the only one. This is why Baraldi et al refer to the cultural heritage system in Turkey as a highly centralized and also a fragmented one²⁶⁴. Other actors which are present in the scene are the General Directorate of Foundations, which has a special role in administering cultural heritage constructed by Seljuk and Ottoman pious foundations including mosques and urban infrastructure, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) through its Directorate of National Palaces, which has authority over historic palaces and parliamentary buildings, and the Ministry of National Defense, which manages heritage on its own property, military zones, zones near national borders and areas forbidden for security reasons and the military museums. Additionally, the museums owned by the municipalities and private foundations have a special category. (Actually, the Turkish expression “özel müze” means both special and private museum). Baraldi et al underline the presence of the General Directorate of Foundations as “an administrative separa-

²⁶⁰ For more information on Istanbul Kültür Co. see: <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/en-US/Organization/birimler/kulturas/Pages/AnaSayfa.aspx>

²⁶¹ For more information on Bursa Kültür Co. See: <http://www.bursakultur.com/gp/>

²⁶² For more information on Malatya Kültür Co. see <http://www.malatyakultur.com/>

²⁶³ See Yescombe, Edward, R. 2007. *Public-Private Partnerships: Principles of Policy and Finance*

²⁶⁴ See Baraldi, Sara Bonini, Daniel Shoup and Luca Zan. 2012. *Understanding cultural heritage in Turkey: institutional context and organisational Issues*

tion between prehistoric and Greco-Roman monuments (under the Ministry) from Ottoman and Islamic monuments.²⁶⁵

This division is also evident in the structuring of archaeology education in Turkey, the absence of Ottoman or Medieval archaeology and the huge percentage of classical excavations reflect the traces of the early Turkish Republic which encouraged a collective forgetting of the Ottoman past.²⁶⁶ Overall, the field of archaeology, with some exceptions, continues to be dominated by the nation-state's ideology and institutions. One of the reasons behind this, according to Aydın, is the dependence of the archaeologists on the state for the permits and funding for their archaeological campaigns. Thus, the archaeologist considers it a duty to justify his/her campaign through the contribution it is going to make for the promotion of Turkey and to the national economy through tourism. There is also the wide belief that the importance given to archaeology, which is associated with modernity, would facilitate the country's westernization.²⁶⁷

Cultural heritage management, to a large extent, has always been offered as a public service in Turkey. There has always been a heavy emphasis on the protection of antiquities in other words keeping the archaeological artifacts within the country. This concern, in the end, has become the essence and the *raison d'être* of the whole cultural heritage management efforts. In a similar vein, Atakuman argues that "early approaches to heritage in Turkey have been constructed and continue to be perceived as 'things' to be protected for their value in terms of international prestige and touristic consumption, while the problems at the core of Turkey's cultural policy remain unresolved."²⁶⁸

This part of the thesis has tried to shed light on the institutional changes which are claimed to bring some solutions to the problems. These attempts are likely to produce different perspectives about the heritage in the long run; however, will they be able to do so; or do they

²⁶⁵Ibid

²⁶⁶Özyürek, Esra. 2007.

²⁶⁷ See Aydın, Suavi. 2010. *Arkeoloji ve Milliyetçilik: Toprak Altından Kimlik Devşirmek. (Archaeology and Nationalism: Digging for Identity)*

²⁶⁸ See Atakuman, Çiğdem. 2010. *Value of Heritage in Turkey: History and Politics of Turkey's World Heritage Nominations*, p:108.

even aspire to create a value beyond international prestige or touristic consumption? These inquiries develop the remaining parts of this chapter, which continues to investigate the scene in more detail.

2. Public Discourse on Cultural Heritage Management

"Public discourse signifies speeches, publications and other statements made in pursuit of the public good. In this sense, it regards public policy, as distinguished from private discourse among citizens seeking to develop their own private friendships and interests. Public discourse defines and limits the powers of the government, but also of individuals."²⁶⁹

Public discourse on cultural heritage management is what state and public policy say about the ways in which cultural heritage is being (or should be) managed. This discourse is constructed from the laws and regulations related to cultural heritage and what decision makers actually say about it. Therefore this part of the chapter will analyze the legal framework and politicians' statements which form the substantial amount of public discourse on cultural heritage management in Turkey.

2.1. Legislative History of Cultural Heritage in Turkey

The first laws about cultural heritage in the Turkish Republic were the ones which were inherited from the Ottoman period. Thus any study regarding the legislative history of cultural heritage in Turkey starts their analysis with a description of this early legal framework. Since the endorsement of these laws was very much interwoven into the foundation of the first museum in Ottoman lands, the "Imperial Museum", or Istanbul Archaeological Museums by its contemporary name, I will very briefly mention the history of the museum and try to construct the ideology and political climate which prepared the first laws. It is not an exaggeration to claim that this legal framework, which was drawn up

²⁶⁹Sellers, Mortimer. 2003. *Ideals of Public Discourse*. Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1144719>

in the 19th century, is still influential on today's understanding of cultural heritage management with the strengths and the weaknesses embodied in the contemporary system.

The path which has lead to the creation of the "Imperial Museum" has already been briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter for its importance in the creation of the first cultural policy in the Ottoman Empire. In a broader political context, 19th century refers to the period of decline of the empire, which was under the political and economic domination of European powers and faced the difficulty of repaying the public debts to the European banks. The rise of nationalism swept through many countries during the 19th century, and it also affected the territories under the Ottoman control. A burgeoning national consciousness, together with a growing sense of ethnic nationalism, made nationalistic thought one of the most significant Western ideas imported to the Ottoman Empire. As a reaction to this situation, the *Tanzîmât* (meaning *reorganization* of the Empire, 1839-1876) emerged. This era of reform was characterized by various attempts to modernize the Empire, and to secure its territorial integrity against nationalist movements and aggressive powers with the encouragement of Ottomanism. Under these political conditions, which obviously had negative economic results, most of the ancient monuments within the borders of the Empire were in a ruinous state. Moreover, they were subject to increasing European interest which had already started as early as the 17th century in the form of acquisition of antique objects mostly of Greek and Roman civilizations. As a reaction to this interest, in 1869 the Ottomans took the first remarkable step towards the control of the archaeological excavations through the creation of a legal document. The Ancient Artifacts Regulation, which had seven articles, made it obligatory to have an official permit for the excavations, prohibited the archaeologists from taking the excavated material overseas and created some protection for the antiquities which were found above the soil. The implementation of this law was granted to Ministry of Education, which was the governing ministry responsible for cultural heritage until 1971 when a separate ministry for culture was founded.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰Pulhan, Gül. 2012.

Since this law was only a passive attempt which did not produce any significant results, in 1874 it was edited so as to be more comprehensive. It defines any kind of object (art object) that is from the ancient periods as an antiquity; there are two types, the first of which is the coins, the second being the movable and immovable objects. It also has clauses about ownership (undiscovered archaeological material belongs to the state, the excavated material is shared as follows: one third to the excavator, one third to the land owner and the last third to the state), excavation permits, funding and procedures.²⁷¹

On 17 August 1880, the Imperial Museum was opened to the public as a reflection of the desire to show the West that the Ottomans shared a common heritage with them. It is also important to underline the use of the term “Museum” (Müze) for this new institution. By using a word of European origin, the empire emphasized that Museum implied new cultural functions similar to those European museums. The official order stipulating the foundation of the museum started with a reference to museums in Europe:

“It is not right for a museum not to exist in our country when the museums of Europe are decorated with rare works taken from here.”²⁷²

Similarly, the Minister of Education, Munif Pasha, at the opening stated:

“There is no need to go into length about the benefits of such museums. They show the level of civilization of past peoples and their step-by-step progress. From this, many historical, sci-

²⁷¹See Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999. *Türk Müzeciliği (Turkish Museology)*.

²⁷² Quoted in Kocabas, R. “Müzecilik hareketi ve ilk müze okulunun açılışı (Museology Movement and the Opening of the First Museum Academy)”

entific and artistic benefits can be obtained. Everybody knows the great effects of archaeology on European civilization.”²⁷³

The Minister underlines the great effects and their potential benefits to the Ottoman Empire. These effects could be:

“To reify national identity, to gain historical depth and transform this into material wealth. To justify possession and then to claim it. To produce a determinative narrative of progress and thus to ensure the hierarchical position of modern Europe in relation to the narrative of history.

If archaeology could do this for Europe why could it not do it for the Ottoman Empire?”²⁷⁴

The display in this new museum aimed to give a political message. The two lion statues of Bodrum (Halicarnassus) Mausoleum, which were confiscated after the excavation carried out by the British archaeologist/diplomat Charles Newton, were placed at the entrance of the building. Inside the museum, the display of the collection was rather fragmented and no initiative was taken to make it more complete; rather fragments were preferred since they were a reflection of the Empire’s struggle to keep the antiquities within their borders.

Upon its foundation and with the assignment of its third and most influential director, Osman Hamdi Bey, the institution became representative of the entire empire as a conglomeration of various territories represented by antiquities. Osman Hamdi Bey, who was a painter, archaeologist and an important bureaucrat of his time, has also been author of the most comprehensive law about the antiquities.²⁷⁵ After be-

²⁷³ Quoted in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, I. Cilt, s241-242 (Westernization in Art and Osman Hamdi, I.volume)

²⁷⁴ Shaw, Wendy. 2004, p: 94.

²⁷⁵ Osman Hamdi Bey is considered to be among the most prominent Turkish painters as well. His famous painting “The Tortoise Trainer” was purchased by a Turkish private museum, Pera, in 2004 for 3.5 million dollars which was the record sale in Turkish history.

coming the director of the museum, one of the first steps taken by Osman Hamdi Bey was to prepare the Ancient Artifacts Regulation of 1883. The previous regulation prepared in 1874 had not included provisions aimed at preventing artifacts found within the Ottoman borders from being shipped to foreign countries. In 1883–84, Osman Hamdi Bey rewrote this law governing antiquities which enabled the state to prohibit archaeological finds from leaving Ottoman territory. In this regard, Osman Hamdi Bey became the gatekeeper, to whom all foreign archaeologists had to answer and his museum, rather than its European counterparts, became the repository of all new discoveries.²⁷⁶

This regulation has also given a more extensive list for the definition of ancient objects. It also underlines the state ownership and expands the location of artifacts from “under the soil” to underwater as well. Considering the contemporary awareness on the protection of underwater cultural heritage, this inclusion is most visionary²⁷⁷.

The last update to the legal structure on ancient antiquities in the Ottoman Empire was made in 1906. This was about the organization of cultural heritage management. It made the General Directorate for Museums, which was embodied in the Imperial Museum, the institution responsible for the management of archaeological heritage. For the rest of the empire, the procedures related to archaeological excavations were going to be handled by the General Directorates for Education in consultation with the museum in Istanbul. The fifth article of the law defines the cultural heritage in a more abstract way and gives an extensive list.

Following its foundation in 1923, although the Turkish Republic adopted cultural policies other than those of the Ottoman Empire, the legal structure remained the same until the 1950s. Like many other cities in Europe, Turkish cities were undergoing very rapid changes in the

²⁷⁶ Quoted in “Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands: The Artist Archaeologist and Bureaucrat” available at: <http://www.ottomanlands.com/about/preface>

²⁷⁷Pulhan, Gül. 2012.

50s and this created the need to have a commission to solve the conflicts arising from the use and protection issues regarding the immovable heritage. Therefore, the silence which dominated the legal scene for almost half a century was broken with the endorsement of the “Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Higher Commission for the Ancient Antiquities and Monuments” numbered 5805. As a result, during the period from 1973 to 1982, 3442 monumental and 6815 civil architectural examples were registered.

The second rearrangement by the Turkish Republic for the cultural heritage legal system was the 1973 Antiquities law, which was a response to the changing understandings and definitions that were introduced by the international conventions. It was the longest document ever created and had 55 articles. It gave a framework for the definitions, assigned related procedures to the Ministry of Education, and identified councils for different tasks like listing of cultural property.²⁷⁸ Today the main law which defines cultural heritage is the law numbered 2863, the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, which was enacted in 1983. This law was written in 1982 by the advisory council under the military dictatorship after the 1980 military coup when many basic laws were rewritten in a climate of neoliberal reforms and the suppression of organized labor and the left. The law defines cultural properties, natural properties, sites, conservation, conservation areas, and evaluation of movable and immovable cultural and natural property. An interesting difference between this law and the earlier ones is that this law introduces a time limit for the historic value of a property for registration as a cultural and/or natural property; therefore its construction should predate the end of the 19th century. Properties built later could be registered but under unusual circumstances and require an approval from the Ministry. Regarding the registration, the following explanation has been given: “Considering the available means of the State, an adequate amount of objects which are representative of their era are registered as cultural and natural property.” The

²⁷⁸ Türkiye’de Kültür Mirası ile İlgili Mevzuat by İlknur Arı, available at: <http://katilimcikoruma.org/tr/mevzuat-ve-kanunlar/45-mevzuat-ve-kanunlar/76-tuerkiyede-kueltuuer-mrasi-le-igl-mevzuat.html>

notion of evaluating the cultural and natural properties in a holistic approach is also introduced with this law.²⁷⁹ This law was subject to many amendments and additions in 2004. Discussion of these changes is crucial for understanding the contemporary approach to cultural heritage in Turkey and they will be analyzed in the next section.

2.2. Laws related to Cultural heritage enacted after 2004

The period from 1983 to 2004 was a rather inactive one in terms of the number of laws issued in the field of cultural heritage in Turkey. However, there was a substantial change in the main law, ‘Law on Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property’ in 2004; followed by the promulgation of two new laws and a draft law in 2005.

This part of the study analyzes these four laws in search of an understanding for the changing mentality in the realm of cultural heritage. The number of regulations and resolutions related to cultural heritage is plentiful²⁸⁰; therefore the aim is not to investigate them all but to come up with a sample which would represent a reflection of the “new” stance that has been formed under the guidance of these main four laws. Thus, the first part will concentrate on the main laws, followed by the analysis of by-laws and resolutions that were enacted in the light of these main laws.

²⁷⁹ However, as it was mentioned in the first section, the reorganization that placed the “directorates for Regional Conservation Councils for Natural Properties” under the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism in 2011 led to a breakdown of this unified structure.

²⁸⁰ The constitution of the Turkish Republic identifies laws, international treaties, law amending ordinances, regulations (tüzük) and by-laws (yönetmelik) as the main categories of the source of Turkish law; however there can be anonymous regulatory acts by the executive authority including instructions (yönerge), circular orders (genelge), notices (tebliğ), resolutions (ilke kararı), guidelines (kılavuz) and protocols (Yazıcı 2011 and Kuluçlu 2008). The main categories for the legal framework for “General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums” are composed of 11 laws; 15 international treaties, 1 regulation and 31 by-laws, and the anonymous regulatory acts are: 6 Decisions of Council of Ministers, 52 resolutions, 9 notices, 14 instructions, 16 circular orders, 1 guideline and 3 protocols regarding relevant legislation for cultural and natural heritage (as of January 2013).

Before going into the details of the mentioned legislative framework, a list of the main laws is presented:

1. Law Concerning Alterations Made in the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property and Various other Laws / number 5226 / 14.7.2004
2. Law Encouraging Cultural Investment and Initiatives / number 5225 / 21.7.2004
3. Law Concerning the Renewable Conservation and Sustainable Use of Run-Down Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties / number 5366/ 16.6.2005
4. Draft Law Concerning the Transfer of Certain Rural Institutions Belonging to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities, and Modifications Necessary to the Law's Provisions and Bylaws / 31.12.2005

Law Concerning Alterations Made in the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property and Various other Laws / number 5226 / 14.7.2004²⁸¹

The changes that were made to the main law on the conservation of cultural and natural heritage were introduced in the format of a law numbered 5226²⁸². The categories which were either amended or introduced by this law are: the amendments to the definitions, introduction of new management tools like site management, establishment of museum presidencies and definition of various planning tools. All these new concepts that have been introduced to the Turkish cultural heritage management system were further explained with the issuing of related by-laws.²⁸³

²⁸¹Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun

²⁸² This law, first came into force in 1983 inspired by earlier versions and was subject to some minor changes in 1987 and 2001 prior to a major revision in 2004.

²⁸³ For site management and monument council: By-law on the Substance and Procedures of the Establishment and Duties of the Site Management and the Monument Council and Identification of Management Sites / number 26006/ 27.11.2005; for national

The overall ideology seems to have been inspired by the global changes in the protection of cultural and natural heritage. For instance, Turkey ratified the Malta Convention (the European Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage) in 1999 and this has brought the need to revise the main law on cultural and natural properties.²⁸⁴

The law, which is composed of seven parts, explains the procedures on the identification, research and protection of cultural and natural property, archaeological excavations, the links between cultural property and museums, the competent authorities and their duties. The first part is devoted to the general decrees with the definitions of key concepts. The second part of the law is about the immovable cultural and natural property to be protected and defines the procedures and competent authorities, the third is about the movable cultural and natural properties to be conserved, with special emphasis on museums and collections and rules and procedures related to them. The fourth part is dedicated to surveys, excavations and treasure hunting followed by a section on the Superior and Regional Conservation Councils of immovable cultural and natural property. The sixth part is the rewards and penalties and the last part is titled other decrees where some of the changed articles were inserted. The Law 5226 has changed substantial parts of the second and the fourth part of this legislation and introduced new concepts both in the first part and the last part.

A list of new definitions from the first part is as follows:

Cultural property is defined as “all movable and immovable scientific and cultural authentic properties above, underground or underwater that belong to the pre-historic and historic periods related to science,

museum presidencies: By-law on the Establishment of National Museum Presidencies and on their Responsibilities / number 25990/ 11.11.2005.

²⁸⁴ Regarding cultural heritage, Turkey has ratified multiple international conventions including: the Valetta Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage, the European Convention on the Protection of Architectural Heritage, the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, The 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, The 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.

culture, religion and fine arts or that have been subject to social life.” The change is the addition of ‘social life’ to the earlier definition.

Other concepts which are defined by the law and did not exist in the earlier version are archaeological sites, conservation plan, landscaping projects, management area, and management plan and junction point.

Other additions and alterations can be considered as a move towards decentralization in the conservation of cultural heritage. They discuss the establishment of bureaus for conservation, implementation, and control in municipalities (for cultural properties inside their boundaries) and bureaus for preparing and implementing projects in provincial governments (for cultural properties outside of municipal boundaries). Therefore the ministry as the representative of central power entrusts its authority to some extent to local units through the establishment of specialized bureaus.

The law introduces new sources of funding for conservation and use of cultural heritage. As a major source of income, 10% of the real estate tax in every province is allocated to conservation and goes into a special account opened by the provincial government and distributed by the Governor to municipalities on project bases. Additionally, 10% of the Mass Housing credits go to conservation of immovable cultural heritage. Projects are chosen by the Ministry and the Mass Housing Administration. Additionally, the law introduces new organs into the cultural heritage scene which seem to have been inspired from the international arena. These are site management councils in management areas, museum management councils in the National Museums, and monumental asset councils for monumental assets.

The implementation of these new organs has been rather limited until 2013; however, there are some examples, especially in the site management field. The introduction of the concept of site management is very much linked to the World Heritage List applications that have become a very hot topic in Turkey recently. The introduction of the site management concept into the fundamental law for the conservation of cultural heritage is mainly to comply with the UNESCO requirement and to facilitate the nomination preparations, in the hope for a title in return. Turkey’s world heritage list applications will be analyzed in more detail in the next section.

While site management is offered as a solution to the problems that are encountered at the archaeological sites, a new museum management structure is designed for the museums of 'national' character; the ministry decides which museums would be considered as national. The Museum management council is made up of the president, the museum director, and the managing director and it is established only in the national museums. The Museum director is in charge of curatorial and scientific activity including "recording, registration, inventory, storing, maintenance, restoration, exhibition and preservation and cultural and educational activities whereas the managing director is in charge of "presentation, management of the sales units, organization of the activities, management of the visitors, landscaping, maintenance-repair, and cleaning works."

The Museum president is authorized for coordination and control of the related directorates and to represent the museum in national and international institutions. Additionally, a museum board is set up. It is composed of representatives from universities, professional chambers, NGOs, and donors.

The initial idea was to establish 23 'national museum presidencies' and assign the rest of the museums to municipalities to be managed. The transfer of the 'minor' museums to the municipalities was in a draft regulation which has not been approved formally since 2005.²⁸⁵ So, the actual application of the first step of the plan was limited to three cases including the Topkapı Palace Museum, the Ayasofya Museum and the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul.

The museum presidency system creates a new dual management while keeping the older structure untouched. This system, seen as a short-cut solution to the current problems of many big museums, resembles the managerial reformation attempts at the British Museum at the end of the 1990s.

The British Museum has undergone a restructuring as a result of the publication of a consultancy report on its management (the Edwards Report) in 1996. The report was prepared as a response to the cuts in the government funds, compensation for which was attempted to be made by an evaluation of the institution by management consultancy

²⁸⁵Pulhan, Gül. 2009. *Cultural Heritage Reconsidered in Light of New Cultural Policies*.

firms. Although the report was unanimously perceived as a harsh criticism of the overall management process of the British Museum, it has produced tangible results as well. As a result, a Finance Director was hired in 1997 (for the first time in the history of the museum); followed by the hiring of a Managing Director in 1999²⁸⁶. This experiment has led to the modification of the managerial and organizational structure, up until the conflicting and eventually failing experience of the dual-management structure, with the director (historian), alongside a managing director from a more financial background (coming from the world of investment banks, without any experience in cultural organizations). In Turkey, the low number of appointments from the academia (well-known and respected scholars) as museum presidents did not result in a similar public outcry; but rather these positions have become like the showcases of these institutions, attracting public attention through the use of public figures rather than entrusting these institutions to business-oriented managers. The initial idea of creating positions for people with management qualities remains to be seen.

Overall, the system that is created through the 2863 is a multi-layered one, with the new additions that have been inspired by the global movements and the inherited mind set from the Ottoman Empire. The archaeology of the law takes us back to the first institutionalization movements in the Ottoman Empire, for instance the imperative notification for the discovery of the cultural property follows the same lines with the Osman Hamdi Bey's letters to governors. The overall structure is still very fragmented; for instance, there are many different types of plans that have been introduced including: landscaping projects, conservation plans, management plans, master plans, implementation plans, excavation plans and development plans etc. In addition to the confusion of planning terminology, many new organs have been introduced which is likely to create conflicts in responsibility and power. The idea is to add a service-oriented focus to the museums and to have an overall management of cultural heritage with an increased emphasis on the visitors and local populations; alongside with creating alternative funding sources. However, none of these attempts are actually

²⁸⁶ See Zan, Luca. 2000. *Management and the British Museum*.

aiming to change the old and cumbersome system; rather the system has become more complicated with the introduction of new actors to the already crowded stage.

*Law Encouraging Cultural Investment and Initiatives / numbered 5225 / 21.7.2004*²⁸⁷

One of the concrete outcomes of the ongoing search for creating funding alternatives for cultural heritage is the enforcement of this particular law, which has come to be known as the sponsorship law. On the promulgation of the Law on the Encouragement of the Cultural Investments and Enterprises No. 5225 in the Official Gazette in July 2004, a legal basis has been established for the encouragement of the cultural investments and initiatives through various instruments. By means of this Law, the cultural investments and enterprises to be supported by the Government have been determined and the areas of support have been specified. In the Law, the Ministry of Finance has also been given a big role for the establishment of the procedures and principles pertaining to the application. "Regulation on the Application of Reduction in Tax Withholding on Income Tax Employer's Contribution and Water Cost and Energy Support for Cultural Investments and Enterprises" was prepared concerning the issue and promulgated in the Official Gazette on July 14, 2006.

The law and the related regulation introduce the concepts of cultural investment/enterprise and the licenses given for these acts. Obtaining one of these "culture licenses" brings financial benefits in order to encourage culture sponsorship. The licenses are given in case of; the construction, restoration or administration of cultural and arts centers and/or researching, editing, documenting, archiving, publishing, educating, interpreting or promoting culture, arts and cultural heritage. Taxpayers holding the license are granted reduction in tax withholding on income tax, employer's contribution and water cost exclusively over

²⁸⁷ K lt r Yatırımlarını ve Giriřimlerini Teřvik Kanunu

the wages of the employees they will employ in the investment or enterprise with the culture license and also energy support.²⁸⁸

One of the most visible results of this law in the cultural scene in Turkey has been the increase in the number of private museums.

*Law Concerning the Renewable Conservation and Sustainable Use of Run-Down Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties / numbered 5366/ 16.6.2005*²⁸⁹

The aim of this law is to conserve and use the run-down historical and cultural immovable properties that are found in the areas designated as protection zones; to take preventive measures against natural disasters, to form residential, commercial, cultural, and social and tourism areas. This law points to ways of identifying the renewal areas, technical infrastructure, establishment of structural standards, design of projects, principles related to application, organization, administration, control, participation and use. Therefore it identifies the official bodies that are responsible for the designation of renewal areas and the approval process. It gives information about the implementation of the projects. All the related bodies and on which occasions they needed to be consulted at are listed as well. The requirements and procedures related to the expropriation of land subject to renewal and all the limitations related to the possession of the immovables in the light of legislations are listed and the conditions under which the limited real rights are transferred to another person or institution are highlighted.

This particular law has been highly criticized for initiating many regeneration projects in the old neighbourhoods of Istanbul, which have been inhabited by the low income groups. The central locations of these neighbourhoods in the city have made them more vulnerable to capitalist initiatives. Although, the law itself offers new opportunities on a theoretical level and could have produced successful cases, it has often been associated with the gentrification projects that tend to exile the

²⁸⁸ For more detailed information on the scope of these incentive items in English see: www.vergidegundem.com/files/english2_sep06.doc

²⁸⁹Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun

‘problematic’ populations to the suburbs of the city and the opening up of new investment opportunities and real estate speculations and unjustified, quick turns of enormous profits for the players of the neo-liberal economy.²⁹⁰

*Draft Law Concerning the Transfer of Certain Provincial Institutions Belonging to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities, and Modifications Necessary to the Law’s Provisions and Bylaws / 31.12.2005*²⁹¹

The first part of this thesis has discussed the diffusion of NPM in Turkey with an emphasis on the public management reform. The reflection of this reform on the legislation concerning the cultural heritage in Turkey was the preparation of a draft law in 2005. This draft came to the discussion table in 2010 and has been approved but has not been legalized yet (2013). The justification for this restructuring is given as the “conservation, enhancement, development and promotion of cultural heritage” and the need to receive support from the community and NGOs in addition to the public resources is being underlined. With this purpose, transfer of these institutions to the municipalities is expected to create additional finances, awareness among the local communities and to present these services in an efficient, effective and qualified way.

With the proposed law, libraries, cultural centers, information bureaus, arts galleries and museums that are found in the cities, counties and towns are transferred to municipalities if they are within the area of the municipalities’ jurisdiction; if they are out of these borders, they are transferred to Special Provincial Administrations in order to carry out cultural and touristic services efficiently and effectively. Additionally, the museums with archaeological objects and provincial public libraries are to be directly transferred to Special Provincial Administrations in

²⁹⁰ Sulukule, Fener-Balat-Ayvansaray, Süleymaniye and Tarlabaşı rehabilitation projects in Istanbul can be given as concrete examples.

²⁹¹Kültür Ve Turizm Bakanlığının Bazı Taşra Kuruluşlarının İl Özel İdareleri Ve Belediyelere Devredilmesi İle Bazı Kanun Ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Tasarısı.

order to ensure their integrity. Provincial Directorates of Culture and Tourism will be closed.

On the other hand, the handwritten manuscript libraries and museums which hold cultural accumulations of civilizations of Anatolia and important and unique samples of world cultural heritage remain under the supervision of the center. For the archaeological sites which are governed more than one province or municipality, a site management model is proposed. This model considers local administrations, NGOs and all related administrations as it is put forward by article 2 appended to the law 2863. According to the same article of 2863, national museum presidencies are created. The ones which will not be promoted to national museum presidencies will no longer be independent institutions and will be affiliated to a national museum presidency administrations.

The Ministry develops and coordinates the cultural heritage of the country through these tasks: to found new national museum presidencies in order to conserve new cultural properties; to guide and support museums that belong to public administrations, to identify the administrative criteria for these museums, and to inspect and financially support them.

The Ministry uses some of its rights and performs some of its duties – such as accession to the museums, excavation, drilling, and permission for treasure seeking- through its museums. Most of these activities are directly related to the immovable cultural property. In order not to cause any difficulties in these areas during the transfer period, it is planned that these rights and duties will be transferred to the Provincial Conservation Council Bureaus and to the National Museum Presidencies. Art galleries and cultural centers are given to the supervision of municipalities. Thus, the Ministry will no longer be responsible for their establishment. The right to identify the location of underwater cultural heritage and the right to conduct excavation and drilling previously belonging to the Council of Ministers is transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in order to speed up the operations.

