

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PRESERVATION PLANS IN THE
HISTORIC CORE OF ANKARA, TURKEY

A Thesis

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by

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ABSTRACT

Ankara has been the capital of Turkey since 1923, but the city's history goes back millennia. Over the last century, the historic city center, Ulus, has suffered the impacts of rapid urban development. The area has not had a functional preservation strategy since 2005. Today, large numbers of Ankara's historic structures undergo significant alteration or even demolition to accommodate new development.

This thesis surveys Ulus' history, then focuses on the last 30 years to determine what happened. It is a first attempt at understanding how to design and implement a new strategy for Ulus that will preserve its historic cultural resources while accommodating the pressures of a rapidly expanding city. It finds that the lack of communication between various stakeholders has caused resistance to any possible strategies. Creating a viable master plan for Ulus will involve significant legal and administrative alterations to the preservation canon.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sena Kayasü was born and raised in Ankara, Turkey and graduated from Bilkent Laboratory and International School with an IB Diploma in 2011. Following high school, Sena earned a Bachelor of Architecture degree from Bilkent University in Ankara. Between 2013 and 2016, she served on the board of the Design and Architecture Society of the same university. Sena interned at Mesa Construction in the summer of 2014, then A Architectural Design and the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations in the summer of 2015.

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To my city, Ankara, for its endurance over the centuries.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	III
DEDICATION.....	IV
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI
LIST OF TABLES	VIII
LIST OF FIGURES	IX
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	X
LIST OF MAPS.....	XI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	XII
KEY WORDS AND DEFINITIONS.....	XIII
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. THE STORY OF ANKARA.....	13
INTRODUCTION	13
1.1. <i>Ankara Before 1923</i>	13
1.1.1. Ankara’s Early Inhabitants	13
1.1.2. Ankara as a Roman Province.....	17
1.1.3. Turks Enter Anatolia	20
1.1.4. Ankara Becomes an Ottoman Province.....	23
1.2. <i>The Capital City of the Turkish Republic</i>	27
1.2.1. 1923-1950.....	27
1.2.2. 1950-1980.....	42
1.2.3. 1980-2001.....	54
1.2.4. After 2001.....	56
CONCLUSION.....	57
2. THE HISTORY OF THE PRESERVATION FRAMEWORK IN TURKEY	59
INTRODUCTION	59
2.1. <i>Before 1920: The Preservation Legacy of the Ottoman Empire</i>	60
2.2. <i>1920 – 1972: Preservation in the Young Republic</i>	62
2.3. <i>1973 – 2002: World Heritage and Shifts in the International Political Paradigm</i>	65
2.4. <i>2003 – Present</i>	70
CONCLUSION.....	76
3. THE 1986 ULUS PLAN	79
INTRODUCTION	79
3.1. <i>The Beginning of the 1986 Ulus Plan</i>	79
<i>Strategy 1: A New CBD in Kazıkıçı Bostanları</i>	86
<i>Strategy 2: Site Survey</i>	88
<i>Strategy 3: Urban Design</i>	91
<i>Strategy 4: Ownership</i>	92
3.2. <i>Strengths of the Ulus Plan</i>	96
3.3. <i>Issues Related to the Ulus Plan</i>	102
3.4. <i>The Cancellation of the Ulus Plan</i>	110

CONCLUSION	114
4. AFTER BADEMLI.....	115
INTRODUCTION	115
4.1. <i>The 2006 Hassa Plan</i>	115
4.2. <i>The 2012 UTTA Plan</i>	124
4.3. <i>Ulus in 2018</i>	130
CONCLUSION	140
CONCLUSION	141
APPENDIX A.....	150
APPENDIX B.....	151
APPENDIX C.....	152
REFERENCES	153

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: THE FEATURES OF THE DESIRED URBAN FORM AGAINST THOSE OF DEVELOPMENT AS A RESPONSE TO NATURAL FORCES.....	44
TABLE 2: LIST OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES OR “REVOLUTIONS” THAT WERE INTRODUCED BY THE REPUBLIC.....	151
TABLE 3: THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE OF ANKARA.....	152

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: THE MAIN AXES LAID OUT BY JANSEN'S ANKARA MASTER PLAN.	39
FIGURE 2: THE POPULATION INCREASE IN THE PROVINCE OF ANKARA AFTER 1923.....	50
FIGURE 3: THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTAL BODIES RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESERVATION IN TURKEY.	72
FIGURE 4: THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTAL BODIES RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANNING IN TURKEY. 72	
FIGURE 5: SKETCH OF THE ULUS PLAN BY RACI BADEMLI.....	81
FIGURE 6: THE 2008 DESIGN FOR THE CBD AT KAZIKIÇI BOSTANLARI BY A ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN.....	88
FIGURE 7: THE PROCESS OF CREATION OF A PLOT PLAN, AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO DOCUMENTS REQUIRED BY ARCHITECTURAL PROJECTS.	105
FIGURE 8: BENT DERESI IN THE 1930S, BEFORE IT WAS CHANNELIZED (DRAWN BY HERMANN JANSEN IN 1933).	119
FIGURE 9: A RENDERING OF HASSA’S VISION FOR THE HACI BAYRAM SQUARE AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOOD.	121
FIGURE 10: TIMELINE OF KNOWN PRE-REPUBLIC CIVILIZATIONS IN ANKARA.	150

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION 1: THE CITADEL, LOOKING SOUTH FROM BENT DERESI.....	16
ILLUSTRATION 2: ARSLAN HANE MOSQUE IN ULUS, ANKARA.....	21
ILLUSTRATION 3: HACI BAYRAM MOSQUE AND THE ADJACENT TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS.....	23
ILLUSTRATION 4: SIHHIYE JUNCTION AND THE HITTITE SUN DISC SCULPTURE (1978), 2017...	31
ILLUSTRATION 5: İŞ BANK BUILDING ON ULUS SQUARE.....	35
ILLUSTRATION 6: ANITKABIR, 2015.....	41
ILLUSTRATION 7: ULUS İŞHANI, BUILT IN 1954, OPENED IN 1955.....	45
ILLUSTRATION 8: EMEK BUILDING IN KIZILAY, ANKARA (1959–1964).....	46
ILLUSTRATION 9: APARTMENT BUILDING IN ANKARA (MID-1970S).....	47
ILLUSTRATION 10: A RARE HISTORIC BUILDING ON ÇANKIRI AVENUE.....	66
ILLUSTRATION 11: EXAMPLE OF THE ORGANIC HILLSIDE ARCHITECTURE THAT DEVELOPED AROUND THE CITADEL, 1980S.....	93
ILLUSTRATION 12: BROAD VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF ST. CLEMENT CHURCH.....	95
ILLUSTRATION 13: ULUS SQUARE IN 2017.....	99
ILLUSTRATION 14: THE EMBANKMENT ON BENT DERESI, SEEN IN RELATION TO THE OUTER WALLS OF THE CITADEL, N.D.....	103
ILLUSTRATION 15: BENT DERESI IN 2017.....	119
ILLUSTRATION 16: MELIKE HATUN MOSQUE.....	129
ILLUSTRATION 17: THE NEW PRESIDENTIAL SYMPHONY BUILDING, WITH THE HIGH-SPEED RAILWAY STATION VISIBLE TO THE RIGHT.....	130
ILLUSTRATION 18: AN ABANDONED APARTMENT BUILDING CONSTRUCTED IN THE 1950S ON IŞIKLAR STREET, AT THE EASTERN EDGE OF THE ANKARA HISTORIC CITY CENTER.....	132
ILLUSTRATION 19: THE REPUBLIC’S FIRST MINISTRY OF HEALTH.....	133
ILLUSTRATION 20: HAMAMÖNÜ BUILDINGS ON TALATPAŞA BOULEVARD.....	136
ILLUSTRATION 21: RECONSTRUCTED BUILDINGS ON THE MAIN PATHS IN HACI BAYRAM.....	137

LIST OF MAPS

MAP 1: CALLOUT OF ANKARA IN TURKEY.	2
MAP 2: THE RIVERS OF ANKARA	14
MAP 3: MAP OF ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ARTIFACTS IN ANKARA.	19
MAP 4: THE OTTOMAN RAILWAY SYSTEM AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY.....	25
MAP 5: MAP OF THE ROADS AND MAIN BUILDINGS (OUTSIDE THE CITADEL) IN ANKARA IN THE 16TH CENTURY.	26
MAP 6: TURKEY’S BORDERS, AFFIRMED BY THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE (1923).	28
MAP 7: THE EXISTING STRUCTURES IN ANKARA IN 1960.	37
MAP 8: THE FINAL VERSION OF JANSEN'S ANKARA MASTER PLAN FROM 1932.....	38
MAP 9: ANKARA 1990 PLAN.	52
MAP 10: THE GEOMORPHOLOGICAL FORMATION AROUND ANKARA.	53
MAP 11: THE 26 DISTRICTS OF THE ANKARA PROVINCE.	70
MAP 12: THE 1986 ULUS PLAN.	83
MAP 13: PROPOSED LOCATION FOR THE NEW CBD IN RELATION TO ULUS.....	86
MAP 14: EXCERPT FROM THE ULUS PLAN.	90
MAP 15: EXCERPT FROM THE 1929 ANKARA CADASTRAL PLAN.....	93
MAP 16: THE TRAFFIC SCHEME FOR ULUS SQUARE IN THE BADEMLI PLAN.	98
MAP 17: BLOCK ON ÇANTACILAR ST.	107
MAP 18: THE EXTENTS OF THE PRESERVATION PLANS.	112
MAP 19: ANKARA HISTORIC CITY CENTER URBAN RENEWAL AREA IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, PREPARED BY HASSA ARCHITECTURE.....	117
MAP 20: THE PROPOSED EXPANSION OF THE RENEWAL AREA FROM THE AREA BOUNDED BY THE GREEN LINE TO THE PINK LINE.....	125
MAP 21: THE FLOOR PLAN OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS DISCOVERED DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF ULUS İŞHANI IN 1954.....	134

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMM:	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality
ATAK:	Ankara Historic Areas Conservation Unit, a division formed during the Bademli Plan's implementation within the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and Altındağ District Municipality in order to facilitate communication between various departments involved in preservation planning.
CBD:	Central Business District
CRP:	City and Regional Planning
GT:	Parcels marked for consolidation for improvement.
KPA:	Public Project Area.
K _T :	Parcels marked for consolidation for preservation.
METU:	Middle East Technical University
MoCT:	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism
S _T :	Parcels marked for consolidation for rehabilitation.
TDK:	Turkish Language Association
TTK:	Turkish History Association
UTTA:	The name of the urban design firm commissioned to make a preservation plan for Ankara in 2012. The abbreviation stands for the surnames of the founding partners: Ahmet Uzel, Kamutay Türkoğlu, and Mehmet Tunçer, followed by "A" for "Architects."
YÖK:	The Council for Higher Education
Y _T :	Parcels marked for consolidation for new development.

KEY WORDS AND DEFINITIONS

ahi: A 14th-century socio-religious fraternity based in central Anatolia.

Altındağ District Municipality: The body of local government that oversees the district of Altındağ, which contains Ulus. District municipalities work in conjunction with the Metropolitan Municipality.

Anafartalar Mall: Shopping mall built in Ulus in 1967.

Ankara Çayı: The main water body in Ankara. It splits into Bent Deresi and Çubuk Çayı.

Atıfbey-Hıdırlıktepe: Two parts of Ulus that had a considerable amount of slums. When the urban site was being expanded as part of the transition into a renewal area, Atıfbey and Hıdırlıktepe were included.

askı: The month-long period for public comment after a project is approved by the Municipal Council.

Batıkent: A satellite settlement and developing economic node to the northwest of Ulus.

Bayrami: A religious brotherhood founded in Ankara by a farmer called Hacı Bayram in the 15th century.

Bent Deresi: One of the major bodies of water in Ankara. It was channelized in the mid-20th century, since then the name has been attributed to the surrounding area.

cadastre: The official register of the quantity, value and ownership of real estate used in apportioning taxes.

Council of Ministers: Also known as a “cabinet,” it is the decision-making body formed by the Prime Minister and all ministers of the Republic of Turkey.

Çayyolu: A satellite settlement and developing economic node to the southwest of Ulus, along the Western Corridor.

dolmuş: Dolmuş is a variation of a jitney. It is a small bus that charges low fares and has routes along the city, especially in areas where other public transit service is scarce. The word literally translates as “it’s filled up,” referring to the fact that dolmuşes often do not leave the garage until they are mostly full of passengers.

gecekondu: Poorly constructed, single-story squatter houses made of salvaged materials.

Hacı Bayram: Part of Ulus that is centered around the 14th-century Hacı Bayram Mosque (and 1st-century BCE Augustus Temple). Because of the area’s significance, it is usually prioritized as a conservation site.

Hamamönü/Hamamarkası: Parts of Ulus centered around Karacabey Hamam, built in 1440.

Hassa: İstanbul-based firm that designed the 2006 plan for the Ulus Historic City Center.

hans: Historic inns found in Anatolia, usually dating to the Seljukid or Ottoman periods.

İller Bank: 1937 structure by Giulio Mongeri on the Ulus Square. The building was demolished in 2017 as a result of the construction of the Melike Hatun Mosque.

İsmetpaşa: Part of Ulus that had a considerable amount of slums. When the urban site was being expanded as part of the transition into a renewal area, İsmetpaşa was included.

Kazıkıçı Bostanları: Site located to northwest of Ulus, in the direction of Sincan and Batıkent. It was proposed as a Central Business District under the scope of the Bademli Plan.

kervansaray: A roadside inn for *kervans* (group of travelling people and animals, often carrying freight).

Kızılay: Commercial area to the south of Ulus, part of Yenişehir. It replaced Ulus as the commercial center between the 1950s and 1970s.

Melih Gökçek: Mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality between 1994 and 2017.

Modern Mall: Shopping mall built in Ulus in 1957.

Mustafa Tuna: Mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, appointed in 2017.

Raci Bademli: An urban designer and city planning professor who taught at Middle East Technical University. Bademli was the principal author of the 1938 Ulus Plan.

Sihhiye: Neighborhood between Ulus and Kızılay, part of Yenişehir.

Sincan: A satellite settlement and developing economic node to the west of Ulus.

Tanzimat: A 1839 Proclamation by the Ottoman government that launched numerous “modern” interventions in line with European principles at the time.

Ulus: A neighborhood in Ankara. Ulus is home to Ankara’s only historic district.

Ulus İşhanı: Commercial structure built on the Ulus Square in 1955.

Urban Site: One of three types of conservation areas, or “sites.” The other two are archaeological sites and natural sites.

vakıf: A pious foundation that collected funds from its community for the repair and maintenance of a religious building.

yap-satçılık: “Build-and-sellism,” the trend of historic houses being demolished and replaced by multi-story residences.

Yeni Mimari: Literally the “new architecture,” a design trend based on the International Style and popularized in the 1930s.

Yenişehir: The “new city,” a settlement included in Jansen’s 1932 design for Ankara to the south of Ulus, the “old city.”

INTRODUCTION

The Ottoman Empire, based in Istanbul, crumbled at the end of World War I in 1918, and the Turkish Republic was established in the Anatolian Peninsula in 1923. The changes brought about by the new regime following the disintegration of the Empire were reflected in the built environment. These changes were mainly characterized by urban population growth and the expansion of cities. To regulate the transition and guide the country towards modernity, the government established municipalities, created master plans, and invited foreign architects, planners, and engineers to make contributions.

