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**The State and the Arts: The Theatre Scene in  
Turkey**

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Heritage

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**By**

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to Raf...



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## Publications

1. Y. Tonga & P. Matiz, "Challenges for Cultural Tourism: Conservation and Sustainable Development", in *2nd Interdisciplinary Tourism Research Conference Proceedings*, vol. 4, pp. 513, 2012.
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2. Y. Tonga, "Cultural Policies and Theatre Management in Turkey: A Debate over the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre" presented at *the ENCATC 2012 Annual Conference: "Networked Culture"*, organized by ENCATC at the Goldsmiths University of London, London, the United Kingdom, 12-14 September 2012.
3. Y. Tonga, "The State Theatres in Turkey: Analysis on Valuation and the Management Model" presented at *the International Conference for Academic Disciplines*, organized by the International Journal of Arts and Sciences (IJAS), Florence, Italy, 22-25 April 2013.
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5. Y. Tonga, "The Value of the State Theatres in Turkey: A Contingent Valuation Approach" presented at *the 6th European workshop on Applied Cultural Economics (EWACE)*, organized by the Association for Cultural Economics International (ACEI), Ljubljana, Slovenia, 5-7 September 2013.



## Abstract

The arts scene in Turkey has been the subject of discussions since April 2012, with the revealing of the governmental reform agenda on the state support model for the arts that includes the closure of the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet. However, there has been a strong public resistance against the closure of these public arts institutions, along with criticisms on the lack of essential assessment studies, inclusive decision-making process and transparency.

Within this framework, the thesis aims to investigate the ways in which the current state support model for the theatre scene in Turkey can be improved considering the contextual specificities, achievements of the current support framework, infrastructure of the theatre scene and the public opinion. Towards this end, a policy-oriented exploratory research was designed with an interdisciplinary approach. In addition to archival research, media coverage and contextual analysis, an institutional performance analysis framework was developed to assess the achievements of the State Theatres. Furthermore, the fieldwork was conducted in two parts; (i) a private / independent theatres survey was carried out with 24 theatres in Istanbul to analyse the infrastructure of the field, and (ii) a public opinion survey was conducted with a sample of 436 participants in Istanbul to examine the attitudes towards arts and culture, as well as the relation between these attitudes and the socio-economic profile.

In light of the interdisciplinary analysis, the research provides a comprehensive overview of the theatre field based on evidence and provides recommendations for generating a sustainable policy agenda for the arts and culture scene in Turkey.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Turkey, with its multi-faceted socio-economic characteristics, extensive cultural heritage that is built on a long history and recently flourishing contemporary arts scene, has been struggling to develop a harmonious synthesis of its 'Eastern' roots with 'Western' principles since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The Republic was built on an imperial heritage from the Ottoman Empire, prevailing on both European and Asian lands with multi-ethnic, diverse population, while incorporating strong Islamic influences. Thus, the proclamation and institutionalization of the Republic can be considered as an extensive social engineering process which was designed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is recognized as the founder of the Republic, and a group of his fellows on the Westernisation ideals with secular principles and a 'civilization' discourse. Thus, this clash between the imperial setting and the secular republican reforms created peculiar dynamics and tensions that has been reflected on the governance structure, principles and many discussions since then.

From a different perspective, this clash can also be interpreted as the struggle to combine the deeply established 'Eastern' values that are strengthened by the religious connotations and the 'Western' dominated global socio-economic impacts. Katoğlu (2009) quotes Hilmi Ziya Ülken

(1966) to explain this long-standing dilemma; “in the mid-19th century, the difference between the two worlds (i.e. East and West) was vast beyond measure. For a long time, these two worlds had co-existed side by side without reaching any synthesis, and the most difficult problem continuously faced by Turkish society was the legacy of this dualist notion that cannot reach a synthesis” (Kat09, pg.27).

Naturally, the reflections of this dualist notion are evident also on the arts and culture scene in Turkey. Considering the reform process with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, it can be argued that the beginning of the Republic was marked by the establishment of a ‘nation culture’. In line with this aim, the governmental agenda was shaped with centralized unification attempts in order to strengthen the basis of the Republic and to eliminate diversities that would have the potential to constitute threats towards the government. Education and culture were mostly shaped by a twofold strategy. On the one hand, wide-scale central public institutions were established such as the Turkish Historical Society (1931) and the Turkish Language Institute (1932). On the other hand, a grass-roots approach was employed with People’s Houses<sup>1</sup> (1932) and Village Institutes<sup>2</sup> (1940). Nevertheless, during the second half of the century, political segmentation and polarization era started after the transition to multi-party system. This period was also marked by two military coups in 1960 and 1980. Subsequent to the second military coup, neoliberal policies gained more appearance in the policy agenda throughout time. Besides, the European Union membership process<sup>3</sup> was effective on governmental changes.

During all this time, there has also been government involvement in the arts. Thus, the theatre scene in Turkey was formed in line with this relation. The long standing project to establish a nation-wide theatre was finally realized with the establishment of the State Theatres in 1949<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>People’s Houses were shut down in 1951 and reopened in 1961. Currently, they are operating as an association.

<sup>2</sup>Village Institutes were shut down in 1954

<sup>3</sup>Turkey became an official candidate for full membership to EU on 12 December 1999 and the requirements for the full membership entailed governmental reforms regarding a wide range of issues.

<sup>4</sup>Initially, it was established as the State Theatre and Opera. In 1958, it was renamed as

Furthermore, the Ministry of Culture was founded in 1971. First subsidies for private theatres were started to be distributed right after the second military coup in 1982. During 2000s, new laws, such as Law 5225 on Tax Incentives for Cultural Investments and Enterprises and Law 5228 on Promotion of Sponsorship in Culture that were designated in 2004, endorsed a collaborative work model, promoting market oriented solutions for the growing arts and culture field. The state started to function more as the regulator, rather than the investor during that era. Furthermore, municipalities gained more power, also regarding the field of culture, through public administration reforms that were initiated during 2000s.

On the other hand, 2000s have been marked by a governmental stability with the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party - *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* in Turkish). Turkey had never experienced such a stability since the transition to the multi-party system in 1945. After AK Party came to power, it has been following an economic development focused conservative-neoliberal agenda, embracing various fragments of the society. Holding the votes of the majority, the party has been winning all the general and local elections<sup>5</sup>, and is currently in the fourth period of government since the first election that the party participated in 2002. Thus, AK Party has been strengthening its power to implement distinct projects and governmental reforms, including the culture field.

With this strong political stability and the rising impacts of global tendencies, there has been some fundamental changes in the governmental attitude towards arts and culture. For instance, public administration reforms as a decentralization attempt for the governance empowered municipalities as more influential actors in the field of culture during the mid-2000s (AI09). With 2000s, “the new policy can be summarized with reference to its three fundamental aspects: the first pertains to decentralisation strategies where decision-making, administration and implementation are transferred from the central to local, rendering the local as

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the State Theatres and, opera and ballet started to operate as a department under the State Theatres until the designation of the Law on the Establishment of the General Directorate of the State Opera and Ballet (Law No. 1309) in 1970.

<sup>5</sup>The general elections are dated 3 November 2002, 22 July 2007 and 12 June 2011, while the local elections were in 28 March 2004, 29 March 2009 and 30 March 2014.

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 infrastructures; and finally, the provision of generous tax subsidies to encourage private sector investments to take place in culture" (AE11b, pg.73). Nevertheless, it should be noted that this mind shift should be considered as a general attitude change towards the role of the State not only in culture but also in other fields as a part of the entire perspective.

Since 1980s with the transition to the free market system in Turkey, there has already been a tendency towards a more market-oriented approach, moving the position of the State gradually from 'the initiator' to 'the regulator' side mainly under the influences of the global neoliberal currents. However, this tendency was following a more 'conservative' approach still in line with the mainstream cultural constituency until 2000s. More fundamental changes and reforms regarding the governance of culture and arts have been adopted since 2000s, coinciding with the AK Party governance.

As far as the arts and culture field is concerned, the major reflection of the changing governmental agenda started with some regulatory changes in the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre (ICMT), comprising the transfer of the management from ICMT artists to municipality officers, including such duties as the selection of plays, casting actors and hiring technical staff, on 12 April 2012. Since this first major transformation attempt, the public discussion has been going on with further developments regarding the state support for the arts, particularly on the theatre scene<sup>6</sup>. The latest fundamental reform at stake constitutes the establishment of an Art Institution, that is referred to as TÜSAK (*Türkiye Sanat Kurumu* in Turkish). In the event of such a change, the laws on the establishment of the State Theatres (Law No. 5441) and the State Opera and Ballet (Law No. 1309) will be repealed and these institutions will be shut down.

The public criticism on this reform agenda focuses on the non-inclusive decision-making process, as well as the lack of information provided by

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<sup>6</sup>The distribution of the 2013 - 2014 theatre season state subsidies for the private theatres received many criticisms. Please see Section 2.3.4 for the details.

the governmental authorities concerning such a fundamental change that would affect the arts scene in Turkey drastically. "State support, it was maintained, is of crucial importance for arts production in a developing country such as Turkey" (Ton13, pg.7). As far as the theatre scene is concerned, theatre professionals are alarmed by the potentially irreversible adverse outcomes of the closure of the State Theatres. Since its establishment in 1949, the State Theatres has been recognized as the main initiator of the theatre scene at national scale in Turkey. It is one of the deep-rooted, oldest public arts institutions with a large number of annual productions and performances, as well as a wide geographical span that is spread in 23 cities with 56 stages in a well balanced way (M12b). Notwithstanding, there is also the need for improvements for this public arts institution, which has been receiving some criticism from the theatre circles, mainly concerning its legislation, bureaucratic structure, working principles and financial inefficiency.

Nevertheless, neither had the governmental agenda on the intended transformation been revealed officially until very recently<sup>7</sup>, nor has a comprehensive study on the potential impacts of possible scenarios been conducted in response to recent debates. Hence, there remains the prominent need to pin down these debates regarding the changes in the state support model for the arts in Turkey on a more concrete basis.

Within this framework, the gradually changing role of the state in the arts and culture field, moving towards the regulator or facilitator position rather than being the main initiator, can be considered as a global phenomenon stemming from the rise of quasi-market and market oriented solutions as a result of financial pressures on the public sector (G13b). In light of this, also considering the contextual specificities, Turkey appears to be a peculiar case due to its cultural, historical and institutional characteristics. The complexity of the current governmental agenda that is intertwined with decentralization attempts and establishment of an arm's length institution with a strong central top-down decision making

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<sup>7</sup>The first official attempt to share the draft law on the establishment of TÜSAK was actualized with a meeting (*çalıştay* in Turkish) that was organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Ankara, on 3 March 2014.

mechanism, requires a careful reading of the context.

On the other hand, “the proposed Art Institution which would decide on whom to fund, would be composed of government-appointed personnel, with no mechanism defined to evaluate the appropriateness of its decisions which, ... would actually create a centralized and politically driven authority” (AS14, pg.3). Accordingly, it can be claimed that these decentralization attempts will not be the end of the state involvement in the arts and culture. Besides, the statements of the government representatives, as well as the management of the whole reform process until now, leave doubts about the success of such a fundamental reform agenda for the future of the arts scene in Turkey.

## **1.2 The Aim and Scope of the Thesis**

Cultural policy literature tackles with the logic behind and the types of state support for the arts ((Fre02); (KK07), (AR05)). Nevertheless, there are some issues stemming from the particularities of the field, such as definitional, analytical, methodological and sectoral matters, as well as modalization complexities. Besides, the domain of research is mostly focused on developed ‘Western’ countries that have a long tradition of state action, as well as institutionalization, in the arts and culture field. In this respect, there is a gap in the cultural policy literature regarding the developing countries. Particularly, considering the rising global impacts on the governments’ arts and cultural policy agendas heading towards market-oriented solutions, there is the prominent need to fill in this literature gap with a critical approach to highlight the case-specificity of arts and culture field, and to promote sustainable policy agendas based on contextual specificities.

The research reviews the mainstream cultural policy literature, investigating different types of state support models for the arts and their evolution considering the historicization of the governance structure, types of states and political cultures behind the arts. Conforming to the review, the converging approaches of the state support with respect to the degree of centralization are contextualised in line with the historical, polit-

ical and institutional analysis through the cases of France, Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom. It is attempted to analyse the state support model for the arts in Turkey within this theoretical framework.

Accordingly, also in light of the background that is explained above, this thesis aims to address the cultural policy literature gap regarding the developing countries by conducting a thorough research on the theatre scene in Turkey, with a particular focus on the state support model for the arts and the policy agenda. The research investigates the achievements, strengths and weaknesses of the current state support model for the arts in the case of theatre, and inquires the extent to which the governmental agenda to establish an Art Institution, namely TÜSAK, addresses the existing needs, as well as the priorities and interests of the main stakeholders. Towards this end, the scope of the thesis is based on three main pillars.

First, achievements of the State Theatres, as the biggest public arts institution in Turkey, are assessed, also considering its legislative framework and working principles. An institutional performance analysis framework was developed with 26 key performance indicators (KPIs), focusing on three operational areas; (a) artistic achievements and the programme, (b) market and audience development, and (c) financial performance. Within this framework, the analysis take into account the peculiar nature of the State Theatres with its public mission. This component of the thesis constitutes the 'public' side of the research as state.

The second component considers analysis of the private/independent theatre scene establishment. Due to the lack of data and literature, a survey was conducted with the participation of 24 private/independent theatres in Istanbul. By doing so, detailed information regarding the impact of organizational and managerial structure on the artistic productivity and audience development was collected and, the weaknesses and strengths of the current establishment were analysed. Besides, the opinions of the theatre representatives on the problems and needs of the field were gathered. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the private/independent theatre scene was developed with the analysis on the data collected from the primary sources. This part of the thesis completes the arts production component from the private/independent theatres'



perspective.

The third pillar of the thesis tackles with the public opinion, that is 'public' as people. The interest of this research on the public opinion was triggered by the lack of evidence in the argumentations of the current discussions, irrespective of the content of the argument. Due to the lack of evidence on the public opinion, discussions are built on vague arguments, concerning the will or benefit of the public. In order to fill in this gap, a comprehensive public opinion survey was conducted with a representative sample of 436 participants in 10 districts of Istanbul. The survey covers a wide range of issues, with a particular focus on theatre and cultural policies. Furthermore, information on the socio-economic profile of the participants were gathered in order to conduct detailed analysis on the relation between participation in cultural activities, including theatre, opinions and socio-economic conditions. An interdisciplinary approach was employed for further analysis on the valuation of the State Theatres on multi-variable basis at individual level.

Building on these three pillars, the main goal of this research is to develop policy recommendations in order to improve the state support model for the arts in Turkey on sustainable basis, considering the current structure of the arts scene, contextual specificities and opinions of the main stakeholders.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

In line with the aim and scope of the thesis, the main research question can be specified as follows:

How can the state support model for the theatre scene in Turkey be improved considering the current structure, contextual specificities and the impacts of global tendencies? How can a more inclusive and sustainable cultural policy agenda be developed, also integrating the public opinion?

Accordingly, the secondary research questions are formulated as follows:

- What is the current state of the theatre scene in Turkey? How did it evolve throughout time, and what are the characteristics, problems and needs of the current theatre settlement, including public and private/independent theatres?
- What are the new tendencies and recent developments that shape the governmental reform agenda regarding the state support for the arts in Turkey? What are the aims, expected outcomes and potential impacts of such reforms on the theatre scene?
- How can the success of the State Theatres be assessed as a public arts institution? How can its efficiency and efficacy be evaluated in line with its public mission and working principles?
- What is the public opinion on cultural policies and the State Theatres? How does socio-economic profile affect the public opinion and the attitude towards the arts and culture? Does public value the State Theatres?
- How can the governmental policy agenda be improved regarding the state support for the theatre scene, following an inclusive and an evidence-based approach?

## 1.4 Research Design and Methodology

An interdisciplinary approach has been employed for this research. The reason to follow such an approach is to develop a synthesis of quantitative and qualitative methods adopted from different disciplines in order to provide a solid basis to make accurate inferences for policy recommendations.

The research examines the theatre scene in Turkey, with a particular focus on the State Theatres as the case study. However, the lack of literature and available data on the case study constitutes some complexities for the research design. Thus, a policy-oriented exploratory research is designed to gather data and investigate the correlations among variables considering the contextual specificities. Building on the insights on

the phenomena, the hypothesis are generated *a posteriori* with a critical approach on the interpretation of the fieldwork results.

Initially, archival research was completed on the official and legal documents, as well as legislative sources. Since the discussions on the governmental reform agenda regarding the state support model had been going on during the research period, the media coverage was carried out on continuous basis. Additionally, contextual analysis were conducted to examine the strengths and weaknesses of cultural policies, focusing on the period from the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey.

Additionally, an institutional performance analysis framework was developed with 26 key performance indicators (KPIs) in order to assess the achievements and efficacy of the State Theatres in line with its public mission.

The fieldwork is composed of two parts and the main research strategy is based on quantitative methods. In the first part, it is aimed to examine the establishment of the private/independent theatre scene, focusing on institutional, managerial and organizational structure as well as artistic productivity and audience development. Data is collected through structured surveys that were communicated through e-mails. 24 private/independent theatres in Istanbul participated in this exploratory study (Please see Table 1 for the list of the participants). Since a comprehensive source on the active theatres does not exist, a list of private/independent theatres in Istanbul was compiled with the communication information through media coverage, online and archival research. Then, all the theatres were invited to participate in the survey. Accordingly, the survey sample was formed in line with the willingness of the communicated theatres to participate in the study. The analysis were conducted through descriptive statistics, using Statistics Open For All (SOFA) software due to its user friendliness and presentability of the outputs. The results of the first part of the fieldwork provide valuable inputs for the assessment of the private/independent theatre scene's characteristics and capacity.

In the second part of the fieldwork, a public opinion survey was designed with the aim to understand the general opinion on the cultural policies and the theatre scene, and to analyse the correlations among

**Table 1:** List of the Private / Independent Theatres Participated in the Survey  
- Fieldwork Part 1

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Foundation Year</b>
<b>1</b>	Altıdan Sonra Tiyatro	1999
<b>2</b>	Atölye Tayfası	2005
<b>3</b>	Atölye Tiyatro	2001
<b>4</b>	BeReZe	2006
<b>5</b>	Drama Kumpanya	2008
<b>6</b>	Duru Tiyatro	2007
<b>7</b>	Fabrika Sanat	2010
<b>8</b>	gnlev	2011
<b>9</b>	ikincikat	2010
<b>10</b>	İstanbul Dünya Sahnesi	2004
<b>11</b>	Kara Kutu	2009
<b>12</b>	Krek	1999
<b>13</b>	Mask-Kara Tiyatrosu	1994
<b>14</b>	Ortaoyuncular	1980
<b>15</b>	Oyun Alanı	2012
<b>16</b>	Oyun Atölyesi	1999
<b>17</b>	Tiyatro Ak'la Kara	2011
<b>18</b>	Tiyatro Birileri	2006
<b>19</b>	Tiyatro Gerçek	2008
<b>20</b>	Tiyatro(Hâl)	2009
<b>21</b>	Tiyatro Kedi	2001
<b>22</b>	Tiyatrotem	2001
<b>23</b>	vetiyatro	2007
<b>24</b>	Yabancı Sahne	2012

different variables. Thus, a combination of exploratory and explanatory approach was employed in the survey design. Accordingly, structured interviews were conducted face-to-face by a team of five people, with 436 participants in 10 districts of Istanbul (Please see Table 2 for the selected districts). The sample size provides 95 % confidence level with 4.69 % confidence interval for statistical accuracy of the findings. Additionally, a part of the survey was dedicated to contingent valuation methodology (CVM) through a two-level willingness to pay (WTP) question, aiming at incorporating both use and non-use values while investigating the valuation process. Thus, the analysis are conducted at two levels, dedicating the second part only to the analysis of the WTP section. In the first part, descriptive statistics and statistical tests were employed for investigating theatre attendance, opinions on cultural policies and the State Theatres, socio-economic profile and correlations of these variables. In the second part, regarding the WTP section, econometric regressions were conducted in addition to descriptive statistics, with the aim to examine valuation process of the State Theatres on multi-variable basis at individual level.

**Table 2:** List of Selected Districts for the Public Opinion Survey in Istanbul - Fieldwork Part 2

	<b>Name of the District</b>
<b>1</b>	Büyükçekmece
<b>2</b>	Esenyurt
<b>3</b>	Gaziosmanpaşa
<b>4</b>	Bakırköy
<b>5</b>	Fatih
<b>6</b>	Şişli
<b>7</b>	Kadıköy
<b>8</b>	Ataşehir
<b>9</b>	Kartal
<b>10</b>	Sultanbeyli

Nevertheless, since both of the surveys were cross-sectional, it should be noted that repetition of the surveys in the future, providing longitudinal data, would enable to test the survey findings and strengthen the

results of analysis with respect to the causal relationships.

## **1.5 Contribution of the Thesis**

The arts scene in Turkey, particularly theatre, opera and ballet, has been encountering critical discussions on fundamental changes regarding the state support, which is of crucial importance for the overall arts production of the country. The recent governmental agenda aims at implementing a profound reform package for the arts support that substantially diverges from the mainstream cultural constituency that has been adopted since the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey. In this regard, the decision-making mechanism, the lack of knowledge transparency and the content of this reform package received strong criticism not only from the professionals from the field, but also from the wider public. Nevertheless, to the best of our knowledge, there has not been any research that is conducted on the issue with a holistic approach. On the other hand, it can be argued that, despite the rising interest and increasing number of research in the field, the literature on the arts and culture field in Turkey is still limited. Thus, there is the prominent need to pin the argumentations of recent debates down on accurate basis.

Within this framework, this research addresses the gap in the literature by providing a comprehensive overview of the theatre scene, following an interdisciplinary approach. The contextual specificities are examined carefully through the historicization of the institutional structure and explanation of political cultures behind the arts. A framework is developed for the institutional performance analysis of the State Theatres, considering its public mission, which would serve as a model for other public arts institutions. Furthermore, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first extensive study employing such an interdisciplinary approach, not only on the theatre establishment in Istanbul and but also regarding the public opinion on the cultural policies and the State Theatres. In this respect, this study provides a significant amount of data and analysis in order to assess the current structure of the theatre scene and to direct the cultural policy agenda in line with the needs, priorities and interests of the main

stakeholders based on evidence. These contributions can, hopefully, be acknowledged in the field and the research can initiate further studies on the subject.

## 1.6 Disposition of the Chapters

Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 investigates the relation between the state and the arts in different contexts. The chapter is composed of three sections. Initially, the main issues of the debate are summarized in order to clarify the complexities that constitute the basis of the relation between the state and the arts. These issues are grouped under three categories; (a) definitional, (b) analytical and methodological, and (c) sectoral issues.

The second section reviews the state support models for the arts in the literature. Following the introduction of state intervention tools, the types of states and political cultures behind the arts are discussed with the aim to improve case sensitivity of the common modalization approach in the literature that is built on the degree of centralization of the state intervention. Nevertheless, considering the issues related to modelization and case-specificity of cultural policies, this can be defined as an attempt to organize commonalities among countries, rather than constructing a rigid theoretical model. Thus, the common modalization approach is combined with the welfare state tradition and political cultures behind the arts, and explained through chosen countries' state support practices. By doing so, it would be possible to integrate historicization of the state support structure in a better way, while reflecting how the countries might differ even regarding the practices under the same category. The categories are defined as; (a) centralized model, (b) decentralized model, (c) federal model, and (d) arm's length model.

In the third section of Chapter 2, the relation between the state and the arts in Turkey, as the focus of the thesis, is examined. Evolution of the cultural policies in Turkey is explained with a historical approach. The legislative framework is detailed concerning the definition of the role and duties of state in the arts field from a legislative perspective. Then, the

current state support model is detailed and recent discussions on the arts policies and state support reform attempts are summarized.

In Chapter 3, achievements, efficiency and efficacy of the State Theatres in line with its public mission are assessed. Towards this end, the legislative framework and working principles of the State Theatres are summarized and a framework for institutional performance analysis is developed with 26 key performance indicators (KPIs), focusing on three operational areas. These operational areas are; (a) artistic achievements and the programme, (b) market and audience development, and (c) financial performance. In light of the institutional performance analysis, the strengths and weaknesses of the public arts institutions, as a part of the current state support model, are assessed.

Chapter 4 aims to shed light on the establishment of the private/independent theatre scene in Turkey. The evolution of theatre in Turkey and the arts scene in Istanbul are explained in order to grasp a better understanding of the context both from a historical and contemporary perspective. Besides, with the aim to gather data directly from the main source, that is the theatres themselves, for concrete analysis, a survey was conducted with 24 private/independent theatres in Istanbul. This survey focuses on managerial issues of theatres and is composed of five parts; (a) physical structure, (b) employment policy and structure, (c) budget structure, (d) artistic productivity, and (e) market and audience development. Besides, the opinions of the theatre representatives were requested on the problems and needs of the private/independent theatre scene in Turkey. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first detailed survey in the field focusing on managerial and organizational aspects of the private/independent theatres with such a scale. In consideration of the survey findings, recommendations for the policy agenda are presented.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the second part of the fieldwork, that is the public opinion survey, and investigates the relation between the socio-economic profile and the attitudes towards arts and culture. The public opinion survey was conducted in ten districts of Istanbul with 436 participants that is composed of both users and non-users of theatre, achieving 95% confidence level with 4.69% confidence interval. The ques-



tions were grouped under four themes, which are; (a) theatre attendance, (b) opinions on cultural policies and the State Theatres, (c) willingness to pay (WTP) to sustain the State Theatres regarding valuation, and (d) personal information on socio-economic profile. Since the WTP analysis require a distinctive approach, the results are presented in two sections. The first section demonstrates the descriptive statistics and impacts of socio-economic profile on other variables, without considering the WTP values. The second section provides a review of contingent valuation methodology and discusses the survey results by focusing on the WTP values through descriptive statistics and econometric analysis. In this regard, the section not only provides the analysis of the survey results, but also develops a critical approach on one of the most commonly used methodology in the field with the aim to demonstrate non-use values. This survey is the first extensive public opinion survey focusing on cultural policies and the theatre scene in Turkey. Thus, the results and analysis provide insights for the public will regarding the state support strategies and a significant discussion on the relation between socio-economic conditions and, the valuation and attitudes towards arts and culture.

Chapter 6, that is the Conclusion, addresses the research questions and propositions with a comprehensive approach, considering the literature review, fieldwork findings, descriptive, statistical and econometric analysis from a critical and theoretical perspective.

## Chapter 2

# The State and The Arts

Over the last decades, arts and culture field has been rising its prominence both economically and socially. Creative industries increased the visibility of economic impacts of the arts, while contribution to community development was praising its instrumentality. Yet, as far as the governmental interest in the arts is concerned, the most striking particularity can be defined as its transformative power that enables to use the arts not only for its own sake but also as a tool to achieve other goals within the policy agenda. This instrumentality and transformative power of the arts for individuals and communities can be considered as the main motive behind the governments' interest to sustain states' involvement in and support for the arts. Thus, "states, and the governmental apparatus through which they operate, participate in the production and distribution of art within their borders" (Bec82, pg.165).

The peculiarities of the arts field with the multifaceted value scheme obstruct to develop common understandings for definitions and measurement of its intrinsic and instrumental values in order to provide adequate basis for building the state's involvement in the arts scene. Accordingly, "the arts occupy a particularly fragile position in public policy, on account of the fact that the claims made for them, especially those relating to their transformative power, are extremely hard to substantiate" (BB10, pg.5).

Besides, the tensions between the so-called intrinsic and instrumental

values of the arts, together with the rise of evidence-based policy making, brought along many conceptual discussions. The governmental approaches are criticised as focusing on the instrumentality of the arts, while neglecting the intrinsic values.

Nevertheless, it is also the reflections of the very same tension between the intrinsic and instrumental values, public good characteristics and positive externalities that form the basis of the legitimacy behind the state intervention in the arts field. Therefore, it is of crucial importance to understand the complexities of concepts regarding the arts and cultural policy field, contextual specificities, the logic behind the state intervention, potential tools for this intervention, commonalities between different types of state support models and recent tendencies in the formation of cultural policies. Therefore, this chapter aims to develop the theoretical framework of the thesis in order to elaborate on the case of Turkey. Besides, an overview of the current governmental reform agenda and the related discussions will be provided.

Accordingly, the issues regarding the relation between the state and the arts are explained in the following section. Then, the state support models for the arts are discussed. In this section, the literature review was conducted in three steps with the aim to develop a comprehensive understanding of the state support practices in relation to the contextual specificities. First, potential state intervention tools are explained. Second, the types of state and the political cultures behind the arts are examined in order to understand the evolution of the state support frameworks and the logic behind the state action in line with the contextual differences. Third, the investigated specificities were integrated in the common modelization approach in the cultural policy literature with respect to the degree of centralization of the policy making and implementation authority. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that, due to complexities of modelization and case-specificities, this is more of an attempt to define commonalities of the state intervention practices among the countries with a strong tradition of the public action in the arts field, rather than constructing a rigid theoretical framework that would not fully comply with the practice. That is why, commonly defined state intervention

models were explained through chosen countries with the aim to reflect contextual differences in a better way. Following the explanation of the general framework of the relation between the state and the arts through chosen case studies, the case of Turkey is detailed considering the evolution of cultural policies, legislative framework and the current state support model for the arts. Furthermore, governmental reform agenda including fundamental changes in the state support model is examined and discussions revolving around these attempts along with the recent developments are summarized. In conclusion, the positioning of Turkey within the general framework is analysed and, the compatibility and feasibility of the proposed reforms with the contextual needs are discussed.

## **2.1 Issues of Discussion: Defining the terms of the Debate**

The arts and culture field comprise many peculiarities that primarily stem from the complexity of the key concepts. For instance, both 'arts' and 'culture' do not have widely accepted core definitions. Instead, there are some mainstream approaches in the literature to provide these definitions on the axis of various theoretical or practical paths. Consequently, the arts can be defined as a subjective term and due to this subjectivity it is difficult to build the arts policy discussion on widely accepted, common basis considering the variety of the actors involved. The direction of arts policies can vary distinctively depending on the definitions of fundamental terms, as in the case of essentialist, functional or institutional definitions of the arts.

On the other hand, it is arguable whether the arts policies are able to fulfil the anticipated aims due to the definitional complexity, as well as analytical and methodological difficulties that hinder to specify causality and impact measurement. During the last decades, culture, including the arts, "is increasingly seen by governments as a tool that can be utilized for a variety of developmental practices - from urban regeneration (Evans 2001, Ch.8), to social inclusion (Long and Bramham, 2006), to health care and treatment (Wolf 2002; Madden and Bloom, 2004), or even for what

seems like personal or state glorification (Looseley 1995; Collard 1998)” (Gra09, pg.574). Nevertheless, it is difficult to demonstrate causal relation between the arts policies, their achievements and the expected impacts on other developmental goals. There are many factors that would potentially trigger socio-economic development, such as education and health. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish the instrumentality of the arts within this intertwined causality. In addition to the causality issue, measurement of the arts policies’ achievements is another controversy, considering the nature of the arts and the methodological issues regarding the social impacts. The problematic of the assessment of positive socio-economic impacts of arts policies, that are related to defining criteria, specifying the method, collecting and interpreting data, raise doubts about whether arts are able achieve the anticipated goals.

There are also the matters caused by the policy sector itself. For instance, structural difficulties, working principles, decision-making mechanisms, impacts of political changes are the issues that are related to the policy sector itself, also affecting the discussions on the arts policies, thus the future of the arts.

Within this complexity of issues regarding the arts and culture policy debate, Gray (2009) states that “even adopting relatively restricted definitions of the content of culture indicates that in European Union countries between 0.2 and 1.9 per cent of GDP is spent on governmental support for this policy area; a broader definition suggests that the amount spent is between 0.4 and 2.0 per cent of GDP (European Parliament 2006, p.28). Even at this relatively low level of support, this still means large levels of absolute expenditure” (Gra09, as cited in pg.575). Correspondingly, an awareness of the issues behind the arts policy debate is crucial. Only then, it would be possible to provide a more accurate basis for the arts policy debate and the discussions on the multitude of policy goals that are attributed to it.

Accordingly, this section aims to provide an overview of the main issues behind the arts policy in order to lay out the basis for the theoretical discussion of the thesis. The related debates in the literature are presented in three parts; (a) definitional issues, (b) analytical and methodological

issues, and (c) sectoral issues.

### 2.1.1 Definitional Issues

“Intellectual history is best understood as an attempt to reconstruct ‘the history of meanings’, putting forward, thus the idea of a discipline rooted ‘in the conception of man as an animal who must create or discern meaning in everything that he does” (BB10, referring to William J. Bouwsma in pg.13). Thus, any attempt to build on science and knowledge should initially clarify the terms that it is tackling with.

In this regard, the debates on the relation between the state and the arts is contend with difficulties to establish common understandings on the meanings of key concepts, such as arts, culture and democracy. Herein, the work of Raymond Williams, that is *Culture and Society* (1958), can be considered as a pioneer, offering new possibilities within the English intellectual tradition. In this work, Williams (1958) maps the development of some key concepts, which are industry, democracy, class, art and culture, from the last decades of the eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, this work of Williams signifies the dynamic structure of meanings that have been changing throughout time, in line with the context (Wil58). Nonetheless, even after the publication of the *Culture and Society*, debate on these concepts have been subjected to new discussions, such as “postmodern theory and its sensitivity to issues of discourse and the silencing of minority views in the traditional understanding and reconstruction of ‘History’, as well as the criticism of the very roots of the cultural authority of Western cultural institutions” (BB10, pg.15).

Accordingly, the complexity and dynamism of key concepts regarding the relation between the state and the arts entail the risk of incompatibility for evaluations and comparative analysis at three levels. First, there is the risk of juxtaposing modern concepts onto older ones. For instance, historicization of the forms of public intervention and acts encompasses this risk, in case the historical change in the terms of the debate are not resolved along with the institutional change.

Secondly, the meanings, that are formed throughout the history, change also according to the context in the contemporary world. As Davies (2001) explains in the artworld relativity problem, the world can not be considered as a historically and culturally unified body that is built on a continuous and homogeneous tradition (Dav01). Thus, it is essential to consider regional specificities at multiple dimensions in order to grasp the contextual meanings of key concepts for further analysis. In this sense, “it is important to underline that, not only in our understanding of what the arts are *time-specific* (that is, related to our present understanding of what the functions of art ought to be, and to the present configuration of the artworld), but also *place-specific* (the elaboration of the functions of art and culture in a society and the nature of its artworld change from one geographical area to another, and from one culture to another)” (BB10, pg.19). In light of this, relinquishing a Eurocentric approach can be mentioned as a challenge, considering that cultural policy research and practice has been developing mainly under the auspices of European intellectual tradition. The same holds for the distinctions between high and low culture, as well as awareness of the many interactions between learned and popular culture (Bou84).

Thirdly, due to the complexity of the concepts, it is difficult to agree on common definitions of art and culture even within the same point of time and place, as well as the same institutionalization, which subsequently affects also the direction of debates and results of the analysis. Correspondingly, Williams (1976, p.76) argued that ‘culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language’ (Gra09, pg.576). This complexity is also inherently reflected on the scope of the cultural policies and their instrumentality, including a wide scope of issues such as community development, city branding and elimination of social exclusion.

Similarly in the case of the arts, the approach that is adopted for defining the key concepts determines the direction of the discussions. For instance, distinctive recommendations for state support and arts policies can be developed with respect to the essentialist, functionalist and institutional definitions of art. Yet, this subjectivity brings along

further discussions, since any selected approach can be arguable by the others.

## **2.1.2 Analytical and Methodological Issues**

Policy agenda has been giving more and more importance to the instrumentality of the arts rather than building on the 'art for art's sake' principle. "Originating in the medical field in the 1990s, and subsequently spreading to all other areas of public policy, evidence-based policy making was intended to signal the end of ideologically driven politics and to usher in a new era of pragmatism" (BB10, pg.5). Nevertheless, the type of causality and evidence forming the basis of this pragmatic approach are not clear. There is the common belief that the arts generate social impacts that are predominantly perceived as positive. In this sense, policy agendas, also with the rising impact of the evidence-based policy making, are shaped with an instrumentalist approach aiming at outcomes improving socio-economic conditions, such as elimination of social exclusion or local economic development. Yet, the causality behind this expectation remains unclear and the struggle to reveal evidence regarding the direct and indirect impacts of the arts bring along methodological complexities.

"The usual methods that have been employed involve either some form of economic cost-benefit analysis (Myerscough 1988 being an early example), the use of impact and input/output studies (see Heilbrun and Gray 1993, Ch.15), or the assignment of weightings or rankings to various categories deemed to have relevance and/or significance for the phenomena under consideration" (Gra09, pg.578). Yet, these methods are not fully capable of reflecting intrinsic values of the arts. Besides, as in the case of cost-benefit analysis for the arts, it would be controversial to employ simply an economic approach without incorporating social and aesthetic dimensions.

On the other hand, there is the data collection and availability issues that would hinder the assessment process. Unfortunately, data availability on arts and culture is a universal problem irrespective of the country apart from some exceptional cases.



For instance, “support for the arts in France is also increasingly seen as a social tool. The government funds bookstores, libraries, movie theaters, and musical cafes in the working-class and immigrant housing projects in the suburbs of Paris and other French cities. In the effort to transform such “territories of exclusion” into “places of creation,” the current Minister of Culture (then), Philippe Douste-Blazy, saw the arts as able and obliged to play an important role in reconciling the *fracture sociale*” (Mul98, pg.260). However, as this ability of the arts starts to be perceived as an obligation and the related policies to hinge on such an agenda, the intrinsic values of the arts are overshadowed and concerns raised on the unbalanced approach of such policies, not considering arts as a primary concern.

At this juncture, it is important to raise the question whether the intrinsic values of the arts have ever been the leading principle in policy making. “Indeed, the very notion of a public policy for the cultural sector necessarily implies a view according to which the state supports the arts on the grounds of its perceived ‘usefulness’ to achieve a welcome outcome” (BB10, pg.197-198). Thus, the main problem that results in the rising demand for the art for art’s sake principle can be defined as the lack of a balance between the instrumental and intrinsic values of the arts within the governments agenda rather than a change in the importance given to the instrumentality of the arts.

From a wider perspective, Gray (2006) defines this rising instrumentality of culture as a form of policy panacea and relates it to the development of commodified conceptions of public policy.

Actually, the reasons of this causality issue arise also from the definitional complexity of the arts. How can one articulate, model and analyse the impacts of arts institutions’ existence, as in the case of France, within a low socio-economic profile neighbourhood? Besides, what if that initiative generates also negative outcomes. In this respect, Tophane neighbourhood of Istanbul can be given as an example. This district, which is right in the heart of the city with lower socio-economic profile inhabitants, became the point of interest of art galleries during the recent years. Consequently, the rise of Tophane as a cultural neighbourhood along with the rising number of hostels and cafés, despite all the positive

outcomes, also resulted in an increase in the rent prices. This constitutes a high risk for the old inhabitants to be obliged to move out of the district due to the unaffordable rents that might actually trigger a gentrification process instead of contributing to the local development.

“It is possible that these [positive] effects may exist, if not directly then through the unintended consequences of policy interventions, but identifying the causal mechanisms that are involved and the precise manner in which they work are extremely complicated issues of analysis that cannot be simply hypothesised, modelled or measured” (Gra06, pg.6).

Consequently, it can be claimed that, with the increasing visibility of the importance given to the instrumentality of the arts by the cultural policies and the prevalence of evidence-based policy making, there is the need to articulate the mechanisms behind this instrumentality and to provide a measure of its achievements. The methodological struggle is to develop commonly agreed conventions in order to clarify analytical issues and causality mechanisms regarding instrumentality of the arts, and to provide measures beyond implicit evidence. Otherwise, the importance given to the evidence without taking methodological and analytical issues into account would result in the misconception of policy-making to consider measurability as the sole basis, thus the negligence of the methodologically complex positive externalities that the arts generate. From the cultural policy researchers perspective, this would lead to focus on any indicator that can be measured to demonstrate some evidence for the expected outcomes, without carefully thought causality.

However, ‘whether a deterministic model of causality in the area of culture can ever be identified is an open question, and is likely to remain so as long as alternative assumptions about free will and choice are available. At best it may be possible to identify a range of contributory factors that lead towards the determination of boundaries within which choices will be made by policy actors, but this is not the same thing as demonstrating that there is an unambiguously cultural causality to choice’ (Gra09, pg.577).

### 2.1.3 Sectoral Issues

Apart from the issues inherent to the culture and arts field that complicate the development of sustainable cultural policies and, satisfying the needs and priorities of all the stakeholders, there are some additional complications stemming from the policy sector itself. These issues are related to the way that the policy sector functions within a political system.

Firstly, irrespective of the type of institutionalization of the state support for the arts, there is multi-level governmental structure regarding the development and implementation of cultural policies that hinders the establishment of a comprehensive and coherent agenda for providing state support for the arts. "At the very least, the territorial tensions between national, regional and local policy concerns in the field of culture (Gray 2001) cannot be simply overcome by a demand for a 'joined-up' or 'whole of government' approach to the sector: a more coherent appreciation from governments of what their cultural policies exist for and are intended to achieve is required in the first place" (Gra09, pg.581). Therefore, it is more likely to have confusions and contradictions among different levels of governments regarding the aims of the cultural policy agenda, including the arts.

Second, the political commitment to cultural policies can be considered to be weak. Thus, the general tendency to prioritize other matters and, lack of interest towards arts and culture within political systems can be defined as obstacles to sustain a comprehensive and coherent governmental approach towards the arts.

Furthermore, as the third issue, the arts field is vulnerable not only to pressures from other policy sectors with higher priority, but also to changing governmental mentalities that intervene in the state support mechanisms during their governance periods. A reflection of this vulnerability arises from the top-down, short-term oriented, populist approaches of governments focusing more on immediate results and visibility that would bring along more support from the public, rather than prioritizing inclusive decision-making mechanisms and sustainable results for the sake of the arts field.

## 2.2 State-Support Models for the Arts

“In general, there is a natural parallelism between the political organization of the state and the artistic organization” (Kon01, pg.61). It can also be argued that the reciprocal relation between the arts and the state is mostly shaped under the dominance of the state due to its position as the rule-setter with the legislative framework (Bec82) and its significance as the resource provider for the arts production. Nevertheless, it is a demanding task to resolve how this relation operates within the complex ecologies, among different countries.

Essentially, historicization of the forms of public intervention is important for comparative analysis and evaluations in cultural policy studies. It can be claimed that there has always been a relation between the arts and the state throughout history and this relation shapes the various state intervention practices for each country in accordance with the historical and contextual particularities.

Correspondingly, modelization of the types of state support in the arts field appears to be another methodological challenge. Intertwined influences of the historic, institutional, political and economic developments operate distinctively in accordance with the context. Thus, despite some commonalities, the arts policies generate case-specific solutions depending on a country’s cultural characteristics, history, institutional and structural traditions.

As far as the literature on the state support for the arts is concerned, it can be argued that the majority of the studies focus on the Western developed countries. This is also a concomitant consequence of the long history and tradition of the arts, being recognized within the scope of public action in these countries. For instance, “in some European countries the tradition of public action in the field of culture dates back to the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (the establishment of a ‘fine arts administration’, the proliferation of national museums, the formation of a network of public libraries etc.)” (Ü09, pg.12). That is also why the case studies in this section are chosen among the European countries, in order to reflect the state support framework more in detail with

extensive literature, longer history and tradition of the state intervention in the arts.

In light of the explained context, this section aims to illustrate a framework of the state-support models for the arts, considering the types of state and the political culture behind the arts that are built on historic and socio-economic characteristics of a country. The section is outlined in three parts. The first part introduces the state intervention tools as the main components constituting the state support framework. Then, the types of state and political cultures behind the arts will be examined in the second subsection. The explanations on the types of state cover the democratization and centralization degrees. However, the main focus is built on the welfare state models, since it ideologically reflects the core of public action in the arts field. Moreover, the political cultures are described through patronage traditions, reflecting both differing national traditions in the organization of public functions and the delivery of public services, and differing philosophies and objectives within the field (Mul98). By doing so, it is aimed to understand the basis of political organizations forming the state support framework, through recognising the historic specificities and contextual differences. In the final subsection, a framework for the state support models for the arts is illustrated by elaborating on the common modelization approach in the cultural policy literature with respect to the centralization degree of state intervention. However, due to the particularities and issues that are explained above, this state support framework can be described more as an overview of the commonalities among state support practices with a particular focus on Europe, rather than constructing a rigid theoretical framework. In this section, the state support practices for the arts in selected countries will be summarized in order to reflect the case-specificity of this modelization attempt in a more accurate way.

### **2.2.1 State Intervention Tools for the Arts**

“There are many approaches and measures calling for differing amounts of financial resources from the government and requiring differing levels

and degrees of examination and assessment of 'artistic production'" (PF90, pg.80). Accordingly, the main types of government intervention tools for the arts, in line with the required financial resources and the level of governmental bodies involvement in assessment, can be outlined as follows;

- Market facilitating measures
- Indirect means of state support
- Direct state support

Market facilitating measures require less state involvement and aim at improving the setting for the arts field, both for the producers, including the conditions of exchange of an artwork, and the audience, through facilitating accessibility. This type of support does not require the assessment of the artistic output by the governmental bodies and it can be conducted with minor financial resources. Many regulations and requirements enacted by public authorities, such as copyright regulations and publication rights, can be counted as market facilitating measures. Within this framework, Pommerehne and Frey (1990) suggest some market facilitating measures for existing public cultural institutions. Differentiated price policy, more attractiveness and flexibility in offerings and timings are mentioned as tools that could lead to additional income for these institutions.

Indirect means of state support aim at providing incentives to initiate involvement of various actors in the arts and culture field and create more possibilities for the art suppliers. With that type of support, the range of artistic genres and styles to be supported, as well as the motivation behind the support, is also intrinsically expanded through the transfer of selection from the governmental bodies to different actors, such as individuals or companies. This type of indirect support is composed of tax incentives for cultural investments and enterprises or tax deductions for commercial entities and individuals in return for contributions to non-profit organizations, including arts and culture institutions. "With

this type of support through 'uncollected' taxes, also called 'tax expenditure', the recipient has little incentive to make profits" (PF90, pg.82) in order not to lose its advantaged position as a beneficiary of donations, sponsorships and tax incentives as a non-profit organization. Besides, on account of the liability to the providers of support, the beneficiary has the responsibility to demonstrate that the support was used efficiently in line with the agreed terms and conditions. Thus, this liability eliminates any redundant cost increasing tendency stemming from the non-profit nature of the artistic production process. As in the case of market facilitating measures, indirect state support does not require assessment of the artistic output by the governmental bodies. Yet, assessing the impacts of these tools is crucial. For instance, in the United States, "in 1973 these almost 'invisible' contributions amounted to more than one third of all government expenditure on art and culture" (PF90, pg.90, referring to (FOSF83)).

The third category, direct state support tools, requires the highest amount of resources for management and assessment of the support by the governmental authorities and generates high variety of subsidy types with diverse outcomes. The types of direct state support may vary from subsidies per audience to large amounts of lump sum payments to arts institutions, or it can be in the form of a public arts institution that is directly or indirectly managed by the governmental authorities.

Among the types of direct state support, subsidies per audience aims at a user-controlled system, for instance in the form of a voucher programme that comprises distribution of coupons for reduced entrance tickets to potential demanders of artistic products. "The main idea in this user-controlled system of subsidy payments lies in introducing an element of competition with, as a consequence, a comparatively stronger orientation of artistic and cultural supply to the wishes of those who demand and finance it. Above all, this allows firstly a considerable reduction in the enormous demands on the government bodies that otherwise have to distribute the subsidies, and secondly a reduction of the danger of bureaucratic assessors arriving at discriminatory decisions that cannot be implemented" (PF90, pg.82-83).