The tables that are provided at the appendices section (C and D) list all the by-laws and resolutions that have been enacted since 2005. The analysis of the by-laws indicates an increased search for alternative funding but not a fundamental restructuring of the system. They appear to be injections of one-time solutions. The fragmented management system is not being changed or touched but is further complicated by the introduction of different plans, bureaus and councils for the newly added facilities or to increase efficiency. No change in the assignment of responsibility of museum personnel is envisaged but new positions are being introduced. As a partial reflection of NPM, which is the underlying move behind Turkey's recent public sector restructuring, an increased emphasis on efficiency and economic self-sustainability is evident. It indeed leads to the creation of alternative funding sources (property tax, sponsorships, partnerships, user fees etc) but the use of these sources is either still subject to old authorization structure/political control or to newly created approval system (see by-law 25849). Overall, it shows the characteristics of a transition period. Another interesting fact is that only two of the fifteen by-laws relate to movable cultural heritage whereas the rest concern immovables and monuments. This is very much in line with the traditional Western definitions of heritage that "focus on material and monumental forms of old, or aesthetically pleasing, tangible heritage, which are all too often used to promote an unchallenging consensual view of both the past and the present."²⁹²

The picture that can be drawn from the resolutions shows a quest for use and conservation balance; some favour a less conservative approach (i.e. 709, 714) whereas others place conservation as the most crucial activity (i.e. 725, 775). On the one hand, there is an attempt to create a links between people and cultural heritage, at least by enhancing visitor services (i.e. 25887); on the other hand, private interests are compromised in the presence of cultural heritage (see 759)

Due to the rising interest in urban archaeology after the Yenikapı Byzantine harbour rescue excavations that were conducted as a result of a metro construction in Istanbul, there is also the introduction of the notion of urban archaeological sites and the procedures related to their

²⁹²Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*, p:1.

conservation and presentation (see 720 and 37). Additionally, some terms that have been introduced in the main laws, are later clarified due to the needs that arise upon their implementation (i.e. 712 and 35). The last point that can be extracted from the reading of the legislation regards the specificity levels of resolutions. While resolution number 730 takes into account the trees in listed cemeteries, resolution number 745 is concerned with all the archaeological sites in Turkey and would yield very visible results upon its implementation since it enables the assignment of archaeological sites and immovable archaeological properties found on those sites to legal persons. More detailed analysis can be found in the appendix C and D.

2.3. Politicians' Statements and Acts

Although representing a meaningful part, the legislation alone does not suffice to gain a complete insight about the public discourse on cultural heritage. Another source of information is the statements and acts of politicians, which in the end have a considerable effect on forming the national and international public perception. These cases offer the potential to read the cultural heritage management practices, but Migdal's remark about the state and its leaders should also be remembered. He states that "in the press and in everyday speech, the state has been represented as if it were a coherent, integrated and goal-oriented body... More than that, state leaders have relentlessly pushed the idea that the state, as a purposeful and coherent entity, is the embodiment of *the* nation or *the* people"²⁹³.

It should be borne in mind that the unit of analysis in this part is the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The reason why other public institutions are not investigated is mainly due to the fact that it is difficult to find public statements from other institutions that would be in conflict with that of the government. The reason for this coherence can be traced in implications of a centralized system: the peripheral branches of the ministry have very little autonomy; therefore they provide services and execute the instructions of the central government, but they

²⁹³Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. p:13

do not have independent budgets or decision-making powers (Baraldi et al 2012). In this case, analysis of the ministry's statements is satisfactory since no different statements (which are public) are to be expected from dependent museums.

The term under investigation is a 6 year period from 2007 until 2013, coinciding with the office of Ertuğrul Günay as the Minister of Culture and Tourism. The investigation focuses on the media analysis through scanning of the news section of one particular national newspaper, *Radikal*.²⁹⁴ Since the ministry is related both to tourism and culture, most of the news is tourism-related; but the analysis focused on cultural heritage, mainly the museums and archaeological sites in parallel to the previous categories. The detailed results can be seen in Appendix E.

The main topics on cultural heritage on which the Minister of Culture and Tourism has made speeches can be summarized as:

- Restitution Campaigns
- Construction of new museums
- Managerial restructurings at museums and archaeological sites
- Use of cultural heritage in certain ways (including religious, promotional and economic and also reactions against the use of cultural heritage in certain ways: i.e. reactions against concerts at Topkapı Palace)
- Reactions against controversial constructions (inefficiency of a conservation system against capitalist investments)
- Excavations and projects regarding archaeological sites or museums

The most popular topic for the media over the last 5 years has been the campaign for the restitution of artifacts that have been illicitly taken abroad. The first mention of the campaign appears in 2007 as an announcement of the project and the remaining news date from 2011 and 2012 when the campaign gained momentum. The construction of new

²⁹⁴ *Radikal* publishes more news on cultural heritage compare to other Turkish newspapers, and has an open on-line archive system which is easy to search; these are the reasons why I chose this newspaper.

museums can be regarded as linked to this campaign as well. Some of the repatriated objects were to be displayed in these new museums so that criticisms like “you do not possess the infrastructure to take proper care of these antiquities” could be avoided.

The Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism intensified its requests for the restitution of archaeological artifacts from European and American museums in 2011 and 2012. The campaign was one of the priorities of Ertuğrul Günay’s office²⁹⁵ starting from his assignment in 2007; but the actual results have become visible in the last two years. Turkey’s ‘cultural ambitions’ as the Economist magazine has termed them, resulted in the restitution of 1,885 artifacts in 2011 including the Weary Heracles Statue from the USA and the Boğazköy (Hittite) Sphinx and Axe from Germany; 1865 coins from Serbia, and 17 small terra cotta findings from a private collection in the UK. The campaign continued in 2012 as well, although the official numbers have not been announced yet, the press mentions the repatriation of the Orpheus Mosaic and the Troy Treasure from the USA, and the Tiles of Yenişehir Mosque from the UK in addition to 20 pieces from Bulgaria.

²⁹⁵ Ertuğrul Günay has served as the Minister of Culture and Tourism from August 2007 to January 2013.

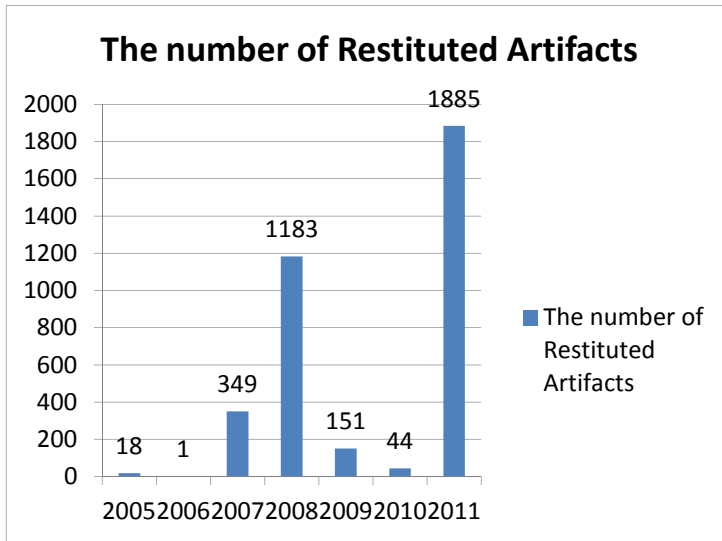


Figure 4: Taken from the 2011 activities report of the Ministry, available at Ministry's web-site.

The campaign has also been discussed in the international press, questioning the legitimacy of the requests and focusing on the threats of the Turkish government.²⁹⁶ Two main threats were underlined: the termination of the excavation permits granted to foreign archaeologists and restricting the partnership projects with the museums which owned the requested artifacts.²⁹⁷

Repatriation cases are hot topics, with justifiable arguments for both sides. One of the strongest claims of the universal museums which possess artifacts from all around the world is that without their protection

²⁹⁶ See the articles of Guardian at:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/oct/07/turkey-restitution-dispute-met>

The Economist at : <http://www.economist.com/node/21555531>

NY Times at : http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/01/arts/design/turkeys-efforts-to-repatriate-art-alarm-museums.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

²⁹⁷The cancellation of the excavation permits of Xanthos and Letoon of French teams and Aizonai of the Germans have been closely associated with the restitution campaigns although the officials claim that was not the case.

those objects would have been destroyed. They take very good care of them on behalf of the mankind and making them accessible to a large audience. For them, the notion of ownership is questionable. The contemporary consensus seems to be on the unacceptability of the illicit trade of archaeological material since any intervention in an archaeological context with intentions other than scientific investigation causes the loss of information. All these disputes regarding the contemporary ownership of archaeological material resembles the difficult cases in which the long-lost (sometimes irresponsible) biological parents show up and want their kids back from the adoptive parents (usually nice and loving). To make things worse in some cases both parties have grounded claims. It is a delicate issue and does not usually have a straightforward solution if any claims arise. That is what makes every case unique, not only in terms of the social, cultural and political implications but also the legal ones to which involved parties turn for a solution.

The fight against the smuggling of archaeological and historical artifacts, and the attempts at their restitution are not specific to Turkey. The building of the Acropolis Museum in Athens to create pressure for the return of the Elgin Marbles by Greece or Italy's agreement with the Metropolitan Museum of Art after a committed campaign is quite similar. What might differentiate the Turkish case from the ones of these other source nations (following Merryman's (1994) terminology) lies in the general public's attitude towards heritage that was taken away. Having inherited a land with the remains of various civilizations, local populations in Turkey have never been strongly attached to the heritage of ancient civilizations (which were not in most cases seen as part of Turkish heritage but rather as somebody else's). However, the government is receiving substantial public support for its recent fight to reclaim the artifacts. It is interesting to see the ease with which many people say "they are ours!" without remembering their previous alienation from the antiquities. There seems to be a consensus about the legitimacy of the request among academicians and the media as well; although some criticize the manner and threats that accompany the ini-

tiative²⁹⁸, very few have openly expressed their concerns about it²⁹⁹ and they do not seem to represent the majority.

If we leave aside the obvious expectation of economic gain through tourism with the star museums and the star objects in them; the repatriation campaign highlights the notions of national heritage and its links with ownership. As Migdal³⁰⁰ puts it, in this scenario, State is not only separated (in the sense that is used by Weber as to the separation of public and private law), it is also elevated. This sort of elevation, which is going to show the international and national public the superiority and the glory of the Turkish state, is the status that the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism is after. And it shows itself in the international arena as well, which is why blackmail and threats are at the top of the diplomatic tools list.

This situation has negative impacts on the scientific investigations, international partnerships for enhancing cultural relations and also –less visible but more profoundly– on the perception of the general public about archaeological heritage.

The concrete impacts on some of the excavations have been previously mentioned. The obvious damage that the science of archaeology would suffer upon the loss of many years' expertise of the mentioned teams does not seem to bother the decision-makers. The same mentality continues on the bans on the loans to some museums; believing that the failure of particular exhibitions is unavoidable without the loan objects from Turkey. In reality, this only leads to forced alterations in the exhibition programs and simply excludes Turkey from the new exhibition programs.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ For differing views in Turkish see : Radikal at <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=1058470&CategoryID=79>

²⁹⁹ Interview with Edhem Eldem, "A tendency to use power over excavators" available at (in English): http://www.lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/m_content.php?nav_id=3971

³⁰⁰ Migdal, Joel S. 2001.

³⁰¹ On this point, Turkey as the self-proclaimed leader of the region, has criticized Saudi Arabia and Azerbaijan, which have contributed to an exhibition at the Louvre, and tries to organize a cooperative action towards European Museums, news in Turkish available at:

The impacts of the nationalistic restitution policy on public perception are harder to speculate on since they do not produce immediate results. Two sources that might give an insight to this question are the museums themselves, and how their designs have changed with the arrival of repatriated objects and a brief analysis of the related news that appeared in the national press.

In order to understand the dominant narrative of a museum, Gür argues that its institutionalization process needs to be examined from a historical perspective. She accomplishes this with an enlightening analysis of the Anatolian Civilization Museums in Ankara; “after delineating the nature of the official cultural politics of the formative period and examining how they shaped the narrative of the museum exhibition, she explores the ways in which the dominant narrative mediates the visitor’s experience of the museum through the special arrangements by which it is represented”³⁰². Such a visit, if paid around October 2012, would be dominated by the signs of Turkey’s recent restitution campaign. The museum, temporarily hosting the Troy treasure that was brought from the Penn Museum, USA, was decorated with huge posters celebrating the victorious event with the headline “Troy Artifacts. Brought in our Country by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology”.³⁰³ The Museum in Ankara is not alone in hosting the reflections of the restitution campaign. The nicely designed resting place for the Weary Heracles, which was brought from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the USA to Antalya Museum, the meeting of the Hittite Sphinx with its twin, which was displayed at the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, at their newly designed museum in Boğazköy where they were originally excavated and the display of the Orpheus Mosaic at the Istanbul Archaeology Museums upon its return are other examples. The return of illicitly taken antiquities changes the displays, hence the narratives of the museums that

<http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=1105704&CategoryID=77>

³⁰² See Gür, Ash. 2007. *Stories in three dimensions. Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum*, p:43.

³⁰³ That was how it was written on the poster but a proper translation from its original version in Turkish would be: “brought in to our country FROM..” not “BY”

host them temporarily and permanently.

In order to understand the second important element that effects the perception of the general public upon archaeological heritage, a table is prepared in Appendix F. It is based on a media analysis regarding the campaign which led to the restitution of the Boğazköy (Hittite) Sphinx. The Boğazköy Sphinx, from the Hittite capital Hattusa, was excavated by a German team in 1917. The twin sphinxes were guarding one of the gates of the upper town; one was sent to the Istanbul Archaeological Museums whereas the other one was taken to Germany for restoration and ended up remaining on display in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin until 2011. Turkey submitted a restitution request with the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation (ICPRCP) in 1986. In 2011, German authorities decided to conclude the long running dispute concerning the “Boğazköy Sphinx” by voluntarily transferring to the Turkish Government the title of the sculpture.³⁰⁴

The written news in the national press mostly emphasized how the Sphinx had been taken to Germany and quoted the minister’s opening speech. Most of these news concentrated on the minister’s claim that Turkey is taking care of the entire archaeological heritage on her land regardless of which civilizations they belonged to. The availability of different references of his speech reveals that there were many other points that he raised. Only the Cumhuriyet newspaper reported that the minister mentioned the education workshop for the children at the museums and again it was the only news source that gave a quotation from the German Ambassador’s speech. Another point that was reported (in 3 out of 12 news sources) was the warning of the foreign excavation leaders.

This brief media analysis reveals another interesting point. In many articles, there was no mention of the German institutions such as the Pergamon Museum or the German Archaeological Institute, but the emphasis was on Germany. This is in line with Migdal’s interpretation of

³⁰⁴ For more information on the legal side see: Case Boğazköy Sphinx –Turkey and Germany by Alessandro Chechi, Anne Laure Bandle, Marc-André Renold. Platform ArThemis (<http://unige.ch/art-adr>), Art-Law Centre, University of Geneva.

the state, mentioned above. The idea that the state is the embodiment of the nation or of its people is visible in the reading of the news regarding the Boğazköy Sphinx; Germany as one big entity is placed at the focus. Therefore the idea that one German institute (i.e. the Pergamon Museum) has to return an artifact because another German Institute (i.e. the German Archaeology Institute in Turkey) will lose the permit to conduct its excavations, is a reflection of the perception of Germany as one entity.

The second point that highlights the speeches is the managerial restructurings at museums and archaeological sites. These include the attempts for decentralization, call for the private sector to take an active role in the management of cultural heritage and the creation of alternative funding. As previously mentioned, the new legislation for heritage recognized the possibility of multi-stakeholders in the management of cultural properties.

This has brought new approaches to the management of the archaeological assets of the country so as to implement a more flexible method. It was the first time that forming partnerships with the private sector was seen as a viable option. In line with this, in August 2005, during a meeting in the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Atilla Koç, as the minister of the time, announced that the management of museums and archaeological sites was going to be privatized:

“The first examples chosen for the privatization are the management of Topkapı Palace and St. Sophia. This is the first initiative of its kind in Turkey and we have worked very thoroughly on the regulations and decided to try it out on some sites. If we can adopt this system for all of our archaeological sites and get the Turkish companies involved in this business, we will make a great progress regarding our income and the preservation of our sites. If we have private firms, their performance based evaluations will put an end to the scandals in the sector” (Atilla Koç³⁰⁵)

³⁰⁵ The speech is quoted from (in Turkish)

<http://www.millicozum.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=347&Itemid=92>

Although no concrete projects were undertaken after this speech, Koç was not the only minister who saw the private sector as a magical solution. In another statement, former minister Ertuğrul Günay complained that there are no “cultural entrepreneurs” in Turkey. Referring to the incomplete Museum of Contemporary Art in Ankara, he indirectly described his ideal cultural entrepreneur by saying:

“Unfortunately there are very few cultural entrepreneurs in Turkey and I have knocked on the doors of all respectable private institutions in Ankara. No one wants to undertake a cultural venture which requires an additional investment of eight to ten million Turkish lira.”³⁰⁶

This clearly refers to a cultural scene in which the government does not want to be the only actor and seeks a potential of collaboration between different sectors –private, public, NGOs- through the cultural entrepreneurs³⁰⁷. Looking for a cultural entrepreneur obviously requires less than fostering institutional change or the generation of a new model. As mentioned above, the cultural scene in Turkey has always been dominated by the State, whether due to a clear propaganda of the dominating political power or as a communication medium for “educating” the citizens or simply because there were no other actors who were willing to share the scene. Now the State thrusts out a hand to a rather unknown crowd: potential cultural entrepreneurs. This interest in introducing the cultural field to the mentioned crowd lacks a systematic framework with predetermined rules and responsibilities and is far from contributing to the creation of an institution or a new governance model to enable access to culture. It is rather waiting for a socially responsible hero to save the state from the burden of financing culture. In this sense, maybe the basic contradiction lies in the “values” that are assigned to culture by different actors including the State, the citizen, the potential cultural entrepreneur and the wanted hero. As it is underlined by Frey, two values, which are “economic value” expressed in monetary terms and “cultural value” reflecting cultural, aesthetic

³⁰⁶ Radikal Newspaper, 03.05.2009, “There are No Cultural Entrepreneurs in Turkey” (in Turkish)

³⁰⁷ Kahraman, H.B. Sabah Newspaper, 11.08.2008. “Cultural Entrepreneurs Wanted”

and artistic significance, dominate cultural policy making. On the one hand “value” is attached to the economic effects of cultural activities: When cultural values are created, economic activity is bolstered. On the other hand, the value of culture is reflected in the increased utility to consumers and non-consumers of a particular cultural activity.³⁰⁸ For the entrepreneurs or the private sector that is being called on for cooperation by the State, the economic values are important but, alone, they are not satisfactory. For instance, Ayazağa Cultural Center, whose construction was commenced in the 1990s but not completed due to lack of funds, was tendered to Multi Turkmall in 2008. They decided to demolish the old concert hall built during the earlier project phase and instead to build a multi-purpose events center. The CEO of Multi Turkmall stated that the cultural center under construction would only “break even” this way.³⁰⁹ On the other hand, the wanted cultural entrepreneur is not supposed to make such calculations and is expected to concentrate on the cultural value and to enjoy the “increased utility to consumers and non-consumers of a particular cultural activity”. In this regard, one needs to hold on to the idea that culture may be better served by socially responsible entrepreneurs and by civic responsibility, which has a long tradition in the US and Europe.³¹⁰

After the realization that the private sector had to be somehow attracted to make investments in cultural institutions, the government has shifted its emphasis from the production of knowledge through archaeology to presentation of the findings to visitors and to reveal the economic potential of cultural heritage especially through tourism. An interesting method employed for this purpose was the distribution of the so-called “Ancient Theatre Letters” to the excavation teams. This correspondence in 2006 required all archaeological projects in Turkey to report on the condition of their ancient theatres and incorporate excavations of theatres into their ongoing research activities due to the

³⁰⁸ For a discussion on the values of cultural heritage see Frey, Bruno. 2008. *What Values Should Count in the Arts? The Tension between Economic Effects and Cultural Value*

³⁰⁹ Radikal Newspaper, 06.12.2009. “The New Cultural Center of Ayazağa”. (in Turkish)

³¹⁰ See Van der Ploeg, Frederick. 2006. *The Making of Cultural Policy: A European Perspective*.

potential of monumental theatres for being used as venues for hosting events and generating income.³¹¹

Increased interest in tourism and the presentation of archaeological sites for that matter manifests itself through both the encouragement of certain practices –like excavating theatres- and the discouragement of some others. The addition made to the by-law regarding the archaeological excavations in 2012 is an example of a discouragement or even a restriction case: “no new excavation can be undertaken at sites which are in need of conservation and landscaping before these needs are fulfilled.”³¹²

Another topic which is on the agenda of the ministry, although it did not come up in the press search, is the increased interest in having more sites on the World Heritage List. By 2012, Turkey had 11 sites on the World Heritage List. The list, which is a product of the UNESCO Convention formulated in 1972 in Paris concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, endows the site with the status of world heritage due to its 'outstanding universal value from the perspective of history, art or science'. Turkey ratified the convention in 1983 but has not been very active in getting onto the list mostly because it lagged behind international standards for site management.³¹³ With the changes in the legal framework and the increased professional expertise in the cultural heritage management field, the number of applications to WHL has dramatically increased resulting in the inscription of 20 sites onto the tentative list in 2011 and 2012. Turkey already has 11 sites on the list with the inscription of Selimiye Mosque and its social complex in 2011 and the Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in 2012.³¹⁴

Remembering the ultimatum the Turkish government faced regarding the lack of protection of Istanbul's architectural treasures that was

³¹¹ See Özgüner, Pınar. 2010. *What is in a Theater? Rethinking Excavations of Ancient Monumental Buildings in Turkey*. Paper presented at International Conference on Materiality, Memory and Cultural Heritage

³¹² By-law on the Survey, Sounding and Excavation of Cultural and Natural Property, number 18485, date 10.08.1984, addition number 28408, date 11.09.2012

³¹³ Pulhan, Gül. 2009.

³¹⁴ The sites from Turkey which are on the WHL and the tentative list is available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr>

about to put the city on UNESCO's Endangered Heritage List in 2010³¹⁵, the effort that has been poured into the nomination of new sites can be explained with Salazar's identification of world heritage sites: "WHS are, par excellence, global heritage products"³¹⁶. Since the main emphasis is on creating global tourism products, the obvious question of "why would a country try to nominate more sites while it cannot take care of the ones which are already inscribed?" is simply discarded. Additionally, a restitution campaign alarming Western museums should not be read as an attempt to disregard Western institutions. Additionally, on 8 February 2012, the UNESCO Director-General and the Ambassador and Permanent Delegate of Turkey to UNESCO signed an agreement formalizing Turkey's contribution, amounting to \$5 million, to the Multi-Donor Emergency Fund that was launched following the suspension of financial dues by the United States and Israel upon the inclusion of Palestine into UNESCO.³¹⁷

3. Public Private Partnership Projects

The scene illustrated in the previous section outlined the legal and therefore the theoretical framework for the management of cultural heritage. Facilitated by the changes in the legal framework and pressured by specific needs, the Turkish government has formed some protocols enabling the private sector to take part in the cultural heritage field. Referred as "public-private partnerships" by their creators, mostly to avoid the concept of privatization, these restructurings have had visible results at many museums and archaeological sites in Turkey. The way that they are constructed is through the insertion of a private sector party, usually for visitor services that can create financial return. The literature survey in chapter 2 has already underlined the difficulty of finding one definition of PPP and even if the academia had found one, probably decision-makers would continue to use the term in

³¹⁵ For more information see: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11095638>

³¹⁶See Salazar, Noel B. 2010. *The globalization of heritage through tourism: balancing standardization and differentiation*, p:135.

³¹⁷ For more information see: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/turkey_signs_agreement_to_formalize_its_contribution_to_unesco/

the way they want. PPPs are very much linked with privatization, or a form of privatization with a different scale of public or private nature. Three projects that will be discussed in this section are promoted as PPPs underlining their socially responsible character and overshadowing the financial aspect. It is not possible to evaluate all three of them as if they were the same kind of structuring. Istanbul Archaeological Museums Development Project differs from the Commercial Centers and Ticket Offices Projects in the sense that it is not expected to create any revenues for its private party, whereas the other two clearly have financial expectations as a result of undertaking an initial investment. One common point of these projects is that they were designed and mostly implemented by the Central Directorate of Revolving Funds on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This Directorate “conducts the commercial activities of the Ministry, provides financial support to protect and improve the cultural entities and values, and raises funds for culture and tourism infrastructure investments and promotion activities.” An additional task is to “let museums, archaeological sites, cultural centers, libraries and galleries to entrepreneurs for short term artistic and cultural activities.”³¹⁸

A closer look at each project will help to understand their common and different points.

3.1. Istanbul Archaeological Museums Development Project

On 12 February, 2009, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism signed a protocol with The Turkish Travel Agencies Association (TURSAB)³¹⁹ regarding the support of the activities of the Istanbul Ar-

³¹⁸ Qtd from the web site of General Directorate of Revolving Funds
<http://www.kultur.gov.tr/dosim/EN/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?17A16AE30572D313AAF6AA849816B2EFBFE1A1EBF9849693>

³¹⁹ The Association of Turkish Travel Agencies is a Professional, non-profit organization with the status of legal person, established by Law in 1972. The main aims of the Association are, the development of the travel agency profession in harmony with the

country's economy and tourism sector, and protection of professional ethics and solidarity. http://www.tursab.org.tr/en/tursab/about-tursab_1061.html

chaeological Museums (IAM) and to increase its contributions to the country's culture and tourism for period of eight years. Istanbul Archaeological Museums' Sponsorship, Service and Cooperation Protocol enabled the formation of a partnership project at a public cultural institution for the first time in Turkey.

This particular museum is not a random choice for testing the light privatization model. Firstly, it has an underexploited tourism potential. Located at the heart of the historical peninsula of Istanbul, it is visited by 350,000-400,000 people annually while the Topkapı Palace, next door—they share the same palace grounds—, received 3 million visitors in 2012. Despite its importance in Turkish cultural history and the rich collections, the museum has faced many problems due to decay of the buildings, lack of personnel for museum outreach services including education and interpretation, additionally lack of infrastructures for basic visitor services. Secondly, being the first museum the Ottoman Empire, the Istanbul Archaeological Museums have always held an important place not only for the birth of museology, but also in the formation of cultural policies in Turkey. These combined factors made it a perfect candidate for raising private interest. Additionally, it would not be wrong to say that its institutionalization and restructurings through the course of history were the direct outcomes of the cultural policies of certain times and with this special protocol the museum again resumed a central role in the new developments.

Once the project was announced to the public, there were mixed reactions. The way the Ministry has defended this project, which was the first of its kind in Turkey, based on the assumption that it would turn the museum into an appealing attraction point especially for the local visitors. The two main reasons for the lack of local visitors were thought to be the lack of professional marketing strategies which would *call* the visitors and the lack of museum services which would *welcome* the visitors. Both of them required financial investment and human resources; none of these were to be satisfied with the limited public resources possessed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Hence, one of the most important impetuses for designing such a pro-

protocol was to create a model which would enable private initiatives to contribute to public cultural institutions. These new partnerships were needed, according to the official opinion, to increase public awareness about the museums, their collections and cultural heritage in general.

For the implementation of the project, a team was recruited by TURSAB exclusively for the museum as required by the protocol. Additionally, a Scientific Committee composed of professors and experts from the museum field in Turkey was set up so that they would be consulted and their support would be ensured for the project.

The protocol designed a detailed guideline for the project to create a mechanism to insert this new private partner into a public system. It underlines the existing rules and regulations and how they will be applied to the project, and to whom the private party will ask for permission for which types of actions. A brief look at the contents of the protocol reveals the responsibilities assigned to TURSAB:

- Establishment of a conservation laboratory
- Update of security systems
- Formation of a digital archive
- Instalment of a storage system and air-conditioning
- Production of replicas for visually impaired visitors
- Making Audiovisual systems for visitors
- Restructuring of the Education and Kids area
- Construction of Infrastructure for disabled visitor access
- Handling of marketing and promotional activities in a professional manner
- Renewal of the furniture in the refreshment and display areas
- Renewal of the heating system
- Construction and management of a museum café
- Construction and management of a museum shop
- Renewal and management of the cloakroom
- Management of the front garden under the supervision of the museum

- Formation of a fund to be used for the museum's urgent needs
- Landscaping of the Osman Hamdi Bey street and the backyard of the museum
- Refurbishing and opening of the closed halls in the museum for display
- Assigning a vehicle for the use of the museum, including the gas expenses.³²⁰

In return for the responsibilities, TURSAB is given the right to share the revenues generated by the museum, on the condition that they are going to be spent for the museum. The revenue that will be generated is shared based on fixed percentages as shown below.

