

**THE
FINANCING OF
INTERNATIONAL
CONTEMPORARY**

**ART
BIENNIALS**

FEBRUARY 2013



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This report
has been drafted in the scope of
Istanbul Foundation for Culture
and Arts Cultural Policy
Development projects.



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1 SUMMARY

There has been no previous comparative analysis of such scale on the financial resources and financing structures of the leading international contemporary art biennials.

The economic crisis in Europe and America, and public funding cuts implemented in the field of culture, claimed to be inevitably brought on by the crisis, have created increased sensitivity regarding the issue in contemporary art circles in countries where the economic crisis has not struck –yet-, and also in countries which display macro economic growth.

In a period when the number of international contemporary art events is swiftly rising, a comparative assessment of culture and arts financing within the framework of cultural management and cultural policies is required more than ever.

Data pertaining to the public funding, sponsorship, ticket revenues and any other income of these eight biennials organised by eight institutions, including Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, has been compiled and the institutions have been requested to provide detailed breakdowns of their main sources of income in the scope of this research.

According to the findings of the research, the biennial with the lowest budget among these eight (within the time frame of this research) is the Istanbul Biennial (1,900,000 Euros), while the one with the largest budget is the Bienal de São Paulo (16,162,600 Euros).

When compared according to their total income, the Istanbul Biennial receives the least public support (380,000 Euros), whereas the Lyon Biennale maintains the highest public contribution (4,980,000 Euros).

The biennial with the least sponsorship revenue is the Berlin Biennale (21,600 Euros), while the organisation with the highest sponsorship budget is the Bienal de São Paulo (13,254,000 Euros). But this constitutes a unique example where the public support shows itself indirectly, through tax deductions and other incentive mechanisms, and therefore should be analysed in detail.

The organisation that generates the highest revenue from ticket sales and similar resources during the biennial is the Gwangju Biennale (1,674,000 Euros).

The biennial, which instigates the most alternative sources of income in terms of both diversity and amount, ranging from donations of art patrons to bank interests is the Biennale of Sydney (2,332,000 Euros), thus constituting a model for other biennials. All biennials are making an effort to generate their own alternative resources.

The support the eight biennials secure from neither the public nor the private sector corresponds directly to these biennials' contributions to contemporary art, the artists or art circles and visitors. Furthermore, the contribution the biennials make to the international publicity of the host country is also disproportional to the public and private financial support for the biennials.

The financing structures and sources of income of biennials also shed light on the cultural policies of organising countries. For instance, among the eight, the Lyon Biennale is the one that receives the most public funding both on the national and the local level. The public support the Lyon Biennale receives from both the central and local administrations, provides a clear idea about the financing of international scale events in the framework of France's cultural policies.

The Istanbul Biennial is on the opposite end of the spectrum in comparison to the Lyon Biennale. The Istanbul Biennial is not financially supported by the metropolitan administration or the local district municipalities of Istanbul, however they do allow limited use of their means of publicity. On the other hand, the national central government provides, when compared to other biennials, highly restricted financial support. This support is not consistent and the amount varies from one biennial to the next. Even the relatively high funding provided in 2009 on the occasion of the Istanbul 2010 Cultural Capital of Europe project, was significantly lower than the regular public financial support ensured by the other seven biennials.

The 8 biennials examined in this research project are leading international events that contribute to the experience and documentation of contemporary art with its creators, organizers and viewers. Both local and national-level support is of primary importance to establish a sustainable, healthy financial structure for biennials. As a matter of fact, we observe that such financial mechanisms have been secured via diverse methods for many of the examples examined in this research project. Our aim is to try to understand the various obstacles in the way of establishing a similarly effective structure for the Istanbul Biennial.

The findings and results of this research investigating the financing structures and models of different biennials is important for the re-exploration and restructuring of the issue of arts and culture financing in the context of cultural policy.

Considering the financing structures of other biennials comparable to the Istanbul Biennial in terms of scope, popularity and international prestige, it is once again evident that the Istanbul Biennial should obtain at least sufficient public support to match its sponsorship revenues.

2 INTRODUCTION

Biennials, which are noteworthy contemporary art events organised every two years in prominent cities of culture and arts around the world, are of great value both artistically and economically due to their contribution to the visibility, international circulation and economy of local and global contemporary art.

The oldest international art biennial is the Venice Biennale (La Biennale di Venezia) first organised in 1895 in Venice, which is one of the major culture and arts capitals of the world. Since 1895, and with particular momentum and upsurge in the last two decades, contemporary art biennials have extended all around the world. According to the records of the Biennial Foundation, legally registered in the Netherlands, with the aim of identifying and promoting biennials around the world; generating and supporting collaboration opportunities; as well as providing consultancy services for biennial organisations and conducting research, currently 110 international biennials are organised worldwide. While most of these biennials are organised in the continents of Europe and America, each day there are new additions from Asia and Africa as well.¹ The first biennial organised in Asia is the Tokyo Biennial realised in 1952.

The eight biennials treated in this research project stand out for having succeeded in expanding the definition of contemporary art to include a sense of civil transformation, a critical aspect developed and shared in the public sphere, and a sustainable concept of education based on experience, which extends beyond school and the university. They are institutional formations that prioritize the inclusion of the interaction of art with science and philosophy. Their preparation processes, institutional structures, and implementations are models for other biennials and large-scale exhibitions across the globe as they transform and constantly question the definition of the biennial. Furthermore, in this context, their audiences have a transnational and polycultural quality that cannot be contained within the conservative concept of “art circles”.

¹ <http://www.biennialfoundation.org/biennial-map/>, Last accessed: 08 January 2012.

Apart from the visibility and communication of artworks, biennials are also crucial reference points in terms of the awareness they create on the evolution and transformation of contemporary art. Visitors, who get the opportunity to view groundbreaking and innovative examples of artistic work that define the direction of contemporary art, can simultaneously track the developments in international art and art in their own countries and have the occasion to position and assess local artists in the global context. In recent years, many biennials have succeeded in expanding their education goals by bringing together the public with the curators and participating artists before and during the event. Workshops, conferences and seminars designed to this end also create a space to introduce contemporary art and open it up to discussion.

The promotion and circulation of local art and artists on the international level is another mission assumed by biennials. International contemporary art biennials are visited by curators and directors of other biennials and various art professionals. Such visits present the opportunity for research, dialogue and interaction by bringing together different actors from the artistic field. Nowadays, the success of biennials in introducing numerous artists to international art circles is indisputable.

In order to fulfil these objectives and goals, biennials organise numerous events spread over the two-year period. However, the planning of the number and duration of the activities organised by biennials vary based on a variety of factors. One of the primary determinants defining the scope of biennials, which vary as much according to their budgets and financing structures as their content, is financial resources. One of the biennials with the highest budget around the world in the Bienal de São Paulo, one of the biennials included in this report, which has a budget of approximately 16,163,000 Euros as of its year of organisation comprised in this research. In terms of total budget, the Bienal de São Paulo is followed by the Lyon Biennale in France and Gwangju in South Korea, which are also explored in the scope of this study.

Generally speaking, given the fact that biennials are one of the most important spaces for the development and globalization of contemporary art and their multifaceted contribution as summarized above, they are of interest to many different actors. In most instances in addition to private and civil actors in the cities and countries they are organised in, biennials are also supported by international foundations and donor agencies. For instance, the public sector often supports biennials with the objective of promoting the country's art and artists in the international sphere, as well as with the consideration that the biennials will generate notable prestige for the country. And the private sector utilizes its support for biennials which have international bearing to publicize that it is assuming institutional social responsibility. Civil society institutions, as well as individuals and art patrons support biennials with the aim of ensuring the events' sustainability and demonstrating their own personal/organisational interest.