On the other hand, lump sum subsidies can be given to sustain institutions, irrespective of their outputs. In this regard, these subsidies ensure the institutional stability, at least to some extent, that can be considered as one of the main issues within the arts field due to the arts institutions' struggle for survival against the market conditions within the peculiar nature of the arts.

Other types of direct government support can be exemplified as subsidies that are granted on project basis to individual artists or other types of private arts institutions.

"The preponderant form of support for the arts in Western Europe and Canada is an appropriation by the government to a public cultural agency (national, regional, or municipal) or directly to an arts organization (museums, orchestras, opera houses, theaters, dance companies, and so forth). Arts organizations are usually governmental institutions subject to the cultural policy, although as far as the artistic side of their operations is concerned, the institutions are autonomous. Though tax incentives for philanthropy often exist, that share of funding remains quite small (for example, in Germany it amounts to less than 1 percent of the total revenue of state arts institutions)" (Mul98, pg.252).

These state intervention tools are used in line with the political organization of a country and a support model for the arts is formed accordingly. Furthermore, the type of state and the political culture of a country, which are built on its history and cultural heritage, are decisive in the formation of the general cultural policy framework that also incorporates the state support model for the arts. In light of this, the next section will provide a brief overview of the types of state and the political cultures behind the arts.

### **2.2.2 The Types of State and the Political Cultures behind the Arts**

The relation between the state and the arts has a significant influence on the overall arts production of a country, due to the particularities of the field and related importance of the state support to foster the arts across



the country. In this sense, two main factors behind the state support framework for the arts can be specified; namely the type of state and the political cultures behind the arts. Accordingly, this section aims to focus on the political influences and, explain the types of state and the political cultures behind the arts.

Intrinsically, it can be argued that the type of state and its guiding principles determine the way to provide state support, the type of art and institutions/individuals to be supported. There is a relationship between the type of state and the type of artistic production.

For instance, Frey (1999) discusses the relation between artistic creativity and the kind of state through drawing attention to the differences between a democratic and authoritarian state, and between a centralised or a federal state. With regard to the distinction between democratic and authoritarian states, the article argues that the range of overall arts production quality among authoritarian states is bigger than the case among the democratic ones. The reason is explained as the convergence of arts policies towards the preferences of the median voter in democratic states, supporting mainly the average art taste and leaving less room for extreme views. Whereas, within an authoritarian state the arts policy of the country depends on the artistic taste of the main power, hence there is less artistic variety in the arts supply within an authoritarian state than in a democratic one that allows more room for opposing ideas within a state. "Democratic states are committed to tolerating divergent views. While this is more an ideal than reality (artists and art groups conforming to "official" art policy find it much easier to get financial support from government), democracies nonetheless allow more types of art" (Fre99, pg.74).

Besides, regarding the centralisation issue, Frey defines a centralised government as "a monopolistic supplier of publicly provided goods and services. In a decentralised system, on the other hand, there is a differentiated supply from which the citizens and firms may choose" (Fre99, pg.72). Within this distinction, the artists and arts institutions should fit in the central arts policy agenda in order to obtain state support in a centralised system, while in a federal, decentralised state the support framework is

more diverse at multiple levels, thus offering more opportunities to apply for funding to a diverse scheme of artists and arts organizations.

However, this comparison between authoritarian versus democratic and central versus decentralised states is a very general distinction that is not capable of reflecting the complexity of the relation between the type of state and the arts policies at an adequate level. Besides, this theoretical distinction might not fully apply in practice. For instance, Rueschemeyer (2005) discusses in the Introduction of the book, *Art and the state: the visual arts in comparative perspective*, that “while most studies of government censorship and control of the arts focus on authoritarian regimes, our book demonstrates, in a variety of currently ‘free’ societies, that issues of censorship and control cannot be separated from the issue of monetary support. At the same time, it is a mistake to see problems of censorship and influence through funding as the only issues involved in the relationship between art and the state” (AR05, pg.3).

At this point, the explanation of Lindqvist (2008) on the traditions of welfare state would be useful to understand the formation of the political structure in a better way. Building upon the works of Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) and Baggesen Klitgaard (2005), she discusses the governance trend in arts and cultural heritage with a particular focus on Europe.

The definition of the welfare state can be explained as follows;

“Welfare state, concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. The general term may cover a variety of forms of economic and social organization” (Enc).

Accordingly, it can be argued that the institutionalization of the state intervention for the arts also resides in the welfare state concept. That is why, it is essential to understand the welfare state models to grasp the logic behind the state intervention and to construct a more precise framework on the commonalities of the state support models for the arts.

Esping-Andersen (1990) classifies welfare state models into three, by

acknowledging the historical role of three dominant 20th century Western European and American political movements. Accordingly, three welfare models can be outlined as follows;

- Liberal welfare state model,
- Social-democratic welfare state model,
- Conservative welfare state model.<sup>1</sup>

The first one, liberal welfare state, is characterized of “low levels of direct transfers and support levels, and a focus on market or quasi-market solutions for public services” (Lin08, pg.3). Policies are built on minimization of the role of the state, individualization of risks and assuring the basic needs of the citizens. Hence, citizens’ welfare is ensured through promotion of market solutions and “the decommmodification potential of state benefits is assumed to be low, while social stratification is high” (FSK11, pg.584). The Anglo-Saxon world, US, UK, Australia, and New Zealand are counted as examples of liberal welfare regimes.

Social-democratic welfare state model, being based on the principle of Universalism, has “a tradition of universal coverage of the social support systems for their citizens, and a strong consensus on egalitarianism” (Lin08, pg.4). Public services cover a wide range of issues, providing a relatively high degree of citizen autonomy. It is the least market oriented model among the three. Sweden, Norway and Denmark can be outlined among the social-democratic welfare regimes.

The third category, conservative welfare state model, is based on the principle of subsidiarity and shaped mainly “with a substantial Catholic influence both in politics and society” (Lin08, pg.4). Decommmodification can be considered to be at medium level, while social stratification is expected to be high. Germany, Austria, France, Italy and Spain are counted among conservative welfare states<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Originally, Esping-Andersen (1990) defines this category as ‘the Christian-Democratic Welfare State’ (EA90). However, building on the welfare regime classification that is explained by Lindqvist (2008), the term ‘conservative welfare regime’ is used instead (Lin08).

<sup>2</sup>There is a difference between Esping-Andersen (1990) and Lindqvist (2008) regarding the

Accordingly, despite the recent tendencies that do not entirely conform to the predictions based on historical evolution of welfare state models, it can be claimed that state support models for the arts have been developed in line with the fundamental principles of these three welfare traditions.

Complying to the approach of Lindqvist (2008), Mulcahy (1998) identifies four main types of political cultures, upon which the various cultural policies and institutions are built. "This variety reflects not only differing national traditions in the organization of public functions and the delivery of public services, but differing philosophies and objectives regarding the whole area of culture and the arts" (CK87, pg.4). The four types of political cultures that are defined by Mulcahy (1998) can be outlined as follows;

1. *The royal patronage* of the arts that began in the latter part of the seventeenth century in France under the Bourbons and in what was the Hapsburg Empire;
2. *Princely patronage* by the many provincial imitators of Versailles and Schoenbrun in eighteenth-century central Europe, such as the Prince-Bishop of Wurzburg and the Elector of Saxony;
3. *The liberal patronage* that created private or quasi-public (autonomous) arts institutions, often as part of cultural development plans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;
4. *The social-democratic patronage* of the late twentieth century, particularly in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, that sees the arts as part of the broad range of concerns of the welfare state (Mul98, pg.248).

Within this framework, France can be associated with the royal patronage, while "Germany has maintained the princely tradition, with state governments (*Länder*) responsible for the subsidy of regional opera houses, museums, and orchestras" (Mul98, pg.248). The state support

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classification of countries with respect to welfare state models. For instance, the Netherlands is counted among social-democratic welfare states by Esping-Andersen (1990), while it is among conservative welfare regimes for Lindqvist (2008).

model of the UK is an example of liberal patronage, aiming to minimize state intervention and employ market or quasi-market solutions for public services, including the arts field. As an example for the political culture of the social-democratic patronage, Norway can be mentioned with its emphasis on democracy and decentralization regarding cultural policies.

### **2.2.3 Developing State-Support Models for the Arts**

“Cultural policies are also an expression of national identity, and public-cultural policies are concerned in various ways with maintaining a distinctive cultural identity. Depending on their cultural heritage, governmental policies vary in the degree to which, for example, they emphasize the preservation of a national patrimony or the creation of a new culture” (Mul98, pg.248-249). In this sense, every country develop its distinctive governmental mechanisms based on its unique historical, political and ethnic characteristics. “In other words, although the involvement of public authorities in cultural activities through various mechanisms has a centuries-old history (including arts patronage), the regulation of the cultural field through public policies is the outcome of numerous elements and has its own specific dynamics” (Ü09, pg.11). In that respect, modelization of state support for the arts within a standardized framework can be defined as a methodological challenge for the cultural policy research.

Nevertheless, despite the case-specificity and complex ecologies that operate distinctively among countries, there have been attempts in the literature to define frameworks based on the common patterns of state support typologies. A common modelization approach can be defined with respect to the degree of centralization of the policy-making authority. Accordingly, building on the centralization spectrum within the cultural policy literature, Ustel (2009) outlines four state-support models; centralized states, decentralized states, federal states, and “states like the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland and Denmark where cultural activity is the domain of semi-autonomous organization” (Ü09, pg.13, referring to Djian (1997)). Nevertheless, she also remarks that this categorization is in a somewhat limited and a schematic way. Accordingly,

I argue that even though this categorization can be useful for research purposes, it also entails the risk of being misleading, particularly for comparative analysis, unless the historicization of the forms of public interventions are assessed and clarified meticulously.

The main issue regarding this categorization that is based on the centralization degree is that it is not fully capable of reflecting the distinction between the practices that fall under the same category but coming from different traditions, as in the case of the state support structure that is built on social-democratic welfare state model with social-democratic patronage tradition, and the one that is built on the liberal welfare state model with the liberal patronage tradition. For instance, the United Kingdom that has the liberal welfare state tradition, and Sweden, which is associated with the social-democratic welfare state tradition, are put under the same category of semi-autonomous organization due to their structural similarities. However, evolutions behind these similar structures are built on different ideologies, particularly regarding their approach to the state's responsibility, the market structure and market failure that is mostly explained as the main reason for state intervention for the arts.

The liberal welfare model is based on the idea to provide minimum public services by means tested programs and to encourage market to act as a co-provider of these services. On the other hand, the social-democratic model considers market as an undemocratic platform that would inevitably generate inequality and poverty. Accordingly, decommodification is low in the liberal welfare states, while it is the opposite in the social-democratic model. Thus, the convergence of the institutionalization of state support models for the arts in countries coming from these different welfare state models is based on different approaches and mentalities regarding the role of the state and the market structure. Therefore, the contextual differences should be highlighted in any modelization attempt regarding the state support models for the arts. For instance, as Lindqvist (2008) remarks, resistance towards public-private partnerships in Sweden is not surprising, while it was already a rising trend during the 1990s in the UK.

In light of this, following the trend in the cultural policy literature

that is referred by Ustel (2009), I combined the welfare state traditions (EA90, FSK11, Lin08) and the political cultures behind the arts (Mul98), and built on the common modelization approach with regard to the degree of centralization in the state support governance for the arts. By doing so, it is aimed to improve the contextual sensitivity of this modelization approach. For instance, the discrepancy between the UK and Sweden regarding the logic behind the state support for the arts can be reflected more clearly, even though they are grouped under the same category.

Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that, considering the issues related to modelization and case-specificity of institutionalization of arts and cultural policies, this is an attempt to organize commonalities among countries with a strong tradition of public action in the arts field. It is aimed to improve contextual sensitivity of a commonly recognized modelization approach that is based on the degree of centralization of policy making and implementation authorities, rather than constructing a rigid theoretical model. Thus, an overview of the shared characteristics regarding the state support for the arts will be provided under four categories; (a) centralized model, (b) decentralized model, (c) federal model and (d) the arm's length model. Besides, the state support scheme of selected countries will be explained in detail for examining the particularities of individual cases in a more clear way. These countries are France for the centralized model, Italy for the decentralized model, Germany for the federal model and the United Kingdom for the arm's length model. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that, particularly due to global impacts, the state support practices in these four countries also demonstrate some common tendencies. Thus, it is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between these models. That is why, the countries were selected in line with their degree of correspondence with the defined models.

### **Centralized Model**

In a centralized model, the state is the main authority regarding the implementation of cultural policies. Most of the countries employing this model are also associated with conservative welfare state model and royal patronage tradition. The stratification of the governmental organization

is centralised in a paramount structure like a ministry of culture. Besides, the hegemony of national culture is high and the state is in a designer position with a strong sense of cultural mission. State subsidies are mostly distributed at national scale.

### *France*

“France is the nation typically viewed as most closely approximating the royalist, but also Jacobin and Napoleonic, traditions of a highly centralized state bureaucracy and in cultural affairs, a paramount ministry of culture” (Mul98, pg.249). The political culture behind the arts is built on the royal patronage tradition, which was formed in France during the seventeenth century (Lin08). Additionally, the state is based on the conservative welfare state tradition and the subsidies are mostly at national level.

The central role of the state and the importance given to cultural policies in France have a long history, even dating back to the times before the Republic. “Adoption of French as the national language (1539), the promotion and organisation of knowledge and research (Collège de France, National Library, Académie française), of the visual and performing arts (Comédie-Française, the Louvre Museum), patronage (subsidies and commissions to artists), and the gradual creation of administrative structures and funds (creation of the Fine Arts Secretariat in the 19th century)”(? ) can be mentioned within this long history and strong central tradition of cultural policies.

The Ministry of Culture<sup>3</sup> was established in 1959 during the presidency of Charles de Gaulle, following the World War II. In this sense, it can be considered as a pioneer for the democratic countries in the West (Ü09). According to Mulcahy (1998), the agenda of the first Minister Andre Malraux, a writer and art theorist, has been affective since then and it consists of two main elements; restoration of national monuments and establishment of houses of culture (*maisons de la culture*) in every département<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>The Ministry that is in charge of arts and culture is currently called as the Ministry of Culture and Communication.

<sup>4</sup>Département is the governance unit between the region and the arrondissement in France. There are 96 départements in metropolitan France.



Taking the two main features of Malraux' policy directory into account, the importance given to preservation of cultural heritage in France can be specified as a natural consequence of having a strong cultural self-identity. Besides, as being the arts centre of the world during the 20th century, France is still perceived as one of the pioneer countries also in the contemporary arts scene today. Regarding the second aspect, it can be argued that the formation of houses of culture evolved into a type of administrative decentralization of cultural policies. "*L'état culturel* is now a more pluralistic and localized administrative structure than the traditionally unitary ethos of the French state would have allowed" (Mul98, pg.250).

Considering the evolution of cultural policies throughout history, France can be categorised as a designer state with a centrally directed policy agenda. Additionally, the sense of cultural mission is dominant in this policy agenda. For instance, the period between 1981 and 1998 is prominent with the *Grands Travaux* or *Grands Projets Culturels*<sup>5</sup>, such as Musée d'Orsay, the Centre Pompidou and Louvre Pyramid. Despite the general interest of French governments on grand projects, these projects are particularly associated with François Mitterrand, "who in his fourteen years as president transformed the face of Paris as has no one since Baron Haussmann in the reign of Napoleon III" (Mul98, pg.249).

Nevertheless, considering France from a wider perspective, Gray (2009) questions the potential of powerful political personalities to turn culture into a central matter for political debate across the community. He is doubtful about the ability of such personalities, like Malraux and Mitterrand, to break the continuing dominance of technocratic forms of professional and bureaucratic control over the policy sector in France. Referring to Collard (1998) and Eling (1999), he concludes that "there are severe limits to what individual elected politicians can actually do in circumstances where the major debates exclude, rather than are led by, them. Such constraining of the impact of elected politicians is not peculiar to cultural policy (Peters 2001, Ch.6), and neither is it restricted to France (see Jenkins 1979, especially Part III)". (Gra09, pg.582).

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<sup>5</sup>The official name for these projects is the *Grandes Opérations d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme*.

Overall, France can be considered as an example of centralized state support model for the arts, coming from the conservative welfare state and royal patronage tradition<sup>6</sup>. Nonetheless, over the last decades decentralization tendencies are observable through the evolution of houses of culture since the time of Malraux and with the completion of a network of regional directorates of cultural affairs (DRAC).

The Ministry's budget was doubled in 1982 and gradually increased to nearly represent 1% of the state budget: increasing from 2.6 billion francs in 1981 to 13.8 billion in 1993. From the 1980s, the Ministry also showed concern for economic issues and the broadcasting industries

In the context of the first laws of territorial decentralisation in 1982-83, moves towards déconcentration were stepped up with the completion of a network of regional directorates of cultural affairs (DRAC), which collaborated with the local authorities, some of them being newly created (regional councils, départements councils). Several major training institutions were either restored or established: École nationale supérieure de la création industrielle (ENSCI), Institut national du patrimoine (heritage), the two Conservatoires nationaux supérieurs de musique (Paris and Lyon Music Academies) and the École du Louvre, creation of the Institut du monde arabe, (IMA), of the National Centre for Circus Arts and of different resource centres in several fields (music, theatre, street arts...). Arts education in schools was modernised, new disciplines were taught (theatre, cinema, art history...), and a range of schemes were organised to raise the awareness of children about culture, such as arts projects, school visits to the cinema, heritage projects etc. Over a period of 12 years, more than 8 000 jobs were created in the cultural field. Broadly speaking, this period shows a quantitative shift in cultural policy making, with an unprecedented increase in cultural funding and structures and the widening of the ministry's scope of activities. Cultural policy gained popularity and recognition.

At the start of the XXI century, the policy follows four main lines:

- cultural diversity; - equal access through cultural and artistic ed-

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<sup>6</sup>Ustel (2009) defines France as the country, following the most centralized cultural policy model in Europe.

ucation; - state reform and decentralisation of cultural policies; and - intellectual and artistic property in the context of digital globalisation.

From 2000 to 2002 a sub-secretary of state in charge of Heritage and Decentralisation is appointed in the Ministry. Conventions of cultural decentralisation (Protocoles de décentralisation culturelle) are set up and the cultural sector is anticipating the new step in the decentralisation process in France, which takes place in 2003-2004.

In 2005, 9 National Centres of Street Arts were created to support these emerging artistic practices.

In May 2007, after the election of President Nicolas Sarkozy, Christine Albanel was appointed Minister of Culture. She conducted the modernisation of cultural policies in the context of the national programme of revision of public policies (Révision générale des politiques publiques). The organisational chart of the Ministry was reorganised in four general directorates: a general secretariat and three thematic directorates (direction générale des patrimoines [heritage], direction générale de la création artistique [artistic creation], direction générale des médias et des industries culturelles [media and creative industries]). The other main areas of responsibility are: the law to protect authors' rights on the internet (loi Création et Internet), the reform of public broadcasting and the Entretiens de Valois, a convention between professionals and main stakeholders of the performing arts sector in order to discuss the evolution of this sector. In 2008, during the French Presidency of the Council of the European Union (EU), French authorities launched the European Cultural Season, by inviting the 26 EU partners to showcase the best of their heritage and creative talent during the second half of 2008.

Frédéric Mitterrand, a renowned writer, scriptwriter and director for television and cinema, became Minister of Culture in 2009. The following year, the programme "Culture pour chacun" ("Culture for each") was launched in order to foster the cultural participation of every citizen. The previous ministerial priorities were maintained concerning dialogue with the performing arts sector, the protection of authors' rights on the internet or the challenges of digitalisation of cultural practices and participation: installation of a specific public agency to encourage and control compli-

ance with copyright laws on the internet (called Haute Autorité pour la Diffusion des Œuvres et la Protection des Droits sur Internet, i.e. the High Authority for Transmission of Creative Works and Copyright Protection on the Internet); a law on fixed pricing for digital books; commissioning of the prospective and forecast report "Culture and Media 2030"; and support to the judicial action of the French Publishers Association [Syndicat national des éditeurs] against Google regarding the rights and conditions of book digitalisation.

In 2012, Aurélié Filippetti was the first Minister of Culture appointed following the election of President François Hollande. In a difficult budgetary context, she decided to reorient the expenses of the Ministry and she gave up some large-scale expensive projects that had been programmed during the previous legislature. Her main projects are to foster cultural and artistic education, territorial cultural development and to reconsider the issues of cultural exception in the framework of the digital economy. She also announced two proposed laws concerning heritage and artistic creation.

During the last fifty years, local and regional authorities increased their public support for culture. The municipalities, owners of certain cultural facilities such as museums, municipal theatres, libraries and music schools, are now the main providers of government funds for culture. Encouraged by the Ministry of Culture and Communication to draw up their own cultural policies, the municipalities, followed by the départements (county councils) and regions (regional councils), have engaged in local public cultural action to a degree far exceeding the obligations laid down in the devolution laws of 1982, 1983 and 1992.

Since the first agreements on theatrical decentralisation at the end of the 1940s, and on through the cultural development charters and agreements in the 1970s and 1980s, a major part of the territorial cultural policy is based on multi-level agreements and partnerships: between the state services (inter-ministerial agreements), between state services and territorial authorities, between the different levels of territorial authorities, between governmental departments and cultural agencies and institutions. Thus, French cultural policies are conducted in the framework of

territorialised cooperative governance, based on agreements and partnerships (see chapter 2.1 and chapter 3.3). From 2010 to 2012 the Ministry engaged to reset the different agreements with territorial authorities.

### **Decentralized Model**

Regions have an important role in the decentralized model. It can be mostly associated with conservative welfare state and princely patronage tradition. Despite the possible existence of a central entity such as a ministry of culture, the delegation of authority is high with the higher role of the regional governmental organizations within the cultural policy implementation.

#### *Italy*

Italy can be recognized as a peculiar case with its complicated cultural policy structure that is built on a vast heritage, extensive artistic assets, long history and strong regional identities that is intertwined with a Fascist period. Even though it is associated mostly with the decentralized model and the regions are influential on cultural policies with strong local characteristics, there remains a central approach regarding some policy issues, mainly as an influence of the Fascist era. Besides, as far as the state tradition is concerned, it is associated with the conservative welfare state model and the princely patronage tradition.

Referring to Dal Pozzolo (1999), Ustel (2009) defines the state structure of Italy as “caught between ‘an incomplete centralization and pressures for federalism’ (Dal Pozzolo, 1999: 10)” (Ü09, pg.11). Similarly, Lindqvist (2008) underlines the dual movement within governance of the arts and cultural heritage sector in Italy with the discrepancy between post-war period decentralization as a reaction towards the Fascist era and the current situation with the Ministry of Culture that is in charge of many of the most important sectors of the arts and cultural heritage. Besides, Zan, Bonini Baraldi and Gordon (2007) remark the turmoil of the Italy’s heritage management since 1993 (ZBG07). They underline the positive value of the central approach regarding the protection of cultural heritage over the centuries and they argue that it should be preserved during the reform process, while recognising potential positive effects of the

adoption of decentralised organisational management to some extent.

As a natural consequence of Italy's extensive multi-layered cultural heritage, the policy agenda has been focusing mainly on the protection of heritage assets throughout history. Nevertheless, the evolution of cultural policies in this country has some unanticipated, controversial developments as well. First of all, despite "the considerable burden of its maintenance on the public purse, heritage has always represented the prevailing domain of public policy in the cultural sector" (BB13). Despite these high costs of preservation, there has been a strong resistance against privatisation in the cultural sector until the last decades (Lin08).

From a legislative and institutional perspective, the first laws regarding cultural heritage were enacted in 1902 and 1909. During the fascist period, Italy became one of the first countries establishing a ministry in charge of cultural affairs with the Ministry for Popular Culture. Despite all the negative consequences of being ruled under a Fascist era, and utilization of cultural policies as tools for control, censorship and ideological propaganda, "the farsightedness and the anticipatory view of the role of the state in the policies for culture of the fascist regime, as well as its understanding of the cultural institutional engineering, are by now generally acknowledged" (BB13).

Bodo and Bodo (2013) also specifies the impacts of the Fascist era on the legislative aspect of culture and arts as follows;

"A large part of Italian cultural legislation – not only on the protection of the heritage and landscape (Laws 1089 and 1497 of 1939), but also in support of artists and artistic creativity, such as the general Copyright Law (also extended to 'droit de suite'), or the Law on '2 % for the arts in public buildings' – date back to the late 1930s and early 1940s. The same is true for many of the surviving major cultural institutions, such as the Institute for Restoration (for movable and immovable cultural goods), the national broadcasting company (EIAR, later RAI), Cinecittà and Istituto Luce (the state owned film companies), and ENPALS (the social security institute for performing artists)" (BB13).

As another significant period, Italy underwent through institutional reforms, oriented towards decentralization during 1970s. The first, and

the most important, development was the establishment of 15 ordinary regions in 1972, in accordance with the 1947 Constitution.

With regard to the recent developments in cultural policies, it can be observed that the new public management (NPM) phenomenon (G13b), that emerged during 1980s and 1990s, has been influential also on Italy, resulting in some attempts to integrate private sector culture to public administration for the sake of improved efficiency, effectiveness and financial stability. The reflections of this tendency on the cultural policies were mainly on the emergence of public-private partnership solutions for the public cultural institutions. For instance, “since the 1990s, however, there have been laws passed that allow private organisations, such as foundations or limited companies, the management of auxiliary services at heritage sites and in museums. The arts and cultural heritage organisations themselves and their assets remain in the ownership of the state. This has led to a certain development towards decentralisation” (Lin08, pg.8). On the other hand, the number of regional foundations, which support many projects regarding both cultural heritage and the arts, also increased since then.

Apparently, the degree of support provided by the state has been changing in line with the differing governmental mentalities, as in many other countries. For instance, “the centre-right government of Berlusconi reduced the support to the arts and cultural heritage during their reign in 2001-2006. The following centre-left government again increased support for these areas” (Lin08, pg.8) but then a centre-right government was re-elected in early 2008. Afterwards, in 2010, the economic crisis hit the state budgets for arts and culture around Europe and Italy was also affected in line with its excessive heritage. On the other hand, as a recent positive development with the aim to provide more funds for arts and cultural heritage, the Wednesday Lotto draw, which was added to the regular Saturday draw in the late 1990s was introduced as a new monetary support.

As far as the governance organization in Italy is concerned, there are *Assessorati alla Cultura* and *Soprintendenze*<sup>7</sup>, acting as regional authorities

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<sup>7</sup>Zan et al. (2007) refer to soprintendenze as superintendents.

of the Ministry of Culture in charge of preservation of cultural heritage within regions and provinces. According to Zan et al. (2007), the complex peripheral network of *soprintendenze*, with more than 20,000 employees to cover the country, is a top down, centralised organizational model. Within this model, deep knowledge of the Ministry and its functions, strong motivation and the big networked professional system within the Ministry are recognized as positive aspects, while the lack of professional experience and susceptibility to organisational parochialism, lack of opportunities for cross-fertilisation of knowledge, skills and experience, and inability to compare with colleagues in different institutional or national settings are highlighted as weaknesses. Nevertheless, in theory, this system can also be interpreted as a decentralized management model, since “the position confers huge responsibilities – even legally, given liability under the criminal law – but also offers great power in relation to the external environment (just consider the authority vested vis-à-vis issues of architectural control and permissions needed in a city like Rome)” (ZBG07, pg.53). Decentralization of governance through *Assessorati alla Cultura* and *Soprintendenze* appears also as a result of the way they are assumed to operate. These structures are recognized as “the territorial ‘offices’ of the state, with direct responsibility of preservation of the cultural heritage of individual regions and provinces” [pg.8]Lindqvist2008.

Taking all the contextual peculiarities into account, it can be claimed that it is ambivalent to fit the state support system of Italy under any category. Nevertheless, despite a clearly strong centralized governance during the Fascist period from 1922 to 1943<sup>8</sup>, taking into account the history of Italy, the strong regional characteristics and diversities, and the institutional decentralization reforms since 1970s, as well as the recent NPM influences, Italy can be grouped under the decentralized model with remaining central affiliations regarding some cultural policy issues.

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<sup>8</sup>Italian Social Republic under *Duce* Benito Mussolini from 1943 to 1945 can also be considered as a prolongation of the Fascist era.



## Federal Model

In the federal model, there is the dominance of federal states and municipal level authorities, instead of national level intervention, in cultural policies. In other words, communities are mostly assuming a more active role than a central authority. This model can also be associated with conservative welfare state and princely patronage tradition. Consequently, there is high level stratification in the governance, as in the case of Germany with ministries of culture. In this model, the state operates as a benefactor, with subsidies more at the local level.

### *Germany*

Germany is associated with the conservative welfare state model and the princely patronage tradition. The country is composed of 16 federated states (*Länder*) as the main authorities in charge of their cultural and educational affairs. Accordingly, Ahearne (2003) positions Germany as the most decentralized country in Europe, on the contrary to France.

“Besides the strong artistic traditions that existed in the German principalities before unification in 1871 (particularly in Bavaria and Baden-Wurtemberg), the present German constitution specifies cultural and educational affairs as a subnational responsibility” (Mul98, pg.250). In this sense, it can be claimed that Germany, in a way, maintains its princely tradition to support culture. Accordingly, the subsidies are distributed at multiple levels, such as national and municipal levels.

From a historical perspective, the period during the National Socialist regime (also referred to as the Nazi regime) is striking with its highly centralized arts and policy agenda, as opposed to any other period in the history of Germany. According to Blumenreich and Sievers (2013), this regime “replaced the diversity that had evolved over the course of centuries with forced centralisation, stifling civic commitment and instrumentalising culture to serve the aims of the Regime” (BS13). Subsequently, the period after the World War II is marked by the reactions against the forced centralization of the National Socialists in the governance of the arts and culture. From 1949 to 1990, the cultural policies were managed under two directions; one under the German Democratic Republic (GDR),

and the other under the Federal Republic of Germany.

“Cultural policy in the GDR was based on a concept of culture that encompassed the ‘humanistic heritage’ of classical art forms, on the one hand, and new forms of everyday culture, on the other” (BS13). With the East German Administrative Reform of 1952, the *Länder* were *de facto* dissolved and new *Bezirke* (regional districts) were formed. Besides, the Ministry of Culture was established in 1954. Within this new administrative structure, houses of culture, or youth clubs, were established and some classical cultural institutes were reactivated. “Particularly important were those activities organised by social and cultural associations as well as worker’s unions within larger companies, all of which were under state supervision” (BS13).

On the other hand, regarding the Federal Republic of Germany, “Western Allies prescribed a very narrow role for the government of the new Federal Republic of Germany in the field of cultural policy, mainly as a consequence of the National Socialists’ former abuse of culture and the arts” (BS13). Hence, the main focus of cultural policies was mainly on the promotion of traditional arts and cultural institutions. Following the reforms during 1960s and a general democratisation process within the society, a new cultural policy arose on more egalitarian and democratic basis. “In the 1970s, the call for ‘culture for everyone’ and for a ‘civil right to culture’ led to a tremendous expansion of cultural activities, the further development of cultural institutions and the emergence of numerous new fields of cultural endeavour financed by increasing public expenditure” (BS13). However, the instrumentality of culture became more prominent in the policies in order to improve the image of Germany for business and industry during the 1980s.

Following the German reunification in 1990, the German Democratic Republic joined the Federal Republic of Germany and formed the present day Federal Republic of Germany. As far as the current administrative model of the cultural policies is concerned, it can be argued that the state support practice in Germany, as a benefactor state, disseminates the responsibilities for cultural funding to the realm of *Länder* and city responsibilities. The role of the Federal Republic is minimized, also

without any central funding agency. There are 17 ministries of culture, one for each *Länder* and a federal state ministry. “Regardless, spending on culture as a percentage of overall public spending in the *Länder* has stayed at about 1.2 percent, and in the municipalities at about 2.4 percent, whereas at the federal level it is only .17 percent” (Mul98, pg.253).

### **Arm’s length model**

In this model, the state operates as the enabler and distributes grants through an intermediary institution at arm’s length. It can be associated with the liberal welfare state and liberal patronage tradition. The role of the central government is minimized and the policies are oriented more towards market or quasi-market solutions. One of the main goals to adopt such an approach is to provide more autonomy to the institution, that is in charge of subsidy distribution, within a general framework of overall objectives and resources.

#### *The United Kingdom*

As a strong example of the liberal welfare state model, UK has been implementing an arm’s length approach regarding the state support for the arts. Such an approach aims at abolishing the impacts of political tastes and preferences on arts funding and providing more autonomy to arts organisations within a general agenda. For instance, UK can be considered as “by far the country in EU that has gone farthest in allowing private interests in the cultural heritage sector” (Lin08, pg.10). The political culture behind the arts can be explained by a distinct combination of royal patronage and liberal patronage tradition.

During the last decades, public administration in the UK has underwent through some reforms to improve accountability and efficiency (Boy06). “Since the Tories came into power in the late 1970s, public administration and arts organisations alike have been governed with rationalisations and audits” (Lin08, pg.9). This can also be interpreted as the rising prominence of evidence-based policy making in the UK.

On the other hand, following the late 1990s, “the tensions between the so-called ‘intrinsic’ and ‘instrumental’ values of the arts have been played out particularly strongly in Britain, where evidence-based policy making

was vigorously pursued as part of the implementation of the 'third way' politics that were the hallmark of the New Labour administrations. This required all parts of the public sector to make demonstrable contributions to government objectives and to meet specified targets" (BB10, pg.7). Eventually, the rise of instrumentality of the arts in the governmental agenda received some reactions, calling for the recovery of the art for art's sake principle within the cultural policies.

Concisely, today, the overall state support framework for the arts in UK is built on minimized state intervention through the Arts Council as an arm's length, autonomous structure, distributing the state subsidies. Besides, the arts organizations are encouraged to increase their institutional performances, as well as to diversify their income portfolio through market mechanisms. Accordingly, the arts institutions receiving any type of state support are expected to deliver annual reports, detailing the budgetary measures in line with the products and achievements, which are carefully assessed.

Moreover, the UK can also be considered as a distinct example in terms of the organisation between the government and public funding bodies. The whole system is built on a formally defined relations among various levels of public administration, as well as executive agencies and subsidized organizations. This structure is much more formal than, for instance, the case in the Scandinavian countries, which can also be considered within the arm's length approach (Pol06).

Another peculiar characteristic of the UK can be defined as the public perception of the arts policies. A remarkable example can be given regarding the emergence of public-private partnerships (PPPs). In the UK, such partnerships rose in the museum sector during 1990s through the transfer of regional museums' management to independent trusts. Nowadays, there are similar tendencies to employ PPP strategies within cultural policy agendas in many countries. Nevertheless, the striking point regarding UK is the acceptance of such market-oriented solutions for the culture field by the public. This also highlights the significance of historical and contextual peculiarities in relation to cultural policy structure. For instance, "this kind of public-private partnership is still not

accepted in Sweden, and suggestions to introduce similar arrangements through changes of laws regulating management of cultural heritage in Italy by the Berlusconi government at the end of the 90s created a storm of indignation (Settis, 2000)” (Lin08, pg.10). This peculiarity can be explained by the liberal welfare state tradition that is internalized by the public. Thus, for instance, the public reaction in Sweden is not surprising, despite its arm’s length approach on the state support for the arts, considering the social-democratic culture of the country.

## **2.3 The Relation between the State and the Arts in Turkey**

In light of the framework that is explained above, this section aims to analyse the relation between the state and the arts in Turkey, considering the contextual specificities. As a developing country situated in-between Asia and Europe, the Republic of Turkey has been establishing a cultural policy framework through a Westernization process after its proclamation in 1923. Since then, the arts and culture scene has been flourishing under a strong central framework that is highly influenced by the State. Nevertheless, this almost a century old central approach regarding arts and cultural policies has become the subject of reformist attempts with the rising neoliberal tendencies, global influences and changing governmental mentality.

From a wider perspective, the first step towards decentralization can be specified as the public administration reforms during 2000s. As far as the arts and culture field is concerned, the recent governmental attempts to replace the central state support model for the arts with an arm’s length model received many reactions from the public. The issue is still an actual topic and the first official encounter between the professionals from the field and the governmental authorities took place on 3 March 2014, for discussing the draft law on the establishment of an Arts Institution in Turkey that also includes the closure of the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet. However, considering the strong public criticisms on the top-down decision making approach and the lack of information

transparency along with concerns on the potentially irreversible adverse outcomes of the closure of the public arts institutions, there remains the need for further research on the issue in order to provide accurate basis for discussing and developing a sustainable policy agenda for enhancing the state support model as a whole.

Therefore, in this section, a comprehensive overview of the political culture of the country, a summary of the current state support model for the arts, the recent reform attempts and discussions will be provided.

### **2.3.1 Legislative Framework**

“In general, there is a natural parallelism between the political organization of the state and the artistic organization” (Kon01, pg.61). Accordingly, understanding how arts and the state’s responsibility for arts are perceived in the legislative rhetoric, which is the basis of the political organization, is of crucial importance before going through the state-support model for the arts in Turkey.

In the history of the Republic of Turkey, there have been 3 constitutions in action, which are the Constitutions of 1924, 1961 and 1982. Among these, the concept of ‘art in the social state’ appeared for the first time in the legislation of Turkey in Article 21, entitled “The Freedom of the Sciences and Arts”, of the 1961 Constitution. The said article assumes social state characteristics among the qualifications of the state (Erd08, pg.192). Subsequently, the freedom of the sciences and arts is also protected in the 1982 Constitution, which is currently in force, by Article 27 under the Section IX of “The Rights and Duties of Individuals”. According to this article, “everyone has the right to learn and teach, explain, spread and conduct research on the science and arts freely” (Gİ0). In light of this, it can be claimed that this article is related more to the right to freedom of thought and expression. Yet, what is important here is that participation in the sciences and arts in various forms is recognized and protected by the Constitution as an individual right. However, the concept of science is evidently dominant in this article due to the lack of reference to the basic element of the arts; performing artistic activity. Likewise, this science-

oriented approach generates confusion regarding the scope of the right to artistic freedom. For instance, conducting research on arts is actually under the scope of the freedom of science. Thus, the Constitution is not clear about the scope of the artistic freedom and there is a need for clarification. On the other hand, in the explanations for the grounds of the Advisory Council regarding the Article 27, it is stated that “the subject, utilizing the freedom of the sciences and arts, should respect the objectivity that is the essence of the sciences and arts”. However, objectivity is a controversial concept in the arts (Ata04). These conceptual confusions might be explained by the lack of well-established arts policies in the history of the governance of Turkey and well-developed, common definitions regarding both the freedom of arts and the role of the state in the arts field.

On the other hand, the protection of the arts and artists is mentioned separately in the Constitution under Article 64, Section XII of “The Social and Economic Rights and Duties”; “The State protects artistic activities and artists. It takes the necessary measures to protect, evaluate and support artworks and artists, and to foster the love of art” (G10).

The laws are also formed in line with the Constitution. For instance, Law No. 4848 determines the governance structure and duties of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Moreover, Law No. 5846 on ideas and artworks is the most extensive one about the protection of art and artists (Erd08). Besides, there are the laws on the establishment of the public arts institutions, such as the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet, with clarifications on the working principles. However, according to akmak (2010), in Turkey, “the relation between the legislation and the arts is mostly unable to go beyond the protection of ideas and artworks” (10, pg.253).

To summarize, according to the legislation, the State is not only the main protector but also the main initiator of the arts in Turkey, as a developing country where the private/independent arts establishment is relatively weaker compared to that of developed countries. The State provides artistic public services, artistic education and supports private/independent arts institutions through various forms of subsidies. Another principal responsibility of the State can be mentioned as improving the

accessibility of the arts for all citizens. This point can also be linked to Article 5 on “the Primary Aims and Duties of the State” in the Constitution. In this article, “to remove the political, economic and social obstacles that limit the basic rights and freedoms of individuals coming into conflict with the principles of the social state governed by the rule of law and justice, to provide the necessary conditions for development of material and spiritual existence of human” (G10) were assumed as being among the primary aims and duties of the state. Accordingly, the state should aim to increase accessibility of arts for all citizens in order to assure their freedom of the arts, and to provide adequate conditions for their spiritual and intellectual development.

### **2.3.2 Evolution of Cultural Policies**

Within this legislative framework, it can be claimed that the field of culture and thus cultural policies have always been utilized as a tool to fulfil other goals, such as construction of national identity, within governments’ agenda throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey. Over the last decades, even though the accessibility of culture, preservation and promotion of arts are treated mainly as the responsibility of the State, the governments’ approach was influenced by the global neoliberal currents and eventually directed towards more of a market-oriented approach.

The history of cultural policies in Turkey can be grouped under three periods

- Construction of a nation culture by the state (1920-1950),
- The political segmentation and polarization era (1950-1980),
- The globalization and the EU period (1980-Present) (A109).

The construction of a nation culture was marked by the attempts to eliminate all kinds of diversity and to create a unified body without privilege or class. Accordingly, national education was centralized with the enactment of the Unification of Education Act in 1924. With a similar approach, the Turkish Historical Society (1931) and the Turkish Language



Institute (1932) were founded to promote a unified, national culture. On the other hand, People's Houses and Village Institutes were established in 1932 and 1940 respectively, in order to foster the development of such a national identity with a grass roots approach.

During the first period following the establishment of the Republic, there was a substantial interest on arts by the government. The political discourse of the time was built around the elimination of all kinds of diversity and creation of a unified body without privilege or class, as well as the construction of a nation culture. Accordingly, new institutions were established to centralize education and culture, such as enactment of the Unification of Education Act in 1924, establishment of the Turkish Historical Society (1931), the Turkish Language Institute (1932), People's Houses (1932) and Village Institutes (1940).

The second period, that is the political segmentation and polarization era, was highlighted by the transition to multiparty system and military coups. During this era, establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1971 can be considered among the most significant developments. While construction of a nation culture continued on the one hand, commodification of culture and subsequently a cultural industry started to emerge. 'The market' was becoming an alternative, liberating vehicle to promote popular culture. Besides, Five Year Development Plans were defining the road map of cultural investments and the development of cultural institutions as a part of the public and thus the State's responsibility.

On the other hand, following 1980s, the beginning of which was marked by a military coup, neoliberal policies put forward public-private collaboration as the new promoter of the national culture. Accordingly, new laws, such as Law 5225 on Tax Incentives for Cultural Investments and Enterprises and Law 5228 on Promotion of Sponsorship in Culture that were designated in 2004, endorsed a collaborative work model. The state started to function more as the regulator, rather than the investor during that era. Furthermore, public administration reforms empowered municipalities as more influential actors in the field of culture (AI09).

Intrinsically, all those changes in the history of the development of cultural policies in Turkey affected artistic production as well. After 1980, the

rise of pop culture, technological developments, inclusion of local cultural values and global neoliberal cultural policies strengthened the market structure of the field and brought along some problems for productivity, while enlarging artistic vision and improving communication among artists. Central government has always been providing more support for the production of classical or traditional art and leaving more interdisciplinary and contemporary artistic production to private initiatives. For instance, in the case of theatre, while technological advancements increase communication among different networks, accessibility of information and possibility to produce interdisciplinary works, high production costs, lack of available venues that can fulfil technical requirements of such performances limit the creativity and productivity of the artists. Therefore, it can be claimed that there is the need to constitute a broader understanding of arts and culture in the governmental bodies and develop a more comprehensive cultural policy agenda to provide alternative state support schemes to balance support for public and private arts institutions in a wider range of disciplines covering traditional, classical and contemporary arts. Besides, there remains the need for increasing the funds for the arts and culture, particularly considering the composition of the Central Budget. In Turkey, as a developing country, it is of crucial importance for the arts and culture field to be supported by public funds and regulated by sustainable cultural policies in order to provide adequate amount of cultural supply and to develop a balanced system covering different disciplines.

### **2.3.3 Current State-Support Model for the Arts**

Drawing insights from the evolution of the cultural policies since the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, it can be concluded that the state support structure for the arts in Turkey has been built on a centralized model throughout the history. Nevertheless, with the rising impact of the neoliberal policies since 1980s, the decentralization tendencies have been increasing their prominence in the governmental structure, not only in arts and culture but also in other fields. Particularly since 2000s, with the

enduring position of the Justice and Development Party (AKP - *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* in Turkish) as the government party, administrative reforms has been given more importance and gained speed. On the other hand, the mind shift of the AKP government has been reflected on every level of the governance structure, including arts and culture field.

From 1923 until today, the institutional structure to handle artistic and cultural issues has been changed for 14 times in Turkey (Bir12). Since its establishment in 1971, the Ministry of Culture has been the main central authority in charge of arts and culture field. However, there have also been some structural changes since that time, such as the merger between culture and tourism with the formation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003.

This merger also indicates the orientation of cultural policies in Turkey. For instance, the dominance of tourism issues is evident under the aims and duties of the Ministry that are explained in the annual reports of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (?? ?). Besides, regarding the cultural issues, the preservation of cultural heritage is given more importance and, surprisingly, there is no specific mention of 'the arts' neither in mission and vision, nor under the section on authority, duties and responsibilities.

The organization of the Ministry is composed of 10 main service units, 6 advisory and audit units, and 3 auxiliary service units. The State Theatres General Directorate, the State Opera and Ballet General Directorate and the Directorate of manuscripts Foundation of Turkey are also affiliated to the Ministry. Besides, there is the Central Directorate of Revolving Funds with legal personality, as an entity of the Ministry (M12b).

Within this organizational structure, the existence of the State Theatres and the State Opera and Ballet are crucial for the arts scene of Turkey. These public institutions, as examples of direct state intervention tools with a central approach, generate a major share of the overall arts production of the country in their areas.

Regarding culture in general, the Ministry allocates some tax incentives, reductions in insurance premiums of employees, immovables that are under its management, while offering reductions for water payments and energy subsidies for cultural investments and enterprises, according

to eligibility. Apart from the cultural investments and enterprises, there are also some tax reduction incentives to endorse a collaborative work model, such as Law 5228 on Promotion of Sponsorship in Culture that was designated in 2004.

Specialized units under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are accounted for distributing various types of supports and subsidies in their areas. For instance, the General Directorate of the Fine Arts is in charge of many issues regarding fine arts support, such as acquisition of artworks for the collection of the State, distribution of subsidies for the private theatres, organization of competitions in plastic arts and allocation of the venues for exhibitions upon request by public institutions, real or legal personalities. Additionally, there are four types of artistic units under the General Directorate of the Fine Arts. These units are;

- Orchestras;
- Turkish Folk Music Choirs;
- Classical Turkish Music Choirs;
- Ensembles (mostly different types of traditional dance and music ensembles).