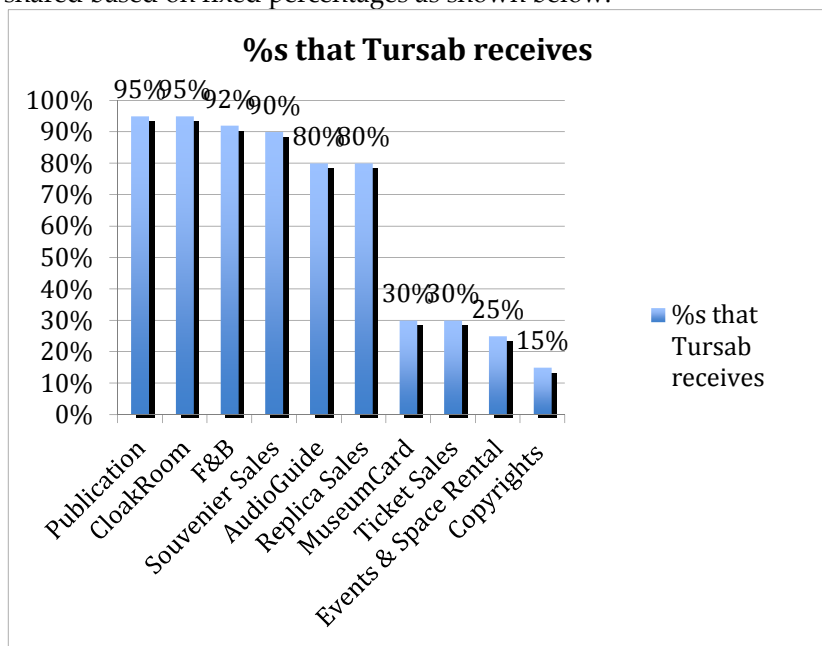


Figure 5: %s to be paid to TURSAB - From the *Istanbul Archaeological Museums Sponsorship, Service and Cooperation Protocol, 2008*

³²⁰ Taken from the Istanbul Archaeological Museums Sponsorship, Service and Cooperation Protocol, 2008

Protocol's article 6 underlines its main principles as:

- The principle of the conservation of cultural properties: none of the actions of the private party can conflict with the priority given to conservation
- Model / representative museum principle: the project is expected to create a model museum
- Productivity principle: growth regarding the income
- Strong management principle: a special team for the project will be established by TURSAB
- The use of resources for the museum: revenues generated will return to the museum
- Transparency principle: everything related to the project will be 100% open to ministry and other related parties
- Approval principle: every action of TURSAB is subject to the approval of the museum directorate –and other units in related cases

What makes this project unique lies in its attempt to create an autonomous institution in terms of its finances. Normally, all the revenues generated by public cultural institutions –like entrance fees to archaeological sites and museums- go to the central budget to be redistributed within the authorization of the Ministry. The IAM development project caused a change in that system; some percentage of the revenues created by the museum remains for the project to be spent on the museum. The Ministry's older system enabled allocation of funds to smaller sites which do not attract many visitors. However, the museums which receive high number of visitors complain because regardless of their contribution, the budget that is allocated to them is very limited and is only granted upon the request of the institution for projects. Therefore there is no yearly budget assigned to these institutions so that they decide on the breakdown of that amount without being subject to external evaluation or approval. In a way, this system punishes the big museums and their visitors; attracting more visitors or creating more satisfactory visits does not bring any tangible benefits to the institution. Besides this, the museum directorates are also responsible for conducting and supervising archaeological excavations in Turkey, and all the con-

trol on the property or new constructions is handled by the museums. This is an enormous workload. For instance for IAM, which has to assign a supervisor from the museum to each single construction that is undertaken within the historical peninsula. Under these circumstances, most of the museum work becomes bureaucratic paperwork composed of writing of reports and approvals. In the event of any archaeological material being found during a construction, the museum starts a detailed archaeological expedition; one of the most exciting archaeological discoveries of the 21st century, the Yenikapı Excavations, were conducted under the presidency of IAM. The excavations uncovered a Byzantine harbour with 34 ships and the traces of the first settlement in Istanbul from the Neolithic Period, changing the known history of the city.

Under these circumstances, the museum neither possesses the financial or the human resources nor the incentive to invest into creating new displays or to convince decision makers or sponsors to finance an architectural renovation project; not to mention to attract more visitors means dealing with more demands.

The problems regarding this system have been on the agenda of the ministry as well. The solution requires a well-documented and a detailed project or reformation to adjust the system to become more responsive to the needs of the society and to a build relationship with people. But doing nothing would also mean an invitation to a disaster, for instance the 19th century building hosting IAM was in need of immediate maintenance so that it would not fall apart. This particular project was designed as a solution to all of these problems, thus launched with great expectations. So far, the project has produced some tangible results like the renewal and management of book and souvenir shop and cafes; the design and launch of a web-site, some restoration works in the buildings and various activities that aim to attract more visitors to the museum to name a few. However, the project has not yet succeeded in becoming a model project, since there were no other museums becoming a partner in a similar project.

This protocol did not come out of the blue. One can very easily evaluate it within the umbrella of neo-liberal political movements introduced by

the current Turkish government, which is extremely welcoming to any kind of private intervention in public fields. However, one cannot underestimate the importance of the official declaration: for most of the local population of Istanbul, the museum is out of the mental map. So, the mentioned protocol aims to foster interest.

The museum's old governance was characterized by high bureaucracy and chronic shortage of funds, which were thought to be the two main reasons for the absence of a citizen-museum relation. The immediate reaction to this issue was to focus on the "economic value" of the institution hoping that it would foster the cultural values. This protocol, which did not go for a public tender and was directly signed with TURSAB, is a good example of a service oriented cultural policy. The top-down approach which ignores even the consultation with the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums represents the tendency to create a new model of governance. The search for a new governance model for the cultural institutions in the global economy is realized by welcoming private capital through tax incentives and favourable legislation.

3.2. Commercial Centers Project

The 'Project on the Management, Implementation, Development, Supply of Services and Products for the Commercial Centers of Archaeological Sites and Museums' is a significant attempt to introduce the private sector into the management of Turkish archaeological sites and museums. The project – which is again announced as a PPP³²¹ is to open high quality museum shops and it specifically aims:

- To strengthen cultural communication

³²¹ See 2009 report of General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration page 8, in Turkish available at :

<http://dosim.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EF181C1E909B6AD5ED>

- To offer modern and traditional designs and replicas which are branded with the museum or the site
- To create prestigious sales areas in addition to such products and services
- To enrich the museum visit experience
- To generate funds for the preservation and the betterment of the archaeological and historical heritage
- To create new and large markets for the traditional handicrafts producers and designers
- To provide the highest social, economic and cultural added value.³²²

The call for bids for the mentioned project was announced in January 2009 and the bidding took place on 4-6th May 2009 in Ankara. Bilkent Cultural Initiative, which is a trademark of the BILINTUR Bilkent Tourism, Construction, Investment and Commerce Corporation, has become the preferred bidder for the project. Bilintur is part of a group of companies owned by Bilkent University, which is the first private university in Turkey.

A set of conditions for the marketing and production of certain goods was also mentioned in the project's tender file. For instance, 60% of the products which would be sold in the shops had to be related to that particular site and all the shops had to offer Turkish handicrafts, Turkish delight and Turkish coffee, which were considered to reflect Turkish culture. Due to quality concerns and to protect the Turkish market, goods made in China were not allowed. The initial investments were expected to be quite high since the preferred bidder had to build the shops at most of the sites from the scratch and design the products within this limited framework in addition to recruiting many employees both for managerial positions and sales units.

The company "started to open shops and to develop products while initiating sales and marketing activities that would give the existing value of the museum prominence to raise the implicit potential of these

³²² Quoted from the Press Conference File of the Project.

sales in museums and ruins areas to international standards.”³²³ With the vision of being one of the biggest museum and culture initiatives in the world, they opened gift shops and cafeterias at 55 museums and archaeological sites. This indeed made them one of the world’s largest private museum shop operators.

A certain amount of income which is generated through these sales is shared with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Before the project, which will last for 8 years, some of these sites/museums did not have decent visitor services. In this regard, this project was a response to rising tourism needs. As the effects of tourism become too obvious to be overlooked, the government has realized its own incompetence regarding the supply of reputable products and services. The wasted profit potential in addition to the missed opportunity to satisfy tourists who are visiting the archaeological sites and museums are the motivations for the project.

A project of such a scale had some foreseeable and unforeseeable difficulties. For instance, the constructions at the archaeological sites are subject to the review of conservation councils and this bureaucratic approval chain has resulted in long waiting periods and changes in the proposed plans. Another challenge was to find qualified staff especially for the sites in remote areas. Last but not least was the reaction from the local communities to the monopolization of the visitor services. Especially those who had some sales units around the sites were negatively affected by the insertion of this outsider and strong company. At Ephesus, owners of the gift shops outside of the ticket area sued the company since the company was allowed to open a shop inside the gates. In Didyma, the controversial construction of a sales unit which damaged a part of the Apollo Temple’s wall was severely criticized and immediately stopped by the mayor. These issues have also been covered in the newspapers.³²⁴

³²³ Quoted from company’s website, available at :

<http://www.bkg.com.tr/content/1/About%20us/>

³²⁴ See: <http://www.haberaktuel.com/efes-antik-kentinde-muhur-krizi-haberi-299141.html> And <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Milliyet.aspx?aType=SonDakika&ArticleID=1242882> ; <http://haber.sermimar.net/apollon-tapinagindaki-rezalete-belediye-%E2%80%98dur%E2%80%99-dedi.html> (all in Turkish)

3.3. Ticket Offices Project

The tender for the “Modernization and Management of the Entrance Control Systems and the Operation of Ticket Offices of Archaeological Sites and Museums” took place in September, 2010. The project was created to design new control systems for the entrances of 47 museums and archaeological sites all around Turkey and included their operations for a 6-year period. The entrance revenues of these museums and sites correspond to 85% of the total ticket revenue generated in Turkey. The problems regarding the management of ticket offices at museums and sites, such as, the lack of modern entry systems with electronic turnstiles and security cameras, or collection of data on visitors and control of the ticket office employees were already on the agenda of the General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration, the responsible body within the ministry for the collection of entrance fees. Therefore, it was believed that revenues could be increased and with the collection of visitor data, services could be enhanced through the efficient and strict management of the private sector. In the press, several newspaper articles highlighted abuses by ticket-gate staff in the preceding period, with an implicitly positive stance toward the new system.³²⁵ The aim of this partnership, as it is stated in the press file of the project, is to provide the latest technological systems at the entrances of sites and museums, to promote MuseumCard³²⁶ more efficiently, to open new sales channels like web or mobile phones, to create CityCards for tourists, to enable sales with credit cards and foreign currencies at ticket offices and to record the visitor numbers. Out of its share, the preferred bidder was expected to make a projected investment of nearly 7,7 million Euros in the first six months in order to renovate 45 existing and to build 11 new ticket buildings and install 196 security cameras, 214 turnstiles, and 18 automatic ticket kiosks and employ 257

³²⁵ Ömer Erbil, Radikal, Müzelerde Gişe Soygunu, 29.05.2011; Büyük Vurgun: Ayasofya ve Topkapı’da Bal Tutan Parmağını Yalamış, 30.05.2011 available at: <http://www.turkishnews.com/tr/content/2011/05/30/buyuk-vurgun-ayasofya-ve-topkapi%E2%80%99da-bal-tutan-parmagini-yalamis/> (in Turkish)

³²⁶ The card enables Turkish citizens to pay 30TL(cc 13 euros) and to visit the public museums and archaeological sites as much as they want during one year.

people for its new operations. The General directorate stated that their current employees would be relocated to other operations.

Four companies competed for the tender and they were evaluated based on two criteria; activity report and income report. The selection method was the same as the commercial centers project. Both reports were given 50 points in total and if the applicant was not able to score at least 25 points in the activities section, it would not be eligible for the second part, which considers the promised income and the ministry percentage. The activity report was composed of the proposed management model, software that would be used, entrance control systems, sales and marketing strategies, customer satisfaction analysis, partnerships with other institutions, product and service development offers, sales channels, security means, web site and work schedule. The contract also used revenue sharing logic: the contractor would pay the ministry a guaranteed sum each year, plus a fixed percentage of additional income.

The control over ticket prices, discount conditions, Museum Card prices, museum and archaeological site opening hours, and group ticket sales conditions would be retained by the ministry.

Türsab/MTM joint venture was announced as the winner on 29 September 2010. Türsab, which has been discussed for the IAM Development project, chose MTM (Information Software and Security Technology SA) as a partner due to its previous experience in providing information systems, entrance control systems, holographic printing, and surveillance software.

The estimated yield of the program was 1.57 billion TL (\$267 million per year) between 2011 and 2016. Türsab would retain an 11% share. Right after the start of the operations of the private initiative, there was a 24.5% increase in visitor numbers.³²⁷

This sudden increase is explained by a better control of visitors and tickets, rather than from a large increase in real visitor numbers.

³²⁷ See Shoup, Daniel David, Sara Bonini Baraldi and Luca Zan. 2012. *A centralized decentralization: outsourcing in the Turkish cultural heritage sector.*

As a part of his research on the impact of privatization on museum admission fees in Taiwan, Chung elaborated the table below. The aim is to investigate the areas in which the 'National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium' and its private partner 'Hi-Scene World Enterprise Company' started operating after the organizational restructuring.³²⁸

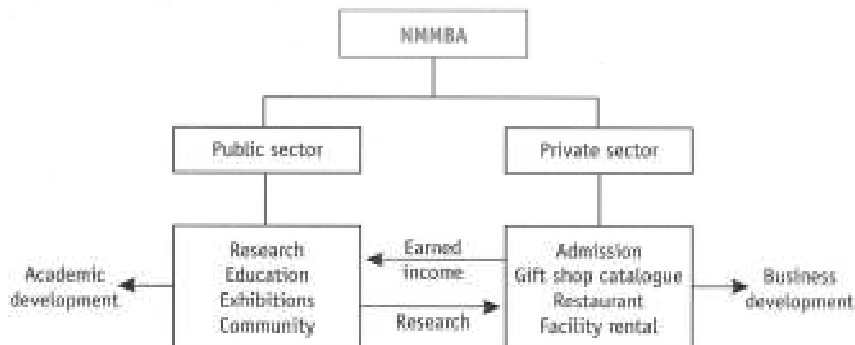


Figure 6: The relationship between NMMBA and Hi-Scene World, taken from Chung, 2005.

As the table shows, the museum uses the earned income generated by the private sector in order to invest in academic development and the museum contributes to the business development of the private partner through research including exhibitions and community outreach. The main difference between this situation and the one in Turkey is the centralized insertion of private actors to individual public institutions without the requirement of organizational integration. For instance, we cannot copy this for the relationship between Anatolian Civilizations Museum and the TURSAB/MTM partnership unless we add the ministry to the scene. The museum is expected to share their research with the private partner. For instance, for the design of gift shop products, knowledge of the collections of individual museums is essential, and accordingly the private partner relies on the museum's expertise. However, the museum does not receive any financial return to use on new

³²⁸See Chung, Yupin. 2005. *The Impact of Privatization on Musuem Admission Charges: A case study from Taiwan*.

exhibitions or research since the entire revenue share goes to the General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration. To make things more complicated this particular directorate does not have the authority to intervene in the museum's internal affairs in cases where they are reluctant to assist the private partner. Therefore, this directorate has to communicate with the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums on this matter.

Keeping this in mind; the questions regarding the partnership projects arise:

Would the increased income go to academic development or would it go to business development to attract more people in order to earn more money? In the second case, would these cultural institutions start appealing to masses leading to popular culture taking over? Would this mean 'democratization' or giving up the ideal of using cultural institutions as educational units? The following chapter will reflect more on these questions.

Overall, the ministry seems content about the results of these partnership projects. However, there were some criticisms from the media.³²⁹ The State's provision of direct profits to selected private companies from activities generated through the cultural heritage of the country is the main source of criticism. The reason behind the sceptical approach to PPPs in the case of Turkey may be that so-called public-private partnerships often involve just government-private interactions, with government failing in any meaningful way to represent 'the public'. The usual suspect refers to the government's frequent disregard of public views and the exclusion of the public from early and meaningful participation. This reflects an approach that can perhaps best be described as reliance on 'Government-Private' rather than on 'Public-Private' Partnerships.³³⁰

³²⁹ See: Özgen Acar, Dösım İhalesinde Gariplik, 17.02.2009, Cumhuriyet; Sahip Çıkamadık O Zaman Satalım Dedik, 30.05.2011 Sol Portal; Çare Özelleştirme(Değil)Dir, Kültür SanatSen Merkez Yönetim Kurulu, 04.06.2011 available at: <http://kultursanatsen.org.tr/haber-duyuru/care-ozellestirme-degildir/> (in Turkish)

³³⁰ See Hayllar, Mark Richard. 2010. *Public-Private Partnerships in Hong Kong: Good Governance – The Essential Missing Ingredient?*

4. A Comparison of Two States: Turkey and Italy

Historical analysis of cultural heritage management practices and the investigation of the emergence of cultural institutions like museums in Turkey and Italy would yield very different results. However, the analysis of the last few decades in terms of the restructurings in the ways that they look after their rich cultural heritage points to an interesting convergence of practices and mentalities.

This part of the chapter looks at the case of Italy with an emphasis on the contemporary political and legislative framework for heritage management through the reading of one specific communication campaign that was prepared by the Italian Ministry of Cultural Assets and Activities (MiBAC) and attempts to compare the two countries.

4.1. Analysis of Italy's Recent Cultural Heritage Management Practices: NPM, Privatization and "Valorizzazione"

Analyzing the cultural scene in Italy more than two decades ago, Bodo summarized the situation as follows:

"The extraordinary wealth and variety of our artistic heritage is both an asset and a burden for the Italian Government. On the other hand, several corporations and financial institutions—which are no longer interested in sponsoring culture—are pushing hard to be entrusted with direct management of some national monuments and museums through forms of concessions. Thanks to their effective management, they claim, the Italian artistic heritage could become a profitable business. This is, in fact, a quite controversial issue, as the operation of cultural institutions by profit making companies could lead, some fear, to a sort of commercialization of culture not taking into account its relevant social aspects."³³¹

This situation is a double-edged sword that is threatening many governments which have traditionally been regarded as the protector and promoter of cultural heritage on behalf of the general public. One edge of the sword is the financial pressures and greater emphasis placed on

³³¹ See Bodo, Carla. 1997. *Finanziamenti pubblici o privati? Considerazioni sulle strategie di privatizzazione*, p:182.

economic sustainability and efficiency as required by NPM movements, the other edge is the commercialization and ignorance of social aspects. Since Bodo pointed out these issues the scene has changed very rapidly in Italy and there have been experiments in order to create new models through which the financial burden of heritage is not placed only on the public's shoulders. Motives to insert private actors into the heritage field partially depend on the particular characteristics of the Italian cultural sector as well as the political and institutional factors purposely designed by the government: "The broadly encompassing conception of cultural heritage that characterizes the Italian policy system invests the public administration with an enormous number of assets and an articulated set of functions. This conception poses the question of how public expenditure should be allocated and it pushes the public sector to seek the involvement of private and non-profit sectors wherever possible."³³²

According to the tradition in Italy, almost all of Italy's cultural assets are protected by the state and the high number of these assets forced and continues to force the government to restructure the way of looking after this artistic past.³³³ Most of these restructurings that have been observable since the 1990s indicate a strong tendency to have a more decentralized approach for the management of cultural heritage through outsourcing, devolution, managerialization and even privatization.³³⁴ For instance, one of the first initiatives long before the privatization attempts was the compensation of the cuts in the state funds with private investment through tax breaks and with a lottery that would finance only cultural projects.³³⁵ According to Darlington, even during the initial endeavours, the ultimate plan was to put some sites

³³²Ponzini, Davide. 2010. The process of privatisation of cultural heritage and the arts in Italy: analysis and perspectives, p: 511.

³³³James, Jennie. 2003. Where Have All The Patrons Gone? *Time*, 9 March. <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,430698,00.html>>

³³⁴Zan, Luca, Baraldi, Sara Bonini and Christopher Gordon. 2007.

³³⁵Darlington, Shasta. 2003. Italian Art Chief Arms Revolution, Not Privatization. 16 February. <<http://www.museum-security.org/03/023.html#3>>

under private management and to foster a broader government proposal to sell off some state estates, including those belonging to the ministry.

In line with what Darlington have predicted, in April 2002, the so-called Tremonti law³³⁶ was approved by the right-wing Berlusconi Government. Consolidated as of 15 June 2002, the Tremonti law made it possible to sell the cultural assets of the country, even to the surprise of those who had already foreseen it. Benedikter³³⁷ analyses the period from 2002 to 2004 focusing on the outcomes of the Tremonti law. Upon the enforcement of the act, two share-holding companies were established. The first was 'State Patrimony Plc', which was completely state-owned and administered by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and possessed all cultural assets that belonged to the state. The second company was 'Infrastructure Plc', to which the first company was allowed to transfer the objects to be privatized or leased. If the assets were under a preservation order, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and MiBAC had to agree.³³⁸ Among the state properties which were transferred to State Patrimony Plc, there were more than 3,000 museums, 2,000 archaeological sites and many castles, gardens and historical buildings. During the sale in 2003, 36 of these listed properties were sold³³⁹. The acquisition of a considerable part of these objects by an American company, Carlyle Group, has been a source of discussion.³⁴⁰ The law introduced in Italy was not only directed to cultural assets; it was also known as a deficit saver law, which indicates that it was a program for the betterment of the economy.³⁴¹ Italy's Minister of Culture, Giuliano Urbani, who was in charge at the time of the legislation, declares:

³³⁶ Articles 7 and 22, introduced in the Financial Act 2002 with the name 'Law 112/2002' by the Italian government, are privatising part of the cultural heritage of the country.

³³⁷ See Benedikter, Roland. 2004. *Privatisation of Italian Cultural Heritage*.

³³⁸ Ibid

³³⁹ Ibid

³⁴⁰ Sgarbi, Vittorio. 2003. *Patrimonio svendesi, ma a pochi offerenti. Chi trae vantaggio dall'alienazione degli immobili pubblici?*

³⁴¹ Benedikter, Ronald. 2004.

“Considering the size of its enormous cultural heritage, Italy spends too little of its GDP to protect it.”³⁴²

Additionally he attempts to define this public problem as a feasible conciliation:

“Italy is like a person with many houses, but also with many debts. So we have to look at which houses are dispensable.”³⁴³

The government that is responsible for the making of the law declared that they had no intention of selling the Colosseum but according to Settis, even though it is possible to believe the minister, in theory the law allows the government to sell whatever it wants³⁴⁴. After the actual sales of some monuments, the news started to find place in the media, and the issue became important in the international arena as well.

“The rumors that Italy’s cultural possessions...archaeological sites and museums... might be privatized triggered an unprecedented alarm in the history of international museology. An open letter emphasizing the museums as cultural institutions which are nonprofit and for the public benefit is sent to the Italian government which is accused of commercializing the culture.”³⁴⁵

The Tremonti law was criticized for being too flexible, leaving room for merchandising the cultural heritage of the country. According to Carman, the public spends valuable resources for the preservation and non-consumption of cultural heritage and it is through this spending that the aura of public domain would be created.³⁴⁶ This aura in turn gives the impression that cultural heritage does not serve for an everyday consumption through which things are used up, discarded or ignored.³⁴⁷ However, by making it possible to sell some part of this heri-

³⁴² Quoted in ‘Italian Art Chief Arms Revolution, Not Privatization’ by Shasta Darlington. <<http://www.museum-security.org/03/023.html#3>>

³⁴³ For more statements of Giuliano Urbani, see Roland Benedikter, *Privatization of Italian Cultural Heritage*.

³⁴⁴ See Settis, Salvatore. 2007. *Italia S.p.A. L’assalto al patrimonio culturale*.

³⁴⁵ Benedikter, Ronald. 2004, p: 383.

³⁴⁶ Carman, John. 1995. *The Importance of Things: archaeology and the law*.

³⁴⁷ Ibid

tage with the introduction of the law in Italy, elements of cultural heritage become saleable and this situation has the potential to undermine the value, especially the aesthetic value ascribed to the public domain of heritage. For instance, Kant's concept of aesthetic pleasure as a "disinterested" one opposed both to sensual, hedonistic pleasure, and to economic profit and utilitarian interest is being challenged with the institutionalization of heritage, which is a function held by the State through public offices. In parallel to the processes of aesthetic "isolation" of the artistic patrimony, like the ideology of public museums, galleries, and so on, the preservation and non-consumption of cultural heritage can be considered on their institutional side.³⁴⁸

The mentality which favors privatization for the sake of creating alternative funding resources is a reflection of the application of NPM principles to the cultural institutions. Such principles require administrators to become managers. And they become diffused with the transfer of private sector managers into the public sector³⁴⁹. The assignment of Mario Resca, who was a manager at McDonalds Italy, as the General Director for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage, is a living example of how NPM has been experienced at cultural institutions in Italy. The application of NPM to the Italian public sector in general aimed to correct the structural defects in the public administration by achieving the proclaimed NPM principles like "focus on results in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and quality of service by setting standards of productivity; an orientation towards citizens-consumers in terms of service quality and customer satisfaction; the introduction of market mechanisms; a more strategic focus on the reinforcement of strategic capacity."³⁵⁰

In this regard, different public offices including the ones within MiBAC have started to show increased attention to market mechanisms. It is also worth highlighting the "publicness" or the public relevance represented by the office to which Mr. Resca was appointed. Compared to a public museum which is also dependent on public funds for survival, a

³⁴⁸ I would like to thank Lorenzo Lattanzi for this comment.

³⁴⁹ See Sözen, Süleyman and Ian Shaw. 2002. *The International Applicability of "New" Public Management: lessons from Turkey*.

³⁵⁰ See Calogero, Marino. 2010. *The Introduction of New Public Management Principles in the Italian Public Sector*, p:30.

general directorate which is a direct part of the ministry is a much more accurate reflection of state traditions and bureaucracy. Although these offices might be considered resistant to change and are not assumed to give way to pressures for the implementation of NPM-type of reforms, as Sözen and Shaw³⁵¹ claim, if the government were committed to the application of these reforms, the change starts from the positions that are the closest to the government. They are the offices which actually decide on the applicability of movements like NPM to the whole system. Even though there might be some opposing voices, they are eventually silenced with the new assignments directly by the ministers or high-rank officials. Therefore the extent to which a public institution holds publicness is an important determinant in the success of the adaptation of a new approach.

Not only in Italy but in different parts of the world, this new approach, which introduces private sector values and management practices to the traditional bureaucratic command and control mechanisms, has been observed in different public cultural institutions. According to Zan these institutions “take part, more reluctantly than willingly, in this process of ‘economizing’ that has found in a particular way within Thatcherism the ideal historical-economic context for the development of value for money approach, with an emphasis on the use (and value) of public money.”³⁵² Therefore, what is happening in the cultural scene both in Italy and in other countries is the creation of survival strategies under this new regime which is being dominated by the search for value of public money accompanied by an increased call for accountability. Many of the strategies aim to turn the economic burden of heritage into an asset and to create measureable success criteria, like the visitor numbers.

In his book titled *Italia S.p.A (Italy Ltd.)*, Settis gives a brilliant description of the transformation that the cultural heritage is going through and he criticizes the mindset which sees heritage as a sort of bank deposit, an accessory without institutional importance which can be in-

³⁵¹Sözen, Süleyman and Ian Shaw. 2002.

³⁵² See Zan, Luca. 2006. *Arts Organizations between uses and abuses of Managerial Rhetoric*, p:8.

vested and spent without further consideration, “like money which has been accumulated under the mattress to be spent for the joy of the grandchildren by an elderly uncle in a rather ancient manner.”³⁵³ Moreover, the matter cannot be easily discussed in a political context reduced to the basic division of left and right and concluded that it is the product of a specific political orientation. The emergence of the strategies which favour the economic exploitation of the cultural heritage can be traced during the offices of different ministers both from the left and right wing like Walter Veltroni, Giovanna Melandri, Giuliano Urbani or Sandro Bondi. In line with this, “the use of mixed public-private entities in the management of museums adopted by the rightwing government is identical to the one designed a few years before by the left for Lyric Theatres.”³⁵⁴

Ponzini classifies the initiatives undertaken by the government during the process of privatization into three groups; first as the “the alienation and securitisation of state-owned historic real estate which is usually referred to as the privatization example; secondly, the establishment of mixed public-private entities to manage and to promote (*valorizzare*) cultural heritage and the arts; and thirdly, the introduction of private actors into policy-making and implementation.”³⁵⁵ What has been discussed quite widely within the academia is the notion of “*valorizzazione*” listed in the second group. Ponzini translates the word as promotion; however, it is possible to find different versions including “enhancement”, as it will be referred to here. Apart from privatization, the notion of enhancement defined as an agent of development has been considered as one of the concrete steps taken during the offices of different ministers. While the abrupt privatization decision -although it has not been repeated and has not produced any further tangible acts- has been discussed internationally and nationally quite widely, the enhancement concept has taken a firmer place in the legal system and in the practices without provoking that much public debate. It was presented for the first time in a normative text in 1964 within the law 310,

³⁵³ Settis, Salvatore. 2007, p: 8.