Biennials' financial resources and financial structures vary from country to country. While on the one end of the scale stand biennials entirely supported by the public, on the other end are biennials that are almost entirely supported by the private sector and international art funds. Those in the middle of the scale are biennials that are supported by equal or comparable contributions from the public sector, the private sector, civil society organisations and individuals. Nearly every international contemporary art biennial benefits at least to some extent from the support of aforementioned actors. However, how much support each actor provides changes from country to country. In this context the financial structures and source of income for biennials depend upon cultural policies and the approach of national stakeholders and actors to culture and arts.

3 RESEARCH: AIM AND CONTEXT

The Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (İKSİV) has conducted a research through January 1, 2011 – January 1, 2012, taking into consideration primarily the artistic recognition brought forth by the international contemporary art biennials to their host city, as well as other contributions such as esteem and financial value. The fundamental aim of this research, conducted in cooperation with institutions that organise other important international contemporary art biennials, is to make a comparative analysis of the financing sources and revenue distribution of eight world-renowned international contemporary art biennials. This report looks at the budgets and financing structures of world's prominent biennials that have agreed to contribute to the research, and in doing so, it aims to also bring into focus the cultural policies of the countries they are organised in.

A comparative analysis of income and financing among biennials will address the efficiency of different actors in different countries with regards to the issue of financing biennials. As biennials are events of a magnitude that also reflect the attitudes of the public, civil society, and the private sector with regards to the financing of art, it will also be possible through this research to see the different stands taken by the actors in various countries on the issue of steering and providing support to the cultural life through sources of financing. In this respect, not only will the amount and ratio of sources created for the biennials by the public, private sector and civil society but also that of the individuals, namely the citizens of that country, will be taken into consideration.

In scope of the research another matter as important as the distribution of sources is the biennial event's own revenues and the alternative sources of income they generate over time. All international biennials are high budget events that cannot stand on their feet merely with the revenue they generate on their own. Furthermore, due to the global financial crises experienced frequently over the past few years, the biennials are in need of revenue sources beyond public and private sector support. In terms of biennials' own revenues, their foremost sources of income are revenues generated through the sale of tickets, souvenirs, designer products and the like. However, in addition to these familiar methods, the variety of new, alternative and original sources generated by the aforementioned biennials over the years has also been researched. The identification of these alternative sources will also constitute an example for those biennials that are in search for new sources of financing.

Finally, another subject assessed in scope of the research is how the biennials classify their own sources of income and financing. The research has examined how biennials assess which of their revenue items under which main headings (private, public, biennial, other). One reason for observing this classification is to illustrate the concepts, approaches and classifications adopted by biennials in their financing structures. In so doing, informed of which sources are assessed under which categories, the study also aims to render visible the diversity of financial sources in the biennials' respective host countries. This data will also make transparent the extent to which different concepts, approaches and classifications regarding biennials' financing structures are related to the culture-art financing and thus cultural policies of their host countries.

4 SAMPLING

Eight biennials including the Istanbul Biennial have been included in the research sample. The most important criteria in determining the biennials that were sought out for the research were their regular organisation, international character, a pioneering quality among other art events in their country, and noteworthy contributions to contemporary art. Special care has been taken to invite to the research the biennials that demonstrate congruence in terms of the effect they create on international public opinion and the art community.²

Among those that have been invited, the eight international contemporary art biennials that responded to the survey questions in detail are as follows, in alphabetical order:

Berlin Biennale (Kunst-Werke Institute for Contemporary Art, Germany)

Bienal de São Paulo (Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, Brazil)

Biennale of Sydney (Biennale of Sydney, Australia)

Gwangju Biennale (The Gwangju Biennale Foundation, South Korea)

Istanbul Biennial (Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, Turkey)

Liverpool Biennial (Liverpool Biennial Contemporary Art Ltd., United Kingdom)

Lyon Biennale (Les Biennales de Lyon, France)

Manifesta (The International Foundation Manifesta, Europe)

² There are also some biennials that could not participate in the research because of the time schedule.

Half of the biennials that have participated in the research were launched before 1990, and the other half after 1990. The oldest one among them is the Bienal de São Paulo, first organised in 1951, and the newest is the Liverpool Biennial, first realized in 1999. Over the course of a very short time, the four young biennials (including Liverpool) have become prominent art events in terms of international organisation competency (regarding the artists, works and countries they include), eminence, and number of visitors.

Table 1. International Contemporary Art Biennials (Sampling)

Biennials	Year of Foundation	Edition	Year Comprised in This Research
Berlin	1998	6	2010
Liverpool	1999	6	2010
Gwangju	1995	8	2010
Manifesta	1996	8	2010
Lyon	1991	10	2009
Istanbul	1987	11	2009
Sydney	1973	17	2010
São Paulo	1951	29	2010

Another factor regarding the inclusion of biennials in this research has been the extent to which they represent different financing structures of biennials across the world. To this end, it was sought to include biennials across a wide geographic area. While most of the biennials that responded to the invitation to participate in the research are located in Europe, there is one in Asia (Gwangju), another in South America (São Paulo), and yet another in Australia (Sydney), constituting a span across four continents.

As of their year of organisation comprised in this research, the total number of visitors reached by the biennials included in this research is around 2,634,000. Among the eight biennials, the one with the highest number of visitors is the Liverpool Biennial which received 628,000 visitors during its latest edition.

Table 2. Number of Visitors of International Contemporary Art Biennials

Biennials	Year of Organisation Comprised In This Research	The No. of Open Days	Number of Visitors
Berlin	June 11, 2010 to Aug. 8, 2010	59	83,000 ³
Istanbul	Sept. 12, 2009 to Nov. 8 2009	58	101,000 ⁴
Manifesta	Oct. 9, 2010 to Jan. 9, 2011	93	110,000 ⁵
Gwangju	Sept. 3, 2010 to Nov. 7, 2010	66	492,000 ⁶
Lyon	Sept. 12, 2009 to Jan. 3, 2010	110	168,000 ⁷
Sidney	May 12, 2010 to Aug. 1, 2010	82	517,000 ⁸
São Paulo	Sept. 25, 2010 to Dec. 12, 2010	49	535,000 ⁹
Liverpool	Sept. 18, 2010 to Nov. 28, 2010	72	628,000 ¹⁰
Total			2,634,000

³ <http://theartlife.com.au/?p=3532>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

⁴ <http://bienio.İKSV.org/tr/arsiv/haberarsivi/p/1/448>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

⁵ <http://manifesta.org/2011/08/annual-report-2010/>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

⁶ <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/weekly-arts-agenda--art-san-diego-gwangju-biennale-2063948.html>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

⁷ <http://www.aderly.com/publications/512.pdf>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

⁸ <http://theartlife.com.au/?p=3532>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

⁹ <http://www.brasil.gov.br/news/history/2011/04-1/07/brazilian-exhibitions-and-museums-among-most-visited-internationally/print>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

¹⁰ <http://www.biennialfoundation.org/biennials/liverpool-biennial/>, Last accessed: 26.02.2012.

The eight biennials resemble each other in terms of scope. Taking into consideration the number of invited artists/countries and exhibited works, there are not very sharp distinctions between the older and younger biennials. Artists from at least 20 countries participate in every edition of the biennials at issue. Thus the biennials comprised in the research offer a rather broad international platform. The total number of artists from different countries who participate in a biennial can be close to 170 as in the case of Sydney. Also the number of works by foreign artists exhibited during a biennial can reach 850, as in the case of São Paulo. Since they are identified independently for each biennial and are only in line with that specific biennial's concept, the number of works and artists do not actually provide any information on how wide or narrow a biennial's scope may be. However, the numbers as shown in Table 3, are a clear manifestation of the international dimension that these biennials have reached in terms of the visibility and circulation of art and artists at the global scale.