Additionally, various subsidies for cinema are distributed on production, project or archiving basis by the General Directorate of Cinema under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

At the local level, the administration structure is built mostly on the basis of cities. "Turkey consists of 81 cities, the city being the largest unit of civil administration. The city is designed as the provincial representation of the centre and defined as an administrative structure by the Provincial Administration Law 5442" (Inc09, pg.242). Accordingly, in addition to the central administration structure with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the governance of artistic and cultural affairs are managed by three main local administration bodies. These are;

- Governorships: This is a meshed representative unit, acting on behalf of the state's legal entity, the government and all the ministries

individually at the city scale. Before the ratification of the Special Provincial Administration Law 5302 on 22 February 2005, the governors used to be both the head of the special provincial organization and the representative of the legal entity. Now their role is relatively limited. Under governorships, “details of culture-related topics are limited as they are defined by the appropriate article of the strategic plan prepared by the special provincial administration under the governor’s chairmanship” (Inc09, pg.243);

- The Special Provincial Administration: The provincial council, the standing provincial committee, the governor and the special provincial administration organization constitute this unit. They are more community-oriented and the aim of their existence is to offer more locally-sensitive services, free from the central and city level establishments. Following the Special Provincial Administration Law (2005), the scope of their activities and power was expanded;
- Municipality: “Municipalities can be established in allocation units of 5,000 and more population. It is compulsory to establish municipalities in cities and county towns” (Inc09, pg.247). The Municipality Law 5393 (2005) entitles these units various duties regarding arts and culture, and broadens the scope of their authority. They can establish cultural centres or theatres in the cities. (Inc09)

Within this administration framework at central and local levels, it can be claimed that the state support model for the arts in Turkey has been going through a transition process with the recent reform wave that started during 2000s. The main driver behind this transition can be explained as the enduring position of the AKP as the government party and its commitment for result-oriented reforms agenda. Thus, the current governance structure in Turkey has been shaped with a strong central tradition that has been subjected to decentralization attempts by a powerful central government with a top-down approach. More specifically, the central state support model for the arts has been facing fundamental reform attempts with the governmental agenda on the establishment of an Art Institution and the closure of the biggest public arts institutions, the

State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet. Nevertheless, the strong centrally controlled, top-down approach raises concerns on the expected achievements of such an agenda that is promoted with a 'liberating' discourse, despite its non-inclusive decision-making mechanism and lack of information transparency. As a result, Turkey appears to be employing a central model that is in transition to a combination of decentralization and the arm's length approaches, yet with a centrally driven decision-making process that is not promising for the achievements of the presented aims. In this respect, the recent discussions regarding the draft law on the establishment of an Art Institution which is explained in the following section, also indicate prevalent concerns on the future of the state support model for the arts in Turkey.

### **2.3.4 Recent Discussions on the Arts Policies**

As mentioned before, due to the peculiarities of the arts field in comparison to other industries, the artistic activities and artists, as well as the citizens' participation in the arts, are protected by constitutions of most of the countries, conferring responsibilities to states. Similarly in Turkey, as a developing country, the Constitution protects the freedom to the arts and refers to these issues under the Fundamental Aims and Duties of the State. However, implementation of these principles, state-support for the arts, its methods and efficacy have always been questioned (TT08).

In this sense, the period after 1980 is critical since it incorporates a drastic shift, concerning the attitude of the government towards arts and culture in Turkey. Privatization, reduced role of the government as a cultural investor and the increasing power of the market structure, all coming out of the neoliberal discourse, became more prominent during that period. Particularly with the increasing power of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) during the last decade, this mind shift was reflected on policies and practice more effectively. This political stability enables the government to implement its policy agenda with a strong central, top-down approach in every area, covering a range from security to education or culture.

At the beginning of 2000s, culture within the new AK Party vision was a vehicle that can be utilized to bring success to the State's neoliberal western-oriented economic policies. The AK Party government attempted to make a difference in the cultural policies with its result-oriented, pragmatic approach. Indeed, since the AK Party came to power the instrumentalization of culture has been shifting towards a new argumentation beyond ideological and national concerns (AI09). However, after the repeated victories of the AK Party in all the local and national elections since 2002, the strengthened dominance of the party also triggers some concerns over the future of the arts production in Turkey due to this strong top-down decision making system and the current governmental reform agenda. AK Party's uniquely commanding position facilitates legislative reforms and immediate application of decisions, while leaving less room for oppositions and alternatives.

For instance, an extensive transformation project on the symbolically charged Taksim Square, which can be considered as the heart of Istanbul and civil movements in Turkey, has been put in practice during the last decade, including the Atatürk Cultural Centre (AKM). This process, which started with the 'renovation' of the AKM, can be considered as a reflection of the governmental mind shift regarding cultural policies and, its repercussions among the wider public reveal the tensions among different segments of the society and the government. More recently in May 2013, the attempts to close down the Gezi Park, which is one of the main city parks in Istanbul, as a part of the Taksim Pedestrianisation Project exacerbated an extensive civil movement across the country. According to Aksoy and Şeyben (2014) "for some time, there has been a confrontation between the governing AKP (Justice and Development Party) and the mainstream cultural constituency. More fundamentally, it represents the mutation of a cultural divide between the conservative-Islamic and the liberal-secular world that has existed throughout the history of the Turkish Republic" (AS14, pg.1).

The major reflection of the changing governmental agenda on the arts field started with some regulatory changes in the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre (ICMT) in April 2012 and received many reactions from the public.

Since then, the public discussion has been going on with the revealing of the governmental reform agenda on the state support model for the arts with the arising further potential changes in the state support for the arts in the governmental agenda.

ICMT is one of the oldest, deep-rooted public arts institutions in Turkey. It was established by Cemil Topuzlu Pasha for educational reasons, as “Darülbedayi-i Osmani” (The Ottoman House of Beauty) in 1914. The Darülbedayi, which was officially affiliated with the Istanbul Municipality in 1931, was renamed as the Istanbul City Municipal Theater (ICMT) in 1934. The first artistic director was André Antoine, who was a famous French actor. At the time of Antoine’s management, students entered the school by taking an examination, and Ottoman administrators and educators were in charge of the “The House of Beauty”. Furthermore, the activities of the ICMT have been directed towards different age groups from the beginning. For instance, the first children’s theatre was set up at the ICMT in 1935. Today, it has the capacity to accommodate about two thousand audience each day, with its 11 stages and affordable ticket prices. As one of the oldest arts institutions, ICMT has been a pioneer in Turkish theatre, bringing up many important figures, such as Muhsin Ertuğrul, Peyami Safa and Ahmet Muvahhit, as well as other theatre professionals such as stage designers, lighting and sound technicians. Besides, in addition to the regular programme, audience profile is enriched through education programmes, publications, national tours and international collaborations.

With this long history and institutional tradition that are of crucial importance for the arts establishment in Turkey, ICMT became subject to major regulatory changes regarding its management, which were effective from 12 April 2012. These changes comprised the transfer of the management from actors to the municipality officers, including such duties as the selection of plays, casting actors, and hiring technical staff. Republican Party, as the main opposition, took the case to the Istanbul Administrative Court, demanding the cancellation of the regulatory changes in ICMT. Besides, as stated in the Court Order that repealed these regulation changes one year after their enactment, there were also some articles that were



against personal rights and freedoms. Following the enactment of those changes, many ICMT Board members resigned, including Ms Ayşe Nil Şamlıoğlu, the Artistic Director. Another move of the Municipality was to fire the Manager of the ICMT, Mr Abdullah Kaplan, who was actually in favor of the management reforms. According to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Cultural and Social Issues Department, that was a renovation in line with the establishment of a new team within the regulation changes.

Concurrently, the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's statement in favor of privatization of the State Theatres expanded the scope of discussions and raised another threat towards the existence of one of the largest and oldest public arts institutions in Turkey. This was followed by various gestures of public opposition such as the Arts Marathon, a series of week long events organized between 16-22 June 2012. The Association of Istanbul City Municipality Theatre Artists (İŞTİSAN), the Actors' Union, the Foundation of the State Theatre, Opera and Ballet Employees (TOBAV) and the Union of Critics in Turkey organized public protests and distributed common press releases against such regulation changes at the ICMT and any other potential intervention in the public arts institutions with the privatization mentality. The main argument of the public opposition was that the freedom of state-sponsored art will be heavily damaged with the enactment of the new regulations and public arts institutions, it was maintained, are of crucial importance for arts production in a developing country such as Turkey (Ton13). Accordingly, the primary reason behind all these public reactions resides in the indispensability of the public arts institutions for the arts production in Turkey. They are mostly the biggest and oldest arts establishments in the country that serve to a diverse audience profile with low ticket price policy and privileges for some disadvantaged groups in the society. They provide artistic activities also out of the big cities, where artistic infrastructure is very much limited. Thus, they can be considered as the main initiators and providers of the arts across the country.

However, these public reactions and protests against the first major governmental attempt to make managerial changes in a public arts insti-

tution endured a couple of months and with the silence of governmental authorities, a suspension period started regarding the agenda on the possible changes in the state support for the arts. After one year, the tension revived with the news that a draft law was being prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the establishment of an arts council that would result in transferring all the governmental subsidies under the management of such a council, to be distributed on project basis. Thus, it was claimed that the draft law also consists of the closure of public arts institutions, such as the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet. Even though this second wave of tension was higher due to more concrete threats towards the closure of biggest arts institutions of Turkey, the lack of communication by the governmental authorities faded the discussions away. The governmental authorities did not provide any satisfactory official explanation on the issue, nor they had any official attempt to discuss potential policy changes with experts and representatives from the field. Besides, the rapidly changing, busy agenda of the country left the discussions on the future of state supported arts behind. At the end of May 2013, the Gezi Park Protests set off an extensive movement of public demonstrations and protests against the government, mainly against the imposing top-down decision-making mechanisms that are strengthened with the powerful central AKP government, with a holistic approach integrating many issues at stake, such as environment policies, human rights and freedom of speech. Thus, cultural policy discussions also merged with this civil society movement and the specific agenda on the state support for the arts got in another suspension period.

The latest development occurred in October 2013, when the Ministry of Culture and Tourism announced the list of private / independent theatres to be supported with state subsidy for the 2013 - 2014 season. Within this state support scheme, the first disappointment was that some theatres, such as Dostlar Tiyatrosu, Ortaoyuncular and Levent Kirca Theatre, were not on the list due to their support and participation in the Gezi Park Protests. One of the Selection Committee members, Mr Refik Erduran stated that "It was unpleasant that the Ministry took such a decision before the local elections. We remarked in the Committee that it is not

possible to decide whether to support a theatre according to its opponent position. According to me, this decision is political". Thus, some Committee members signed the final decision with scholium and this decision was approved by the Minister on the basis of majority of the votes. Genco Erkal, who is the founder of the Dostlar Tiyatrosu, which had been getting this state subsidy until this year since its establishment in 1982, mentioned that this is a subsidy of the State not the Government, and the reasons of refusal should be explained (G13a). On the other hand, Nedim Saban, the founder of Tiyatro Kare, another theatre which was not awarded with the subsidy, stated that "The Committee was formed, subsidies were given to 67 theatres. My theatre got A points, also Dostlar Theatre. One can not withhold subsidy from a theatre which got A" (Oğ13).

The second shocking development was the addition to the Article 14 on the retrieval of the subsidy in the protocol to be signed between the subsidized private theatre and the Ministry. The Article 14/e states that in case it is detected that the project digress the subject, presented to the Ministry, by employing matters that are against basic principles of the Constitution, laws, public moral or offending individuals and/or institutions and/or a certain segment of the society during staging, the subsidy is claimed back, including the interest rate, within 15 days by a legal notification. Especially the addition of 'public moral' drew a lot of reactions due to the potential 'conservative' threats and censorship against the freedom of theatre. Two selected theatres, Tiyatro Kumpanyası and DOT, rejected the state subsidy because of these reasons. The founder of Tiyatro Kumpanyası, Kemal Kocaturk, explained in an interview that; "we, as 'Tiyatro Kumpanyası', are convinced that this support is a hobble and rejected it" (F113).

He also highlighted that the important thing is the lack of goodwill, format and content of the state support. Some of the other selected theatres accepted the conditions however issued press releases on their position against the current changes in the mentality of the state support for the arts and called other theatres to collaborate in the state supported projects. For instance, GalataPerform, that was established as an independent artists initiative and has been receiving state support during the

last 5 years, distributed a press release to call one of the unsubsidised theatres to collaborate for the subsidy. In this press release, they also stated that “the financial power that is entrusted by the public to the State, should be used for the artistic improvements of theatres without any discrimination, the suppression and censorship environment that forms on everyone, including both subsidized and unsubsidised theatres, is not healthy” (Per13).

These latest developments on the state support for private theatres were in a way affirming the existing concerns on the future of the state support for the arts in Turkey, while raising even more questions and doubts on the objectivity of a prospective Arts Council, which is claimed to be within the ambiguous governmental agenda. Subsequently, a new wave of civil society movement in the theatre scene started. Within this new wave, the inclusion of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations (TBB) in the theatres’ movement can be recognized as an important step. TBB organized two meetings. The first one was in Istanbul Taxim Hill Hotel on 3 December 2013. This was the initial step to agree on the agenda of the act in unison. The second one, the Law - Arts Meeting was on 20 January in Ankara. During this event, a collaboration protocol was signed between Union of Turkish Bar Associations, Artists Initiative, Theatre Platform and the State Theatre, Opera and Ballet Employees Foundation (TOBAV), and joint Declaration of Union of Forces was announced. Within the collaboration protocol, it was agreed that the parties will work on the arts legislation; draft laws and recommendations will be prepared with the contributions of interested institutions; TBB will provide legislative support to Artists Initiative, Theatre Platform and TOBAV; and the parties will establish committees and commissions regarding the working areas.

Nevertheless, civil society settlement in the theatre scene in Turkey has not been well organized, as it can be observed throughout the history. For instance, there is no umbrella organization that represents private / independent theatres to improve the general conditions in the private theatres’ settlement and carry out negotiations with government representatives in such cases. Even though there have been some considerable attempts in this sense, the sustainability of civil society movements have

always been an obstacle, mainly because of diminishing motivation of participants due to the lack of negotiation platforms with the governmental authorities for achieving concrete results and, the challenging survival conditions of the field in general that result in limited amount of time and energy to be spent for other civil organizations and activities. Eventually, these civil society movements mostly end up with problems in the internal decision-making mechanisms and the emerging joint movement of private / independent theatres starts to dissolve from the beginning. Therefore, the collaboration with TBB can be considered as a significant step to integrate legislative strength, develop alternative platforms for better representativeness and gain more negotiation power, as well as motivation to endure activities.

Ultimately, after a long period since April 2012 full of discussions, ambiguous political agenda and tension between governmental authorities and the arts scene without any actual encounter, the first official attempt from the government was done with the organization of a workshop (*çalıştay* in Turkish) to discuss the draft law on the establishment of the Arts Council of Turkey. The workshop was organized at TÜRKSOY in Ankara, on 3 March 2014. This was also the first time that the draft law was shared officially by the relevant authorities. Thus it became official that the Draft Law consists of the establishment of an Art Institution (TÜSAK), embodying a council-like entity of 11 members in charge of distribution of subsidies for the arts field. With the establishment of TÜSAK, the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet will be shut down and these institutions' assets, ateliers and staff will be dispersed to TÜSAK and various units of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Some of the staff, that are under artist civil servant status, would also apply for their transfer to the related departments of universities or Conservatories as lecturers (Tiy14). The officially declared details of the Draft Law signals the lack of adequate assessment studies and the traces of lack of involvement of the theatre representatives and experts from the field was evident. For instance, even though the reform agenda is presented with a 'liberating' discourse, the lack of a sufficient transition process within the Draft Law would result in a more centrally driven, highly bureaucratic and complex

dispersion of the current structure that would not provide an adequate basis to form a dynamic and new structure that is in charge of the majority if the state subsidies for the arts scene. On the other hand, “the proposed Art Institution which would decide on whom to fund, would be composed of government-appointed personnel, with no mechanism defined to evaluate the appropriateness of its decisions which, ... would actually create a centralized and politically driven authority” (AS14, pg.3).

The meeting was held with various protests. The main critic and strong resistance was against the government authorities’ insistence on the closure of public arts institutions, namely the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet. Following the meeting a revised version of the draft law was communicated with the workshop participants with minor changes compared to the previous version and the closure of the public arts institutions were still on the agenda.

In the end, despite all the strong resistance by the experts, artists, academicians and the wider public in general, the management of the whole process so far demonstrates a strong central government that is following a rigid top-down approach without knowledge transparency. In addition to the lack of inclusive decision-making mechanisms, there is not any platform for negotiations between any type of civil society representatives and the governmental authorities. Unfortunately, the one and only official attempt by the governmental authorities proved to be only a superficial ‘legitimation’ meeting rather than a discussion platform.

On the other hand, apart from the issues of decision making mechanisms regarding cultural policies, there already exist many problems in the arts scene in general. First of all, there is the financial struggle, which also makes state support so important for the survival and sustainability of arts organizations. The financial problems can be explained as a twofold vicious cycle. On the one side, there is the heavy tax burden that is obliged by the State, lack of state funding, potential sponsors’ interests and absence of alternative funding schemes. On the other hand, there is the lack of institutional establishment in the field. Arts organizations depend mostly on voluntary contributions. Consequently, they are mostly unable to create and follow up on alternative financial strategies. Thus,

these organizations are stuck in the controversy between institutionalization pressure, which entails to develop and sustain (at least to some extent) institutional survival strategies that sometimes require the adoption of corporate culture, and the peculiar nature of artistic activities that requires necessary means for artistic freedom.

Besides, the State's discourse has been developing around an alienating rhetoric based on the arts as not serving to the public realm. The arts have been accused of serving only to bourgeoisie of the society and not making any profits, by governmental authorities. One of the potential reasons of such an attitude can be explained as the legitimation of the budget cuts in state subsidies for the arts in general. However, first of all, there is the lack of data to support these arguments. Besides, the aesthetic appreciation is related to the socio-economic conditions, thus position of the individual in the social hierarchy, as Bourdieu (1996) explains. Thus, socio-economic profile of an individual is the major factor affecting his/her interest and participation in the arts. In the case of Turkey, considering the low GDP per capita, low educational profile, long working hours, insufficient social security and other social dependencies, the lack of interest in the arts can be interpreted more as the lack of ability to appreciate and participate in the arts mainly in terms of socio-economic conditions. Therefore, in light of the responsibilities of the State that are defined in the Constitution and also explained above, the main responsible in the case of inaccessibility of the arts for the citizens is not the arts institutions, which are already struggling for survival, but the State itself. Moreover, this responsibility covers both the supply and demand of the arts in general. In other words, since the main authority regarding the welfare of the society is the State, which is also held liable on the issue by the Constitution, it is also the State's responsibility to improve the socio-economic conditions of the citizens that would eventually lead to increased interest and participation in the arts. So, the arts organizations are not only struggling to survive with the financial problems and the lack of interest in general, but also being accused of intentionally excluding lower socio-economic segments of the society, by the governmental authorities, which is actually the main responsible of the situation.

As another major problem, unemployment or unsatisfactory short-term employments without social security, has been increasing with the growing number and popularity of artistic education programmes, while the sector has not been able to offer sufficient number of positions. Accordingly, the status of the arts professionals, their social security and recognition by the legislation need improvements with immediate action. Nevertheless, in order to develop sustainable solutions for the problems of the arts scene, an inclusive approach should be developed for the decision making mechanism regarding cultural policies. Only then, it would be possible to meet the needs of all the stakeholders, sustain and spread a certain level of arts production around the country and harmonize the peculiarities of arts institutions together with the institutionalization pressure.

The need for innovations in the public arts institutions, as well as the establishment of an autonomous arts council is recognized by many professionals working in the field. However, there are two critical points in this regard. First, it is possible for both of the institutional structures, that are public arts institutions and an arts council, to cohabitate for the sake of the arts production in Turkey. Taking into account the dominance of the public arts institutions in the overall production and the lack of arts institutions out of big cities, even though there is an essential need for managerial improvements, closure of these institutions would result in an irreplaceable damage in the arts field of Turkey. For instance, as shown in Chapter 3 the State Theatres generate one third of the overall theatre production in Turkey. This also means that even though the same amount of public funds would be provided for the private theatres, there would not be the necessary institutional framework, accumulated knowledge and experience to replace the same amount of production, also with the same 'quality'. Besides, the arts production would be even more concentrated in the big cities compared to the current situation, since the applicants will be mostly from the arts centres of the country. As far as the State Opera and Ballet is concerned, in case of its closure it would be almost impossible to stage an opera or ballet piece, particularly since an independent opera and ballet scene is non-existent in Turkey, even in the



big cities. Hence, improvements in the state support should be built on sustaining at least the current level of arts production and enhancing the balanced geographical distribution of this production. Nonetheless, the current proposition, that comprises the establishment of an arts council and closure of public arts institutions, would generate adverse outcomes for the overall arts production in Turkey.

Second, there is the lack of trust in the government's agenda, mainly due to the lack of an inclusive decision making process and knowledge transparency. An autonomous arts council would provide more subsidy for independent arts institutions which would boost the arts production of those entities. However, foundation of such an arts council is twofold. Such a council might turn into a governmental control and censorship mechanism over the private arts scene instead of providing support for artistic advancements, in case the autonomy and objectivity of decision making is not guaranteed. Unfortunately, the recent developments in the governmental scene regarding arts support are not reassuring at all. The recent discussions on the last state subsidy scheme for the private theatres with political selection, and the inclusion of articles regarding 'public moral' in the protocol to be signed between the subsidized private theatre and the Ministry, can be regarded as insecure developments for the future of state support mentality. The statements of government officers are also signaling the change in the governmental mentality that recognizes state subsidy as a means to 'buy' artistic services with preconditioned terms, instead of a requirement of the State's social responsibility.

Besides, the conceptual confusion between the government and the state should be clarified and put in practice. Distributing state subsidy in line with the mentality and political positioning of the government, which also hinders the equal opportunity principle of such subsidies, is against the State's liability to assure intellectual development of individuals, and to protect arts and artists. Moreover, even the autonomy of such a council is assured, the infrastructure is not sufficient to offer a geographically balanced distribution of artistic activities across the country.

## Chapter 3

# Measuring the Efficacy of the State Theatres: An Institutional Performance Analysis Framework

### 3.1 Introduction

Since its establishment in 1949, the State Theatres has been recognized as the main initiator of the theatre scene on a national scale in Turkey. It is one of the deep-rooted, oldest public arts institutions with a large number of annual productions and performances, as well as a wide geographical span that is spread in 23 cities with 56 stages in a well balanced way (M12b). Accordingly, theatre professionals are alarmed by the potentially irreversible adverse outcomes of the closure of the State Theatres, with the rising debates on the establishment of TÜSAK. On the other hand, the State Theatres has also been receiving some criticism from the theatre circles, mainly concerning its legislation, bureaucratic structure, working principles and financial inefficiency as a public arts institution. Nevertheless, the efficacy or strengths and weaknesses of the State Theatres have not been demonstrated with a comprehensive assessment study and

the public reports that is prepared by the General Directorate are not sufficient to demonstrate its achievements in line with the public mission.

Therefore, this chapter aims to provide an understanding of the working principles of the State Theatres by examining legislative sources and publicly available reports and analyse the extent to which it succeeds in accomplishing main goals through achievements of this institutional structure. Towards this end, a framework for institutional performance analysis is developed and analysed focusing on three operational areas.

The first section will present a brief history of the State Theatres and summarize its legislative and institutional structure by focusing on organizational and physical structure, employment policy and budget structure. As a public arts institution, the State Theatres is subject to many laws, directly or indirectly, as well as regulations. However, to the best of my knowledge, there is no public source that compiles all the relevant legislation and provides a summary of basic working principles. Thus, it is important to compose such a comprehensive summary on the bureaucratic framework, main working principles and physical structure to better understand achievements of the institution in line with its aims and to facilitate further research in the area.

The second section will provide institutional performance analysis of the State Theatres, through key performance indicators (KPIs). Although such an analysis already exists in the performance programmes of the State Theatres, the rationale behind the chosen performance goals, whether they are fulfilled, how the performance indicators were formed and to what extent those indicators cover the stated goals is unclear. Furthermore, the scope of the indicators chosen is very limited and there is no consideration of prospective strategic implications of those performance analyses for the future. Thus, this section aims to develop a more comprehensive, thorough framework to assess the institutional performance of the State Theatres regarding the chosen operational areas. These operational areas are; (a) artistic achievements and the programme, (b) market and audience development, and (c) financial performance. The first category aims to understand the artistic productivity of the State Theatres by focusing on the programme with a quantitative approach,

due to the complexity and subjectivity of qualitative analysis. KPIs under this category are designed to evaluate whether the State Theatres succeeds in sustaining a certain level of annual artistic productivity to fulfil its aims, despite the growing organizational structure. The second category, market and audience development, focuses on the quantitative significance of the State Theatres within the whole theatre production in Turkey. The contribution of the distinctive characteristics and activities of the State Theatres to the development of the theatre scene in Turkey, particularly to the audience development, will be examined. The last section on financial performance will try to shed light on the recent critiques regarding the financial efficiency of the institution. The intention is to understand how financial measures have changed over time and the impact of inflation on the actual power of the budget. Within this framework, 26 KPIs were defined and analysed, considering the distinctive characteristics and objectives of the institution, in line with the available data.

Finally, the findings will be discussed and insights for development of a more suitable management model for the State Theatres in particular, and state support for the arts in general, will be presented in the conclusion. To the best of my knowledge, this study is a pioneer, providing critical analysis on correspondence between working principles, practices and achievements of the State Theatres in Turkey.

## **3.2 The State Theatres in Turkey**

The formation of the State Theatres in Turkey can be linked to the foundation of the Ankara State Conservatory. This association is mainly due to the lack of infrastructure to sustain institutionalized arts production in the past. Initially, theatre under Western influence, which was intended to be institutionalized by governmental authorities, was developed and sustained by non-Turkish and non-Muslim communities within a limited scope during the late 19th century. Besides, the number of theatre professionals such as actresses, directors and scriptwriters was insufficient to maintain a theatre organization of national scale after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, even though the foundation of a wide-

scale subsidized theatre had been on the political agenda since Ottoman times, this long standing project only became a more viable option after the formation of the Conservatory that could provide adequate resources to sustain artistic production of such an institution.

During the institutionalization process of arts education and production at the beginning of the Republic, Western countries such as Germany and France served as models of inspiration, as in many other fields. Accordingly, there was a flow of artists and government officials sent abroad for training and experience, as well as arts professionals being invited to Turkey from those countries. One of these pioneers, Carl Ebert, was appointed as the Director of the Ankara State Conservatory from the time of its establishment in 1936 to 1947. More specifically, the establishment of the Practice Stage of the Ankara State Conservatory for Theatre and Opera (“Tiyatro ve Opera Tatbikat Sahnesi” in Turkish) in 1940 can be considered as an important step towards the formation of the State Theatres. Following the departure of Carl Ebert, the assignment of Muhsin Ertuğrul, a highly influential figure as both an artist and a director, as the Director of the Practice Stage of the Conservatory in 1947, was another crucial development in the history of the theatre scene in Turkey that facilitated the establishment of a national theatre. In the year of Muhsin Ertuğrul’s appointment as Director, the Small Theatre was established, followed by the Big Theatre in the subsequent year. The inauguration of new stages, upcoming arts professionals being educated in the Conservatory and abroad, together with the strong vision of the cultural policies that focused on building up a nation culture, led to the foundation of the State Theatres in 1949 sanctioned by the law on the Establishment of State Theatre (Law No. 5441). Initially, it was established as the State Theatre and Opera. After nine years, it was renamed as the State Theatres. However, the State Opera and Ballet operated as a department connected to the State Theatres even after 1958, until the law on the Establishment of the General Directorate of the State Opera and Ballet (Law No. 1309) was designated in 1970.

However, during this establishment process, the main reasons and aims behind the foundation of such a public performing arts institution

are not clearly defined. This is of crucial importance since the existence of public institutions is related to governmental policy agendas which might be affected by attitude shifts as governments change. For instance, there is no article in Law No. 5441 explaining the aims on which the institution is built in spite of its being the main legislative source on matters concerning the State Theatres. In general, it can be observed in the legislation that duties and authorities of the State Theatres are given more priority than the mission and objectives. Under such circumstances, the aims of the State Theatres are open to different interpretations and accordingly the institution becomes more vulnerable to negative impacts of political interventions under changing government mentalities. On the other hand, the annual reports of the State Theatres Management contains a detailed list of “objectives and goals of the administration”. (Please see 3 for the objectives and goals of the administration) However, these aims do not fully reflect all aspects of the public mission of the institution clearly, such as improving the accessibility of theatre for disadvantaged groups in society. Furthermore, the feasibility and fulfilment of these goals are not elaborated upon coherently in the annual reports with justifications. In order to strengthen the stance of the State Theatres and demonstrate its achievements in line with the defined aims, annual reports and performance programmes are of great importance. Thus, those tools can be utilized in a more effective way, particularly considering the gap in the legislation on justifications of the State Theatres as a public arts institution.

**Table 3: Objectives and Goals of the ST Administration**

<b>STAGING ARTWORKS</b>	
<b>Strategic Objective - 1</b>	<b>Staging artworks that unify people and, comprise social and fundamental values</b>
Goal 1.1	To devote minimum 15 % of local plays, which comprise 50 % of the repertoire, to new plays.
Goal 1.2	To stage one local, one foreign classic piece that has not been in the repertoire before, on annual basis.

*Source: 2012 Annual Report of the ST*

*Continued on next page*

**Table 3: Objectives and Goals of the ST Administration**

Goal 1.3	To reach 10.000 children who have never been to theatre before on annual basis.
Goal 1.4	To stage a big musical production every year.
Goal 1.5	To generate minimum one new theatre script with different understandings and new techniques on annual basis.
<b>QUALIFIED PROLIFERATION</b>	
<b>Strategic Objective - 2</b>	<b>Qualified proliferation</b>
Goal 2.1	To bring theatre to every city on annual basis.
Goal 2.2	To carry out summer season every year.
Goal 2.3	To obtain parcels of land in big cities with the aim of building theatre houses.
Goal 2.4	To double the number of tours to Europe and Asia every year.
Goal 2.5	To develop minimum three common projects with central and settled theatre directorates every year.
Goal 2.6	To organize regular tours every month to the places in Europe, where there is a large Turkish population.
Goal 2.7	To stage minimum one play in every continent on annual basis.
Goal 2.8	To open new stages in four more cities where there is a university, in addition to the existing settled stages.
Goal 2.9	To stage plays on continuous and regular basis in two more cities with a population of more than 1 million, every year.
Goal 2.10	To open minimum one more stage every year in a city with a population of more than 2 million.
<b>NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FESTIVALS</b>	
<b>Strategic Objective - 3</b>	<b>To organize national and international festivals</b>

*Source: 2012 Annual Report of the ST*

*Continued on next page*

**Table 3: Objectives and Goals of the ST Administration**

Goal 3.1	To improve and organize "Little Ladies and Gentlemen International Children Theatre Festival" every year. (The General Directorate)
Goal 3.2	To improve and organize "The State Theatres – Sabancı International Theatre Festival" every year. (Adana ST)
Goal 3.3	To improve and organize "International Black Sea Theatre Festival" every year. (Trabzon ST)
Goal 3.4	To improve and organize "Orhan Asena Local Plays Festival" every year. (Diyarbakır ST)
Goal 3.5	To organize "Akdamar Children Theatre Festival" at regional and national level every year. (Van ST)
Goal 3.6	To organize "National Theatres Festival" in Ankara every year.
Goal 3.7	To organize "A Thousand Breaths One Voice Turkish Speaking Countries Theatre Festival" in Konya.
Goal 3.8	To organize "International Antique Theatre Festival" in Izmir and Antalya in coordination on biennial basis.
Goal 3.9	To organize "Balkan Countries International Theatre Festival" in Bursa every year.
Goal 3.10	To carry out "Social Responsibility International Theatre Project" in collaboration with Düzce Municipality every year.
Goal 3.11	To carry out "Floating Stage Project" every year.
Goal 3.12	To carry out "Wagon Project" every year.
<b>INVESTMENT TO FUTURE</b>	
<b>Strategic Objective - 4</b>	<b>To improve children and youth theatre</b>
Goal 4.1	To carry out two children play productions in every region.

*Source: 2012 Annual Report of the ST*

*Continued on next page*



**Table 3: Objectives and Goals of the ST Administration**

Goal 4.2	To perform minimum two children and two youth plays in every city, where there is no settled directorate.
Goal 4.3	To perform minimum one youth play in every settled region.
Goal 4.4	To create spaces in off-center universities for performing minimum one play every year, in cities where there are regional directorates.
<b>INVESTMENT TO FUTURE</b>	
<b>Strategic Objective - 5</b>	<b>To carry out big productions which only the State Theatres can dare</b>
Goal 5.1	To create a unique Turkish musical until 2011 that is as good as international examples.
Goal 5.2	To perform a world famous, popular musical every year.
Goal 5.3	To generate a project in collaboration with worldwide renowned theatres, every year.
Goal 5.4	To generate "names" project with a worldwide renown director every year.
<b>ACQUISITION OF ABILITIES</b>	
<b>Strategic Objective - 6</b>	<b>To raise the professional education level of artists, technical and managerial staff</b>
Goal 6.1	To send three artists abroad every year, in order to meet the deficit of directors (for one year).
Goal 6.2	To send minimum 12 artists to workshops abroad, every year.
Goal 6.3	To develop joint projects by organizing acting workshops in minimum two regions, every year.
Goal 6.4	To send two designers abroad for training every year.
Goal 6.5	To send minimum 15 staff members to language education every year.

*Source: 2012 Annual Report of the ST*

*Continued on next page*

**Table 3: Objectives and Goals of the ST Administration**

Goal 6.6	To attend minimum one expert fair abroad every year.
Goal 6.7	To organize minimum four seminars/workshops every year, for the individual development of the administrative staff.
Goal 6.8	To invite minimum two renowned theatre professionals from abroad every year, in order to improve professional efficiency of the technical staff.
Goal 6.9	To attend national fairs with three representatives from each region every year.
Goal 6.10	To send three administrative staff abroad for one-month trainings every year.

Translated from (Mİ2b)

The mission of the State Theatres is defined as; “fulfilling the cultural needs of society in light of the principles of the Republic, to improve Turkish language, to make theatre more widespread and to contribute to the raising of individuals with universal values”, while the vision is “to contribute to the raising of individuals who watch, listen, read, and understand on the territory where theatre was born, and to become a pioneer theatre centre of the world” (Mİ2b). Accordingly, it can be deduced that the functionality of theatre has been given more importance than the artistic goals. This is an expected approach, considering the power of the arts to transform society and shape the national identity, as well as the nature of public institutions.

In keeping with this, the main policies and priorities of the State Theatres are defined as follows;

- To follow an inclusive and modern approach in the management and decision-making processes,
- Historical and cultural developments should be followed closely, importance will be given to collaboration, cooperation and sharing through considering the demands of scientific and cultural life, and

stakeholders,

- To improve staff capacity in order to rapidly and effectively keep up with the changing conditions and works,
- The working conditions will be improved, and promotions will be based on competencies.

As far as the above mentioned priorities are concerned, only information on the collaborative projects with external actors and staff capacity-building activities was provided in the annual reports and other available public documents. There is no further clarification on the conformity between those policies and priorities on the one side, and, activities along with management procedures on the other.

Additionally, the main duties of the State Theatres are;

- The General Directorate can organize national and international festivals and tours in and out of the country, with the approval of the Minister of Culture and Tourism,
- The General Directorate can establish theatres in Ankara and other selected places in the country within the capacity of financial, managerial or technical resources, merge or shut down the existing theatres,
- Theatres that are established out of Ankara or Istanbul in connection with the General Directorate can operate with artists and specialist officers on their own staff or with ones sent from the centre, under a manager, preferably a theatre director, along with being assigned for tours,
- The General Directorate of the State Theatres is entitled to send artists and other civil servants with administrative contracts abroad to improve their experience, knowledge and expertise, for a maximum of one year once every five years. The Arts and Management Board is in charge of these issues. [Law No. 5441, 1949]

In line with its priorities and duties, the main products of the State Theatres can be summarized as; plays at the settled stages, national and international tours, children and youth plays, national and international festivals, translations and adaptations of foreign plays, the production of new local plays, the inauguration of new stages, and social responsibility projects.

The State Theatres can be defined as one of the oldest state-supported arts institutions in Turkey. Over time since 1949, it has become the most wide-spread and large scale theatre in Turkey, with continuous state-support, the greatest number of permanent staff and production ateliers and a total number of 56 stages in 23 cities.

Taking the above-mentioned institutional framework into account, the following subsections aim to provide a summary of the legislative and institutional structure of the State Theatres by focusing on three aspects; organizational and physical structure, employment policy and budget structure.

### **3.2.1 Legislative and Institutional Structure**

As explained in 2.3.2, the State is entitled as not only the main protector but also the main initiator of the arts by the legislation in Turkey, as a developing country where the private / independent arts establishment is relatively weaker compared to that of developed countries. Thus, the establishment of the State Theatres should be considered within this framework as a part of artistic public services. It was formed with a legal personality and private budget under Law No. 5441 entitled “The Law on the Establishment of the State Theatres” in 1949. This Law, which is composed of 26 Articles, 7 Additional Articles and 5 Temporary Articles, defines the basic working principles and the institutional structure of the State Theatres.

As can be seen in Table 4, the legislation regarding the State Theatres Directorate consists of Law no 5441 on the Establishment of the State Theatres and eight regulations. Additionally, there are also other laws, which are not prepared exclusively for the State Theatres but which affect

**Table 4:** Legislation regarding the State Theatres General Directorate

<b>Laws</b>		<b>Date of Enactment</b>
1	Law No. 5441 on the Establishment of the Establishment of the State Theatres	16/06/1949
<b>Regulations</b>		
1	Regulation on Raising the State Theatres General Directorate Civil Servant Candidates	15/02/1988
2	The State Theatres General Directorate Archives Regulation	27/02/1990
3	The State Theatres General Directorate Discipline Chiefs Regulation	12/09/1996
4	The State Theatres General Directorate In-Service Training Regulation	22/01/1985
5	The State Theatres General Directorate Staff Promotion and Change in Title Regulation	10/10/2005
6	Regulation on the State Theatres General Directorate Accounting and Movables Accounting Calculation Methods	
7	The State Theatres General Directorate Personnel Recording Chiefs Regulation	27/02/1987
8	Regulation on the Contributions by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to the Projects of Local Administrations, Associations and Foundations	15/03/2007

Source: (DT)

it as a public institution. These are the Civil Servants Law (No 657), the Court of Accounts Law (No. 832), the Public Procurement Law (No. 4734), the Public Procurement Contracts Law (No. 4735), the Law on Tariffs of Public Institutions and Establishments Products and Services, and Modifying Some Laws (No. 4736), the Law on Obtaining Information (No. 4982), the Public Financial Management and Control Law (No 5018), annual budget laws, other laws and secondary level legislation (Mİ2a).

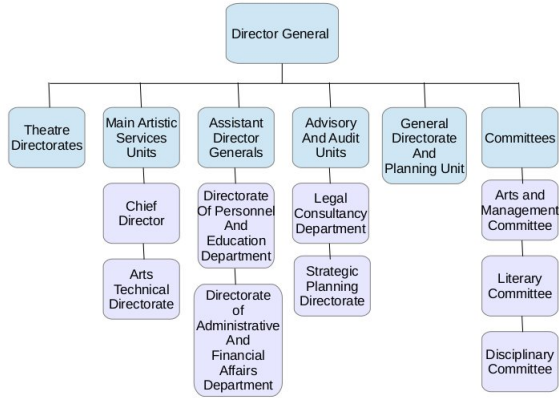
Nevertheless, the actuality and sufficiency of legislation for practical application regarding the arts in general and the State Theatres in particu-

lar is very much under debate by theatre professionals. Accordingly, this section aims to briefly summarize and develop a better understanding of the legislation in line with the existing institutional structure and practices of the State Theatres. It is of crucial importance to understand how working principles are defined before proceeding with the institutional performance analysis of the State Theatres.

### **Organizational and Physical Structure**

The Directorate of the State Theatres was established in 1949, in Ankara under Law No. 5441. It has a legal personality that is connected to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The organization is composed of main and support service units (Please see Figure 2 for the organizational structure of the General Directorate). There are three committees in the Directorate; the Arts and Management Committee, the Literary Committee, and the Disciplinary Committee. The Arts and Management Committee is composed of the head of the Literary Committee, the chief artistic director, the arts technical manager, the director of music and a State Theatres artist assigned by the Director General. The head of the Committee is the Director General. This Committee is in charge of the artistic and technical works of the State Theatres, as well as other duties that are defined under Law 5441. The Literary Committee, which is composed of the Director General, the chief artistic director, the chief dramaturg, an artist of the State Theatres and three prominent figures from the arts and literature field, is responsible for the repertoire of the State Theatres. Lastly, the Disciplinary Committee reviews disciplinary issues within the institution. The chief artistic director, legal consultant, personnel manager and an artist representative from the State Theatres staff, who is elected by employees in a secret ballot, make up this board. The head of the Disciplinary Committee is the Director General or one of the Assistant Director Generals. [Law No. 5441, 1949]

Apart from the management of the General Directorate, the institutional structure of the State Theatres, such as the provincial organizations, is not explained in detail in the Law. For instance, the provincial theatres are only mentioned vaguely among the duties of the General Directorate



**Figure 1:** Organizational Structure of the General Directorate of the ST

Source: (Mİ2b)

as follows; “The General Directorate can establish theatres in Ankara and other selected places of the country within financial, managerial or technical resources, merge or shut down the existing theatres. Theatres established out of Ankara and Istanbul in connection with the General Directorate, can operate with artists and specialist officers on their own staff or with the ones sent from the centre (the General Directorate), under a manager, preferably a theatre director, along with being assigned for the tours” [Law No. 5441, 1949]. Furthermore, annual reports do not provide further details concerning the management of provincial organizations and their operational links with the General Directorate. It is only stated that “provincial organizations are managed by an art director and assistant art directors at city level” (Mİ2b, pg.4).

All in all, it can be summarized that the State Theatres is built around a central and bureaucratic legislative framework by Law No. 5441, focusing mainly on the centre, that is, the General Directorate in Ankara. Managerial issues for provincial organizations and their relation with the Directorate are not well clarified either in legislation or in annual reports of the State Theatres.

Therefore, it can be claimed that even though the organizational structure of the State Theatres is set up on a dual system, the General Directorate in Ankara and regional organizations in other cities (Please see 5 for the list of provincial organizations in 2012), the dominance of the General Directorate as the centre, in addition to the lack of statements about institutional aims and objectives in the legislation result in omission of organizational clarifications for provincial organizations, as well as insufficient reflection of their importance in the documents. Furthermore, the heavy central managerial approach increases the bureaucracy within the institution and harms the dynamic managerial structure's capacity to increase institution's adaptability.

**Table 5:** List of the Regional Organizations of the ST

1	Ankara State Theatre
2	Adana State Theatre
3	Antalya State Theatre
4	Aydın State Theatre
5	Bursa State Theatre
6	Çorum State Theatre
7	Denizli State Theatre
8	Diyarbakır State Theatre
9	Elazığ State Theatre
10	Erzurum State Theatre
11	Gaziantep State Theatre
12	İstanbul State Theatre
13	İzmir State Theatre
14	Kahramanmaraş State Theatre
15	Konya State Theatre
16	Malatya State Theatre
17	Ordu State Theatre
18	Rize State Theatre
19	Samsun State Theatre
20	Sivas State Theatre
21	Trabzon State Theatre
22	Van State Theatre
23	Zonguldak State Theatre



On the other hand, as mentioned in Article 19 of Law No. 5441, “contract premium, medical treatment, dismissal and death compensations, military service, vacation, freelance activities out of the State Theatres during summer holidays, travelling allowance, research trips and disciplinary issues of artists, as well as bringing foreign artists and groups, and internal and managerial affairs of the Theatre are specified under a statute” [Article 19, Law No. 5441, 1949]. Nevertheless, the statute has not been put in action yet since the establishment of the State Theatres. The absence of such a statute hinders the autonomy of the institution and creates tension between the management and the staff, mainly regarding the working conditions in general, and the status and rights of temporary staff in particular. While there is no explanation in the publicly available official documents of the State Theatres, according to the information provided by the unions (KÜLTÜR SANAT-SEN, TOMEK, TOBAV, İŞIK- DER and SANTEK-DER) a draft statute was prepared by the unions and democratic mass organizations of the field, and submitted to the General Directorate of the State Theatres on 24 March 2010. Nonetheless, there has not been a satisfactory progress to reach a mutual agreement on the issue since then.

Due to the absence of such a statute, the State Theatres acted according to the Directive on the Duties and Practices during the period 2002 to 2008. The Directive was prepared by the management and put in action with the approval of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The issues covered under this Directive are those which should be subject to a statute as defined in Article 19 of Law No. 5441. The main problem for the State Theatres to proceed in line with a directive instead of a statute can be seen as impaired autonomy of the institution, since the directive is under the enforcement of the Minister of Culture and Tourism, as mentioned in Article 57 of the desuetude Directive. The major discussion on the issue appeared after the enactment of a new Directive prepared by the Interim General Director, Ms Mine Acar, which came into force with the approval of the Minister on 6 January 2006. The main criticism was that the Interim Director had the intention of taking advantage of the position to make changes in the Directive for personal gain by opening the way for

herself to become the Director General on a permanent basis. The Culture and Arts Labour Union brought the case to the Presidency of the Council of State as an administrative suit. Eventually, the Fifth Administrative Law Chamber of the Council of State abolished the Directive, stating that arranging issues that should be subject to a statute by a directive is contrary to the Law. Nevertheless, there remains the need for preparing a statute with an inclusive approach for organization of internal and managerial affairs of the State Theatres.

Furthermore, another link that augments the highly bureaucratic organizational structure and diminishes the autonomy of the State Theatres is the relation with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. First of all, the Ministry is closely involved in the selection of the top management as stated in the Law No. 5441. The Director General is appointed by a joint government order on the proposal of the Minister. The chief director, assistant director generals and foreign experts are also chosen by the Minister on the proposal of the Director General of the State Theatres. Besides, three members of the Literary Committee are selected by the Minister. As far as the activities are concerned, the State Theatres needs the approval of the Minister to organize national and international tours and festivals in and out of the country. Dependence on the Minister for such decisions hinders the efficacy and efficiency of the State Theatres by creating extra layers of bureaucracy. More importantly, the State Theatres becomes vulnerable to political changes, examples of which have been observed throughout the management history of the institution. For instance, the governmental structure to deal with artistic and cultural issues has changed 14 times since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and those governmental changes have affected the State Theatres management adversely, due to repercussions of changes in the top management. A recent example can be drawn from the the latest appointment of Minister of Culture and Tourism in 24 January 2013, Mr Ömer Çelik, who immediately asked for the resignation of all top-level bureaucrats in the Ministry. The only one who did not resign was the Director General of the State Theatres, Mr Lemi Bilgin. Mr Bilgin's stance was also supported by the public declaration of the State Theatre, Opera and Ballet Employees Foundation (TOBAV). In

this declaration, it was stated that the State Theatres is not a political but an artistic institution, and it would be an incorrect approach to treat the Directorate of the State Theatres as other bureaucratic positions (Hay13). In the end, Mr Lemi Bilgin was dismissed from the position of the General Director of the State Theatres by the Ministry at the end of May 2013 (Zam13, Erd13, Erb13).

**Table 6:** Physical Assets of the State Theatres

<b>Type</b>	<b>Total number</b>
Study / working room	275
Conference room	2
Ticket office	48
Santral	9
Archives	13
Meeting room	7
Menza / Cafeteria	3
Storage	97
Resort	4
Reading room	6
Library	1
Service vehicle	36

Source: (Mİ2b).

Nevertheless, despite the legislative and managerial deficiencies, as well as obstacles to managerial improvements, the State Theatres can be acknowledged as the main theatre pioneer on a national scale due to its extensive physical structure. Its balanced geographical span around Turkey encompasses 56 stages and production ateliers in 23 cities. Apart from these settled entities, the State Theatres reaches a wider geographical range and more diverse audience through tours and festivals. Continuous growth is also highlighted in the aims and objectives of the administration. Accordingly, the State Theatres is a substantial institution with a strong physical establishment (Please see Table 6), fostering theatre all around Turkey. This establishment not only focuses on staging facilities but also production ateliers, which enhances the self-sufficiency of the State

Theatres and assures an accumulation of knowledge and expertise within the institutions regarding every aspect of a play's production. For instance, the Macunkoy Facilities of the State Theatres, comprising 15 ateliers as well as costume, textile and accessory storehouses, have been built with this aim. Having such an asset also facilitates a reduction in production costs, while providing more freedom in terms of design and staging from an artistic point of view.

### **Employment Policy**

Employment framework of the State Theatres is the most extensively defined issue in legislation. The status of different types of employees, their rights, the recruitment process are very well explained.