³⁵⁴ See Ponzini, Davide. 2010. *The process of privatisation of cultural heritage and the arts in Italy: analysis and perspectives*, p:516.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p:511.

creation of Franceschini Commission; its legal definition comes in 1998 with the legislative decree no. 112. Article 148 of the same decree describes enhancement as “every activity that is performed in order to better the conditions of awareness and conservation of cultural heritage and landscape and to boost fruition.”³⁵⁶

The current Code for cultural and natural heritage devotes more space to the explanation of the concept: ³⁵⁷

“Enhancement consists of the exercise of the functions and of the regulation of activities aimed at promoting knowledge of the cultural heritage and at ensuring the best conditions for the utilization and public enjoyment of the same heritage. Enhancement also includes promotion and the support of the conservation work on the cultural heritage. Enhancement is carried out in forms which are compatible with protection and which are such as not to prejudice its exigencies. The republic shall foster and sustain the participation of private subjects, be they single individuals or associations, in the enhancement of cultural heritage.”

According to Casini³⁵⁸ the enhancement function has limitations due to the overlapping areas and due to numerous interactions found within different administrative functions for cultural heritage. Additionally, the State’s limited budget has directed the function of enhancement into an entrepreneurial management of cultural heritage and as a result, the conflict between conservation and fruition has increased. He also states that enhancement has undertaken a role to defend the national and local identity against the effects of cultural homogenization related to the globalization phenomena.³⁵⁹

The concept of enhancement did not come out of blue; it is both the cause and the result of a specific policy which emphasizes the potential economic use of heritage. It produces its own practices and sets of rules within the governmental bodies responsible for Italy’s cultural institutions.

³⁵⁶Casini, Lorenzo. 2001. *La valorizzazione dei beni culturali*, p: 657.

³⁵⁷ Article 6 of Legislative Decree No.42 of 22 January 2004, Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage.

³⁵⁸Casini, Lorenzo. 2001.

³⁵⁹*Ibid*

4.2. An example of the State Language: “If you do not visit, we will take it away.”



Figures 7&8: “If you do not visit, we will take it away” Campaign.

The slogan ends neither with an exclamation mark nor with three dots but with a full stop. It has a very clear message and it does not intend to create any further discussion on the matter. These words belong to the Italian State which, in this case, can be allegorized with an elderly family member raising his eyebrows to meet any potential excuses: what is said is said and this conversation ends here.

This slogan, accompanying some apocalyptic graphics, appeared on a communication campaign designed by MiBAC. The communication campaign, which aims to attract national visitors to Italian museums, was composed of huge posters, video and radio advertisements, all of which used the same slogan with three different visuals. The protagonists for the visuals were Michelangelo’s “David”, Leonardo da Vinci’s the “Last Supper” and the “Colosseum”, which were portrayed as being in the process of being severed from their place of birth before being carried off to other countries. The billboards with the visuals of the

campaign were placed in the main squares of Milan and Rome for five weeks at the beginning of 2010. Gigantic panels with the images of the “Last Supper” of Leonardo da Vinci and the “Colosseum”³⁶⁰ would not have gone unnoticed by the thousands who pass through these squares every day, though for those who did not know Italian, it would only convey the visual message rather than the threatening slogan which was written only in Italian.

The sub-slogan which is placed right under the main one carries a similar imperative tone but it also tries to give some context to its threats:

“In Italy, the masterpieces of history of art are waiting for you. Rediscover them.”³⁶¹

Both the main and the sub-slogan remains the same for three consequent and different visuals, each portraying different ancient objects which are being placed in unnatural settings that hardly resemble their current safeguarded environments, and which are being exposed to unimaginable treatments. The casting for the campaign should not have provoked many discussions since all the chosen objects/sites are very recognizable, not only for the Italians but for the international audience as well. Although there is no official statement about the succession of the scenes, one tends to sequence them in terms of the presence of sunlight, in other words, based on the time of the day. In that regard, the earliest shot should belong to that of the Colosseum, which is being disassembled into pieces just before sunrise. The overall atmosphere gives the impression of a controlled evacuation on a gray day which one would expect to find in a doomsday movie. There is no hint regarding its final destination. A closer look spots many workers engaged in the dismantling activity. In his book *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* Benjamin formulates the concept of “ruin”. The ruin “is

³⁶⁰ Although another scene with “David” of Michelangelo was designed and can be seen on the Ministry’s web page, it was never displayed in a public place. The visuals can be downloaded from: <http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/opencms/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html?id=65390&pagename=129>

³⁶¹ “In Italia ti aspettano da sempre i piu grandi capolavori della storia dell’arte. Riscopriili.”

valuable because it delves beyond the aesthetic of the ruin as an object, and reads it as a process, a means of demystifying and stripping away symbolism – a means of approaching historical truth through reduction”³⁶². The degree to which the Colosseum will be ruined after the dismantling and carrying away process announced in the image will prove to be an example of this concept. From then on, once MiBAC takes the monument away to make the Italians rediscover the value of their cultural heritage, the monument itself will bear the traces of this particular act which will no longer underline its aesthetic value but the particular treatment it will have been subjected to.

Following the same logic for the sequences, the second scene which shows the rise of a new day is the one with Michelangelo’s David being portrayed during its transportation to London as is obvious from the skyline. The skyline from where the statue has been brought is quite gray compared to that of London. The statue is tied to four helicopters in a vertical position. Although to a lesser extent in comparison to the Colosseum scene, there still is an evacuation atmosphere, but maybe this time because of a war as we can see helicopters with the soldiers inside. Both scenes could have been part of a movie, especially an apocalyptic one since it is very common to come across famous artworks in such movies. For instance, the movie of “Children of Men”³⁶³, which is about social collapse due to the infertility of the human race shows Battersea Power Station in London, which has been turned into the Ministry of Art’s “Ark of Arts”—a store for humanity’s art treasures, including Michelangelo’s “David”, with a missing leg, and Picasso’s “Guernica”. Likewise in the post-apocalypse movie “I Am Legend”³⁶⁴, the last survivor of a deadly disease in New York gathers a collection of famous artworks like Vincent van Gogh’s “The Starry Night” and “Road with Cypress and Star” or Paul Cezanne’s “Still Life with Peaches and Pears”. “28 Days Later”³⁶⁵ on the survival attempts of a handful of people from a deadly disease casts “Laocoon”, probably for

³⁶²Stead, Naomi. 2003. *The Value of Ruins: Allegories of Destruction in Benjamin and Speer*, p: 51.

³⁶³ Children of Men, 2006, directed by Alfonso Cuarón.

³⁶⁴ I am Legend, 2007, directed by Francis Lawrence.

³⁶⁵ 28 Days Later, 2008, directed by Danny Boyle.

symbolic reference, whereas in “Equilibrium”³⁶⁶ which takes place in a fascist future, everything that evokes emotions is collected by government agents and the “Mona Lisa” is condemned to destruction.

This atmosphere of taking things away in a Noah’s ark manner that finds a reference in the end-of-the world movies is not dominant in the last scene of MiBAC’s communication campaign which is of “Last Supper” of Leonardo da Vinci. Three workers, under the meticulous supervision of the fourth one, are trying to stabilize a huge wall piece which is being lifted, probably by a crane not visible to us except for the hook part. Some passersby are watching the workers. For sure it is not just any wall section that immediately attracts an audience to watch the transportation spectacle; it is the end wall of the dining hall at the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie which has the Last Supper on it. One can easily spot two US flags hanging at the first floor of a building to the right side of the visual and the Ministry’s web site confirms that the city is New York.

The campaign was based on the initiatives of the General Director for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage, Mario Resca³⁶⁷, whose prompt transfer from the private sector to the public sector in 2008 had resulted in a public outcry in Italy. If any name had to be chosen which would personify the controversial approach to cultural heritage (characterized by a willingness to incorporate private sector values into its management without considering the side effects of its commodification) from any place on earth, Mr. Resca could have been a strong candidate, not only because of the above mentioned or similar campaigns/statements that he has put his signature to but also due to his previous career as the former CEO of McDonald’s Italy. The obvious connotation with Mr. Resca’s former profession (“McDonaldization” of culture) and his assignment by the Berlusconi government have been considered as a part of the controversial new approach in Italy³⁶⁸. The creative brief that was

³⁶⁶ *Equilibrium*, 2002, directed by Kurt Wimmer.

³⁶⁷ Mr. Resca served from November 2008 to August 2012 when Anna Maria Buzzi was assigned to the position.

http://www.valorizzazione.beniculturali.it/varie/ComunicatiStampa/Buzzi_stampa.pdf

³⁶⁸ Starr, Fiona. 2010. *The Business of Heritage and the Private Sector*.

provided to the agency which designed the visuals materializes this approach. The brief is as follows:³⁶⁹

Object of Communication: To make Italians rediscover the artistic heritage of our country and to reverse the negative trend of visitor numbers.

Insight: Italians tend to visit cultural sites and museums more when they are abroad, while they somehow seem to “snub” the immense artistic heritage that they have at home. Moreover, they usually complain about the fact that many Italian masterpieces are being displayed at these museums.

“It is strange: I go abroad and I see all the best Italian artworks.

Statistics: A quantitative investigation on the behaviours of Italian tourists during their holidays, conducted by UNIONCAMERE in collaboration with the National Observatory of Tourism, reveals that 46.5% of them participate in a cultural activity abroad, while 14.5% of them do the same in Italy.

Strategic Idea: To raise the Italians’ awareness about the richness of local artistic heritage through a provocation.

“To make you visit our artworks, do we maybe have to take them abroad?”

Target of Communication: Italians who usually do not take into consideration the artistic heritage of their country, their city or other Italian cities’. Those who pass by, those who come into contact with but do not experience or those who take for granted the national artistic heritage.

Opportunity: Enhance our cultural heritage, by establishing a powerful leadership at international level.

Promise: To see a great artistic heritage, you do not have to go far.

Tone of voice: Provocative and Ironic

Created as a result of this brief, the campaign was placed in the main squares passed through by many non-Italians as well, one possible interpretation of which is that the Italian government is threatening or

³⁶⁹ Translated from Italian original which can be downloaded from:

http://151.12.58.78:8080/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/Ministero/UfficioStampa/ComunicatiStampa/visualizza_asset.html 1610533617.html

embarrassing its citizens in front of foreign visitors. The fact that Italians tend to visit cultural sites when they are abroad but they do not visit the ones at home had become a cause for concern since the country was suffering from a decreasing number of visitors. This situation in turn affected the revenues from ticket offices and more importantly put Italy in a disadvantageous position among other countries which are famous for cultural tourism like the United Kingdom or France. Consequently, the MiBAC aimed to reposition itself as a leader in the international arena. The remarks that were highlighted throughout the brief were all organized according to basic marketing concepts and even the jargon was a purely business oriented one. The specification of the target, the clear and understandable message and the underlying motivation are all examples of basic marketing tools. For instance, the main motivation is given as being to increase ticket revenues by increasing the number of people who visit the cultural sites. For a private firm it is quite crucial to create loyal customers; there is a great deal of research on the importance of “making your customers come back”. In this regard, tourists are one time visitors by their nature; however, locals have the potential to turn into loyal customers.

In fact the campaign is not ignoring the fact that cultural heritage is not a simple product; it takes people’s sensitivity as given. It does not question the nature of the cultural heritage but sees it as a resource and simply chooses a tone of address which could irritate some of the citizens.

It was possible to find differing reactions from blogs, on-line articles and newspapers. Some offer different slogans as a reaction: “Maybe something like: *if you do not visit, we will sell it to the Chinese* might have worked even better”.³⁷⁰ The appearance of Italy’s best-known cultural symbols as the protagonist of the campaign was also criticized:

³⁷⁰Translated from the Italian original: “Forse qualcosa del tipo *Se non lo visiti lo vendiamo ai cinesi* avrebbe funzionato anche meglio” <<http://www.travelblog.it/post/9253/se-non-lo-visiti-lo-portiamo-via-la-nuova-campagna-del-ministero-della-cultura>>

"A truly shocking campaign? Although really pretty, not really all that provocative, in my opinion. Rather limited, covering only Italy's three 'antiquity superstars'!"³⁷¹

Moreover, Piergiorgio Benvenuti, the Coordinator of Lazio Region for the European Ecological Movement underlines the tone and language of the slogan: "The message is pedagogically wrong, harmful especially for younger generations; it represents a "moral blackmail" that asks for more visits to the Colosseum which will otherwise be disassembled and taken to a place rather than the one in which it has always existed."³⁷²

Mario Resca's campaign can be considered as an outcome of a more detailed plan. He says that Italy must also expand its 'client potential' through marketing campaigns in economies like China and India, and develop tourism infrastructure in less-visited cities to allow "underperforming museums to grow"³⁷³. He also states that Italy's cultural patrimony "is a strategic asset like oil, with zero costs because it is there." Mr. Resca adds, "Of course you have to protect it and care for it, but it has a value that we can leverage and develop."³⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that Mr. Resca was not the first person who made the analogy between the oil and the heritage in the Italian public discourse about heritage. The phrase "arts is the petroleum of Italy" was constantly used during the parliamentary debates in the years between two the world

³⁷¹<<http://heritage-key.com/blogs/ann/colosseum-david-and-last-supper-threatened-ad-campaign>>

³⁷² Translated from the Italian original: E' un messaggio pedagogicamente errato, diseducativo soprattutto per i giovanissimi, che raffigura il "ricatto morale" di chi chiede maggiori visite al Colosseo altrimenti verrà smontato e portato via dal luogo in cui è presente da sempre <<http://fareambientelazio.wordpress.com/2010/01/19/turismo-nella-campagna-shock-del-mibac-smontato-il-colosseo-fare-ambiente-bene-la-valorizzazione-del-patrimonio-culturale-ma-scegliere-altre-forme-di-comunicazione/>>

³⁷³Povoledo, Elisabetta. 2008. Cheeseburgers Get Into the Mix in the Italian Debate on Museums. *The New York Times*. November 22.

³⁷⁴Ibid

wars³⁷⁵; more interestingly, “the common heritage of mankind” is a phrase first coined in the journal *Foreign Affairs* to refer to Mideast oil.³⁷⁶

Being a product of the mentioned bodies, the communication campaign of MiBAC embodies all the concerns that arise from the diffusion of enhancement and becomes a unit of analysis for the economically driven policies. For this reason, it has also been blamed for creating room for commodification of Italian heritage.³⁷⁷ The socially relevant feature of commodity is its exchangeability for some other thing.³⁷⁸ In the absence of this feature a thing ceases to be a commodity. Heritage by nature is expected not to hold this feature and therefore not to fall under the category of a commodity. One of the actions that are being portrayed in the campaign is a transaction of an important heritage; although what is being demanded in return is not of prime importance and therefore not mentioned at all, what is very clear is the creation of room for the exchangeability of heritage.

“We live in a capitalist consumerist society where culture is commodified for hedonistic consumption, and where we have become skilled consumers of every product, including heritage itself.”³⁷⁹ For instance, Adorno’s critique on the culture industry exemplifies commodification with the ease of reproduction of cultural artifacts and experience in mechanical forms which had the inevitable effect of devaluing their uniqueness.³⁸⁰ Adorno’s critique is very much in line with Benjamin’s notion of aura. Benjamin argues that the “aura” of the original, unique work of art is lost in reproducibility. “Even the most perfect reproduc-

³⁷⁵Settis, Salvatore. 2007.

³⁷⁶ See Lowenthal, David. 1996. *Stewardship, sanctimony and selfishness – a heritage paradox*

³⁷⁷ The meaning of *valorizzazione* has been discussed among Italian scholars; for different interpretations see “L’attrattività della conoscenza: cosa significa valorizzare i luoghi di cultura”, Art for Business Forum, <<http://artforbusiness.it/forum2010/?p=2252>> or “Beni culturali nel 2010: la visione della direzione per la valorizzazione”, <<http://www.tafter.it/2009/12/23/beni-culturali-nel-2010-la-visione-della-direzione-per-la-valorizzazione/>> (in Italian)

³⁷⁸Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. *Introduction: commodities and the politics of value*.

³⁷⁹Hannabuss, Stuart. 1999. Postmodernism and the heritage experience, p: 298.

³⁸⁰Adorno, Theodor. 1991. Culture industry reconsidered.

tion of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be.”³⁸¹ The critical perspective of the Frankfurt School implies a more general opposition to the bourgeois social organization, including the idea of a separated aesthetic domain which a privileged class should enjoy in a disinterested way. Recalling Adorno’s and Benjamin’s criticisms and staring at the billboards with the images of the superstars of antiquity, one is struck by the fact that MiBAC does not hesitate to jeopardize the otherworldly uniqueness of these ancient objects. It is true that these antiquities have been commodified in many different ways to be sold as souvenirs or as tourism products to name a few, but the campaign is more subtle in its trial for sales of a museum visit. Traditional ways of “exposing” the cultural patrimony to the public in museums, art galleries, exhibitions, etc. proved to be largely unsuccessful in terms of real education in taste and knowledge. The campaign would still have been considered a great success if all the Italians had queued to buy a ticket in front of the Galleria dell’Accademia but then the moment they bought the ticket they went away without setting foot inside the museum building.

When the State puts forward an open call to visit cultural sites and museums, it reduces participation in a cultural activity to a state which lacks comprehension of possible reasons why people do not visit these sites. To what extent participation to cultural activities depends on the individual preferences and how these preferences are shaped has been the focal point of much research. For instance, the concept of cultural capital, as developed and elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu, analyses the impact of culture on the class system and the relationship between action and social structure.³⁸² Bourdieu’s principal proposal is that people, “in order to appreciate or understand certain forms of cultural production, must have experienced certain forms of socialization, that is, a familial upbringing and education, that has endowed them with

³⁸¹Benjamin, Walter. 1936. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p.II.

³⁸²Lamont, Michele and Annette Lareau. 1998. *Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments*.

the ‘cultural competence’ necessary to recognize such productions”³⁸³. “A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded”³⁸⁴.

Although “the concept of cultural capital is an unsettling one which challenges agendas and poses difficult questions, perhaps more easily than it answers them”³⁸⁵, Bourdieu’s theory on cultural capital and taste offers the most comprehensive and influential attempt to develop a theoretical framework to plump the social pattern of consumption in an increasingly mystified social world.³⁸⁶ In this regard, it seems to be the right concept to identify the fact that different types of consumption require different sorts and amounts of capital. When all the emphasis is placed on ticket revenues, the number of visitors and visitors as mere customers leading to the economic exploitation of cultural heritage, the notion of cultural capital is ignored. In this regard, the economic capital is enough if the plan is to engage the community just by paying entrance fees, but the scene changes dramatically and calls for a multilayered understanding of the society when it also comes to engaging them with the preservation and the broader spectrum of their cultural heritage.

Considering all these populist moves by different governments, one feels the need to question the extent to which politicians and decision makers see the nation as free and rational citizens as opposed to an aggregate of isolated and mindless consumers. Since the neo-liberal movements which are evident in various sectors and in various political systems around the world indicate a strong tendency to create corporate States, and with the rise of the application of NPM techniques, the citizens have started to be put in the place of the consumer.

The distinction between the consumer and the citizen is crucial to an understanding of the causes of the emergence of new mindsets to

³⁸³Walsh, Kevin. 1992. *Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*, p: 124.

³⁸⁴Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, p:2.

³⁸⁵Bennett, Tony and Mike Savage. 2004. *Introduction: Cultural Capital and Cultural Policy*, p:12.

³⁸⁶Holt, Douglas B. 1998. *Does cultural capital structure American consumption?*

which the campaign of MiBAC represents a distinctive example. For instance, the creative brief which was given to the design agency indicated that Italians tended to visit more museums when they were abroad. Thus, it is necessary to make them discover their own treasures and enable enhancement. However, this discourse does not have any consistent arguments on the social or educational side; it is merely a calculation of tourism accounts. The tourism industry has been growing rapidly over the past two decades, and the expansion will probably continue well into the future. That is why many governments are investing in tourism infrastructures and competing with each other to become a major tourism destination. Since tourism revenue is written to exports in the GDP, it is very appealing in terms of revenue generation at a national level. However, there is also another side to the coin; in the case of out-going tourism there is a substantial outflow of national money. This situation is one of the main engines of Mr. Resca's communication campaign which clearly lacks any kind of consideration of the negative effects of tourism such as congestion at sites and psychological barriers it creates for local visitors. The campaign also presses the national pride button. As they say in the slogan, it is Italy that has the masterpieces and it is the loyalty to the national heritage that needs to be elicited: be proud of YOUR heritage and SHOW that, be more loyal to the national than to the foreign and prove this by paying for it.

The governmentality concept elaborated by Foucault in his lectures at the College de France investigates the ways in which the government thinks or functions under neo-liberalism. In this interpretation, the government does not explicitly order the citizens to do one thing or another. Instead the citizens are told that they are free in their choices, and it is through these autonomous people that governmentality is internalized.³⁸⁷ In a similar vein, the campaign demonstrates a "democratic blackmail": the citizens are asked to decide on the future of the heritage by visiting it or not. Their choice will determine the behaviour of the government who will in turn be freed from any responsibility since all they would do would be to follow the voice of the people. In a

³⁸⁷Foucault, Michel. 2002. *Toplumu Savunmak Gerekir*. (Society Must be Defended)

scenario where people did not come and the Last Supper was taken away, the government would present it as vox populi.

This particular communication campaign, besides its connotation with the worldwide neo-liberal movements that tend to favour private intervention in many public sectors, can be referred to as a demonstration of the contemporary understanding of the use of arts and culture as a means of enabling public intervention in the formation of aesthetic taste and the requirements of this taste. Following the perspective of Duncan³⁸⁸, who mentions the “evidence of a political virtue as an indication of a government that provided the right things for its people”, the government believes that participation in a cultural event like visiting a museum is a duty of the citizen, albeit in a different sense from the one offered by Duncan which describes the type of civilized behaviour expected from a citizen, as a financial contributor to save the State from a difficult economic situation. Here we can see the consumer-citizen conflict quite evidently since what the citizens get out of the visit is not very meaningful if all that matters is that they visit the museum and pay the entrance fee.

4.3. Comparison: A summary of Turkey’s recent approach and its similarities to and differences from the Italian approach.

Italian museums emerged out of great collections of the ruling class and the Vatican and they were seen as a sign of prestige and an important element of sovereignty. The emergence of museums with the founding of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul has already been explained in detail above. The two countries therefore cannot be compared in terms of the motivations leading to the emergence of the museums. Even when the ownership of cultural heritage is transferred from the sultan to the state with the transition from empire to the republic in Turkey, the lack of private interest which marked the Italian scene was so evident that one of the aims of the Republican Reforms was to artificially create this interest. What is remarkable is the conver-

³⁸⁸Duncan, Carol. 1991. *Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship*, p: 88.

gence of two countries with drastically different histories in regards to the approach of the cultural heritage found on their territory.

Italy has held an important position as a source nation for centuries and has been subject to numerous cases regarding the illicit expropriation of cultural assets. The reason why Italy is so much associated with the rich cultural heritage does not only stem from being a blessed source nation by chance but also from the accumulated practices and tradition of preservation forming a sophisticated legal and institutional system. The 'Italian model' of management and stewardship of cultural heritage has certain characteristics:

- The concept of cultural heritage like one organism strictly linked to the territory where it was created,
- The idea that heritage in its integrity constitutes a supporting element which cannot be given up for the sake of civil society and civil identity firstly of the citizens of ancient states and then of Italian citizens,
- Consequently, the centrality in the management of artistic heritage means that the state ensures its protection regardless of its ownership through the establishment of norms applicable to those held in private ownership.³⁸⁹

However, recent shifts in the mindset of the politicians and decision makers, some of which have been analyzed, indicate a willingness to reposition Italy in the international arena through a transformation from a constitutional obligation to protect cultural heritage toward an entrepreneurial model that exploits it. Italy is surely not alone in following such a strategy. In many countries, including Turkey, profit oriented capitalist material practices are among those processes which have a distinctive role in the contemporary uses of cultural heritage.

Most of the similarities that the two countries share stem from the application of NPM and its effects on cultural institutions. The growing interest in private sector support backed by legal and administrative restructurings is comparable too. The politicians' statements show similarities as well; the economic value of cultural heritage is being stressed by both countries' decision makers. In terms of the privatization

³⁸⁹Settis, Salvatore. 2007.

movements, Italy has been the first to actually sell some of the listed cultural heritage, whereas Turkey is currently experimenting with public-private partnership projects. The assignment of Mr. Resca was another reflection of NPM, for which Turkey has prepared the legal background but which has not been implemented in cultural institutions for the time being.

Settis, looks at the governmental institutionalization of cultural heritage in Italy. In 1974, the general directorate which was responsible for the museums and superintendence of monuments “Antiquity and Fine Arts” under the Ministry of Public Education becomes “Cultural Assets” with a ministry of its own. The foundation of the Ministry as a new entity does not in the end turn out to be an event to celebrate since it was immediately seen as a ‘minor’ department and in fact associated with weak roles of secondary importance, with poor institutional visions, inefficient to manage the change with limited or no capacity for taking initiatives, with very little contractual power among other ministries or would be seen as the first step in the careers of ambitious ministers and for that matter they would rush to be transferred to another field.³⁹⁰ His description of the Italian ministry is applicable to the case of Turkey.

The last common point is the comparison of the respective campaigns of Italy and Turkey. The use of an *if clause* in grammar **indicates that “something happens when something else happens or exists”**. When pronounced by the State, an *if clause* generally gives rise to the use of unbalanced power. The lack of understanding about the cultural capital, or maybe the absence of such capital in those who pronounce these *if* sentences exposes the citizen to the threat of the State and the citizen is expected to perform some specified action to stop the government from doing something that would bring no benefits to anyone. In a similar vein, the “you” form that is being used in the “if you do not visit” part is a singular one, whereas the State is represented as “we” in the “we will take it away” part. This is another demonstration of the use of unbalanced power. The “if” language can obviously be heard from different States with reference to different situations but to give

³⁹⁰Settis, Salvatore. 2007.

an example from the cultural heritage field, the recent statements of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism are worthy of mention at this point. Turkey's restitution campaign, which has been discussed in detail in a previous section, uses a similar tone. The language that is being used for this campaign is another "if" fight: "If those institutions do not return what belongs to Turkey, we will not give any further loans and we will suspend all our collaborations with them". Here the respondents are the institutions but it is usually the general public who is paying for the ego of the States; in the Italian case the ones who already go to the museums are somehow condemned, while in Turkey the national and international public is affected in a negative way.

Chapter 4: “PUBLIC” AS PEOPLE: FIELD STUDY AND FINDINGS

The 4th chapter of the thesis mainly presents the results of the field survey, which was undertaken in order to understand the public perception of PPPs. The case, which is chosen for this study, is the ticket office-outsourcing project that took place at 47 archaeological sites and museums in different cities in Turkey. As explained in the 1st chapter, the collected data is analyzed using SPSS and discussed in the light of previous points. This part of the study will also give more insight about this particular project, in terms of the history and the touristic potential of the sites that have been visited. The final analysis and discussion of the findings aim to answer the research questions in the light of statistical and descriptive data. The application of public value framework to the PPP project, which is under consideration, will offer the opportunity to look at it with a critical and a theoretical perspective.

1. The Field Study

The field study was conducted in 2012 from July to November. Prior to the study, a permission request letter had been sent to the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums asking for their consent for such a study at the sites under their supervision. Although the General Directorate had sent the request letter to all of the museums, only one museum, Alanya, replied in regards to the rules and procedures of such a study.³⁹¹ In most of the cases, the permission was asked from the museum director upon arrival to the site especially for the interviews conducted inside of the museums, however for the archaeological sites, a brief introduction about the research was given to the personnel working on the site. The researcher is a holder of professional tour guiding license, which not only offered unlimited free access to archaeological sites and museums but also made it very easy to communicate especially with the security and also the personnel working at

³⁹¹ The letter for permission included a list of all the museums which were subject to Ticket Offices' project; however, in the end, only some of them were selected for the field survey and Alanya was not among them because it was away from the chosen travel itinerary.

ticket offices or at the commercial canters. The license acted as a justification to stay at the site as long as desired, and it was especially useful at sites where there was no reply to prior communication about permission or where it was not possible to contact the museum director to ask for an instant confirmation. Additionally, carrying an official badge must have created an impression on the visitors most of whom (nearly 98%) participated to the survey without hesitation.

The minimum time required for the completion of each single interview was less than five minutes, and it varied depending on the availability and the willingness of the participant to share their ideas. Some of the questions that were planned to be a part of the interview were cancelled upon the conduct of a pilot study at Istanbul Archaeological Museums. It indicated that some questions were not clear enough. Time devoted for each interview was also an outcome of the pilot study.

Special attention was paid to the way that the questions were asked in order to ensure standardization. Most of the questions were already written down; there was only one question where the participants were asked about their opinion about a visual. The way the visual was described to the participants was always the same. The question will be explained later in detail.