Table 3. Number of Works, Artists, and Countries at International Contemporary Art Biennials

Biennials	Number of Artists	Number of Countries	Number of Works	Number of New Works
Berlin (6th edition)	43	20	352	30
Gwangju (8th edition)	134	31	-	-
Istanbul (11th edition)	70	38	141	35
Lyon (10th edition)	56	28	225	40
Liverpool (6th edition)	69	35	100	48
Manifesta (8th edition)	121	29	108	16
São Paulo (29th edition)	159	46	850	89
Sydney (17th edition)	167	36	444	68

Yet another issue that should be underscored in Table 3 is the number of new works exhibited in biennials. Though the number of works varies once again based on their different concepts, the fact that each biennial's exhibit features new works -even if only to a certain extent- is significant in terms of these biennials' encouragement of contemporary art production and its presentation to visitors.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the eight biennials covered in this research attract a large number of local and foreign press members. For instance in 2009, the Lyon Biennale was visited by 1,001 members of the press from 22 countries.¹¹ In 2011, a total of 1,987 press members, 43% of which was international, visited Manifesta and published 1,809 news/articles about Manifesta. The number of foreign press members who visited the Istanbul Biennial organised in 2009 is around 700.

¹¹ <http://www.aderly.com/publications/512.pdf>, Last accessed: 28.02.2012.

5 METHODOLOGY

IKSV has emailed a cover letter and a short survey dated January 21, 2011 to the participant biennial organiser institutions. The survey asked the institutions for the following information on the financing structure and incomes of the biennials:

Total budget of the latest biennial

Biennial's own revenues (tickets, food and drinks, promotion, etc.)

Sponsorship (in kind and pecuniary)

Public support

Other

The survey also asked the institutions for the amount/percentage of public support to the biennials, which was grouped under the following three headings:

Local

Central/National

Federal

The institutions have been asked to provide detailed breakdowns of the categories outside public support under separate subheadings. The main reason for this was to see how biennials address and classify their own financing structures according to the current cultural policies in their countries.

The data sent to İKSV by authorities of the corresponding organising institutions were compiled. It took one year to retrieve the data from the institutions because some of these biennials were organising international exhibitions in 2011 and also carrying out events such as seminars, talks, workshops, training programmes and temporary exhibits not only during the year of their international exhibit but throughout the period of two years. In the name of providing accurate, detailed and correct data for this research, which set out to conduct perhaps the first comparative analysis of international art biennials' financing, these institutions contributed a long term data collection and classification study that included the costs of all the events they have conducted, and the sources of organisation and labour force generated for these events.

6 FINDINGS

As a result of the research on “The Financing of International Contemporary Art Biennials”, findings have been procured that enable a comparative analysis on the world’s foremost biennials’ budgets, financing structures and sources of income. The most striking among these findings is the variety and diversity of the budgets and income sources of these leading biennials that are considered to be in the same international group in terms of their artistic content.

In order to evaluate the findings procured from the survey results, first the total budgets will be compared to each other; later each of their income sources will be compared individually. If the income sources are divided into headings of their own, then these subheadings will also be evaluated comparatively among the biennials. The subheadings of income sources, especially those under “other revenues” and “biennial revenues”, will be listed. As previously mentioned in the section on research scope and objective, the biennials’ classifications of financing structures and attitudes on resource generation will be evaluated at the end of this section.

The total budget of the eight biennials addressed in scope of this research is 51,349,063 Euros (see Table 4).

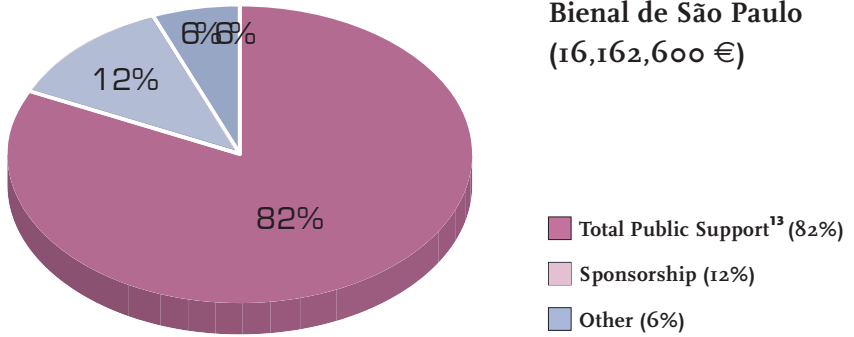
The average of the total two-year biennial budgets is 6,418,633 Euros. Biennial revenues vary significantly from 1,900,000 (Istanbul Biennial) to 16,162,600 Euros (Bienal de São Paulo). With the lowest total revenue, the Istanbul Biennial generates a total amount of 4,249,133 Euros, less than the average revenues of all eight biennials. Other biennials that generate an income less than the average of the eight biennials are the Liverpool, Berlin, and Manifesta biennials. The biennials of Lyon, Sydney, Gwangju and especially São Paulo generate the highest income.

Table 4. Incomes of International Contemporary Art Biennials

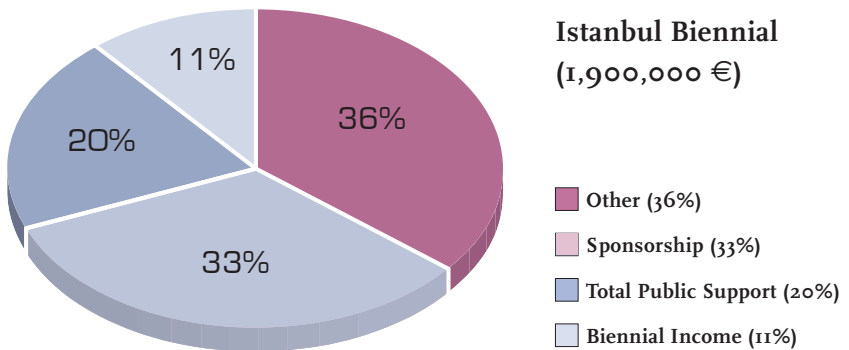
Biennials	Budgets (€)
Istanbul	1,900,000
Berlin	3,085,000
Manifesta	3,187,863
Liverpool	4,890,000
Sidney	7,066,600
Gwangju	7,277,000
Lyon	7,780,000
São Paulo	16,162,600
Total	51,349,063

Two biennials that benefit least from the public financing in their respective countries are the Bienal de São Paulo with 6% of the budget coming from public support, which is the lowest percentage, and the Istanbul Biennial with 20% (see Table 5). Even though the Bienal de São Paulo seems to be receiving a smaller percentage of public support than the Istanbul Biennial, the amount of public funding (969,000 Euros) received by the Bienal de São Paulo (with its budget of 16,162,600 Euros, São Paulo has the largest budget in this study) is about 600,000 Euros higher than the amount of public funding received by the Istanbul Biennial (380,000 Euros). Moreover, in the case of the Bienal de São Paulo, public regulations on incentive and sponsorship mechanisms have a major role in creating a high level of sponsorship.¹²

12 “The Lei Rouanet” or “The Rouanet Law” is a Brazilian fiscal/cultural incentive law that allows any corporation to pay 4% of its owed income tax to finance cultural projects. It is the main mechanism for cultural financing today. The project has to be filled out on the Internet for approval from The Ministry of Culture. Once approved, the project is published in the Diário Oficial, the government’s official publication. With this publication the project qualifies to be financed by any company, corporation or private individual. It is then up to the artist and/or producer to go after this owed tax money amongst sponsors. The Lei Rouanet is often referred to as Lei de Mecenato or Maecenas Law but this is wrong because the money involved is owed public money and not corporate or private money. <http://www.culturalexchange-br.nl/mapping-brazil/theatre/financial-support/laws-incentive>, Last accessed 23.10.2012.