There is a clear hierarchy in the employment structure. The Director General of the State Theatres is appointed on the proposal of the Minister of Culture and Tourism, with a joint decree, in line with the terms of Article 59 of the Law No. 657 regarding Civil Servants. "The Chief Director, Assistant Director Generals, and foreign experts are appointed on the proposal of the Director General, by the Minister of Culture and Tourism. 3 members of the Literary Committee that are from the arts and literature field are appointed by the Minister of Culture and Tourism, while the member from artists of the State Theatre is appointed by the Director General. All other types of position within the State Theatres staff are appointed by the Director General." [Law No. 5441, 1949]

There are three types of employment status in the State Theatres; artists with civil servant status, implementer expert civil servants, and expert civil servants. What is striking here is that the permanent employees of the State Theatres are considered as civil servants. This is a widely discussed issue in the theatre scene, since the "civil servant" status and mentality of the artists is mostly perceived as an obstacle to freedom and creativity in the arts.

On the other hand, there is a well-developed internship recruitment process that supports the sustainability of the State Theatres in terms of well-trained staff. The primary condition to get an internship position is to be a graduate of the State Conservatory. After one year of paid internship,

the candidates take an exam administered by the Arts and Management Committee. Subject to satisfactory performance in the examination, they are accepted as artists and recruited with administrative contracts. Those who fail the exam are given a second chance after another year of paid internship.

Other prospective employees who will be recruited for the first time with administrative contracts, including artists, implementer experts and experts, are also required to pass an exam set by the Arts and Management Committee. The only exception is for artists who already have a respectable national reputation. They can be recruited with administrative contracts following the approval of the Board. [Article 7, Law No. 5441, 1949] However, no criteria regarding this reputation is specified in the Law.

Wage policy is also another well-defined issue in the Law. The Arts and Management Board is in charge of salary changes. As far as the amounts are concerned, the Director General has a monthly wage that is equal to the maximum artist civil servant salary in addition to an amount that is decided by the Council of Ministers. Other monthly wages are as follow;

- 1200 TL for interns,
- 800 - 3500 TL for expert civil servants,
- 1000 - 4250 TL for implementer expert civil servants,
- 1500 - 5500 TL for artist civil servants.

Additionally, there are social security benefits and extra payments, for instance during tours or in the event of a second duty. Furthermore, since in-service training is one of the priorities of the State Theatres Directorate, staff members also have the opportunity to attend training sessions and workshops in and out of the country.

## **Budget Structure**

As a public arts institution, the budget of the State Theatres is constituted from state subsidies and planned, approved and operated with the in-

volvement of other public authorities designated by Law. “Following the preparation of annual budget by the Management Committee, it is approved with the positive opinions of the Ministry of Finance, by the Ministry of Culture.” [Article 15, Law No. 5441, 1949].

The sources of income of the State Theatres are also defined in Article 12 of Law No. 5441 as follows;

1. The subsidy from the “Expenses of education institutions” of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism budget that is allocated from the General Budget,
2. Ticket revenues,
3. Revenues from the promotional and informative publications,
4. Donations by special provincial administrations and municipalities, benefiting from theatre activities,
5. All types of donations and other miscellaneous incomes,
6. The revenues from national and international festivals.

Moreover, there are also other types of benefits in kind that are defined in Law, concerning budget. For instance, public buildings can be assigned to the State Theatre for free on proposal of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism by the Ministry of Finance. Additionally, revenues and proceedings of the State Theatres are exempt from every type of tax, as well as fees. External audit of the State Theatres regarding financial issues is proceeded by the Court of Auditors.

At this point, it should be noted that there is no limitation on the share of the state subsidy within the State Theatres’ budget either in the legislation or in regulations. Similarly, there is no mention of the other important financial issues, fund-raising and sponsorship.

### **3.3 Performance Analysis**

Mr Ertugrul Gunay, who served as Minister of Culture and Tourism from August 2007 to January 2013, states in his presentation of the State The-

atres' Performance Programme 2012 that; "in line with Law No. 5018 on Public Financial Management and Control, our financial management and control system has been reorganised on the principles of financial discipline, accountability, and financial transparency; it is anticipated that the public agencies will use their resources effectively, economically and efficiently ..., to head towards performance measures and assessment with a result-oriented approach, and to realize a planned budget management" (Mí2a, pg.1). Accordingly, the Strategic Planning Directorate within the General Directorate of the State Theatres is in charge of preparing strategic plans for the prospective year and serving as an advisory and auditing unit to the General Directorate, along with provincial organizations. However, how systematically these tasks are managed and the extent to which they are integrated for the upcoming year's aims as well as the managerial structure is questionable. That is mainly due to lack of clarification concerning criteria, prospects and their correspondence with the activities in the publicly available reports.

In the performance programmes of the State Theatres, it was mentioned that six strategic objectives and forty three strategic goals were defined for the 2009-2013 Strategic Plan. Accordingly, five performance goals and twelve performance indicators were determined. "The purpose of KPIs is to focus the board and senior management on monitoring aspects of the arts organization's performance and development which are considered of greatest significance. This monitoring process builds knowledge which will inform future planning and target-setting, and provides early indications of success or problems" (SG12, pg.54). However, in the performance programmes of the State Theatres, these twelve very generic performance indicators were shown in tables, along with related budget amounts, without any explanation. Thus, it remains unclear why only five performance goals were chosen, whether they were fulfilled, how the performance indicators were formed and to what extent these indicators cover the stated goals. Furthermore, there is nothing about prospective strategic implications of this performance analysis for the future of the State Theatres. As a consequence, the performance analysis of the State Theatres mostly generates weakly related data rather than

providing useful information for prospective managerial decisions.

For instance, as far as the first performance goal, “staging plays that comprise social and fundamental values”, is concerned, two performance indicators are specified; (a) the share of local plays within the programme, and (b) the share of new local plays within the programme. The controversial point here is that the goal concerns the content of plays, while the indicators deal with quantity. Besides, it is a biased approach to associate social and fundamental values only with the local plays as implicitly stated in the performance indicators, while they might also be conveyed by foreign plays. Hence, developing such a nationally limited approach would not fit into the vision of a pioneer public arts institution.

Accordingly, it can be claimed that the State Theatres cannot benefit from an exhaustive performance analysis. The publicly available documents mostly fail to elaborate on the link between aims and the results of the activities. Ultimately, the extent to which the goals are achieved with the activities, which is of crucial importance to indicate the success of the institution, is not sufficiently demonstrated. Besides, it is also essential regarding the accountability of a public arts institution that is largely supported by state subsidies. Therefore, this section aims to understand the institutional performance of the State Theatres through more comprehensive analysis.

Defining KPIs for a public arts institution involves many challenges. In the first place, it is difficult to arrive at a common understanding of a good performance in order to define performance goals. Different stakeholders may have different priorities in this respect. For instance, there is the challenge of measuring “artistic” success, which is a subjective concept. Besides, social responsibilities come before financial efficiency in the case of the State Theatres. Accordingly, measuring financial performance is controversial since the financial achievements are not defined as a priority for the establishment of the State Theatres, as a public institution. However, there is pressure from politicians for more financial efficiency and some public reaction that the civil servant mentality hinders the productivity of the institution and that the production costs are too high due to the guaranteed resources. Thus, finding a fair balance between those



two operational areas considering priorities and contemporary needs is difficult. Another challenge is the lack of data, market and audience research, in order to constitute the basis for performance analysis.

In the case of the State Theatres, it is not sufficient to follow the strategic objectives and goals of the Administration (as can be seen on 3) in order to develop a comprehensive framework for institutional performance analysis. Because the publicly available data does not fully provide the basis for examining each goal and those goals do not embrace all the crucial aspects of the institution, such as financial measures. Thus, all those challenges have been taken into account and it was decided to follow a strategy based on measuring institutional performance in chosen operational areas rather than following the strategic objectives. Accordingly, in line with the objectives scheme and availability of data, 26 KPIs were defined in three main operational areas. Those operational areas are; (a) Artistic achievements and programme, (b) Market and audience development, and (c) Financial performance. The aim is to develop a framework for assessing the institutional performance, thus achievements and problems of the State Theatres. Furthermore, it is intended to address the main characteristics of the State Theatres as a public arts institution and, the needs of the current debates regarding its achievements and productivity. In order to grasp a better understanding of the changing performance over time, the time span of the analysis covers the seasons from 2009 to 2012, according to the availability of data.

The first category aims to understand the artistic productivity of the State Theatres by focusing on the programme. The composition of the program, number of productions and performances will be analysed on an annual basis. However, the analysis is limited to a quantitative approach, due to the complexity and subjectivity of qualitative analysis. The only indicator that implicitly refers to the qualitative artistic achievements of the State Theatres is the number of awards that demonstrates the recognition of the institution within the theatre scene in Turkey. Other relevant indicators are formed to understand whether the State Theatres has managed to sustain a certain level of annual artistic productivity to fulfil its aims, despite the continuously growing organizational structure.

The second category, market and audience development, focuses on the quantitative significance of the State Theatres within the theatre scene as a whole in Turkey. Initially, it should be noted that the term “market”, refers more to the positioning of the State Theatres in a wider sense than purely in commercial terms. Additionally, the distinctive characteristics of the State Theatres compared to other types of theatre will be highlighted, and the extent to which these characteristics contribute to the development of the theatre scene in Turkey, particularly to the audience development, will be examined.

The last section on financial performance will try to shed light on the recent critiques regarding the financial efficiency of the institution. Following a brief discussion about the establishment of the budget structure of the State Theatres as a public arts institution, budget measures will be analysed. The purpose is to understand how the average financial measures per unit of different items change over time and the impact of inflation on the actual spending power of the budget.

KPIs under the three categories can be seen in 7. At this point, it should be noted that both the categories and chosen KPIs within this framework can be improved for better assessment of the State Theatres’ institutional performance. Principally, they are limited to a quantitative approach. Thus, there is the need to also develop qualitative measures, which also requires further research to collect relevant data in order to enhance the analysis. For instance, artistic achievements are not examined in terms of their content or success, but solely by the numbers and percentages within the programme. Likewise, financial performance KPIs are not able to demonstrate efficiency. They can capture only the average measures to give a general idea about the budgetary amounts and tendencies, which also provide useful data for further comparative analysis with other theatres, and track their changes over time. Additionally, there is a need for deeper market research to incorporate the audience profile and its satisfaction regarding the activities on a more precise basis. Nevertheless, it is argued that the chosen KPIs are sufficient to understand institutional productivity and achievements of the State Theatres in quantitative terms, its significance within the theatre scene in Turkey as a whole, and the

financial power it has. The results of the analysis have the potential to provide valuable inputs for both policy makers and managerial prospects of the institution, while fostering further research on the subject. The KPIs analysed in this paper can also be used as comparative measures with other theatres and sectors. The following sections will provide analysis of the KPIs according to operational areas.

**Table 7: Operational Areas and KPIs**

<b>Operational Area</b>	<b>Key Performance Indicators</b>
Artistic Achievements and Programme	Total number of plays
	Total number of performances
	Total number of plays per stage
	Total number of performances per play
	Total number of performances (on settled stages) per stage
	Total number and percentage of local and foreign plays
	Total number and percentage of new plays
	National tours (total number of tours, cities, plays, performances and audience)
	International tours (total number of tours, countries, plays, performances and audience)
	Festivals (total number of performances, audience, fullness ratio and ticket revenues)
	Total number and percentage of children & youth plays
Awards	
Market and Audience Development	Number of cities and stages
	Number of audience (the ST stages, national tours, international tours, total, % of the population)
	% of the ST audience (the ST stages plus national tours) within the whole population
	% of ST plays within the theatre scene in Turkey
	% of ST performances within the theatre scene in Turkey

*Continued on next page*

**Table 7: Operational Areas and KPIs**

Financial performance	% of ST audience within the theatre scene in Turkey
	Online services (e.g. website hits, social media levels of engagement, members, followers)
	Ticket price policy (price comparison, privileges for disadvantaged groups)
	Income dependency and self-sufficiency
	% of the state subsidy within the total revenues
	% of ticket revenues within the total revenues
	Expenditures
	% changes in revenues and expenditures (with and without inflation rates)
	State subsidy per audience
	Total budget per play (amount, % change, % with inflation)
Total budget per performance (amount, % change, % with inflation)	
Total budget per stage (amount, % change, % with inflation)	
Total budget per city (amount, % change, % with inflation)	

### 3.3.1 Artistic Achievements and Programme

The majority of the strategic objectives of the Administration concern the artistic achievements and programme of the State Theatres. Therefore, it is of crucial importance to examine the achievements in this category and to understand whether the State Theatres is able to sustain a certain level of annual artistic productivity to fulfil its aims, despite the continuously growing organizational structure, which is also a part of the strategic objectives. Nevertheless, as a result of the complexity and subjectivity of qualitative analysis, as well as the lack of available data on qualitative artistic measures, the analysis pursues a quantitative approach. The only indicator that implicitly refers to the qualitative artistic achievements of the State Theatres is the number of awards that demonstrates the recognition of the institution within the theatre scene in Turkey.

**Table 8: Programme**

	<b>Number of Plays</b>				
	New Plays	Local Plays	Translation	Children	Total
<b>2009 - 2010</b>	84	92	54	35	146
<b>2010 - 2011</b>	74	75	60	29	135
<b>2011 - 2012</b>	86	72	80	34	152

This table was formed with data taken from (M10), (M11) and (M12b).

### **Total number of plays**

The total number of plays is one of the indicators demonstrating the overall artistic productivity of the institution, while providing an indication of the variety of the programme. It is also a measure for understanding the scale of the institution. The State Theatres is recognized as the biggest theatre in Turkey, as it comprises a number of provincial organizations in addition to the General Directorate in Ankara. Accordingly, a high number of plays are staged every year.

Initially, it is worthy of note that there was a 16.8 % increase in the total number of plays performed during 2009-2010 season compared with the previous season of 2008-2009 that is not actually covered by the analysis presented in this paper. Due to the special agenda of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the State Theatres management regarding the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the ST in 2009, the total number of plays increased to 146 from 125. Another reflection of the anniversary agenda was the increasing number of new stages for the preparations. These inaugurations boosted the number of plays and performances as well. However, in the following season, 2010 - 2011, the total number of plays showed a 7.5 % decrease in the program, which is also reflected on the composition of the programme. It can be assumed that this decline was due to the change in the agenda of the artistic directorate, giving more priority to increasing the number of performances per play, which may also be related to austerity measures since producing more plays is more costly than increasing the number of performances per play. During

the 2011 - 2012 season, the total number of plays rose to 152 representing a 12.6 % increase (Please see 8 for the details).

These numbers show that the State Theatres is capable of offering a high number of plays every year to theatre audience around Turkey.

### **Total number of performances**

The total number of performances is important to understand the capability of the institution to disseminate its productions. Additionally, as the number of performances increases, the size of potential audience increases as well. In this sense, the State Theatres supplies an increasing number of performances for the audience every year.

Despite the volatility in the total number of plays, there is a steady increase in the total number of performances, in every season from 2009 to 2012 (Please see 9 for the details). As for the 2010 - 2011 season, despite the decline in the total number of plays, the total number of performances increased to 5785, from 5625 in the previous year. When all the seasons from 2009 to 2012 are taken into account, it can be seen that the total number of performances showed a similar increase in each year; 160 and 161.

Accordingly, it can be claimed that, in addition to providing a high number of performances every year around Turkey, the State Theatres succeeded in sustaining a significant level of annual increase in its performances.

### **Average number of plays per stage**

The proportional measures are essential as complementary KPIs in order to grasp the programme changes among seasons and actual institutional performance in detail. Furthermore, these proportional measures display per unit productivity and enable comparison with smaller institutions at micro level.

This KPI exhibits productivity per stage and suggests the variety in the programme at this level. Despite the high total number of plays in the State Theatres, the average number of plays per stage, which is 3 over

the period 2009 - 2012, appears to be an area for improvement (Please see 9 for the details). However, it should be noted that increasing the number of plays is subject to the priorities of the artistic management. It might be preferable to increase the number of performances instead of programme variability after a certain threshold, due to the production costs and human resources.

**Table 9:** Proportional Measures of the Programme

	<b>Total Number of Plays</b>	<b>Total Number of Performances</b>	<b>Performances (on the Settled Stages)</b>	<b>Number of Stages</b>
2009 - 2010	146	5625	4807	54
2010 - 2011	135	5785	4894	55
2011 - 2012	152	5946	4966	56
	<b>Plays / Stage</b>	<b>Performances / Play</b>	<b>Performances (on Settled Stages) / Stage</b>	
2009 - 2010	2.7	38.5	89.0	
2010 - 2011	2.5	42.9	89.0	
2011 - 2012	2.7	39.1	88.7	

This table was formed with data taken from (M10), (M11) and (M12b).

### **Average number of performances per play**

This indicator can also be interpreted as the average life of a play. The average number of performances per play, including national and international tours, corresponds to 39 for 2009 - 2010, 43 for 2010 - 2011 and 39 for 2011 - 2012 (Please see 9 for the details). As mentioned above, the increase during the 2010 - 2011 season, along with the decrease in the total number of plays can be linked to a change in the artistic agenda. Yet, it can be claimed that a certain level of average number of performances per play, that is a minimum of 39, was attained by the State Theatres during 2009 - 2012.

### **Average number of performances per stage**

The average number of performances per stage demonstrates how a stage is utilized during one season. Therefore, only performances on the settled stages of the State Theatres were considered, and performances during national and international tours were excluded for this KPI. Accordingly, there were 89 performances on average per stage during the seasons 2009 - 2012.

As a summary of these proportional measures, roughly every stage produces 3 plays, each play being performed around 40 times (including performances during national and international tours) and there are 89 performances in every stage on average for every season between 2009 - 2012 . Thus, it can be claimed that the State Theatres sustained a certain level of per unit quantitative productivity for this time period. The most important result of those measures is the State Theatres' achievement in sustaining a certain level of per unit annual productivity despite its growing organizational structure. Nonetheless, the number of plays per stage appears to be improvable, depending on the artistic agenda and available resources. The most questionable result among this set of KPIs is the average number of performances per stage, in other words stage utilisation. Considering that a stage can be used for various purposes during the whole year (the State Theatres also organize summer seasons out of theatre season), 89 performances per stage on average is a low number. Therefore, some managerial innovations should be followed to improve the utilisation of the stages.

### **Total number and share of local and foreign plays**

In addition to the overall artistic productivity, it is also important to consider the composition of the programme. As a public arts institution, the State Theatres has many important missions, such as introducing world theatre to Turkey and contributing to the development of national theatre both by protecting traditional and classical local theatre and by fostering the production of new plays.

In terms of the balance between local and foreign plays, it can be



concluded that the programme became more balanced over the years from 2009 to 2012 with an increase in the percentage of foreign plays from 37 % in the 2009-2010 season to 44.4 % in the 2010 - 2011 season, reaching 52.6 % in the 2011 - 2012 season (Please see 8 for the details). Many foreign plays of international recognition were translated to Turkish and introduced to the audience in Turkey as well. The total number of foreign plays that were staged in ST from 2009 to 2012 is 194. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the low percentage of foreign plays in the 2009-2010 season can be explained by the special agenda for the 60th anniversary of establishment.

Hence, even though the State Theatres achieved a balanced programme composition of local and foreign plays during 2009 - 2012, the following seasons should be observed to examine whether this balance was sustained.

### **Total number and share of new plays**

Another important characteristic of the State Theatres' programme is a certain portion of total number of plays dedicated to new productions; 58 %, 55 % and 57 % respectively for the seasons of 2009 - 2012 (Please see 8 for the details). Particularly considering the overall productivity in the theatre scene in Turkey, this percentage is critical for introducing more new plays to the theatre audience in Turkey. Nonetheless, information about the distribution of new productions among local and foreign plays is not provided in the annual reports. Thus, it is not possible to analyse them further.

The share of the new plays within the overall programme is sufficient and in line with the aims of the State Theatres. However, it is also important to examine the distribution of these new productions among local and foreign plays in order to make more comprehensive inferences.

**National tours (total number of tours, cities, plays, performances and audience)**

National and international tours constitute a considerable portion of the State Theatres’ activities. Thanks to these tours, the State Theatres extensively enlarges its geographical span beyond the settled stages. On a national scale, these tours are of crucial importance to spread theatre to every city in Turkey, particularly to those without settled stages. Additionally, these tours serve as artistic experiences to increase the human capital of the State Theatres.

As can be seen in 10, the number of both national and international tours has been increasing since 2009, with a reflected growth in the total number of audience. For instance during the 2011 - 2012 season, there were 415 national tours, covering 71 cities, reaching a total audience of 338,265.

The State Theatres succeeded in bringing theatre to every city in 2012 through national tours, which fully corresponds with its aims.

**Table 10: National and International Tours**

		2009 - 2010	2010 - 2011	2011 - 2012
<b>National Tours</b>	<b>Tours</b>	250+ *	361	415
	<b>Cities</b>	58	66	71
	<b>Plays</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A
	<b>Performances</b>	810	873	937
	<b>Audience</b>	259919	299451	338265
<b>International Tours</b>	<b>Tours</b>	6	13	30
	<b>Countries</b>	4	6	14
	<b>Plays</b>	5	13	21
	<b>Performances</b>	8	18	43
	<b>Audience</b>	3409	8220	17285

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

### **International tours (total number of tours, countries, plays, performances and audience)**

International tours are important for the publicity of Turkey abroad through artistic activities that in turn increase the prestige of Turkey in the international arena, while expanding the national theatre out of borders. They enhance the artistic and cultural exchange, while increasing international experience of the State Theatres' staff, thus increasing human capital.

There was a drastic increase in international tours during 2009 - 2012 (Please see 10 for the details). Yet, it should be noted that the small number of international tours for the season 2009 - 2010 can be explained by the special agenda focusing more on the national activities for the 60th anniversary. During the 2011 - 2012 season, there were 30 international tours to 14 countries with 43 performances, reaching an audience of 17,285. These figures are around 4 times higher than those of the international tours during the 2009 - 2010 season.

Thus, it can be concluded that the State Theatres has been giving more importance to international tours over time, and expanding its international audience beyond borders.

### **Festivals (total number of performances, audience and fullness ratio)**

Festivals are big events that are organized around a specific theme. Therefore, they have the potential to increase visibility of the State Theatres, particularly through the media, thus increasing the institutional value, as well as expanding the audience profile. Such large-scale events are appealing both to existing theatre audience, since the themes would be interesting for many of the theatre attenders, and to those who are not familiar with theatre through increased visibility, enabling the State Theatres to reach out beyond its usual audience. It is also an indicator of the institutional capacity of the State Theatres to organize large-scale events. This is a significant measure, considering that the theatre scene in Turkey is mainly composed of very small institutional entities apart from the state supported theatres. Additionally, many theatre groups

come together during these events, enabling professional exchange while introducing various theatre groups from different cities of Turkey and abroad to the audience in Turkey. There are also complementary events such as seminars and workshops that enhance the overall impact of a festival.

Festivals are also among main activities of the State Theatres. There are seven festivals (two of which dedicated to children and youth theatre) that have been organized with different scopes and themes during the seasons from 2009 to 2012. Those festivals are; Adana ST - Sabanci International Theatre Festival, Konya Thousand Breaths, One Voice: International Festival of the Countries with Theatre in Turkish, Ankara Little Ladies Little Gentleman International Children's Theatre Festival, Trabzon International Black Sea Theatre Festival, Antalya International Theatre Festival, Van Akdamar International Children and Youth Theatre Festival, and Orhan Asena Local Plays Theatre Festival. They had an average fullness of more than 90 % for all the seasons and showed an increase in the total number of audience every year. For instance, in total, 150,407 people attended these festivals during the 2011 - 2012 season. This figure demonstrates the success of large events with a focused theme to reach the audience, compared to the regular programme events. The aggregate measures of the festivals are presented in 11.

Seven festivals were organized by the State Theatres on an annual basis during 2009 - 2012. In addition to the high production in terms of regular programme, this indicates the sufficiency of the institutional capacity to organize different types of events regularly on an annual basis. In this sense, the State Theatre is unique within the theatre scene of Turkey. Furthermore, thanks to these festivals, there is a substantial potential to expand the audience both in terms of quantity and profile, mainly due to the increased visibility.

### **Total number and share of children and youth plays**

This indicator is of crucial importance, considering the responsibility of the State Theatres for the future generations, as a public arts institution. In Turkey, there is a lack of theatre groups producing children and youth

**Table 11:** Festivals of the ST

	<b>2009 - 2010</b>	<b>2010 - 2011</b>	<b>2011 - 2012</b>
<b>Number of Performances</b>	191	226	269
<b>Audience</b>	99,359	117,954	150,407
<b>Fullness Ratio</b>	95.25%	92.00%	94.00%
<b>Ticket Revenue (TL)</b>	222,228.5	243,215	274,618

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

plays. Moreover, the situation is worse outside the big cities. In this sense, the State Theatres is trying to fill an important gap within the theatre scene. Besides, due to the importance of getting acquainted with arts during childhood, the State Theatres is serving an important cause for the future generations by providing so many children and youth plays around Turkey.

This theatre genre has been receiving special attention in the programme, in line with the objectives of the State Theatres. Accordingly, children and youth plays comprise 24 % of the repertoire for 2009 - 2010 season, 21.5 % for 2010 - 2011 and 22.4 % for the 2011 - 2012 season (Please see 8 for the details). In addition to the plays in the regular programme, there are two festivals focusing especially on children and youth; Ankara Little Ladies, Little Gentlemen International Children's Theatre Festival and Van Akdamar National Children and Youth Theatre Festival. Those two festivals reached a total audience of 90,760 in the period between 2009 - 2012.

Thus, it can be claimed that the State Theatres is promoting children and youth plays around Turkey and giving sufficient priority to the younger generations conforming to its social responsibilities.

## **Awards**

Awards indicate the recognition of the State Theatres within the theatre scene in Turkey, while implicitly referring to the artistic quality, a very subjective concept, and the State Theatres' impact and significance in general. Furthermore, they strongly contribute to the visibility of the insti-

tutions, mainly through the media, potentially attracting more audience on the one hand, and increasing the institutional prestige on the other.

In this sense, every season, the ST has proved its productions' significance for the development of theatre in Turkey. It has always taken part in the most prestigious award schemes in the theatre field of Turkey. For the seasons between 2009 - 2012, the ST won 116 awards in total (Please see 12 for the details). The variety of the awards portfolio also displays the extensive success of the State Theatres also in complementary professions, such as costume, stage and light design

**Table 12:** Total Number of Awards

	<b>Number of Awards</b>
2009 – 2010	53
2010 – 2011	25
2011 – 2012	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

### **Summary of the KPIs regarding artistic achievements and programme**

Following the analysis on KPIs regarding artistic achievements and programme, it can be claimed that the State Theatres has sustained consistent artistic productivity in quantitative terms by producing a high annual number of plays and increasing the total number of performances, despite its constantly expanding organizational scale. The programme has a balance of local and foreign plays, as well as new productions. Within this scheme, a considerable positive impact of the 60th anniversary agenda can be observed mainly through the increasing number of stages that fosters the total productivity of the State Theatres. Besides, national and international tours, that have followed an increasing trend, enable the State Theatres to reach beyond the geographic boundaries of its physical settlements. Seven festivals that are organized every year generate interaction with other theatres and enable cultural exchange both for the

audience and theatre companies. Furthermore, the high proportion of children and youth plays have a crucial role in cultivating future generations, as well as serving the State Theatres' social mission and responsibilities to the public. Consequently, the State Theatres can be acknowledged as being the main gatekeeper of the theatre scene in Turkey. Awards given to the State Theatres also indicate the significance of its artistic success and recognition in the field.

Nevertheless, proportional productivity measures demonstrate that per unit productivity of the State Theatres is an area for improvement. The average number of plays per stage, which is 3, is low considering that the average number of performances per play is around 40, while it is 89 per stage. A strategy could be developed to increase the number of performances per play, thus also the average number of performances per stage. On the other hand, alternative strategies could focus on improving stage utilisation. For instance, extracurricular activities that are addressed to more specific target groups can be organized, such as seminars and workshops. These activities can contribute to the educational role of the State Theatres and community engagement, while increasing the institutional visibility through different channels. Moreover, considering the need for multi-purpose stages in general, renting the State Theatres' stages out when not in use for the regular programme is another option that might increase stage utilisation while providing extra revenues for self-sufficiency. Besides, giving priority to private theatre groups for renting or enabling them to use those stages for free would be a crucial form of support for the development of the theatre scene in Turkey, particularly considering that the lack of stages is one of the main problems of the private theatres.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the annual reports and performance programmes of the State Theatres do not provide any information on the summer seasons that are organized to offer plays to theatre audience even out of the theatre season.

### **3.3.2 Market and Audience Development**

This section focuses on the quantitative significance of the State Theatres within theatre production in Turkey as a whole. Unfortunately, research on the production of the theatre scene in Turkey is very limited both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) is the only source that provides data on a national scale. Therefore, in this section, TÜİK is used as the main reference for examining the positioning of the State Theatres within the whole field. In line with the scope of this paper and the availability of data, the analysis deal with qualitative measures only briefly. It should also be noted that the term “market” refers more to the positioning of the State Theatres in a wider sense than in purely commercial terms.

#### **Geographical span (number of cities and stages)**

Considering the unbalanced geographical distribution of theatre production in Turkey, particularly out of big cities, the State Theatres aims to bridge this gap through provincial organizations and stages around Turkey, aiming to bring theatre to every city. However, it should be noted that this indicator deals with the geographical span of the settled stages, excluding the outreach through national and international tours.

Thanks to the 60th anniversary preparations, 5 new stages were inaugurated during the 2009 - 2010 season (Please see 13 for the details). Initially, the intention was to reach 60 stages in the 60th year but the total number of stages was 54 at the end of the season. Nevertheless, the State Theatres managed to inaugurate one stage in a new city, where there is no provincial organization, in every season from 2010 to 2012. Currently, it operates in 23 cities with 56 theatres. Accordingly, the State Theatres can be defined as the biggest theatre with a balanced and growing geographical distribution in Turkey.

#### **Audience**

One of the main objectives of the State Theatres is to increase the number of theatre goers in Turkey. Thus, the total number of audience indicates



**Table 13:** Change in the geographical span of the ST

	<b>New Stages</b>	<b>Total Number of Stages</b>	<b>New Cities</b>	<b>Cities</b>
2009 - 2010	5	54	2	21
2010 - 2011	1	55	1	22
2011 - 2012	1	56	1	23

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

how many people the State Theatres can reach. This measure is important for introducing theatre to people who have never been to a play before as well as creating loyalty among theatre followers.

The State Theatres has been increasing its audience every year with the growing number of stages, tours and other additional activities. The total number of audience excluding international tours shown in 14 has corresponded to 2 % of the whole population in every season, also taking into account population growth in Turkey. Those measures demonstrate that the State Theatres was successful in reaching more audience with a substantial, almost constant increase (67,275 and 67,511 respectively during 2009 - 2012). Furthermore, it serves a considerable audience, which is a feat unlikely to be achieved by any other organization within the theatre scene in Turkey.

**Table 14:** Audience of the ST

	<b>Audience (State Theatres Stages)</b>	<b>Audience (National Tours)</b>	<b>Audience (International Tours)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% within the Whole Population</b>
<b>2009 - 2010</b>	1,205,134	259,919	3,409	<b>1,465,053</b>	2%
<b>2010 - 2011</b>	1,232,877	299,451	8220	<b>1,532,328</b>	2.1%
<b>2011 - 2012</b>	1,261,574	338,265	17,285	<b>1,599,839</b>	2.1%

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

## Fullness ratio

Fullness ratio indicates to what extent the State Theatres is successful in appealing to attenders and sustaining a certain level of audience for each performance. This is also an implicit indicator of audience satisfaction, creating an understanding of whether the State Theatres is appreciated.

As regards performing to full theatre capacity the State Theatres can be considered as successful in attracting the audience. The overall fullness of the performances, including the ones in settled stages, national and international tours, was 78.75 %, 82 % and 83 % respectively for the seasons between 2009 – 2012. (Please see 15 for the details). As a result, it can be claimed that the State Theatres is successful to assure a satisfactory amount of audience for each performance.

**Table 15:** Fullness Ratio of the ST

	<b>Fullness Ratio</b>			
	State Theatres Stages	National Tours	International Tours	<b>Total</b>
<b>2009 - 2010</b>	77.87%	82.95%	93.17%	<b>78.75%</b>
<b>2010 - 2011</b>	81.00%	88.00%	81.00%	<b>82.00%</b>
<b>2011 - 2012</b>	81.00%	89.00%	90.00%	<b>83.00%</b>

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

## Market share

Market share demonstrates the significance of the State Theatres within the whole theatre scene in Turkey. As mentioned before, the TUIK statistics are used as the basis to understand the positioning of the State Theatres. However, the data is provided only until the 2010 - 2011 season. Therefore, analysis on the market development does not cover the 2011 - 2012 season.

Within this scheme, even though the State Theatres constituted only around 4 % and 3 % of the total number of plays within the whole theatre scene in Turkey for the two seasons between 2009 - 2011, it provided 22.16

**Table 16:** Positioning of the ST in Turkey

		<b>Turkey</b>	<b>State Theatres</b>	<b>% of the ST</b>
<b>2009 - 2010</b>	<b>Plays</b>	3694	146	3.95%
	<b>Performances</b>	25378	5625	22.16%
	<b>Audience</b>	5248226	1465053	27.92%
<b>2010 - 2011</b>	<b>Plays</b>	4252	135	3.17%
	<b>Performances</b>	23361	5785	24.76%
	<b>Audience</b>	5385588	1532328	28.45%

This table was formed with data taken from (Mİ0), (Mİ1) and (Mİ2b).

% and 24.76 % of the total number of performances and, attracted 27.92 % and 28.45 % of the overall theatre audience in Turkey respectively (Please see 16 for the details). In line with the numbers mentioned above, the State Theatres can be defined as the main initiator of the theatre scene generating one fourth of the whole theatre production in Turkey.

### **Online services**

The State Theatres engages in publicity activities, such as newspaper advertisements and billboard posters. However, it is not feasible to track these activities accurately without having access to internal documentation. Thus, online services and social media activities were chosen as a KPI due to traceability of data. This indicator shows how the State Theatres keeps up with the changing publicity patterns through online social platforms and the extent to which it uses online tools to increase its visibility and reach more audience.

The official website of the State Theatres (The14, [www.devtiyatro.gov.tr](http://www.devtiyatro.gov.tr)) provides general information regarding aims, history and organizational structure, including provincial organizations and programme. It is also possible to access the 2009 - 2013 Strategic Plan, performance reports for the seasons between 2009 - 2013, annual reports from 2008 to 2012, donations for 2009 and 2010, periodic budget realization reports for the years from 2008 to 2010, public service inventory and public service standards documents. All the State Theatres' tickets whether issued by the Direc-

torate or the provincial organizations, are sold online through *MyBilet*, which is an online ticketing platform for many events, such as cinema, sports and congresses.

As far as the promotional activities on the social media are concerned, the twitter account of the State Theatres (excluding the accounts of the provincial organizations) was activated in 14 September 2011 and it had 103 tweets and 7,145 followers, without following anyone as at 12 November 2013. In a period of just two weeks, by 25 November 2013 the total number of tweets had increased by 20 to a total of 123 and the number of followers had grown by 170 to 7,315. There has also been a Facebook account since 25 August 2011, which, on 12 November 2013, had 24,476 likes that reached 25,291 by 25 November 2013, showing an increase of 815 within two weeks (excluding the provincial organizations' accounts). Accordingly, it can be concluded that the social media activities of the State Theatres have been increasing recently, and more active usage of social media platforms would enable the State Theatres to improve its visibility and audience, as well as community engagement in its activities. On the other hand, even though their activities were not covered in the analysis, it should be mentioned that the separate accounts of provincial organizations are also contributing to the visibility of the institution and helping to fulfil the specific needs of the audience in different cities.

### **Ticket price policy**

Ticket price policy is one of the distinctive characteristics of the State Theatres. It is a measure to understand how the institution reflects its social responsibility to make theatre accessible by means of ticket price policy. It is also a critical measure to expand the audience profile to economically disadvantaged groups through making theatre affordable. In this sense, the State Theatres makes attending theatre performances affordable even for big productions such as musicals, which are rarely produced in Turkey. In addition to the general ticket price policy, it is also important to consider the price scheme in comparison to other private theatres. This might also illustrate the distinction between public theatre and the private / independent ones.

**Table 17:** Ticket Prices of Selected Theatres for Adult Theatre Plays in Istanbul

		<b>Ticket Prices for Adult Theatre Plays (TL)</b>	
		<b>Adult Ticket</b>	<b>Discount Ticket</b>
<b>Istanbul State Theatre</b>	Stall	10	6
	Balcony	6	4
<b>Kenter Theatre*</b>		30	20
<b>Ali Poyrazoglu Theatre</b>		34	24
<b>DOT**</b>		60	30
<b>ikinci Kat - istiklal</b>		30	20
<b>ikinci Kat - karaköy sekizincikat</b>		40	20
<b>Krek</b>		50	30
<b>Duru Theatre</b>		30	20

\* Kenter Theatre also has a ticket category for retired people that are sold for 25 TL.

\*\* DOT also has last minute tickets that are sold for 20 TL.

Significantly, as a measure to expand the audience composition, the low ticket price policy of the State Theatres enables financially disadvantaged groups to attend theatre. For instance, if the ticket prices for Istanbul State Theatre and some of the selected private theatres in Istanbul are compared, as shown in 17, it can be observed that it is three to ten times more expensive to attend the plays of those private theatres than those of the Istanbul State Theatre for adults. Under these circumstances, the existence of the State Theatres, in this case the Istanbul State Theatre, is of crucial importance to introduce theatre to financially disadvantaged groups and broaden the composition of theatre audience in Turkey in general. The variety of plays in the State Theatres' programme, with special attention on children and youth plays and musicals, also broadens the audience profile. Moreover, some disadvantaged groups are entitled to attend the State Theatres' plays free of charge. All plays are free for veterans, widows of veterans and martyrs, orphans, handicapped people and people over 65 as acknowledged by Law No. 2022.

The State Theatres also organizes some free performances on special occasions, such as the 2013 Teachers' Day events when all the plays were free for teachers and their families. Another example is the Van Akdamar International Children and Youth Theatre Festival, where all performances are also free of admission charges.

On the other hand, social responsibility projects aim to spread theatre, while contributing to social solidarity and community development. For instance, the Erzurum State Theatre collaborated with schools for the deaf and blind, the Society for the Protection of Children, rehabilitation centres and the Centre for Mentally and Physically Disabled People to organize periodical attendance of students at their plays free of charge during 2010 - 2012. These social responsibility projects can be increased and spread more among provincial organizations. Overall, it can be claimed that the State Theatres is the main institution extending the opportunity to attend theatre for disadvantaged groups in Turkey.

Therefore, the State Theatres generates a valuable mission to introduce theatre to disadvantaged groups both by low ticket price policy and special activities, while contributing to social solidarity. In this sense, the existence of its activities is of crucial importance to follow a more democratic participatory approach for the arts in Turkey, as a developing country.

Nevertheless, the ticket price policy requires deeper attention beyond the analysis of this paper due to its complexity, particularly for considering the situation of the private / independent theatres. For instance, some of the private theatres criticize the low price policy of state supported theatres stating that it creates unfair competition. However, the target audience of those institutions are different and it would be unfair to the disadvantaged people to be obliged to pay high ticket prices, turning "theatre" into a luxurious consumption good, which would result in non-attendance by financially disadvantaged groups. Therefore, the mission of the State Theatres low ticket price policy is socially significant. The focus should be strengthening the private / independent theatres' sustainability rather than putting them "in competition" with the State Theatres.

## **Summary of the KPIs regarding market and audience development**

The findings display that the State Theatres generates a quarter of the overall theatre production in Turkey, serving a major proportion of the audience that corresponds to 2 % of the whole population, as a single theatre organization. This indicates that the State Theatres is the largest theatre organization in Turkey, which can also be recognized as the main gatekeeper of theatre in the country. It is successful in assuring a satisfactory amount of audience for each performance, conforming to around 80 % average fullness ratio. Furthermore, balanced geographical distribution of the provincial organizations around Turkey is a crucial contribution to the development of theatre out of the big cities. It also continues to expand its geographical span with new provincial organizations in other cities every year. Furthermore, it plays a crucial role in expanding the audience profile through low ticket price policy and introducing theatre to disadvantaged groups by offering some privileges. Nevertheless, there is still room for improving the visibility, thus the audience relations, through exploiting publicity activities, particularly social media, in a more effective way. Even though the official website is sufficiently informative and online ticket selling is offered through Mybilet, the potential of alternative social media channels, namely Facebook and Twitter, is not exploited sufficiently. More active community engagement strategies should be developed and implemented, also concerning social media. This would provide valuable returns regarding visibility, increased audience and average fullness ratios, as well as brand value and increased institutional prestige.

### **3.3.3 Financial Performance**

The budget structure and funding sources of the State Theatres are among the most discussed issues. The main arguments revolve around the high percentage of the state subsidy within the overall budget. However, it should not be forgotten that the state is providing artistic public services through this institution and, accordingly, as in the case of education or health, the State Theatres' unique characteristics and extensive scale

should be taken into account along with its establishment principles. The budget of the institution is by definition built on state subsidy. Therefore, the State Theatres should not be interpreted as an ordinary enterprise and financial efficiency should not be treated as a core priority, irrespective of social impacts. Nevertheless, this does not mean that it is not important to analyse and improve financial efficiency.

### **Income dependency and self-sufficiency**

Sources of income indicate the dependency scheme of the institution and give insight into the institutional sustainability. It is also useful to assess potential risks to the budget that might have an immediate impact on institutional activities. Within the budget scheme, the share of state subsidies and self revenues, which is mainly ticket revenues in the case of the State Theatres, is particularly important to understand the level of dependency on the state and self-sufficiency of the institution.

As mentioned above, six funding sources are defined in Law No 5441 on the establishment of the State Theatres;

1. The subsidy from the “Expenses of education institutions” of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism budget that is allocated from the General Budget,
2. Ticket revenues,
3. Revenues from the promotional and informative publications,
4. Donations by special provincial administrations and municipalities, which benefit from theatre activities,
5. All types of donations and other miscellaneous incomes,
6. The revenue from national and international festivals.

Within this budget scheme, the total state subsidy constitutes around 92 % of the whole budget for the seasons between 2009 - 2012. On the other hand, even though ticket revenues had been increasing, it failed to exceed more than 5 % of the whole income portfolio (Please see 18 for the



**Table 18:** Revenues of the State Theatres

	<b>REVENUES</b>		
	<b>2009 - 2010</b>	<b>2010 - 2011</b>	<b>2011 - 2012</b>
Government Subsidy for the season / Prevalent	105195000	127061000	134464000
Government Subsidy for the season / Financial Expenses	5500000	4500000	5500000
Spare Subsidy for the season	11086000	1400000	9145805
<b>Government Subsidy for the season / Total</b>	<b>121781000</b>	<b>132961000</b>	<b>149109805</b>
Self Revenue	4900000	5200000	7750000
Net Financing	0	1582000	0
Liquidity Turnover	56526350	7000000	5460000
<b>TOTAL Revenues of the State Theatres</b>	<b>132307350</b>	<b>146743000</b>	<b>162319805</b>
Percentage of the Total Government Subsidy in the Total Budget	92 %	90.6 %	91.9 %

details of the budget). Thus, the State Theatres is highly dependent on the state support. Accordingly, self-sufficiency of the organization is low in terms of financial measures.

Under current circumstances, particularly considering the recent discussions on ambiguity of the future of the State Theatres, it is a necessity to attempt to diversify the revenue portfolio through new financial strategies. On the other hand, it is of crucial importance to demonstrate the State Theatres' unique characteristics as a public arts institution, its aims, achievements and continuous contributions to the theatre scene in order to sustain the legitimacy of its existence and thus the state support.

## **Expenditures**

Expenditure composition demonstrates the weight of the budget items and provides input for the prospective budget planning and possible austerity measures. As can be seen in 19 regarding the distribution of expenses in line with the units and budget items, it can be observed

that the highest expense item is personnel costs, corresponding to 65 % within the expenditure scheme and showing consistency over the seasons between 2009 and 2012. Among those personnel costs, 13 % is composed of the payments to the Social Security Institution.

On the other hand, around 80 % of the expenditure scheme is composed of the settled theatre directorates' expenses. This share increased over the seasons between 2009 and 2012. Yet, considering the total number of settled theatre directorates, it is observable that the major part of the expenses is concentrated in the units of the General Directorate.

**Table 19:** Expenditures of the State Theatres

	<b>EXPENSES</b>		
	<b>2009 - 2010</b>	<b>2010 - 2011</b>	<b>2011 - 2012</b>
Chief of Cabinet	831950	710800	558440
Directorate of IMID	12291900	13206900	13297820
Department of Personnel Training	2717600	3242610	3997310
Strategic Planning Directorate	283450	274610	346090
Department of Legal Consultancy	1835200	332270	381700
Settled Theatre Directorates	86914900	106195170	125562500
Chief Directorship	13840000	9897360	3687090
Arts Technical Directorate	8055900	9824480	10618130
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>126.770.900</b>	<b>143.684.200</b>	<b>158.449.080</b>

### **Changes in revenues and expenditures (with and without inflation rates)**

This KPI indicates the financial stability of the institution. On the other hand, high inflation rates can be influential on these changes to the extent that a high increase in the revenues might end up being only an artificial increase in the budgetary measures. Thus, analysing the impacts of inflation rates facilitates assessment of the real change in the budgetary power.

Taking the budget figures into account, it can be seen that the total

**Table 20: Increase in Revenues and Expenditures**

	<b>Inflation (%)</b>	<b>Total Revenues</b>	<b>Increase in Revenues</b>	<b>Increase in Revenues in line with yearly inflation rates</b>
<b>2009 - 2010</b>	6.4	132.307.350		
<b>2010 - 2011</b>	10.5	146.743.000	10.91%	4.24%
<b>2011 - 2012</b>	6.2	162.319.805	10.62%	0.10%
	<b>Inflation (%)</b>	<b>Total Expenditures</b>	<b>Increase in Expenditures</b>	<b>Increase in Expenditures in line with yearly inflation rates</b>
<b>2009 - 2010</b>	6.4	126.770.900		
<b>2010 - 2011</b>	10.5	143.684.200	13.34%	6.52%
<b>2011 - 2012</b>	6.2	158.449.080	10.28%	-0.20%

amounts of both revenues and expenses increased around 10 % annually between 2009 - 2012. Even though this gives the impression that a constant amount of annual increase was achieved for the budget, the inflation rates should also be taken into account in order to understand the actual increase. The calculations for measuring the impact of inflation were conducted based on annual inflation rates. Despite the fact that the theatre season does not start on 1 January and does not cover a calendar year, the budget of the State Theatres is prepared and approved on an annual basis, as mentioned in the “Financial Information” section of the annual reports.

Accordingly, the amounts of the previous years were normalized in line with the annual inflation rates and the percentage increase in the amount of the prospective year was recalculated. Correspondingly, the increase in revenues dropped to 4.24 % for 2011 and 0.10 % for 2012. Thus, the increase in the revenues as a percentage decreases substantially when the purchasing power of this amount is reflected on the calculations. As far as the total expenses are concerned, the percentage increase after considering the inflation rates, which are 6.52 % for 2011 and -0.20 % for 2012, are in line with the change in revenues (Please see the details on Table 12).

Therefore, it can be claimed that, despite a constant annual increase in the state support for the State Theatres, the purchasing power of the budget was much lower than these increasing amounts due to the high inflation rates. The same trend is valid for the expenditure scheme as well. Nevertheless, the State Theatres continued to expand its organizational structure every year at a certain level, as well as increasing its artistic production, regardless of these decreasing trends in the budgetary power. Yet, it should also be noted that the State Theatres has the highest budget among the theatres in Turkey and financial efficiency strategies can be developed to further increase its productivity.