Ankara, as the new capital city, became the petri dish for these exercises. Being the political center, it was to be the model that the rest of the country would follow into modernism. For this reason, its built fabric is a summary of all design and construction trends in Turkey since 1923. Unfortunately, the drastic change in the city's defining features—both physically and politically—have overshadowed the importance of its prior history.

The popular rhetoric about Ankara paints it as a small, insignificant village before it became the center of Turkish resistance following World War I, and the capital city of the subsequent Republic of Turkey. The seemingly random choice for the capital stems from the settlement's geopolitical importance at the heart of the Anatolian Peninsula. The rhetoric follows the opinion that Ankara is a direct product of the new regime and everything it represents. While this is true to the degree that the Republic expanded the city and its population at an unprecedented degree, the common narrative overlooks Ankara's much longer history. Indeed, the settlement was not much larger than a village at the turn of the twentieth century, but its aforementioned geopolitical importance had been noticed and utilized by many governments before the Turkish Republic.

Before the 1920s, Ankara was a town surrounded by large vineyards. While many people lived inside its citadel, built in the 2nd century BCE, a considerable part of its population lived in the vineyard houses, especially in the summer. Ankara's population rose

and fell throughout its history, depending on political and economic conditions. In the Roman era,¹ the city was reported to have a population as large as 100,000. By the end of the century, the population fell to approximately 50,000.² In 1923, it was estimated to be less than 25,000.³ As the city expanded in the 20th century, new districts were planned each roughly equal in size to the historic core, and Ankara became a combination of different neighborhoods. Hence, the historic core required a new name and it became “Ulus.” The choice is appropriate and telling, because the word *ulus* literally translates from Turkish as “nation.”



Map 1: Callout of Ankara in Turkey.

The location of Ulus is marked in the Ankara map.

Source: Google Maps, edited by author.

The search for the identity of (and historic justification for) the new country triggered extensive archaeological and anthropological research that sought to establish the Turkish people as descendants of Central Asian nomads from centuries ago, rather than yesterday’s Ottomans who had just lost World War I. The goal was to prove that Turks had been in

¹ 1st century BCE–13th century CE. See Appendix A for further detail of the various civilizations.

² Baykan Günay, “Ankara Spatial History,” *AESOP*, accessed on 28 October 2017. <http://crp.metu.edu.tr/sites/crp.metu.edu.tr/files/Ankara%20spatial%20history.pdf>.

³ Toni M. Cross and Gary Leiser, *A Brief History of Ankara* (Vacaville, Calif.: Indian Ford Press, 2000), 153.

Anatolia for longer than the Ottoman state, and that they were capable of becoming the secular guardians of the land, with its diverse inhabitants. In order to differentiate themselves from Ottomans, the elite Republican Turks developed a mild disregard and indifference towards them. As a result, even as archaeological digs continued around Ankara to reveal Roman ruins and Mesopotamian sculptures, the wooden buildings of the 18th and 19th centuries were ignored.

Ankara's strategic significance grew in the 1920s, following the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. This led to frantic changes in the urban fabric, both to accommodate the new regime and because the population climbed rapidly—it would grow from 25,000 to 5,000,000 over the next century. In the process, the lengthier history of Ankara paled in comparison to the “new” city's role in the prospective success (or failure) of the Turkish Republic, and much of the old city was altered without regard for future historic research.

One of the most systematic alterations was the attempted reshaping of property lines. The formation of the historic fabric in Ankara was very similar to medieval towns, with small roads and irregular patterns. The roads had to be widened for state and diplomatic cars to pass through. The chaotic nature of the medieval town had to be documented and regulated, not the least because its residents had to be taxed fairly. In the 1950s, the local government redefined the *cadastre*⁴ of the neighborhood on a neat, orthogonal grid.

Unfortunately, this new grid ignored existing structures, roads, and property sizes. Therefore, while some parts of the plan could be applied, most of it remained only on paper because it would have cost too much to compensate the residents to move their houses or to build the roads. There was also too much ongoing modern construction activity outside Ulus to house the increasing number of Ankarans for the city to focus on aged, wooden houses.

As the city began to lose sight of Ankara's historic origins, Ulus' residents were more than willing to move out of their homes and into the growing Yenisehir, literally “the New

⁴ Cadastre is the official register of the quantity, value and ownership of real estate used in apportioning taxes (source: Merriam-Webster).

City.” The old houses of Ulus seemed squalid in comparison to the modern, concrete buildings in Yenişehir that also had electricity and indoor plumbing. Ulus in turn became a transition zone for large numbers of incoming rural migrants and houses were altered to accommodate larger numbers of people. Additional change occurred in Ulus as a result of new regulations in the 1950s that allowed taller buildings and encouraged additional floors on historic residential architecture, both being strategies to increase the city’s capacity.

After the 1950s, Ankara’s center shifted away from the historic core to Kızılay in the south, near Yenişehir. Ulus slowly became an outdoor museum of archaeological sites and Early-Republican-era buildings, more a destination of school buses on annual visits than a vibrant neighborhood that was once the heart of Ankara. Following numerous master plans and zoning changes, the district had become a mash-up of fabric from various epochs, including various historic artifacts and old, wooden houses in addition to 1930s Garden City visions, 1950s apartment buildings, and slums. No map or master plan corresponded to the built reality, which in turn became completely divorced from the record of *cadastre* and deeds.

In 1980, the majority of Ulus was nationally designated as an “urban site.”⁵ Urban sites, as well as archaeological or natural sites, are areas where new construction is restricted or forbidden. According to Law No. 2863 “Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property,” all urban sites must have a preservation master plan.⁶ In 1986, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM) hosted a competition for such a preservation plan that would revitalize Ulus. The winning team was from Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara’s premier architectural institution and the host of the first City and Regional Planning (CRP) department in Turkey. The team was led by a CRP faculty member, Prof. Dr. Raci Bademli.

Preservation had been in the consciousness of Turkish architects and planners since the end of World War II and the writing of the Venice Charter (1964). Preservation planning, however, was an embryonic field with very little professional representation in Turkey. Thus,

⁵ High Council Decision A-2167 from April 12, 1980.

⁶ “Sites” or conservation areas in Turkey may be categorized as urban, archaeological, or natural.

the task of creating a master plan for this historic neighborhood was undertaken by a group of city planners. Apart from Raci Bademli, the team included Ömer Kiral, Turgay Ateş and Abdi Güzer. Following the concept design that was approved in 1986, the specifications and negotiations related to the preparation of the implementation plan continued for three more years. The Ulus Historic City Center Preservation Master Plan⁷ and its corresponding Implementation Plan⁸ were approved by the AMM in 1990. The plans covered the Ulus Historic Urban Site, which is approximately 110 hectares (~270 acres).

Because of the size and complexity of the Ulus Historic Urban Site, Bademli's team aimed to create a framework plan instead of a master plan. The framework would define opportunities for more focused projects, accompanied by more specific plans. Most importantly, however, it attempted to reconcile the various cadastral plans for Ulus from the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s that had only been partially implemented. (With each plan the City attempted to restructure lots and roads in Ulus in an intervention similar to Haussmann's overhaul of Paris, but none of them followed through as completely as did Napoleon III.) The result of all these abortive efforts was that there was no accurate documentation of Ulus, and many anomalous conditions in the neighborhood. A historic pathway would be lined with renovated houses, or an aged, two-story house would be moved to make way for a road that was never built. These irregularities had to be solved by the framework plan for future preservation projects to be even considered.

The implementation process of the framework plan continued for more than a decade. The construction projects took place in collaboration with the AMM, while cadastral adjustments were made by the Altındağ District Municipality, where Ulus is located. Frequently, parts of the plan had to be revised to accommodate archaeological artifacts discovered during construction, or the undocumented cadastral adjustments. All alterations

⁷ The Ulus Historic City Center Preservation Master Plan will hereafter be referred to as the Ulus Plan or the Bademli Plan.

⁸ The Master Plan was drawn on a 1/5000 scale and the Implementation Plan on a 1/1000 scale.

had to be approved by Bademli, who was the project's owner. Even though this decreased the speed of implementation, it allowed for a more objective approach, as several viewpoints were systematically considered for almost every decision.

Once the framework plan was complete and underway with the Altındağ Municipality, independent architects were commissioned by the AMM for the smaller preservation projects. The most critical areas were targeted first, such as the area around the 1st-century BCE Temple of Augustus and the adjacent 14th-century Hacı Bayram Mosque. Others were the Eynebey Bath (in constant use since 1502), as well as the abandoned Jewish district. A project was later commissioned for Saraçlar Bazaar, the majority of which burned down in a fire in the early 1990s, as well as other commercial projects.

Because of Prof. Dr. Bademli's central role in the application of the Ulus Plan, the project was severely impacted by his death in 2003, thirteen years after it was approved by the AMM. The project's authorship was transferred to Baykan Günay, another faculty member at METU's CRP Department, and its implementation continued until 2005. Unfortunately, by this point, the cadastral aspect of the project had become extremely difficult. The project was not efficient enough to justify its continuation to the municipal leadership. Moreover, the AMM had become dissatisfied with the rehabilitation projects that were taking place, and began to believe that the parts of Ulus that had been determined to be 'preservation areas' could be better utilized with new structures. Thus, the Ulus Plan was cancelled by the AMM in 2005.

Another development in 2005 was the passage of Law No. 5366 "Preservation through Renewal of Degraded Immovable Historic and Cultural Artifacts" by the Turkish Parliament. According to this legislation, sites that had decayed and were about to lose their character-defining features may be reconstructed and restored to encourage "residential, commercial, cultural, touristic and social" activity and safeguard against the effects of possible natural

disasters.⁹ The law meant to protect immovable historical and cultural artifacts through renewal and reuse.

The cancellation of the Ulus Plan, and the designation of the Ulus urban site as a renewal area was considered unlawful by the Chamber of City Planners and the Chamber of Architects, who fought both decisions. The ensuing legal process triggered more than a decade of court cases and unimplemented projects. The AMM has commissioned two preservation plans since 2005, neither of which came to fruition.¹⁰

The first was prepared by Hassa Architecture in 2006. Hassa's portfolio was rich in mosque design, but poor in preservation planning. This led to the general view that the commission was a political maneuver rather than a decision based on the firm's merit. In addition, the cancellation of the Bademli Plan was unlawful in that it happened before another plan was prepared.¹¹ Based on this, the Chamber of City Planners sued to dismiss the Hassa Plan after it was approved by the AMM in 2007. The court ruled in favor of the Chamber in 2009,¹² but the appeals continued until 2011.¹³ During this time there was no active preservation plan for Ulus.

Next, the AMM commissioned a politically neutral firm, UTТА Planning, in 2012. Their plan was approved by the AMM in 2014, at which point the Chamber of Architects began a court case that is still ongoing against the municipality to cancel it.¹⁴ In the meantime, Ulus has been 'frozen' in terms of legitimate preservation and construction activity, because

⁹ "Law Concerning the Preservation through Renewal of Degraded Immovable Historic and Cultural Artifacts," *Turkish Parliament*, 17 November 2005, accessed on 14 October 2017. www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5366.pdf.

¹⁰ One plan was prepared by Hassa Architecture in 2006, the next by UTТА Planning in 2012.

¹¹ Mehmet Tunçer, "Ankara Historic City Center Restoration Site Conservation Plan, its Characteristics, and Rationales for its Revocation," *Journal of Ankara Studies* 1, no. 2 (2013): 12.

¹² "Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı 1/5000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Nazım ve 1/1000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planının İptaline Yönelik Açtığımız Davada 200/3256 Esas, 3009/8387 Nolu Danıştay Kararı," *Şehir Plancıları Odası*, 21 December 2009, accessed on 2 February 2018. www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=1248&tipi=78&sube=0

¹³ "Ulus Planları Kesin Olarak İptal Edildi," *Şehir Plancıları Odası*, 4 January 2012, accessed on 20 February 2018. www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=3706&tipi=78&sube=1

¹⁴ "Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi – Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Meclis Kararı – 1/5000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Nazım İmar Planı II İptali," *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*, accessed on 2 February 2018. www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=7585

another law, No. 2863, prohibits construction in conservation areas that do not have an active preservation plan. When this is the case, building activity can only take place—in urgent cases—through a project that covers no more than a single parcel, with approval from the Preservation Council.¹⁵ Parcel by parcel, it is possible to alter lots, or even a neighborhood, over a sufficient period of time. This has been the case in Ulus since 2005.

The unregulated construction in Ulus has caused either the demolition or significant alteration of historic buildings. The built record of Ankara's pre-history and that of the early Turkish Republic is jeopardized by the construction boom of the past decade. Without a preservation master plan, Ulus is left vulnerable to the stresses of its position in the heart of the expanding city. İller Bank, a designated structure from 1934 that helped define Ulus Square, was demolished in 2017 for a new mosque. Anafartalar Mall is shortlisted for demolition because there are plans to build a shopping mall in its stead. These and other threatened structures indicate that having a functional and active preservation plan for Ulus is crucial.

The district is under more pressure now than ever. The introduction of a new fast-rail line triggered the construction of a new railway building adjacent to the historic train station, accompanied by a mall. With the new Philharmonic Concert Hall that is due to open in the next year, Ulus is on its way to reclaiming its status as one of Ankara's cultural centers. To prevent the destruction of the historical record of Ankara for the sake of Ulus' revived popularity, the settlement's complete story must be told, and the failings of the previous preservation plans analyzed, to provide the possibility of creating a new strategy that can revitalize the district with all its diverse artifacts.

A large portion of the following investigation considers the period between 1986 and today, 2018. The contemporary nature of the research topic limited the number of published analyses of the impacts of the preservation plans. In addition, the changes that took place since

¹⁵ Preservation Councils are affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. There are currently 34 Preservation Councils in Turkey, each with a specific geographic jurisdiction.

2005 have not been well documented. It is especially critical that there is no body of work that considers the preservation efforts in Ankara's historic core as a whole.

Many studies have been carried out on various aspects of individual, neighborhood-scale projects in Ulus because of the speed of demolition and construction activity in the area since 2005. These studies pertain to the more well-known neighborhoods in Ulus such as Ulucanlar, İstiklal, Hacı Bayram or Hamamönü. This thesis aims to take a broader view in order to fill this gap and draw connections between seemingly disjointed fragments in Ulus' history.

The unwillingness of various institutions and stakeholders to initiate effective communication has caused serious damage over the decades. This thesis examines the preservation process in Ulus since 1986, and aims to provide an overview of the plans and actors involved in 2018. The following four methods were used in the course of this research:

1. Literature Review: Written academic studies and news articles, old photos and various analyses of the preservation master plans were collected.
2. Site Visits: Most of the targeted area was visited and photographed to determine compliance with plan status or the condition of completed projects.
3. Oral Interviews: Eight individuals who were involved with various stages of the preparation or implementation of the three plans were interviewed in person in January 2018.
 - a. Aydan Balamir is a professor in METU's Department of Architecture. She was a member of the Ulus Historic City Center Urban Renewal Council between 2007 and 2010.
 - b. Neriman Şahin Güçhan is a preservation architect and the director of METU's conservation architecture graduate program. She took part in the implementation of the Bademli Plan as an architect in the "Ulus Samanpazarı Keklik St. and Environs Preservation and Development Project."
 - c. Baykan Günay is a city planner who became involved with the Ulus Plan following the competition project, in 1989. At the time of the contract

with the municipality, he was an instructor at the Middle East Technical University (METU). Upon Raci Bademli's death in 2003, he became the principal project (copyright) owner. Thus, any change done on the Ulus Plan by the Altındağ Municipality and AMM had to be approved by him before any other proceeding between 2003 and 2005.