Table 5. Revenue Distribution of the Bienal de São Paulo, 2010

The public support received by the Istanbul Biennial reaching 20% (380,000 Euros) of its total income is a one-time grant unique to the year of 2009. The reason for the higher than usual percentage of public support within its revenue distribution is the funding provided to the Istanbul Biennial, which is among the most important international events in Turkey in the field of visual arts, on the occasion of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture project. In fact, as stated in the İKSV 2011 Annual Report, in the scope of all İKSV events (such as film, theatre, music and jazz festivals and the biennial) public funding constitutes only 6% of the foundation's revenues.

Table 6. Revenue Distribution of the Istanbul Biennial, 2009

Ultimately it is evident that in a comparison of percentages, the Bienal de São Paulo receives the least direct public funding, and in a comparison of the amount of total income among the eight biennials, the Istanbul Biennial receives the least amount of funding. Furthermore, taking into account the overall public funding for the Istanbul Biennial rather than only the data of this year, it becomes evident that within its revenue distribution, Istanbul is the biennial that receives the least public support both in terms of percentage (see Table 8) and amount (see Table 7).

Among these biennials, Manifesta receives the highest public support (in terms of percentages) at a rate of 98%, followed by Berlin with 87% and the Liverpool Biennial with 84%. Biennials that receive the most public support in terms of amount are the Lyon Biennale with 4,979,200 Euros, the Liverpool Biennial with 4,107,600 Euros, and the Gwangju Biennale with 3,347,420 Euros (see Table 8).

Table 7. Total Public Support Received by the International Contemporary Art Biennials

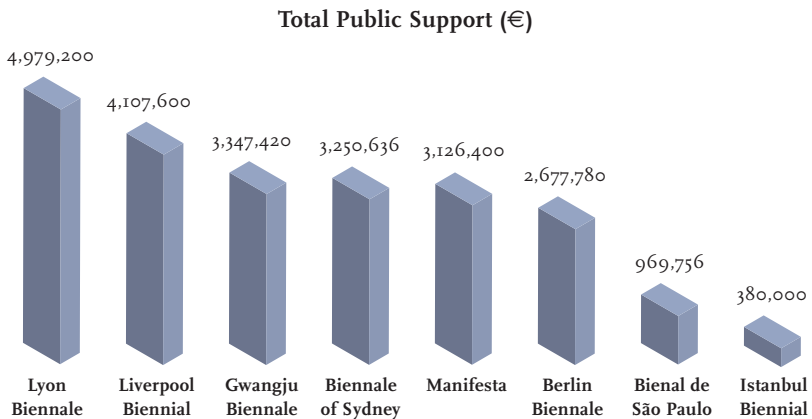
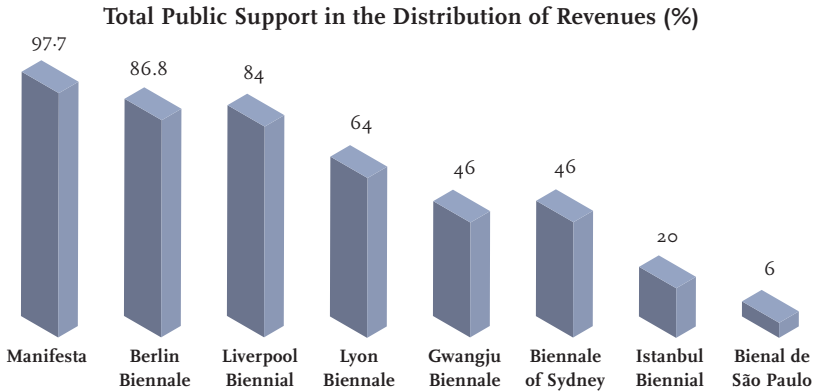


Table 8. Ratio of Total Public Support in Revenue Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials



Another important criterion for the evaluation of biennials' financing in terms of cultural policies is whether the revenue of public support has been procured from central/national, local, or regional/federal sources. The amount of financing provided by central governments is directly related to the extent of space they reserve for the production and consumption of culture and arts in their national policies of culture. Yet at times in culture financing, countries may delegate a portion of the central government authority to local governments, that is, municipalities or regions. This is because they know the city they are based in, and its cultural and art needs. This is also an indicator of whether the country at issue is run by central -that is national- policies of culture, or local policies of culture, such as on the regional or urban scale. In this respect, the biennials that receive the highest central public support in the scope of this study are Gwangju, Berlin, Sydney, and Lyon respectively and the ones that receive the least central public support are São Paulo, Manifesta and Istanbul respectively (see Table 9). This shows that countries like South Korea followed by Germany, Australia and France have national level policies of supporting international art events. In contrast, this is not the case in Turkey or Brazil. However, Manifesta constitutes an exception for the latter group, as it is a traveling biennial.¹⁴

¹⁴ It is a European biennial organised in different cities of Europe every two years.

Table 9. Distribution of Public Revenues in International Contemporary Art Biennials

Biennials	Public Revenues (€)				
	Central/ National	Local	Regional/ Federal	From the European Commission or Other European Institutions	International Culture Institutions
Berlin	2,406,000	-	-	98,000	172,000
Gwangju	3,348,000	-	-	-	-
Istanbul	380,000	-	-	-	684,000
Lyon	1,514,000	3,460,000	-	-	-
Liverpool	1,480,000	820,000	1,030,000	780,000	-
Manifesta	118,400	3,008,000	-	-	-
São Paulo	80,000	889,000	-	-	-
Sidney	1,528,000	552,600	1,170,000	-	-
Total	10,854,400	8,729,600	2,200,000	878,000	856,000

The fact that a biennial's financing is not supported at the national level may sometimes be an indicator of the localized nature of that country's cultural policies. Among the eight biennials the ones that receive the highest amount of public support from local governments are Lyon and Manifesta. However, as previously noted, Manifesta is not a national but a roving European biennial. It uses the local public resources of the country and especially the city it is organised in. Lyon on the other hand is among the biennials that receive the highest support both from the central and the local government. This in turn is a glaring indicator of the encouragement policies France fosters with regards to its central and local policies of culture on the financing of international art events. The Berlin and Istanbul biennials receive no monetary support from the local government. The Istanbul Biennial receives in-kind support from municipalities only for permissions and promotion. Within this scope, mediums such as billboards, kiosks, viaducts, etc., are allocated free of charge for the promotion of the Istanbul Biennial. Thus the Istanbul Biennial is the one that receives the least public funding both at the central and the local level. In other words, on one end of the scale there is the Lyon Biennale maintaining the highest support both from the central and the local government, and on the other end there is the Istanbul Biennial that receives the least support both at the central and the local levels. Moreover recalling that the support it received is a one-time grant unique to 2009, it is evident that the financing of the Istanbul Biennial -despite the fact that the Istanbul Biennial attracts international attention, along with the other pioneering biennials who have supplied their data for this research project- is in general not on the agenda of national or local cultural policies.