**Table 21: Changes in Average Budgetary Measures per Unit**

	2009 - 2010	2010 - 2011	2011 - 2012
<b>Total Budget / Play</b>	906215	1086985	1067893
<b>change</b>		19.95%	-1.76%
<b>change with inflation</b>		12.73%	-11.09%
<b>Total Budget / Performance</b>	23521	25366	27299
<b>change</b>		7.84%	7.62%
<b>change with inflation</b>		3.58%	-2.90%
<b>Total Budget / Stage</b>	2450136	2668055	2898568
<b>change</b>		8.89%	8.64%
<b>change with inflation</b>		2.34%	-1.68%
<b>Total Budget / City</b>	6300350	6670136	7057383
<b>change</b>		5.87%	5.81%
<b>change with inflation</b>		-0.49%	-4.25%

### **Average state subsidy per audience**

Average budgetary indicators are useful to provide a measure to grasp the general institutional tendencies in line with its production scheme. Among those, average state subsidy per audience indicates the total sum of direct and indirect state contribution per audience of the State Theatres. In other words, it can be explained as the cost to the State of supplying and sustaining the State Theatres per user or audience. In this sense, the state subsidy per audience increased from 83.12 TL to 86.77 TL and

93.20 TL respectively during 2009 - 2012. However, despite this positive appearance, once the inflation rates are reflected on the numbers the upward trend is actually a decline in real terms. As it can be seen from 21, the state subsidy per audience constituted a slight decrease in terms of purchasing power over the seasons between 2009 - 2012.

### **Average budget per play (amount, % change, % with inflation)**

One of the distinctive features of the State Theatres is that it is able to stage big productions thanks to its continuous state support, extensive physical establishment and the high human capital, both in artistic and technical terms, that has been accumulated since 1949. Even though the expenditure scheme varies among different items and not all the budget is directly spent on producing theatre plays, it can be claimed that all the resources of the entity somehow are directed towards the main end product, that is, the plays in this case. Thus, average budget per play is a useful indicator to understand this resource allocation in accordance with the production of plays. Nevertheless, due to the difficulty of determining an ideal amount of production budget per play stemming from various factors such as product variability and the subjectivity of artistic interpretations and quality, the results of the analysis are presented without qualitative implications. However, this KPI provides input for further comparative analysis with other theatres.

As can be seen on 21, the average budget per play, which is the whole budget divided by the total annual number of plays, is around 1 million Turkish Lira for the seasons from 2009 to 2012. Considering the general financial situation and problems in the arts sector, as well as the limited budgets of other theatres in Turkey, it can be argued that this average budget measure is a very high amount. However, the high maintenance costs of the State Theatres as a large-scale organization with 56 stages and a high number of employees should be taken into account, along with the relatively higher average number of performances per play.

On the other hand, the increase from the 2009 - 2010 season to the 2010 - 2011 season corresponding to 180,770 TL can be explained by the decrease in the total number of plays during the 2010 - 2011 season, as

mentioned before. In the following season there is a slight decrease in the budget per play, which becomes more significant once the inflation rates are reflected.

#### **Average budget per performance (amount, % change, % with inflation)**

Similar to the previous indicator, average budget per performance demonstrates the distribution of total annual resources in line with the stagings. Considering the amounts on 21, it can be concluded that this indicator followed quite a stable trend during 2009 - 2012. Moreover, the relatively high average number of performances per play is reflected in the results of this indicator, in comparison to the average budget per play.

#### **Average budget per stage (amount, % change, % with inflation)**

This indicator displays the average amount of resources used per stage to accomplish the level of productivity and provides insights for the maintainability of the stages. It is of crucial importance, considering the State Theatres' continuously expanding organizational structure. It serves as a measure to demonstrate the amount of resources required for physical organizational expansion.

Changes in the average budget per stage follow a similar tendency as the other financial indicators. Once the inflation rates are reflected on the increasing amounts, there is a slight increase from the 2009 - 2010 season to the 2010 - 2011 season that is followed by a slight decrease in the subsequent year (Please see 21 for details).

#### **Average budget per city / directorate (amount, % change, % with inflation)**

One of the strongest characteristics of the State Theatres is its establishment around Turkey through provincial organizations. Thus, it is important to measure average amount of budget per city to capture the general investments per city settlements and the resources required to sustain them. This is another indicator providing input for the future expansion agenda on a city scale. Even though the total share of the provincial

organizations within the whole budget is specified in the annual reports of the State Theatres, due to the high central organizational structure and services provided from the units of the General Directorate for provincial organizations that are mentioned under other budget items, the whole budget was divided by the number of cities in the calculation of this KPI.

According to the results in 21, it can be concluded that the State Theatres ensures significant investments in theatre in 23 cities. Nevertheless, there is the need for demonstrating and communicating the achievements of these investments more precisely, while developing strategies to advance these achievements further, especially considering the exceptional scale of the State Theatres as a public arts institution that draws reactions from some governmental authorities.

### **Summary of the KPIs regarding financial performance**

The financial indicators demonstrate that there is a high dependence on state subsidies in the revenue scheme. This dependency on the state support is twofold. First, thanks to this continuous, mostly assured state subsidy, the State Theatres has a budget which cannot be matched by any other theatre in Turkey. Accordingly, the institution is able to produce many activities and make a huge contribution to the development of theatre in Turkey. On the other hand, this dependency leaves the institution in a vulnerable position to possible interventions through changing government mentalities. In this regard, also considering that raising ticket prices cannot be implemented as a way to increase the budget due to the public good characteristics and priorities, alternative fund-raising strategies should be developed to gain more financial independence from the state subsidies. Nevertheless, the fact that the State Theatres is a public arts institution and consequently this revenue composition is by definition built on the state support should be taken into consideration while assessing financial measures. As far as the expenditure scheme is concerned, the major expense is composed of the personnel costs. Besides, the General Directorate has the biggest amount of expenses in comparison to other regional directorates.

Considering the low self-sufficiency and high dependency on state

support in financial terms, despite the product variety, large geographical span and sufficient, yet still improvable, artistic productivity, financial efficiency of the State Theatres requires improvement with immediate action.

On the other hand, the quantitative increase in the revenues might be misleading without considering the impacts of inflation rates. The same holds for per unit measures as well. Despite the increase in the amounts of those measures, namely average budget per play, per performance, per stage and per city, during the seasons between 2009 - 2012, all the measures were subjected to a decreasing trend in terms of actual power of the budget due to high inflation rates. Moreover, all those budgetary measures are high, considering the general financial difficulties in the theatre scene in Turkey. However, it should be noted that there is a lack of data for comparative analysis with other types of theatre in addition to the difficulty of measuring productivity, efficiency and quality in the case of artistic products due to subjectivity. Herein, it should also be highlighted that this analysis deals with financial measures only in quantitative terms. Both because of the lack of availability of qualitative data and the challenge of dealing with subjectivity in such analysis, the qualitative interpretation of these financial indicators is open to discussion. Thus, further research is required in order to pass judgement on the issue on an accurate basis.

Even though there is a lack of information on fund-raising activities, the available documents imply that fund-raising is not a common practice and priority on the State Theatres' agenda. Yet, more importance should be given to fund-raising and developing alternative financial strategies to improve self-sufficiency, also considering the current discussions on the sustainability and future of the State Theatres. Besides, there is a need for developing a common understanding of "financial efficiency" and providing better clarifications of the rationale behind the budget composition of the State Theatres, particularly the high percentage of the state subsidy, by the authorities. Eventually, enhancement in financial strategies, starting with the legislation to fulfil the contemporary needs of the institution, can be highlighted as the main necessity.



### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to develop a comprehensive overview of the achievements of the State Theatres, considering its public good nature and particular characteristics. To this end, initially the working principles and legislative structure of the organization were summarized. Then, a framework for assessment of the State Theatres' institutional performance was developed. Accordingly, twenty six KPIs were defined and analysed in three operational areas in line with the availability of data.

Taking the historical background, institutional structure and achievements of the State Theatres into account, it can be claimed that the State Theatres is the main gatekeeper and promoter of theatre in Turkey. Nevertheless, the massive organizational scale, together with a highly central settlement and outdated legislation, is struggling with the bureaucracy in order to improve efficiency and efficacy of the activities, and keep up with the contemporary needs of such a large-scale public arts organization.

As an essential need, the autonomy of the State Theatres should be assured by the necessary changes in the legislation and the role of the Ministry in the internal affairs of the State Theatres should be diminished. Secondly, there is an urgent need to prepare a statute, which has been suspended already for a long time, with a participatory approach including workers' unions, civil society organizations and experts from the field, in order to clarify and strengthen the internal working principles. The relations and reporting mechanisms between regional organizations and the General Directorate should be clarified in the public documents and the importance of the regional organizations should be given more emphasis. Additionally, although the annual reports and performance programmes provide a lot of information on the working principles and achievements of the State Theatres, there is a need to elaborate on the link between objectives and achievements to better demonstrate the overall success of the institution and to strengthen the legitimacy behind the state support. For instance, there are many discrepancies between the performance goals and performance indicators presented in the performance programmes, and the specified goals do not fully reflect the achievements of the State

Theatres and its public good nature.

On the other hand, while guaranteed state-subsidy, together with unmovable assets, assures a certain amount, diversity and quality of the State Theatres' activities in line with its aims, there are also some drawbacks, such as the misconception of politicians to legitimize their interventions, and the lack of ambition and innovation within the organization. Besides, the lack of institutionalization and limited scope of the theatre scene in Turkey, as well as obstacles to the accessibility of arts, such as lack of education, limited incomes and low GDP per capita, increase the importance of state subsidies for arts production. Accordingly, the most significant subsidized theatre becomes the biggest driver of arts production in Turkey and undertakes many crucial duties, while becoming the main target of criticism of various groups. However, after the recent integration of enterprise culture into the arts and culture field along with the dominance of neoliberal economic policies, the public good characteristics of arts and the logic behind the state subsidies for the arts are partly being forgotten.

Taking the results of institutional performance analysis into account, the State Theatres can be considered as successful in quantitative terms within three operational areas during 2009 - 2012. The artistic productivity, which generates a quarter of the whole field in Turkey, was increasing for plays on established stages, festivals, children and youth plays, as well as national and international tours. It also contributes to the development of the theatre scene in Turkey both in terms of production and audience development through geographical expansion, low ticket price policy, special events, social responsibility projects and privileges for disadvantaged groups. However, there is also a need to increase per unit artistic productivity, namely the average number of plays per stage, the average number of performances per play and the average number of performances per stage. The most crucial point here is to increase the stage utilisation, which can also be used as an asset to develop alternative fund-raising strategies and diversify the activities portfolio. Furthermore, the publicity activities of the State Theatres can be improved by exploiting opportunities offered by the social media, which would increase institutional visibility and community engagement in return for low investment.

The high percentage of state subsidies in the budget composition creates a high dependence on the State and becomes the focus of criticism although it can also be recognized as the main strength of the institution regarding its sustainability. Thus, while acknowledging the State Theatres as a public arts institution, there is also the need to develop alternative financial strategies to break this dependency to some extent and restore the legitimacy of the State Theatres' existence for the future. Nonetheless, the State Theatres, as one of the oldest, deep-rooted public arts institutions in Turkey with its strong institutional identity and accumulation of knowledge, has the potential to take its achievements forward through some minor legislative and managerial advancements, as well as improving its publicity and communication on the current objectives and achievements. Additionally, better clarification on the annual and periodical artistic agenda in the annual and performance reports would improve the institutional image and provide better comprehension by the public of the institutional aims, as well as their correspondence with the artistic activities.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that the current state support model regarding the State Theatres is fulfilling the main objectives of a public arts institution at a sufficient level and operating as the main promoter and gatekeeper of theatre in Turkey. Nevertheless, the State Theatres can benefit from adaptation of managerial instruments and, more dynamic publicity and fund-raising strategies.

# Chapter 4

## Theatre Scene in Istanbul

### 4.1 Introduction

The discussions on the recent developments regarding the state support for the arts in Turkey were initially triggered by the reform attempts at the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre. Nevertheless, the major public reaction was exacerbated with the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's statement in favour of privatization of the State Theatres<sup>1</sup>, which is considered as the largest and most widespread theatre in Turkey as one of the oldest deep-rooted public arts institutions (Kar12). Subsequently, one year after, the discussions revived with the rumours that the government is working on a draft law to establish an arts council. Even though the government representatives were rejecting such an agenda at the beginning (Hay14), it took one more year for the the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to officially declare these reform attempts. At the end of a two years period, the first encounter that is initiated by the policy makers was organized on 3 March 2014 in order to discuss the draft law on the establishment of an arts council in Turkey. Although the establishment of such a council has been the will of many in the arts scene for a long time, there were strong negative public reactions towards this ambiguous governmental agenda

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<sup>1</sup>For the whole speech of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan during the 3rd Ordinary Congress of AK Party Youth Branches on 29 April 2012 (in Turkish); (Erd12)

to conduct fundamental changes in the state support model for the arts in Turkey (Please see 2.3.4 for further details on the recent developments in Turkey).

The reasons of these negative public reactions can be explained in two main axis. The first one concerns the overall approach of the government on arts issues and decision-making mechanisms for reform attempts and administrative changes. Regarding the arts scene, it can be argued that there is not much credibility of the government due to its top-down decision making approach, the lack of communication and knowledge transparency. However, development and implementation of such crucial changes concerning the state support for the arts should be discussed on more inclusive basis to address different priorities and interests of all the stakeholders, thus, to form sustainable and effective arts policies. Moreover, there are widespread doubts on the aims of such a policy agenda, claiming that the main reason behind the attempts to close the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet is a part of the 'social engineering' project of the AKP. Within this line of thought, it is argued that the closure attempts can be considered as attacks of AKP mentality on the unappreciated lifestyles and arts environment as 'others'. Besides, another common thought is that these public arts institutions are stigmatized as products of Kemalist reformation and Westernisation movement, which is mostly criticized by the AKP members<sup>2</sup>. It is feared that this 'liberalization' attempt with the establishment of an 'arm's length' institution would turn into a strong control and censorship on the state supported arts production in Turkey. For instance, the Prime Minister's first speech on the issue was signalling the potential subjective evaluations of prospective subsidies for theatres. After stating his will to privatize the State Theatres, he was saying that "in case of need, we, as the government, would provide support to the plays that we want, when it is necessary" (Kar12). Likewise, recent incidents do not build any trust on the government for assuring the autonomy of institutions, such as an arts council. For instance, the dismissal of Mr Lemi Bilgin, the Director of the State Theatres then, on 31 May 2013, following the change of the Minister of Culture and Tourism,

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<sup>2</sup>For related discussions please see; (AS14, Aks09)

as well as the recent political subjectivity of decisions on the distribution of subsidies for private theatres, which were claimed also by the selection committee members, and the newly added pre-condition for the supported private theatre projects to be in line with the 'public moral'<sup>3</sup> can be counted among the reasons of increasing tensions and concerns for the future of the state supported arts in Turkey.

On the other hand, the second pillar of that public opposition against the closure of two biggest public arts institutions can be associated with the arts establishment in Turkey. The state has been the main initiator of the institutionalization of the arts in Turkey since the proclamation of the Republic in 1923. Additionally, due to the lack of interest in private cultural investments and absence of alternative funding schemes for entrepreneurs in the field, the institutional sustainability has always been a challenge for private/independent<sup>4</sup> arts organizations. During the last decade, there has been an increasing interest from the foundations of leading families, which are also the main drivers of local economy, as art patrons and creators of big-scale arts and culture institutions, such as the Istanbul Museum of Modern Art, Sabancı Museum, Koç Museum and Anadolu Kültür. Nevertheless, considering the geographical scale as well as the discrepancies between different regions within Turkey, it can be argued that these private initiatives are still far from being able to cover a wide geographical span and abolish the unbalanced distribution of arts production around the country. Thus, the public arts institutions, such as the State Theatres, the State Opera and Ballet, municipality theatres and cultural centres, remain as the most prominent entities, aiming at diminishing the strong centre-periphery discrepancies both within and out of big cities, and flourishing the arts across the country. That is why, there are concerns about whether the private/independent arts scene would be able to fulfil the role of the public arts institutions, namely the State Theatres and the State Opera and Ballet, in case of their closure with the establishment of an arts council. Despite the enduring need for such

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<sup>3</sup>For some related news please see; (Rad13, T2413)

<sup>4</sup>Some of the arts organizations prefer to be named as 'independent' rather than 'private'. That is why the term is used as 'private/independent'

an autonomous council and alternative subsidy schemes to strengthen the infrastructure of private/independent arts scene, such a clear cut transition with the closure of two biggest arts institutions would result in irreversible adverse negative affects on the overall arts production in Turkey. Indeed, closure of the State Opera and Ballet can be interpreted as, somehow, putting an end to the opera and ballet in Turkey, since it is almost impossible to talk about a private/independent opera and ballet establishment.

Accordingly, I argue that before any attempt to develop and implement such changes in the state support structure, it should be a priority to investigate the actual potential and characteristics of the establishment of the arts scene in Turkey, particularly considering that Turkey is a developing country which built its recently flourishing arts scene mostly through a state-centred approach. Besides, communication with experts from the field and gathering their opinions are of crucial importance to understand the actual problems and develop a more feasible solution approach. Only after such an assessment, it would be possible to discuss feasible, sustainable solutions for improving the current state support model, and built these improvements on the capacity and capabilities of the current structure.

Therefore, this chapter addresses the current assessment need, with a particular focus on the theatre scene in Istanbul. Towards this end, an extensive survey was conducted with 24 private/independent theatres in Istanbul on five aspects; (a) artistic productivity, (b) physical structure, (c) employment policy and structure, (d) budget structure, and (e) audience development and publicity activities. In addition, the opinions of the theatre representatives were gathered on the problems and needs of the field for assessing actual needs and the priorities.

The survey findings demonstrate that the theatre scene in Istanbul is substantially composed of small scale theatres with simple organizational structure with a few number of employees (in many cases without any employee). The decision-making is mostly concentrated in the founder(s), or the owner(s), of the theatre, with some exceptional theatre groups working more like a collective. The income portfolio is not diversified and

the ticket revenues is the main revenue source within general financial limitation. In terms of artistic productivity, total number of plays and performances, as well as their average measures per theatre among the survey participants, had been increasing with the growing number of theatres over the seasons between 2009 and 2013. Nevertheless, according to the opinions of theatre representatives, financial difficulties, infrastructure needs, mainly the number and sufficiency of stages, as well as limitations on artistic development and the lack of an established theatre audience appear to be the main problems of the field.

This chapter aims to analyse the organizational structure of the private/independent theatres in Istanbul and expert opinions, to illustrate the strengths and the needs of the field, and to provide recommendations for developing alternative strategies and sustainable cultural policies for the arts field. Accordingly, the outline is organized in four sections. First, a historical overview regarding the evolution of theatre in Turkey is presented in order to explain the historical context. In the following section, establishment of the arts scene in Istanbul is explained with a focus on the types of institutions and geographical distribution. After the explanation of the context, the first part of the fieldwork, namely the survey study with 24 private / independent theatres in Istanbul are demonstrated. The survey analysis are complemented by the opinions of the theatre representatives on the theatre scene in Turkey. Building on the contextual analysis and the fieldwork results, the last section provides recommendations for developing a sustainable policy agenda to address current needs of the theatre scene as a whole.

## **4.2 An Overview of the Evolution of Theatre in Turkey**

In order to understand the evolution of theatre in Turkey, it is of crucial importance to clarify what we mean by “theatre in Turkey” and, to explain spatial and temporal limitations. In general the term “Turkish theatre” is misused, representing only the theatre within the borders of the Republic of Turkey. However, as Prof Metin And explains; “the theatre of Turkish



speaking nations should be understood with the term Turkish theatre” (And09). Therefore, “theatre in Turkey” (Turkey refers to the Republic of Turkey) was chosen instead of “Turkish theatre” as the title of this section. Yet, when the term Turkish theatre is used, it refers to the Turks that settled in Anatolia, starting from the Anatolian Seljuks, continuing with the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey.

And (2009) specifies place, race, the (Ottoman) Empire, Islam and Westernisation as the five factors shaping the formation of dramaturgy (the art of drama) in Anatolia. In his book, *The History of Turkish Theatre: From the Beginning until 1983 (Başlangıcından 1983'e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi* in Turkish), the history of Turkish theatre was divided into two main branches; traditional Turkish theatre and Turkish theatre under Western influence. Nevertheless, in time, the traditional Turkish theatre, which is formed not in an institutionalized manner through village theatre (*köylü tiyatrosu* in Turkish) and public theatre (*halk tiyatrosu* in Turkish) traditions, gradually lost its prominence also through the adoption of Western theatre.

Accordingly, it can be argued that the institutionalization of theatre, particularly state-supported theatres, in Turkey was initiated through Western influences. Correspondingly, the evolution of Turkish theatre under Western influence can be divided into three periods; theatre during *Tanzimat* and *Istibdat* periods (1839-1908), theatre during the Second Constitutional (*İkinci Meşrutiyet* in Turkish) Era (1908-1923) and theatre during the Republican era (1923-present) (And09). These dates are remarkable in terms of political developments, as well as their reflections on the theatre scene.

In 1839, proclamation of *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Imperial Edict of Reorganization) brought along reorganization of the Ottoman Empire. This Imperial Edict was the beginning of the *Tanzimat* period with reforms to strengthen the unity and to take precautions against nationalist movements within the multi-ethnic Empire. Ottomanism was promoted to integrate non-Muslims and non-Turks with the Muslim and Turk population. “It would not be an overstatement to claim that the change in the Ottoman culture and arts in a modern sense started with *Tanzimat*. In the

modernization era of the arts, first newspapers, literature journals, first novel and novella in a Western sense, and the birth of theatre<sup>5</sup>, that is our main topic, were in that period” (Dem10, emphasis added). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Ottoman Empire got acquainted with the Western performing arts also before 1839. “During the first quarter of the 19th century, minorities started to watch foreign theatre companies. Besides, between 1824-1828 when (Sultan) Mahmud II established a palace orchestra, theatres and operas became widespread in Istanbul” (Bir12). However, Tanzimat was the beginning of the proliferation of arts in a Western sense among a relatively wider public. During this period, “the establishment and dissemination of the modern Ottoman theatre started by local entrepreneurs, majority of which was composed of Ottoman citizen Armenians” (G08).

The Second Constitutional Era, which can be considered as the second phase for the theatre under Western influence, starts with the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 with the restoration of the constitutional monarchy<sup>6</sup>. During this period, theatre serves as a platform to express excitement about the political changes both for artists and the wider public. However, the disappointment of the unfulfilled socio-political expectations resulted in a decreasing interest on theatre plays. Nevertheless, this period is remarkable with the establishment of Darülbedayi-i Osmani (The Ottoman House of Beauty), as the first state-supported theatre, in 1914. André Antoine was invited to Istanbul by Cemil Topuzlu Pasha to establish the institution mainly for educational reasons. Darülbedayi, going beyond its initial aim, became a professional theatre house rather than a school and started staging in 1916. Nevertheless, ‘artistically there were three important problems during that period. These were: (a) The lack of actresses; (b) Obstacles against acting to become a profession; (c) Training of actors” (And09).

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the change in cultural policies can be examined in three periods; construction of a ‘nation

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<sup>5</sup>Here, ‘theatre’ should be considered as Turkish theatre under the Western influence. Because, traditional Turkish theatre was being performed among the public at that time.

<sup>6</sup>The First Constitutional Era was from 1876 until 1878, ending with the suspension of the parliament by Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

culture' by the State (1920-1950), the political segmentation and polarization era (1950-1980) and, the globalization and the EU period (1980-Present) (Ada11).

As far as the theatre scene is concerned during the period after the establishment of the Republic, it can be claimed that more importance was given to didactic characteristics of theatre rather than the artistic side, due to its perception as a tool to disseminate the ideas of the government. The State Theatres was established in 1949, as the first national scale public theatre. "Essentially, it was aimed to establish the grounds for driven and useful Public Theatre both appealing and beneficial to the public, as well as increasing its cultural level. However, it was not achieved since the idea that theatre is primarily an art and those positive aims should be complemented with aesthetic dimension was not settled" (And09).

During the second period, the political segmentation and polarization era that was highlighted by the transition to multi-party system and military coups, establishment of the Turkish Ministry of Culture was among the most significant developments. While construction of a national culture continued on the one hand, transformation of culture into a commodity and an industry started. The market emerged as an alternative, liberating vehicle to promote popular culture. Five Year Plans were defining cultural investments and the development of cultural institutions as a part of the State's responsibility. Accordingly, the Ministry of Culture was established in 1971.

On the other hand, after 1980, neoliberal policies put forward public-private collaboration as the new promoter of the national culture. Accordingly, new laws, such as Law 5225 on Tax Incentives for Cultural Investments and Enterprises and Law 5228 on Promotion of Sponsorship in Culture that were designated in 2004, endorsed collaborative work model. The state started to function more as the regulator, rather than the investor during that era. Furthermore, public administration reforms empowered municipalities as more influential actors in the field of culture (Ada11).

Following the increasing impacts of globalization and neoliberal tendency around the world, policies became more of a global issue rather

than a national one. They are prepared not only within the borders, but also beyond. International and transnational institutions are helping to form common perspectives regionally and globally. Hence, it is inevitable to stay away from the influences coming from outside the borders of a country in the formation of cultural policies. Accordingly, the period after 1980 is very critical in the case of Turkey since it incorporates a drastic shift, concerning the attitude of the government towards culture under global influences. Privatization, reduced role of the government as a cultural investor and the increasing power of the market structure, all coming out of the neoliberal discourse, became more prominent in Turkey during that period. Particularly with the increasing power of the AK Party during the last decade, this mind shift was reflected on policies and practice more effectively.

At this point, it should also be noted that the institutional structure to handle arts and culture issues has been changed for 14 times since 1923 (Bir12). Even after the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1971, there have been structural changes, such as the merger between culture and tourism in the Ministry in 2003. The high frequency of those changes is among the obstacles against developing a common concept of culture and sustainable cultural policies. Consequently, the State Theatres has been affected by those changes as well.

As far as the theatre scene is concerned, first government subsidies were given to private theatres in 1982. Concurrently, the number of private theatres has been rising until today. Particularly after 2000s there was a drastic increase in the new theatre companies. Besides, the State Theatres has been expanding geographically with the new theatre houses and provincial organizations. Nevertheless, after the discussions about privatization of the State Theatres that took place during mid 2012 left an ambiguity about the future of state-supported theatre. In case of institutional transformations within the State Theatres, there is the need for better collaboration between governmental authorities and civil society in order to develop and implement sustainable, effective solutions.

### 4.3 The Arts Scene in Istanbul

Within the historical perspective that was briefly explained above, it can be argued that Istanbul has been maintaining its pioneer position as the cultural capital in the arts and culture field throughout time, despite the central cultural policies that are managed through Ankara, which is the official capital of the country. "The metropolis accommodates the Turkish film and music industries, media and broadcasting companies, a selection of museums, galleries and exhibition spaces, entertainment industry venues, and small, large and medium-sized cultural initiatives. The cultural organisations, activities and initiatives that take place in Istanbul do set the cultural agenda of the country as a whole" (Ü06, pg.3). Furthermore, the city leads other sectors as well. It can also be considered as "the industrial, financial and logistics centre of the country, covering over 5000 square kilometres (above 32 miles), extending from the Asian to the European side, alongside the Marmara Sea and on both sides of the Bosphorus" (AE11a, pg.35).

As far as the arts and culture establishment in Turkey is concerned, Unsal (2006) presents a directory of cultural operators, which can be outlined as follows;

1. Cultural bodies of the central administration, i.e. the Ministry of Culture and Tourism;
2. Local representatives of the central administration in districts;
3. Local administration, i.e. the municipalities and their cultural centres in cities;
4. Political parties and their cultural initiatives;
5. Privately owned cultural centres;
6. Companies in the cultural industries, e.g. music, film;
7. Non-profit, non-governmental organisations, i.e. foundations, associations, networks, platforms and forums;

8. Non-profit cultural companies;
9. Foreign cultural institutions (such as the British Council, the Goethe Institute). (Ü06, pg.1)

Taking this categorization into account, it can be argued that Istanbul hosts almost half of the arts and culture institutions in Turkey. For instance, as far as the performing arts is concerned, Aksoy and Enlil (2011) states that "Istanbul is home to 184 professional theatre companies, dance, opera and ballet ensembles"<sup>7</sup> (AE11a, pg.107).

As mentioned under 2.3.3, the provinces are governed by three main institutional structures at the local level. These are; governorships, special provincial administrations and municipalities. The Provincial General Administration and the Special Provincial Administration are the local representatives of the government. Besides, in Istanbul, due to the metropolitan status, the municipality structure is organized at multiple level, which is built on "the Metropolitan Municipality, District Municipalities and First Level Municipalities, all of which are elected bodies" (AE11a, pg.37). Thus, at the local level, representative bodies of the central government operate alongside locally elected public administration entities.

These governmental bodies constitute an important part regarding the cultural production in the city. They either provide funding for some cultural projects or directly act as a cultural actor through their establishments, such as the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre<sup>8</sup>. Besides, municipalities establish cultural centres or libraries.

Regarding the non-governmental cultural establishment, it can be argued that the variety of entities is higher compared to the public institutions, as Unsal (2006) outlines. It covers establishments like museums, art galleries and libraries alongside the cultural industries, such as publishing, advertising and architecture.

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<sup>7</sup>As mentioned by Aksoy and Enlil (2011), this number is formed of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, members of Performing Arts Initiative and the surveys that were conducted under the Istanbul 2010 Cultural Heritage and Cultural Economy Project.

<sup>8</sup>The Istanbul State Theatre is directly affiliated with the General Directorate of the State Theatres in Ankara, not with any other local administrative body.

As far as the dissemination of cultural infrastructure is concerned from a spatial perspective, two geographical clusters can be defined; the cultural triangle and the North of Büyükdere Street together with Beyoğlu-Levent-Maslak axis. “The cultural triangle can be described as an urban region where the city’s cultural infrastructure and major cultural industries are concentrated in each corner where the traces of Istanbul’s rich history and cultural heritage are reflected at the three sub-centres that are enriched with a stock of original buildings” (AE11a, pg.159). These sub-centres as the corners of the triangle can be explained as Beyoğlu-Beşiktaş-Üsküdar, Fatih including the historic peninsula and Kadıköy. The cultural triangle incorporates every type of cultural activity, such as contemporary art, cultural heritage or cultural industries like advertising or fashion. On the other hand, being established close to the central business district of Istanbul, the second cultural establishment cluster accommodates mostly companies related to the cultural industries, such as printing-publishing sector, advertising, music and TV industries. Even though companies related to cultural industries demonstrate a high concentration in the cultural triangle as well, this second cluster appears to be an alternative settlement area for these entities.

Particularly, the so-called cultural triangle is the main focus of the cultural infrastructure establishment, hosting more than half of cultural settlement in Istanbul. In this sense, it can be argued that there is a strong centre-periphery discrepancy within the city. Nevertheless, considering this framework, the striking point is the positive impacts of public administration reform during 2000s on diminishing the discrepancy between the centre and the periphery in terms physical cultural establishment. During this period, as a result of the increasing interest of local governmental units to do cultural investments resulted in formation of cultural centres and libraries also on the periphery. Additionally, as far as the cinemas are concerned, the rising trend of building shopping malls on the peripheries also increased the number of cinemas out of the city’s cultural centre. For instance, within the categorization of cultural infrastructure provided by the Istanbul Cultural Heritage and Cultural Economy Compendium 2010 project, libraries, cultural centres and cinemas are the only categories, that

are established in the periphery. In fact, an analysis of cultural centres in municipalities outside the cultural triangle yields striking results. The 40 of the 65 cultural centres owned by municipalities were founded after 2000. Of these 40 cultural centres founded after 2000, 36 are located at municipalities outside the cultural triangle and 23 of these cultural centres built by municipalities outside the cultural triangle were inaugurated after 2005' (AE11a, pg.133).

In that respect, it can be claimed that public administration reform of 2000s were effective to improve the physical geographical distribution of cultural activities, in order to break centre-periphery discrepancy<sup>9</sup>.

Within this general framework, "[t]he majority of individuals in the performing arts are engaged in theatre, which has a long history and tradition in Istanbul" (AE11a, pg.107). Public arts institutions of the city in the theatre field are Istanbul State Theatre, Istanbul Municipal Theatre (IMT)<sup>10</sup> and the Bakırköy Municipality Theatres. These public theatres are prominent with their institutional strengths, such as accumulated knowledge and experience, sustainable financial support provided by the governmental bodies, high number of technical and artistic staff, and widespread geographical distribution. "With regard to the objectives adopted, priority is given to creating awareness about the theatre arts, introducing the community to classical pieces of performing art and providing for attendance by a wide range of spectators via their low-prices ticket policies" (AE11a, pg.108).

On the other hand, from an artistic point of view, it can be argued that private/independent small and medium-scale theatres are more prominent. This can be explained by different priorities of these different types of institutions. For public theatres, the didactic and social aspects are more important, hence the priority is given to staging classical mainstream pieces with low-priced ticket policy to increase accessibility of

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<sup>9</sup>However, this measure should not be considered as only a success independently of the issues and problems regarding this public administration reform process. For a detailed discussion on the reform process within the cultural context, please see (İn09).

<sup>10</sup>In the official website the official name of the theatre, *İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Şehir Tiyatroları*, is translated as *Istanbul Municipal Theatre*. However, direct translation is *Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality City Theatres*.



theatre, while introducing it to the public with pieces that are appealing more to the common taste. Accordingly, also due to the expectations of the society from public theatres, there is less room for experimentation. Private/independent theatres, on the other hand, consider artistic achievements as the main priority. There is less social responsibilities attached both from the theatre founders or members and the audience, and more room for experimentation and innovations. Thus, it can be claimed that these two types of theatres fulfil complementary needs of the sector and are both important.

In light of this, from a wider perspective, “the remarkable increase in the number of private theatre companies and dance ensembles, especially in the post-1990s, has given a new impetus to performing arts” (AE11a, pg.107). This is also a significant development for developing a genuine, peculiar theatrical language in Turkey. More specifically, “[t]he number of theatre halls has increased by around 50 % since the beginning of the 2000s” (AE11a, pg.142). Nevertheless, despite this dynamic wave of increasing number of theatres, the institutional sustainability is still the main problem in the private/independent theatre scene. These new theatre venues are mostly in small scale. For instance, although the number of theatre halls has been increasing, the increase in the capacity remained around 30 % (AE11a), which indicates the size of these new theatre halls. Many of the newly emerging theatre companies are founded without an established stage. Thus, this increase in the number of theatres can be considered as a reflection of the rising interest and popularity, not necessarily an improvement in the economic conditions. As an example, the income portfolio of private/independent theatres is mainly composed of ticket sales, which is reflected on the relatively high ticket prices, or self revenues of the founders that are invested in the theatre. The interest of potential sponsors is still very low. Moreover, most of the theatres do not have enough employees (or any) to develop alternative funding strategies. There is also the subsidy scheme offered by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism annually on project basis. This can be recognized as the only extensive support provided on regular basis. However, the total amount is limited and dispersed among professional, amateur, children or

traditional theatres, and the support covers only the production costs of one play during the season. Besides, the decisions on the distribution of this subsidy is very much criticized and claimed to be political as well<sup>11</sup>.

Additionally, festivals and universities can be counted among other aspects contributing to the development of the theatre scene in Istanbul. According to the results of the Istanbul Cultural Heritage and Cultural Economy Compendium 2010 project, the total number of festivals in the performing arts field in Istanbul was 23 by 2010. For instance, there was a drastic increase in the number of festivals in every field during 2000s. Among these, Istanbul Theatre Festival can be considered as the most extensive theatre festival in the city. It has been organized since 1989, by the most prominent arts institution in Turkey, Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts. As an international festival, it “has aided in promoting communication with the world particularly, and especially the European arts scene; in the offering of European-funded activities and artist exchange programmes in Turkey, which has further contributed to the multi-dimensional self-development of artists in performing arts; and in increasing the number of artists’ initiatives and their independent activities” (AE11a, pg.107).

On the other hand, universities, in addition to their role in the arts education in general directly and indirectly through raising artists and audience, can also be recognized as semi-visible initiators of the theatre scene. There are many amateur theatre societies and clubs that are established by students in the universities, which lead to professional establishments in the performing arts field in general. *Boğaziçi Gösteri Sanatları Topluluğu* (BGST - Boğaziçi Performing Arts Ensemble in English) is one of the most prominent examples of such alternative establishments. Building on its roots from the Boğaziçi University, the ensemble was founded in 1995, currently covering many areas, including music, dance, theatre and research activities, as well as publishing. Another example is *Altdan Sonra Tiyatro* (Theatre After Six in English) that was founded in 1999 by a group of Istanbul Technical University alumni architects and

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<sup>11</sup>Please see 2.3.4 for a more detailed discussion on the recent developments in the theatre scene in Turkey.

engineers who used to perform at the Theatre Ensemble of the university during their education.

In brief, Istanbul can be considered as the cultural capital of Turkey, accommodating a significant amount of the entire culture field infrastructure from arts to cultural industries. Besides, it has an extensive artistic and cultural heritage conforming to its long history. As far as the theatre scene is concerned, the field is mainly composed of the Istanbul State Theatre, Istanbul Municipal Theatre and Bakırköy Municipality Theatre, as public arts institutions, and small or medium-scale private/independent theatre ensembles that are mostly non-profit. Besides, rising number of municipality cultural centres are contributing to the development of the field by investing on the periphery and offering venues to theatre companies. Additionally, festivals and universities provide alternative platforms serving to the proliferation of the field. Nevertheless, geographical concentration of the cultural infrastructure that results in a high centre-periphery discrepancy and financial problems threatening institutional sustainability appear as the main obstacles of the theatre scene in the city. Yet, Istanbul is also the centre of the theatre field, offering “a significant portion of the cultural infrastructure in performance arts” (AE11a, pg.142).

#### **4.4 A Closer Look on the Private/Independent Theatres in Istanbul**

Due to the lack of literature and research on the theatre scene of Istanbul, there is the prominent need to develop a research agenda to collect data in order to analyse current situation of the private theatre establishment and its capacity in Istanbul on concrete basis. Only then, it would be possible to place the current discussions regarding the state-support for the arts on a robust, accurate pillar. In order to address this need, a survey was carried out among the interested private / independent theatres in Istanbul within the scope of this research. This section presents the survey design and results. Accordingly, the following subsection will describe the survey design and implementation process. Then, the survey results will be presented in line with the thematic sections of the survey. The findings

will be summarized and critically argued in the discussion section.

#### **4.4.1 Survey Design and Implementation**

This section aims to explain the survey design and implementation process in detail, while underlining the challenges and strategies followed to overcome those challenges.

The survey method was chosen because it is possible to cover more aspects with a focused, written format. Additionally, due to the variety of issues covered in the survey and the necessity to go through archival official documents for the requested data, it would not be possible to gather information on that many aspects with another method, for instance through in-depth interviews. The surveys were sent online so that the respondents can have more time to fill in the survey.

As the first step of the survey design, a detailed questionnaire that focuses on managerial issues of private theatres was prepared on five aspects; (a) artistic productivity, (b) physical structure, (c) employment policy and structure, (d) budget structure, and (e) audience development and publicity activities. Those aspects were chosen according to the current needs for analysing the private theatre scene establishment in Istanbul. In the first section, foundation year, total number of plays and performances for the seasons between 2009 and 2013 are requested. Physical structure questions focus on the geographic span that the theatres' activities cover, as well as possession of a stage, type of this possession (whether it is rent or not), quantity of stages, their capacity and technical conditions. In the employment section, type and quantity of permanent and temporary workers are requested. Furthermore, there were also questions on wage policy, social security of employees, and interns / volunteers. The fourth section is concerned with income resources and, requests information on the details of revenue and expenditure schemes during the seasons between 2009 and 2013. Considering that the participants may not have organized budget data in detail, some guidance is provided in this section. There was a multiple choice question on income sources and, revenue and expenditure tables for the seasons between

2009 and 2013, with common budget items, are presented to be filled in by the survey participants. Lastly, the section on audience development and publicity activities consists of questions on audience profile, total number of audience for seasons of 2009 - 2013, ways to distribute tickets and channels to generate publicity activities. (For further details, please see the survey in Turkish and English in the appendices)

Taking the scope of the questions into account, the survey covered almost all the issues regarding management of private theatres. Therewith, it was also very demanding. The aim was to reflect the current situation of private theatre establishments in detail. However, this can be defined as the main challenge of the study. First of all, it was a limitation to reach a representative sample. Many of the theatre groups, who initially showed interest to participate in the study, did not provide their data after receiving the questionnaire, despite the reminders that were sent twice. Several possible reasons, which mainly stem from the conditions of theatre establishments, can be explained at this point. First, almost all the theatre groups are not institutionalized and they operate on project or per play basis, surviving mostly on voluntary contributions. Accordingly, they also do not keep a proper track of their institutional performance, such as detailed budget with revenue and expenditure schemes or total number of plays, performances and audience per season. So, even though it was explained during the correspondence that it is not obligatory to answer all the questions, some of the representatives stated that they can not participate due to the lack of data. Another problem was the time and effort required to fill in the survey. Most of those theatre groups operate with very few staff, sometimes only with unpaid volunteers, who not only have a very busy work schedule for the theatre, but also do other jobs, such as teaching, translation and TV series or advertisements, to earn their living. The survey results, which will be explained in the following sections, are also in compliance with those explanations. In this sense, despite the willingness to contribute to the research, many theatre groups did not have proper time and effort to dedicate for gathering unorganised information that they have. Thus, the research strategy was defined in line with the trade-off between generating a less demanding, generic survey

with more participants or conducting a detailed, deeper research with less participants. Eventually, the latter was chosen as the research strategy with a compromise in the sample size. Nevertheless, in-depth analysis was conducted with this comprehensive survey.

Another major challenge was to compile a list of currently active theatres in Istanbul and get in contact with them. As mentioned before, online communication, that is supported by phone calls in case of necessity, was chosen as the communication strategy. Concurrently with the survey preparation process, a comprehensive communication list of theatre groups in Istanbul was compiled. Nevertheless, gathering contact details, even only the names of currently active theatres in Istanbul, was a big obstacle. Although there are some online platforms, such as *Tiyatro Dünyası* (Theatre World), *Tiyatro Portal* (Theatre Portal) and *Tiyatro Dergisi* (Theatre Journal), none of them provides an updated, complete list of all the theatres in Istanbul. Therefore, a significant amount of time was spent to constitute an actual communication list of theatres in Istanbul by gathering information mainly through theatres' official websites, portals, forums, newspaper articles, awards schemes, Google search and Facebook. However, many theatres do not have official website, and even if they have, many of those websites are also not updated regularly. Hence, it was difficult to collect accurate communication information. Ultimately, a list of 149 theatres, stages and initiatives was formed with the available information through online and archival research. Theatre groups focusing only on children's theatre were not included in this list, conforming the aims of the research.

Among those 149 groups, 90 were chosen according to the availability of communication information, their activeness and types. Since the research focuses on the structure and establishment of theatre groups per se, stages and common initiatives were not taken into account during the selection process. Online communication, more specifically e-mails, was useful, considering the extensive scale of Istanbul and better traceability of correspondence with high numbers of theatres. Accordingly, the correspondence was mostly managed online (in addition to the phone calls in case of necessity) and first communication was sent on 17 June 2013.

This initial step was for presenting the research project with the scope and aims, and asking whether they would be interested in contributing to the research through filling up a questionnaire. Unfortunately, contact information of ten theatres was not active and the correct information could not be obtained through phone calls as well. Among the rest of the group, 36 out of 80 theatre groups stated their interest to participate in such a study. Following positive responses to participate in the study, the surveys were delivered to the potential participants by e-mail, within maximum one day. Nevertheless, it took a some time to collect the surveys with accurate data and ultimately 24 out of 80 theatres, delivered the surveys.

Following the first correspondence on 17 June 2013, only 15 surveys were received during the following months. Hence, the first general reminder was sent on 9 September 2013 to the theatres who expressed that they want to participate in the study but have not sent the data yet. Subsequently, two more surveys were received. At the same time, a notification e-mail, informing the survey participants on the progress of the study was delivered to 15 theatres who already sent their data. Nevertheless, the progress was still not satisfactory. That is why, a second general reminder, also including the theatres which did not provide any reply before, was communicated on 19 January 2014. Following the second reminder, additional 7 theatres filled up the survey in the following month. On the other hand, the whole communication process was supported by individual reminders, phone calls and appointments in some cases. In the end, the survey was completed with participation of 24 theatre groups in Istanbul. The overall survey design and implementation process took eight months in total, from June 2013 to January 2014. The following section explains the survey results in line with the issues that were covered in the questionnaire.

#### **4.4.2 Survey Results**

Taking into account the size of the sample population, no pre-selection method was applied on the formation of the sample and it was aimed to achieve maximum number of participants within the sample population.

Thus, the representativeness of the sample was dubious, considering the sample size of 24 survey participants with respect to a population of 80 theatres. Accordingly, confidence level of 95 % with a confidence interval of 16.8 % was obtained. Therefore, statistically generalizing the results of this study to the entire population is doubtful. Nevertheless, these results still have considerable importance to provide a panorama of the private theatre establishment of Istanbul.

As far as the general profile of the survey participants is considered, all of them can be grouped as small scale theatres with few permanent staff, which correspond to the overall structure of the private theatre establishments in Turkey. Nevertheless, the majority of survey participants are professional establishments, while few are built on alternative structures that will be explained later in detail.

The results will be presented in line with the survey sections, which are; (a) physical structure, (b) employment policy and structure, (c) budget structure, (d) artistic productivity, and (e) market and audience development.

### **Physical Structure**

Majority of the survey participants operate within a simple organizational structure. The founder, or the owner, is the main decision-making mechanism. Besides, all the participated theatres are small scale organizations with very few number of permanent staff, without multiple layers of management. Accordingly, despite the necessity to separate managerial and artistic issues into different departments in theatres in order not to overload the artistic team with managerial work, the founder(s) is the main responsible of all the issues. Thus, the institutionalization degree is low for these theatres.

Among the 24 independent theatre groups, which participated in the survey, the majority can be considered as young establishments that were founded after 2000. *Ortaoyuncular* is the oldest theatre, established in 1980. Additionally, only four groups, corresponding to 17.4 % of the sample, were founded during 1990's (Please see 22 for the List of the Survey Participants).



**Table 22:** List of the Survey Participants

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Foundation Year</b>
1	Altıdan Sonra Tiyatro	1999
2	Atölye Tayfası	2005
3	Atölye Tiyatro	2001
4	BeReZe	2006
5	Drama Kumpanya	2008
6	Duru Tiyatro	2007
7	Fabrika Sanat	2010
8	gnlev	2011
9	ikincikat	2010
10	İstanbul Dünya Sahnesi	2004
11	Kara Kutu	2009
12	Krek	1999
13	Mask-Kara Tiyatrosu	1994
14	Ortaoyuncular	1980
15	Oyun Alanı	2012
16	Oyun Atölyesi	1999
17	Tiyatro Ak'la Kara	2011
18	Tiyatro Birileri	2006
19	Tiyatro Gerçek	2008
20	Tiyatro Hal	2009
21	Tiyatro Kedi	2001
22	Tiyatrotem	2001
23	vetiyatro	2007
24	Yabancı Sahne	2012

Stages						
Mean	Std Dev	Median	N	Min	Max	Sum
0.75	0.74	1.00	N=24	0.0	3.0	18.0

**Figure 2:** Statistical Measures of the Number of Stages

The geographical span of these theatres can be argued to be concentrated within the cultural triangle, despite all the tours that they are having. This is a reflection of the general tendency of cultural institutions to be settled in vicinity to each other in concentrated, cultural neighbourhoods. In the case of Istanbul, the dominance of ‘cultural triangle’ is observable. These three districts have a long history of cultural establishment and as a natural consequence of their past, they still remain as the main attractions.