- d. Mine Karataş is a preservation architect and a founding partner of KM Architecture. She has worked on architectural conservation projects in Ulus since the late 1990s. She currently leads the ongoing restoration project of the Hamamönü neighborhood in the district.
 - e. Çağatay Keskinok is a faculty member and chair of the City and Regional Planning department at METU. His work specializes in the history of planning in Ankara, and he has gathered an extensive archive of images over the course of his career.
 - f. Ömer Kırıl is a freelance planner and part-time instructor at Middle East Technical University. He was part of the original four-person team that prepared the 1986 Bademli Plan.
 - g. Ahmet Öner Köse is an architect who worked for Altındağ District Municipality between 1990 and 2004, and had an active role in the implementation of the Bademli Plan as an Ankara Historic Areas Conservation Unit (ATAK) member. Since 2004 until the present (2018) he has been working for the Yenimahalle District Municipality.
 - h. Makbule İlçan is an urban planner and a senior partner at UTTA Planning, founded in 1963. İlçan graduated from the City and Regional Planning Department in Gazi University and became partner in 2009, the year before a new bid was opened for a new preservation master plan in Ulus.
4. Analysis of the Master Plans: The master plans and related documentation were obtained from the interviewees. Some interviewees also contributed historic photographs.

Ankara's status as the model of modern Turkey has made the preservation activity in Ulus highly visible. This condition was heightened by the predominance of architects in the

preservation field. The following investigation aims to evaluate the 1986, 2006 and 2012 master plans' approach and implementation problems as well as their spatial qualities. The goal of the research is to link administrative and legal changes to their physical manifestation in order to understand the events that led to the cancellation of the Bademli Plan, as well as the factors that gave rise to the Hassa and UTTA plans.

In order to address these issues, the document is separated into three main chapters. The first chapter will describe the history of Ankara from its early beginnings until the present day. The first half of the chapter will elaborate on the history of Ankara before 1923, ranging from the origin of the city's name and prehistoric inhabitants to the Romans, Seljuks and Ottomans. The second half will contextualize the development of architecture and planning in the Republic of Turkey in order to inform how social, economic and political changes have influenced the built fabric of the city since 1923.

The second chapter will tell the history of preservation in Anatolia, beginning with the first legal framework created by the Ottomans in 1869. It will interweave international developments in preservation with those in Turkey in order to compare and contrast the efficiency of efforts in the country. It is important to recognize that national and international preservation canon followed a similar timeline, taking into account the difference between the growing populations of Turkish cities, in comparison to the largely diminished population of European countries following World War II. The lack of this recognition may lead to despair about future practices in Turkey, or cause a disconnect between national and international practices. The second chapter will also describe the institutional bodies that were involved in preservation projects before 1986, in order to contextualize the more recent legislative developments.

The third chapter will describe the 1986 Ulus Historic City Center Preservation Master Plan (Ulus Plan) Ulus Plan prepared by the METU team. The first section will describe its main features. The second section will outline its strengths, followed by an analysis of its issues in the third section. The fourth section will describe the reasons for the cancellation of

this plan, as well as the legal changes that facilitated the transformation of Ulus from a preservation site to a renewal area.

The fourth chapter will describe the preservation developments in the urban site after 2005. The first part in this chapter recount the inception of the 2006 Hassa Plan, and the controversies that ensued. The second part will follow a similar format for the 2012 UTTA Plan, and outline the legal conflict between the AMM and the professional chambers. The third and final section will evaluate recent developments in Ulus that accentuate the necessity of a new preservation master plan, and the need for a collaborative institutional framework that can implement such a project.

The Conclusion will summarize the discoveries obtained through this study, evaluate their significance, and acknowledge possibilities for future research.

THE STORY OF ANKARA

Introduction

Chapter I looks into the development of Ankara's historic character in its first 2,000 years (Part I), then delves into its drastic transition as the capital of the Republic of Turkey after 1923 (Part II). Part II is divided into three chronological periods, based on major shifts in policy. The first period begins in 1923, with the founding of the Republic, and ends in 1950 with the election of the Democratic Party (DP). The second period begins in 1950 and ends with the coup d'état in 1980. The third period follows this until 2001, when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was elected.

1.1. Ankara Before 1923

1.1.1. Ankara's Early Inhabitants

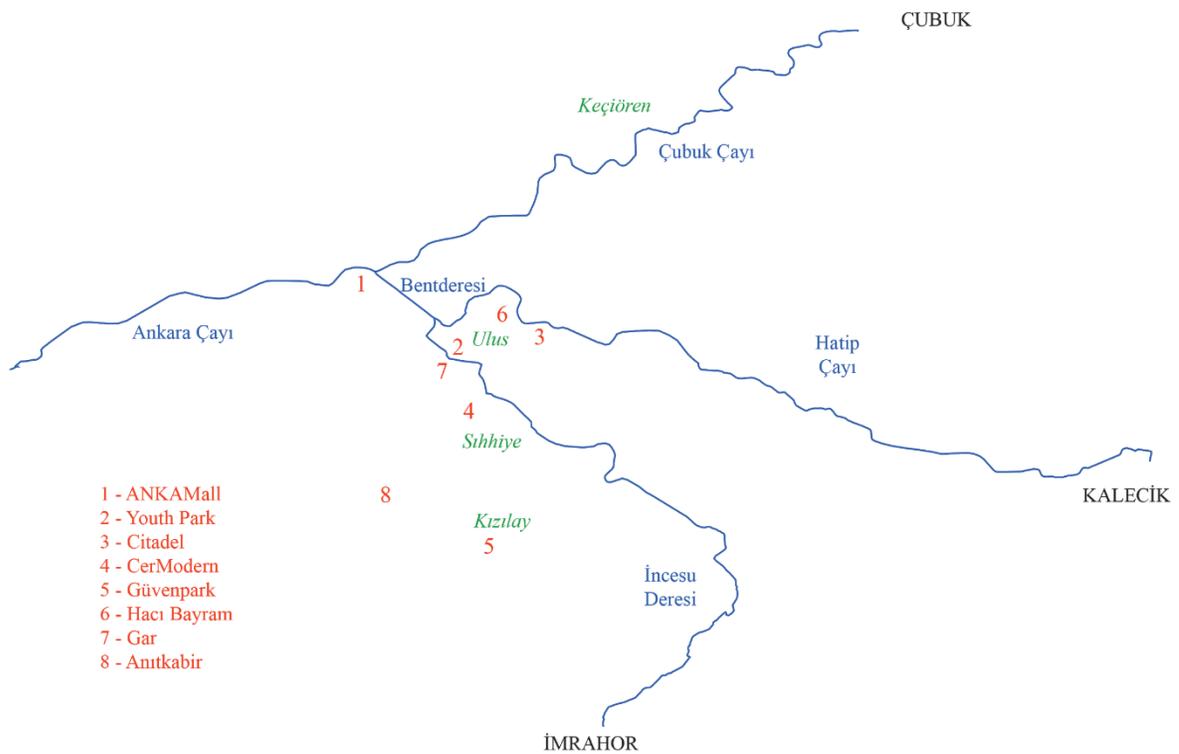
Turkey takes pride in being the geographic and cultural bridge between the East and the West. Its multifaceted identity is reflected in the name of its capital city: Ankara. The name may have been derived from the root <ank->, present in Indo-European languages including Hittite and Greek. The root denotes a crook or sharp bend and probably refers to “the sharp angle that the modern *Ankara Çayı*, which has now been canalized and is invisible beneath the modern city, took after it emerged from the *Bent Deresi*.”¹⁶ Bent Deresi is formed as the Hatip Brook merges with the İncesu Brook. Bent Deresi, in turn, merges with the Çubuk Brook to form the Ankara Stream. Ankara's name may also refer to the Greek word for “anchor”: *ankyra*.¹⁷ Even though the name has undergone subtle transformations over the years such as

¹⁶ Stephen Mitchell and David French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)* (München : Verlag C.H. Beck, 2012), 1.

¹⁷ Toni M. Cross and Gary Leiser, *A Brief History of Ankara* (Vacaville, Calif.: Indian Ford Press, 2000), 58.

Ankyra, Angara, Angora, Enguri and Engere, it has been constant since at least the era of the Phrygian king Midas in the 4th century BC.¹⁸

Ankara's urban form developed as a result of the geomorphology of its surroundings. The Central Anatolian Plateau, where Ankara is located, is mostly defined by the streams flowing down mountains, its moderate summer climate, and accessibility to arable land. Because of the settlement's location in the center of the Anatolian Peninsula, Ankara was a major route junction for Assyrian, Hittite and Iron Age settlements.¹⁹ It "naturally lay on the route of emperors and their armies, as they marched between the European provinces and Syria."²⁰ Thus, it was often subject to many conflicts and invasions, as well as abundant trade.



Map 2: The Rivers of Ankara

Ankara Çayı emerges from Bent Deresi and diverges sharply to the north to swing around the hill on which the citadel has stood for centuries.

¹⁸ Mitchell et al, 1.

¹⁹ Ibid, 2.

²⁰ Ibid.

Assyrians were a Mesopotamian people based in the city of Assur, which was established around the 25th century BC. Over the next few centuries, the city-state expanded its territory across Anatolia and established a network of trading colonies in the central plateau of Turkey.²¹ This network was controlled by a central colony in Kültepe (20 km north of Cappadocia). Assyrians became a great regional power around 1300 BC, but their influence in Anatolia was long challenged by the Hittites, who entered the central plateau the area around 2000 BC.²² The Assyrian state fell under various other civilizations and empires in the Levant; it completely dissolved following the Arab Islamic Conquest of the 7th century AD.

While the Assyrians were based in Mesopotamia, the Hittites made Central Anatolia their homeland and built their capital in Hattuša around 1600 BC.²³ Hittites are noted for the first documented treaty in history: the Egyptian-Hittite Peace Treaty. Also known as the Treaty of Kadesh, this document was signed by Ramses II and Hattusilis III in 1259 BC.²⁴ It is the only ancient Near Eastern treaty where both sides' copies survived.

The Hittites splintered into smaller states around 1180 BC. They were ultimately eradicated by the 8th century BC. After the collapse of Hittite rule, Assyrians annexed most of their lands, while the rest fell to a new people that had migrated from Thrace a century earlier: Phrygians.²⁵ The famous²⁶ Phrygian king Midas built his citadel in Gordion (approximately 80 km southwest of Ankara). Archaeological remains confirm that Ankara was inhabited, if not founded, by Phrygians. They often built their cities on Hittite remains, so it is likely that

²¹ Cross et al, 28.

²² Ibid, 36.

²³ *Hattuša is located in Boğazkale, approximately two hours from Ankara.*

²⁴ The treaty was signed 15 years after the Battle of Kadesh (in today's Syria) where attacking Egyptian forces were halted by the Hittite army with devastating losses to both sides. The two states were at war for approximately eight decades before the treaty was struck.

²⁵ Cross et al, 54.

²⁶ According to legend, Midas created an elaborate knot that was impossible to unravel at the entrance of his city. He who unraveled the knot was prophesied to rule Asia. Alexander the Great slashed the knot with his sword while leading his army to defeat the Persian king Darius, after which he went on to conquer most of Asia. King Midas is also featured in Greek mythology, as a character who turns everything he touches into gold.

Ankara was settled in some form by the Hittites previously, though there is no evidence of this.²⁷

Around 278 BC, 20,000 Gauls from Western Europe crossed the Bosphorus. They became different enough from their western counterparts to be known as Galatians.²⁸ A few decades later, they had settled in northeastern Phrygia. Three Galatian tribes divided the land among them: Tolistobogii around Gordion, Tectosages around Ankara, and Troceni along the banks of the Kızılırmak River.²⁹ While the Galatians became the ruling elite, most of the settlement in the area was still composed of Phrygian villages. It was the Galatians who built the citadel in Ankara in the 3rd century BC.



Illustration 1: The Citadel, looking south from Bent Deresi.
The rocky, steep climb up to the structure made the settlement very secure.
Source: Taken by the author.

²⁷ Cross et al, 54.

²⁸ Ibid, 66.

²⁹ Ibid, 64.

1.1.2. Ankara as a Roman Province

In 189 BC, a Roman army attacked the area in order to control the Galatians. All three tribes of Galatians were defeated and 40,000 Galatians were enslaved.³⁰ Casualties among the Tolistobogii and the Trocmi were more severe than those of the Tectosages in Ankara. Legend says that this was because the Romans became distracted by the treasures they found in the Citadel. Nevertheless, the Romans went on to conquer most of the Anatolian Peninsula, which became the Province of Asia in 133 BC.³¹

Mithridates the Great, King of Pontus (an area of Anatolia north of Ankara along the Black Sea), challenged Roman rule with the support of the Aegean cities³² and invaded Roman territory in 89 BC. In the conflict that ensued, Galatians sided with the Romans. When the Pontic forces were finally defeated in 47 BC, Galatians were rewarded for their loyalty by having their native king, Amyntas, appointed as the ruler of the unofficial province.³³ Upon Amyntas's death in 25 BC, Galatia became a Roman province, with Ankara as its capital.³⁴ Traffic through Ankara increased as Rome's power in the eastern provinces continued to rise.

The Roman administrative system was inspired by the Hellenistic city-state: each capital city would govern itself and the surrounding countryside. The citadels were enlarged and fortified, including the one in Ankara, even as new colonial cities were being founded. The governing class of each city was composed of rich landowners, loyal to Rome. An entire Roman legion was stationed in Ankara until AD 7 in order to ensure that this system was fully established.³⁵ The native, landed gentry were overseen by a Roman governor, but the province

³⁰ Cross et al, 67.

³¹ Ibid, 68.

³² The Greeks invaded from what (today) is mainland Greece, and established colonies starting from around 1000 BC. They did not move beyond the coast. However, they created most of the written sources that exist about other Anatolian civilizations in this period.

³³ Cross et al, 70.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid, 71.

was mostly autonomous. Many of the inscriptions and records from this period are in Greek, which was the written language of the eastern provinces.³⁶

The immense size of the Roman Empire began to cause serious internal struggles after the death of Emperor Philip in 249 AD. The imperial territories were constantly under attack along the Danube River as well as in the east. With the reign of Diocletian in 284 AD, the Roman Empire began to recover its footing.³⁷ Diocletian recognized that further issues would arise because Rome was simply too large to be controlled by a single person. Hence, he appointed his son-in-law, Maximian, as Augustus (ruler) of the western provinces, which would be based in Rome. Diocletian became ruler of the eastern provinces, based in Nicomedia.³⁸ The two halves still comprised the Roman Empire, but they were governed separately. This structure became more sophisticated over time, as the language in the eastern provinces While this structure became more sophisticated over time, the split marked a growing difference between the eastern provinces that eventually adopted Greek instead of Latin (such as Ankara), and the western provinces increasingly tended towards Christianity rather than maintaining pagan practices.³⁹ The two halves of the Roman Empire came to be known in history as the Eastern Roman Empire and the Western Roman Empire, respectively.