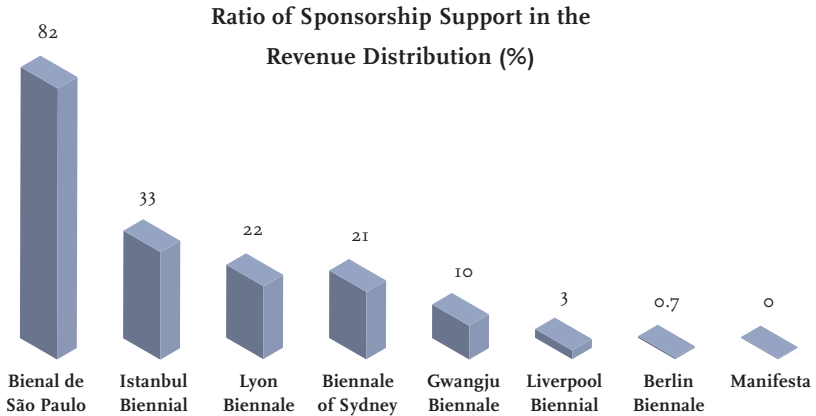
Biennials with the most balanced distribution of public income sources are Sydney and Liverpool. These two biennials not only benefit from all public sources almost equally but also have another public source that the other biennials do/cannot benefit from: regional/federal sources. The Biennale of Sydney receives almost just as much federal support as it does from the central government. Thus these two biennials seem to be on the agenda of all kinds of national/federal/local cultural policies with regards to the financing and employment of public sources.

Considering their ratios in revenue distribution, São Paulo is among the biennials that receive the lowest percentage of public support; however, it is also the biennial that maintains the highest percentage of support from the private sector. Thus it is evident that in Brazil without the private sector support, the aforementioned biennial would be realized with an extremely limited budget. For instance, 82% (13,253,400 Euros) of the Bial de São Paulo's total income (16,162,600 Euros) is sponsorship revenue, which amounts to a sum higher than the overall budgets of the other seven international biennials included in this research (see Tables 11 and 12). This clearly shows the positive effects of public incentives and regulations regarding sponsorship mechanisms on the private sector's support of cultural and artistic activities.

As stated by the Bienal de São Paulo, "The major funding source for cultural events in Brazil comes from sponsorship via tax incentives - private and public companies which have to pay corporate taxes may derive up to 6% of the tax payment as sponsorship to cultural/artistic projects. These projects must be approved by the federal government, via a council in the Ministry of Culture which analyse these projects. Our funds come basically from private companies, not from their marketing budgets, but from taxes they should pay and instead of that, they invest part of the amount in cultural projects."

This example can be regarded as a different model of fundraising, where cultural policies are coordinated with financial ones.

Table 10. Ratio of Sponsorship Support in the Revenue Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials



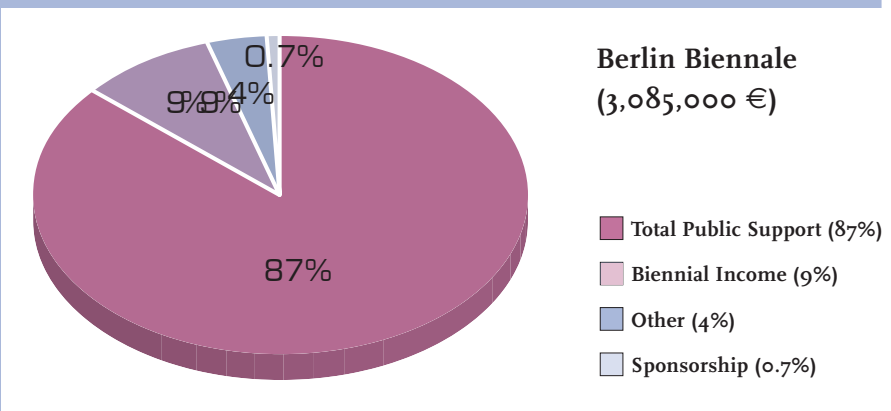
Other biennials most similar to the aforementioned two in terms of their sponsorship revenues in income distribution are Lyon with 22% and Sydney with 21%. However, São Paulo receives eight to nine times more in sponsorship revenue than the two biennials that have similar sponsorship revenues (Lyon: 1,712,000; Sydney: 1,484,000). Even though the Lyon Biennale's percentage of sponsorship revenue in its income distribution is lower than that of Istanbul, with its 1,712,000 Euro sponsorship revenue it receives around 1,085,000 Euros more than the Istanbul Biennial does in amount (see Tables 10 and 11).

Table 11. Sponsorship Support in the Revenue Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials



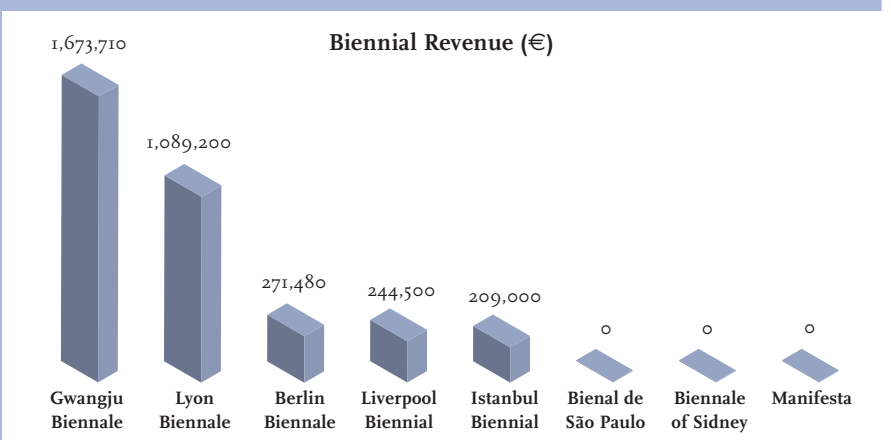
The biennials that receive the least sponsorship support both in terms of percentage and amount are the Berlin Biennale (see Table 12) with only 0.7% sponsorship revenue of 21,600 Euros and Manifesta with no sponsorship support. Both of these biennials receive a high percentage of either public or local support.

Table 12. Berlin Biennale Revenue Distribution, 2010



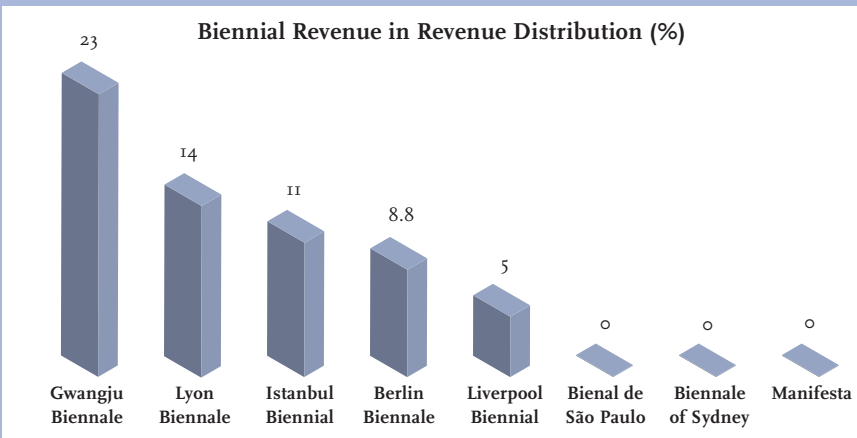
Among the eight biennials the one that generates the most revenue from the event itself is the Gwangju Biennale. Gwangju secures nearly one fourth (1,674,000 Euros) of its total budget of 7,277,000 Euros from the revenue from the biennial itself. The Lyon Biennale has approximately 1,090,000 Euros in revenue from the biennial event (see Table 13).

Table 13. Biennial Revenue in the Income Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials



The Manifesta, São Paulo, and Sydney biennials have declared that they do not generate revenue from the biennial. The income generated by the Istanbul and Berlin biennials corresponds to approximately 10% of their budgets (see Table 14).