As far as the physical establishment is concerned, around 40 % of the participants does not have a stage. Besides, among the ones which have stages, the stage of İstanbul Dünya Sahnesi is only for rehearsals and it is not suitable to perform for audience. As it can be seen on 2 the maximum number of stages that a company has is 3, while the total number of stages within the survey participants is equal to 18. The capacity of the stages per theatre mostly range between 50 to 250. There are only three stages, corresponding to 20 % of the whole, that have higher capacity (Please see 3 for details).

On the other hand, some of the stages can be organized to host different amounts of audience. In this case, the average of the minimum and maximum audience capacities was taken as a measure for calculations, in case the stage capacity is changeable. Overall, the total capacity of all the stages is 2,976, with a mean of 198 (Please see 4 for details).

Among the 15 theatres that have a stage, only one, Ortaoyuncular, partly owns and partly rents the property of the stage (Please see 23 for the details). Besides, Atölye Tiyatro, which is a university-rooted theatre, uses the stage of the Management Faculty of the Istanbul Technical University. At the time of the survey, the terms for using the stage were

		Freq	Col %
<b>Stage Capacity</b>	0.0	1	6.7%
	50.0	2	13.3%
	70.0	1	6.7%
	75.0	1	6.7%
	85.0	1	6.7%
	100.0	1	6.7%
	153.0	1	6.7%
	156.0	1	6.7%
	200.0	1	6.7%
	207.0	1	6.7%
	240.0	1	6.7%
	300.0	1	6.7%
	550.0	1	6.7%
	740.0	1	6.7%
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Figure 3:** Stage Capacities

<b>Stage Capacity</b>					
<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Sum</b>
198.40	153.00	N=15	0.0	740.0	2976.0

**Figure 4:** Statistical Measures of Stage Capacities

in an ambiguous situation. According to their agreement with the former Dean of the Faculty, they were not paying any rent in return of their investments in the stage for renovation. With the change of the Dean, they were expected to pay rent, starting from September 2013.

Additionally, two theatres have rent agreements with governmental bodies. Atölye Tayfası is supported by the Municipality of Bakçelievler and has a yearly agreement regarding the usage of the stages. Moreover, by means of this collaboration, Atolye Tayfası has two stages, one with 500 and the other with 240 audience capacity, corresponding to the highest total capacity among the survey participants. On the other hand, Duru Tiyatro obtained the renting rights of its stage, that is under property of the Ministry of Education, through a tender. They have one stage with

**Table 23:** Type of Stage Ownership

<b>Type of Agreement</b>	<b>Freq</b>	<b>Col %</b>
Own Property	1	7.1 %
Rent	13	92.9 %
Other	1	7.1 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100 %</b>

300 audience capacity, that is the third highest audience capacity among the survey participants.

As a summary, it can be argued that the survey participants are composed of small scale theatres with simple organizational structure. The decision-making is mostly concentrated in the founder, or the owner, of the theatre, with some exceptional theatre groups working more like a collective. Despite the tours to various neighbourhoods of Istanbul, as well as to other cities, most of the activities are concentrated within the cultural triangle in Istanbul, conforming to the cultural triangle of the city. Nevertheless, almost half of the theatre groups do not have their own stage, that also highlights the need for developing solutions for creating more performance spaces to boost the artistic production in the city. Besides, the existing stages mostly do not have high capacities and among the 3 theatres with highest total audience capacity, 2 are using governmental properties through agreements.

### **Employment Policy**

As mentioned in the previous section, independent theatre establishments in Turkey are mostly small scale organizations that function with low number of permanent staff, mostly on voluntary basis.

Taking into account the financial problems of theatres in general and the controversial employment structure, mostly depending on voluntary contributions rather than re-compensation of professional efforts in monetary terms, 'permanent staff' is defined as the paid employees that are hired without any time frame limitation, for this study. For instance, if a theatre mentions 4 permanent staff but only one has a salary and oth-

	Freq	Col %	
<b>Permanent Staff</b>	0.0	5 20.8%	
	1.0	1 4.2%	
	2.0	2 8.3%	
	3.0	3 12.5%	
	4.0	1 4.2%	
	5.0	3 12.5%	
	6.0	3 12.5%	
	7.0	1 4.2%	
	8.0	2 8.3%	
	9.0	1 4.2%	
	10.0	1 4.2%	
	13.0	1 4.2%	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Figure 5:** Total Number of Permanent Staff

ers work on voluntary basis, the total number of permanent staff for this theatre is recorded as 1 and 3 was added to the total number of volunteers.

Accordingly, 5 out of 24 theatres, that corresponds to 21 % of the survey participants, do not have any permanent staff. As it can be seen on 5, the maximum number of permanent staff is 13 and more than half of the theatres have less than 5 permanent employees.

Regarding the temporary employees and volunteers, it was difficult to figure out the accurate information on the quantities over the survey responses. First of all, there is a conceptual confusion, stemming from the structural problems of the field. Thus, the difference between those two terms appeared to be vague for some of the survey participants. Because, most of the professional staff, either permanent or temporary, works on voluntary basis without any payment or by having little, volatile daily allowances that again corresponds to a type of voluntary work. Therefore, even though the definitions of permanent and temporary employees were based on having a type of payment, confusion on categorizing the

<b>Permanent Staff</b>						
<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Sum</b>
4.42	3.57	4.50	N=24	0.0	13.0	106.0

Figure 6: Permanent Employees

<b>Interns/Volunteers</b>						
<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Sum</b>
5.05	8.77	1.00	N=20	0.0	35.0	101.0

Figure 7: Volunteers

current staff was observed among the survey responses. Nevertheless, the question on the wage policy was helpful to solve the confusion and figure out the actual numbers of staff according to relevant categories. Besides, many theatres stated both for temporary and voluntary staff that the number of people changes according to project and season. Some survey participants specified that all the theatre staff or all actors are working voluntarily without receiving any payment.

Overall, it can be argued that volunteers constitute the basis of the workforce in theatres. For instance, the average of volunteers per theatre corresponds to 5, while the average of permanent staff is 4. Nevertheless, the number of volunteers<sup>12</sup> is more volatile than the number of permanent staff among the survey participants, as it can be observed through the values on 6 and 7. For instance, the range of the total number of volunteers for a theatre covers from 0 to 35, while it is 0 to 13 for the permanent employees. So, it can be argued that there is a high dependence on the voluntary workforce within the theatre scene to the extent that the average volunteer workforce per theatre is higher than the average permanent staff.

On the other hand, one of the most commonly discussed issues in

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<sup>12</sup>At this point, it should be mentioned that 20 out of 24 survey participants provided data on their volunteers.

the art scene is the status and social rights of the employees. Thus, the survey covered this issue in order to provide detailed information on the social security of theatre employees. Among 23 theatres, which provided information on the social security structure, 10 theatres, corresponding to 43.5 % of the respondents, are not able to provide any insurance to employees. Under these circumstances, no social security is provided to permanent employees of those theatres, which is equal to 30 permanent theatre professionals in total. It also corresponds to 28.5 % of the total number of permanent employees of the survey participants. At this point, it should also be mentioned that, two of the survey participants, Tiyatro Birileri with three permanent staff and Mask-Kara without any permanent staff, provide insurance for their temporary staff according to their contract duration. This is also a rare, positive case in the theatre scene. However, due to the variability of temporary staff and its typological difference, those are not included in the calculations.

Furthermore, even among the theatres which provide insurance, some do not have the means to insure all the permanent staff, so that only few of the staff would have this opportunity. Besides, among all the permanent employees, 64 of them are insured in total. However, in line with the provided information from the survey participants, total number of permanent employees of those theatres providing insurance is 70. Accordingly, it can be argued that around 10 % of permanent employees in those theatres are not benefiting from social security. This also demonstrates the financial limitations of theatres. Despite their willingness to provide social security for the employees, there is the lack of ability to do so for all the staff. Subsequently, summing up the un-insured permanent employees of all the respondents, the total of un-insured permanent employees is equal to 36, which is 34 % of all the permanent staff.

As far as the wage policies are concerned, 13 out of 22 theatres, that is 59 % of the respondents, stated that they can not provide any regular salary for the employees. The type of payment among those, if they can provide any, is based on daily allowances. Besides, most of the theatres, which are able to provide regular salaries, mentioned that the wages are very low (in line with the country standards).

**Table 24:** Revenue Sources of Private Theatres

<b>Revenue Source</b>	<b>Freq</b>	<b>Col %</b>
Ticket Revenues	21	95.5 %
Sponsorship (in money)	4	18.2 %
Sponsorship (in kind)	2	9.1 %
State Subsidy	4	18.2
Grants (such as EU funds)	0	0 %
Donations	1	4.5 %
Rent Incomes	1	4.5 %
Auxiliary Services (such as café)	3	13.6 %
Other	10	45.5 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100 %</b>

Taking into account the survey results regarding the employment structure, it can be argued that one of the primary need of private theatres is to sustain the institutional framework with increased number of permanent employees. Besides, status, social security and salaries of the private theatre employees are mostly weak and needs improvements.

### **Budget Structure**

Gathering information on the budget structure was the most difficult part of this survey. At this section, the information was requested with two types of questions. The first one was a multiple choice question, asking the income resources of the theatre by providing eight options with an additional 'other' option. In the second question, two tables were provided with main budget items both for revenue and expenditure schemes, for the seasons between 2009 and 2013. Hence, it was a very demanding section, mainly due to the lack of institutionalisation in private theatre establishments, with the absence of adequate budget bookkeeping. On the other hand, some theatres did not prefer to share budget details due to the privacy issues. Ultimately, even though the level of information collected on the budget details was not sufficient for further analysis, it was possible to examine the income resources structure with the information provided by 22 theatres out of 24 survey participants.



As it can be observed on 24, the main revenue source of almost all the theatres, 95.5 %, is the ticket revenues. Besides, benefiting from sponsorship, either in monetary terms or in kind, is very low, corresponding to only 18.2 % of the respondents. The share of theatres receiving state subsidy also corresponds to 18.2 %, with 4 theatres out of 22. However, it should be remarked that Ortaoyuncular, which mentioned state subsidy as a source of income in the survey, was not included in the state subsidy scheme this year following all the recent discussions on political selection of subsidized theatres. Hence, even though the theatre benefited from the state support during the previous years, it is not a part of the income scheme for this year. Additionally, Mask-Kara Theatre was not supported by the state subsidy this year on the contrary to the previous season, as a result of which the permanent staff was dismissed due to the lack of financial resources. Since the theatre did not mention the state subsidy as a source of income in the survey, Mask-Kara was not considered as a state support benefiter during the analysis.

Revenue generation from other options, which are donations, stage renting incomes and auxiliary services, such income generated from a café in the theatre, is very low. Alternative strategies that few theatres use were stated as municipality support, incomes from membership cards, acting workshops, special projects and organizations. Membership or discount cards are used by only three theatres among the respondents, which are Altıdan Sonra Tiyatro, Duru Theatre and ikincikat. In general, the ticket price schemes follow a simple division between normal price and one type of discount ticket. In the special organizations, the plays are staged exclusively for a group of people in a special occasion and a total fee for the play is paid to the theatre by the institution in charge of the organization, instead of selling tickets. Furthermore, acting workshops generate extra income for theatres, such as BeReZe, Duru Tiyatro. Besides, none of the respondents benefit from any kind of grants, such as European Union funding schemes.

As another alternative, the theatre founders generate income from various types of secondary jobs and invest this personal income in the theatre. For instance, revenues from founding partners' TV series, ad-

vertisements, lecturing and translation works are spent on the theatres' expenses. This is another indicator that explains the institutional structure of those theatres as small scale founders' theatre.

Distinctively, Atölye Tayfası, Atölye Tiyatro and Drama Kumpanya appear as alternative establishments among the survey participants. Atölye Tayfası, established in 2005, is supported by the Municipality of Bahçelievler. They have exceptional conditions, compared to other theatres, with 5 permanent staff and 2 stages that have 740 audience capacity in total. Besides, all the performances are free of admission and the Municipality support is mentioned as the only income source in the survey. Atölye Tiyatro has been building on its professionalism over the years as a 13 years old theatre society, having its roots at the Istanbul Technical University. Keeping its amateur spirit, all the members are volunteers and none of them receives any type of payment. Besides, there are two income sources; ticket revenues and membership fees that are collected from the voluntary members of the theatre. Lastly, Drama Kumpanya is another voluntary based theatre group that exists through the financial contributions of its members since 2008. There is no other revenue source, including the ticket revenues. As an alternative principle, they request books from the audience as the entrance fee and donate those books to the schools in need.

To conclude, it can be claimed that mostly there is a high dependency on the ticket revenues and revenue sources are not diversified. Even with this high dependency, strategies to increase ticket sales, such as with membership cards, are not utilized by most of the respondents. Other alternatives, such as acting workshops and wholesale, are also not commonly used. One of the surprising survey findings was that, apart from 4 theatres receiving state subsidy (one does not receive for this season), none of the respondents benefit from any other type of funding schemes, such as European Union grants. Survey results indicate that financial problems is one of the most crucial problems of the private theatres.

## Artistic Productivity

The survey results regarding artistic productivity focus on three measures; the total number of plays, total number of performances and the average number of performances per play. Relevant data was requested for the seasons between 2009 and 2013. Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that due to the lack of keeping data in general and archiving, some theatres could not provide any information or the requested information was approximately stated.

**Table 25:** Statistical Measures of Plays

	Mean	Std Dev	Median	N	Min	Max	Sum
2009 – 2010	2.63	1.45	3	16	1	6	42
2010 – 2011	2.79	2.02	2	19	1	9	53
2011 – 2012	3.25	2.17	3	20	1	10	65
2012 – 2013	3.45	3.1	3	22	0	15	76

As far as the total number of plays is concerned, it can be observed that it had been increasing with the growing number of theatres over the seasons between 2009 and 2013. (Please see 25 for details) The most productive theatre among the respondents is Altıdan Sonra Tiyatro, generating maximum total number of plays for all the seasons. However, average per theatre productivity was almost stable around 3. Accordingly, the total number of performances was increasing during those seasons as well. Yet, the average number of performances per theatre had been increasing from 82 to 96 over time with a 17 % change. (Please see 26 for details)

**Table 26:** Statistical Measures of Performances

	Mean	Std Dev	Median	N	Min	Max	Sum
2009 – 2010	82.2	67.06	65	15	7	210	1233
2010 – 2011	83.26	62.98	70	19	5	198	1582
2011 – 2012	93.2	64.36	107.5	20	10	185	1864
2012 – 2013	95.91	81.52	70	22	0	239	2110

On the other hand, it is useful to examine average life of a play in order

**Table 27:** Average Number of Performances per Play

	<b>Performances / Play</b>
<b>2009 – 2010</b>	32
<b>2010 – 2011</b>	30
<b>2011 – 2012</b>	29
<b>2012 – 2013</b>	28

to understand to what extend a production has the potential to reach more audience in terms of number of performances. For the calculations, the total amount of performances was divided by the total number of plays per season, considering data collected from all the respondents. However, one of the respondents provided only the total number of plays, which is equal to 3, without the total number of performances for the 2009 - 2010 season, due to the lack of data. Therefore, even though it was included on 25, the total number of plays of this respondent was not considered for the calculation of average number of performances per play. Subsequently, as it can be seen on 27, the average number of performances per play was decreasing over the seasons between 2009 and 2013. Considering that average performance per play was 28 during the 2012 - 2013 season, it can be argued that the average life of a play is low for the private theatres and the decreasing trend it has been following for those four seasons should be taken into account cautiously. Main potential reasons can be specified as artistic choice, giving priority to variety instead of staging the same play more or the general financial problems and the lack of stages for private theatres. If a theatre group does not have its own stage, then the renting expenses is a burden for the limited budget. Additionally, the increasing number of private / independent theatres is not supported by a similar amount of increase in the potential audience. Therefore, in addition to the necessity to solve private theatres' problems, there is also the need to strengthen the demand for theatre, in line with the increasing number the supply.

Accordingly, it can be concluded that total number of plays and performances, as well as their average measures per theatre, had been increasing with the growing number of theatres over the seasons between 2009 and

2013. Nevertheless, despite this increase, the average life of a play, that is the average number of performances per play, was decreasing during these seasons. This is a measure that should be assessed carefully. Even though, it can be explained as a theatre's artistic choice to increase plays' variety while compromising their average performances, the standard deviations on 25 and 25 demonstrate that there is a high variability among the respondents in terms of artistic productivity. Particularly, the number of performances covers a wide range, for instance from 0 to 239 for the 2012 - 2013 theatre season. Besides, considering each theatre's measures in detail, 9 of the respondents had been experiencing decreasing trends regarding the performances, while it was increasing for 8 theatres. The rest of the respondents' measures are more volatile so that it was difficult to categorize in neither. Thus, it can be argued that the artistic productivity of the private theatre scene is driven by some of the relatively bigger theatres, while the rest is having difficulties to sustain their artistic productivity. On the other hand, considering the other aspects, those relatively bigger theatres are also limited in scale in terms of other aspects like the employment structure and social security of employees, as reflected in the survey results, despite their increasing artistic productivity.

### **Market and Audience Development**

Growing number of theatres from 2009 to 2013 also reflected on the total number of audience that the respondent theatres reach in total. The total number of audience that the respondent theatres reach in total was increasing from 180,386 to 303,109 over the seasons between 2009 and 2013 (Please see 28 for further details). The main reason of this increase can be explained as the growing number of theatres over the same period. Furthermore, the average number of audience per theatre also increased during the same period from 12,026 to 15,155. However, as it can be observed through the standard deviations, there is a huge discrepancy among the respondents in terms of the total number of audience they reach. Additionally, as far as the changes in the amount of audience through seasons per theatre is concerned, it can be claimed that none of them sustains stability and the changes do not necessarily follow an

increasing trend. The majority of the respondents' audiences were decreasing or experiencing a mixture of both. Thus, the increase in the total amount of audience should be examined carefully before making positive inferences. Nevertheless, it should also be remarked that some of the respondents provided approximate numbers based on estimations. Furthermore, the total number of audience for some theatres includes also the free entrances. For instance, one respondent stated that the total number of audience does not fully correspond with the ticket revenues, because they also invite people to fill the theatre in case there is not enough interest by the ticketed audience.

**Table 28:** Audience

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<b>2009 – 2010</b>	12026	13259	7000	15	400	43239	180386
<b>2010 – 2011</b>	15527	18900	6750	16	350	60000	248432
<b>2011 – 2012</b>	15308	16380	10000	19	500	60000	290858
<b>2012 – 2013</b>	15155	17797	9961	20	0	70000	303109

As far as the ticket price policies are concerned, two of the survey participants' plays are free of admission fees. These are Atölye Tayfası, which is supported by the Municipality of Bahçelievler, and Drama Kumpanya, which asks its audience to bring books to be donated instead of charging them with ticket prices. Apart from these two theatres, the ticket prices range from 19 TL, which is a discount ticket, to 50 TL. Thus, it can be argued to be high for the general standards of Turkey. Nevertheless, as mentioned in 4.4.2, since the ticket revenues is the main income source within the financial limitations of private theatres, a decrease in the ticket prices seems like not possible without the development of alternative financial strategies. Even under current conditions, as stated by many of the survey participants and, reflected on their permanent employees' number and social security structure, it is difficult for private theatres to cover the production costs and pay regular salaries or sufficient amount of daily allowances to the employees. Potential audience and capacity of the stages are also other parameters affecting the ticket prices.

Considering the ticket selling methods, box offices are the most common way that is used by 82 % of the respondents. The second most commonly used platform is internet with 81 %. Regarding internet usage for ticket sales, majority agrees with an online ticket selling intermediary company, such as Biletix or MyBilet. The third common ticket selling practice is to sell the staging of the play as a whole for special organizations. In this case, the performance is only for an exclusive group of people for a special occasion and either it is for free or the organizers decide on the ticket price and are in charge of ticket sales. (Please see 29 for further details)

**Table 29:** Ticket Sale Strategies

	<b>Freq</b>	<b>%</b>
Box Offices	18	86%
Internet	17	81%
Other	4	19%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100%</b>

All the survey participants replied the question on the publicity strategies. Accordingly, internet appears to be the most commonly used platform by the majority, corresponding to 96 % of the sample. More specifically, the social media usage was widespread among 15 theatres that provided the details of internet usage. All of the respondents are Facebook users, 73 % has Twitter accounts and only one of the respondents did not have an official website. Internet usage was followed by the distribution of printed materials, such as posters and handouts, and giving advertisements in the media. Among the respondents that specified the type of advertisements, print media is the most commonly used medium. Only one respondent mentioned TV and another stated that they use billboard advertisements (Please see 30 for further details).

Additionally, only one theatre in the sample has an agreement with a professional company for publicity activities.

Overall, it can be concluded that the total number of audience that the participants reach had been growing over the seasons between 2009 and 2013 in line with the growing number of theatres over these seasons.

**Table 30: Publicity Strategies**

	<b>Freq</b>	<b>% within the Total</b>
<b>Printed materials</b>	19	79%
<b>Internet</b>	23	96%
<b>Advertisement</b>	16	67%
<b>Other</b>	2	8%

However, there is a huge difference among the theatres and the lack of sustaining certain level of audience over the seasons for all the respondents is evident. On the other hand, as far as the publicity strategies are concerned, the utilization of potential strategies can be considered as sufficient taking into account the limitations of the respondents in terms of permanent staff and financial resources.

#### **4.4.3 Summary of the Survey Findings**

The survey findings demonstrate that the theatre scene in Istanbul is substantially composed of small scale theatres with simple organizational structure with a few number of employees (in many cases without any employee). The decision-making is mostly concentrated in the founder(s) or the owner(s) of the theatre, with some exceptional theatre groups working more like a collective. Geographical span is mostly concentrated around some neighbourhoods, thus not being able to cover the city sufficiently. The income portfolio is not diversified and the ticket revenues is the main income source within general financial limitations. As far as the artistic productivity of the survey participants is concerned, it was increasing with the growing number of theatres over the seasons between 2009 and 2013. However, the institutional sustainability remains as a challenge so that the future of this rise in the number of theatres and continuity of newly established theatre are still dubious. In terms of audience development, there is the need for improving publicity activities in order to reach a bigger and more extensive audience. In this respect, increasing social media usage can be considered as a positive development. Nevertheless, relatively high ticket prices, in addition to some external factors such as



the education, income levels of the potential audience, can be considered as a limitation to reach a more diverse audience profile.

## **4.5 Opinions of Private/Independent Theatres on the Theatre Scene in Turkey**

During the survey implementation, the participants were also requested to provide their opinions on the problems and needs of the private/independent theatre scene in Turkey. These opinions demonstrate similar tendencies. Thus, it was possible to form clusters in order to outline the main challenges of the field from the perspective of the theatre producers.

Almost all the participants agree on the financial difficulties and lack of infrastructure as the main problems of the theatre scene in Turkey.

### **4.5.1 Financial Difficulties**

Financial difficulties were identified by the representatives of the surveyed theatres as the main problem of the theatre scene in Turkey. These difficulties can also be considered as the primary cause of most of the other mentioned challenges in general, such as the infrastructure needs. For instance, the representative of *Altıdan Sonra Tiyatro* mentioned insufficiency of the ticket revenues, while MASKKARA was drawing attention to high production costs.

As it can be deduced from the survey results, private/independent theatres are dependent on the ticket revenues to a great extent. This can be explained by the lack of alternative funding opportunities. Interest of potential sponsors is low and alternative financial support frameworks at national level do not exist. Besides, international grants, such as the ones under the European Union framework, are highly competitive and, the application process requires a lot of effort that is difficult for theatres to dedicate within their working conditions and limited (mostly non-existent) staff.

In Turkey, the only regular national funding scheme is the subsidy that is annually distributed on project basis by the Ministry of Culture

and Tourism. Nevertheless, the total amount is still not sufficient enough to support the infrastructure of the private theatres significantly and the credibility on the decision-making structure is low among the theatre members. For instance, one of the survey participants stated opinion on the issue as follows;

“The most crucial problem is the financial support. The importance and support, given to theatre by the State is evident. It is very difficult to get a share from this little amount. Our theatre - as well as other independent theatres around us - receive a rejection always with the same excuse article, that is sent by rote. The ironic part is that we precisely fulfil all the conditions that are stated under this article. ... We do not apply for the state support any more.”

In this regards, another participant, Oyun Alanı, stated that selection through watching the plays would be better than evaluating applications by a selection committee and jury.

Correspondingly, due to the lack of alternative financial support schemes, theatre members try to earn their living and income from side jobs and invest their savings in theatre. Nevertheless, these side jobs also limit the time and effort to be spent on the main purpose; theatre. Thus, the artistic productivity and creativity are limited as well.

Another issue that was commonly raised by the theatre representatives was the need for some incentives provided by the State, particularly regarding the tax burdens. There was a general concern to be treated in the same way with other business firms in terms of legal obligations and other tax burdens.

The striking point regarding these opinions is that almost all of the theatres recognize the State as the main responsible to improve the conditions of the theatre scene. No other potential solution regarding the financial difficulties was mentioned among the survey participants. There can be two main explanations of this approach. First, there is an awareness among the theatres regarding the potential sponsors' lack of interest. Theatre community, mainly the audience, is a relatively small crowd. Besides, there is also limited mass media appearance. Hence, it is not very attractive and promising in terms of expected returns for a potential spon-

sorship. Secondly, as explained before<sup>13</sup>, the cultural institutionalization has been mostly built around a strong central state support throughout time. From a legislative perspective, the state is liable for providing and guaranteeing artistic activities in order to fulfil the intellectual needs of citizens. Therefore, the arts producers also consider the state as the main promoter, also in relation to the lack of sponsorship interest and other sustainable alternative strategies.

Furthermore, some survey participants highlighted the importance of multilevel state support at not only the Ministry but also municipality level. Particularly with the increasing number of cultural centres, the municipalities have the potential to provide more stages, while public administration reform would enable them to invest more on theatre and develop alternative funding schemes, also for the arts in general. Particularly after the recent discussions on the distribution of the state support for private theatres, the importance of more active municipality level involvement in the theatre scene became more apparent. Subsequently, some theatres, such as Boğaziçi Performing Arts Ensemble, and civil initiatives increased their efforts to initiate such a collaboration that would lead to a substantial improvement in the field regarding many aspects, such as more balanced geographical distribution, diminishing financial burdens and concerns of theatres that would allow them to spend more effort on the artistic development.

In this respect, Atölye Tayfası, which is established in 2005 with the support of the Municipality of Bahçelievler, can be considered as a unique example among the survey participants. Thanks to the support of the Municipality, this theatre ensemble has exceptional conditions in comparison with other theatres, such as the high number of permanent staff, more than sufficient infrastructure with 2 stages of 740 audience capacity. Besides, they are more free of financial concerns, such as the box office revenues, since thanks to the Municipality support the admissions are for free. Accordingly, the free admissions also contribute to the diversification of audience profile and proliferation of theatre culture that would eventually lead to the creation of a wider and loyal theatre audience.

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<sup>13</sup>Please see 2.3.2 for the details.

## 4.5.2 Infrastructure Needs

The main infrastructure need can be defined as the lack of stages. Then, there are issues related to human capital, technical facilities, décor and costume. For instance, Oyun Atolyesi referred to the insufficiency of the qualified potential employees, while Tiyatro Hal mentioned the lack of people specialized in culture and arts management. Nevertheless, these secondary issues were not mentioned much, since the urgent need is considered as the need for available spaces for theatre performances and rehearsals.

As it can be seen under 4.4.2, 40 % of the survey participants do not have their own stage. This proportion is also similar to the overall picture. In this respect, the private/independent theatres have complaints about the insufficiency of the number of stages for not only stagings but also rehearsals.

First, the theatres without stages have more transportation constraints. For instance, décors and costumes should be carried to the stages where the performance will take place. Arrangements are mostly required since stages may differ among each other. İnan Ambarkütük from Fabrika Sanat states that they are having difficulties to find stages of higher quality for rehearsals and practices for artistic improvement within their budget limits. Thus, these issues cause artistic constraints as well.

Due to the lack of stage affiliation of a significant share of theatres, there is the rent burden, even for the rehearsals, in addition to the already existing financial difficulties. Audience development can be mentioned as another related difficulty. It is harder for theatres without a stable performing location to create audience loyalty. Considering that the publicity activities of theatres are generally not sufficient despite the increasing utilization of social media nowadays, changing locations and more time spent on following the program may hinder creating a loyal audience group and attracting new potential audience.

For instance, Öykü Gürpınar from Atölye Tiyatro states that “such theatres (with financial, technical and physical infrastructure needs), due to their limited budgets and resources, have the tendency towards a

certain kind/style of theatre; low budget, narrow cast and easy to travel (portable) productions are started to be preferred. Because, a sufficient technical infrastructure to enable such theatres to experiment does not exist.”

Additionally, Berkun Oya, the founder of Krek, mentioned that there is the lack of general support in order to establish new, long-lasting stages.

### 4.5.3 Artistic Development and Audience

tiyatrotém is the main participant referring to the artistic concerns. They define artistic problems as “the lack of methodology, disregarding dramaturgy, not working sufficiently, disconnection with the academy, not doing fieldwork, lack of reading; heading towards something ‘new’ without comprehending accurately.”

Besides, improving local plays with a genuine theatre language appears to be another considerable concern. Krek mentions the need for new good local theatre scripts, ikincikat remarks the importance of creativity and Atölye Tayfası refers to the need to improve quality of projects.

Turgay Doğan from gnlev provides a wider perspective. He states that the understanding of the arts has not been established in depth yet and in this regard the lack of arts education is evident. Current education is built on the existing ‘rights’ rather than initiating creative thinking and innovations. Besides, the independent theatre scene is not capable of self-organization yet.

Another main issue in the field is identified as the audience. The regular theatre audience is considered to be a very small community. According to Oyun Alanı, “primarily there is the need for audience that make a habit of going to theatre and is curious about different plays”. Besides, Öykü Gürpınar specifies the limitations for alternative theatres. “The theatres that try to produce alternative works, if there is not any popular actor in its embodiment, would have difficulties to attract audience’. She further explains that the main determinant here is the prevalence of this type of alternative works that cannot be promoted for mass consumption within the independent theatre field. Consequently, independent

theatres paradoxically experience continuous difficulties in order to attract audience.

A related concern appears to be publicity. Such activities are very limited in the theatre field. As it can be seen on 4.4.2, the most widely used platform is internet, particularly online social media, for publicity activities. However, the level and dissemination of advertisements are limited. Thus, the publicity activities are considered as insufficient by many of the survey participants in order to expand the audience both in terms of profile and quantity. Financial difficulties can be explained as the main cause of this lack of publicity. Tiyatro Ak'la Kara and Fabrika Sanat suggest some facilitating measures to be taken by the media for theatre advertisements as a solutions.

## 4.6 Insights for the Policy Agenda

As Tahsin Konur specifies, 'theatre should be considered within the concept of public interest. The State is liable to meet the cultural needs of the public, and theatre needs as one of its components, just as it fulfils the educational and health needs of the public, in order to obtain the commonwealth. Besides, since these duties serving for the public interest are performed with the taxes that are collected from the members of the society, the principle of equal opportunity should be followed for offering artistic goods and theatre to the public, just as equal educational opportunities.' (Alk00, as cited in pg.47)

Accordingly, in Turkey, the State has the responsibility to ensure cultural services, while improving their accessibility for every segment of the society in line with the principle of equal opportunity. Accordingly, the State is the main authority in charge of strengthening the arts scene across the country through direct intervention by public arts institutions and/or providing support for the arts organizations as in the case of subsidies or market facilitating measures. Besides, the protection of the arts and artists is also stated in the 1982 Constitution that is in force at present, as a part of the Fundamental Aims and Duties of the State.

Within this framework, considering the current reform attempts on the

state support system for the arts in Turkey, I argue that the establishment of the private/independent theatre scene is not sufficient to fulfil the needs of the society. Thus, the reform agenda entails the risk of causing unreparable damages in the arts production in Turkey with the closure of the State Theatres. Besides, it would not be correct to ascribe any public mission to the private/independent arts institutions. Unfortunately, there has not been an extensive assessment study to demonstrate the characteristics of the private/independent theatre scene establishment for understanding its capability to fulfil the role of the State Theatres in case of its closure.

In light of this, the conducted survey among 24 private/independent theatres in Istanbul and the theatre representatives' opinions provide valuable inputs to assess the feasibility of the closure of the State Theatres and to develop recommendations for the policy agenda.

The main findings of the survey can be outlined as follows;

- The theatre scene in Istanbul is substantially composed of small-scale organizations, most of which can be defined as 'founder's theatre' without multiple levels of management;
- There has been a rise in the number of theatres with many new establishments during 2000s. Accordingly, apart from few theatres that were founded before 2000, the overall theatre establishment can be considered as 'young';
- The geographical span of the theatre establishment is mostly concentrated around some (cultural) districts;
- Almost half of the theatres do not have their own stages. Among the ones that have, only one has partly ownership. The rest have rent or special agreements;
- In general there is no or few number of permanent staff with monthly salaries. Besides, a considerable amount of permanent employees works without any social security. Thus, the overall theatre scene is highly dependent on voluntary contributions;

- The income portfolio is very limited and highly dependent on the ticket revenues;
- The overall artistic productivity in terms of total number of plays and performances has been increasing with the growing number of theatres over the seasons between 2009 - 2013. However, the difference between the theatres is high and the average number of performances per play has been decreasing;
- The total number of audience has been increasing over the seasons between 2009 - 2013. However, as in the case of other artistic productivity measures, the discrepancy between theatres in terms of audience is high<sup>14</sup>;
- Internet is the most commonly used platform for publicity activities. There also exist some alternative publicity strategies, such as using group on type promotional websites. However, these alternative attempts are very limited at the moment.

Furthermore, the theatre representatives were requested to provide their opinions on the and needs of the private/independent theatre scene in Turkey. Considering these opinions and the survey findings, the main issues of the theatre field can be defined as the following;

1. *Financial problems, which also hinders institutional sustainability, artistic creativity and productivity;*
2. *Lack of infrastructure, particularly insufficiency of the number of stages;*
3. *Weak employment and social security structure with limited job opportunities;*
4. *Lack of publicity activities;*
5. *Lack of established theatre audience.*

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<sup>14</sup>It should also be noted that many of the data that was provided by the participants were approximations.



In light of the survey findings and the outlined issues, I believe that the theatre scene in Turkey would be severely damaged in case of such a clear-cut transition to an arts council at arm's length with the closure of the State Theatres. As demonstrated with the survey findings, the private/independent theatre establishment would not be capable of fulfilling the needs of the society across Turkey as mentioned in the Constitution<sup>15</sup>, at a sufficient level with its current weak infrastructure. Thus, the reform agenda regarding the arts field in Turkey should be built on careful assessments and the strengths of the current structure. Besides, following a more inclusive approach is of crucial importance to address the needs and priorities of different stakeholders at a sufficient level. In this regard, I argue that the following recommendations would be useful to develop a sustainable arts policy agenda on the theatre scene in Turkey;

- *Giving more importance to arts education at schools:* Education is of crucial importance for arts participation (Bec76, Bec82, Bor84). Therefore, arts policies can not be considered without a comprehensive approach that includes education strategies to raise arts audience and artists. As it can be observed in the case of the leading independent theatres that have their roots at the university theatre ensembles, it is of crucial importance to have the possibilities for acquaintance with theatre during education. Besides, as it can be seen in 5, many of the public opinion survey participants were referring to the need for art education at schools. Thus higher importance should be given to the issue and arts education should be integrated in the school programs more sufficiently, also incorporating active participation to at least one theatre play every year, particularly during the primary school education;
- *Multi-level state support for theatre:* As stated by many survey participants, more active involvement of municipalities is essential as low cost high impact solutions. First, the recently increasing cultural centres can be used more frequently by private/independent theatres both for rehearsals and performances. This would make

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<sup>15</sup>Please see 2.3.1 for the details.

a significant contribution to solve the main infrastructure problem and release the financial burden on theatres at least to some extent. Besides, as in the case of the collaboration between Atolye Tayfasi and the Municipality of Bahcelievler, a long-term collaboration between a theatre and municipality can generate successful results regarding all the issues mentioned before, such as assuring institutional sustainability, expanding geographical span, improving working conditions and fulfilling the municipalities responsibility to serve to their areas' cultural needs. Besides, it requires less resources, efforts and responsibilities to achieve successful results immediately for the municipality;

- *Improving current subsidy framework for private theatres:* Primarily, the decision-making mechanism for the distribution of this subsidy is highly criticized as being subjective and politically bounded, particularly after the latest support scheme for the 2013-2014 theatre season, not providing subsidy to the theatres on the grounds that they supported Gezi protests against the government (please see Chapter 2, Section 4 for the details). Therefore, before establishing an arts council, the objectivity of which is already dubious among the public, the current decision-making regarding the distribution of subsidies should be improved and autonomy of selection committees should be assured. Besides, the current subsidy scheme covers professional, amateur and children's theatre altogether. Thus, there is the need to separate these sub-branches to form more specialized selection committees regarding different types of theatres.
- *Creating alternative support frameworks:* The current subsidies for private theatres is not considered as sufficient by the theatre representatives and the current subsidies are distributed only on production basis per play. That is why there is the need for establishing different types of state subsidies, addressing different issues. Such a framework can be varied as follows; (a) subsidy for playwriting that is given to individuals and ensembles; (b) subsidy for establishing a new stage that is given to ensembles; (c) incentives for the tax

payments and maintenance costs such as electricity and water;

- *Improving working conditions:* The main issue regarding the working conditions is the need for legislative recognition of artists. It should be possible for artists, including technical staff, to be able to work on freelance with the support of a legislative framework. Thus the required market facilitating measures should be taken for the protection of theatre professionals, including artists, designers and arts technicians. Besides, some incentives can be prepared for promoting the social security for the arts employments, such as a decrease in the social security payments of theatre employees compared to the other sectors;
- *Support for publicity activities:* Publicity activities is essential for expanding the theatre audience by increasing the visibility of the ensembles and plays in general. However, it is not possible for the theatre ensembles to invest in publicity with the current financial difficulties. That is also why internet and social media are the most widely-used publicity platforms. There is still need to use mass media to reach out the existing theatre audience. In light of this, the State can adopt a strategy to promote publicity of the arts, including theatre, by sharing a certain percentage of the total weekly advertisement time on the national TV, TRT, and providing a certain portion of the billboards that are under management of municipalities for the arts activities, including theatre, without any charge. This can also be considered as a potential low cost and immediately effective strategy.

## Chapter 5

# Public Opinion on the Cultural Policies and the State Theatres in Turkey

### 5.1 Introduction

Public funding in arts and culture has been deeply studied in the literature. Two of the main matters of those discussions can be stated as; (I) the development of an inclusive decision-making approach that incorporates public opinion and (II) a common understanding to reflect positive externalities that appear as a consequence of the peculiar nature of arts and culture. Inclusive decision making is particularly important to meet the needs of the society accurately and build the cultural policies on sustainable basis, thus increase society's satisfaction in line with the public opinion. On the other hand, without acknowledging and measuring the positive externalities of cultural policies, it is not possible to grasp the efficacy of state support, cultural policy agenda and the significance of public arts institutions.

As far as the cultural policy making in Turkey that is explained in 2.3.2 is concerned, it can be argued that a central top-down approach has been the main practice for decision making process throughout the history.

Besides, to the best of my knowledge, there has not been any extensive study on public opinion, particularly considering cultural policies and the theatre scene in Turkey. Hence, there is the prominent need to conduct such a study in order to identify the tendencies within different segments of the society regarding arts and culture field, and to understand the extent to which current cultural policies meet the will of the public, while emphasizing the importance of an inclusive approach in policy making. Therefore, this chapter aims to address this need, reflect the public opinion regarding arts and culture field and provide policy recommendations based on the results of a public opinion survey that was generated within the scope of this research. Towards this end, a comprehensive survey was prepared with a particular focus on the theatre scene, and conducted in ten districts of Istanbul with 436 participants. In line with the aims, the questions were grouped under four themes. Those themes are:

- Theatre attendance;
- Opinions on cultural policies and the State Theatres;
- Willingness to pay (WTP) to sustain the State Theatres regarding valuation;
- Personal information about socio-economic profile.

Within this scope, the following section will explain the survey design and implementation, while pointing out the expected challenges to conduct such a survey. Then, the characteristics of the sample will be introduced. Finally, the survey results will be presented in two parts. The first part will focus on the findings concerning the theatre attendance, opinions on the cultural policies and the State Theatres, while investigating the correlations with socio-economic profiles of the respondents. In this part, descriptive statistics and statistical correlation tests were employed for the analysis. On the other hand, the second part presents the results of WTP values and their relation with other variables. As a stream of the Contingent Valuation Methodology (CVM), WTP is a widespread, yet very much discussed methodology, aiming at measuring positive externalities of public goods through asking people's WTP to sustain a public good in

a hypothetical situation. Therefore, this section initially introduces a brief summary on the literature regarding the CVM, incorporating also the discussions on potential biases. Then, the findings of the WTP questions will be presented through econometric regressions on the basis of other variables, in addition to descriptive statistics. Using econometric regressions also enables to examine common paths of public good valuation of the individuals, with similar socio-economic backgrounds. Finally, the results and policy implications will be discussed in the conclusion.

Overall, this public opinion survey contributes to fill a significant literature gap on cultural studies regarding Turkey, while providing a deeper investigation of the theatre scene. The results constitute a valuable input for policy makers. Moreover, this study argues that periodic public opinion surveys, on condition that a representative sample is constituted, can be used as a method to incorporate public opinion in decision making, in order to benefit from an inclusive approach to develop sustainable cultural policies. Besides, this pioneer research provides a fruitful basis for prospective research projects in the field.

## **5.2 Survey Design and Implementation**

The main challenge of such a study on the public opinion is to find an appropriate methodology to collect data comprehensively. Accordingly, conducting a public opinion survey was chosen as the most appropriate method to collect data directly from a representative sample of respondents. By doing so, it was aimed to eliminate intermediaries, thus in order to minimize the manipulation of data, and to ensure that the respondents are not influenced by anyone else.

As far as the content of the survey is concerned, it was composed of four parts on; (a) Theatre attendance, (b) Opinions on cultural policies and the State Theatres, (c) Willingness to pay (WTP) to sustain the State Theatres regarding valuation, and (d) Personal information about socio-economic profile. In the first part, information on theatre attendance during the previous year, number of plays and type of theatres attended (the State Theatres, City Municipality Theatre or private theatres), will-

ingness to attend theatre more as well as the change in conditions that would enable increased theatre attendance was collected. The questions of the second part were on opinions concerning the share and usage of the state budget for arts and culture, importance, institutional needs and prospective financial strategies of the State Theatres, and whether the private theatres can fulfil the role of the State Theatres. As mentioned before, the WTP section was included in the survey in order to address the discussions in the literature concerning measurement of non-use values, or positive externalities, of cultural goods, in the case of the State Theatres. Besides, most of the WTP studies in the culture field was conducted in developed countries. Thus, another aim was to investigate the potential results of this methodology in Turkey, as a developing country. Lastly, the final section of the survey consists of personal information on age, gender, education, profession, monthly salary, weekly working hours and residency. Furthermore, the family structure was detailed with total number of people living in the same house and family members without income. Free time activities were also requested to enable clustering of the respondents more precisely in line with their social profiles. However, the order of the questions were not strictly arranged according to those sections. The reason was to attract the responder more and keep him / her focused during the whole survey with an harmonious order. Only the last part on personal information was separate since it was optional due to the privacy issues.

The questions were formulated in four formats; (a) dichotomous, (b) open-ended, (c) scale, and (d) multiple choice. Combining those four types of questioning assured a balance between leaving the respondent free to express his / her ideas, while providing some guidance when necessary. In those cases, the guidance was provided in a neutral manner, balanced between both negative and positive directions. Thus, implementation and transcription of surveys were also facilitated at an optimum level. The variables that are constituted in line with the questions will be explained in the survey results section. For more details, the survey can be seen in the appendices both in Turkish and English.

More specifically, a substantial challenge regarding the content was

to develop an accurate approach to reflect the valuation of the State Theatres by the public, including positive externalities. In order to generate a solution, three complementary lines of thought were reflected on the survey questions. First, theatre attendance, including the number of plays attended in the State Theatres, were detailed. Since attendance in theatre, more specifically in the State Theatres, is an actualization of interest, thus a measure of value, the first stream of questions were implicitly reflecting a positive valuation of the State Theatres. Second, a question on the valuation was asked directly as 'Do you consider the State Theatres as an important institution? Why?'. Multiple choices were provided for both positive and negative replies, including an "other" option, so that the reasons were stated explicitly. Lastly, a WTP section was included in the survey at two levels. In this section, a dichotomous yes/no question was followed by another one in an open-ended format, requesting the exact annual amount in Turkish Lira that the respondent would be willing to pay in order to sustain the State Theatres. This question served the purpose in two manners. Primarily, it provided a direct monetary measure to evaluate the value given to the State Theatres by the respondent (the methodology is detailed in 5.4.3). Besides, it allows to analyse the relation between the WTP value, either for the dichotomous choice or the monetary value and, other preferences and constraints on multi-variable basis by econometric regressions. By doing so, it would be possible to demonstrate the weighted impacts of socio-economic profile, for instance the level of education and income, on the valuation of a cultural product, in this case the State Theatres, at individual level. Demonstrating the correlations and weights between those variables is particularly important for developing sustainable cultural policies.

Subsequently, the first draft of the survey was conducted online on a test group in order to assess whether the data to be gathered would meet the aims of the research and to understand the feasibility, as well as other potential challenges of such a survey. The test group was composed of people with relatively higher socio-economic background, including both users and non-users of theatre. There were 30 respondents in the group, with an age range from 20 to 30. All of the participants were minimum



bachelor degree students or graduates. Besides, the ones having a regular monthly income were earning minimum 1000 TL per month (approx. 340 Euro - 8 January 2014). The main goal of this initial step was to assess the adequacy and comprehensibility of the questions. Thus, the representativeness of the test group was not a priority. The respondents were also requested to provide comments on the questionnaire. Following their comments, necessary revisions on the questions were conducted and the survey structure was finalized. Implementation of the test group study took around two weeks and was finalized at the beginning of May 2013.

One of the main inferences of this initial step was regarding the survey method. Test group surveys were conducted online through Google Forms. However, it was evident that face-to-face interviews, despite their higher costs in terms of time, financial and human resources, would be more beneficial for the study, due to two prominent reasons. Firstly, using online interviews inherently reduces the sample population to a significant extend, by excluding people who do not have access to internet connection or who do not use internet commonly, such as older generations or people from low income groups. Therefore, face-to-face interviews on street, as common public spaces that are used by people from every segment of the society, was chosen as the best alternative strategy. Besides, the collected information on the socio-economic profile of the respondents enabled to test the vulnerability towards sampling bias and the sample's representativeness. Secondly, face-to-face interviews facilitate comprehensibility of questions, thus accuracy of the answers, by providing opportunity to ask for clarifications to the interviewer in case of an ambiguity, particularly if the respondent is not familiar with theatres.

Nevertheless, in order to assure the accuracy of the survey results and conclusions, reaching a representative sample that would reflect the diverse socio-economic demographic structure of Turkey was of crucial importance. Istanbul was chosen as the geographic area of the survey, due to its centrality in terms of artistic and cultural production in addition to its demographic characteristics as a melting pot. Nonetheless, Istanbul,

while providing many strengths for such a study, has an extensive city scale that is built on 5,343 km<sup>2</sup>, with a population of 13,854,737 people (Mun). Hence, in accordance with the available resources and time, covering such a wide geographic area was a substantial obstacle regarding representativeness of the survey. Therefore, to improve geographical representation, 39 districts of Istanbul were divided into 10 sub-groups with respect to their geographical proximity and one district was chosen among each sub-group. The chosen districts are; Büyükçekmece, Esenyurt, Gaziosmanpaşa, Bakırköy, Fatih, Şişli, Kadıköy, Ataşehir, Kartal and Sultanbeyli. Taking into account the overall socio-economic status of inhabitants in those neighbourhoods, the representativeness of the sample in socio-economic terms was improved as well.