Emperor Constantine moved the capital of the eastern provinces to the small town of Byzantium in 330 and renamed it “Constantinople.”⁴⁰ Following the fall of the western provinces in 476 AD, Ankara became a province of the Roman Empire.⁴¹ The city was plagued by the diverging opinions of and resulting conflict between extremist Christian sects from the 4th to the 6th century. Ankara became a metropolitan see of the Orthodox Church in

³⁶ Cross et al, 73.

³⁷ Donald L. Wasson, “Diocletian,” *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, 2 February 2014, accessed on 10 December 2017, www.ancient.eu/Diocletian/.

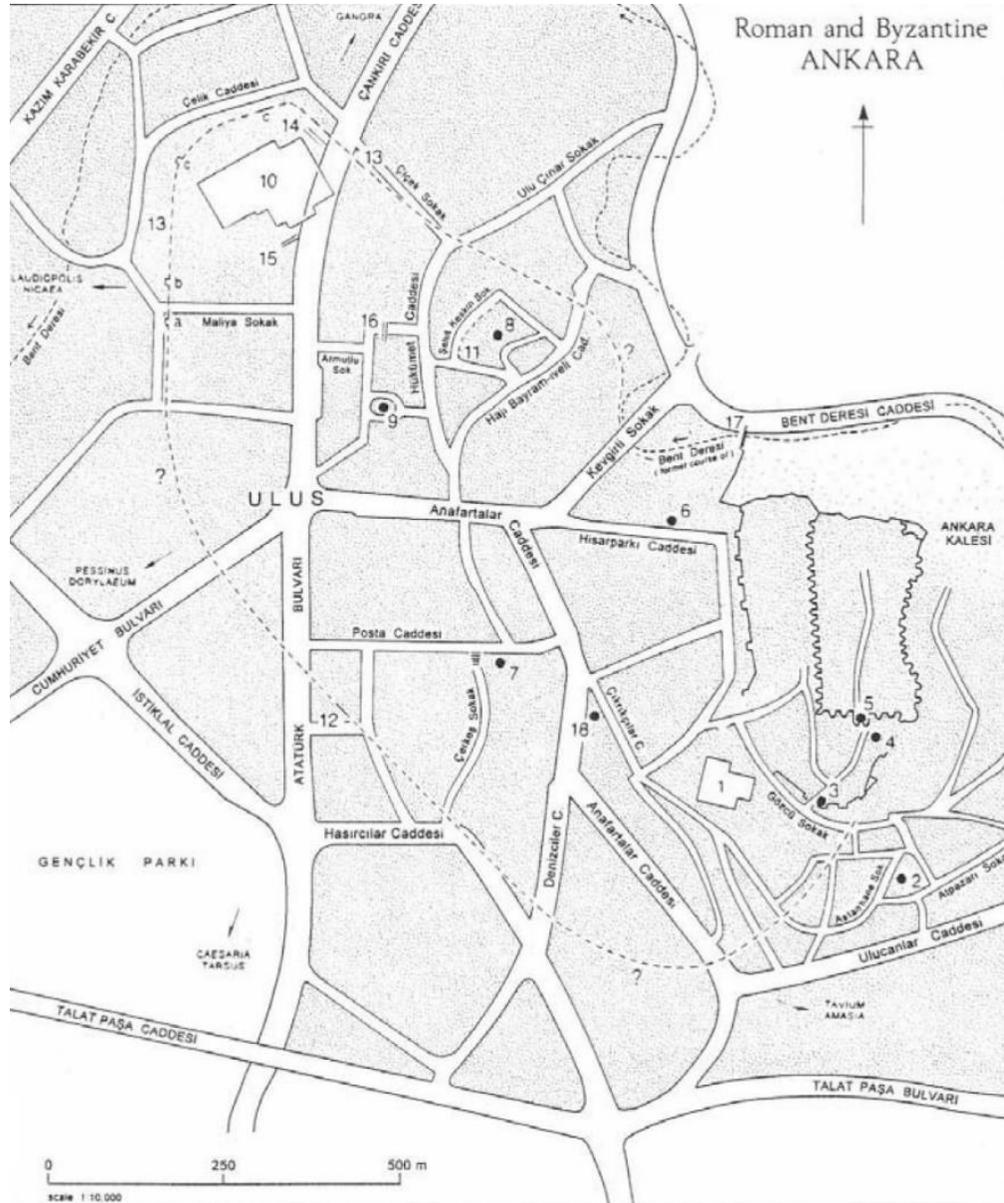
³⁸ Today known as İznik, this city lies on the eastern coast of the Sea of Marmara.

³⁹ Joshua J. Mark, “Western Roman Empire,” *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, 1 December 2011, accessed on 1 May 2018, https://www.ancient.eu/Western_Roman_Empire/.

⁴⁰ Cross et al, 81.

⁴¹ “Byzantine Empire,” *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, 28 April 2011, accessed on 10 December 2017, www.ancient.eu/Byzantine_Empire/.

Constantinople in the 7th century. It remained so until the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923.⁴²



Map 3: Map of Roman and Byzantine Artifacts in Ankara.

Source: *Ufuk Serin, "Bizans Ankara'sı ve Kaybolan Bir Kültür Mirası: 'St. Clement' Kilisesi," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 31, no. 2 (2014): 68.*

⁴² Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1840 triggered a century of unrest between the two peoples, which culminated in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922). Once the Republic of Turkey established, the Greek and Turkish governments decided that much of the unrest and conflict arose from the large minority presence in both countries. Hence, in 1923, the two governments forcibly moved the Greek minority in Turkey to Greece, and the Turkish minority in Greece to Turkey.

Ankara lay on the great military road of Rome that ran from Constantinople, via Nicaea (İznik), Dorylaeum (Eskişehir), Amorium, Ankara, and Caesarea (Kayseri), to Antioch (Antakya). The fate of the government in Constantinople directly affected the situation in Ankara, “when Byzantium was strong and the eastern frontier was far away, life in Ankara was quiet and the trade thrived. But when Byzantium was weak, her eastern enemies followed the same road in the opposite direction and each city along it became a military objective.”⁴³ As the Byzantine Empire collapsed, Anatolia was invaded by various peoples from the east including Arabs, Sassanids and Turks.

1.1.3. Turks Enter Anatolia

In 1071, an army of a Turkic people known as the Seljuks (after their leader) came out of the steppes of Central Asian into Anatolia and defeated the Romans in Van. Ankara became a primarily a military center in this period because of its strategic advantage for defense.⁴⁴ For the next 325 years, the environs of Ankara were alternately conquered by Arab, Sassanid and Seljuk armies. When the Seljukids entered Ankara’s citadel they built many of their characteristic structures, most notably *hans* and *kervansarays* for passing convoys to rest. Some of these structures still stand; some remain in use with different functions. Seljukid presence ended in the 14th century, just as another small Turkish tribe was on the rise under its leader, Osman. The “Ottomans”, as they would come to be known, would gain power and challenge the other armies in Anatolia.⁴⁵

⁴³ Cross et al, 88.

⁴⁴ Baykan Günay, “Ankara Spatial History,” *AESOP*, accessed on 28 October 2017. <http://crp.metu.edu.tr/sites/crp.metu.edu.tr/files/Ankara%20spatial%20history.pdf>.

⁴⁵ There were many small tribes with armies in Anatolia. An example is the Karamanids, who attacked Ankara in 1396. The city was captured by the Ottomans in the same year.



Illustration 2: Arslan Hane Mosque in Ulus, Ankara.

Source: Wikimedia Commons, uploaded by Bernard Gagnon.

The political uncertainty in this period led to the rise of a distinctive cult in Ankara, the *ahis*—“a socio-religious fraternity composed of rich merchants and craftsmen.”⁴⁶ Cult members had considerable influence in city government, especially during political upheavals. The power of the *ahis* peaked in the 1350s, following the construction of Arslan Hane Mosque, which was “the city’s finest Turkish monument before the Ottoman era.”⁴⁷ (Illustration 2) In 1396, the Ottomans conquered Ankara.

In the beginning of the 15th century, the fourth Ottoman king, Bayezid I, was defeated by Timur, another Turkic leader from Central Asia.⁴⁸ Timur had been trying to revive the Mongolian Empire that had collapsed, and his armies recovered considerable territory. Once Bayezid I was captured and killed after the Battle of Ankara in 1402, there was a dispute between four of his five sons as to who would take the throne and drive out Timur. Meanwhile,

⁴⁶ Cross et al, 105.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Timur is also known as Tamerlane.

Timur freed a number of Anatolian principalities from Ottoman control before returning to the Levant with his army.⁴⁹ Even though one of Beyazid's sons, Mehmet I, eventually became the Sultan in 1413, Ottomans did not regain their territories and consolidate power on the peninsula for another four decades.

In this period, another mystic brotherhood,⁵⁰ called the *Bayrami*, was founded in Ankara by a farmer called Hacı Bayram. He preached self-sufficiency and his disciples produced food and were involved with the mohair trade.⁵¹ One his most famous followers was Ak Şemseddin, who went on to counsel Mehmet II (a.k.a. Mehmet the Conqueror) during the invasion of Constantinople in 1453.

Hacı Bayram collected money from Ankarans who were better-off and distributed it to the poor. He also financed the construction of a Dervish lodge immediately adjacent to the remains of the Roman Temple of Augustus. The lodge eventually became a mosque. Hacı Bayram's mausoleum is attached to the minaret of the mosque.⁵² The complex is one of the primary landmarks in Ankara today, in part because of the anachronistic proximity of the two structures as seen in Illustration 3.

⁴⁹ Cross et al, 109.

⁵⁰ Central Anatolia was deeply influenced by Islamic mysticism, a.k.a. Sufism, in this period. The most notable brotherhood of this order was in Konya, with the poet Rumi as their famous member.

⁵¹ The importance of the mohair trade in Ankara will be discussed in the following section.

⁵² Cross et al, 110.



Illustration 3: Hacı Bayram Mosque and the adjacent Temple of Augustus in Ulus in 2017.

Source: Taken by the author.

1.1.4. Ankara Becomes an Ottoman Province

The Ottomans consolidated power in the Anatolian Peninsula following the conquest of Constantinople, and Ankara finally entered a period of peace. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, the city prospered. A detailed census, ordered by Süleyman the Magnificent, states that Ankara housed approximately 13,500 people between 1520 and 1530.⁵³ Of these, 2,399 households were Muslim, 277 Christian, and 28 were Jewish.⁵⁴ This meant Ankara was smaller than Edirne and Bursa but larger than Konya, Sivas and Athens. More than a third of the city's revenue in 1522 came from the production and sale of alcoholic beverages. About a

⁵³ Cross et al, 113.

⁵⁴ Ibid. The Ottoman Empire organized populations by religion. Differences were sometime drawn between Greeks and Armenians, who had separate churches. This census notes that around 200 of the 277 Christian families were Armenian. It should also be noted that there was an influx of Muslims and Jews following their expulsion from Spain in 1492.

quarter came from market and weighing taxes, and another quarter was from the production of alcoholic beverages and a tax on commercial transactions. The rest was from dye works, brokerage, farming, husbandry, and firewood.⁵⁵

In the 16th century, Ankara thrived on the production and trade of mohair. This is made from the wool of the Angora goat, and has a shiny quality.⁵⁶ The wool and fabric were in high demand throughout the Ottoman Empire and in Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. Mohair was an important export for the city, as it was sold to Venetian and Polish merchants.⁵⁷ It was rumored that even papal garments were made of Ankara's mohair.⁵⁸ As a result, there were more than 600 workshops weaving and processing the fabric, and approximately 2,000 shops selling it in the city.⁵⁹

While the Empire began its slow decline in the late 17th century, Ankara continued to thrive on the trade of mohair and angora wool as well as the related textile production.⁶⁰ The city's estimated population at the end of the 18th century was 50,000.⁶¹ It was not until the 19th century, when the government in Constantinople looked to Europeans, especially Germans, for trade and other forms of support, that the Ottoman decline started to take its toll on Ankara.

The 19th century is marked by the Ottoman attempt to modernize in accordance with European—especially French—development. Sultan Abdülhamid began a large-scale campaign that included the establishment of the first bank, a postal service, and telegraphs as well as the promise of socio-cultural reform and improved conditions for minorities. Of these, perhaps the most significant physical improvement for Ankara was the creation of a railway system. The German “Oriental Railway” was completed in 1888 and connected Berlin to Istanbul. Sultan Abdülhamid realized the potential economic benefits to be derived from an

⁵⁵ Cross et al, 113.

⁵⁶ Mehmet Tunçer, “Ankara (Angora) Şehri Merkez Gelişimi (14. – 20. yy),” *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları*, 34.

⁵⁷ Tunçer, “Ankara (Angora),” 34.

⁵⁸ Baykan Günay, interview by Sena Kayasü, January 11, 2018.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 35.

⁶⁰ Cross et al, 122.

⁶¹ Günay.

enhanced transportation network and founded the Anatolian Railway Company in the same year. This company extended the railway from Istanbul to Ankara in 1893, with large concessions to German investors, such as Deutsche Bank.⁶² A railroad network had been established by 1917, with Ankara at its center.⁶³ The traffic through the railway system became integral to Ankara's future development.⁶⁴



Map 4: The Ottoman railway system at the turn of the 20th century.

Source: Mehmet Tunçer, "Ankara (Angora) Şehri Merkez Gelişimi (14. – 20. yy)," *T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları*, 69).

The railway station generated an influx of visitors. Most inns at the time were in the citadel, so one of the governor's bookkeepers saw an opportunity to meet the visitors' demand for lodging near the station. He built a 100-bed inn called Taşhan⁶⁵ between 1895 and 1902.⁶⁶

⁶² "Berlin-Baghdad Railway," Encyclopedia.com, n.d. accessed on 11 December 2017, www.encyclopedia.com/history/asia-and-africa/middle-eastern-history/baghdad-railway.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Günay.

⁶⁵ Literally translates as "the Stone Inn."

⁶⁶ "Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Müdürlüğü'ne," *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*, last modified 10 January 2005, www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?id=1523.

The public area in front of the structure became known as Taşhan Square, and other functions new to the city, such as banks, followed this example and Ankara began to expand more significantly out of the citadel.⁶⁷ Until then, Ankarans who did not work in the vineyards lived in the citadel for most of the year. A portion of the population owned summer houses in the vineyards.



Map 5: Map of the roads and main buildings (outside the Citadel) in Ankara in the 16th century.

Most structures at the time were located inside the citadel (orange), which was surrounded by vineyards.
Source: Tunçer "Ankara (Angora)," 30.

⁶⁷ Taşhan became a 200-bed hospital for soldiers injured on the front during the War of Independence (1919-1923). After 1923, it became known as the Taşhan Palas Hotel until its demolition in 1936. It was so central to Ulus that today's Ulus Square was called Taşhan Square until 1936. This did not protect it from demolition in 1937 for the construction of the famous Sümerbank building in 1938.