Table 14. Ratio of Biennial Revenue in Revenue Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials



In addition to public support, sponsorship and biennial revenues, biennials are diversifying their alternative sources of income by the day. It is observed that the biennials which generate the most revenue from alternative sources of income are the first-generation biennials in the scope of the research as per their launch (the Sydney and São Paulo biennials). The biennial generating the most alternative resource in terms of both amount and diversity of resources is Sydney. 33% (approximately 2,332,000 Euros) of the Biennale of Sydney's total revenue of 7,066,600 Euros is generated from commercial goods and bank interests; national and international agencies that fund cultural activities; and, patrons, philanthropists, and art lovers. The Bienal de São Paulo on the other hand sustains an income of nearly 2,000,000 Euros by renting out the biennial pavilions for periods between biennials. Because of the abovementioned difficulties in securing regular sources, the Istanbul Biennial makes a special effort to develop experimental methods and gather alternative resources for project-based activities. The Lyon Biennale has indicated that they do not have any alternative source of income (see Tables 15 and 16).

Table 15. Other Sources in the Revenue Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials

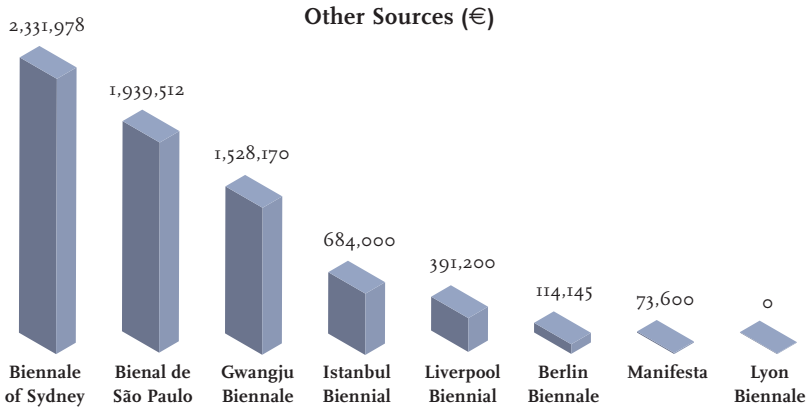
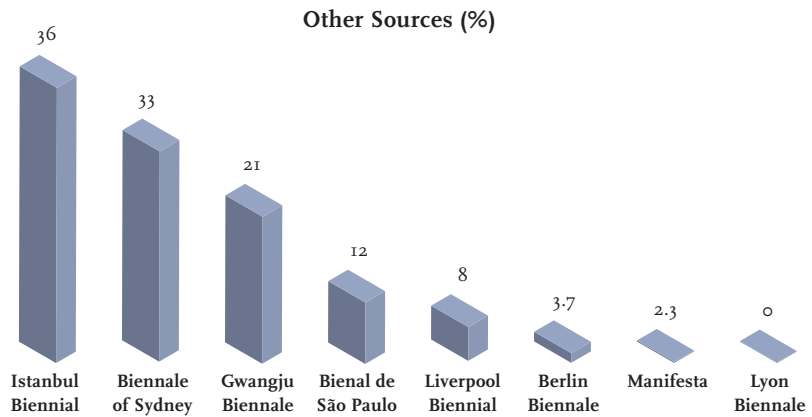


Table 16. Ratio of Other Sources in the Revenue Distribution of International Contemporary Art Biennials



Alternative Sources of Income of the Biennials:

Donations and tax returns (Berlin)

Real return of investment (Gwangju)

Support from other foundations and trusts (Liverpool)

Support from national and international donor agencies (Manifesta)

Support from individual donors, art patrons and supporters (Sydney)

Income from international and Australian Cultural Funds agencies (Sydney)

Commercial revenue and bank interests (Sydney)

Renting out space (e.g., pavilions) when they are not in use (São Paolo)

Project-based grants from international cultural institutions (Istanbul)

The final point to be raised regarding these findings is that, as seen in Table 9, the items listed in public revenue and alternative revenue sources categories are perceived differently by many institutions. For instance, the Berlin Biennale has listed, in addition to the European Commission, the funding they receive from other international cultural institutions under public support, as the European Commission and other institutions assume the role of being institutions that also strive to safeguard cultural policies of Europe. However, the Sydney, Manifesta and Istanbul biennials have listed similar funds under the category of alternative sources of income. On the other hand, the Liverpool Biennial has included bank interest within biennial income but the Gwangju and Sydney biennials have listed that income as alternative revenue source. This is actually a shift in classification that, albeit slightly, may alter the comparison under headings such as “alternative sources of income” and “public support”. Yet, since the biennials have devised and classified these subheadings as such themselves, the data was included in the research in the manner they presented it.

7 CONCLUSION

Contemporary art biennials create unique climates that foster new ideas on an international/transnational platform not only in the field of art, but in fields as diverse as philosophy, the social sciences, media and communication. Local and global artistic production –as the interaction between the two, their separate and isolated assessment seems meaningless- is exhibited at contemporary art biennials, and the concepts and methods of new creativity disseminate via biennials. Biennials not only create the space for the presentation of contemporary art, they encourage the production of numerous new artworks as well. Biennials are of further significance in the sense that they are one of the very few spaces where young local artists can ensure visibility at the global level. These exhibitions, organized every two years, aim to introduce theoretical and practical innovation to the field of contemporary art, and many biennials seek to transform their event into a perpetual zone of education-production-criticism by bringing the actors of the art world together in various ways. Therefore, contemporary art today has become impossible to be contemplated and discussed without biennials.

Public support is of great importance in terms of the sustainability and development of biennials. The amount and/or rate, quality and continuity of public support –also in view of the overall economic condition of the country in question- provides a clue as to where contemporary art stands in the spectrum of artistic production taken seriously by the cultural policies of the state. Almost all the biennials investigated in the scope of this research receive at least 50% or more from public support. This support is comprised of the budget allocated from in some instances, central resources, in some instances local, and in others regional/federal government resources. The only exception in this case is the Istanbul Biennial. Actually even though the financing structure of the Bienal de São Paulo largely resembles that of Istanbul in terms of the limited public support, it is important to note that the former at least enjoys local public support of approximately 900,000 Euros. Also, in São Paulo, the public regulations that encourage private investment in the cultural sector facilitate the accumulation of a significantly higher sponsorship amount, unlike in any other biennial. Known as “indirect public support” in the cultural policy literature, this system is also one of the most effective mechanisms in European cultural policies, especially with the use of tax deductions.

Fundação Bienal de São Paulo projects are incentivized by article 18 of Rouanet Law (Federal Law of cultural incentive nº 8.3139/1), which allows people and companies to direct part of their owed income tax to cultural projects approved by the Ministry of Culture. For individuals, - the amount is 6% of owed income tax; for companies, 4% of owed income tax.

The public support warranted by the biennials explored in this research is not defined by how long they have been organised (editions), how long they are organised for (duration), how many international artworks they exhibit or artists they host (scope), or which curators or art consultants they work with (actors). For the most part biennials' budgets and financing are closely tied to the cultural policies of the given host country. If the countries pay heed to these criteria, they support these events in the framework of their own cultural policies. While in countries where national cultural policy is more prevalent (such as the Gwangju Biennale – South Korea) usually the central government supports biennials, in cases where both national and local cultural policies carry weight, (for example Lyon, France) biennials can mobilize both central and local public resources. Countries that use both local and national public resources equally include the United Kingdom and Australia.

On the other hand, in these days when global economy is in turmoil, biennials are also undertaking significant effort towards maintaining sustainability. The first items that come to mind to this end are sponsorship revenues and alternative sources of income. Thus, some biennials are choosing to diversify their sources rather than being financially dependent on one single resource. Biennials in the scope of the research that validate this observation are Sydney (see Table 17), Gwangju (see Table 18) and Istanbul (see Table 6). While the first two are mainly (close to 50%) supported by the state, they are solidifying their financial structure through sponsorships, biennial revenues, and other income. As for the Istanbul Biennial, even though it has equally distributed sources of income, since it does not have a constant and sustainable revenue source, it has to reapply to these sources, generating and developing new resources each and every time. The Bienal de São Paulo is one such case. These biennials, whose sustainability depends on private sector support and the alternative resources they generate, are in constant struggle to generate financial resources even though they are among the most prominent biennials of the world.