Accordingly, street interviews were conducted face-to-face to obtain higher accuracy of the results with a more representative sample in line with the available resources. Towards this end, a team of five people was formed among the members of a semi-professional theatre group, Atölye Tiyatro. This team conducted the surveys on central points of chosen districts of Istanbul. Then the collected data was digitalized for the analysis. This method enabled the interviewers to approach respondents with different profiles, such as age, gender, profession, and take notes on the respondents' answers in case they are suspicious of unreliable information. Besides, the team's familiarity with theatre scene in Turkey was a valuable input for the research, also assuring the motivation and high performance of the interviewers. A detailed briefing was given to the interviewers before the implementation process and continuous supervision was provided by the presence of the researcher in the field.

The average time required to conduct one survey was around seven minutes and, it varied according to the interest and time constraints of the participant. The wording of the questions were chosen in a neutral way to not to influence respondents. Additionally, the survey team was instructed to not to use mimics or imply any expectation, while asking questions in order not to direct the answers with the way they address the question. Moreover, the transportation was one of the most time consuming issue during the implementation, having the risk to cause considerable

amount of delays, due to the wide geographical span. However, private transportation, as well as public transport, was used whenever convenient, in order to minimize the time spent in the traffic and overcome the problem of transportation.

On the other hand, there are some complications stemming from street interviews. For instance, due to the wide scale of Istanbul, many people live in different districts than where their workplaces are. Nonetheless, since the chosen district was representing a subgroup of 3 to 4 adjacent districts, the probability of people living outside the subgroup was not significant to constitute problems concerning geographic sample representativeness. Another major concern was about the profiles of potential participants. Since the surveys are conducted on daytime during weekdays, it is more likely to find housewives, unemployed people or people under 18 years old on the street. To overcome this problem, the survey team worked also during midday so that people with diverse professions could also participate in the survey while they were in lunch breaks. Implementation results, precisely the data on profession of the participants, demonstrated that this was a simple, yet useful solution. Another criteria was that the participants should be over 18 years old or should have a job or stable income in case they are under 18. This age limit was stipulated for two reasons. First, this is the prerequisite for voting. Since the survey aims to develop policy recommendations, it was important to represent 'voters' to have a legitimate base for argumentation. Second, the WTP section demands a rational judgement, which also requires a criteria regarding age as a measure of expected rationality. There were only three participants in the sample, who are 17 years old, but with a job and stable income.

For the sake of composing a representative sample and to achieve 95 % confidence level with 5 % confidence interval for statistical accuracy of the findings, minimum sample size was required to be 384, considering the total population of Istanbul. Nevertheless, taking the possible problems during the implementation into account, it was planned to reach 500 respondents during the implementation process, adding a margin of 30 % to the sample size in order to avoid failure. By calculating the share of the

total population of sub-group districts within the Istanbul population, the minimum and maximum quotas per chosen district as the representative of the sub-group were defined, considering minimum 384, maximum 500 total sample size. Ultimately, the survey was completed with 444 participants. Following the elimination of 8 surveys due to the age limit and inconsistency of answers, the sample was defined with a size of 436 participants, achieving 95 % confidence level with 4.69 % confidence interval. Hence, the final sample size achieved to go beyond the initial goal, with 52 additional survey participants.

The overall survey design and implementation process took around four months, from April to July 2013 and no major problem was encountered during this process. Eventually, the survey implementation was completed with sufficient achievements, even succeeding to reach beyond the initial goal in terms of sample size. A representative sample of Istanbul inhabitants was composed meeting the aims of this research. Furthermore, the selection bias was minimized through careful analysis on the socio-economic profiles of participants and, the conformity between the sample characteristics and the demographic structure of Istanbul. The following section will provide the details of the sample composition and explain the characteristics by descriptive statistics.

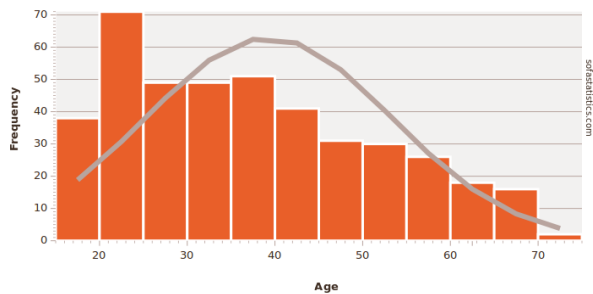
### **5.3 Characteristics of the Sample**

This section aims to specify the characteristics of the sample in terms of socio-economic features. The data, regarding personal information, was collected directly from the participants during survey implementation process. Within this framework, specifications on age, gender, education, profession, weekly working hours, monthly salary, residency, family size and family members without income were requested to specify the overall sample profile. Furthermore, information on theatre attendance and leisure activities was collected to advance the findings of the survey. Nevertheless, due to the privacy issues regarding personal information, this survey section was optional. Besides, since some respondents preferred to reply only some questions within the personal information part, the

total quantity of information differs among specified socio-economic features. Therefore, in this section, sample characteristics will be explained in line with the quantity of provided answers and differing quantities of observations per variable will be mentioned.

As explained above, in order to improve representativeness of the sample, the districts of Istanbul were divided into 10 sub-groups and one district was chosen from each. By doing so, it was aimed to reach a more representative sample, covering a wide geographical span and, thus, incorporating socio-economic diversity of the city. The assumptions here were; (a) the probability of conducting survey with a respondent, who does not live in one of the districts within the sub-group, is very low and not significant, (b) survey participants who live in one of the other districts within the sub-group would foster a more representative sample by reflecting peculiar characteristics as a representative of his/her residency district, and (c) people with similar socio-economic characteristics reside in closer districts. Nevertheless, a question on residency of respondent was included in the survey to be precise on the overall geographical span and the difference between the survey point and residency of respondents.

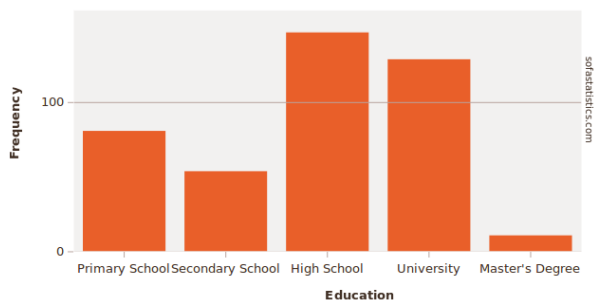
Accordingly, it was achieved to conduct the survey minimum one participant from 36 out of 39 districts of Istanbul. Additionally, as far as the aims of the sample design is concerned, the total number of participation in the survey followed a balanced manner among the sub-groups of the districts.



**Figure 8:** Histogram of the Age Distribution of the Sample

The mean age of the sample is 37 with a median at 35 and a standard deviation of 14. The age range covers from 17 to 75. As it can be seen on the histogram of age distribution of the sample in 8, the normal curve demonstrates a balanced age distribution for the sample with a relatively higher concentration around 20 - 25 age cluster. Despite the age limit at 18, there were 3 exceptional participants, who were 17 years old but with a stable job and income. At this point, it should also be mentioned that only 422 out of 436 participants provided information on their age.

29.5 % of the participants were female, while 70.5 % were male among the 424 participant who allowed their gender to be recorded. Majority of the respondents, 34.8 %, were high school graduates. 30.6 %, 19.2 % and 12.8 % of the respondents were, university, primary school and secondary school graduates respectively. Only, 2.6 % was master degree holders and there was no participant with a higher degree of education in the sample<sup>1</sup> (Please see the bar chart in 9).



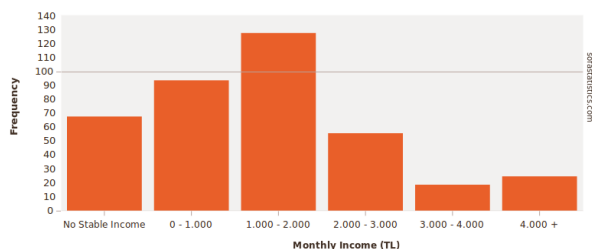
**Figure 9:** Education Composition of the Sample

As far as the household structure of the sample is concerned, the total number of members living in the same house covers a range from 1 to 24. Majority of the families, that is 33.1 %, is composed of 4 members. It is followed by 3 members with 17.6 % and 5 members with 15.7 %. Besides,

<sup>1</sup>The compulsory schooling used to be for five years, corresponding to the completion of the primary education. However, with the transformation to the 8 years compulsory education in 18 August 1997, the secondary level was abolished and primary education was redefined for 8 years. Therefore, the respondents answers were administered in line with the prevailing education system of their times.

both median and mean of the family size responses also meet at 4.

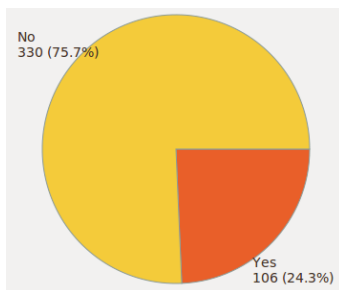
17.4 % of the respondents do not have a stable income, while more than half of the respondents, 56.9 %, earn monthly 0 – 2000 TL (approx. 675 Euro - 4 January 2014) as seen in detail on the bar chart in 10. The professions cover a wide range, including for instance service, energy and education sectors, with various positions. The mean of the weekly total working hours among the 287 provided replies is 61 with a median at 60 and a standard deviation of 21. However, it should be noted that for calculating these measures, the values of some respondents, who are temporary employees, were not taken into account as well as some replies that are over 105 hours of total weekly working time. Besides many people replied as 'depends' due to their highly volatile working schedule, even though they have a permanent job. These findings indicate that working overtime is a common practice for the sample and thus working people are mostly very limited in leisure. These results are also coherent with the findings of leisure activities, among which 'watching TV', as a less demanding house activity, is the major preference of the sample.



**Figure 10:** Monthly Income Distribution of the Sample

All of the respondents provided information on their theatre attendance. 'Having been to theatre during the previous year' was determined as the criteria to define users and non-users. Accordingly, 24.3 % of the sample was theatre users, while 75.7 % was composed of non-users. The average number of the plays attended for theatre users, excluding 4 people who mentioned that they attended theatre but did not provide number of plays, is 3.59 with a median at 2. Moreover, around 50 % of

the theatre attendees have been to the State Theatres' plays, which also implies the significance of the State Theatres within the whole theatre scene in Istanbul.



**Figure 11:** User & Non-users of Theatre

Reflecting the opinions of non-users is particularly important for this study, in order to understand the significance of positive externalities of arts and culture in Turkey, more specifically the State Theatres. In this sense, despite the fact that theatre attendance is relatively higher in the sample compared to the general theatre attendance in Turkey, which is an expected outcome due to lack of theatre supply in other cities, the centrality of Istanbul in arts production, as well as higher education opportunities in the city, it was achieved to compose a representative sample in terms of both users and non-users of theatre. At this point, it should also be noted that the only extensive study on the theatre scene in Turkey was conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK). However, it only concerns theatre attendance and does not provide any further analysis in terms of other variables. Therefore, there is the prominent need to investigate the opinions of both users and non-users of theatre, for providing input to develop sustainable cultural policies.

As far as the leisure activities of the sample are concerned, watching TV appears to be the major reply that corresponds to 59.6 % of the sample. The daily time spent on watching TV varies from half an hour to ten hours, with a mean at 2.48 and a median of 2 hours. Then, reading and attending cultural activities follow. Among the cultural activities, the most popular



one was specified as cinema. On the other hand, the least selected reply within the leisure choices is 'doing sports' with 22.2 %. Nevertheless, the general tendency of respondents to overstate their social profile, as well as some vagueness in the definitions of those activities should be mentioned. For instance, many respondents stated 'having rest' as a leisure activity or the ones who chose 'reading' mostly specified that they read newspapers every day. Besides, the lack of leisure time for working people, with a mean of 61 weekly working hours, was decisive on their choices of social activities.

Taking into account the factors affecting leisure activities, monthly income and education require more investigation regarding their relation with attendance in cultural activities. Considering the impact of monthly income level, apart from the respondents who do not have a stable income, it can be observed that the share of cultural activity attenders do not display a considerable change among different income groups. As it can be seen through the Pearson's Chi Square test results on 12, there is no statistically significant relation between the monthly income and attendance in cultural activities. Besides, a possible explanation of high attendance within the respondents without a stable income can be the higher amount of leisure time, thus more opportunity to expand their leisure activities.

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Leisure" and "Monthly Income (TL)"**

p value: 0.532 <sup>1</sup>  
 Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 4.124  
 Degrees of Freedom (df): 5

		Monthly Income (TL)												TOTAL	
		No Stable Income		0 - 1.000		1.000 - 2.000		2.000 - 3.000		3.000 - 4.000		4.000 +			
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Leisure	Other responses	37	43.1	65	59.5	81	80.4	35	34.6	12	11.8	15	15.7	245	245.0
	Cultural activities	29	22.9	26	31.5	42	42.6	18	18.4	6	6.2	9	8.3	130	130.0
	TOTAL	66	66.0	91	91.0	123	123.0	53	53.0	18	18.0	24	24.0	375	375.0

Minimum expected cell count: 6.24  
 % cells with expected count < 5: 0.0

**Figure 12:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Attendance in Cultural Activities and Monthly Income

On the contrary to analysis regarding monthly income level, the relation between education and attendance in cultural activities is statistically

significant, as it can be seen through the Pearson's Chi Square test results on 13. There is a significant increase in the share of participation in cultural activities, as the education level increases. For example, while this share is 7.8 % among primary school graduates, it increases up to 56.3 % among university graduates. Therefore, it can be claimed that as the education of one increases, it is expected that the potential to attend cultural activities increases as well, irrespective of the monthly income level. This also implies that there is not a significant relation between economic elite and participation in cultural activities, unless it is reflected on the education level.

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Leisure" and "Education"**

p value: < 0.001 <sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 51.748

Degrees of Freedom (df): 4

		Education											
		Primary School		Secondary School		High School		University		Master's Degree		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Leisure	Other responses	71	49.1	39	33.8	86	86.6	56	81.5	6	7.0	258	258.0
	Cultural activities	6	27.9	14	19.2	50	49.4	72	46.5	5	4.0	147	147.0
	TOTAL	77	77.0	53	53.0	136	136.0	128	128.0	11	11.0	405	405.0

Minimum expected cell count: 3.993

% cells with expected count < 5: 10.0

**Figure 13:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Attendance in Cultural Activities and Education

Taking all the characteristics of the sample into account, it can be concluded that the survey captured data from a broad range of respondents across all indicators. After the explanations on the profile of the sample, the following section will present the survey results.

## 5.4 Survey Results

Following the completion of the survey implementation process, survey results were generated in four steps; (a) digitalization of data through Excel application, (b) processing data through SOFA - Statistics Open For All software for descriptive statistics, (c) processing data through STATA 12 for econometric regressions, and (d) interpretation of processed

data. Transcription of data was conducted on Excel due to the familiarity with, as well as practicality of this spreadsheet application. Besides, the spreadsheet format is convertible for any data processing software that would facilitate the analysis in case of the need to use different programs, in this case for using both SOFA and STATA 12. The data digitalization phase required great attention to avoid mistakes during transcription from hard copies to electronic environment and it took one week to complete digitalization of all the surveys. Initially, 444 surveys were digitalized. However, 8 surveys were eliminated from the sample due to the age limit and unreliability of replies, such as a big discrepancy between the high amount of WTP and low amount of monthly income. On the other hand, as far as the data processing software are concerned, SOFA was chosen due to software's user friendliness and presentable design features for tables and graphs, for instance compared to SPSS outputs. Furthermore, STATA 12 was chosen for econometric regressions due to positive recommendations about the software and its common usage by economists. The survey results that are formed through interpretation of the processed data are explained in this section. The variables, which are defined with the survey questions, can be seen in detail with the question types on 31.

As mentioned before, the survey is composed of four parts, which are theatre attendance, opinions on cultural policies and the State Theatres, willingness to pay (WTP) to sustain the State Theatres regarding valuation, and socio-economic characteristics. However, summary of the results in this section mainly covers the first three parts. This is because the part regarding personal information, thus socio-economic profile were presented in detail in the previous section for explaining the sample characteristics. Nonetheless, they will be incorporated in the results through cross-tabulation analysis, statistical significance tests and econometric regressions. On the other hand, the WTP section requires special attention and a different approach due to the academic debates regarding measurement of external benefits of public goods and more specifically discussions on this methodology. Besides, it is the main pillar for the econometric regressions.

**Table 31:** Variables and Question Types

	<b>Variable</b>	<b>Type of Question</b>
<i>Theatre Attendance</i>	Having been to theatre during previous year	Dichotomous
	Total number of plays attended during the previous year	Open-ended
	Number of plays attended in the State Theatres, City Municipal Theatre and private theatres	Open-ended
	Willingness to attend theatre more	Dichotomous
	Conditions to enable increased theatre attendance	Multiple choice
<i>Opinions on Cultural Policies &amp; the ST</i>	Accuracy and efficiency of the State to use resources for arts and culture	Dichotomous
	Budget share of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Scale
	Budget share of the State Theatres	Scale
	Preferred strategy to raise budget for sustaining the State Theatres	Multiple choice
	Considering the ST as an important institution	2 Multiple choice Qs acc. to Yes/No answers
	Things to be improved in the State Theatres	Open-ended
	Whether private theatres can fulfil the mission of the State Theatres - Reasons	Open-ended
<i>WTP</i>	WTP to sustain the State Theatres	Dichotomous
	Reasons of WTP	Open-ended
	Amount of annual WTP	Open-ended
<i>Personal Information</i>	Age	Open-ended
	Gender	Dichotomous
	Education	Scale
	Profession	Open-ended
	Residency	Open-ended
	Monthly income	Scale
	Family size	Open-ended
	Family members without income	Open-ended
	Weekly working hours	Open-ended
Leisure activities	Multiple choice	

Accordingly, the outline of this section is as follows. First, theatre attendance of the sample and opinions on the State Theatres will be presented. Then, relations between variables and impacts of socio-economic profile on the opinions will be analysed. Lastly, the WTP analysis will be presented in relation to other variables, also through econometric regressions, following a review on the current debates regarding the methodology.

### 5.4.1 Theatre Attendance and Opinions on the State Theatres

As far as the theatre interest is concerned, the willingness to attend theatre more is high among the respondents. Even though 24.3 % of the sample is already composed of theatre users, 84.7 % of the respondents is willing to attend theatre more. When the conditions which would allow the respondents to attend theatre more were requested through a multiple choice question, the most common reply was the need for more free time with 58.5 %. In addition, 35.5 % stated the need for closer theatres to their home or workplace, while 28.7 % highlighted the need for more income (Please see 32 for the details).

**Table 32:** The Conditions to Attend Theatre More

	<b>Freq</b>	<b>Col %</b>
More Income	119	28.7 %
More Free Time	242	58.5 %
Closer Theatres	147	35.5 %
More Appealing Programme	97	23.4 %
Lower Ticket Prices	63	15.2 %
Other	47	11.4 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	414	100.0 %

Substantially, a general negative tendency on the opinions regarding the State's efficiency and efficacy for the arts and culture can be deduced from the survey participants' answers. 78.3 % of the respondents stated negative opinion on the state's ability to use available resources for the arts and culture field efficiently and effectively, while 7 % stated that

they have no idea on the issue. Furthermore, around 85 % of the sample declared that the budget shares of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the State Theatres are not sufficient. When their preference on the possible strategies to solve the budget problem was requested, the majority of the responses was in favour of reorganization of the Central Governance Budget with 67.3 %. Besides, there was a strong support on the encouragement of donations and sponsorships with 44.9 %. Only 23.6 % of the respondents was in favour of privatization of the State Theatres. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that a common understanding of the 'privatization' concept does not exist among the sample. For instance, when some of the respondents were asked to clarify what they mean by 'privatization', it appeared that they were actually referring to the managerial autonomy of the institution instead of privatization. Additionally, there was a strong reluctance to raise taxes to transfer higher budget for the State Theatres. Only 3 % of the respondents was in favour of this option.

The majority of the sample, that is 76.4 %, considers the State Theatres as an important institution. This indicates that the State Theatres provides positive externalities also for the non-users. When the respondents were requested to specify the reasons behind their valuation, the major selected answers were; (a) the ST contributes to the development of art in Turkey with 56.5 %, (b) it increases accessibility of theatre through low-priced ticket policy with 49.2 %, and (c) It promotes theatre nationally with 43 %. Contribution to the consolidation of national identity and serving for next generations were also reasoned with 29 % and 23.3 % respectively. However, the personal option that is addressed more to theatre attenders, providing the opportunity to attend big productions with low-priced tickets, was chosen only by 13.3 %. This is another measure demonstrating the wider scope of valuation concerning the State Theatres that is beyond the utility benefits. People give importance to the State Theatres, despite the fact that they do not have appropriate means, such as time and money, to use it.

Among 101 people, that is 23.3 % of the respondents, who do not consider the State Theatres as an important institution, the main reason was

the lack of interest in theatre by 35.1 %, which is followed by opposition to the existence of public arts institutions by 29.9 %.

According to the respondents, the main aspects that the State Theatres should improve are publicity and issues concerning the stages. This question was an open ended one, aiming to leave the participants free to express their ideas and to understand whether they are aware of the current situation. 52.8 % of the respondents stated that the publicity activities are not sufficient and different channels of communication should be utilized in a better way for increasing the visibility and informing potential audience more adequately. Stages are mentioned by 47.9 %, referring to improvements mainly regarding geographical span, number of stages and technical conditions. The rest of the replies were focused mainly on six other points; (a) issues regarding the programme, such as variety of plays and technical quality, (b) issues about actors, such as their artistic improvements, lack of motivation with civil servant mentality, lack of employed actors in the institutions and low payments, (c) the need for autonomy without political interventions, (d) the necessity to be more appealing to every segment of the society, for example, through different activities and special, target-oriented programmes, (e) better management, and (f) the need for developing education programmes and staging more plays for children and youth.

The question about the comparison between private theatres and the State Theatres, “do you think that the private theatres can fulfil the role of the State Theatres? Why?”, was asked as an open-ended question. Eventually, the stated reasons followed common paths both for negative and positive replies. The majority of the respondents, which corresponds to 63.1 %, do not believe that the private theatres can undertake the role of the State Theatres in Turkey. The prominent reasons behind this negative attitude were listed as; (a) the private theatres would be more expensive, (b) they have different mentalities/priorities/scopes, (c) private theatres are profit-oriented, and (d) private theatres can not reach the society.

Among the respondents who believe that the private theatres can fulfil the role of the State Theatres, the majority stated better management / efficiency with 38.4 % and, better plays mainly in terms of success, quality

and variety with 24.7 %. Other reasons were more dispersed that none of the clusters was able to exceed more than 8 % among the total positive answers. However, the interesting tendency of those positive replies was that despite the stated trust in the abilities of private theatres, there were strong concerns about the sustainability of such a systematic change. For instance, even though the survey question did not address sustainability and future prospects, many respondents further explained that the private theatres can assume such a role only in case the tickets continue to be affordable or the State supports them. Another commonly mentioned point was that they can be successful as long as the financial resources are sufficient.

In summary, the survey reveals that a big majority of the sample, mostly non-users, would like to attend theatre more and a change in their living conditions, such as having more free time or closer stages, would allow them to do so. As regards to the respondents opinions on the State and theatre scene in Turkey, the majority does not trust the State with regard to its cultural strategies. However, interestingly, despite this lack of trust to the State, they consider a public arts institution, the State Theatres, as an important entity and are in favour of transferring more resources for this institution from the Central Governance Budget. On the other hand, most of the respondents considers the existence of the State Theatres as a necessity due to the irreplaceability of its role by the private theatres. Even some of the respondents who believe in the capacity of the private theatres stated concerns regarding sustainability of such a replacement and private theatres' inability to reach out all the levels of the society, particularly to disadvantaged groups.

#### **5.4.2 Relations between Variables and Impacts of Socio-Economic Profile on the Opinions**

Initially, it is useful to investigate the formation of leisure activities in order to understand how different socio-economic variables influence the social habits. Essentially, education appears to be the most important factor among the variables that were investigated within this research



(Please also see 13, in 5.3). As the education level increases, the share of respondents, doing sports, reading and attending cultural activities increase as well, while the ones watching TV decreases. In particular, there is a drastic increase between the high school and university level of education in terms of reading and attending cultural activities.

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Theatre Attendance" and "Education"**

p value: < 0.001 <sup>1</sup>  
 Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 58.546  
 Degrees of Freedom (df): 4

		Education											
		Primary School		Secondary School		High School		University		Master's Degree		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Theatre Attendance	Yes	4	19.8	10	13.2	25	35.9	57	31.5	7	2.7	103	103.0
	No	77	61.2	44	40.8	122	111.1	72	97.5	4	8.3	319	319.0
	TOTAL	81	81.0	54	54.0	147	147.0	129	129.0	11	11.0	422	422.0

Minimum expected cell count: 2.685  
 % cells with expected count < 5: 10.0

**Figure 14:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Theatre Attendance and Education

Similarly, as far as the theatre attendance is concerned, there is a statistically significant relation with the level of education (Please see 14 for the details). The percentage of theatre users within the education category rises drastically, as the level of education increases. Especially, there is a clear-cut difference between high school and university level education. The possible reasons can be explained as the lack of artistic education at schools, lack of children and youth theatre, and consequences of the parents' attitudes and preferences in child education. In order to facilitate analysis, the survey participants were clustered according to their age and, the relation between those clusters and theatre attendance behaviour were cross tabulated. As it can be seen on 33, the share of theatre attendance decreases as age increases. Furthermore, on the contrary to expectations, there is not a statistically significant relation between the monthly income and theatre attendance (Please see 15 for the details). Besides, apart from people living alone or as two people in the house, the theatre attendance share does not change much between different family sizes. As for the willingness to attend theatre more, a slight difference between users and non-users can be observed. This can be typically explained by already

existing theatre acquaintance and habits.

**Table 33:** The Relation between Theatre Attendance and Age

		Theatre Attendance			
		Yes		No	
		Frequency	Row %	Frequency	Row %
Age Groups	0 – 19	14	37%	24	63%
	20 – 29	44	37%	76	63%
	30 – 39	18	18%	82	82%
	40 – 49	13	18%	59	82%
	50 +	13	14%	79	86%

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Theatre Attendance" and "Monthly Income (TL)"**

p value: 0.412 <sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 5.028

Degrees of Freedom (df): 5

		Monthly Income (TL)													
		No Stable Income		0 - 1.000		1.000 - 2.000		2.000 - 3.000		3.000 - 4.000		4.000 +		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Theatre Attendance	Yes	18	16.0	19	22.2	27	30.2	14	13.2	8	4.5	6	5.9	92	92.0
	No	50	52.0	75	71.8	101	97.8	42	42.8	11	14.5	19	19.1	298	298.0
TOTAL		68	68.0	94	94.0	128	128.0	56	56.0	19	19.0	25	25.0	390	390.0

Minimum expected cell count: 4.482

% cells with expected count < 5: 8.3

**Figure 15:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Theatre Attendance and Monthly Income

The lack of trust in the State for using resources efficiently and effectively for the arts and culture is evident in relation to all the other variables. The share of people who do not believe that the government is effective and efficient in this sense, increases as the level of education increases. However, this relation is not statistically significant as it can be seen on the Pearson's Chi Square test results on 16. Nevertheless, the personal interest in the culture and arts in general, thus the importance given to this field, affects the trust in governmental cultural efficiency. For instance, there is a considerable difference, or in other words a statistically significant relation, regarding the share of people who trust in the government, between users and non-users of theatre. The same holds for the people who are willing to attend theatre more and who are not. (Please see 17 for the details)

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Can government use the resources efficiently for arts and culture?" and "Education"**

p value: 0.015 <sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 19.038

Degrees of Freedom (df): 8

		Education										TOTAL	
		Primary School		Secondary School		High School		University		Master's Degree			
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp		
Can government use the resources efficiently for arts and culture?	Yes	18	11.3	8	7.4	19	20.4	13	17.4	0	1.5	58	58.0
	No	52	63.9	42	41.8	115	115.1	108	98.6	11	8.7	328	328.0
	No idea	11	5.8	3	3.8	12	10.5	4	9.0	0	0.8	30	30.0
	TOTAL	81	81.0	53	53.0	146	146.0	125	125.0	11	11.0	416	416.0

Minimum expected cell count: 0.793

% cells with expected count < 5: 20.0

<sup>1</sup> If p is small, e.g. less than 0.01, or 0.001, you can assume the result is statistically significant i.e. there is a relationship. Note: statistically significant difference may not necessarily be of any practical significance.

**Figure 16:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Trust in the Government and Education

		Can government use the resources efficiently for arts and culture?											
		Yes			No			No idea			TOTAL		
		Freq	Col %	Row %	Freq	Col %	Row %	Freq	Col %	Row %	Freq	Col %	Row %
Theatre Attendance	Yes	6	9.5%	5.9%	93	27.8%	91.2%	3	10.0%	2.9%	102	23.8%	100.0%
	No	57	90.5%	17.5%	242	72.2%	74.2%	27	90.0%	8.3%	326	76.2%	100.0%
	TOTAL	63	100.0%	14.7%	335	100.0%	78.3%	30	100.0%	7.0%	428	100.0%	100.0%
Willingness to Attend Theatre More	Yes	35	60.3%	10.8%	266	89.6%	82.1%	23	82.1%	7.1%	324	84.6%	100.0%
	No	23	39.7%	39.0%	31	10.4%	52.5%	5	17.9%	8.5%	59	15.4%	100.0%
	TOTAL	58	100.0%	15.1%	297	100.0%	77.5%	28	100.0%	7.3%	383	100.0%	100.0%

**Figure 17:** The Relation Between Theatre Attendance, Willingness to Attend Theatre More and Trust in the Government

As far as the correlations between the importance of the State Theatre and other variables are concerned, it can be claimed that majority of the respondents considers the State Theatres as an important institution, irrespective of their socio-economic status. Principally, there is not a considerable difference between users and non-users of theatre in general. 72.6 % of the non-users stated positive opinion on the question, while the same rate is 88.6 % for the users. This inference is also confirmed by the Chi Square test results, with the lack of a statistically significant relation, as it can be seen on 18.

It is also observed that the impacts of education and monthly income are not very influential on the decision to consider the State Theatres as an important institution. Irrespective of the level of education, the range regarding the percentages of the respondents, who gave a positive answer to this question, is narrow between 68.5 % to 81.3 %. This range follows a similar trend concerning monthly incomes. For the participants who

## Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Importance of ST" and "Theatre Attendance"

p value: 0.003 <sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 11.398

Degrees of Freedom (df): 2

		Theatre Attendance					
		Yes		No		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Importance of ST	Yes	93	80.3	238	250.7	331	331.0
	No	12	24.5	89	76.5	101	101.0
	No idea	0	0.2	1	0.8	1	1.0
	TOTAL	105	105.0	328	328.0	433	433.0

Minimum expected cell count: 0.242

% cells with expected count < 5: 33.3

**Figure 18:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Importance Given to the ST and Theatre Attendance

have a stable income, the positive response rate among different income categories differs from 68 % to 77.8 %. Besides, these ranges of education and monthly income do not necessarily follow a linear change among different levels. For instance, the percentages of people from all the lower income groups, who consider the State Theatres important, are higher than the one for 4000 + income category.

These results are also verified by the Chi Square tests with the lack of a statistically significant relation between these variables (Please see 19 and 20 for the details), and indicate that irrespective of people's education and monthly income level, there is the tendency to value the State Theatres in a similar way. Hence, this also implies that even though people have different capabilities to benefit from the State Theatres, such as increased appreciation of cultural events by higher level of education or more possibilities to attend with higher income, there are other types of expected benefits they acquire from its existence, which result on positive valuation. Those benefits can be defined as the positive externalities of the State Theatres.

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Stimportant" and "Education"**

p value: 0.596 <sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 8.341

Degrees of Freedom (df): 10

		Education													
		-		1		2		3		4		5		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Stimportant	1.0	1	0.8	60	61.7	37	41.7	114	112.6	104	98.7	8	8.5	324	324.0
	2.0	0	0.2	19	18.1	17	12.2	32	33.0	24	29.0	3	2.5	95	95.0
	3.0	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.1	0	0.3	0	0.3	0	0.0	1	1.0
	TOTAL	1	1.0	80	80.0	54	54.0	146	146.0	128	128.0	11	11.0	420	420.0

Minimum expected cell count: 0.002

% cells with expected count < 5: 50.0

**Figure 19:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Importance Given to the ST and Education

The interesting point regarding the responses was that the bottom values of the mentioned ranges belong to the highest education and monthly income category. This might stem from the fact that higher cultural and economic segments of the society have more opportunities to attend different cultural activities. Besides, they are more aware of the available options and have more means or capabilities to enjoy utility of those cultural products.

**5.4.3 Contingent Valuation Methodology and Willingness To Pay Analysis**

Since artistic and cultural activities have public good characteristics and generate not only economic, but also other types of benefits, such as existence, bequest and prestige values, that apply both users and non-users at different levels, it is difficult to measure the total value of cultural goods. Predominantly, the non-economic valuation process depends heavily on judgements of individuals that can vary extensively and be volatile also over time. So, it is difficult to grasp the valuation process and collect accurate data to calculate the sum of positive externalities for a cultural good.

Consequently, despite the development of different techniques for

**Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "Stimportant" and "Monthlyincome"**

p value: 0.376<sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 10.769

Degrees of Freedom (df): 10

		Monthlyincome													
		1.0		2.0		3.0		4.0		5.0		6.0		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
Stimportant	1.0	58	52.0	67	71.1	98	96.4	42	42.8	14	14.5	17	19.1	296	296.0
	2.0	9	15.8	26	21.6	28	29.3	14	13.0	5	4.4	8	5.8	90	90.0
	3.0	1	0.2	0	0.2	0	0.3	0	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.1	1	1.0
	TOTAL	68	68.0	93	93.0	126	126.0	56	56.0	19	19.0	25	25.0	387	387.0

Minimum expected cell count: 0.049

% cells with expected count < 5: 38.9

**Figure 20:** The Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Importance Given to the ST and Monthly Income

this calculation, there has not been an extensively agreed methodology and the debate on the issue is enduring. One of the discussions within this context concerns the applicability of contingent valuation methodology (CVM), which can be defined among the leading methodologies to measure positive externalities, while facing also harsh criticism, mainly due to the biases it incorporates. Therefore, before proceeding with the analysis of the public opinion survey focusing on CVM through WTP questions, it is beneficial to provide an explanation of the methodology and, a review on the discussions around its weaknesses and potential biases in this section.

Pommerehne and Frey (1990) state the difficulty to capture art concretely as an abstract concept in order to define the product, which would allow to conduct an economic analysis of artistic and cultural creation. Within the complexity of relation between creation and consumption, it would be possible to analyse the behaviour of the suppliers and demanders when there are observable expressions of preferences by individuals. They also raise the issue of positive externalities with a focus on the suppliers' side. The lack of these public good components' reflection on the actual demand is defined as the main reason behind the market failure since, under these conditions, arts suppliers can not get the actual 'profit' they deserve through the market (PF90). Likewise, in a later work, Frey

(1999) states that “the case for support of the arts by the state has been based on market failures, in particular the positive externalities culture provides for society. “A major shortcoming is that it leaves open what such externalities might be. While they can be evaluated by empirical methods, it remains unexplained why they exist. . . . Whether a piece of art or an artistic production generates positive or negative externalities is the outcome of a social process” (Fre99, pg.71).

As another stream in the area, Morrison and West (1986) argue the significant discrepancy between net benefits of users and non-users of the arts, while stating that typically the income levels of the users are above average, and raised concerns about whether the majority of the society, that is mostly composed of non-users, are compensated for their tax contributions by the external benefits. “[T]he question arises of how non-users of the arts, who are in the majority, and who are on average lower in the income scale, can be resigned to the fact that they pay taxes to subsidize theatres they do not attend. And it is here that the argument of external benefits is raised as one possible avenue of reconciliation. The issue is complicated because, if it is contended that the general public wishes to internalize external benefits from the arts via fiscal mechanisms, we next encounter the familiar public good or free rider problem and this, in turn, is connected with the problem of demand revelation” (MW86).

Thus, the challenge of reflecting particular characteristics of the arts and culture field with public good nature brought along the attempts to adapt methods from economic literature. Within this context, for the calculation of positive externalities, CVM appeared to be among the most commonly used valuation methods combining use and non-use values. CVM is built on the replies of a sample to the question what they would be willing to pay, or willing to accept, in a hypothetical market situation to conserve or expand some public good. “[T]he general theory can be represented as follows: if initial utility ( $U_0$ ) is a function of certain levels of income, price, private goods and public goods, and an increase in the amount of public good supplied increases utility ( $U_1$ ), then WTP represents (or exactly offsets) the difference between  $U_0$  and  $U_1$ , such that the final level of utility is unchanged. In the WTA case, the decline in

utility is exactly equal to the increase in utility due to the compensation amount" (Sno10, pg.79).

In light of this, CVM can be considered as a potential solution that offers cultural policy researchers a possibility to reflect the external benefits quantitatively by some means. Nevertheless, this methodology also incorporates various biases, particularly stemming from stated preferences. Some of these potential biases that prevail the discussions in the literature can be outlined as follows;

- *Hypothetical bias*: stems from the nature of the method due to stated preferences. It is claimed that the WTP in a hypothetical scenario might significantly differ from the actual WTP in a real situation;
- *Strategic bias*: occurs when the respondents gives an answer in order to influence a desired outcome rather than revealing true preferences within his/her constraints;
- *Response bias*: occurs when the respondents provide the answers that they think the survey team would like them to answer rather than providing their true preferences;
- *Non-response bias*: is related to the sampling and appears in case there is a difference in average among the respondents and the ones who do not respond;
- *Information bias*: "the amount of information provided to respondents in CVM has a critical effect on their WTP judgements" (Thr03, pg.277);
- *Mixed-good bias*: stems from the fact that "[t]he arts, as a mixed good, have both private and public good characteristics" (Sno10, pg.113).

According to Throsby (2003), "[b]iases affecting WTP studies such as free-riding, the embedding problem, starting-point bias, mixed-good bias, etc. can now be effectively controlled for, or at least their effects on



estimated WTP can be understood and acknowledged in particular applications' (Thr03, pg.277). However, the extent to which these applications succeed in their aims and are recognized as such in the field is still open to question.

Besides, even if these biases are put aside, as mentioned by Throsby (2003), there is also the intrinsic value of the arts, that exists irrespective of individuals' evaluation, as well as the value that is recognized but cannot be expressed in WTP terms by individuals. Thus, such values cannot be fully captured by WTP studies.

Despite all the issues that are outlined above, building on my literature review on CVM, I argue that the findings of WTP studies have the potential to provide valuable inputs depending on the approach and interpretation of the results. For instance, as in the case of one of the earliest WTP studies in the arts and culture field that is conducted by Thompson, Throsby and Withers (1983) in Australia, public opinion can be contradictory with the expectations. It was stated in the article that "[t]here was wide-spread agreement with the idea that the arts provided "community public benefits", such as national pride, assistance in understanding and interpreting "our country and its culture", as well as general educational value. ... The authors conclude that "The notion of the arts as a luxury and as only an elite pleasure foisted on an unknowing or resentful public is simply wrong"" (Sno10, as cited in pg.80). Thus, it is evident that value estimates can be used to provide some guidelines to reflect on non-financial benefits, and to validate the extent to which common beliefs on appreciation of cultural goods correspond to the reality by providing valuable insights.

Nevertheless, as distinct from the common approach in the literature regarding the WTP method, my approach is built on the idea to consider WTP values as a benchmark to examine the valuation process of cultural products at individual level rather than using it as an attempt to calculate the real total value of a cultural good incorporating use and non-use values. I believe that since the accuracy of the methodology to measure the real total value is questioned by many scholars, this strand is not fully capable of providing a strong basis for making widely-accepted inferences.

Yet, the WTP studies still provide essential insights on the public opinion on cultural goods and valuation process. Therefore, this method would be more useful to understand how individuals value cultural goods as a compound of use and non-use values, on the basis of their socio-economic profile. I argue that this approach would capture the duality of cultural products, which stem from the mixed-good characteristics and require different metrics to evaluate, through examining the valuation process at individual level. Therefore, this can be considered as a process-oriented attempt rather than a result-oriented one.

With this aim, the WTP results were initially analysed through descriptive statistics on univariate and bivariate basis. Then, econometric regressions were conducted in order to understand the factors affecting the WTP values on multi-variable basis. The Poisson regression model was employed in line with the distribution of the values.

To the best of my knowledge, such an approach has not been employed for the WTP studies in the arts and culture field before. Thus, the theoretical motivation of this study stems from the will to test such a distinct approach on a commonly used methodology in the field. Additionally, this is the first study on the valuation of the State Theatres in Turkey, using WTP method as a line of the CVM. Therefore, it can be considered as a pioneer for prospective research, while the results have the potential to provide a basis for theatre professionals and decision-makers to come up with a more sustainable political agenda.

## **WTP Results**

As in the case of other variables that were explained before, WTP values were examined through SOFA (Statistics Open For All) software for descriptive statistics in order to understand the collected data through descriptive statistics. Additionally, STATA 12 was used for econometric regressions. In this section, the WTP results are presented at two levels in line with the two level questioning in the survey, that is dichotomous WTP question and the question requesting the amount of WTP.

Regarding the dichotomous WTP question, 51 % of the 436 survey participants stated a positive WTP, while 47 % said no and 2 % did not

provide any answer.

		Theatre Attendance								
		Yes			No			TOTAL		
		Freq	Col %	Row %	Freq	Col %	Row %	Freq	Col %	Row %
WTP - Dichotomous	Yes	69	65.1%	31.2%	152	46.1%	68.8%	221	50.7%	100.0%
	No	36	34.0%	17.4%	171	51.8%	82.6%	207	47.5%	100.0%
	No reply	1	0.9%	12.5%	7	2.1%	87.5%	8	1.8%	100.0%
	TOTAL	106	100.0%	24.3%	330	100.0%	75.7%	436	100.0%	100.0%

**Figure 21:** Cross-tabulation between Dichotomous WTP and Theatre Attendance

With respect to the comparison of the WTP between users and non-users of theatre, it can be observed that 34 % of the theatre users stated that they have no WTP for the State Theatres (Please see 21 for the details). Accordingly, only 65 % of the positive responses is composed of the theatre users. Thus, there is not a significant relation between positive WTP and the theatre attendance. This inference is also confirmed statistically by the Chi Square test as it can be seen on 22. This can lead us to the conclusion that most of the non-users also benefit from some positive externalities of the State Theatres to the extent that they have positive WTP to sustain the institution, in addition to the taxes they are already paying.

As far as the WTP values are concerned, the sum of the respondents who stated positive WTP with an amount, and the ones with negative WTP is 397. If we consider '0' as the amount for the ones with negative WTP, the average WTP of the sample is 57.50 TL, with a median at 0 TL.

However, there are 32 survey participants, who expressed positive WTP without specifying any amount, thus not included in 397 participants for calculating the mean. Accordingly, it would be more accurate to re-calculate the average WTP of the sample after eliminating the same quantity of respondents with negative WTP. In this case, the total amount of responses decreases to 365 and the new mean is 62.54 TL, with a median at 10 TL (Please see 23 for the details).

As far as the distribution of the WTP values is concerned, there is a high concentration between the values 0 to 100 TL with 274 frequency, including 0 values. This distribution can be observed on the histogram of

## Results of Pearson's Chi Square Test of Association Between "WTP - Dichotomous" and "Theatre Attendance"

p value: 0.003 <sup>1</sup>

Pearson's Chi Square statistic: 11.729

Degrees of Freedom (df): 2

		Theatre Attendance					
		Yes		No		TOTAL	
		Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
WTP - Dichotomous	Yes	69	53.7	152	167.3	221	221.0
	No	36	50.3	171	156.7	207	207.0
	No reply	1	1.9	7	6.1	8	8.0
	TOTAL	106	106.0	330	330.0	436	436.0

Minimum expected cell count: 1.945

% cells with expected count < 5: 16.7

**Figure 22:** Chi Square Test Results for the Relation Between Dichotomous WTP replies and the Theatre Attendance

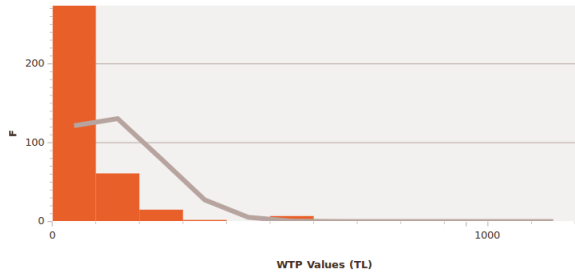
WTP Values					
Mean	Std Dev	Median	N	Min	Max
62.54	132.78	10.00	N=365	0.0	1200.0

**Figure 23:** Statistical Measures of the WTP Values

the WTP values on 24. It is followed by 61 frequency between 100 - 200 TL and 15 frequency between 200 - 300 TL.

### Econometric Results

The main aim to conduct econometric regressions along with descriptive statistics is to analyse the relation between the WTP and other parameters, such as socio-economic profile or theatre attendance, on multi-variable basis. So that, it would be possible to shed light on the valuation process of individuals regarding the State Theatres in relation to the variables and



**Figure 24:** Histogram of the WTP Values

data that were collected within the scope of the survey. The regressions were run on STATA 12.

The Poisson regression model is chosen for the analysis in line with the type of the collected data and the distribution of the response variable.

As it can be seen on 24, the distribution of the WTP values follow a discontinuous, non-negative manner that is suitable for the Poisson regression.

WTP values are defined as the dependent variable. The dichotomous WTP data was not considered for the econometric regressions since they do not provide an extensive basis for detailed analysis on the valuation process. The control variables are defined as attendance to theatre, age, gender, family size, number of people without income in the family, education and monthly income levels. Then, five main independent variables of interest are defined which are; (a) trust in the government, (b) considering the State Theatres as an important institution, (c) the sufficiency of the State Theatres’ budget, (d) private theatres’ capacity to replace the State Theatres, and (e) number of attended theatre plays. Subsequently, the regressions were run for each independent variable of interest along with the control variables.

34 demonstrates the Poisson regression estimation results on the relationship between the WTP values and other variables. Among the control variables, only age, number of family members without income (this variable is indicated as “peopletotakecare” on the table) and gender

appear to be significant in all the regressions irrespective of which main independent variable of interest is used. Particularly age and the number of family members to be taken care of are strongly related.

The negative coefficient of age may indicate decreasing option value with age. After a certain age, with the lack of established habits to participate in cultural activities, the potential interest in theatre decreases as well. Another possible explanation may reside in decreasing bequest value as the children gain their independence.

The strong positive relationship between the family members without income to be taken care of and the WTP at 1 % significance level for each regression. These results can be interpreted as evidence for the existence of the bequest value. These members to be taken care of are mostly composed of children and as the number of children rises, the value given to sustaining the State Theatres for the sake of the future generations increases.

There is not a strongly significant relation between having been to theatre and WTP, verifying the magnitude of the State Theatres' non-use values. This relation between theatre attendance and WTP is found significant at 10 % level using the econometric framework 3 (PO3), at 5 % level using the econometric framework 5 (PO5) and at 10 % level using the econometric framework 6 (PO6).

On the contrary to expectations, the evidence on the lack of a relation between education and WTP might indicate two aspects. First, use and non-use values that are not related to education might be effective to the extent that the impact of education becomes insignificant. Second, the content of the educational system is not constituted in a way to promote arts and culture sufficiently. As a similar example regarding education in Turkey, "in terms of the quality of the educational system, the average student scored 462 in reading literacy, maths and science in the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), lower than the OECD average of 497" (OEC).