The industrialized West began to import materials from and export products to Anatolia, which then became a semi-colonial⁶⁸ market for European goods.⁶⁹ Local mohair and textile production disintegrated because the artisans in Ankara could not compete with the low prices of industrial products from Europe. During this transition from traditional products to imported, industrial goods, the harbor towns prospered.⁷⁰ The mohair industry also lost momentum as domestic demand decreased and international competition increased.⁷¹ By the turn of the 20th century, Ankara was described by many travelers as “a large, stagnant town.”⁷²

1.2. The Capital City of the Turkish Republic

1.2.1. 1923-1950

Ankara in the Republican Era

The revolutionary commanders chose Ankara as their command center during the War of Independence (1919-1923). The town was distant from the front lines of the war and at the heart of communications for Anatolia.⁷³ It was also removed from the imperial legacy that burdened Istanbul and had “plenty of room to build a new seat of government.”⁷⁴

Notably, this was not the first time in Anatolian history that Ankara was considered as a capital city. The idea came up in the early 20th century, but “Istanbul’s historical and cultural

⁶⁸ Without being an official colony affiliated with one of the European countries, Anatolia became a source of raw material and a market for the resulting, industrially-produced merchandise. The industrial production in Europe decreased the cost of textiles significantly, making it cheaper for Ankarans to buy mohair fabric that had been processed in England from Ankara mohair wool, rather than buy fabric that was woven by local artisans. This is a semi-colonial economy.

⁶⁹ Günay.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Cross et al, 131.

⁷² Ibid, 132.

⁷³ Rumelia was the Ottoman province in the Balkans, or southeastern Europe. It is also known as Thracia. The northwestern border of the Republic of Turkey was drawn at Edirne, the third capital city of the Ottoman Empire before Constantinople.

⁷⁴ Cross et al, 140.

roots were much too deep... for such a proposal to be taken seriously.”⁷⁵ The Ottoman Empire’s defeat⁷⁶ in World War I was finalized when it signed the Mudros Armistice in 1918. In the following two years, Ottoman territory was partitioned between Britain and France while portions were given to Italy, Greece and Armenia. Only Central Anatolia was relegated to the Turks. This arrangement was formalized by the Sèvres Peace Treaty in 1920, which envisioned either Ankara or Bursa as the capital of the Turkish portion of divided Anatolia.⁷⁷ This is ironic, since the revolutionary forces that had begun contesting this treaty had already chosen Ankara as the epicenter of their efforts in 1919. Regardless, the Treaty of Sèvres was never ratified because the Ottoman Parliament disbanded a few months prior to its signing. Instead, Anatolia was thrust into a new war where nationalists fought to revoke the conditions of the Treaty under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. After four years of battle, Republican Turks won the war. The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) marked the beginning of an era of peace in Turkey.



Map 6: Turkey’s borders, affirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

Source: Google Maps

⁷⁵ Cross et al, 139.

⁷⁶ World War I was fought between the Central Powers (the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary and Germany) and Allied Powers (mainly Britain, France and Tsarist Russia).

⁷⁷ Cross et al, 140.

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. The country's borders encapsulated the Anatolian Peninsula and a small portion of the region known as Rumelia (Map 6). It was a brand-new nation, with a new system of government, new borders, and the hope for a chance at a modern civilization from the ashes of the defeated and defunct Ottoman Empire. The "clean slate" required the complete death of the Ottoman identity: not only politically and economically, but also socio-culturally. Such radical transformation could not be coordinated from Istanbul, which was burdened by the legacy of the Ottoman Empire since 1453. According to the French geographer Jean Gottman, choosing Ankara was a sign that the new Turkey was turning inward, and "concentrating its endeavors towards the development of its own territory and personality."⁷⁸

The "National Thesis" and Creating a Secular Turkish Identity

The Ottoman Sultan also served as the leader of the international Muslim community, or the Caliph. State and religion were intertwined in the Ottoman Empire. As part of a larger attempt to dissociate the Republic of Turkey from the Ottoman Empire, the new government dissolved the caliphate in 1924 and began to work on a "National Thesis" that emphasized the inherent secularism of the Turkish ethnicity. This theory called attention to the Turks' origin in nomadic Central Asian tribes who migrated across the steppe for centuries before reaching Anatolia. These tribes were not Muslim until they encountered the religion near the Arab Peninsula. While the thesis does not renounce Islam, many steps were taken to promote the idea of a secular nation. Within its first two decades, the new republic created a secular public school system,⁷⁹ disallowed Islamic attire (such as the *fes* and the *turban*), adopted the Latin alphabet in lieu of Ottoman text and its Arabic characters, and gave women equal rights.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Jean Gottmann, "The Role of Capital Cities," *Ekistics* 44, no. 264 (1977): 240.

⁷⁹ The Ottoman Empire evaluated its population not by ethnicity, but by religion. The difference between Kurds and Turks, or Armenians and Greeks, was not as stark as that between Muslims and Christians. Accordingly, the Ottoman educational system was comprised of Muslim schools (*medrese*) as well as Christian and Jewish ones. Missionary schools were introduced in the 19th century beginning with Lycée Saint Benoît d'Istanbul in 1783.

⁸⁰ See Appendix B for further details of changes instituted by the Turkish Republic.

Institutions were formed to oversee and further develop efforts of cultural rebirth. The two most important public institutions of this kind were the Turkish Language Association (TDK) and the Turkish Historical Association (TTK), founded in 1932 and 1931 respectively. The former generated or rediscovered Turkic lexicon to replace common Arabic and Persian loan words, while the latter developed the National Thesis through academic and archaeological research.

TTK strove to demonstrate that the Turks were a people with a history, who made a contribution to human culture. Because the National Thesis involved situating Turks in Anatolia, training scientists who could unearth evidence of the progress of Anatolian civilizations before the Ottoman Empire became critical. Turkey would shed elements of its Ottoman identity and replace them with references to the past civilizations such as the Hittites, Lydians and Phrygians whose innovations made the Near East the cradle of civilization. Atatürk personally fostered the excavation of certain Bronze Age mounds around Ankara.⁸¹ Investigation of the mounds revealed the capital city of Phrygia, Gordion, which is currently on the tentative list of UNESCO's World Heritage Sites.

Images from the remains of previous Anatolian civilizations were often adopted as official symbols. For instance, items recovered from a burial site⁸² from the third millennium BCE featured imagery that was later used by the Ministry of Tourism and the City of Ankara.⁸³ A recurring motif was a stag flanked by two bulls and standing in a ring. A sculpture of this image was placed in one of the most critical traffic junctures in the city (Illustration 4). This trend continued to the end of the 20th century: the first shopping mall opened in Ankara in 1992 under the name "Karum", the ancient Assyrian word for bazaar. The adoption of ancient Anatolian terms and symbols continues to this day.

⁸¹ Cross et al, 20. Ankara has 20 tumuli from this period, others were destroyed during the rapid expansion of the city in the 1920s. The Great Tumulus is between METU and Atatürk Forest Farm. One of the reasons Atatürk's mausoleum Anıtkabir was built in Anıttepe, where four tumuli existed, because of the area's appropriateness for the burial of significant people.

⁸² Archaeologists found a series of royal tombs in Alacahöyük, a three-hour drive northeast of Ankara. The tombs are dated to 2300-2000 BCE (Cross et al, 23).

⁸³ Cross et al, 23.



Illustration 4: Sihhiye Junction and the Hittite Sun Disc sculpture (1978) in 2017.

Source: Taken by the author.

Planning a New Capital

Ankara expanded and contracted as a function of its economic prosperity under the reign of many civilizations. Its core, however, was always in the area today known as Ulus. When the new Turkish government decided to make Ankara the model of their vision for the nascent Republic of Turkey, the city center was also in Ulus. The plan was to protect the citadel and its environs as a symbol of the country's heritage, and construct a new city around the old town from scratch.⁸⁴

Turkey's decision to engineer a new capital was not a unique move. "Artificial settlements" were created by other countries that became independent from colonial rule and modernized in the early- and mid-20th century under the strict guidance of a new political systems. Examples of this are India, Pakistan, Brazil and Australia; these created major cities in Islamabad, Brasilia and Canberra respectively. The four new settlements are all non-coastal, possibly as a reaction to the importance of coastal cities in colonial times. Port cities facilitated

⁸⁴ Cross et al, 145.

efficient transportation that was necessary for a colonial economy. The train became the new mode of popular transportation, and the symbol of the modern city. In addition to the dominance of railways, the four cities and Ankara are connected by the aim to create an “alternative pole of growth to compete with existing primary cities” that would allow for a new equilibrium.⁸⁵ In the Turkish case, Ankara was the alternative to Istanbul. Moreover, Islamabad, Brasilia, Canberra and Ankara were designed by professionals on both an urban and an architectural scale.

Constructing a New Capital

Ankara in the 1920s had a dire need for development and infrastructure. The city was difficult to reach directly from most parts of the world. The only methods of transportation to Ankara were by foot, on horseback, or through a small railway station. For example, an American named Major Robert Imrie wrote in 1923 that in order to complete his trip to Ankara, he took a boat to Mersin, transferred to Konya via train, and then rode across the 250 km of the Anatolian Plain by horseback.⁸⁶ In addition, the city had little sewerage, few paved roads, and few hotels or public buildings that could be efficiently adapted for the new government’s needs.

The lack of infrastructure was detrimental to the prestige of the new capital, and “diplomatic missions were reluctant to move from Istanbul to the wilderness of Ankara.”⁸⁷ The first foreign state to move its embassy was the Soviet Union in 1926.⁸⁸ The British Embassy was “lured” from Istanbul with the promise of an exceptional location in 1929, which originally included what is the Botanical Park today.⁸⁹ The American Ambassador did not move his official residence to Ankara until 1937.⁹⁰ Since the political strength of the nascent

⁸⁵ Günay.

⁸⁶ Cross et al, 144.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

country was directly correlated with Ankara's prestige, the development of the city was paramount from the first days of the Republic. Between 1923 and 1927, the urgent need for new government buildings resulted in haphazard growth.⁹¹ The first two buildings to be constructed were for the Grand National Assembly and Ankara Palas, because the Parliament needed a home better suited to its size, and dignitaries who travelled to Ankara required a place to stay.

Two architects came from Istanbul to design the first structures for the Republic. They had both initially been trained in Istanbul in the late stages of the Ottoman Empire, then attended schools in Europe. Vedat Tek went to the *École des Beaux Arts* in France, and Kemalettin Bey attended the *Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg* in Germany. The former designed the Grand National Assembly and began plans on Ankara Palas, which were completed by the latter. The hotel quickly became "the social center for all bureaucrats, diplomats, businessmen and the Westernized *Nouveaux riches*."⁹² Kemalettin also designed buildings for the Gazi Teachers's College, and the State Railways Administration headquarters.

The impending volume of construction related to the new Republic's government made the need for a plan for the new city obvious. The German architect M. Heussler was invited to Ankara by the state in 1924. He created two partial plans in 1924: one for the old city, and one for a new district called *Yenişehir* (literally, "the new city"). The latter included a 198-unit residential project for government officials, which quickly exceeded its budget because of land speculation.⁹³ A byproduct of this speculation was that the district that

⁹¹ Cross et al, 144.

⁹² Ibid, 147.

⁹³ Land speculation was a major problem in Ankara in this period. Residents would buy up land in anticipation of increased property values (as a result of state interest in the area as a new neighborhood) and wait to sell the land for a profit instead of building on it. This resulted in either large swaths of empty land in planned districts, or significantly higher project expenses for the government.

Heussler had intended for lower-income citizens remained empty for longer than planned because land values. It later became an area of luxury houses and apartment buildings⁹⁴.

Heussler's plans called for the construction of roads and public squares in the old town,⁹⁵ a boulevard between the citadel and the train station,⁹⁶ and the designation of the area between the train station and the old town for new government buildings.⁹⁷ 150 hectares of swampland to the south of the train station were drained to build residences for government officials.

Vedat Tek, Mimar Kemalettin, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and Giulio Mongeri led the First National Architecture Movement (a.k.a. Ottoman Revivalism) that prevailed in the early 1920s. This style aimed to create a national architectural medium of Seljukid and Ottoman motifs using Western engineering techniques. The trend was born in the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, as students were being sent to Europe for training and specialization and returning to Istanbul with ideas of how to reconcile the two different languages of architecture, historicist and modern. Many important buildings were produced in this period, including ministries and state banks; most of them still stand. However, the use of Ottoman and Islamic features was not in accordance with the Republican goal of cultural secularization. Thus, the First National Architecture Movement faded by the 1930s as foreign architects became more popular.

⁹⁴ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, Süha Özkan (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 161.

⁹⁵ Small parts of the old town were demolished to achieve this.

⁹⁶ This road is known today as Cumhuriyet Boulevard.

⁹⁷ Cross et al, 145.



Illustration 5: İş Bank building on Ulus Square, designed by Giulio Mongeri and completed in 1929.

Source: Taken by the author.

Expatriate designers were needed for their Western sensibility as well as to supplement the small number of Turkish technical experts. The government sent out invitations to foreign architects and engineers, and fourteen architects came to Turkey; of these, nine were German and one was Austrian.⁹⁸ The expatriates had varying degrees of influence. For example, Clemens Holzmeister almost single-handedly planned and designed the administrative district over the course of the following decade. C.C. Lörcher was commissioned to compile the first city-wide plan for Ankara in 1924, and Jansen was tasked to update this in 1928. Most of the other designers focused more on individual buildings.⁹⁹ The influence of German architects in this period led to the city being known as “Little Berlin,” Many of these designers also

⁹⁸ Cross et al, 149.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 150.

taught in the nascent academies and universities, extending the influence of the German school.

The 1932 Master Plan

The Berlin architect C.C. Lörcher's first plan was implemented in 1924. He employed the German/European model of a compact urban design with a new city center surrounding a central train station.¹⁰⁰ Lörcher's plan laid out the areas to be used for new public buildings, but its scope was soon seen to be insufficient.

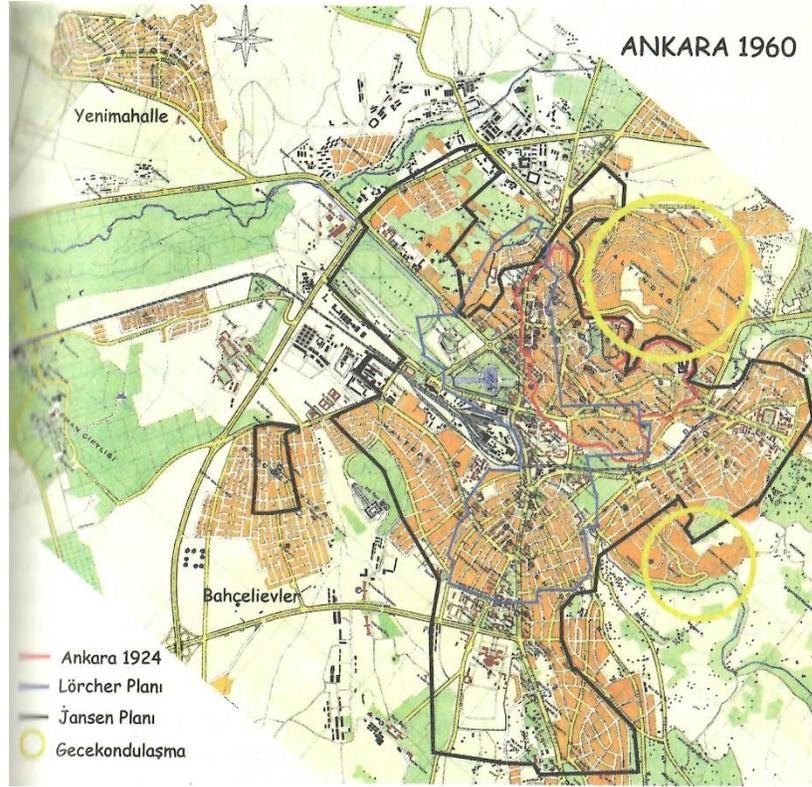
In 1928, the national government invited three European architects to compete on the creation of a new master plan. The idea was to create a city that would be "exemplary" in developing a new set of social norms, which could then be used in other urban centers in Turkey.¹⁰¹ The population of Ankara in 1928 was 75,000, while the competition brief envisioned Ankara's population to be 300,000 in 50 years. Hermann Jansen won the competition, again with a plan for a compact city after European archetypes (Map 8).