Table 17. Biennale of Sydney Revenue Distribution, 2010

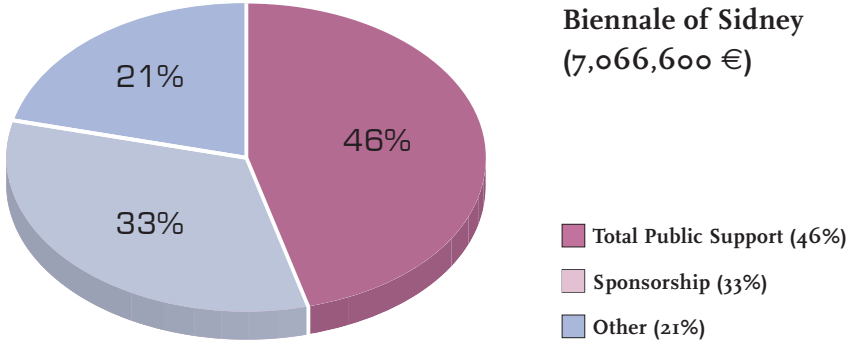
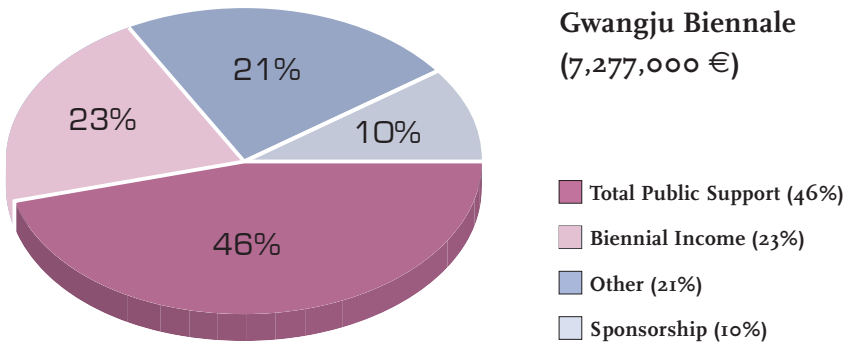


Table 18. Gwangju Biennale Revenue Distribution, 2010



Finally, it could be argued that this diversity among the revenue sources and financial structures of biennials also shed light on the government and private sector's approach to cultural policy that might be explored in the framework of prestigious international cultural events. Because biennials realised on an international scale, even if they spring solely from artistic concerns, also contribute either directly or indirectly to the image and economy of the city and country they are organised in through the visibility they create. For example, the amount spent by the 628,000 individuals visiting the Liverpool Biennial in 2010 is 27.2 million pounds.¹⁵ Again, as stated in the 2010 annual report of Manifesta, its return of investment, which is approximately 16 million Euros, is almost five times the biennial's total revenue.¹⁶ Even though the economic benefits of biennials lie beyond the scope of this research, just these two cases suffice to illustrate the contribution of biennials to urban economy.

The financing structures and revenue sources of eight different biennials in four continents have been comparatively analyzed in the scope of the research. Actually, as much as the ratio or amounts of their various sources of income vary, all these biennials also diverge from one another in terms of the ratio and amount of the subheadings under these revenue resources (other income categories). However, such details do not impact the existence of various financing models. The financing structures and sources of income of biennials also shed light on the cultural policy of the organising countries.

¹⁵ http://www.biennial.com/articles/news/_Liverpool_Biennial_announces_resignation_of_Director_as_it_reveals_impressive_visitor_figures_for_2010/755/43.aspx, Last accessed: 28.01.2012.

¹⁶ <http://manifesta.org/2011/08/annual-report-2010/>, Last accessed: 28.01.2012.

The findings and results of this study on the financing structures and models of different biennials is important for the re-exploration and restructuring of the issue of arts and culture financing in the context of cultural policy.

Providing financial support, on the national as well as the local level, for such art initiatives, which are pivotal in terms of their contribution to contemporary art, recognition and international visibility, should be incorporated into the cultural policy agenda in Turkey. The research shows clearly that public/governmental support is of vital importance for the sustainability and international recognition of cultural activities.

ANNEX-I ABOUT THE BIENNALES**BERLIN BIENNALE**

The Berlin Biennale is the forum for contemporary art in one of the most attractive cities for art. Taking place every other year at changing locations throughout Berlin it is shaped by the different concepts of well-known curators appointed to enter into a dialogue with the city, its general public, the people interested in art as well as the artists of this world.

The German capital is continuously under change thus remaining fragmented, diverse and contradictory. It is this particular mixture of high contrasts and a relaxed manner defining Berlin side by side that does not only attract international artists, many of whom choose Berlin as their base and place for production. Every two years the Berlin Biennale explores artistic developments to present the unseen and the unfamiliar before the background of this inspiring atmosphere.

In 1998 the first Berlin Biennale took place founded on the initiative of Eberhard Mayntz and Klaus Biesenbach – founding director of the Kunst-Werke Berlin – in order to promote a representative and international forum for contemporary art in Berlin. Since the year 2004 KW Institute for Contemporary Art has been the supporting organisation of the Berlin Biennale. Its significance for the cultural landscape is reflected in the patronage granted by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Cultural Foundation).

GWANGJU BIENNALE

Founded in 1995 in memory of the civil uprising and the 1980 Gwangju Democratization Movement, the Gwangju Biennale is Asia's oldest and most prestigious biennial of contemporary art. Under the helm of previous curators—including Massimiliano Gioni, Kerry Brougher, Sukwon Chang, Okwui Enwezor, Charles Esche, Hou Hanru, Honghee Kim, Yongwoo Lee, Youngchul Lee, Kwangsoo Oh, Wankyung Sung and Harald Szeemann—the Gwangju Biennale has established itself as a highlight of the international contemporary art biennale circuit.

The Gwangju Biennale is proudly hosted by the Gwangju Biennale Foundation and The Metropolitan City of Gwangju.

ISTANBUL BIENNIAL

The most comprehensive international art exhibition in Turkey and its region, Istanbul Biennial plays an important role not only in opening up new forums for debating contemporary art, but also in providing opportunities for rediscovering the city's historical venues and as well as nonconventional and alternative exhibition spaces promoting contemporary artists from Turkey and abroad.

Organized by the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts since 1987, the Istanbul Biennial aims to create a meeting point in Istanbul for visual artists and audiences from diverse cultural backgrounds. By bringing together outstanding examples of new trends in contemporary art, the Istanbul Biennial has helped to establish an international cultural network encompassing local and international art circles, artists, curators and art critics.

Considered to be one of the most prestigious biennials worldwide, the Istanbul Biennial incorporates an exhibition format based on themes rather than national representation, thereby facilitating dialogue between artists as well as between artists and the audience.

The curator, who is appointed by an international advisory board, develops a conceptual framework according to which a variety of artists and projects are invited to the exhibition.

The Istanbul Biennial also offers people the opportunity to keep abreast of developments and debates in the art world, providing a complementary educational programme for students and viewers alike through the exhibitions, simultaneously translated panel discussions, conferences and workshops.

LIVERPOOL BIENNIAL

Liverpool Biennial is the UK Biennial of Contemporary Art.