With respect to the level of monthly income, the estimates indicate that there is a strongly significant relation in all the regressions for the income level between 1000 TL to 3000 TL. The lowest income group also have

positive relationship with WTP values based on the estimations done with frameworks 1, 2, 3 and 4. For the higher income groups, the income becomes significantly related only when the trust in the government is included, as can be seen in the econometric framework 1.

Among the five independent variables of interest, for each of which the regressions were repeated separately, trust in the government, the importance given to the State Theatres and opinions on the State Theatres' budget appears to be significant. There is the lack of a significance regarding trust in the private theatres' capacity to replace the State Theatres and the number of attended theatre plays.

The coefficient estimate is negatively significant for the government trust at 5 % level. This indicates that as the trust in the government increases, the WTP decreases. Similarly, when people think that the budget of the State Theatres is sufficient, the WTP decreases as expected.

In brief, it can be argued that the overall results support the existence of non-use values of the State Theatres through the lack of a highly significant relation between WTP and the theatre attendance. Besides, the number of family members to be taken care of has positive relation with WTP based on the estimations done with all the econometric frameworks, indicating the existence of the bequest value of the State Theatres.

**Table 34:** WTP(values)-POISSON

	PO1	PO2	PO3	PO4	PO5	PO6
beentotheatre	0.471 (0.309)	0.418 (0.295)	0.520* (0.297)	0.258 (0.347)	0.635** (0.306)	0.497* (0.298)
govtrust	-0.798** (0.342)					
age	-0.037*** (0.013)	-0.038*** (0.013)	-0.037*** (0.014)	-0.034** (0.015)	-0.036*** (0.013)	-0.036*** (0.013)
familysize	-0.110 (0.088)	-0.158 (0.104)	-0.133 (0.095)	-0.197* (0.116)	-0.149 (0.099)	-0.150 (0.100)
peopletotakecare	0.298*** (0.101)	0.292*** (0.099)	0.266*** (0.102)	0.306*** (0.115)	0.289*** (0.098)	0.289*** (0.099)
gender	-0.593** (0.243)	-0.448* (0.246)	-0.535** (0.245)	-0.612** (0.252)	-0.575** (0.252)	-0.555** (0.243)
education=2	-0.383 (0.437)	-0.245 (0.422)	-0.179 (0.430)	-0.469 (0.442)	-0.312 (0.436)	-0.288 (0.426)
education=3	0.080 (0.474)	0.066 (0.457)	0.093 (0.464)	0.114 (0.490)	0.133 (0.462)	0.163 (0.461)
education=4	-0.148 (0.526)	-0.210 (0.507)	-0.231 (0.541)	-0.010 (0.526)	-0.122 (0.520)	-0.095 (0.516)
education=5	-0.428 (0.748)	-0.348 (0.707)	-0.307 (0.758)	-0.233 (0.745)	-0.061 (0.760)	-0.181 (0.740)
Monthly income=2	0.757** (0.375)	0.647* (0.366)	0.655* (0.380)	0.719* (0.397)	0.530 (0.369)	0.598 (0.386)
Monthly income=3	1.259*** (0.346)	1.087*** (0.332)	1.057*** (0.361)	0.966** (0.386)	1.014*** (0.351)	1.056*** (0.358)
Monthly income=4	1.241*** (0.389)	1.052*** (0.381)	0.981** (0.403)	1.042** (0.439)	1.030** (0.403)	1.041** (0.411)
Monthly income=5	1.021* (0.568)	0.453 (0.467)	0.462 (0.521)	0.598 (0.491)	0.241 (0.522)	0.416 (0.487)
Monthly income=6	1.141* (0.589)	0.881 (0.577)	0.782 (0.606)	0.652 (0.591)	0.762 (0.602)	0.795 (0.595)
stimportant		0.849** (0.348)				
Istbudget_2			-1.130*** (0.381)			
Istbudget_3			-0.527 (0.810)			
pttoreplace				-0.365 (0.290)		
plays					-0.037 (0.042)	
# of Cases	317	345	347	328	345	349



## 5.5 Discussion on the Survey Results

My main motivation to conduct such a survey was to investigate the public opinion on the cultural policies and the State Theatres as a public arts institution within a context where there are statements on what public wants yet without any concrete data. Besides, I believe that such studies provide valuable inputs in order to develop more inclusive policies that would address the public benefit in a more accurate way. Particularly, this is of crucial importance in the absence of inclusive decision making mechanisms and platforms, with a strong top-down central tradition.

In light of this aim, the conducted survey study achieved to form a representative sample of Istanbul population with a size of 436 participants. Statistically, such a sample generates 95 % confidence level with 4.69 % confidence interval for making inferences regarding the whole population.

Deducing from the survey results, it can be argued that the average socio-economic profile and living conditions are not sufficient for active participation in the cultural activities in Turkey. Low education level and monthly income, along with long working hours do not provide proper conditions to become 'art users'. As mentioned in the OECD Better Life Index "[i]n Turkey, 32 % of adults aged 25-64 have earned the equivalent of a high-school degree, much lower than the OECD average of 75 % and the lowest rate amongst OECD countries"(OEC). As far as the income level is concerned, "the average household net-adjusted disposable income per capita is lower than the OECD average of 23 938 USD a year" (OEC).

On the other hand, the household structure, including the average number of family members without income, constitutes additional dependencies and constraints. It is also evident in the preferences regarding leisure activities. The majority prefers to watch TV during their free time, with a mean of 2.48 hours per day. Regarding the participation in cultural activities, cinema appears to be the most popular activity. This can be explained by its popularity and availability of cinema halls. Particularly with the rising number of shopping malls with cinema halls across Istanbul, the total number and geographical distribution have experienced a drastic increase during the last decades. In line with the expectations, the relation between participation in cultural activities and education appears to be statistically significant. However, there is not such a significant relation with the monthly income. Thus, it can be claimed that impacts of cultural policies can be enhances in case they are constructed, incorporating an educational strategy.

There is a strong willingness to attend theatre among the public and this willingness can be actualized in case the working conditions can be improved to provide a better work-life balance<sup>2</sup>, the geographical distribution of theatres is improved and the overall household net adjusted disposable income is increased. These demands stated by the public indicate the intertwined structure of the governmental agenda and the need to develop coherent strategies with other fields for enhancing the arts and culture terrain.

Affirming the positive externalities of the State Theatres, although the theatre users constitutes a minority in the public, the majority considers the State Theatres as an important institution. Its contribution to artistic development and accessibility of theatre at the national scale are the main non-use values that are outlined. The other reasons for appreciation are related to the national identity and opportunities provided for the next generations as the bequest value. The valuation of the State Theatres by the public to that extent, despite the low participation and the lack of ability to participate, can be linked to the institutionalization of the arts production in Turkey throughout time. As explained in 2.3.2 the main initiator of the arts production, particularly in an institutionalized manner, has been the State since the proclamation of the Republic. At this point, it should also be noted that having a relatively young republic and coming from a long imperial past the role of the centre has always been strong not only in arts and culture but also in other fields. Considering the wide-scale and high amount of activities of the State Theatres, particularly in comparison to the weak establishment of the private/independent theatre scene as explained in 4, it can be argued that despite the lack of attendance in theatre the public is mostly aware of the State Theatres and appreciate the institution. Likewise, there is also an awareness about the issues that the State Theatres should improve. For instance, the survey results also demonstrated the trust of the general public in the 'artistic quality' of the State Theatres and its artists, while there were also some concerns regarding the civil servant mentality. Thus, it can be argued that the State Theatres, somehow, manages to reach both users and non-users of theatre.

There is a common belief that the State Theatres is not replaceable by private theatres. The main reasons are associated with differing mentalities, concerns on profit-orientation and failing to reach the public. These concerns are valid issues and accurately summarizes the current situa-

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<sup>2</sup>Work-life balance is also defined as an indicator within the Better Life Index of OECD.

tion of the theatre field<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, the reasoning behind the stated concerns do not fully reflect the reality.

Regarding the first point on differing mentalities, it is evident that there is a difference concerning the importance given to the artistic developments and public mission. As a public arts institution, the State Theatres give priority to the public mission, such as increasing accessibility of theatre or disseminating theatre through a wider geographical span, while private theatres mostly consider artistic development as the main priority. This is an anticipated situation. Besides, even though the activities of private theatres would also undertake a public mission, it would be wrong to load such a mission on the private theatres as a must that would result in limiting their freedom.

Second, the private theatres in Turkey should not be considered as any other commercial private entity. The relatively high ticket prices are mainly due to the lack of alternative funding sources in the field. Hence, ticket revenues become the main source to cover production costs. Yet, the total revenues are still not sufficient to provide institutional sustainability to the extent that the founders mostly do secondary jobs to cover theatres' expenses. This situation is also evident in the working conditions. The permanent employment is very low and mostly without any guarantee and social security. Thus the attempts to obtain higher revenues should be considered as more of a survival effort rather than profit-orientation.

With respect to the third point, that is the alienation from the public, it can be argued that this is partly true with respect to the priorities given to the artistic development. As demonstrated in the survey results, the overall socio-economic profile that would be defined as a limitation to acquire a taste for more contemporary, experimental artistic works. However, this does not mean that all the theatres produce such works. Actually the variety among the productions of private theatres is higher than the State Theatres'. Besides, as mentioned regarding the first point, putting a responsibility to reach to the wider public on private theatres would not be an accurate approach. They should be free of such forced missions and be able to choose their own priorities, which can be defined as the main strength of the private theatre scene.

With respect to the opinions on cultural policies, there is a need to restore the people's trust in the government regarding cultural policies. A big majority does not think that the government is able to use the avail-

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<sup>3</sup>The evidence on the private/independent theatre establishment that is presented in 4 is in line with these arguments.

able resources effectively and efficiently in the field of arts and culture. There is even a higher consensus on the insufficiency of the budgets of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the State Theatres. The opinions on the potential solutions for this insufficiency merge in two main strategies; (a) reorganization of the Central Governance Budget and (b) encouraging donations and sponsorships. Hence, the opinions are in favour of keeping the central position of the State while endorsing the more active involvement of the economic higher class in the arts as supporters and patrons.

Considering the relations among the variables, that were analysed through statistical tests and econometric regressions, education appears to be the area that requires some improvements for advancing cultural valuation and participation. There is a statistically significant relation with attending cultural activities, as well as the theatre attendance. Nevertheless, the content of the education can be defined as the main matter in line with the survey evidence. Also the lack of education's significance on the WTP, that is demonstrated by econometric regressions signals the need for improving the education content. Thus, these results, once again, demonstrate the importance of developing cultural policies with a coherent educational policy agenda for improving cultural participation.

On the other hand, the strongly significant positive relation between the family members without income and WTP that is demonstrated by the econometric regressions is an important evidence for the existence of the State Theatres' bequest value. Even though people do not have the means to attend the plays of the State Theatres, they value the institution's existence for their children's potential benefit for the future.

The main conclusions that can be drawn from the survey findings, statistical and econometric evidence can be outlined as follows;

- The State Theatres embodies high amount of non-use values to the extent that a big majority of the public consider it as an important institution and want to sustain the State Theatres even though they are not theatre, or more specifically the State Theatres, users. The prominent positive externalities can be outlined as its contribution to the development of art in Turkey and accessibility of theatre. Besides, econometric evidence demonstrate that bequest value also plays an important role in the valuation of the State Theatres;
- Despite the high willingness to attend theatre, the overall socio-economic conditions are the main obstacles limiting the actualization of this willingness. Thus, a cultural policy agenda should

be complemented by improvements in other fields as well. Besides, with reference to the argumentation of government officials, it would be misleading to interpret the high percentage of theatre non-users in the public as a lack of interest. Instead, there are socio-economic limitations hindering the society's will to participate in theatre. The ability of the individual within his/her socio-economic means and constraints is more decisive than his/her will in the decision to attend cultural activities. It can be argued that the policy agenda should recognize this willingness and be shaped to eliminate the obstacles;

- There is the lack of trust in the government regarding the efficiency and efficacy of the cultural policies, as well as the budget allocation for the Ministry of Culture and the State Theatres;
- A big majority of the public consider the State Theatres as an important institution and is against its privatization. The potential strategies that are supported are the reallocation of the Central Governance budget with a higher share for the State Theatres and, promotion of donations and sponsorships;
- The majority of the public thinks that the private theatres cannot undertake the role of the State Theatres. Besides, some of the people who believe in the private theatres' capacity, also have some concerns about the feasibility of such a change;
- The econometric evidence regarding the WTP demonstrate the importance of non-use values with the lack of a strong significance between theatre attendance and WTP. Particularly, the bequest value is evident through the positive coefficient estimate for the family members without income, mostly referring to children of the family, that is significant at 1 % level for each econometric framework;
- The discrepancy between the number of people considering the State Theatres as an important institution and the number of people with positive WTP can be explained by two main reasons. First, due to the strong central tradition of state action, people recognize sustaining such a public arts institution as the responsibility of the State. Besides, along with the lack of trust in the government's efficiency, they believe that the collected taxes should be sufficient to do so. Second reason is related to the financial situation. Lower WTP

compared to the amount of people considering the State Theatres might stem from the lack of ability to pay rather than the willingness.

## Chapter 6

# Conclusion

This research aims to develop a comprehensive understanding of the theatre scene in Turkey from a wider perspective, in order to develop evidence-based recommendations for a sustainable policy agenda and the state support model for the arts as a whole. It is intended to build this broad perspective on the analysis of organizational structure, needs, strengths and weaknesses of the field, as well as main stakeholders' priorities and interests, considering historical and contextual peculiarities.

The main motivation of the research is triggered by the discussions on the current governmental agenda, aiming at implementing fundamental reforms on the state support model for the arts in Turkey. These reforms are composed of establishment of an Art Institution (TÜSAK) and the closure of the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet, which are the biggest arts institutions and the gatekeepers of their fields in Turkey. Nevertheless, the lack of data and, research activities on the current state support model and the arts establishment in Turkey, as well as the absence of a detailed impact assessment of the intended changes, constitute an inadequate basis for such discussions. Besides, the absence of an inclusive decision-making system that incorporates the main stakeholders' opinions receives reactions from the wider public. Thus, implementation of such a fundamental change without considering the actual needs and priorities entails the risk of damaging the arts production of Turkey in an irreversible way.

Therefore, this study addresses the need to pin down the current debates regarding the state support model for the arts in Turkey on solid basis. By developing a thorough research design with an interdisciplinary

approach, it is aimed to analyse the question, how the state support model for the theatre scene in Turkey can be improved considering the current structure, contextual specificities and impacts of global tendencies, while investigating the ways to develop a more inclusive and sustainable cultural policy agenda by integrating the public opinion. Towards this end, the theatre scene was analysed through focusing on three perspectives, which can be summarized as follows;

- *The State Theatres*: as a public arts institution, the State Theatres is the biggest theatre in Turkey with its extensive organizational scale spreading across 23 cities with 56 stages. Being one of the main subjects of the recent discussions, it is at stake of the closure in case the recent draft law on the establishment of the Arts Council of Turkey (TÜSAK) is approved. Nevertheless, while the pro and con arguments on such an attempt have been discussed by the governmental authorities, civil initiatives and the wider public, there has not been any extensive study on the achievements, strengths and weaknesses of the State Theatres, as the biggest arts institution in Turkey. Therefore, the first pillar of this research examines the efficacy and efficiency of the State Theatres through institutional performance analysis in line with its public mission and working principles. This perspective is covered in Chapter 3 of the thesis;
- *The Private/Independent Theatre Scene*: Within a context where the State Theatres generates a quarter of the overall theatre production, the private/independent theatre scene should be assessed carefully in order to develop required cultural policy strategies addressing the needs and problems, while strengthening the infrastructure of the field. However, such an assessment would be possible only with the active participation of the private/independent theatres themselves, particularly considering the lack of available data on the organizational, physical and financial structure of these theatres. Accordingly, within the scope of the thesis, an extensive survey was conducted with the participation of 24 private/independent theatres in Istanbul. Analysis were performed on the collected data regarding the physical structure, employment policy and structure, budget structure, artistic productivity and, market and audience development. Furthermore, opinions of the theatre representatives were gathered on the problems and needs of the theatre field. These findings, along with the historical review of the evolution of theatre



in Turkey and examination of the arts establishment in Istanbul, enabled to develop evidence-based policy recommendations for strengthening the private/independent theatre scene with an inclusive approach. These analysis and recommendations were presented in Chapter 4;

- *The Public*: While the sake of ‘public benefit’ has been presented as the main basis for any argumentation, irrespective of what the argument advocates, within the recent discussions on the current governmental agenda to establish TÜSAK, to the best of my knowledge, there has not been any recent study on what the public actually thinks. Besides, integration of public opinion in the decision making mechanism for cultural policy development is of crucial importance to develop sustainable and more effective policies, addressing the priorities and the interests of the public. Therefore, as a part of this research, a public opinion survey was conducted with a representative sample of 436 participants in 10 districts of Istanbul, also covering a wide geographical span. Furthermore, through the collected data, the relation between the socio-economic profile and the attitudes towards arts and culture was examined, while the valuation process of the State Theatres on multi-variable basis was investigated. The results of the public opinion study are presented in Chapter 5.

On the other hand, the cultural policy literature was reviewed on different types of the state support models for the arts. Following this review, the mainstream approach to ‘modelize’ the state support practices with respect to the degree of centralization was contextualised in line with the historical, political and institutional analysis through the cases of France, Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom by integrating the historicization of the governance structure, types of states and political cultures behind the arts. Accordingly, the constructed theoretical framework enabled to analyse the state support model for the arts in Turkey within a wider perspective, demonstrating its contextual particularities.

In light of the theoretical framework, collected data and the results of the analysis, this research provides evidence on the theatre scene in Turkey, considering different perspectives, and develops recommendations for a sustainable cultural policy agenda. Furthermore, the methodology and results of this study have the potential to foster further research in the field.

## **6.1 Findings and Policy Implications**

In this section, an overview of the findings and their policy implications are presented in line with the research questions that are presented in Chapter 1, Section 1.3. The subsections are formed to address the research questions and, the main findings and policy implications are summarized accordingly.

The first part outlines the current state of the theatre scene in Turkey by focusing on the State Theatres and the private/independent theatre scene. Then, the potential impacts of the current reform agenda on the theatre scene in Turkey is discussed in light of the presented evidence and findings. Thirdly, the public opinion is reviewed. Finally, all the summarized research findings are compiled to policy recommendations.

### **6.1.1 The Current State of the Theatre Scene in Turkey**

Three main types of theatres can be defined within the theatre scene in Turkey. These are; (a) the State Theatres, (b) municipal theatres and (c) private/independent theatres. Within the scope of this thesis, the State Theatres and private/independent theatres were analysed, due to two reasons. First, it is aimed to address the current discussions on the governmental agenda to establish TÜSAK. With the establishment of such an arts council and the eventual closure of the State Theatres, the new state support model will be based on the distribution of the subsidies through a committee on project basis. Thus, the municipal theatres will not be affected by such a change at the first stage. Second, the variety of working principles, artistic agendas and budgetary measures of municipal theatres complicate the analysis and the accuracy of the results. Therefore, the production structure of the theatre scene was analysed through the State Theatres, as the public side, and the private/independent theatres.

Within this scope, as far as the public side of the theatre production is concerned, the State Theatres can be recognized as the main gatekeeper and promoter of theatre in Turkey, in line with the results of the institutional performance analysis. These analysis demonstrate that the State Theatres can be considered as successful in quantitative terms within three operational areas, which are artistic achievements and the programme, market and audience development, and financial performance, during 2009 - 2012. The artistic productivity generates a quarter of the whole theatre field in Turkey, and was increasing for plays on established stages, festivals, children and youth plays, as well as national and international

tours over the seasons between 2009 - 2012. Its contribution to the development of the theatre scene in Turkey is remarkable both in terms of production and audience development through geographical expansion, low ticket price policy, special events, social responsibility projects and privileges for disadvantaged groups. However, there is the need to increase per unit artistic productivity, namely the average number of plays per stage, the average number of performances per play and the average number of performances per stage or, in other words, stage utility. Besides, the high percentage of state subsidies in the budget composition, while being the main strength of the institution regarding its sustainability, creates a high dependence on the state subsidies within the budget structure. This dependency becomes the focus of criticisms mainly due to the financial difficulties that the private theatres are going through. Thus, there is the need to restore the financial legitimacy of the State Theatres with a more diversified budget structure through alternative income strategies. Furthermore, the publicity activities of the State Theatres can be improved by exploiting opportunities offered by the social media, which would increase institutional visibility and community engagement in return for low investment.

On the other hand, the survey evidence regarding the establishment of the private/independent theatres verify that the infrastructure of the private/independent theatre scene is not sufficient to fulfil the needs of the society across the country. It is composed of geographically concentrated small-scale organizations with a limited income portfolio. The production is highly dependent on the voluntary contributions, while employment opportunities are limited and mostly without social security. Despite the rise in the number of theatres during 2000s, institutional sustainability is a major issue in the field.

In light of these findings the current state of the theatre scene in Turkey, considering the State Theatres and private/independent theatres, can be summarised as follows;

- A quarter of the overall theatre production in Turkey is generated by the State Theatres, while the rest is composed of municipal theatres and, mostly small scale, private/independent theatres;
- The organizational pattern of the private/independent theatres is mostly based on a flat, simple structure, with low degree of institutionalization, while the State Theatres is a wide-scale entity with a vertical and stratified organizational structure. Thus, the

private/independent theatres can be mostly considered as small-scale establishments with institutional dynamism, while the State Theatres is a strongly established wide-scale entity with a centrally bureaucratic managerial structure;

- The private/independent theatres follow a concentrated pattern in terms of geographical span, while the State Theatres provides a more geographically balanced distribution of its activities. Yet, both of the entities endeavour to reach beyond their settled establishments through city, national or international scale tours;
- In terms of audience, the State Theatres achieves to sustain a high level of fullness ratio regarding all its stagings. On the other hand, there is the lack of research and data on the audience profile and quantity of the private/independent theatres. However, the data collected through the survey study demonstrate that the amount of audience vary to a great extent both among the seasons for the same theatre and between theatres.

Accordingly, in line with the collected data, experts' opinions, analysis and evidence on the theatre scene in Turkey, the current issues can be outlined as follows;

1. *Financial issues:* The common point between the State Theatres and the private/independent theatres is that the financial issues entail the sustainability problem for both theatre types. For the State Theatres, the high dependency on the state subsidy and the amount of the budget receive criticisms, particularly from the government representatives nowadays, even though the institution was established in such a way by Law as a public arts institution. Besides, for the private/independent theatres, financial difficulties is the main issue limiting their artistic productivity, institutional sustainability and audience profile. Also considering the inadequacy of the state subsidies for the private theatres, this unbalanced subsidy scheme requires improvements in order to foster the development of the field both from a public and private perspective. There is the lack of potential sponsors' interest and alternative funding opportunities, such as project-based grants, are limited. For instance, financial limitations can be defined as the main reason behind the discrepancy between the ticket prices of the private/independent theatres and the State Theatres, since this is the main income source for the

private/independent theatres. Therefore, both the State Theatres and private/independent theatres should give more importance to follow alternative funding strategies in order to improve their income portfolio for strengthening their institutional sustainability, while the related policies should also be developed with a more balanced agenda between public and private theatres;

2. *Infrastructural issues*: Also as a consequence of financial issues, the private/independent theatres tackle with this category of problems, more than the State Theatres. Substantially, the number of stages is insufficient. The technical conditions of the existing stages are mostly considered as sufficient by theatre representatives, yet fulfilling mainly the essential needs. Furthermore, the theatres without a stable stage struggle with the rent burdens for not only performances but also rehearsals. Additionally, decor and costume production require extra effort and budget. On the other hand, the State Theatres has been expanding its geographical span with the increasing number of stages in line with its public mission. Thanks to the institutional stability and available resources, the State Theatres can be considered as a self-sufficient entity in terms of infrastructure as a well-established organization, with its stages, production ateliers and experienced staff;
3. *Employment and social security issues*: In terms of job opportunities and employment stability, the State Theatres provides more opportunities than the private/independent theatres. The employment categories, recruitment process and job security are well defined in Law No. 5441, also offering possibilities for conservatory graduates, starting with a payed internship. Nevertheless, the main defect of this employment structure can be outlined as recognition of artists as 'civil servants' by Law and the lack of a continuous performance-based employee evaluation as a result of which there remains the risk of decreasing employee performance over time, with the job security. On the contrary, the private/independent theatres are mostly dependent on voluntary contributions with the lack of employment opportunities, proper salaries, social and job security. Consequently, the majority of theatre professionals either struggle to sustain their living with secondary jobs that limit their time dedicated to theatre or change their sector. Thus, there is the urgent need to improve employment structure and working conditions within the private/independent theatre scene;

4. *Publicity*: Due to above-mentioned prior issues, publicity mostly can not receive the required attention from theatre organizations. Yet, the rise of social media platforms provides opportunities for low-cost solutions with significant returns in terms of publicity. Nevertheless, increased publicity activities, particularly TV appearance, have the potential to attract wider audience to theatre. The State Theatres have more visibility thanks to its long history and wide range of advertisements, such as billboard advertises. However, there is still room for improvement for reaching out a more diverse audience profile and develop a loyal theatre audience for both of the theatre types. The need for more publicity activities was also mentioned in the public opinion survey by the respondents;
5. *Lack of established theatre audience*: Theatre, as a cultural good, can be classified as an addictive or experiential good, for which the taste is developed through education and cumulative experience (Thr03). Thus, considering the current socio-economic conditions in Turkey and the low participation in artistic activities from a wider perspective, there is the lack of an established theatre audience. The exiting theatre audience can be defined as a small community and there is the need to widen the audience;
6. *Lack of available data*: The State Theatres, as a public arts institutions, is liable to the public. Thus, it has the responsibility to demonstrate the way the allocated resources are used, productivity and achievements of the institution transparently. That is why, even though the documents are available as only from 2008, the annual reports, performance programmes and some complementary documents are available on the official website with significant amount of data on the activities and achievements. However, this is not the case for the private/independent theatres. Not only availability but also record keeping is a problem in the field, hindering to analyse and to make inferences on the current situation in the field. Most of the theatres do not keep any record of the annual number of plays, performances, production details and audience. Mostly an institutional archive does not exist and even the financial measures are not traced adequately. Thus, the lack of data hinders the analysis on the characteristics, capacity and the organization of the theatre scene in Turkey.

### **6.1.2 Potential Impacts of the Current Reform Agenda on the Theatre Scene in Turkey**

The current reform agenda regarding the arts support in Turkey and the recent discussions on the arts policies are summarized in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4. Briefly, the reflections of a wider governmental reform agenda and the tensions between the mainstream cultural constituency and the governing AK Party on the arts scene is turned into the Draft Law on the establishment of an Art Institution in Turkey, that is referred to as TÜSAK. According to this Draft Law, the Arts Council under TÜSAK is composed of 11 government appointed members and is in charge of distribution of the government subsidies for audiovisual productions, performing arts, music, literature, visual arts and traditional arts projects. Additionally, the biggest arts institutions of Turkey, the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet will be shut down with the establishment of TÜSAK (Tiy14).

Such a fundamental change in the state support model for the arts raise doubts about the extent to which this sharp reform would be beneficial for the artistic development in Turkey. Besides, the closure of the biggest arts institutions, which are considered as the gatekeepers of their fields, entails the risk of damaging the arts production in an irreversible way. Six main reasons can be defined as the cause of this risk.

First of all, the decision-making process for such a fundamental attempt that is presented with a 'liberalization' rhetoric has been managed with a closed, top-down approach without information transparency. As explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4, even after the Draft Law was leaked and published in the newspapers during its preparation, the governmental authorities rejected the existence of such a draft (Hay14) and there has not been any official attempt for sharing information on the reform agenda or for consulting the experts' and stakeholders' opinions from the field until very recently. Following the publication of the leaked Draft Law on the establishment of an Art Institution, TÜSAK, in May 2013 (?), the first official meeting was organised on 3 March 2014 by the governmental authorities, namely the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Besides, this meeting was organized with a limited scope of invitees and witnessed the communication problems between the governmental authorities and theatre scene representatives. Thus, it can be argued that the first official meeting on the Draft Law did not really serve for discussion of the draft and inclusion of different perspectives, but was for procedural legitimization of the reform agenda and releasing the long-standing tension with

the theatre representatives and civil initiatives to some extent. This was also evident from the minor changes on the Draft Law after the meeting<sup>1</sup>.

The main inference that can be deduced from the preparation, presentation and discussion of the Draft Law on the establishment of TÜSAK is that the governmental authorities' approach is not promising to assure the development of a sustainable reform agenda regarding the state support model for the arts with an objective, inclusive approach, that would address the needs and priorities of the main stakeholders.

Second, the proposed Art Institution does not meet the needs of the arts scene in Turkey. As far as the theatre scene is concerned, as demonstrated in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the State Theatres is the biggest theatre establishment as one of the oldest and deep-rooted arts institutions, generating a quarter of the whole theatre production in Turkey. Closing the State Theatres means demolishing a big portion of the theatre production immediately, while loosing the accumulated knowledge, experience and institutional identity. Besides, in line with the evidence generated through the first part of the fieldwork, the infrastructure of the private/independent theatre scene is not sufficient to fulfil the role of the State Theatres, with all its aspects, such as geographical span, organizational structure and employment framework. Particularly, the theatre production out of the 'arts centres' would be heavily damaged. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, the majority of the public, including users and non-users, considers the State Theatres as an important institution and is in favour of sustaining it even with an increase in the allocated resources with the re-organization of the Central Governance Budget.

Besides, the overall socioeconomic conditions of Turkey, which is under the average of OECD countries (OEC), are not sufficient to foster active cultural participation of the citizens. Nonetheless, such an arm's length approach is mostly applied in countries with higher socio-economic profile, such as UK or Sweden, that would cope with market or quasi-market oriented solutions for the arts and culture field (Please see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3 for more details). Therefore, it is questionable whether the proposed state support system would fit in the context of Turkey and meet the needs of the society through such a weak and geographically concentrated private/independent theatre scene.

Thirdly, due to the different philosophies of the State Theatres and the private theatres, it would not be accurate to impose the public mission of the State Theatres, which is of crucial importance in Turkey as

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<sup>1</sup>For the Draft Law before and after the meeting please see (Tiy13) and (Tiy14).



a developing country, on the private theatres. Thus, there is the risk of mismatching the expectations of the TÜSAK members and the aims of the private/independent theatres in the absence of the State Theatres during the distribution of the state support. As a result, even though the priorities of the policy agenda is defined in line with a public mission, it would be difficult to follow a comprehensive activity scheme in wide-scale, particularly considering the unbalanced, weak distribution of the private/independent theatres across the country and their different priorities.

As the fourth aspect, the autonomy, objectivity and sufficiency of such a council's decisions are dubious based on the top-down approach of the whole reform process, subjective statements of governmental authorities underlining their power to decide on whom to support (Kar12, Erd12), and the recent discussion on the latest state subsidy scheme for the private theatres that was criticized to be politically driven (In13, Rad13, T2413). Besides, as argued by Aksoy and Şeyben (2014), "the proposed Art Institution which would decide on whom to fund, would be composed of government-appointed personnel, with no mechanism defined to evaluate the appropriateness of its decisions which, ... would actually create a centralized and politically driven authority" (AS14, pg.3).

The fifth reason is related to the design of the transformation. It can be argued that the content and the implementation agenda of the Draft Law signals the lack of a careful assessment of the contextual peculiarities. The reform process is designed as a sharp transition with the abolition of the existing wide-scale public arts institutions and the establishment of a completely new structure. As explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4, a complicated and, most probably, highly bureaucratic 'solution' will be implemented to dispense the existing staff to various units of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism across the country.

Besides, no monitoring and evaluation process is designed for such a fundamental transition regarding the arts scene of Turkey that is highly dependent on the state subsidy. Thus, once the Draft Law is designated, there will not be any room for improvements in case of problems regarding the expected outcomes. In this regard, the transformation process that is described in the Draft Law is not promising an efficient and effective prospective agenda.

The last point is about the ambiguity of the aims of such a fundamental change in the state support, thus its potential for successful results. Initially, establishment of TÜSAK is presented by an emancipatory rhetoric that would leave more room for the arts to be free, particularly of political

interventions. Nevertheless, when the proposed structure is examined in detail, it appears to be a more centralized state support structure, also entailing some feasibility concerns. There is no satisfactory explanation voiced by the governmental authorities on the reasons why such a reform agenda was not prepared in collaboration with other stakeholders and experts with a comprehensive assessment study, and why it was not built on the strengths of the existing state support system that has already been employed for more than a half century. Besides, it can be argued that the emancipatory promises are not echoed in the current practices, such as the latest politically-driven and government controlled distribution scheme of the subsidies for the private theatres, which was excluding the theatres supporting the Gezi Movement despite their artistic success and competence. This subjective subsidy distribution was enforced in spite of all the objections of some of the Selection Committee members (Rad13). Thus, it is questionable whether the same authority that carried out such a subsidy distribution scheme that is criticized to be politically-driven even by some of the Selection Committee members, would succeed in developing an autonomous arts council-type authority that is in equal distance to all the prospective applications and competent for the evaluation. The presented aim, to free the arts from the political intervention, does not seem to fit in the practice at any aspect.

Overall, the reform agenda appears to be a 'copy and paste' solution that was not built on careful assessment of the contextual peculiarities and the arts scene of Turkey. The strengths and achievements of the current structure are not recognized, which would have provided a strong basis for a successful transformation process. Essentially, the highly closed and top-down approach, along with the lack of information transparency, prevailing the whole process since the beginning of the discussions, is not promising for developing a sustainable reform agenda for the transformation of the state support system for the arts in Turkey.

In light of this, as far as the theatre scene is concerned, the main potential impacts, that are mostly due to the closure of the State Theatres, can be outlined as follows;

- A drastic decrease in the overall theatre production in Turkey following the closure of the State Theatres that would not be recovered in the short-run due to the transformation process. Thus, the volume of the whole theatre sector, including actual and potential audience, employment potential and prospective theatre professionals, will be diminished;

- The loss of institutional strengths, accumulated knowledge and experience of the State Theatres, also due to the insufficiently planned transformation process;
- The loss of autonomy of the State Theatres' staff to operate with the direct affiliation of the State Theatres' staff under 'the artist' category<sup>2</sup> to the units of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism with the closure of the State Theatres;
- The geographical distribution of the theatre production will be diminished due to the lack of private/independent theatre organizations across the country in the absence of the State Theatres;
- The current theatre audience will be affected by the decrease in the theatre production negatively since their possibilities to attend theatre, thus use values, will be diminished;
- The attachment of non-users to theatre will be damaged with the absence of the State Theatres' positive externalities;
- The positive potential impact will be the increase in the amount of subsidies for the private/independent theatres in Turkey. However, it is dubious whether this positive impact would compensate all the potential negative outcomes and the loss of the main gatekeeper of theatre across the country. Besides, due to the non-inclusive approach of the whole process with the lack of transparency, the TÜSAK decisions will most likely create many discussions on the legitimacy.

### 6.1.3 Public Opinion

The evidence provided in Chapter 5 demonstrates that there is a lack of trust in the government regarding the efficiency and efficacy of the cultural policies. The budget allocation for the Ministry of Culture and the State Theatres is mostly considered as insufficient and the mainly supported strategy to improve this allocation is the re-organization of the Central Governance Budget.

A big majority of the public considers the State Theatres as an important institution and is in favour of sustaining it. In addition to the ones

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<sup>2</sup>Except the ones who were placed under the Fine Arts Faculties or Conservatories following their own application to the Council of Higher Education (YÖK).

attending the State Theatres, non-users also benefit from positive externalities, such as its contribution to the development of art and accessibility of theatre in Turkey. Additionally, econometric evidence demonstrates that bequest value also plays an important role in the valuation of the State Theatres. Besides, the majority does not believe that the private theatres can undertake the role of the State Theatre and some of the ones who believe in the private theatres' capacity, also have concerns about the feasibility of such a change.

There is a high willingness to attend theatre more among the public. Nevertheless, the overall socio-economic conditions are stated as the main obstacles limiting the actualization of this willingness. Accordingly, it can be claimed that the socio-economic limitations, thus the ability of the individual within his/her socio-economic means and constraints, are more decisive than the willingness to attend cultural activities.

In light of these findings, this thesis argues that the cultural policy agenda in Turkey should recognize the opinions of the public, socio-economic limitations and the contextual specificities, and be shaped accordingly from a wider perspective.

#### **6.1.4 Summary of the Policy Recommendations**

Building on the contextual analysis, covered perspectives, collected data and the evidence provided by the analysis within the scope of this research, recommendations were developed for generating a sustainable policy agenda for the arts and culture scene in Turkey.

The main conclusion of the research is that proposed sharp reform process from public arts institutions to TÜSAK in the absence of detailed contextual assessment, inclusion of main stakeholders and a carefully planned transition process would severely damage the arts production in Turkey in an irreversible way. There exists the need to improve the state support model for the arts in Turkey and an arm's length arts council-type establishment can be considered as one of the potential solutions. However, such improvements should be built on the strengths of the existing framework and designed through a participatory approach with the inclusion of public, experts, academicians, independent arts organizations and civil initiatives from the field in the decision-making process.

In brief, the related policy recommendations of this research can be summarized as follows;

- *Developing a more comprehensive policy agenda:* Development of the

arts and culture scene can not be examined without considering a wider perspective regarding its relations with other fields and the socio-economic conditions. Particularly, education appears to be of crucial importance for arts participation within the established institutional structure of a country (Bec76, Bec82, Bor84). Therefore, arts policies should follow a comprehensive approach that covers wide range of issues, particularly education strategies. As the evidence that is presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 demonstrates, there is a considerable relation between education and arts participation. Nevertheless, irrespective of the relatively low socio-economic profile of people, there exists a significant willingness to attend theatre more and a high valuation of the arts in Turkey. Thus, the willingness of the majority of the public to attend cultural activities more should be recognized and the policy agenda should be shaped to eliminate the socio-economic obstacles hindering the actualization of this willingness from a wider perspective, particularly including educational strategies;

- *Multi-level state support for theatre:* There is the need for diversifying the state support for theatres. In this regard, endorsement of a collaborative model to foster the sponsorships and donations in the arts field was a constructive initiative with the designation of new laws, such as Law 5225 on Tax Incentives for Cultural Investments and Enterprises, and Law 5228 on Promotion of Sponsorship in Culture that were enacted in 2004. Additionally, municipalities' cooperation with private/independent theatres, in addition to existing municipal theatres, appears to be essential for generating low cost high impact solutions for the advancement of the theatre scene. The increasing number of cultural centres, mainly with the public administration reform empowering municipalities, can be used more actively in collaboration with private/independent theatres both for rehearsals and performances. This would make a significant contribution to solve the main infrastructure problem and release the financial burden on theatres at least to some extent. As in the case of Atölye Tayfası and the Municipality of Bahçelievler, a long-term collaboration between a theatre and municipality can generate successful results, assuring institutional sustainability, expanding geographical span, improving working conditions and fulfilling the municipalities responsibility to serve to their areas' cultural needs. Similarly, improved collaboration between the State Theatres and

the private theatres, such as providing support on stages, which would also improve the stage utility of the State Theatres in the most beneficial way, production ateliers, would provide a significantly effective solution with very few resources for the essential needs of the theatre scene in Turkey;

- *A more balanced subsidy framework:* The subsidies should be more balanced between the State Theatres and the private/independent theatres. Accordingly, the State Theatres as a public arts institution should develop alternative funding strategies, also with the necessary improvements in the Law No.5442 since the institution is defined with complete dependence on the state subsidy by the Legislation. Thus, a more balanced distribution of subsidies between the State Theatres and the private/independent theatres would strengthen the infrastructure of the private scene, while bringing more dynamism to the State Theatres;
- *Assuring the autonomy of the selection committees and public arts institutions:* As far as the theatre scene is concerned, the autonomy of the State Theatres and the decision-making mechanism for the distribution of subsidies for the private theatres are highly criticized as being subjective and politically bounded by the wider public. Therefore, necessary legislative improvements should be made to minimize the involvement of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the decision-making mechanisms of the public arts institutions, as well as the selection committees in charge of distribution of the subsidies. Besides, the selection criteria for the distribution of the subsidies for private theatres should be clarified and the process should be managed more transparently with detailed feedback to the rejected theatres;
- *Improving the legislative framework:* There is the need for a careful assessment of the legislation regarding the arts scene in Turkey with a participatory approach. The necessary improvement should be defined meticulously. The relation among the legislative framework and its practice should be harmonised in line with these needs and, opinions of the experts and stakeholders. Such improvements would enable the Legislation to keep up with the contemporary institutional needs and to contribute the improvement of the arts scene as a whole;

- *Creating alternative support frameworks:* The current subsidies for private theatres is not considered as sufficient by the theatre representatives and the current subsidies are distributed only on production basis per play. That is why, there is the need to diversify the state support scheme, addressing different issues. Such a framework can be varied as follows; (a) subsidy for playwriting that is given to individuals and ensembles, (b) subsidy for establishing a new stage that is given to ensembles, (c) incentives for the tax payments and maintenance costs such as electricity and water, and (d) subsidies in the form of social security payments;
- *Improving working conditions:* The main issue regarding the working conditions is the need for legislative recognition of artists. The social rights of arts professionals, including technical staff, should be protected by the legislation for supporting them to work on freelance with better conditions. Thus the required market facilitating measures should be taken for the protection of theatre professionals, such as artists, designers and arts technicians. Besides, some incentives can be given for promoting the social security for the arts employments, such as a decrease in the social security payments of theatre employees compared to other sectors, or undertaking the social security payments of arts employees in the form of a subsidy as also mentioned in the previous recommendation;
- *Support for the publicity activities:* Publicity activities is essential for expanding the theatre audience by increasing the visibility. However, these activities cannot get necessary attention from the theatres, mainly due to financial difficulties. That is also why internet and social media are the most widely-used publicity platforms as low cost solutions with relatively high impacts. Nevertheless, mass media appearance embodies many opportunities to reach out a more diverse audience profile and develop a wider theatre audience. This is also evident from the positive results of TV shows in theatre format, such as *Çok Güzel Hareketler Bunlar* (Mut), *Komedi Dükkanı* (Ç) or *Güldür Güldür* (TV). In light of this, the State can adopt a strategy to promote publicity of the arts, including theatre, by dedicating a certain percentage of the total weekly advertisement time on the national TV, TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation), and providing a certain portion of the billboards that are under public management for the arts activities, including theatre, for a reason-

able price or without any charge. This can also be considered as a potential low cost and immediately effective strategy.

## 6.2 Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of the study can be defined as the lack of availability of information regarding the recent cultural policy agenda. The motivation of the research resides in the current discussions on the governmental reform attempts regarding the state support model in Turkey. However, this is an on-going process the beginning of which can be associated with the attempts for regulatory changes at the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre in April 2012. Hence, the details of the reform package has not been clarified until very recently and the shared information is not sufficient to understand how and why such a reform package has been developed by the governmental authorities.

For instance, there is the lack of availability of information on the development of this reform process. The only available official document is the Draft Law on the establishment of TÜSAK that was shared as a part of the first and only official meeting on the issue that is organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism on 3 March 2014. However, there is no information clarifying the authority initiating such a change, assessment studies and the experts involved in the process.

Besides, despite all the communication attempts of the researcher with the Ministry representatives, no reply has been obtained. Thus, the obscurity of the reform agenda, along with the lack of information availability, was an obstacle for the research in order to accurately assess the potential impacts of the planned reforms on the theatre scene.

As a second issue, the lack of literature and data in the field can be pointed out. Turkish Statistical Institute provides some data on the culture field but its scope is very limited and, the accuracy of the theatre data is highly questioned by the theatre circles. Furthermore, there is the Cultural Economy Compendium: Istanbul 2010 study (AE11a), as a unique research on the arts and culture field in Turkey providing valuable inputs and a comprehensive overview of the whole sector. Nevertheless, the data provided on the theatre scene does not allow detailed analysis on the management of the State Theatres and private/independent theatres, which is aimed to be conducted within the scope of this research.

Consequently, the researcher designed the fieldwork in two parts to collect the required data herself. As a result, a significant amount of data



was collected covering a wide range of issues and different perspectives, also addressing the gap in the literature. However, it was not possible to conduct longitudinal analysis to understand the change of the covered issues over time on the basis of solid evidence.

### **6.3 Contribution of the Thesis**

Within the explained context and recent discussions on the governmental reform attempts regarding the state support framework for the arts in Turkey, to the best of my knowledge, there has not been any research that is conducted on the issue with a holistic approach. On the other hand, it can be argued that, despite the rising interest and increasing number of research in the field, the literature on the arts and culture field in Turkey is still limited. Thus, this research addresses the prominent need to pin the argumentations of recent debates down on accurate basis by providing data and interdisciplinary analysis with a comprehensive approach. In this regard, the main contributions of this research can be outlined as follows;

- The research design, which is based on an interdisciplinary perspective, provides evidence through various strands. Particularly, the distinct approach on the contingent valuation methodology (CVM) can be recognised as a valuable contribution to the methodological inquiries in the arts and culture field. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first attempt to use the willingness to pay (WTP) framework for assessing the valuation of cultural goods at individual level through econometric analysis. Thus, the results are promising to shed light on the valuation process incorporating use and non-use values on multi-variable basis and to encourage further research on the issue;
- The institutional performance analysis framework that is developed for the State Theatres in Turkey provides a solid basis to assess its achievements, while it can also be adopted by other public arts institutions as a model;
- The private/independent theatre scene is extensively analysed with the participation of theatre representatives. Thus, it can be recognised as a pioneer research on the establishment of the theatre field

with its wide scope. The evidence generated by this research illustrates a panorama of the infrastructure and main issues of the field, while providing a basis for further research;

- To the best of my knowledge, this is the first public opinion survey in Turkey, with a particular focus on the theatre field and the State Theatres. Accordingly, the collected data and interpretation of results through analysis generate valuable input for developing a sustainable policy agenda in line with the needs of the public for the public benefit.

Overall, also considering the current reform agenda regarding fundamental changes in the state support model for the arts in Turkey, this research provides a comprehensive overview of the theatre field in Turkey, covering a wide range of issues and, developing policy recommendations in line with the contextual specificities and the main stakeholders' opinions.

## 6.4 Future Work

This research investigates the perspectives of the theatre producers, as public and private/independent, and the wider public, including users and non-users of theatre. Nevertheless, the focus was on the State Theatres, due to the potential results of the governmental reform agenda aiming at its closure. Correspondingly, further research on the municipal theatres would complete the investigation of the infrastructure of the theatre production in Turkey.

On the other hand, the inquiry of the public opinion regarding cultural policies and the theatre scene combines the opinions of both users and non-users of theatre. This was a conscious choice, stemming from the researcher's interest to investigate the differences between these two groups, particularly in line with their socio-economic profiles. Besides, it was aimed to reflect the public as a whole. Furthermore, this inclusive approach in the public opinion survey enabled to conduct analysis on the valuation process of cultural goods more in detail, incorporating the positive externalities. However, there remains the need to develop further research on the theatre audience profile, as well as interests, priorities, needs and expectations of the theatre users more exclusively. Such a research would provide valuable input to develop recommendations for the cultural policies and private/independent theatres' management.

As another strand for future work, the conducted research can be repeated in order to generate longitudinal analysis. This would also enable to assess the evolution of the theatre scene over time. Regarding the survey studies, increasing the sample size and geographical span would improve the accuracy of the results, while conducting the same surveys in different cities or regions would allow comparative analysis.

Lastly, the distinct approach on contingent valuation methodology through econometric regressions that is developed for the assessment of the valuation of the State Theatres at individual level on multi-variable basis can be adopted to assess the valuation of other cultural goods. By doing so, it would also be possible to compare the results and test the utility of such an approach.

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