Jansen's plan contained a large north-south axis, today known as Atatürk Boulevard, connecting Ulus to new areas of development.¹⁰² This was to be intersected by a major east-west axis, Talat Paşa Boulevard. The new city was planned around these axes (Figure 1), outside of Ulus, which would remain the commercial center. Similarly to Lörcher, Jansen aimed for the city center to focus on the central train station and the old town.

¹⁰⁰ Günay.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.



Map 7: The existing structures in Ankara in 1960.

The area outlined in red is the boundaries of the city in 1924. The area in blue is the extent of the Lörcher Plan, and the black outline depicts the limits of the Jansen Plan.

Source: Baykan Günay Archives

Jansen’s master plan designated the Citadel in Ulus as a “protocol area,” seeking to protect its character at a time when historic neighborhoods or preservation areas were not yet recognized in international planning discourse.¹⁰³ He also placed a large urban park to the south of Ulus Square, part of a green belt that Jansen envisioned in line with the concurrent Garden City movement. Parks were important in the early days of the Republic not only as green spaces or “lungs,” but also as places for public appearance. This was crucial for women, who did not have much of a public identity in the Ottoman Empire. Yenışehir, a new cultural district and adjacent administrative district was to be built farther south on Atatürk Boulevard.¹⁰⁴ The southern terminus of the Boulevard was to be at the Presidential Palace,

¹⁰³ Neriman Şahin Güçhan, Esra Kurul, “A History of Development Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the Mid-19th Century until 2004,” METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 26, no. 2 (2009): 27.

¹⁰⁴ This district grew and eventually divided into three new neighborhoods: Sıhhiye, Kızılay and Bakanlıklar.

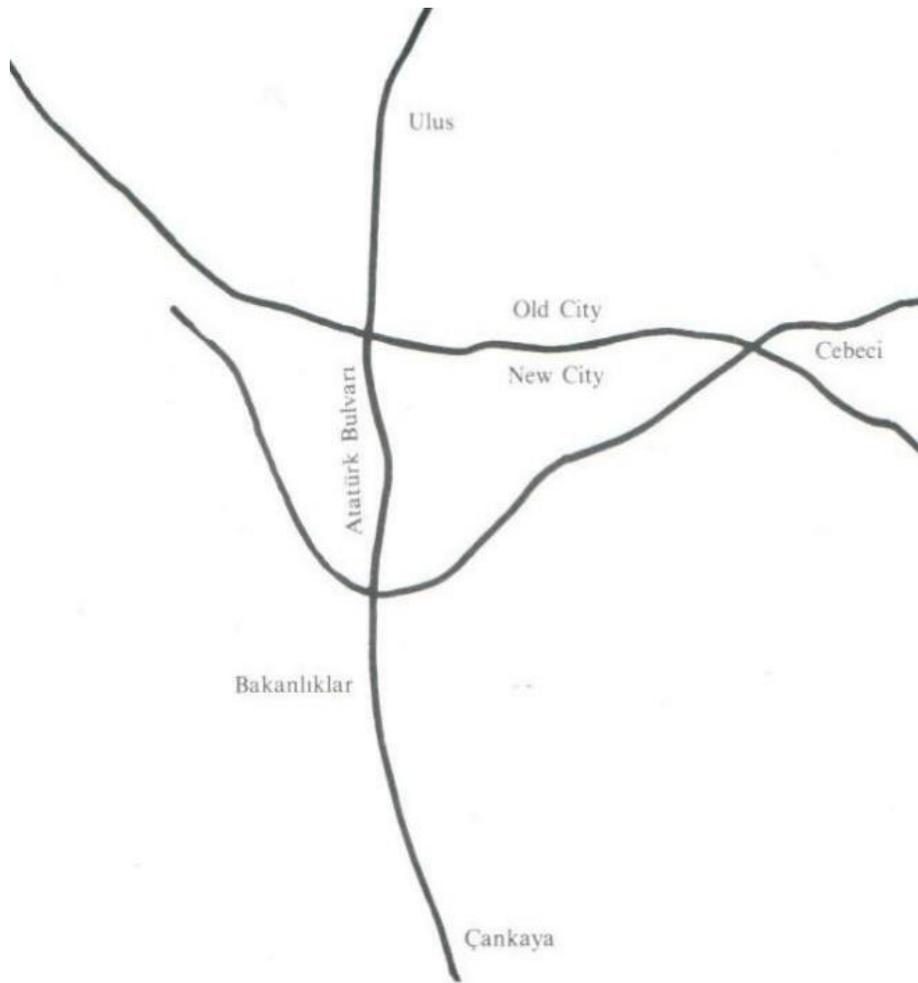


Figure 1: The main axes laid out by Jansen's Ankara Master Plan.

Since 1932, the city has expanded southward. Çankaya became an upper-income residential area and Yenışehir a central business district. The administrative district remains in Bakanlıklar.

Source: "Modern Turkish Architecture", 183.

The final version of Jansen's plan, with contributions from Leon Jaussely, was approved in 1932.¹⁰⁶ Soon, "Ankara acquired a western flavor"¹⁰⁷ as the plan was realized through the International-Style building designs of the expatriate architects.¹⁰⁸ This style came to be known as the "New Architecture" (*Yeni Mimari*) of Turkey.

¹⁰⁶ Jansen had previously won the competition of the Berlin Plan in 1910. Jaussely had won the competition for the expansion of the Cerdá Plan in Barcelona 1903-1907 (Cross et al, 136).

¹⁰⁷ Günay.

¹⁰⁸ The term "International Style" was unpopular among Turkish architects at the time. The new style was not so much international as it was a rational response to site conditions. It therefore had to be "national" by definition, and it was dubbed the "New Architecture" of Turkey. The distinction was probably influenced by the German and Austrian expat designers, who were not outside the mainstream Bauhaus and CIAM circles.

Construction continued uninterrupted until World War II, but the plan's assumptions were wrong. Ankara's population reached 300,000 thirty years earlier than estimated and development quickly began to outpace Jansen's vision. By the 1940s, Turkish architects emerging from local academies began to protest all the commissions going to foreign architects.¹⁰⁹ Combined with economic struggles resulting from World War II, by 1945 Turkish architects were doing most of the work in Ankara. This led to the Second National Architectural Movement.

Looking for a New National Architecture

The foundations of this movement had been in the making since the 1930s. The legislation that formalized the duties of the nascent Ministry of Public Works in 1934 included the following: “The Ministry will see to it that a Turkish architectural style is developed in order to maintain a certain uniformity [in the built environment].”¹¹⁰ Nationalist tendencies were tempered by Atatürk's influence and his personal efforts promoting Western forms and methods, such as the International Style.¹¹¹ The Second National Architecture Movement gained momentum after Atatürk's death in 1938.

The new architectural language reflected the conditions of the local climate. It also utilized regional building materials and construction methods, and modernized historical building elements as well as earlier Turkish building typologies. The primary visual reference point of this period was the two-story traditional Anatolian house with wide eaves, exposed rafters, and façade differentiation between the two stories. In accordance with the National Thesis, some earlier—non-Turkish—building types “which were part of the Anatolian heritage, were [also] accepted as models by virtue of eminent domain.”¹¹² In all new buildings, modern materials and methods were to be used covertly, not explicitly. This architectural

¹⁰⁹ Cross et al, 151.

¹¹⁰ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 101.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 99.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 103.

language would create a kind of uniformity across the country that would reflect the strength of the Turkish government, and with it, that of the new national identity.¹¹³

The epitome of the Second National Architectural Movement was Atatürk's mausoleum, Anıtkabir. Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's winning design was chosen by a committee of architects in the international competition held in 1941, and construction began in 1944. The design reconciled Greek and Roman Classicism with Seljukid and Ottoman motifs as well traces from ancient Anatolian civilizations.¹¹⁴ Anıtkabir married the traditional and the modern in materials, construction methods and decorations. The ornamentation included Turkish elements as well as non-Turkish ones, such as reliefs and statues. These mostly depicted scenes from the new Turkey, as seen in Illustration 6. The structure was monumental, but geometrically simple. By the time Anıtkabir was completed in 1953, traces of a new internationalism were beginning to appear.¹¹⁵



Illustration 6: Anıtkabir, 2015.

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

¹¹³ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 101.

¹¹⁴ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Singapore: University of Washington Press, 2001), 279.

¹¹⁵ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 105.

1.2.2. 1950-1980

From Statism to a New Internationalism

In the first two decades of the Republic, state-centered economic policies were prominent. Turkey began to turn inward, influenced by the economic success and industrial development of the Soviet Union. Turkey found this an acceptable model because the idea of a democratic country born out of an imperial catastrophe only seven years before the Republic's inception was the best point of reference.

Two decades later, as World War II ended and countries began to search for ways to unite in peace, Turkey softened its statist policies and began to open up to the world. The rejection of nationalism was one of the consequences of Allied victory. In Turkey there was a sentiment that “the reinforcement of national feelings was no longer necessary.”¹¹⁶ Previously, Turkey had a single-party regime.¹¹⁷ The year 1946 saw the founding of the Democratic Party (DP), which ran against the Republican People's Party (RPP)—although it lost in the general elections of that year. The DP promised a pluralistic, liberal country that would become integrated into the international, free-market economy. With an intact democracy, people hoped that Turkey would take its place in the capitalist West.

The DP's pledge resonated as Turkey's affiliation with the international community strengthened. The country became part of the European Recovery Program in 1947. Also known as the Marshall Plan for its initiator, the United States Secretary of State, this program supplied foreign aid to countries that had been damaged by World War II.¹¹⁸ Even though Turkey did not participate in the war, it became a recipient of the aid, which ensured that it would align with the United States' capitalist economic policies in the future. The DP won the 1950 general elections. The Law of Encouragement of Foreign Capital passed in the

¹¹⁶ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 106.

¹¹⁷ After two attempts at a fully democratic system in the 1920s, it was decided that the single-party regime of the Republican People's Party (RPP) was necessary to provide the strength and focus required to build the country's infrastructure in its early years.

¹¹⁸ “Marshall Plan,” *Dictionary.com*, www.dictionary.com/browse/marshall-plan.

Turkish Parliament in 1947, and was amended in 1951 to give foreign investors the same rights as Turkish ones. Turkey became a NATO member in 1953.

Architecture and planning reflected Turkey's new internationalist policies. Designers rejoiced that building materials could be imported again following World War II. Some of the most important architects of the period, such as Emin Onat and Paul Bonatz began to adopt the International Style despite earlier objections.¹¹⁹ Onat had epitomized the Second National Architecture Movement with Anıtkabir, and the German Paul Bonatz was the champion of the same movement among the expat designers.

The 1955 Master Plan for Ankara

The intense building activity in the previous two decades, combined with the new political direction led Ankara to launch another competition for a new master plan in 1955. Unlike 1928, the new jury was comprised of experts whose decisions would rest more on technical merit and less on a political vision of a capital city.¹²⁰ Jurors included Turkish architects and engineers, in addition to the chair, Sir Patrick Abercrombie from England (designer of the London Greenbelt), Prof. Gustav Oelsner from Germany, and Luigi Piccinato from Italy.¹²¹

A plan designed by Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel was chosen and adopted in 1955. Its designers intended to “perpetuate the culturalist city of the first plan” while preventing further growth and density.¹²² As with the Jansen Plan, development pressures in Ankara soon made the Uybadin-Yücel Plan outdated, and it was not to be realized in full. This was because the 1955 Plan ignored the dual structure of Ankara's society as a result of years of rural to urban migration: the middle and upper classes, including government employees, were housed in apartment blocks in established housing areas, while low-rise, low-density squatter housing was occupied by recent migrants and the poor.¹²³ This duality is summarized in Table 1. The

¹¹⁹ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 106.

¹²⁰ Günay.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

informal settlements created for and by the migrant population had a significant impact on the built environment, yet they were not recognized in the master plan.

Table 1: The features of the desired urban form against those of development as a response to natural forces.

Planned Development	Spontaneous Development
Garden City	Unplanned development
Greenbelt	Low-rise, low-density
Planned, zoned apartment blocks	Squatter settlements, <i>gecekondu</i>

Even as Ankara outgrew hilly, historic Ulus, the neighborhood continued to be the city's commercial center until the 1970s. New, modern shopping centers such as Ulus İşhanı (1955), Modern Mall (1957), and Anafartalar Mall (1967) opened on Ulus Square. These centers included “novelties” such as elevators and escalators, and introduced a new way of life to Ankara not only in terms of where people shopped, but also with their profusion of mass-produced products for sale. Despite these developments, between 1923 and 1980, the commercial center of the Ankara region incrementally shifted towards Kızılay, which lies south along Atatürk Boulevard.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ According to Ünal, Atatürk Boulevard thrived because of the activity generated by the government employees. They would usually patron nearby establishments for lunch, or bring their families to a stroll in Youth Park after work.



Illustration 7: Uluş İşhanı, built in 1954, opened in 1955.

The construction of this structure marked Ankara's transition from a bureaucratic to a "real" city that had increasing commercial demands.

Source: Uluş İşhanı, 2010, Arkitera, <http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/p5353-ulus-ishani.html>.

Urban Migration and Its Consequences

The international aftermath of World War II and Democratic Party policy led Turkey to privilege the private sector and support the "revolution of the bourgeoisie."¹²⁵ The bourgeoisie in Turkey was different from its counterpart in Europe, where the class's capital accumulation was parallel to the development in production techniques. In Turkey, production means was not proportional to the financial support. This meant that investment could not be channeled into industry, but into importing goods at steep prices. Significant portions of capital went into commerce, retailing and high-class goods and services. By the 1960s, fifty percent of all capital investment went into the construction of luxury housing.¹²⁶ In this period, "expensive

¹²⁵ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 111.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 111.

residential units became as much a status symbol as they were real estate investment.”¹²⁷ The reorientation of the economy also affected transportation infrastructure. The state-centered strategy of building railroads and public transportation was replaced by investments in highways and urban arteries. Monumental structures became much more visible from these large avenues.



Illustration 8: Emek Building in Kızılay, Ankara (1959–1964).

Source: "Modern Turkish Architecture", 117.