124 structured interviews were made with Turkish visitors at 21 different sites. Although there was initially a quota for each site, in some cases the lack of local visitors made it impossible to reach the targeted number. The sites on the Aegean and the Mediterranean region were visited in July; due to the costs usually one day was devoted to each single site depending on the scale of the site and the number of interviews. In some cases, such as Ephesus, three consequent days were needed including a meeting with the museum director. Even though the interview themselves did not take long most of the time, finding a suitable place where people could rest and answer the questions took more time. In the end, an average of 10-15 interviews could be conducted per day. Another limitation was the extreme weather conditions at most of the sites; the boiling sun made it simply impossible to talk to people at length.

1.1. Reason for the Selection of the Case

This thesis departed from the notion of public as it is applied to cultural heritage studies. Grasping the meaning of its use in cultural heritage management in Turkey is crucial to build an understanding of the relationship between State and the people. Three PPP projects in Turkey have already been discussed in chapter 3. In line with the research questions of this thesis, one of those projects was chosen as a case study. The idea was to investigate the case further in detail in regards to the awareness/ attitudes of the visiting local populations.

The chosen project is that of ticket offices. There are two reasons behind this selection. The first one is the practical. This particular project has promoted the “Museum Card” which was designed, at the first place to attract the public to the museums.³⁹² The transformation that the museum card has been through has been briefly discussed in the introduction section. It would be naïve to expect that a project which is run by a private partner would promote the free entrances, especially when those people might also pay for their visits. Museum card has served its purpose to create some awareness but then it has been adjusted based on the calculation of demand. Therefore it became an important point of inquiry. The idea was to see how many of the interviewed people did have museum cards and also more importantly if it had been influential on their decision to visit the particular sites. Therefore choosing this project enabled me to concentrate on this product.

The second issue is much more symbolic and looks at the ticket offices as the “gates” to the cultural heritage. Any change that is being done at the ticket offices affects the first impression of the visitors’ since that is the welcome point. It is also related to the issue of control on behalf of the state. They are also the places where the packaged heritage experience is sold. The process of monetary exchange is the embodiment of consumption of culture.

Among three projects, Istanbul Archaeological Museums Development Project has been directed specifically to this museum, thus the percep-

³⁹² For the related news see:

<http://dosim.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAAF6AA849816B2EFB8A15D6B4ADC2B6D>

tions of visitors of one museum could be harder to generalize. Additionally, according to Shoup et al, though initially intended as a national model, the IAM Development Project seems to be an incomplete experiment. The contract itself is a peculiar mix between an outsourcing deal and a sponsorship agreement, but the sponsorship part was significantly postponed and the nature of the contract changed in 2010 when ticket services were outsourced. Since ticket and Museum Card revenues made up about two-thirds of the IAM Development Project's revenues, the project has since become something closer to a pure sponsorship project.³⁹³

Due to the symbolic issues, ticket offices' project has been preferred over commercial centers one. Although, they are similar implementations with many sites and museums in common, the commercial centers are less attached to the administrative issues. In other words, while a visit to the museum/site is possible without stepping a foot inside the shops, ticket offices cannot be passed by. The fact that the personnel at the ticket office reports to another institution rather than the museum itself results in a detachment of some specific groups who used to enter the sites without any problems prior to the project. These instances have been reported at many museums where the archaeologists excavating at the sites which are connected to that particular museum have been stopped at the gates and asked for entrance fee for a place which they consider themselves to be a primary stakeholder. The ministry provides a list to the ticket offices about the free admissions, however the archaeologists are not officially listed.³⁹⁴ This is not only the case for the archaeologists who excavate at that particular site, but also in some rare occasions, the locals who had to go through a site as a road to

³⁹³ See Shoup, Daniel David, Sara Bonini Baraldi and Luca Zan. 2012. *A centralized decentralization: outsourcing in the Turkish cultural heritage sector*.

³⁹⁴ The free admission list includes students under 18, Turkish citizens above 65 years, ICOMOS members, tourist guides.. The full list can be reached at: <http://dosim.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAA6AA849816B2EF073F52E6932F1252>

their homes or lands were asked for an entrance fee.³⁹⁵ The problems that occur on the daily operations of these institutions create a tension between the cultural heritage professionals and the private sector, in this case TURSAB-MTM partnership. The fact that partnership is a tourism related one, worsens the already tense relationship between cultural institutions and the tourism sector. All these point out to the situation that, although the PPP project might be considered as of minor importance since it just refers to the change of the ownership of the ticket offices, the facts on the ground shows wider impacts. These are the reasons why this particular project has been chosen to set the context for the field study.

1.2. Details about the sites

The field survey has been conducted at 21 sites of whose details are presented in the appendices section. The lack of statistics for the numbers of local and foreign visitors is a major obstacle. The General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration tends to count the free entrance as the local people and the paid entrances as the foreign ones. This is due to the conditions of the Museum Card. The entrances with the card are recorded as free entrances. However, there are many Turkish people who visit the sites without the card (for instance almost 35% of the participants of the field survey did not have a museum card).

2. Analysis and Discussion of Findings

The results of the field survey were evaluated in order to form an understanding of visitors' insight into the heritage site and their awareness on PPP projects and to what extent their visiting decision therefore the public interest was affected by the project or its products (outsourced ticket offices and museum card). Due to time limitations and costs associated with travelling to all the sites to conduct the survey,

³⁹⁵ For more information see the case of Kaunos archaeological site, the news at Sabah newspaper "The entrance to this village is 8 Lira":

<http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yasam/2011/04/21/bu-koye-girmek-8-lira>

the number of people interviewed has been limited to 124. While a larger sample would have indicated more differing opinions, the sample has provided answers to the points raised by the research questions. The main question was:

“How are the “public-private partnerships” that have been introduced to the cultural heritage field after 2000s being presented in the public discourse (public as State) and being understood by the public (public as People) in Turkey?” followed by the secondary questions as:

- “How does public understanding of public ownership of cultural heritage affect their general attitudes towards cultural heritage?
- Do the PPPs have an effect on people’s interest on cultural heritage?”

The breakdown of the questionnaire was explained in chapter 1; here the list of points of inquiry is reminded again:

- Demographics
 - o Visitor type
 - o Age and education
 - o The city of origin
- General visiting habits and attitudes towards cultural heritage
 - o The frequency of museum/archaeological sites visit
 - o First time at that site
- Public Interest and value
 - o Visiting planning and time allocated for the visit
 - o The reason of visit
 - o General attitude towards CH in Turkey – their view as representative of majority’s perspective.
- Public Ownership of Cultural Heritage
 - o Belonging of cultural heritage
 - o Visual Testing: “If you don’t visit, we will take it away” campaign of Italy³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ The graphics designed for the campaign can be found at Appendices section. They show Italian masterpieces of art during transportations to different cities around the world with a threatening slogan “if you don’t visit, we will take it away”. The aim of the campaign was to increase the number of local visitors to Italian cultural institutions. It

- Attitudes towards PPPs projects
 - o Role for private sector in cultural heritage_ why?
 - o Museum Card
 - o The influence of PPP projects on visiting decision³⁹⁷

2.1. Presentation of the Results

The chart below shows the number of interviews conducted at each site:

		site of investigation		
		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Troia	5	4,0	4,0
	Assos	8	6,5	10,5
	Pergamon	8	6,5	16,9
	Acropol			
	Pergamon Asklepios	2	1,6	18,5
	Ephesus Museum	3	2,4	21,0
	Ephesus Site	8	6,5	27,4
	Miletus	2	1,6	29,0
	Didyma	3	2,4	31,5
	Knidos	1	,8	32,3
	Aspendos	6	4,8	37,1

was designed to be a shocking campaign to create a sudden effect on the People. The reactions differed among different audiences. One of the most remarkable underlying message was the issue of ownership. In this regards, my aim is to replace symbols of Italian cultural heritage with the Turkish ones to see the reactions from people. The graphics are the very same copies with a different object.

³⁹⁷ This question has been asked only because the project claims to attract more both Turkish and foreign visitors to the site. Although the response was highly predictable and it was proved with the actual results that there is no correlation between the project and the visiting decision, the idea was to test this statement of the project.

Zeugma Mosaic Museum	7	5,6	42,7
Istanbul Archaeology Museums	6	4,8	47,6
Topkapı Palace Museum	10	8,1	55,6
Ayasofya Museums	10	8,1	63,7
Antalya Museum	8	6,5	70,2
Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum	8	6,5	76,6
Göreme Open Air Museum	8	6,5	83,1
Zelve Open Air Museum	6	4,8	87,9
Sümela Monastery	3	2,4	90,3
Sedir Island	3	2,4	92,7
Bodrum Underwater Archaeology Museum	9	7,3	100,0
Total	124	100,0	

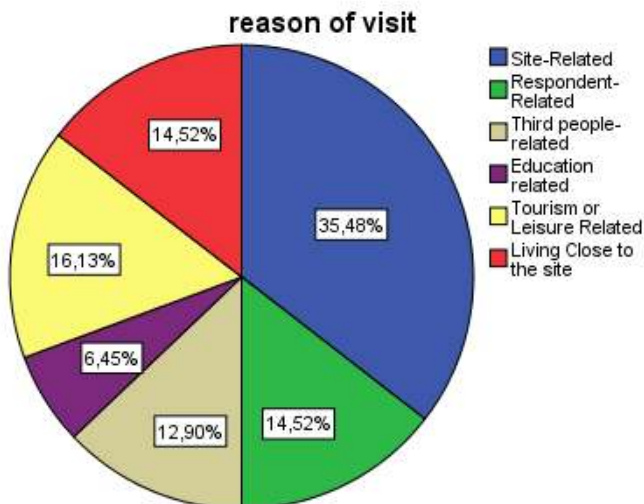
SPSS Output 1

The demographics of the sample are as follows: 61,3% of the participants were university graduates and the remaining 38,7% reported that they have finished high school. A remarkable majority (83%) was middle aged (36-60 years) followed by a younger group (18-35) of 34%, and 7% of the participants were older than 60. They were coming from 19 different cities of residence, with 30% from Istanbul, 13% from Ankara and 12% from Çanakkale.

While 54,8% of the participants were visiting with their families, 24,2% was a closed group therefore either with extended family or friends, 13,7% were couples and 7,3% was visiting alone. 76,6% of the partici-

pants was visiting the site for the first time while the remaining had already visited it before.

The question regarding the reason of visit was an open-ended one, and then the answers were coded into different headings which are presented on the pie-chart below:

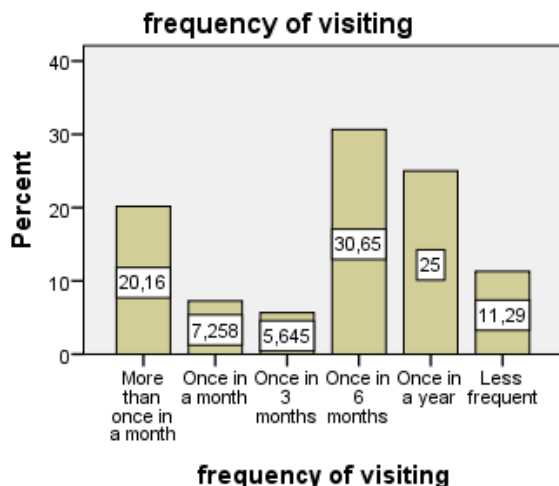


SPSS Output 2

The answers making a reference to a property of the site (it is beautiful, famous, historical...) were coded into "site-related" reasons; if the respondent made a reference to himself/herself (I have never been to this site, I wanted to witness it with my own eyes, I was curious), the coding was "respondent-related." Many people were visiting with their friends who had never been there or some were dragged to the site by family members or friends, so if the reference was to the guests who were given a tour or such (My father brought us here, we have visitors from Germany who wanted to see the site...) then the coding was "third-person related". Some of the visitors underlined the fact that they were living close to the site or they had a summer house in the area thus they wanted to see the site, their coding was "living close to the site" whereas especially families with young kids raised the educational aspect of their visit and it was coded into "education-related". Lastly, since a great majority of the sites are close to the main tourism

destinations where people go for recreational reasons, they raised the points as “we were here for holidays or we were on our way to the sea-side and we stopped by” and these points were coded as the “tourism or leisure related”.

A look at the responses on the visiting habits reveals the chart below:



SPSS Output 3

A statistical relation between the reason of visit and frequency has been searched with the use of Chi-square test. This test can be used to investigate the relationship between one nominal and one dichotomous type of variable as in this case.³⁹⁸ Following the convention among most social researchers, for all the statistical tests that are employed for the analysis of data, the maximum level of statistical significance that is acceptable is taken as:

$$\alpha(\text{significance level}) < 0,05.$$

This implies that there are fewer than five chances in 100 that one could have a sample that shows a relationship when there is not one in the population.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ The types of variables that have been extracted from the data set were listed in Chapter 3.

³⁹⁹ Byrman, Alan. 2007. *Social Research Methods*.

In order to use a chi-square test, a null hypothesis needs to be established. In this case it is:

H0: There is not a statistically significant difference between the reason of visit and the frequency

H1: There is a statistically significant difference between the reason of visit and frequency.

Since there were too many categories in frequency and reasons, and this resulted in 29 cells having expected frequencies less than 5. This refers to the 80% of the expected count less than 5. To overcome this problem, the cells have been pooled to reduce the number of expected frequencies that are less than 5⁴⁰⁰. Therefore some reasons were combined together and the frequencies have been reduced into two types as frequent and non-frequent.

Frequency * Reason Cross-tabulation

Count

	Reason combined				Total
	Site related	Living close to the site	Respondent and third people related	Education and tourism-leisure related	
Frequency Frequent	21	3	12	5	41
Frequency non-frequent	23	15	22	23	83
Total	44	18	34	28	124

⁴⁰⁰University of the West of England, 2007. *Data analysis on-line learning programme*. Available at: <http://hsc.uwe.ac.uk/dataanalysis/index.asp#>

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,463 ^a	3	,024
Likelihood Ratio	9,838	3	,020
Linear-by-Linear Association	6,467	1	,011
N of Valid Cases	124		

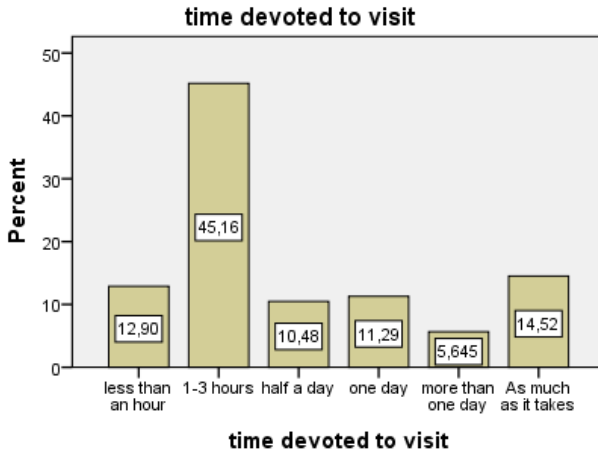
a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,95.

SPSS Output 4

According to the results, the null hypothesis is rejected since $p(,024) < ,05$.

It is seen that most of the frequent visitors come to the sites for site-related reasons whereas those who list educational or tourism/leisure motivations are usually non-frequent visitors and living close to the site does not seem to contribute to the frequency.

The components of the public interest have been listed as the time devoted to the visit, whether the visit was planned or not in addition to the frequency and the first time at the site. While 75% of the respondents had planned their visit beforehand, the rest reported that it was a spontaneous visit.



SPSS Output 5

Although most of the people devoted 1-3 hours for their visit, the second highest percentage is almost 15% (as much as it takes) and refers to a potential interest and willingness to spend time at the site.

Another important aspect of the survey was to discover the perceptions on the ownership of cultural heritage. As it has been explained in chapter 1, this was attempted through asking them directly “who should the museums/sites belong to” and also through the Turkish version of Italy’s communication campaign. Although the idea with the visual is less direct, it still offered valuable understanding of the respondents’ perception. 55,6% of the people reported that state should be the owner of the sites, following that almost equal percentages (around 20) came out in favour of “all humanity” and “other” including civil society and local authorities, only 4,8% stated that the museums/sites should belong to the private sector.

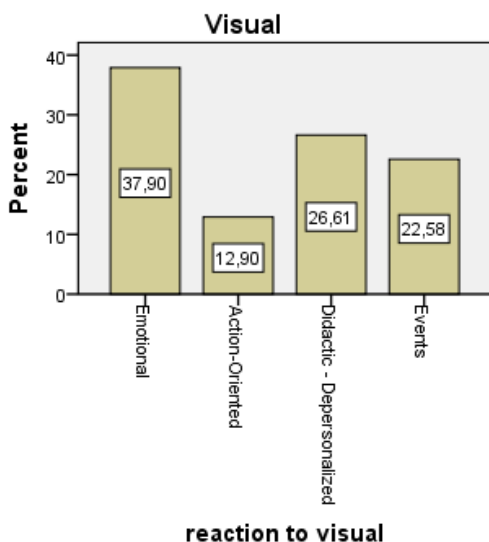
Another question that has been associated with the ownership notion was the visual testing question that has been explained in chapter 1 and 4. The question made it necessary for the researcher to give an introduction to the scene. The way the scene was described was standardized for each single participant. Since the question was raised in the

middle of the interview it helped to foster interest and prepared a background or an opportunity to continue with other questions. It indeed served as a good stimulation and helped to make people engage with the interview more. After giving a description of the visual, the participants were asked "what would be your first reaction if you saw this visual?" Only two of the participants wanted to know more about the visual, thus the researcher has given them information on the Italian communication campaign, the rest of the participants did not ask further questions about the visual itself but answered the question associated with it.

The answers differed in terms of their length and complexity. At the beginning, it seemed that it would have been the most difficult question to code however, once all the answers were listed, the patterns became visible. The attention was given to the very first sentences that the participants provided since the idea was to catch their first reaction. Interestingly, most of the respondents even though they usually said more than 5 sentences, expressed similar attitudes in different words. This became clearer once all the answers were written down to be coded. First of all, most people referred to an emotional reaction, although the exact wording or feeling would change, there would be a reference to an emotion. Thus the ones who provided such answers were coded into "emotional-reactions" (I would be very upset, I would feel very sorry, I would be furious...), here the use of active tense with the first person singular was differentiating. Although it seems as a natural response to the question which was referring to the respondent in the second person plural (due to the use of formal 'you' in Turkish), some preferred to respond with passive tense, and never referred to themselves. Rather it was a depersonalized language, with rare use of 'we'. Answers included sentences like "it should not be taken away, we should take better care of them, they should be left where they are found, etc." These answers were coded into "didactic/depersonalized" group. Another type of reaction was "action-oriented", although the actions differed from "Over my dead body! I would just lay in it; I would alert the press; I would start a sponsorship campaign" or more softly to "I would go and visit." The last group was association with events. Some did think about the previous instances in which artefacts

were taken out of the lands that comprise modern Turkey usually during the 19th century by the European archaeologists, some made associations with contemporary events. If there was any reference to an actual event, then the answer was coded as “events related”. The answers differed as “I would think of the altar at Pergamon that was taken away or it reminds of Iraq” (referring to the situation of cultural heritage after the war).

The percentages of the each group are presented on the bar chart below:



SPSS Output 6

A cross tabulation between the reactions to visual and the frequencies of visits to museums/sites yields interesting results.

H0: There is not a statistically significant difference between the reactions to the visual and the frequency.

H1: There is a statistically significant difference between the reactions to the visual and frequency.

Frequency * Reaction Cross-tabulation

Count

		Reaction				Total
		Emotional	Action-Oriented	Didactic - Depersonalized	Events	
Frequency	Frequent	15	12	5	9	41
combined	Non-frequent	32	4	28	19	83
Total		47	16	33	28	124

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17,537 ^a	3	,001
Likelihood Ratio	17,293	3	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	,874	1	,350
N of Valid Cases	124		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,29.

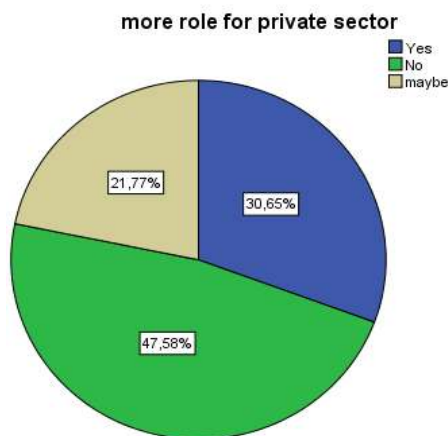
SPSS Output 7

The result for the chi-square: ,001 < 0,5.

Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected. There is a relationship between two variables.

A closer look to the table reveals that depersonalized/didactic answers mainly came from non-frequent visitors while frequent ones scored relatively high on action-oriented group. Emotional and events related responses did not produce very different responses from both groups.

When asked about their opinions whether there should be more private sector involvement in the administration of museums/sites, the following results were obtained:



SPSS Output 8

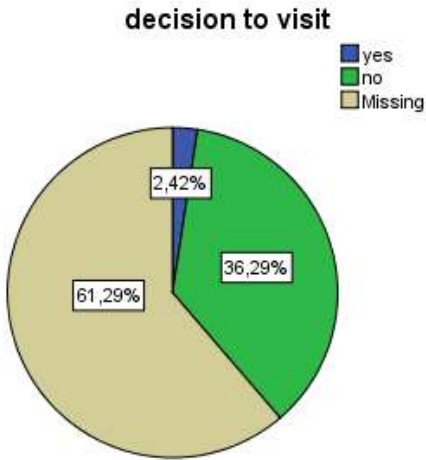
When the respondents were asked to list the reasons for more or less private presence in the cultural heritage management, the answers varied mostly based on their previous response. Thus, most of those who did not want private involvement listed their reasons as “fear of commercialization/rising entrance fees” or they suspected that some of the artefacts would be smuggled and sold illegally if private sector was welcomed. There were some respondents who were against the idea of privatization regardless of the sector. Very few have reported that there was already enough private sector involvement and some other model had to be found rather than the private sector model. Almost all of those who were in favour of private sector involvement believed that private sector was better at management, while few of them have stated that the partnership had to be under state control. Some other answers such as, “whoever manages better” and “partnership under state control”, were given by those who answered “maybe” to the previous question.

Reason for private sector intervention

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1. Fear of commercialization or rising or entrance fees	31	25,0	25,0	25,0
2. Against privatization as an idea	15	12,1	12,1	37,1
3. Whoever manages better	7	5,6	5,6	42,7
4. Suspicion of smuggling	13	10,5	10,5	53,2
5. Private sector better in managing	27	21,8	21,8	75,0
6. Partnership/ state control	25	20,2	20,2	95,2
7. Enough private sector presence already	3	2,4	2,4	97,6
8. Another model instead of private sector	3	2,4	2,4	100,0
Total	124	100,0	100,0	

SPSS Output 9

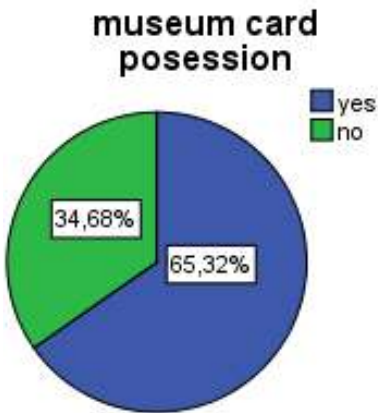
The participants were asked whether they were aware of the fact that a private initiative was managing the ticket offices at the sites. 41,9% reported that they were aware whereas 58,1% did not know about it. The chart below depicts the answers provided for whether their visiting has been influenced with this knowledge. (This question has been directed only to those who reported that they were aware of the project)



SPSS Output 10

Only 3 people out of 124 have decided to visit the site due to this knowledge.

A similar question was asked about the Museum Card. The results are as follows:



SPSS Output 11

When the museum card holders were asked whether this has affected their decision to visit the site, 65,4 % has reported that there was no influence and 34,6% said that it did.

As the last question, the participants were asked whether they would like to make any comments about the general situation of the museums/archaeological sites in Turkey. Almost 85% wanted to make a comment and among those who answered the question, the most (53,3%) referred to the need for betterment, whereas 8,9% made positive comments (although the comments were mostly related to the qualities of the sites like Turkey has many beautiful sites to visit, I find all these places amazing), if there were any reference to a specific problem they were coded as such. For instance, some (10,5%) specifically referred to the lack of interpretation facilities (no guiding services, hard to tell the kids about the qualities of the site..). Lastly, entrance fees (9,5%) and accessibility problems (11,4%) appeared as the important comments regarding the sites.

When the respondents were asked whether they think that their opinions would be representative of the majority, 60% reported that they would assume so, while 40% were negative about it.

A cross tabulation between the comments about the sites/museums and thoughts shared by the majority is as follows:

Comments about the state of sites and museums in Turkey *
thoughts shared by majority Cross-tabulation

Count

		Thoughts shared by majority		Total
		yes	no	
Comments about the state of sites and museums in Turkey	Entrance fees	10	0	10
	Accessibility problems	5	7	12
	Room/need for betterment	26	30	56

	Need for interpretation	11	5	16
	Positive comments	11	0	11
Total		63	42	105

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20,489 ^a	4	,000
Likelihood Ratio	27,811	4	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,716	1	,398
N of Valid Cases	105		

a. 3 cells (30,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,00.

SPSS Output 12

The figure ,000 should be interpreted as $p < 0.001$ and therefore requires the rejection of the null hypothesis which assumes no relationship between two variables. The main difference seems to stem from the participants who believe that the situation at sites is in the need of improvement. They believe that their opinions would not be shared by the majority. The other groups did not yield very differing results.

As the final analysis of the survey, the relationship between being a museum card-holder and frequency of visiting is searched.

Frequency combined * museum card possession Cross-tabulation Count

	Museum card possession	Total
--	------------------------	-------

			Yes	No	
Frequency combined	Frequent		32	9	41
	Non-frequent		49	34	83
Total			81	43	124

Chi-Square Tests

		Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square		4,379 ^a	1	,036		
Continuity Correction ^b		3,580	1	,058		
Likelihood Ratio		4,573	1	,032		
Fisher's Exact Test					,045	,028
Linear-by-Linear Association		4,344	1	,037		
N of Valid Cases		124				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14,22.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

SPSS Output 13

The p-value is ,036 and is less than the ,05. Therefore, there is a statistical relation between being a frequent visitor and having a museum card.

2.2. Discussion of the Results

Some of the presented data speaks for itself, but there are some points that need further elaboration.

For instance, the high number of people who has university education is in line with Bourdieu's approach in "a social critique of the judgement of taste". Bourdieu⁴⁰¹ notes that because different types of consumption require different sorts and amounts of capital, consumption patterns hint at the social class of the consumer and the capital he possesses. Since the consumption of culture is dependent not only on economic means but also on the competence in terms of knowledge, this knowledge would yield a profit in distinction, legitimacy and domination. Therefore there is a close link between higher education and the paying a visit to a museum as a way of culture consumption.

Another interesting point is the influence of museum card on the visiting decision. Most of the owners of the card concluded that it did not have an effect on their decision; however the percentage which refers to the presence of such an influence, cannot be underestimated. Despite the possibility of its influence, it does not seem that the museum card is a factor to attract people to museums/sites on its own. None of the participants referred to the museum card when asked about their motivations to visit a site.

Merriman's public attitudes survey in UK about people's attachment to past and heritage reveal a distinction between a personal past and the impersonal heritage.⁴⁰² In Turkey, people, especially the locals, usually see the ancient remains as the impersonal heritage if heritage at all. The situation is a little bit different for the visitors who have already showed an interest and devoted time and money to come to the sites. Understanding the level and type of attachment to heritage in Turkey would call for a more detailed survey with a larger sample. However, the answers that have been driven from the visual question offer interesting readings which can also be associated with this attachment to some extent. A depersonalized language might refer to the instances where the heritage is being approached as impersonal. One way of changing impersonal heritage to a personal past could be the integra-

⁴⁰¹Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.

⁴⁰²See Merriman, Nick. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case*.

tion of such visits at an early age thus they also set the scene for childhood memories.

The last point that has been extracted from the visual question is the widespread use of the Turkish term “sahip çıkmak” which is a very rooted concept in the traditional moral system of Turkey. Mango gives the term as an example to the responsibilities which evoke obligations: “the duty incumbent on a person in authority to protect his charges is described by the expression “to assume mastership” (sahip çıkmak). The term “without a master” (sahipsiz) denotes not a person who is free but someone abandoned to his fate in a friendless world⁴⁰³

3. Public Value Framework

The literature related to PV framework has been discussed in the second chapter and some PPP examples were evaluated according to the framework. This part of the study aims to evaluate ticket offices’ project with the same framework after a short discussion on the reasons of employing this particular concept for the analysis of PPPs.

3.1. Why use PV Framework?

Moore⁴⁰⁴ refers to ‘public value’ as an analytical framework that can be employed to evaluate the operations of the public sector organizations. Individual museum directorates and the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums along with the General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration are examples of museum related public sector organizations in Turkey. Therefore the investigation of their management methods and the outcomes of their work are subject to public administration theories. Other global movements such as new public management could also be used for the evaluation of the public sector organizations but as Stoker points out:

“PV rests on a fuller and rounder vision of humanity than does either public administration or new public management. People are, it suggests, motivated by their involvement in networks and partnerships,

⁴⁰³ See Mango, Andrew. 2004. *The Turks Today*.