For ten weeks every two years, the city of Liverpool is host to an extraordinary range of artworks, projects and a dynamic programme of events, forming the largest international contemporary art festival in the UK. Newly commissioned and existing artworks are presented in diverse locations across the city, from unusual and unexpected public spaces to the city's leading galleries, museums and cultural venues. Liverpool's cultural organisations work in partnership to create an unparalleled context for the presentation of contemporary art and culture. Liverpool Biennial commissions leading and emerging artists to realize permanent and temporary public artworks as well as long-term community based projects. An integrated public programme of learning, talks and events attracts diverse audiences and creates a vibrant and dynamic year-round programme.

The 7th edition of Liverpool Biennial takes place 15 September - 25 November 2012.

LYON BIENNALE

The Lyon Biennale stemmed from a project by Lyon's Museum of Contemporary Art, directed by Thierry Raspail since its inception in 1984. From 1984-1988, the Biennale was preceded by an annual event entitled "October of the Arts", which ended with the exhibition "Colour Alone": The Experience of Monochrome". This retraced the adventure of monochrome, from the beginnings of Impressionism and the historical avant-gardes to topical work by artists ranging from Malevitch to Anish Kapoor. Staged in various venues around the city, "Colour Alone" was highly successful, making its mark and illustrating Lyon's potential for hosting an international event, following the Paris Biennale's closure in 1985. The event gave rise to the inaugural Lyon Biennale in September 1991.

The desire to create an event capable of artistic self-renewal while building a stable, long-term project that bonded with its host territory led to an organisational model specific to the Lyon Biennale: an artistic director builds the event's identity over time, and for each edition chooses a curator/ curators with whom he collaborates closely to devise an artistic project.

The Lyon Biennale is therefore truly a Biennale d'auteur and, as Jean-Hubert Martin noted, "a clever way of having themes addressed through the personalities of others". Each biennale provides the opportunity to explore a specific issue. Its eleven editions thus far have formed successive trilogies: the first devoted to History, the second to Globalisation, the third to Temporality and the last one still under way to Transmission. They have been curated by an international array of art historians, critics and professional curators including: Harald Szeemann, Jean-Hubert Martin, Le Consortium (with Robert Nickas and Anne Pontégnie), Stéphanie Moisdon and Hans Ulrich Obrist, Hou Hanru, and Victoria Noorthoorn in 2011.

MANIFESTA

Manifesta, the roving European Biennial of Contemporary art, changes its location every two years – Rotterdam (1996), Luxembourg (1998), Ljubljana (2000), Frankfurt (2002), San Sebastian (2004), Nicosia (2006 – cancelled), Trentino-South Tyrol (2008), Murcia in dialogue with Northern Africa (2010) and Limburg (2012). Manifesta purposely strives to keep its distance from what are often seen as the dominant centres of artistic production, instead seeking fresh and fertile terrains for the mapping of a new cultural topography. This includes innovations in curatorial practises, exhibition models and education. Each Manifesta edition aims to investigate and reflect on emerging developments in contemporary art, set within a European context. In doing so, Manifesta presents local, national and international audiences with new aspects and forms of artistic expression.

Each Manifesta comprises a range of activities extending over a period of two or more years. This incorporates publications, meetings, discussions and seminars (the so-called ‘Coffee Breaks’), staged in diverse locations throughout Europe and in the neighbouring regions, culminating in the final three-month long exhibition (or in 2006, an ‘art school’) in the host city or region. In this way, Manifesta aims to create a keen and workable interface between prevailing international artistic and intellectual debates, paying attention to the specific qualities and idiosyncrasies of a given location.

Inherent to Manifesta's nomadic character is the desire to explore the psychological and geographical territory of Europe, referring both to border-lines and concepts. This process aims to establish closer dialogue between particular cultural and artistic situations and the broader, international fields of contemporary art, theory and politics in a changing society. Manifesta has a pan-European vocation and at each edition, it has successfully presented artists, curators, young professionals and trainees from as many as 40 different countries. With the expansion of the European community from 12 to 25 countries, and with the possible target of around 30 nations in the foreseeable future, Manifesta also realizes the importance of creating links with Europe's neighbours in Asia, the eastern Mediterranean and northern Africa. At the same time, it continues to focus on minority groups and cultures within Europe itself. Therefore Manifesta looks forward to expanding its network and building creative partnerships with organisations, curators, art professionals and independent figureheads in Europe and beyond, drafting an interlocking map of contemporary art.

BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO

Created in 1951, the Bienal de São Paulo is the second major exhibition of contemporary art in the world, after the Venice Biennale, and the first in the Southern Hemisphere. Acting as a link between Brazil and the international scene, the Bienal has since then fulfilled its role of promoting cultural exchange, stimulating the local artistic circuit and promoting Brazilian art and Brazil abroad.

The result of its 60 years of activity is broadly positive. The principal international post-war artists have passed through here, and they continue to come. The quality and reach of the Brazilian and Latin-American artistic production have grown enormously, and many of its artists have earned international recognition. The Bienal de São Paulo has gained prestige beyond national borders and is accompanied by a strong interest from the artistic community around the world. The Bienal de São Paulo, with a monumental scale privileged by the 25,000 m² pavilion designed by the Brazilian modernist architect Oscar Niemeyer in the heart of a park, is an important mechanism of access to art. Every two years, hundreds of thousands of visitors make contact with contemporary artistic production.

Its impact, however, transcends the strictly cultural plane. Acting as an instrument of education and social insertion and serving as a lever to stimulate the production and consumption of cultural goods, Bienal de São Paulo is an important catalyst of the creative economy and symbol of the modernity of São Paulo and of Brazil. Believing in the power of art to educate, the Bienal de São Paulo is a pioneer in the educational field. In partnership with the local government and with countless private educational institutions and non-governmental organisations, the Bienal de São Paulo promotes the capacitation of thousands of educators so that they can work with exhibition subjects in the classroom and later bring their students to the pavilion. The expressive number of guided tours realized during the Bienal makes this effort one of the greatest and most comprehensive educational programmes in the field of art.

More difficult to measure, the economic impact of the Bienal is not widely discussed, but it certainly should not be underestimated. Artistic production is one of the activities of greatest aggregated value in the economy. Artworks materialize intellectual capital. The higher the value our artists' works of art acquire, the greater the wealth generated in the country. And such wealth ends up being distributed among everyone in the world of art - artists, galleries, auction houses, cultural institutions, schools, etc. In addition, the art circuit is a large incentive for tourism.

Though the axis of the Bienal is art, it cannot, however, stop considering its impact on the field of education, citizenship and economy. The support the Bienal receives from the public government - city, state and federation, the private sponsors and the society in general results exactly in the understanding of this broadened impact. A strong and representative biennial interests all of society, in the measure that allows São Paulo and Brazil to position itself as one of the world centres of contemporary art, generating wealth, progress and material and symbolic benefits for everyone.

BIENNALE OF SYDNEY

The Biennale of Sydney is a non-profit organisation that presents Australia's largest and most exciting contemporary visual arts event. Held every two years, the Biennale presents a three-month exhibition, plus a programme of artist talks, performances, forums, film screenings, family events, guided tours and other special events, all free to the public. Since its inception in 1973, the Biennale of Sydney has provided an international platform for innovative and challenging contemporary art, showcasing the work of more than 1500 artists from over 83 countries.

The Biennale of Sydney gratefully acknowledges the generous support of the many organisations and individuals that make the exhibition and its programmes possible.

ANNEX-II**GDP PER CAPITA BASED ON PURCHASING POWER PARITY¹⁷**

Country Name	Country Code	Indicator Name	2010
Brazil	BRA	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	11,202
Turkey	TUR	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	15,624
Korea, Rep.	KOR	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	28,798
France	FRA	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	34,124
United Kingdom	GBR	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	35,704
Germany	DEU	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	37,421
Australia	AUS	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	37,647
Netherlands	NLD	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	42,187

¹⁷ <http://databank.worldbank.org>. Last accessed: 28.11.2012.

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