Increased investment in monumental structures led to large profits for architects, many of whom began to design buildings for higher-income groups. The new bourgeoisie could travel to Europe and the United States, and then return to tell people about developments in Western architecture. In the city planner Raci Bademli’s words, “the Ankara that was built in the 1930s was demolished by the 1990s,” because of the enthusiasm to create newer, more

¹²⁷ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 111.

innovative structures.¹²⁸ As stronger building materials became more available through imports, architects were encouraged to pursue ambitious projects such as skyscrapers. Ankara's first "skyscraper" was built in Kızılay between 1959 and 1964, seen in Illustration 8. Its location is an indicator indicates the incremental transition of the commercial center to Kızılay.

Where zoning did not allow for skyscrapers, hotels or monumental masterpieces, architects tried to differentiate their buildings with façade treatments. Many such residential structures were built in Çankaya (an upper-class residential neighborhood), as well as other districts, in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. An example may be seen in Illustration 9. These apartment buildings came to represent the urban texture of Ankara. Their demolition for high-rise structures that would increase density (and the developers' profits) is a current issue in preservation.



Illustration 9: Apartment building in Ankara (mid-1970s).

Source: "Modern Turkish Architecture", 144.

¹²⁸ Raci Bademli, *Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi ve Yerel Yönetimler* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 1991), 21.

Even as the upper classes enjoyed wealth and prosperity in the 1950s, others suffered. As mentioned earlier, Turkey—and Ankara as its chief city—was rapidly developing a dual social structure. Much of the foreign aid that arrived as a result of the country’s integration into the international economy was used to buy large agricultural machinery that allowed big landowners to out-produce small farmers. The phenomenon was so noticeable the 1950s came to be known as “the tractor years.”¹²⁹

Many displaced small farmers had to sell their land and look for new employment opportunities in the growing cities. The urban migration rate tripled from three percent to nine percent after 1950.¹³⁰ This was Turkey’s era of agricultural mechanization, which had led Europe to the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. Without the industrial jobs in the cities,¹³¹ many migrants were forced to work in the informal economy and inhabit *gecekondu*—poorly constructed, single-story squatter houses made of salvaged materials.¹³² By the end of the 1950s, 40% of the populations of the three largest cities (Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmir) lived in *gecekondu*, even as luxury housing and real estate became the most popular forms of investment among the upper classes.¹³³ “The failure to implement controls and the absence of an infrastructure of sufficient capacity led to a disastrous expansion of the urban areas... This period, therefore, emerges as a decade of paradoxes with conflicting social needs, economic goals and technology.”¹³⁴

The proliferation of *gecekondu* took its toll on the historic cores of large cities, including Ulus. The area in and around the citadel had many old houses, which were large enough for extended families to inhabit, as was the norm in the 19th century when they were built. As the original Ankarans wished to “modernize” their accommodation by moving to

¹²⁹ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 112.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 112.

¹³¹ Foreign aid was largely directed towards smaller, inefficient industries rather than heavy industry. However, most of the new industries were component-assembly plants and rendered domestic industry heavily dependent on foreign imports. The high volume of foreign aid resulted in inflation and increased dependence on foreign capital (*Modern Turkish Architecture*, 112).

¹³² *Gecekondu* literally translates as “it landed overnight.”

¹³³ *Modern Turkish Architecture*, 112.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 122.

new apartment buildings in accordance with the Republican, Western image, rural migrants began to take up residence in abandoned wooden houses in Ulus. Many religious buildings also deteriorated because of the lack of financial support.¹³⁵ The historic neighborhoods in Ankara became transition areas for the incoming masses, and, eventually, slums. This process was accelerated by the fact that Ulus' historic homes provided many opportunities for densification. As families grew—through births as well as the migration of more family members—additions were made to their upper stories, new structures were haphazardly erected in their open, private courtyards, and entrances were shifted.¹³⁶ These changes caused many of the old houses of Ulus to lose their character-defining features.

As was noted earlier, both Lörcher and Jansen's master plans, and the Uybadin-Yücel Plan failed to account for the speed of the population increase. Unfortunately, in this case, the results were far more drastic. In 1955, when Uybadin and Yücel began to design their proposal, Ankara was a city of 450,000 people. The number was expected to reach 750,000 by 2000. In reality, Ankara's population increased to 650,067 by 1960, and 1,000,000 a decade later (see Figure 2). The socio-economic dichotomy created by a sudden increase in population eventually led to "the total replacement of the urban fabric."¹³⁷ In other words, the model city gave way to chaos.

¹³⁵ Güçhan et al, 25.

¹³⁶ Neriman Şahin Güçhan, Esra Kurul, "A History of Development Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the Mid-19th Century until 2004," METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 26, no. 2 (2009): 30.

¹³⁷ Günay.

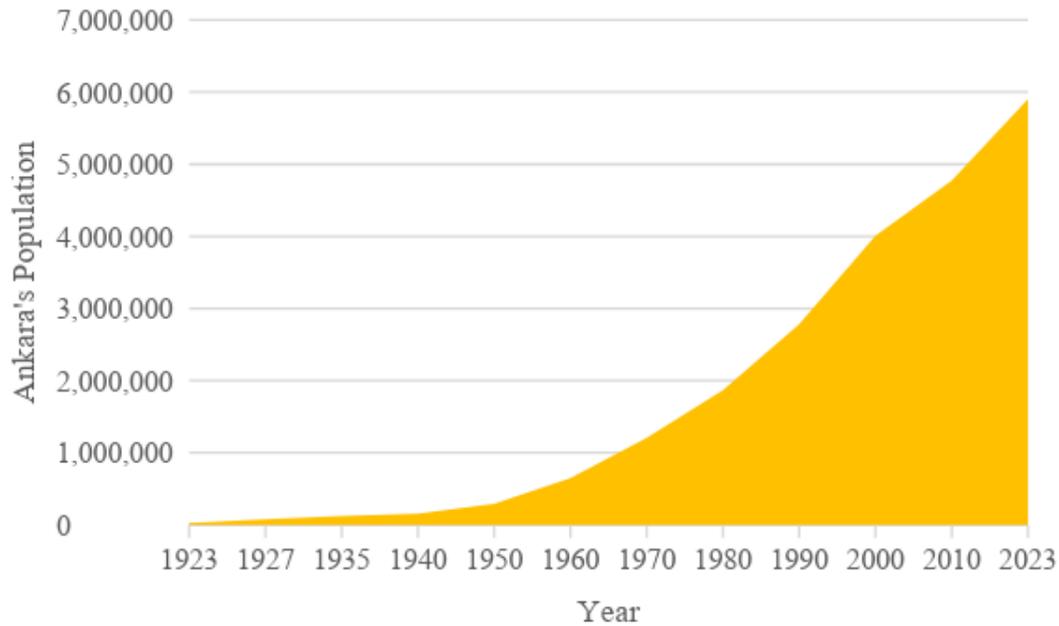


Figure 2: The population increase in the province of Ankara after 1923.
Specific data may be found in table form in Appendix C.

A Different Approach to Planning

The underestimation of population growth was a recurring mistake in the first few decades of planning in Turkey. The mistake was aggravated by the approval of the compact, rigid master plans devised by Lörcher, Jansen, Uybadin and Yücel that proved unsuitable for Ankara's geomorphological conditions. Since development could not be guided by the official plans adopted by the municipality, the city's form succumbed to market forces in the 1960s.

The prevalence of market forces was accelerated by new zoning legislation. The 1961 Plan for Regional Height Order increased the density prescribed by the Uybadin-Yücel Plan in every neighborhood, including Ulus. This allowed extra floors to be added onto historic structures in Ulus, such that any building could reach six stories.¹³⁸ The 1965 Law No. 4133 "Act of Floor Ownership" allowed tenants of multi-story buildings to become homeowners.¹³⁹ This led to an increase in multi-story buildings, and motivated many people who owned older

¹³⁸ Ahmet Öner Köse, interview by Sena Kayasü, January 6, 2018.

¹³⁹ Laws in Turkey are officially referred to by the number of legislation and their name. In this paper, the official name of each law will be given the first time, to be referenced by only its number in any mention thereafter.

houses to sell their property to a developer, who would demolish the house and build a multi-story residence. The original owners would be given a number of apartments that they could rent to others. Both they and the developer made large profits. This quickly became a trend known as *yap-satçılık*.¹⁴⁰ As developers were less concerned with architectural merit than speed of construction and the number of apartments, *yap-satçılık* produced many residential buildings that looked exactly alike (and were brand-new) all over the growing city. Sparsely-populated areas of historic houses quickly became dense residential districts. The trend only began to lose momentum as the historic housing stock disappeared.

There was little regulation of the breakneck pace of urban expansion in this period. Law No. 7116 established the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement to coordinate and regulate all building activities in 1958. Also starting in the 1950s, all municipalities with a population greater than 5,000 were required to follow a master plan. Perhaps the most important legislation in this period aimed to solve the squatter issue: Law No. 775 “the Gecekondu Act” passed in 1966. It prescribed the preservation of *gecekondu*s that could be upgraded according to building codes, and the elimination of those that could not. The law provided amnesty to slum-dwellers who were illegally occupying public land. It also allowed for the planned development of squatter neighborhoods—almost every such area was given a development plan. This eventually led to the total replacement of *gecekondu*s, but not necessarily in the expected way.¹⁴¹ We will return to the consequences of this law in Section 1.2.3.

The municipal administration in Ankara was aware of the need for planned development, but it had had enough of the high modernist, rigid urban master plans of the early 20th century. The next logical step was to create a flexible plan that defied the traditional model.

¹⁴⁰ *Yap-satçılık* literally translates to “build-and-sellism.”

¹⁴¹ Günay.

Opening Up the Western Development Corridor: Ankara 1990

In 1970, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM) began preparations for a fourth master plan, Ankara Metropolitan Land Use Plan. This time, there was no competition, and no prestigious architects involved in the designs. The municipality was much more discreet, with the aim to subtly direct private development.¹⁴² As a result of increased investments in highways in the 1950s, Ankara had already begun to expand along its major intercity highway (*Konya Yolu*) in the 1960s. The fourth plan regularized this fringe development along an east-west corridor, and the city would expand westward.¹⁴³ Initial construction was residential, to be followed by commercial and industrial projects. Since this plan targeted the year 1990, it is commonly referred to as the Ankara 1990 Plan, despite being designed in the 1970s and approved in 1982.



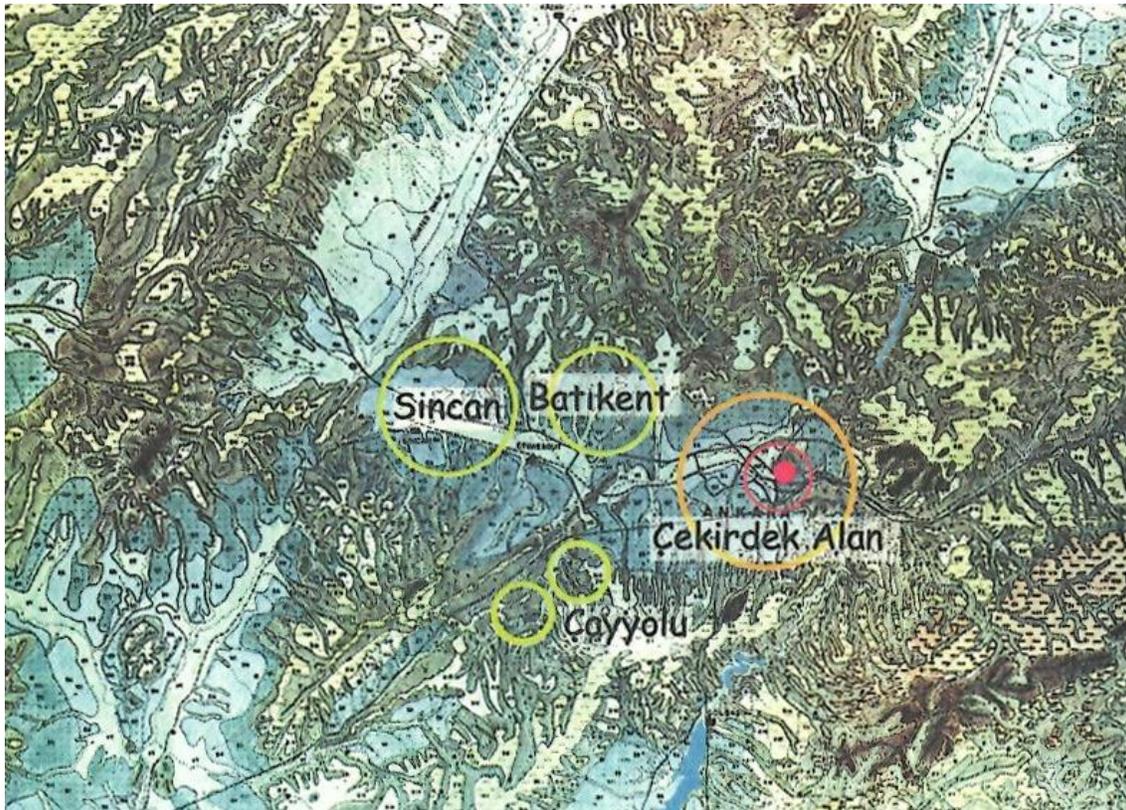
Map 9: Ankara 1990 Plan.

Source: Baykan Günay Archives

¹⁴² Günay.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

Ankara 1990 had a twenty-year perspective on the city's development. It is considered an overall success because it took *gecekondus* into account and included policies for them. Furthermore, it accurately identified Kızılay as the commercial center (instead of Ulus) and recognized the need to break out of the geomorphological bowl in which Ankara was trapped (Map 10).¹⁴⁴ Jansen had built Atatürk Boulevard despite the fact that urban growth along this axis would have to be finite, since Ankara was surrounded by mountains on the north, south, and east. The effects of this urban strategy were increasingly felt with the traffic congestion and air pollution by the 1970s.¹⁴⁵



Map 10: The geomorphological formation around Ankara.

There are hills to the north, east and south of the core area (denoted by the orange circle). The Citadel's position on the eastern edge of this "bowl" meant that it was approachable only from the west. This made the Ankara Citadel very secure, which explains the strategic importance of the settlement to various civilizations.
Source: Baykan Günay Archives

¹⁴⁴ Günay.

¹⁴⁵ Baykan Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme," in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, ed. Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: METU Press, 2006), 66.

It is perhaps ironic that the terrain that had made Ankara so significant for ancient civilizations became a hindrance to a modern city. Nevertheless, the success of the Ankara 1990 Plan was that it fully opened up the city in the only direction it could: the west. The development along this corridor became Ankara 1990's planners' task for the next fifteen years.¹⁴⁶ It defined a core area—most of which was within the bowl—and a peripheral area. The peripheral areas were achieved by creating planned districts to the west, mainly Batıkent¹⁴⁷ and Sincan. Ulus was in the core area, but government buildings in this neighborhood soon began moving to the Western Corridor.

Although it was much more realistic than preceding master plans, the prominence of mono-directional development entrapped Ankara 1990 in the same rigidity that had hindered the complete implementation of its predecessors.¹⁴⁸ While growth continued towards the west, it spilled over to the south of the corridor and the city began to sprawl. Ankara's resulting shape came to be referred to as "the oil drop" form.¹⁴⁹

1.2.3. 1980-2001

In the 1970s, Turkey was increasingly polarized as a result of tension between nationalist and socialist groups. The tension became violent enough that the military intervened with a coup on 12 September 1980. The military government, and the elected government that followed it under the leadership of Turgut Özal, instituted neoliberal policies that complemented what Margaret Thatcher was doing in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan was doing in the United States.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Baykan Günay, "Ankara Çekirdek Alanının Oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme," in *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, ed. Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: METU Press, 2006), 106.