⁴⁰⁴ See Moore, Mark 1995. *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*.

that is, their relationships with others formed in the context of mutual respect and shared learning.”⁴⁰⁵

In a similar vein, PV also challenges the conventional ‘market failure’ rationale for government action. Instead of simply providing goods and services that the market does not, public value suggests that people have a more subjective, values-based approach to what they want from government. Compared to other available concepts or frameworks, PV spares some space for the analysis of the citizens. Thus it can be used as a tool to study the interaction between the government organizations and citizens. Other management tools could have worked for the analysis of the issue, but they would mainly concentrate on the private sector which differs a lot from the public one in the sense that political ‘marketplace’ is different from the economical one⁴⁰⁶. The political marketplace for cultural heritage in Turkey was examined in detail in Chapter 3. Since politics remain as the final arbiter of public value thus as a constraint to the public managers’ authority, contemporary cultural heritage politics had been discussed in detail in 3rd chapter.

Another aspect that has been influential in the selection of PV as a framework lies in the distinction between PV and other related concepts such as public goods, public interest, or public benefit. Alford and O’Flynn summarize the differing points as:

Public value focuses on:

1. A wider range of value than public goods; they include public goods but are not limited to them.
2. Outcomes more than outputs; thus impacts upon those who enjoy the value/good in question or upon states of nature important to those people
3. What has meaning for people, rather than what a public-sector decision maker might presume is the best for them. The public interest, or benefit, to which politicians, bureaucrats, and lobby groups all appeal as justification for a particular policy they may advocate, is close to

⁴⁰⁵Stoker, Gerry. 2006. *Public Value Management: A New Narrative for Networked Governance?* p: 55.

⁴⁰⁶Alford, John and Janine O’Flynn. 2009. *Making Sense of Public Value: Concepts, Critiques and Emergent Meanings*.

public value, but rather than being about the value itself, interest is one of the reasons or reference points for which people value things. More significantly, PV connotes an active sense of adding value, rather than a passive sense of safeguarding interests.⁴⁰⁷

3.2. Analysis through PV Framework

In the second chapter, some of the PPP projects from different countries were analyzed with a framework drawn very much in line with the PV one. Considering the strategic triangle, which Moore had drawn as the central symbol of this approach, four main points were formulated as: for what, how, by and for whom. The strategic triangle relied on three pillars that public sector organization had to consider:

1. The aim had to be aimed at creating something substantively valuable
2. It had to be legitimate and politically sustainable
3. It had to be operationally and administratively feasible.⁴⁰⁸

Ticket offices' project came into light as a result of the decisions of some specific public offices in Turkey; their aims could be examined following the pillars formulated on Moore's elaboration.

For What: The press file, which was prepared for the announcement of the preferred bidder, contains information about the aims of the project. The aims are listed both by the Revolving Funds Administration on behalf of the Ministry and by the TURSAB-MTM partnership.

The aims that are targeted by the Administration are:

- To increase the number of visits and profit
- To reduce costs
- To improve the technology of the entrance systems
- To offer different and modern payment channels
- To provide qualified human resources
- To improve the perception about museums
- To enhance the museum card and create city cards.

⁴⁰⁷Alford, John and Janine O'Flynn. 2009, p: 176.

⁴⁰⁸Moore, Mark 1995. *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*.

All these aims are given as a justification for the need to outsource the management of ticket offices in 47 different sites and museums which generated 85% of the total ticket income in Turkey.

Moreover, TURSAB-MTM partnership which has become the preferred bidder for the project lists the aims of their project as follows:

- To ensure high levels of income within the sustainable tourism perspective
- To increase the awareness and to promote and present our richness to masses under one brand
- To set an example with the development of an infrastructure system worthy of our cultural richness
- To reach satisfaction through a visitor oriented approach and to ensure sustainability and participation
- To reach different groups with the use of different products, services and partnerships.

There is obviously a parallel between the aims that have been put forward by two institutions. The government side uses a direct and clear language and mentions the need for the improvement of perceptions regarding the museums. There is no reference to local communities in the press file and no complaints about their lack of interest to the cultural heritage sites in their vicinity. The Ministry believes that this project has helped them to concentrate on their core activities such as enhancing collections, conservation or preservation of cultural assets without having to worry about the security issues at the ticket offices.⁴⁰⁹

How: The project came into life following a bidding process. As a result of the bidding, the public and the private party signed a contract regarding the details of the partnership. The path that has lead to this particular contract has been discussed in chapter 3. This particular project, therefore, has not occurred out of the blue. Rather it is the product of the changing mentality.

⁴⁰⁹ See the interview conducted with Ertuğrul Günay about the project at Müze, April-June 2011, Issue 1. Available at http://muze.gov.tr/flip/muzedergi/sayil/muze_dergi_01.pdf

The lack of control at the ticket offices leading to fraud by former employees has been given as one of the reasons for designing a partnership project for the ticket offices.

Regarding the ways in which this particular project is designed, the press file can be referred again. The private partner devotes some pages to the tools that are going to be employed for the realization of their goals. These tools can be listed as:

- Visitor oriented marketing approach. This includes items such as web-sites, museums that recognize their visitors, application of questionnaires to the visitors, qualified personnel, etc.
- Museum Card and Museum Card +.
- Creation of new cards such as city cards, or more diversified cards
- Special travel packages with a focus on culture, daily cards
- Partnerships
- Modern entrance control systems with management and monitoring centres (to ensure security and prevent fraud by the personnel)

By whom: The project was created by the General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration on behalf of the ministry and the private partner is TURSAB-MTM partnership which is set up as a new firm for the commercial nature of the project. Both of the entities were previously discussed, however, it is important to note the fact that TURSAB is a non-profit tourism association which relies on the membership fees of travel agencies. It therefore undertakes initiatives which have the potential to result in lucrative conditions for its members. Although a new firm has been set up for the project, this does not change the fact that TURSAB has to satisfy its members because the board of TURSAB is elected by the members.

Besides the main actors, there are some others who are directly or indirectly involved in the project. First of all, the museum administration which has been subjected to the project; it becomes a secondary actor since their ties with the project is usually limited to the personnel working at ticket offices on site. This newly hired staff should also be listed on the "by whom" list since they are the representatives of the partnership project in the field.

Potentially, another important group of people are the graduates of some new graduate programs in Turkey. Normally working at a public museum in Turkey is subject to a series of bureaucratic selection proc-

esses and centrally administered exams and limited to certain fields like archaeology or art history. However, a project of this sort has the potential to hire the graduates of these new programs in museum studies and cultural heritage management. Thus, hypothetically, these projects offer the opportunity to employ this qualified workforce without requiring the bureaucratic steps. The related programs are listed on the table below:

Name	Department	Institute
1. Akdeniz University	Museology	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
2. Ankara University	Museum Education	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
3. Ankara Başkent University	Museology	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
4. Istanbul University	Museum Administration	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
5. Istanbul University	Management of Cultural Heritage Sites	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
6. Mimar Sinan University	Museology	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
7. Istanbul Kültür University	Arts Management	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
8. Koç University	Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management ⁴¹⁰	Social Sciences Institute Master's Degree
9. Yeditepe Uni-	Arts Management	Social Sciences Insti-

⁴¹⁰ The name of the program has been changed to Master's in Archaeology and History of Art but the curriculum stayed the same.

versity		tute Master's Degree
10. Bilgi Univer- sity	Culture Manage- ment	Social Sciences Insti- tute Master's Degree
11. Yıldız Techni- cal University	Museology	Social Sciences Insti- tute Master's Degree
12. Çanakkale University	Cultural Heritage Management	School of Applied Sciences Undergraduate

***Figure 9:** This table is prepared as a result of a search of the web sites of all universities in Turkey. The list of universities has been accessed from the web page of Presidency of High Education Council (YOK in short in Turkish) in May 2012. The Master's that have been offered under Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences have not been included in the list on the grounds that institutes of social sciences offered programs concentrating on the managerial and interpretative aspects of museums and archaeological site whereas the Natural and Applied Sciences had programs on conservation or restoration concentrating on the technical aspects.

For whom: The last but definitely not the least pillar is the people that the project is addressing. The public is composed of locals as well as tourists. This thesis has tried to elaborate on the notion of public as people while articulating the subject from a historical and administrative perspective. As the last pillar that has been extracted from Moore's public value framework, this part will be closed with the discussion of the question "for whom" concentrating on cultural heritage management being in the service of people and thus state-citizen relationship for that matter.

The conceptual framework that was drawn at the 1st chapter for a rather limited definition of cultural heritage management underlined the rising interest in the definitions of heritage in a social context. In other words, "heritage exists only through the reading which it is given

by communities and human societies in the present.”⁴¹¹ The international recognition of this stance can be found in Faro, the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, signed by Council of Europe as of 27.10.2005. This convention “recognises the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross disciplinary concept of cultural heritage” shifting the emphasis to the democratization of the identification of cultural heritage.

Therefore, the new idea is to interpret the heritage through the lenses of the society, not only that of the professionals, and letting people shape the state intervention through participation in the decision making processes regarding cultural heritage. Leaving the quality of the implementation of this new approach in Turkey aside, there is no doubt that this is inspired from the worldwide movements about heritage studies. In turn, this approach which shapes the contemporary definition of heritage and its management has become visible, or better to say, has been recognized officially by the state in Turkey very recently with the introduction of related terminology into the legal system.

However, one cannot reduce the emergence of a new understanding to laws and regulations; the signs of the awareness on matters related to cultural heritage came from academia and private sector and in some limited instances from the local communities long before it gained legal recognition in Turkey.

A remarkable and pioneer sponsorship campaign was organized by Milliyet Newspaper in 1968 for raising awareness and creating social consciousness for the Keban Dam rescue projects. In 1966, after the decision of construction, METU (Middle Technical University) has sent an expert team to Keban area, which turned out to be a very rich region in terms of archaeological heritage. The results of this preliminary survey were published. The publication of ‘Doomed by the Dam’, which was the survey of the monuments threatened by the creation of the Keban dam flood area, has been helpful to communicate with larger groups of people and create awareness about the sites.⁴¹² The highest authorities of the country such as the president Cevdet Sunay and the Minister of

⁴¹¹Harrison et al. 2008. *The Heritage Reader*, p: 3.

⁴¹² Kurdaş, Kemal. 1970. *Introduction*.

Education welcomed the project. However, despite the goodwill and support, there were no funds available to finance the rescue projects. The difficulty was overcome by the efforts of the project team and funds raised from governmental bodies. Additional financial contribution came from the campaign of Milliyet newspaper.⁴¹³ The contribution of the public donations had formed around the 20% of the total budget.⁴¹⁴

Another instance where there was a big public reaction against the loss of important cultural heritage was the case of Zeugma. The development of a hydroelectric power plant on the Euphrates River in the south eastern part of Turkey and its effects on the ruins of the Roman site of Zeugma presents a unique case in the archaeological history of Turkey due to massive national and international media coverage it received during the final year of the rescue work.⁴¹⁵ To develop a strategy for the site, urgent excavation and rescue work launched under the coordination of the GAP (Southeastern Anatolia Project) Administration. Examinations and observations were conducted at the site in May 2000 with the participation of staff from the GAP Administration, Turkish and foreign scientists, experts from Gaziantep Museum, Director of Cultural Affairs in Gaziantep and representatives of Birecik A.S. An international team was coordinated by the Oxford Archaeological Unit of England which is a professional rescue team. The team was composed of specialists from the United States, Turkey, Britain, France and Italy. There were more than 150 archaeologists and 250 workers helping to excavate and process the thousands of finds.⁴¹⁶

The public interest triggered by the media has been a stimulating factor for the accelerated campaigns for the salvage of excavations during the last year of the project before the flooding. Times Magazine played an important role in spreading the news about the threat of the dam by carrying the situation in Zeugma to its front page. As a reaction to the news in The New York Times' Magazine, the national press in Turkey have also fostered interest for the issue through self-critiques for being

⁴¹³<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ozel/tarihce/6569.html>

⁴¹⁴ The total budget was 3.600.000 TL, 600.000 was collected by the newspaper.

⁴¹⁵ Yağız, Doğan. 2006. *Tale of Zeugma and the Birecik Project*.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

indifferent to the loss of archaeological wealth of the country and for falling behind the international media on realizing the importance of such issues.⁴¹⁷

These leading examples have contributed to shaping the contemporary definition of cultural heritage management as a public service. In a way, it was through these instances that the public (as the people) demonstrated that, for one reason or another, they cared for cultural heritage, through protests, activities or investment into educating themselves on these matters. It seems obvious that without consent and will of the people, the existence and making of cultural heritage would be crippled. However, in many instances, these wills are artificially created and fostered, or individual attachment to heritage is not at the same level and the same direction with the will of the state. The shift in the recent decades is seen in the trial to find a balance of this attachment.

⁴¹⁷ These analyses are drawn from the readings of the media archive of Zeugma which was digitalized during my internship at the site during the 2007 excavation season.

Chapter 5: CONCLUSION

1. Contribution of the thesis

This thesis has tried to shed light on the ways in which “public-private partnerships” that have been introduced to the cultural heritage field since 2000 were being presented in the public discourse (public as State) and been understood by the public (public as People) in Turkey. The method employed for this study did not focus on a static picture of the present situation or fixed sets of goals and rules producing definitive results. It focused on process rather than on conclusive outcomes. In line with the preferred method, the aim was to examine the process and the background, which led to the creation of PPPs and their effects on the public understanding.

The significance of this study stems from the fact that partnerships between the state and the private sector to fulfil public functions including the management of cultural heritage are on the rise, and, in the case of Turkey, there is currently a call for exchange of ideas on the issue. Despite the political importance and the popularity of the subject, no previous research has been conducted on this topic. In a similar vein, cultural heritage management as a distinct academic field is a new field for Turkey; this situation limits the number of previous academic studies. Additionally, the search for a global influence on the formation of PPPs allows the subject to be studied from different angles including comparing its similarities and differences with other countries’ experiences. For instance “examples of PPPs in cultural heritage management” which is third section in the 2nd chapter, looks at different cases from countries such as Austria, India, and Netherlands. In a similar vein the section 3.3 of the 3rd chapter on ticket offices project draws one example from Taiwan to compare how a particular PPP has affected the ticket prices in Taiwan’s museum. Lastly a comprehensive analysis of Italy’s one particular communication campaign has been made in the 3rd chapter, section 4, in order to compare Italy and Turkey on similar grounds.

One of the main principles that the cultural heritage management practitioners follow is that they act as the guardians of items preserved in

the public interest⁴¹⁸ and there is a “wide measure of agreement in the literature of cultural heritage management that archaeological remains and their treatment are a matter of ‘public’ concern.”⁴¹⁹ As a reaction to this emphasis on the public concern and interest Carman puts forward the question of the nature of this public concern, where does it derive from and why there is so much emphasis on it?

This study, inspired by Carman’s inquiries, has investigated the role of public in Turkey in the management of cultural heritage, thus it contributed in the following ways:

- Since no similar study has been undertaken previously in Turkey, it has the potential to trigger further interest in this research field.
- The use of quantitative analysis in order to shed light on the public perception is a contribution to the methodological inquiries in the heritage field.
- The survey has not been restricted to one geographical area nor to one particular site, but to a rather wide range which makes it different than the surveys that have been undertaken to test the visitor satisfaction, demographics, motivation etc at one site.

2. Suggestions on Further Research

A more detailed quantitative research, which is not restricted to the visiting public, and which will have a country level representative sample is needed. Such a study, like that of Merriman’s investigation⁴²⁰ about the perceptions of citizens towards the past and cultural heritage could generate very inspiring results for Turkey. A set of data generated as a result of a quantitative research with the potential to run complex correlation tests, thus to understand the often complex relationship between citizens and cultural heritage, can form the basic theoretical background for the management decisions about cultural heritage. It is hoped that this study can become a source of inspiration for conducting such a further research.

⁴¹⁸ See Cleere, Henry. 1989. *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*.

⁴¹⁹ Carman, John. 2005, p: 45

⁴²⁰ See Merriman, Nick. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case*.

3. Concluding Remarks

"The bureaucracy of the modern state, based on the concept of 'the public' (as state), generally operates through systems of law and regulation rather than through the search for consensus and community control."⁴²¹ The lack of search for consensus when relinquishing public management tasks in favour of the private sector makes some of the partnership projects Government-Private Partnership rather than a Public-Private Partnership⁴²² alerting us to be more sparing in the use of the word Public for the sake of sounding right or convincing. Therefore the proper use of the term might lie in the importance of building relations with the public in the field of cultural heritage where one of the main actors is the state itself.

Departing from this notion, the thesis has concentrated on the ways in which scholars deal with the concepts of public, state-in-society or citizen versus consumer in the umbrella of new public management in its 2nd chapter.

The following chapters offered a multi layered reading of different laws, regulations and resolutions, thereof the legislative framework in addition to the contemporary approach to cultural heritage be it the restitution campaign or the world heritage list nominations in order to identify the dynamics of a rapidly changing agenda. The series of changes in the legislative framework and the shifts in the government's mentality that have led to the creation of PPPs was listed as the search for one-time solutions, further complication of the already fragmented system with the introduction of new concepts and positions that are sometimes in conflict with the existing ones, more emphasis on efficiency and alternative sources of funding thus turning to the private sector. The overall evaluation of the updated legislative system sheds light on a situation in which 'tailor made' versus 'imported laws' shape the practices. The tailor made laws or better to say protocols are those which have the potential to create immediate results, and which have been designed for a particular need, thereof they are tailor made for a

⁴²¹ See Carman, John. 2002. *Archaeology & Heritage. An Introduction*, p: 101.

⁴²²See Hayllar Mark Richard. 1999. *Reforms to enhance accountability and citizen involvement: a case study of the Hong Kong hospital authority*

specific problem. The resolution numbered 745⁴²³, and specific protocols which have resulted in the creation of PPP projects can be given as examples. The resolution 745 was specifically formulated to legally recognize the potential private interest towards some specific sites and assign their management to a private party. Although it did not produce any tangible results, it is still a good example. The others have pointed out to a particular need like the lack of security at the entrances or lack of products that could be attractive to visitors. The 'imported laws' on the other hand are the ones which have been introduced to the legal system because they were required by international conventions; for example to be able nominate a site for the World Heritage List of UNESCO, or they were inspired from other countries. The introduction of the site management concept for instance is a perfect example of imported laws; and as a result various difficulties have been encountered during its execution together with a lack of standardization in its implementation. These types of problems commonly occur during the implementation of imported laws.

Global movements like NPM have also been analysed in order to understand the extent to which they produced similar practices in cultural heritage management and thus lead to the convergence of the experiences of two different countries like Italy and Turkey. It has been mentioned that in the case of Italy, restructurings in the cultural heritage management field under the neo-liberal atmosphere were not affected from the presence of either left or right wing governments. The same dominating economic atmosphere in Turkey has resulted in the emergence of very similar practices in the last decades. The lack of attendance of their citizens to the museums and archaeological sites has been a complaint that both countries share. This issue has been tackled throughout the thesis. While the Italian government complained that Italians visit museums abroad when ignoring their own, the Turkish government presented different reasons for the long-lasting negligence of public cultural institutions by their citizens. The reasons varied from religion to earlier European interest on antiquities which left the locals with the impression that most of the heritage on their land belonged to

⁴²³See Appendix D Resolutions that have been enacted in Turkey since 2004 for more information

someone else (i.e. foreigners). Some of the scholars approached the matter from a historical perspective. For instance in her remarkable book “Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire” Wendy Shaw states:

When we ask ourselves why the number of local visitors to Turkish museums is very few, we have to consider:

- What kind of needs did these museums address,
- Who used to determine these needs
- How these needs were satisfied⁴²⁴.

Although the sections devoted to the history of cultural policies and legislative history⁴²⁵ highlighted some of the insights to Shaw’s questions, thesis did not particularly attempt to answer these questions; rather it investigated the perceptions of those people who were not addressed by Shaw: the visiting public.

Coming back to the contemporary scene, the detailed analysis of the legal system and the other components of the public discourse on cultural heritage has also enabled to set the context for the interpretation of the results of a survey from a rather small sample of Turkish visitors who were visiting the museums or archaeological sites which had been subject to ticket offices’ project.

The field study was conducted in 2012 from July to November. 124 structured interviews were made with Turkish visitors at 21 different sites. The collected data has been analysed with computer software and interpreted afterwards. These interpretations have been discussed at length in the 4th chapter, however as the concluding remarks, I would like to make an analysis of these results in the light of the previous arguments that have been highlighted in other chapters.

The study showed that the PPPs did not have an effect on people’s interest on cultural heritage. Although the museum card was widely used, it was not among the reasons why people visited the sites. Therefore it did not reach out to the non-visiting public, but has been welcomed by the frequent visitors. Here, it is important to note once again

⁴²⁴Shaw, Wendy. 2004.

⁴²⁵ See Chapter 3, section 1.1 and section 2.1

that, the privileges of the museum card have been recently changed. When it was first launched it allowed unlimited annual free access to all the museums and archaeological sites under the supervision of the ministry; however, as of January 2013 the access has been limited to twice to each museum by the General Directorate for the Revolving Funds Administration in agreement with TURSAB-MTM partnership⁴²⁶. This development is in line with Aberbach and Christensen's critique of the commercialization and corporatization of the public sector. They state that consumer concept avoids answering Lasswell's question 'about what politics is all about' based on the following:⁴²⁷

"What the private sector actually does when it comes to customers. Customer satisfaction (in the private sector) is a means to make profits. This legitimates a much higher level of *customer manipulation* than one expects in the public sector."⁴²⁸

The overall scene refers to the shift from citizen to consumer approach with the rising emphasis on the cultural heritage as being a service to pay for and to be advertised by the centralized authority; whereas according to the field survey results, citizens themselves state that their biggest fear associated with the increased presence of private sector in the management of cultural heritage is the commercialization.

Turkish state increasingly suspects the foreign excavations and makes this point very clear within the discourse about restitution campaigns.⁴²⁹ A very similar suspicion was raised during the interviews by the Turkish visitors; not about foreign excavations but about the increased role of the private sector in the cultural heritage management. Therefore the fear that cultural assets will be taken away is present both for the state and the people. However, there is one basic difference. Turkish visitors are highly concerned about the negative effects of increased private presence in management of cultural heritage. They sus-

⁴²⁶ For more information on the museum card campaign and its changing privileges, see the Introduction Chapter.

⁴²⁷ See chapter 3 for a broader discussion.

⁴²⁸ Aberbach, Joel D. and Tom Christensen. 2005, p: 236

⁴²⁹ For more information about the campaign see chapter 4, section 2.3 "Politicians' Statements and Acts"

pect the private partners to whom the state entrusts a hand devoid of all suspicions which they reserve for the foreign scientists.

To conclude, the process that has been investigated refers to a transition from cultural heritage management being a public service to being in the service of citizens who are increasingly put in the place of customers, while the current 'customers' are not very positive towards this change. Whether this transition result in the change in the attitudes of the public (as people) or it will appeal to different groups within the same public and foster their interest towards cultural heritage remains to be seen.

Appendices

Appendix A: Sample Questionnaire in Turkish:

Bu anket, son zamanlarda Türkiye’de kültürel miras alanında ortaya çıkan kamu özel sektör işbirliği projeleri hakkında ören yeri ve müze ziyaretçilerinin algısını ölçmeyi amaçlamakta olup, IMT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca’da yürütülmekte olan doktora tezimin önemli bir parçasını oluşturmaktadır.

Zaman ayırdığınız için teşekkür ederim. Işıl Gürsu

Alan Adı :

Tarih ve Saat:

KayıtNO:

Ziyaretçi Tipi :Yalnız ☐ Aile ☐ Çift ☐ Kapalı Grup ☐ Turist Grubu ☐

1. Bu müze/alana ilk ziyaretiniz mi? EVET ☐ HAYIR ☐
2. Genelde ne sıklıkta müze veya arkeolojik alanları ziyaret edersiniz?

- Ayda bir kez ☐
- 3 ayda bir kez ☐
- 6 ayda bir kez ☐
- Yılda bir kez ☐
- Daha seyrek ☐
- Daha sık ☐

3. Bu müze veya ören yerini ziyaret etme sebebiniz nedir? _____

4. Planlı bir ziyaret mi? EVET ☐ HAYIR ☐

5. Ziyaretiniz için ne kadar süre ayırdınız?

6. Sizce müze ve arkeolojik alanlar kime ait olmalı? _____

- Devletlere ☐
- Sivil Topluma ☐

- Özel sektöre ☐
- Tüm insanlara ☐
- Diğer ☐

7. Bu görsel hakkındaki fikirlerinizi öğrenebilir miyim?

8. Sizce Türkiye’de müze ve örenyeri yönetiminde özel sektör daha fazla yer almalı mı?

EVET ☐

HAYIR ☐

Ne-

den?

9. Bu örenyeri/müzedeki bilet gişesi, hediyelik eşya dükkanı ve kafenin özel sektör tarafından işletilmekte olduğunu biliyor muydunuz? EVET ☐ HAYIR ☐

a. Eğer evetse, bu burayı ziyaret etmeye karar vermenizde etkili oldu mu?

10. Müze kartınız var mı? EVET ☐ HAYIR ☐

a. Eğer evetse, burayı ziyaret etmenizde etkili oldu mu?

11. Türkiye’deki müze ve örenyerlerinin durumu hakkında yorum yapmak ister misiniz?

a. (Eğer öyleyse), sizce sizin fikirleriniz çoğunluğun düşüncelerini yansıtıyor mudur?

12. Hangi şehirde ikamet ediyorsunuz?:

13. Yaş:

 Eğitim Durumu:

Appendix B: Turkish Version of “If you do not visit, we will take it away” (Se non lo visiti, lo portiamo via)



Appendix C: By-laws that have been enacted in Turkey since 2004

No& Date	Name	Aim / Scope	Competent authority	New Concepts / Comments
25785 4/13/05	By-Law on the Contribution Fee regarding the conservation of Cultural property	the procedure related to the charging of 10% of the property tax for the conservation and enhancement of cultural property found within the municipality and special provincial administrations	Minister, Internal Affairs Minister, Municipality and Special Provincial Admin.	search for alternative funding, however, does not create autonomous institutions, the distribution of the collected tax shares is subject to political decisions.
25842 6/11/05	By-Law on the Establishment, Permit and Working Practices of Conservation, Implementation and Control Bureaus, Project Bureaus and Related Educational Units	establishment of bureaus/units to do the necessary conservation and control of the immovable cultural heritage	Minister, Internal Affairs Minister, Metropolitan Municipality, Municipality and Special Provincial Admin.	The bureaus are new concepts and created to add efficiency to the conservation system
25849 6/18/05	By-Law on the Survey, Restoration and Restitution Projects of Registered Cultural Properties, Street Re-	to establish the guideline and clarifications that are used for the public service or product acquisitions which will be used for the architectural interventions related to immovable cul-	Minister	a framework with multiple actors and fragmented and bureaucratic structure for the acquisitions. The facilitation of measures to be

	habilitation and Landscaping Projects and their Implementation and Product and Service Acquisition for the Evaluation, Protection, Transportation and Excavation Works	tural property		introduced for collecting money is not reflected in the ways of spending it - a distorted application of NPM: cut the costs – however, the system that is being introduced for that is in no way efficient
25842 6/11/05	By-law on the Building Standards and the Control of Immovable Cultural Property	the identification, upkeep, restoration and building standards and the control tools related the projects and implementations on the monuments	Minister, Internal Affairs Minister, Metropolitan Municipality, Municipality and Special Provincial Admin.	list of possible architectural interventions and related permissions
25876 7/15/05	By-law on the Contribution to the Repair of Immovable Cultural Property	sets the guidelines and details regarding the financial, in-kind or technical support that the private individuals will receive for the upkeep of their immovables with cultural property status	Ministry	funding alternatives

25887 7/26/05	By-law on the Preparation, Presentation, Implementation, Control and the Implementers of Conservation Plans and Landscaping Projects	The procedure on the implementation of Projects directed to archaeological sites, cultural and natural properties and their interaction transition areas	Ministry, Greater City Municipality, Municipality and Special Provincial Admin.	an attempt to integrate the contemporary settlement in the projects that will be targeted to offer visitor services at archaeological sites - the main law lists numerous planning tools of which this is one . not very clear definition to where it will be applied
25972 10/20/05	By-law on the assigning of the use of immovables for the Cultural investments and entrepreneurship	procedures related to the assignment of immovables (not belonging to treasury, registered as cultural property and possessed by public and local administrations) to the ministry to be used by cultural entrepreneurs	Minister, Finance Minister, Municipality and Special Provincial Admin. (ltd)	to attract private sector support assigns some authority to municipalities and special provincial administrations for implementation but is under control of the ministry; lease term of 10 yrs, which might not be appealing to private sector
25990 11/11/05	By- law on the Establishment of National Museum Presidencies and on their Responsibilities	the requirements of the presidency and details related to their establishment along with their responsibilities - introduces museum president, museum director and managing director	Minister	National museum is a new concept as is presidency system. An attempt to create an independent position for the promotion of star museums without

				changing the overall structure. Services under msm directorate are listed as: registration, display, control, education and library. Those under the managing directorate are: HR and documentation, promotion and marketing, security and technical services
26006 11/27/05	By-Law on the Substance and Procedures of the Establishment and Duties of the Site Management and the Monument Council and Identification of Management Sites	to ensure that archaeological sites, conservation sites, their interactive areas and junction points be conserved and evaluated within the scope of a sustainable management plan	Minister, Internal Affairs Minister and the relevant municipality	The concepts of management plans, advisory board, site manager, coordination and audit board, audit unit and monument council have been introduced. Many municipalities set up site management units - WHL applications
26023 12/14/05	By-law on the Implementation of the law concerning Renewable Conservation and Sustainable Use of Run-Down Immovable Historical and	the procedures on the reconstruction or restoration of run-down historical and cultural properties so that areas of residence, trade, culture, tourism and social activities can be created and measures against earthquakes can be taken(under the control and	Council of Ministers	emphasis on public participation - since the issue of confiscation arises.

	Cultural Properties	supervision of related bodies)		
26228 7/14/06	By-law on offsetting income tax against support of culture investments and initiatives; reduction in employer's portion of insurance premium, water and energy	gives details about the accounting of the listed items and how they can be utilized by the culture entrepreneurs	Finance, Social Security, Energy and Natural Resources Ministers and the Minister	detailed road-map for private parties who would like to contribute to culture
27206 4/20/09	By-law on the Categorization and Registration of Cultural and Natural Properties and their Accession to Museums	procedures on the acceptance to museums and what happens to those that are not taken by the museums	Minister	identifies categories
27530 3/23/10	By-law on the Collection of Movable Cultural and Natural Properties in need of Conservation and their control	rules for the collectors and assignment of authority to certain institutions for their control	Minister	the need arise due to the opening of Private museums with collections other than archaeological material
27588 5/22/10	By-law on the exchange of Immovables that are within the Archaeo-	procedures and eligibility of land exchange, including payments and exclusions..	Finance Minister and Minister	to offer a solution to the long-lasting problem of private lands within an archaeological site

	logical sites with the Immovables from the Treasury			
28232 3/13/12	By-law on the identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural Property and Archaeological Sites	the qualities of the cultural property that is to be registered are listed, and the authorities which are responsible for registration and identification and also for the creation of public awareness on the listed property are mentioned.	Minister, GD for Pious Foundations, GD for land Registry	the list has a time clause; 19th century in the case of immovables but the following article leaves room for the registration of more recent property as well. Natural properties are excluded upon the change in other regulations

Appendix D: Resolutions that have been enacted in Turkey since 2004

Resolutions that have been enacted in Turkey since 2004 (by the Superior Council for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties)			
No	Date	Name	Comments if any
702	11/6/05	Use and Conservation rules of urban archaeological sites	hierarchy of plans, use and conservation balance
709	31/12/05	Procedure regarding the re-evaluation of the registration records of cultural and natural properties	Cancels a previous resolution which does not allow the 2nd application for a cancellation of the registration of cultural and natural property- loosening of a more conservative procedure
710	31/12/05	Court cases against law 2863	for those who had been taken to court due to physical intervention on a cultural and natural property, or reopening them for use or changing their use (article 9 of 2863) , these are considered as individual cases and will not affect the Council's decisions.
712	05/03/06	Evaluation of the problems that occur during the implementation of the By-law on the Preparation, Presentation, Implementation, Control and the Implementers of Conservation Plans and Landscaping Projects	attempt to ensure the proper application of a complicated procedure through reminding the related institutions about the by-laws requirements and ensuring coordination by the ministry along with the public offices with the planning authority. A step back from the desired decentralization project

714	6/11/06	Resolution number 714	Change in the creation of exhibition spaces on archaeological sites (I and II degree). Previous resolution allowed the construction of spaces related to visitor facilities only after the excavation of the area was completed and outside the borders of the site and certainly banned commercial spaces detached from the closed exhibition spaces. This ban is removed and the obstacles on presentation facilities are loosened - to be decided by the council.
715	6/11/06	Resolution number 715	the procedures related to the permission of the placement of service units(like WC shower etc) in the archaeological sites on shores
716	5/3/06	The maintenance, modification and substantial repair of bridges of architectural and historical value on the route of Highways.	legal recognition of an area out of Ministry's authority but with important cultural heritage by related authorities - Use and Conservation Balance
720	10/4/06	Conservation and Use Conditions of Urban Archaeological Sites	Definition of urban archaeological site and transition areas to the site and the city - clarification for a newly introduced concept born as a result of recent excavations within the metropolitan areas, especially Istanbul. See Yenikapı excavations
725	12/19/06	Resolution regarding the facilities for raising fishery products in the areas which are under the law 2863.	no permission for such facilities.

728	6/19/07	Resolution on the conservation and use of natural sites	definition of the characteristics of such sites and institutions with differing authorities for their conservation and interventions that might be allowed on such sites.
729	6/19/07	Resolution about the monument-statues	allows the possibility to register such statues as cultural property
730	6/19/07	Resolution regarding the trees found in cemeteries listed as cultural and natural property	any arrangement directed to these trees is subject to the evaluation of the regional conservation council.
731	6/19/07	Resolution on the control and implementation of physical interventions to the cultural property including mosques, mesjids, tombs etc which are administered by general directorate of pious foundations.	attempt to extend the authority of the conservation councils to the cultural property owned by GD of Foundations, especially regarding the restoration projects. (They are usually criticized for the low quality level of projects which alter the original fabric of monuments)
736	11/1/07	Resolution number 736	regarding conservation of urban archaeological sites
737	11/1/07	Resolution regarding the immovable pieces in the inventory of collectors.	obligation to transfer immovable pieces to the public museums
738	3/12/08	Resolution number 738	Re-evaluation of the resolution about the fishery products - to be decided by the conservation councils
739	3/12/08	Evaluation of the resolution regarding the court cases in contravention of 2863 by the High Conservation Council	reconfirmation of the resolution 710
740	3/12/08	Resolution number 740	regarding the addition of geothermal resources to resolution number 728

745	7/22/08	The Assignment of Archaeological Sites and Immoveable Archaeological Properties found on those Sites to Legal Persons by the Ministry within the scope of Laws 5225 and 5228	The assignments of the archaeological sites are undertaken with the authorization of special protocols, in the context of all kind of previous plans and projects, considering the opinions of the excavation leader or the museum directorate. In this regard, all the venues needed for the excavation, conservation or the presentation of the sites can be designed and created on a temporary basis under the supervision of the related regional preservation council. - Private Sector support
751	9/23/09	Additional Clause to Resolution number 728	Addition to the 'conditions of conservation and use of natural sites – shrines dedicated to martyrs and cemeteries
759	1/19/10	The court cases for cancellation of parcels and sites in the Administrative Courts	Procedure to be followed during the court sessions
762	1/19/10	On the landscaping projects 1/25000 in size including site areas	The revisions to these projects will be made by the same public office which has issued the initial approval
763	1/19/10	On the change made to resolution number 421	addition to the 'conservation and use of historical sites' limiting the clauses related to construction
773	9/14/10	On the immovable cultural property which is beyond conservation or has lost its architectural characteristics	De-listing of such property has been enabled

774	1/6/11	Resolution number 774	In case conservation plan has not been prepared but there is a need to undertake some obligatory infrastructural works regional conservation council can be referred to for approval
775	1/6/11	Repairs and Maintenance of the Unregistered Monuments attached to Immovable Cultural and Natural Property in need of Conservation and in the Sites, Conservation and Protection Areas	assignment of conservation councils for the repairs of unregistered monuments.
779	1/6/11	Re-evaluation of the Registration Resolution of the Immovable Cultural Property in need of Conservation	It has been made possible to apply for re-evaluation with scientific documents
25	2/7/12	Regarding the Architectural elements of Immovable Cultural Property which are not in-situ	Full documentation of these elements by the museums - since they are vital for a more integrated presentation of sites
26	2/7/12	Regarding the Completion at the Immovable Cultural Property	use of original material if possible; if not doing the material analysis, to make an accurate completion and document this intervention to make sure it is understood that it has recently been added.
35	4/10/12	Regarding the Works that will be done at the Monuments on Sites and Interaction-Transition Areas and Registered Cultural Property that has been damaged in earthquakes	definition of different institutions responsible for taking necessary measures in case of an earthquake

36	4/10/12	Conservation of Cultural Property that is affected by Dam Areas	attempt to integrate the necessity to consider the existence of cultural property prior to dam project planning and steps to be taken when the construction cannot be changed
37	4/10/12	Regarding the Conservation of Cultural Property in the Settlement Areas which was unknown previously but was discovered as a result of new construction, infrastructural works and natural disasters	introduces rules and procedures for the immediate recognition of cultural property found in the modern settlement areas
51	6/12/12	Cancellation of Resolution number 780	780: regional conservation councils can referred to on issues involving a public interest

Appendix E: Press search for statements made by politicians

Date	Title	Category
28.12.2012	Minister Günay: Last year we brought 3500 artifacts.	Restitution Campaign
08.12.2012	Proudly presents: Orpheus Mosaic	Restitution Campaign, New Museum
16.11.2012	Personal accident insurance for Museumcard holders	Private sector partnership
29.10.2012	We continue to pursue the matter. (regarding the tiles that have been exhibited at Louvre museum)	Restitution Campaign
09.09.2012	Troy's sad story. (Schliemann's excavation and smuggling of Troy treasury)	Restitution Campaign
05.09.2012	The artifacts of Homer' Troy have come back!	Restitution Campaign
19.08.2012	Günay wants Louvre's tiles.	Restitution Campaign
13.08.2012	He has a 'present' today.	Restitution Campaign
13.08.2012	Günay's secret artifact has appeared.	Restitution Campaign
10.08.2012	We might relocate the statutes at Mt. Nimrod	New Museums and conservation
07.08.2012	Minister Günay: The museum has been damaged by the effects of 12 September. (regarding the missing pieces from Museum of Sculpture and Painting)	Museum mismanagement
18.07.2012	Dursun comes to the throne (new president to the Topkapı Palace)	Museum Presidency (Museum restructuring)
03.07.2012	High class farewell ceremony to Ortaylı at	Museum Presidency (Museum restructuring)

	Topkapı.	
13.06.2012	Sultan's house 'harem' is on display	Exhibition
28.05.2012	A Eupora Nostra Rewarded Restoration For 'Ilyas Bey'	Restoration
22.04.2012	"How can we not charge those who damage archaeological sites?"	Conservation and Legal System
23.03.2012	Close investigation of Sultanahmet area.	Conservation- Reaction against illegal construction
19.02.2012	Minister Günay's Reply regarding Çıralı: We have not given permission.	Protection of natural heritage (Reaction against illegal construction)
13.01.2012	Order from Erdoğan: Knock down those spoiling the silhouette	Protection of Istanbul's Silhouette (Reaction against illegal construction)
26.11.2011	Neither the minister nor the inspection report could stop the construction which damaged the palace	Inefficiency of the Ministry against capitalist investments (Reaction against illegal construction)
18.11.2011	"We are going to fight for the bones of St.Nicola with Italians"	Restitution
09.10.2011	Weary Heracles has found peace	Restitution
19.09.2011	'Office Museum' has been officially opened	New Museum
09.08.2011	The art institutions of the state should be transferred to the NGOs.	Decentralization
27.07.2011	Günay: We have come to the end of 100 years of longing	Restitution
15.07.2011	Ankara Sculpture and Painting Museum has become a real 'museum' after 33 years	Museum restructuring
15.07.2011	According to the minister, the scandal at	Museum mismanagement

	Topkapi Museum is a detail	
10.06.2011	Another channel to ancient Ephesus	Project about an archaeological site
09.06.2011	Minister Günay's Zeugma Tears	Restitution campaign
28.10.2010	Council has acted 'broadly'	Controversial construction
28.10.2010	Günay has gone out to the street: Whatever is required will be done	Controversial construction
28.10.2010	I have started an investigation regarding that building	Controversial construction
10.10.2010	The madrasa which has hosted a fashion show is being turned into museum	New Museum
07.10.2010	Museum plan	New Museum
02.10.2010	Do not go over Allianoi issue	Archaeological Site – 'consult' with the press
29.09.2010	An end to the Savarona scandal: It will be a museum	New museum
21.09.2010	Is everything over for Allianoi?	Dam – archaeological site
18.09.2010	I ask for understanding for our helplessness	Dam – archaeological site
17.09.2010	No permission for religious ceremony at St. Sophia	Use of CH
24.08.2010	It will be the first statue of Hector	Statue construction – Use of CH
21.07.2010	The roads finish at Baksı, not the dreams	Opening of a new museum (private)
26.09.2010	Madımak can be a conscience museum (gives information about the ticket office privatization as well)	Plan for a new museum and a new management type
02.04.2010	Ankara's modern art museum is opened	New museum
13.03.2010	The paintings in the museum have decorated	Museum mismanagement

	the official offices (Ankara sculpture and painting museum)	
12.03.2010	The guilty has been found at the museum theft: 12 September (military intervention)	Museum mismanagement
21.02.2010	Demolition of the buildings around the high school for Topkapı Palace	Planning for the museum – landscaping
24.01.2010	Grand Bazaar will be 550 years old	Planning for the bazaar
23.01.2010	Will Sumela Monastery be opened for religious ceremonies?	Use of ch
05.01.2010	Let the Cosmic Room be a Museum	Museumalization of a controversial place
28.12.2009	Let Santa Claus come back home	Restitution – marketing
24.11.2009	Lessons are being skipped at the Museum	Museum education
02.10.2009	City Museum has opened in Mardin	New Museum
24.08.2009	Hacıbektaş Museum might be transferred to the municipality	Decentralization
19.07.2009	Treasury is going to charge us more if given a chance. (15% paid to the treasury from the income of the ministry)	Funding of ch
13.07.2009	Minister Günay is furious: Losers (protests against Idil Biret's classical concert at Topkapı Palace)	Reaction to the use of ch
12.07.2009	From Minister to the Alperen Houses: Losers	Reaction to the use of ch
02.07.2009	Not the oriental but the modern Turkey (Turkish Season in France)	International partnership

30.06.2009	The opening will be made by the ministers (Turkish Season in France)	International partnership
06.06.2009	It is ridiculous to demand Hacıbektaş (as a response to Alevi foundations)	Use of ch
07.05.2009	Günay has big dreams for Ankara	New museum
03.05.2009	There are no cultural entrepreneurs in Turkey	Private sector partnership
20.12.2008	Sandals would fit Santa Claus (renewal of the St. Claus sculpture in Demre)	Use of ch
01.12.2008	The 'Armenian Writer' protest to Günay from MP of AKP (against the proposal of turning the family house of an Armenian writer into a museum)	Reaction to the use of ch
20.09.2008	Salvador Dali Exhibition has been opened with high attendance	Exhibition
03.09.2008	"They are the ones who do not give excavation permits to the young people"	Excavation permits
03.09.2008	Günay is looking for enthusiastic excavation leaders	Excavation permits – changes
19.08.2008	Daphne Crown looked good on Günay (during the transfer ceremony of Laodekia an- cient site to Denizli Municipality)	Decentralization – funding – promotion
28.07.2008	Culture Minister Günay has set his hands on Knidos	Archaeological site – conservation
21.07.2008	He did not say "The museum is like a dump" (Depots at Van Museum)	Museum conditions

19.06.2008	Museumcard has been launched	Private sector partnership
20.03.2008	Erdoğan: Historical buildings will be turned into hotels	Use of ch
05.03.2008	And this “excavate – expose – abandon- method	Excavation
20.02.2008	Louvre’s Eastern Treasures are in Istanbul	Exhibition
28.01.2008	Gülhane and Kapalı Çarşı will be restored for 2010	Use of ch
27.01.2008	Olive making museum	Need for a new museum
26.01.2008	The St Nicola Church does not exist anymore (its name has been changed to Museum)	New use of ch
08.01.2008	Çankaya Municipality has canceled the exhibition that was supported by Günay.	Exhibition cancellation / political dispute-conflict
29.12.2007	The artefacts that have been taken away will come back	Restitution Campaign
20.12.2007	7 years will be enough to bury Hasankeyf	Dam – archaeological site
12.12.2007	Golden Lines are in Madrid	Exhibition – international
25.11.2007	Who’s Helen of Troy, the world will be talking about Hector of Troy.	Use of cultural heritage
31.10.2007	The end of 40 years in Sümla: Disaster	Restoration – low quality

Appendix F: News Related to the Boğazköy Sphinx - from the Ministry's Archive

News Related to the Boğazköy Sphinx - from the Ministry's Archive ⁴³⁰				
Date	Newspaper Name	Title of the News	Points Emphasized	Comments
07.11.2011	Vatan	<i>Boğazköy Sphinx has also returned after 94 years</i>	high security- police escort; bringing back the Sphinx in one piece against the probability of breaking and Germans running a campaign about it	no mention of the Hittite civilization or the function of the sculpture or why it was important to bring it back; half page article with picture
07.11.2011	HaberTürk	<i>Hittite Capital Hattusa meets with its Sphinx</i>	police escort; meticulous transportation	short article with picture
07.11.2011	Star	<i>Boğazköy Sphinx returned to the motherland after 94 years</i>	placement in its special place designed in Hattusa; high security transport	short article with picture, notion of motherland.

⁴³⁰ The archive is available at : <http://basin.kultur.gov.tr/TR,7575/turk-basininda-kultur-ve-turizm.html>

27.11.2011	Akşam	<i>Twins met after 94 years</i>	Minister's speech: looking after the culture of Turkey without discrimination; whatever comes from Turkey's land , it is ours and we keep it in custody for the whole of humanity; the souls of the ancient artefacts in an unknown world	half page article with 3 pictures from the opening including one with the students who were dressed as Hittite soldiers.
27.11.2011	Türkiye	<i>Boğazköy Sphinx has come back home</i>	Minister: all artefacts regardless of origin belong to Turkey if comes from Turkish soil, message to the excavation directors: if they do not spend enough time, they are invited to go into retirement to rest	Germany emphasis, short article with a picture of minster and sphinx; all devoted to ministers speech
27.11.2011	Zaman	<i>Boğazköy Sphinx is in its motherland after 95 years</i>	Two sentences from Minister's speech: the responsibility towards every ancient civilization from Anatolia and the efforts to bring tourism from the shores to the inland.	short article with a big picture with the Minister, Ambassador and other officials cutting the red tape at the opening.

27.11.2011	Habertürk Pazar	<i>The last Journey of Boğazköy Sphinx</i>	Minister: if the sphinx is not restituted, all the excavation permits granted to Germany including Hattusa will be cancelled.	full page article, Sunday edition. Many pictures during the transportation from IAM gardens, the interior is supposed to be Pergamon Museum.
27.11.2011	Cumhuriyet	<i>In the motherland after 94 years</i>	Minister: the significance of the moment, the number of foreign & Turkish excavations, other artefacts that are restituted, a workshop for kids at Bogazkoy Museum, Ambassador: symbol of friendship btwn two countries	half page news with picture of the sphinx, first mention of the education workshop and the Ambassador's speech.
28.01.2011	Ortadoğu	<i>Sphinx Happiness at Boğazköy</i>	Ministers speech: excavations in partnership with Germans, how the sphinx came back	short article with the picture of the Minister no Sphinx; first mention of citizens' interest in the opening

30.11.2011	Yeni Şafak	<i>3,500 year old Boğazköy Sphinx has been put on show</i>	Minister's speech: the archaeologists who are not willing to devote more energy to the excavations can go into retirement to rest; desire to increase tourism; happiness to bring the sphinx back	quarter page article with pictures
05.12.2011	Milliyet	<i>Sphinxes Attract Tourists to Çorum</i>	25% increase in the number of tourists	it is not clear if the increase is related to the museum or the site of Hattusa or Çorum in general. Short article with a picture of the sphinxes with two men guarding them dressed as Hittite soldiers
27.01.2012	Yeni Çağ	<i>Boğazköy Sphinx has brought abundance</i>	the number of visitors in 2011 was 68,148 and 10,226 people have visited the museum since its opening	no comparative figures, it is difficult to understand the increase. Short article with the picture of the sphinxes

Appendix G: Details of the sites where the field survey took place

Name of the site	Short description	Type	Number of Visitors 2012	Ticket Prices
Istanbul Archaeological Museums ISTANBUL	Located at the historical peninsula of Istanbul, it is the oldest and the richest museum in Turkey. Collections are displayed in 3 different buildings and differ in periods dominantly of Greco-Roman. The main building is built as a museum and has been for the same purpose since.	Museum	391.282 197.995 paid; 193.287 free entrance	10 TL
Topkapı Palace Museum ISTANBUL	The first buildings of the Topkapı Palace were constructed after the conquest of İstanbul in 1453, on the site of the acropolis of the ancient city of Byzantium. The palace served as the official residence of sultans until mid-19th century and was immediately turned into a museum following the proclamation of the Republic.	Monument – Palace-Official type: Museum	3.334.925 2.403.465 paid; 931.460 free entrance	25TL
Santa Sophia Museum ISTANBUL	The biggest Byzantine church in Istanbul, dated to 6 th century AD. It has been converted into a museum in 1934 after being in use as a mosque for almost 5 centuries	Monument – Church, Mosque Official type: Museum	3.345.347 2.533.239 paid; 812.108 free entrance	25 TL
Troy Archaeological Site ÇANAKKALE	The city of Troy (Troia, Truva), supposed homeland of the Iliad and Odyssey, the epic poems of Homer The Troy region, is a very	Archaeological Site	506.708 404.856 paid; 101.852 free	15TL

	famous site in the European history and literature first unearthed in the mid-19 th century by Heinrich Schliemann, who carried out excavations based on information he obtained from the Iliad. The site was declared an "Ancient National Park" in 1996 and included in the World Heritage Site list in 1998. Until recently, a multinational team headed by scientists from the University of Tübingen, Germany, carried out archaeological excavations but in 2012 they decided to transfer it to archaeologists from USA.		entrance	
Assos Archaeological Site ÇANAKKALE	An archaeological site in Çanakkale, famous for the only surviving Doric temple and hosting Aristotle before he tutored Alexander the Great. The remains from the ancient site are found on top of a hill, overlooking the Aegean Sea.	Archaeological Site	106.323 57.291 paid; 49.032 free entrance	8 TL
Bergama Archaeological Site İZMİR	It is an ancient Greek city in Aeolis, today located 26 km from the Aegean Sea, today, the main sites of ancient Pergamon are to the north and west of the modern city of Bergama in Turkey.	Archaeological Site	269.596 221.678 paid; 47.918 free entrance	20 TL
Asklepion Archaeological Site İZMİR	The Asklepion in Pergamon was a healing temple in the Ancient Greece, as important as its counterparts in Epidaurus and Kos	Archaeological Site	150.649; 122.275 paid; 28.374 free entrance	15 TL

Ephesus Archaeological Site İZMİR	One of the best preserved and the most visited archaeological site in Turkey. The city of Ephesus, of which ruins are visited today, was founded by one of Alexander the Great's generals, Lysimachus, in about 300 BC. The prosperity reached its peak in the city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and as the capital of the province of Asia and a big port, its population was 200,000. It is being excavated by a team from Austria.	Archaeological Site	1.888.173 1.506.650 paid; 381.523 free entrance	25 TL
Ephesus Museum İZMİR	The museum is located close to the site and displays artefacts coming from the site.	Museum	228.472 175.913 paid; 52.559 free entrance	8 TL
Miletus Archaeological Site AYDIN	Although Miletus could have competed for fame with Ephesus in ancient times, the present state of the site is very much in ruins compared to its counterpart. The first period of excavations in Miletus was initiated in 1899 by Th. Wiegand and continued until 1938. Excavation and restoration works that were resumed after the World War II are continued today by experts from the German Archaeological Institute.	Archaeological Site	94.546 87.904 paid; 6.642 free entrance	5 TL
Didyma Apollon Temple AYDIN	The Didymaion is known as a centre of prophecy in the territory of Miletus, as a temple dedicated to the oracular god Apollo. This most	Monument – Temple. Archaeological	129.071 118.863 paid; 10.208 free	5 TL

	impressive independent structure on the west coast of Anatolia was thought to be a temple standing alone, but recent excavations have proved that Didyma was not only the residence of an oracle, but also a densely populated place of settlement. Excavations are being carried out by German teams.	Site	entrance	
Sedir Island MUĞLA	The Sedir Island (ancient city of Kedriai), located in the Gulf of Gökova, is a center of cultural tourism thanks to its archaeological remains and natural surroundings.	Island	65.724 56.910 paid; 8.814 free entrance	10 TL
Knidos Archaeological Site MUĞLA	The ancient city of Knidos, a member of the Dorian Hexapolis including three cities of the island of Rhodes, was located on the Tekir Burnu (Point) at the end of the Datça Peninsula where the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea join, was one of the most important West Anatolian coastal cities.	Archaeological Site	44.797 32.377 paid; 12.420 free entrance	8 TL
Bodrum Underwater Archaeology Museum MUĞLA	The museum is located in Bodrum castle which was built in 1406-1522 by the Saint Jean knights. In addition to its great location overlooking the Aegean Sea, the museum displays many artefacts from shipwrecks. The castle was opened in 1964 as Bodrum Museum and it took the name Underwater Archaeology Museum in 1981. Today it is Turkey's only underwater	Museum	213.674 144.915 paid; 68.759 free entrance	20 TL

	archaeology museum and one of the world's best.			
Antalya Museum ANTALYA	The Antalya Museum is among the leading museums of Turkey; on account of its sculpture works belonging to the Roman period especially from Perge and unique artefacts found during the rescue exactions of the museum.	Museum	174.457 107.829 paid; 66.628 free entrance	15 TL
Aspendos Archaeological Site ANTALYA	Aspendos is 44 km north of Antalya and it is known for the best preserved Roman Age theatre of Mediterranean World and its aqueducts. The city was founded on the hill plane close to one of the biggest rivers of the region Köprüçay (Antique Eurymedon).	Archaeological Site	380.432 297.753 paid; 82.679 free entrance	15 TL
Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum ANKARA	The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations has a distinctive collection including exhibits from every civilization that passed through Anatolia until the present-day arranged in a chronological order. The museum consists of the Kurşunlu Han(inn) and Mahmut Paşa Bedesten(covered bazaar), and is located close to Ankara Castle.	Museum	290.044 176.245 paid; 113.799 free entrance	15 TL
Göreme Open Air Museum NEVŞEHİR	The Goreme Open-Air Museum resembles a vast monastic complex composed of scores of refectory monasteries placed side-by-side, each with its own church. The museum has been a member of UNESCO World Heritage List since 1984, and was one of the first two UNESCO sites	Open Air Museum	959.966 752.925 paid; 207.041 free entrance	15 TL

	in Turkey.			
Zelve Open Air Museum NEVŞEHİR	Zelve is situated on the northern slopes of Aktepe, 1km from Paşabağları (Monks' Valley) and 5 km from Avanos. The ruins at Zelve are spread over three valleys, which also house several pointed fairy chimneys with large stems.	Open Air Museum	120.173 65.955 paid; 54.218 free entrance	8 TL
Sümela Monastery TRABZON	The Sumela Monastery, built on a ledge of a steep cliff on the slopes of the Black Mountain (Karadağ) overlooking the Altındere valley, located inside the territory of the Altındere village in the Maçka district of the Trabzon Province, is called "Meryem Ana" (Mother Mary) among the people.	Monastery - Monument	336.766 223.008 paid; 113.758 free entrance	8 TL
Gaziantep Zeugma Mosaic Museum GAZİANTEP	The Gaziantep Zeugma Museum is world's one of the most important museums in terms of its mosaic collection, coming from the Roman site of Zeugma which has been partially flooded in 2005. The Museum Building located on the site of Gaziantep's former Tekel (once a tobacco and alcohol monopoly) Plant covering an area of 30,000 square meters, is a building complex consisting of 3 units.	Museum	169.933 77.905 paid; 92.028 free entrance	8 TL

Bibliography

1. Aberbach, Joel D. and Tom Christensen. 2005. Citizens and Consumers. *Public Management Review*. 7(2): 225-246.
2. Adorno, Theodor. 1991. Culture industry reconsidered. In *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, edited by J.M. Bernstein. London: Routledge.
3. Akdoğan, Neşe Kivilcim. 2012. Guest speaker at Site Management and Privatization in Cultural Heritage Management in Turkey Conference. 20th April 2012 organized by Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations and JM Kaplan Fund, session on Management of Cultural Heritage Sites in Turkey: Ideals and Realities.
4. Aksoy, Asu. 2009. The Atatürk Cultural Center and AKP's "Mind Shift" Policy. In *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey* edited by Serhan Ada and Ayca İnce. 191-213. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.
5. Alford, John and Janine O'Flynn. 2009. Making Sense of Public Value: Concepts, Critiques and Emergent Meanings. *International Journal of Public Administration*. 32(3-4): 171-191.
6. Amunts, Dmitry. 2005. Public-Private Partnership as Means of Cultural Heritage Safeguarding. In *Proceedings of the International Conference Innovative Policies for Heritage Safeguarding and Cultural Tourism Development*. Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation State University-Higher School of Economics UNESCO Moscow Office, Moscow, November 25 – 27.
7. Annual Report ,2003–2004. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Available at: <http://www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk/reports/miar-report-2004.pdf>
8. Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. Introduction: commodities and the politics of value. In *Introduction to The Social Life of Things: commodities in cultural perspective*. Edited by Arjun Appadurai, 3-64. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

9. Atakuman, Çiğdem. 2010. Value of Heritage in Turkey: History and Politics of Turkey's World Heritage Nominations. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 23(1):107-131.
10. Australian Public Service Commission. 2003. *The Australian Experience of Public Sector Reform*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia
11. Aydın, Suavi. 2010. Arkeoloji ve Milliyetçilik: Toprak Altından Kimlik Devşirmek. *Arkeoatlas*. 7: 128-141.
12. Baraldi, Sara Bonini, Daniel Shoup and Luca Zan. 2012. Understanding cultural heritage in Turkey: institutional context and organisational Issues. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. iFirst article, 1–21.
13. Bartu Candan, Ayfer. 2007. Remembering a Nine-Thousand-Year-Old Site: Presenting Çatalhöyük. In *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, edited by Esra Özyürek. 70-95. NewYork: Syracuse University Press.
14. Benedikter, Roland. 2004. Privatisation of Italian Cultural Heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 10(4):369-389.
15. Benjamin, Walter. 1977. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. New York and London: Verso.
16. Benjamin, Walter. 1936. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Transcribed: by Andy Blunden 1998; proofed and corrected Feb. 2005. Source: UCLA School of Theatre, Film and Television.
17. Benn, Stanley I. and Gaus, Gerald F. 1983. The public and the private: concepts and action. In *Public and Private in Social Life*, edited by S. I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, 3-27. London: Croom Helm.
18. Bennett, Tony and Mike Savage. 2004. Introduction: Cultural Capital and Cultural Policy. *Cultural Trends*. 13(2):7-14.
19. Bilgiç, Veysel. 2008. Yeni Kamu Yönetimi Anlayışı. In *Kamu Yönetiminde Çağdaş Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Asım Balcı, Ahmet Nohutçu, Namık Kemal Öztürk and Bayram Çoşkun. 27-47. Ankara: Seçkin.

20. Bodo, Carla. 1997. Finanziamenti pubblici o privati? Considerazioni sulle strategie di privatizzazione. *Economia della Cultura*.3:181-184.
21. Boorsma, Peter B. 1998. Privatizing the Muse 'and all that Jazz'. In *Privatization and Culture*, edited by Peter B. Boorsma, Annemoon van Hemel and Niki van der Wielen. 23-45. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
22. Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
23. Breznik, Maja. 2004. *Cultural Revisionism: Culture between neo-liberalism and social responsibility*. Ljubljana: Peace Institute.
24. Byrman, Alan. 2007. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
25. Byrne, Denis. 1991. Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management. *History and Anthropology*. 5: 269-276.
26. Calogero, Marino. 2010. The Introduction of New Public Management Principles in the Italian Public Sector. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*. 30: 30-54.
27. Canclini, Nestor. 2001. *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
28. Carman, John. 1995. The Importance of Things: archaeology and the law. In *Managing Archaeology*, edited by Malcolm A. Cooper, Antony Firth, John Carman and David Wheatley, 19-30. London and New York: Routledge.
29. Carman, John. 1996. *Valuing Ancient Things: archaeology and law*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
30. Carman, John. 2002. *Archaeology & Heritage. An Introduction*. London: Continuum.
31. Carman, John. 2005. *Against Cultural Property: Archaeology, Heritage and Ownership*. London: Duckworth.
32. Casini, Lorenzo. 2001. "La valorizzazione dei beni culturali." *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*. 3:651-707.
33. Casini, Lorenzo. 2011. The Globalization of Cultural Property Law. Presentation in *The 1st Annual Unlisted International Conference. The sustainable preservation and conservation of archaeologi-*

- cal cultural heritage*. April 15-16, 2011. Rome. Organized by The American Institute for Roman Culture.
34. Chung, Yupin. 2005. The Impact of Privatization on Museum Admission Charges: A case study from Taiwan. *Marketing Management*. 7(2): 27-39.
 35. Ciarniene, Ramune, Algimantas Sakalas and Milita Vienazindiene. 2005. Strategic Thinking in New Public Management. *Frontiers Of E-Business Research*. 760-774.
 36. Clark, Kate. 2006. Introduction. In *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage*. 1-7. Proceedings of the London Conference, edited by Kate Clark.
 37. Cleere, Henry. 1989. Introduction: the Rationale of Archaeological Heritage Management. In *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World* edited by H. Cleere 1- 19. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd.
 38. Çınar, Menderes. 2003. Is the progressive Agenda Being Handed Over to Globalization? *Görüş*. March: 104-110.
 39. Darlington, Shasta. 2003. Italian Art Chief Arms Revolution, Not Privatization. 16 February. <<http://www.museum-security.org/03/023.html#3>>
 40. Darvill, Timothy. 1987. *Ancient Monuments in the Countryside*. London: English Heritage
 41. De La Torre, Marta and Randall, Manson. 2002. Introduction. In *Research Report Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices* edited by Marta de la Torre. 1-5. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.
 42. Demir, Ömer. 2004. *Kamu Yönetiminin Yeniden Yapılandırılması ve Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı*, available at: <http://www.liberal-dt.org.tr/index.php?lang=tr&message=article&art=133>
 43. d'Harnoncourt, Anne, Paul J. DiMaggio, Marilyn Perry and James N. Wood. 1991. The Museum and the Public. In *The Economics of Art Museums*, edited by Martin Feldstein. 35 – 60. Chicago: University of Chicago Press .
 44. Dixon, John and Alexander Kouzmin. 1994. The Commercialization of the Australian Public Sector: Competence, Elitism or

- Default in Management Education? *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 7 (6): 52 – 73.
45. Duncan, Carol. 1991. Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship. In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 279-286. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press
 46. Edelman, Murray Jacob. 1971. *Politics as symbolic action: mass arousal and quiescence*. Chicago: Markham Pub. Co.
 47. Engelsman, Steven. 1996. Dutch National Museums go 'private.' *Museum International* (Unesco Paris). 148(4): 49-53. Speech delivered at the ICOM General Conference, July, 1995.
 48. Engelsman, Steven. 2006. Privatization of Museums in the Netherlands: twelve years later. *Museum International* (Unesco Paris). 58(4): 37-43.
 49. Enlil, Zeynep and Asu Aksoy. 2010. *Cultural Economy Compendium: Istanbul*. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.
 50. Evers, Adalbert. 2004. Mixed Welfare Systems and Hybrid Organisations – Changes in the Governance and Provision of Social Services. Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference of the International Society for Third-Sector Research Ryerson University and York University Toronto, Canada, July 11 – 14.
 51. Ferlie, Ewen and Peter Steane. 2002. Changing Developments in New Public Management. *International Journal of Public Administration*. 25: 1459-1469.
 52. Filippucci, Paola. 2009. Heritage and Methodology: a view from social anthropology. In *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches* edited by Marie Louise Stig Sorensen and John Carman. 319-326. Routledge: London& New York.
 53. Foucault, Michel. 2002. *Toplumu Savunmak Gerekir*. Compilation of the Lectures at College de France 1975-1976. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
 54. Frey, Bruno. 2008. What Values Should Count in the Arts? The Tension between Economic Effects and Cultural Value. In *Beyond Price. Value in Culture, Economics and the Arts* edited by

- Micheal Hutter and David Thorsby. 261-269. New York: Cambridge University Press.
55. Garden, Mary-Catherine E. 2006. The Heritagescape: Looking at the Landscape of the Past. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 12 (5): 394-411.
 56. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999. *Türk Müzeciliği*. Ankara: Kültür veTurizm Bakanlığı.
 57. Gibson, Cristina B. and Julian Birkinshaw. 2004. The Antecedents, Consequences, and Mediating Role of Organizational Ambidexterity. *The Academy of Management Journal*. 47(2): 209-226.
 58. Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
 59. Gold, Stuart. 1989. The Costs of Privatization: Turkey in the 1980s. *The Multinational Monitor*. 10(10): 1-9.
 60. Guo, Yinqiang , Shuguang Liu and Luca Zan. 2008. *Management of Cultural Heritage in China. General Trends and a Micro-focus on the Luoyang Municipality*: EGEA.
 61. Gür, Aslı. 2007. Stories in three dimensions. Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum. In *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, edited by Esra Özyürek. 40-70. NewYork: Syracuse University Press.
 62. Hannabuss, Stuart. 1999.Postmodernism and the heritage experience.*Library Management*. 20(5): 295-302.
 63. Harrison, Rodney. 2008. The politics of the past: conflict in the use of heritage in the modern world. In *The Heritage Reader* edited by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson Jnr and John Schofield. London& NewYork: Routledge.
 64. Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
 65. Haque, Shamsul. 2001.The Diminishing Publicness of Public Service under the current mode of governance. *The Public Administration Review*. 61(1): 65-82.
 66. Hayllar Mark Richard. 1999. Reforms to enhance accountability and citizen involvement: a case study of the Hong Kong hospi-

- tal authority. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 22(3&4):461–498.
67. Hayllar, Mark Richard. 2010. Public-Private Partnerships in Hong Kong: Good Governance – The Essential Missing Ingredient? *The Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 69(1): 99–119.
 68. Hirsch, Paul M. 1972. Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems. *American Journal of Sociology*. 77(4): 639-659.
 69. Hirsch, Paul. and Levin, Daniel. 1999. Umbrella Advocates Versus Validity Police: A Life-Cycle Model. *Organization Science*, 10 (2): 199–212.
 70. Hirschman, Albert O. 1979. *Shifting Involvements*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.
 71. Holt, Douglas B. 1998. “Does cultural capital structure American consumption?” *Journal of Consumer Research*. 25(1): 1-25.
 72. Hood, Christopher. 1995. The New Public Management in the 1980s: Variations on a Theme. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*. 20: 93-109.
 73. Hsieh, Jasper. 2010. Strategic Stakeholder Orientations and Performance Consequences – A Case of Private Nonprofit Performing Arts in the US. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 15:13–27.
 74. İnce, Ayça. 2010. Cultural Centers in Istanbul: Changing Cultural Policies in the 2000s. In *Cultural Policy and Management: Yearbook 2010*, edited by Serhan Ada. 97-113. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.
 75. James, Jennie. 2003. Where Have All The Patrons Gone? *Time*, 9 March.
<<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,430698,00.html>>
 76. Johnston, Frank, Julia Paley, Paula Sabloff, Peggy R. Sanday and Abby Corrigan. 1997. Public Interest Anthropology. A program for research, teaching, and action. Available at <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~psanday/public2.html>

77. Jørgensen, Torben Beck and Barry Bozeman. 2007. Public Values: An Inventory. *Administration & Society*. 39 (3): 354-381.
78. Jüriado, Rein. 2006. Learning in Public-Private Partnerships: Evidence from the Swedish Cultural Services Sector. Paper presented at XVI International RESER Conference, Services Governance and Public Policies, Lisbon, September 28-30
79. Kamaruddin, Nor Azlina Binti, Mohd Tusirin Hj Mohd Nor Rosmah Mat Isa and Nor Liza Abdullah. 2011. Value creation in public private partnership: effect of commercial and social entrepreneurship on performance. In proceedings of 2nd International Conference on Business and Economic Research. 14-16 March. 2065-2073.
80. Kerber, J. E. 1994. Introduction. In *Cultural Resource Management: Archaeological Research, Preservation Planning, and Public Education in the Northeastern United States* edited by J.E. Kerber. 1- 14. London: Bergin&Carvey.
81. Kettle, Donald F. 2000. *The Global Public Management Revolution*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
82. Khanom, Nilufa Akhter. 2009. Conceptual Issues in Defining Public Private Partnerships. Paper Presented For Asian Business Research Conference. World Academy of Social Science, Bangladesh, April, 11-12.
83. Klammer, Arjo. 2003. Value of Culture. In *A Handbook of Cultural Economics* edited by Ruth Towse. 465-469 Edward Elgar Publishing: Cheltenham (UK).
84. Koçak, Orhan. 2001. Cultural Policies from 1920s to 1970s. In *Political Thought in Modern Turkey*, edited by Murat Gültekinil. 365-388. Cagaloğlu: Kemalism İletişim Publications.
85. Kuluçlu, Erdal. 2008. Türk Hukuk Sisteminde Normlar Hiyerarşisi ve Sayıştay Denetimine Etkileri. *Sayıştay Dergisi*. October – December, 71. 3-23.
86. Kurdaş, Kemal. 1970. Introduction. 1968 Yaz Çalışmaları Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Keban Projesi Yayınları (1968 Summer field Work METU Keban Dam Publications). 1-3. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

87. Labadi, Sophia and Long, Colin. 2010. *Heritage and Globalisation*. London: Routledge.
88. Lamont, Michele and Annette Lareau. 1998. Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments. *Sociological Theory* 6(2): 153-168.
89. Langford, John. 2002. Managing Public-Private Partnerships in Canada. In *New Players, Partners and Processes: A Public Sector Without Boundaries*. Edited by Edwards, Meredith, and John Langford, 68–84. British Columbia: National Institute for Governance, University of Canberra, and Centre for Public Sector Studies, University of Victoria.
90. Laswell, Harold Dwight. 1958. *Politics: who gets what, when, how*. With postscript. New York: Meridian Books.
91. Lee, David John, Kate Oakley and Richard Naylor. 2011. The public gets what the public wants'? The uses and abuses of 'public value' in contemporary British cultural policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 17(3): 289-300.
92. Linder, Stephen. 1999. Coming to terms with Public-Private Partnerships: A Grammar of Multiple Meanings. *American Behavioural Scientist*. 43(1): 35-51.
93. Linder, Stephen and Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau. 2000. Mapping the Terrain of the Public-Private Policy Partnership. In *Public Private Policy Partnerships*, edited by Pauline Vaillancourt Rosenau, 1-19. Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press.
94. Lipe, William. 1984. Value and meaning in cultural resources. In *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage*, edited by Henry Cleere. 1-11. Cambridge University Press: New York
95. Lowenthal, David. 1996. Stewardship, sanctimony and selfishness – a heritage paradox. In *History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture* edited by John Arnold, Kate Davies and Simon Ditchfield. 169-179. (Proceedings of the interdisciplinary conference, University of York).
96. Mango, Andrew. 2004. *The Turks Today*. London: John Murray Publishers.
97. Mason, Randall. 2002. Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage. In Research Report *Assessing Values in Conservation Plan-*

- ning: *Methodological Issues and Choices* edited by Marta de la Torre. 5-31. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.
98. Matsuda, Akira. 2004. The Concept of the Public and the Aims of Public Archaeology. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*. 15: 66-76
 99. McGimsey, Charles R. and Davis, Hester A. 1977. *The Management of Archaeological Resources. The Arlie House Report*. Special Publication of the Society for American Archaeology.
 100. McManamon, Francis. 1991. The Many Publics for Archaeology. *In American Antiquity*. 56(1): 121-130.
 101. McManamon Francis and Hatton A. 2000. Introduction: Considering Cultural Resource Management in Modern Society. *In Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society* edited by P. McManamon and A. Hatton. 1- 19. London & New York: Routledge.
 102. Merriman, Nick. 1991. *Beyond the Glass Case*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
 103. Merryman, John Henry. 1986. *Two Ways of Thinking about Cultural Property*. *The American Journal of International Law*. 80(4): 831-853.
 104. Merryman, John Henry. 1994. A Licit Traffic in Cultural Objects. Paper presented to the fifth symposium on Legal Aspects in International Trade of Art. Vienna, 28-30 September.
 105. Meskell, Lynn. 1998. Introduction: Archaeology Matters. *In Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* edited by Lynn Meskell. 1-13. London: Routledge.
 106. Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.
 107. Moore, Mark 1995. *Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government*. Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press.
 108. Moore, Mark and Khagram Sanjeev. 2004. *On Creating Public Value: What Business Might Learn from Government About Strategic Management*. Working paper of the Corporate Social Re-

- sponsibility Initiative, Kennedy School of Government. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- 109.Nohutçu, Ahmet and Asım Balcı. 2008. Giriş: Kamu Yönetiminin Yeni Perspektif ve Dinamizmi: “Kamu”nun Yönetilmesinden “Kamu”nun Yönetmesi Anlayışına Doğru. In *Kamu Yönetiminde Çağdaş Yaklaşımlar*, edited by Asım Balcı, Ahmet Nohutçu, Namık Kemal Öztürk and Bayram Çoşkun. 15-27. Ankara: Seçkin
- 110.Oran, Baskın. 2008. *Türkiye’de Azınlıklar: Kavramlar, Teori, Lozan, İç Mevzuat, İctihat, Uygulama*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- 111.Orbaşlı, Aylin. 2000. *Tourists in Historic Towns, Urban Conservation and Heritage Management*. New York: E & FN Spon.
- 112.Osborne, David. and Ted Gaebler. 1993. *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. New York: PLUME, Penguin Books USA Inc.
- 113.Osborne, Stephen. 2007. *Public Private Partnerships: Theory and Practice in International Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- 114.Öniş, Ziya. 2005. Entrepreneurs, Citizenship and the European Union: the changing nature of state-business relations in Turkey. In *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences* edited by E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduyu. 180-193. London and New York: Routledge Studies in Governance and Change in the Global Era
- 115.Özdoğan, Mehmet. 2006. *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç olarak Arkeoloji*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- 116.Özdoğan, Mehmet. 2011. *Arkeolojik Kazılar Bilimsel Çalışma mı? Toprak Hafriyatı mı?* İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- 117.Özgüner, Pınar. 2010. What is in a Theatre? Rethinking Excavations of Ancient Monumental Buildings in Turkey. Paper presented at International Conference on Materiality, Memory and Cultural Heritage organized by Istanbul Technical University and Yeditepe University, Istanbul, Turkey. 25-28 May 2010.
- 118.Özyürek, Esra. 2007. Introduction: The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey. In *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, edited by Esra Özyürek. 1-16. New York: Syracuse University Press.

119. Palumbo, Gaetano. 2006. Privatization of State Owned Cultural Heritage : A critique of Recent trends in Europe. In *Of the Past, For the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation*, proceedings of the conservation theme at the 5th World Archaeological Congress, Washington D.C., 22-26 June 2003. edited by Neville Agnew and Janet Bridgland. Getty Publications: LA.
120. Pasinli, Alpay. 2003. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri* (Istanbul Archaeological Museums). Istanbul: Akbank Yayınları
121. Partridge, Ernest. 2003. Consumer or Citizen? *The Crisis Papers*, 7 October.
<<http://www.crisispapers.org/Editorials/consumer.htm>>
122. Paulsen, Neil. 2006. New public management, innovation, and the non-profit domain: New forms of organizing and professional identity. In *Organizing innovation: New approaches to cultural change and intervention in public sector organizations*, edited by M. Veenswijk, 15-28. Amsterdam: IOS Press.
123. Peacock, Alan T. 1995. A future for the past: the political economy of heritage. In *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 87, 189-243. <http://britac3.britac.ac.uk/pubs/keynes94/2sec1.html>
124. Peters, B. Guy. 1998. 'With a Little Help From Our Friends': Public-Private Partnerships as Institutions and Instruments. In *Partnerships in Urban Governance: European and American Experience*, edited by J. Pierre, 11-33. London: Macmillan Press and Basingstoke.
125. Pinna, Giovanni. 2002. Heritage and "Cultural assets". *Museum international*. 53(2).
126. Ponzini, Davide. 2010. The process of privatisation of cultural heritage and the arts in Italy: analysis and perspectives. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 16(6): 508-521.
127. Povoledo, Elisabetta. 2008. Cheeseburgers Get Into the Mix in the Italian Debate on Museums. *The New York Times*. November 22.
128. Pulhan, Gül. 2009. Cultural Heritage Reconsidered in Light of New Cultural Policies. In *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, edited by Serhan Ada and Ayca Ince. 151-170. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.

129. Pulhan, Gül. 2012. Türkiye’de Kültürel Mirasın Anlamı ve Yöntemi. In *Kültürel Miras Yönetimi*, edited by Asu Aksoy and Deniz Ünsal. 30-66. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi.
130. Renfrew, Colin. 2001. *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership*. London: Duckworth.
131. Salazar, Noel B. 2010. The globalization of heritage through tourism: balancing standardization and differentiation. In *Globalization and Heritage: Key Issues in Cultural Heritage* edited by Sophia Labadi and Colin Long. 130-147. London and New York: Routledge.
132. Savas, Emanuel, S. 1982. *Privatizing the Public Sector: How to Shrink Government*. Chatham: Chatham House.
133. Savas, Emanuel, S. 2005. *Privatization in the City: Successes, Failures, Lessons*. CQ Press: Washington, DC.
134. Schadla-Hall, Tim. 1999. Editorial: public archaeology. *European Journal of Archaeology*. 2 (2): 147-58.
135. Schofield, John. 2008. Heritage Management, Theory and Practice. In *The Heritage Reader* edited by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson Jnr and John Schofield. 15-31. London & New York: Routledge.
136. Schuster, Mark J. 1998. The Hybridization of Museums and the Built Heritage. In *Privatization and Culture*, edited by Peter B. Boorsma, Annemoon van Hemel and Niki van der Wielen. 58-81. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
137. Seçkin, Aylin. 2009. The Political Economy of Cultural Policies. In *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, edited by Serhan Ada and Ayca Ince. 119-137. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.
138. Sellers, Mortimer. 2003. *Ideals of Public Discourse*. Available at: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1144719>
139. Settis, Salvatore. 2007. *Italia S.p.A. L’assalto al patrimonio culturale*. Torino: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi.
140. Sgarbi, Vittorio. 2003. “Patrimonio svendesì, ma a pochi offerenti. Chi trae vantaggio dall’alienazione delgi immobili pubblici?” *Bell’Italia*. Available at: http://www.osservatoriomonopoli.it/News/News_200703_Settis.htm

141. Shankland, David. 2010. Afterword: Heritage, Nationalism and Archaeology in the Republic of Turkey. In *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods* edited by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin. : 225-236. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA: Peeters
142. Shaw, Wendy. 2004. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
143. Shoup, Daniel David, Sara Bonini Baraldi and Luca Zan. 2012. A centralized decentralization: outsourcing in the Turkish cultural heritage sector. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. iFirst article. 1-24.
144. Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. New York and London: Routledge.
145. Smith, Laurajane. 2008. Towards a theoretical framework for archaeological heritage management. In *The Heritage Reader* edit by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John Jameson and John Schofield. London&NewYork: Routledge
146. Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and John Carman. 2009. Heritage Studies: An outline. In *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, edited by Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and John Carman. 11-29. London & NewYork: Routledge.
147. Sözen, Süleyman and Ian Shaw. 2002. The International Applicability of “New” Public Management: lessons from Turkey. *The International Journal of Public Sector Management*. 15(6/7): 475-486.
148. Sözen, Süleyman. 2012. Recent Administrative Reforms in Turkey: A Preliminary Assessment. *International Journal of Business and Social Service*. 3(9):168-173.
149. Starr, Fiona. 2010. The Business of Heritage and the Private Sector. In *Heritage and Globalization* edited by Sophia Labadi and Colin Long, 147-171. London and New York: Routledge.
150. State of the Environment Report Tasmania. 2003. Chapter on Cultural Heritage, Heritage Objects. <http://soer.justice.tas.gov.au/2003/her/6/issue/100/ataglace.php>

151. Stead, Naomi. 2003. The Value of Ruins: Allegories of Destruction in Benjamin and Speer. *An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Built Environment*. 6: 51-64.
152. Stoker, Gerry. 2006. Public Value Management: A New Narrative for Networked Governance? *American Review of Public Administration*, 36 (1), 41-57.
153. Swennen, Frederik. 2011. *To Whom It may Concern: the Essay on Public Private Partnerships on Cultural Heritage*. Antwerpen: University of Antwerpen
154. Talbot, Colin. 2006. *Paradoxes and Prospects of 'Public Value'*. Manchester, UK: Centre for Public Policy and Management, Manchester Business School, University of Manchester.
155. Thatcher, Mark. 2012. State Traditions and the Regulations of architectural heritage: A comparison of France and England 1870-2011. Paper presented at Inaugural Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies: 'Re/theorising heritage' June 5-8 2012, organised by the International Journal of Heritage Studies and the Heritage Seminar at the University of Gothenburg.
156. The National Council for Public-Private Partnerships. How PPPs Work.? Available at: <http://www.ncppp.org/howpart/index.shtml#define>
157. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), enacted on November 16, 1990. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. [25 USC 3001 (3)(D)]. <http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/TRAINING/GLOSSARY.HTM>
158. Thomas, Roger M. 2008. Archaeology and Authority in the Twenty-first Century. In *The Heritage Reader* edited by Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson Jnr and John Schofield. 139-149. London and New York: Routledge.
159. Throsby, David. 1998. Rethinking State's Role: Privatization, Economics and Cultural Policy. In *Privatization and Culture*, edited by Peter B. Boorsma, Annemoon van Hemel and Niki van der Wielen, 49-57. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

160. Throsby, David. 2007. *The Value of Heritage*. Heritage Economics Workshop. ANU, 11–12 October 2007.
161. Tecer, Meral. 1992. Privatization in Turkey. *Cahiers D'etudes sur la Mediterranee Orientale et Le Monde Turco-Iranien*. 14: 1-11.
162. Torres, Lourdes. 2004. Trajectories in public administration reforms in European Continental countries. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 63(3): 99-112.
163. United Nations, 2005. *World Public Sector Report 2005: Unlocking the Human Potential for Public Sector Performance* (No. ST/ESA/PAD/SER.E/63). New York: United Nations.
164. University of the West of England, 2007. *Data analysis on-line learning programme*. Available at: <http://hsc.uwe.ac.uk/dataanalysis/index.asp#>
165. Unsal, Deniz. 2009. Museum Establishments and Cultural Policy in Turkey. In *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, edited by Serhan Ada and Ayca Ince. 159-191. İstanbul: Bilgi University Press
166. Walsh, Kevin. 1992. *Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*. London and New York: Routledge.
167. Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
168. Weil, Stephen. 2004. Collecting Then, Collecting Today: What's the difference? In *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* edited by G. Anderson. 401. New York, Toronto, Oxford: Alta Mira Press.
169. Wettenhall, Roger. 2003. The Rhetoric and Reality of Public-Private Partnerships. *Public Organization Review: A Global Journal*. 3: 77–107.
170. World Bank. 1999. *Working Together for a Change: Government, Business and Civil Partnerships for Poverty Reduction in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, D.C: EDI Learning Resources Series, The World Bank.

171. Yağız, Doğan. 2006. Tale of Zeugma and the Birecik Project. In *Art and Cultural Heritage: Law, Policy and Practice* edited by Barbara T. Hoffman. 255-259, UK: Cambridge University Press.
172. Yardımcı, Sibel. 2007. Festivalising Difference: Privatization of Culture and Symbolic Exclusion in Istanbul. *EUI (European University Institute) Working Papers*. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.
173. Yazıcı, Serap. 2011. *A Guide to Turkish Public Law and Legal Research*. Available at:
<http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/turkey1.htm#f>
174. Yescombe, Edward, R. 2007. *Public-Private Partnerships: Principles of Policy and Finance*. Oxford: Elsevier Finance.
175. Yin. Robert K. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Sage Publications
176. Van der Ploeg, Frederick. 2006. The Making of Cultural Policy: A European Perspective. In *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture* edited by Victor A. Ginsburg and David Throsby. 1183-1218. Amsterdam: Elsevier/North Holland.
177. Verma, Sandeep. 2007. Sharing of Risks & Rewards in Public-Private Partnerships For Conservation & Management of Heritage Monuments in India: Exploring the possible contours of a Model Concession Agreement. Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1464694>
178. Vogelsang, Ingo. 2006. Network Utilities in the United States: Sector Reforms without Privatization. In *Privatization Experiences in the European Union* edited by Marko Köthenbürger. 51-89. Cambridge, MA, USA: MIT Press.
179. Zan, Luca. 2000. Management and the British Museum. *Museum Management and Curatorship*. 18 (3): 221-270
180. Zan, Luca. 2005. *Managerial Rhetoric and Arts Organizations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
181. Zan, Luca. 2006. *Arts Organizations between uses and abuses of Managerial Rhetoric*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
182. Zan, Luca, Baraldi, Sara Bonini and Christopher Gordon. 2007. Cultural Heritage Between Centralisation and Decentralisation. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13(1): 49-70.