¹⁴⁷ *Batıkent* translates as the "Western City".

¹⁴⁸ Günay, "Ankara Spatial History."

¹⁴⁹ İlhan Tekeli, *İstanbul ve Ankara İçin Kent İçi Ulaşım Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), 264.

¹⁵⁰ Europe's free-market economy collapsed with World War II, and restorative measurements had to be taken by states during the subsequent recovery period. By the late 1970s these welfare systems caused economic stagnation and crises. As a solution, most countries directed their efforts towards privatization and deregulation. The UK pioneered these "neoliberal" policies with an unwavering Margaret Thatcher at the helm.

In line with neoliberalization, Turkish planning took a turn towards localization in the 1980s. The administrative body of Ankara, for example, was divided into five municipalities. Local governments were given complete control over the planning activities in their jurisdiction; after 1985, the central government no longer supervised them.¹⁵¹ The central government instead encouraged local administrative bodies to make new investments. It also provided them with the financial resources to do so.

The policies that produced the Ankara 1990 Plan became outdated by its approval in 1982, and the new municipal structure encouraged the City to look for an upgrade. Once again, the process was carried out discreetly. This time the goal was to “to serve the middle- and lower-income groups by balancing residential development with commercial development.”¹⁵²

The 1966 Gecekondu Law re-invoked in the 1980s. The legislation gave amnesty to squatters who built on public land, which led many incoming migrants to repeat the process. Squatters who built in public areas, such as parks, could claim that land as private property following amnesty. In this sense, “squatter residences were in fact producing urban land upon the premises of possession.”¹⁵³ The politicians of the 1980s discovered this and utilized it to realize total development across the city by allowing green areas to become riddled with *gecekondu*s. Once slums covered the greenery, the lot would be bought by local governments who then changed the zoning to allow legitimate building construction. In this sense, “*gecekondu*s became more than low-income transition housing: they became an investment tool.”¹⁵⁴ Many of the parks in Jansen’s green belt were lost through these actions.

While the Ankara 1990 Plan and its upgrades overcame the issue of rigid development, they promoted only partial development in the fringe and further densification in the core. The densification of Ankara’s center, especially the old town in Ulus and the Central Business

¹⁵¹ Günay, “Ankara Spatial History.”

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Nil Uzun, “Ankara’da Konut Alanlarının Dönüşümü: Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri,” in *Cumhuriyet’in Ankara’sı*, ed. Tansı Şenyapılı (Ankara: METU Press, 2006), 205.

District of Kızılay, caused a decline in property values. The city's center was sacrificed for the sake of fringe development along the south and west corridors.¹⁵⁵

Densification was beneficial for economic growth, but it had adverse effects on the preservation of the urban fabric of Ulus. The Citadel was relatively protected by its remote location, and was subjected to decay. The rest of the historic district, however, had to accommodate some of the ever-increasing number of households migrating to Ankara. Many of the stone inns in the Citadel were restored in the second half of the twentieth century for different purposes. The 19th-century wooden houses in the flatlands were not so lucky. As spillover began to influence Ulus, it was no longer protected from development.

For all its faults, the neoliberal framework after 1980 also provided great opportunities for planners and preservationists. Instead of city-wide master plans developed and executed by the state/municipality, plans could be reduced to a neighborhood scale. This allowed enhanced possibilities for financing and implementation, which paved the way for the 1986 Ulus Preservation Plan. The developments in the 1986-2000 period will be described in Chapter 3.

1.2.4. After 2001

One of the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) main pledges during the national election campaign in 2001 was to get Turkey admitted to the European Union (EU). In order to be seriously considered as a potential member state, all forms of government started to adapt their policies to EU standards, which led to significant shifts in national policy. This involved implicit state regulation despite standing neoliberal principles that focused on localized decision-making processes.

The most notable example of the switch from localized to state-regulated planning was the increased role of Public Housing Development Administration (TOKI).¹⁵⁶ TOKI was

¹⁵⁵ Uzun, 205.

¹⁵⁶ The Turkish abbreviation for TOKI will be used hereafter because it has become a staple term in most international discourse about planning in Turkey.

established in 1984 as an agency of the national government that operated within the restrictions of subsequent master plans. It has been criticized for “the sameness of housing environments” regardless of urban context or prospective tenants since its inception.¹⁵⁷ Its authority was expanded following 2001. TOKI came to represent high-rise, low-quality, cookie-cutter housing with little or no architectural merit.

The agency now places its apartment blocks in vast, empty areas that are often at least a 45-minute drive from the city center. These blocks often create unplanned satellite neighborhoods that increased sprawl to the west of Ankara’s core. TOKI gives little thought to the steep prices in time and money imposed on the majority of tenants who do not own cars, not only because of the blocks’ distance from Ankara, but also due to the lack of sufficient commercial provisions. In 2018, all entrances to the Ankara Metropolitan Area may be identified through what have been informally dubbed “TOKI Blocks.” The removal of these from Ankara’s core neighborhoods protected cultural resources, until new legislation was passed in 2005 (Section 2.5).

Conclusion

Ankara has developed far beyond its ancient locus in Ulus. In its current geographic, political, and economic context it is easy to forget that the area played host to other civilizations in its past. Ankara’s diverse past became overlooked as its easily defensible position on major trade routes became eclipsed by the loss of its economic functions at the beginning of the 18th century. The forgetfulness was more pronounced in the 20th century as the Republic of Turkey reinvented the city.

The stresses arising from Ankara’s role as a thriving capital caused dramatic changes in the urban fabric. In the Republic’s first few decades, Ulus benefited from being Ankara’s commercial center. While Jansen’s 1932 Plan granted cursory protection to Ulus by focusing most new development in Yenisehir, the historic neighborhood’s proximity to this burgeoning

¹⁵⁷ Günay, “Ankara Spatial History.”

area prevented stability. As the unplanned, dual relationship between Ulus and Kızılay became more pronounced, Ulus became exposed to the negative effects of density such as traffic congestion and overcrowding, even as it no longer benefited from the economic activity.

The evolution of a planning understanding in Ankara was heavily influenced by the overarching political trends. Changing planning principles translated into widely varying architectural styles and disconnected master plans. In the decades following the emergence of Kızılay, Ulus did not receive a lot of attention. It was not until the 1970s that its value as the city's historic core was rediscovered as a result of increasing international awareness of preservation and the role of heritage. The evolution of preservation framework leading up to the inception of conservation projects in Ulus will be described in the following chapter.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRESERVATION FRAMEWORK IN TURKEY

Introduction

Preservation activity in Ankara closely follows the development of preservation legislation in Turkey. The capital's status as the presumptive model that other cities will follow, as well as its rich stock of historical artifacts predating the Ottoman Empire, allowed it to become a testing ground for Republican policies of preservation, as the city would do in other fields. While this chapter is about national policy with a specific focus in Ankara, it is worth noting that Istanbul has a longer history of preservation because of its position as the Ottoman capital and modern Turkey's "cultural capital," as well as being the larger and more metropolitan city.

The beginnings of preservation in Istanbul can be traced back to the 19th century. This generally parallels the development of the conservation movement in the Western Hemisphere, where it gained popularity as cities began to reflect the adverse physical effects of the Industrial Revolution. The Ottomans, however, did not industrialize in the European sense. Rather, they made a late and feeble attempt at "modernization" by adopting only some industrial infrastructure such as transportation and communication systems. Absent the drastic impacts caused by industrialized production and mass migration in northern Europe, Turkey had little need for a spirited conservation movement. The Ottoman government adopted legislation that imitated various European models, including preservation protections. However, in the absence of any significant threat, there was little in the way of implementation.

Güçhan and Kurul divided the history of preservation in Turkey into six time periods: pre-1920, 1920-1950, 1951-1972, 1973-1983, 1983-2002, and 2003-present.¹⁵⁸ The breaks in the preservation timeline typically reflected important political and cultural developments in the national and international arena. For example, 1920 marked the formation of the

¹⁵⁸ Güçhan et al, 21.

republican government in Ankara, though it was not officially proclaimed until 1923. The country moved from a single-party regime to a multi-party system in 1950.¹⁵⁹ In addition, the 1950s were influenced by the gigantic leap in international heritage awareness resulting from the large-scale destruction of European cities during World War II. While the national government took steps to update the organizational system of preservation, implementation lacked vigor because the built environment of Turkish cities was not physically affected by the war in the same fashion as the European communities.

Following the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in Paris in 1972 the concept of world heritage became widely accepted. It brought new energy into the preservation field and influenced Turkish policy. The election of a civilian government in 1984 marked the start of another period, as did the rise of the Justice and Development Party in 2001. Both caused drastic changes to policy, in accordance with the prevalence of the overarching political trend described in the previous chapter. (The periods associated with these political events do not track precisely with their dates because the preservation impacts themselves were felt either before or after, depending on legislation and other specifics.) Each period's changes have had a lasting effect on the urban fabric in Ankara's historic core, as well as on many other sites in Turkey.

This chapter will survey the history of preservation legislation in Turkey from Ottoman times to the present, using a simplified version of Güçhan and Kurul's timeline: Before 1920, 1920 to 1973, 1973 to 2003, and 2003 to the present. While the detailed timeline is more descriptive about varied impacts of more historic events, the simplified version will provide sufficient information for the purpose of this thesis.

2.1. Before 1920: The Preservation Legacy of the Ottoman Empire

Preservation in the Ottoman Empire began with the establishment of the *vakıf* system around the 9th century. A *vakıf* was a pious foundation that collected funds from its community for

¹⁵⁹ See Section 1.2.

the repair and maintenance of a religious building. These foundations eventually diversified to protect other building types and acquire funding in other ways. Since the goal was primarily repair and maintenance without regard for architectural heritage, vakıf interventions generally “*happened* to conserve the building character” rather than recognizing the structure’s lasting cultural value.¹⁶⁰

A reform period began in the Ottoman Empire in 1839 with the *Tanzimat* Proclamation, in an effort to adopt industrial production methods in addition to European-inspired modern developments such as railways, banks and telegraph lines. In this period, the government was sympathetic to foreign (especially German) archaeologists who wanted to excavate ancient Greek, Roman and Biblical sites without much consideration of the fate of the discovered artifacts. As a result, many such objects found their way to museums in Europe. A famous case of this is the arrival of the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum.

The foundation of a framework for preservation was laid in 1854, when the first municipal government was formed in Istanbul. It had the jurisdiction to make repairs and alter the city on a large scale. Municipal organizations in other large cities followed, which gradually led to the establishment of formal city boroughs and rural municipalities. Since these institutions were responsible for the maintenance of city buildings, they later regulated preservation activity.

The increasing foreign interest in archaeological sites inspired the beginning of an Ottoman legal framework for preservation in 1869 through the Ancient Monument Regulations (AMR). The AMR was updated in 1874 to include immovable artifacts, and again in 1884 to restrict owners’ rights,¹⁶¹ forbid the export of artifacts, and expand the definition of “historic artifacts” to include Pre-Ottoman items.¹⁶² The last version of this law was adopted in 1906, when the scope of “historic artifact” was extended to non-Islamic heritage.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Güçhan et al, 21.

¹⁶¹ A third of the findings would be owned by the archeologist, a third by the landowner, and a third by the state.

¹⁶² Güçhan et al, 24.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

2.2. 1920 – 1972: Preservation in the Young Republic

The Turkish Republic adopted the AMR in 1923, and the legislation remained in force until 1973. In 1924, a Department of Culture was formed based on the Council of Ancient Monuments in the Ottoman Empire. This was “the first expert agency with decision-making power on interventions to historic buildings” in the new country.¹⁶⁴

The 1930 Law No. 1580 of Municipalities determined the structure and responsibilities of local governments. It remained largely unchanged until 2005.¹⁶⁵ The legislation became especially relevant for preservation when the 1933 Law No. 2290 “Municipality Roads and Buildings” was passed, stating that each municipality had to commission an expert to create master plans. Monuments were to be marked on these plans, and protected by ten-meter buffer zones. However, there was no formal recognition of historic districts or context in either national or international planning discourse at this time. As a result, the 1933 legislation in Turkey caused the demolition of some historic urban fabric in an attempt to create buffer zones around designated structures and monuments. This act remained in force until 1984, and was the only applied law regarding historic buildings until 1973.¹⁶⁶

The same year, 1933, the Commission for Conservation of Monuments (CCM) was established. Its task was to list all monuments, find funding for implementation projects, and prepare publications to increase public awareness about preservation. This development closely follows the publication of the Athens Charter by the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in 1931, which pertained to the importance of documenting historic resources and respecting their surroundings.

The CCM was responsible for listing, documentation, and fundraising, but not implementation. The first central (national) authority that was tasked with carrying out projects was the General Directorate of Vakıfs, established in 1935. A year later, this agency

¹⁶⁴ Güçhan et al, 26.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 27.

became responsible for all property that belonged to vakıfs founded before 1926.¹⁶⁷ The projects it undertook had to be done “in accordance with the register and documentation procedures of the CCM.”¹⁶⁸ Vakıf Bank was established in 1954 to fund state foundations’ activities.

The first step in the localization of preservation came in 1944, when each city was required to establish a Department of Historic Artifacts and Museums.¹⁶⁹ These were managed on a national level by the General Directorate of Historic Artifacts and Museums¹⁷⁰ in the Prime Ministry, however, preservation and planning were still centrally governed. Local control did not really get implemented until the 1980s, in line with the international neoliberalist trend, as we will see in the next section.

In 1951, the central government established the High Council for Historic Real Estate and Monuments.¹⁷¹ The preservation field began to garner more attention, discussions of conservation areas began, “appropriate interventions” were defined and listed structures were categorized.¹⁷² Every decision in a conservation area had to be approved by the High Council, which consisted of experts in the preservation field. As a result of this law and post-war development, preservation activity and rapid urbanization increased simultaneously. Nevertheless, preservation and planning were still viewed as two distinct fields, as exemplified by the lack of planners in the High Council.¹⁷³ In addition, preservation was thought to be inhibiting urban development. Soon, older neighborhoods were being razed to build large avenues in the name of modern development.¹⁷⁴ The ten-meter buffer zones were abolished in this period.

¹⁶⁷ Güçhan et al, 27

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 27.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 28.

¹⁷⁰ Hereafter referred to as the General Directorate.

¹⁷¹ Hereafter referred to as the High Council.

¹⁷² Güçhan et al, 28.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Güçhan et al, 27.

The 1955 Uybadin-Yücel Plan for Ankara that was described in Section 2.3.2 stimulated development. Rather than changing the main axis laid in the north-south direction by Jansen, the 1955 plan reinforced it and promoted development along Atatürk Boulevard. Because of the city's physical constraints, the solution to the rapid densification of the city was to increase property rents in the existing fabric, rather than to provide more affordable alternatives around the perimeter.¹⁷⁵ This led to a disregard for the historic fabric as “new, wide traffic arteries within the urban microform” became necessary, and slums began to appear in virtually every open space within the city limits, including most parks, vacant hillsides, and unbuilt-upon parcels. The densification in this period thus led to the demolition or alteration of a significant portion of the vernacular historic fabric in Ulus.¹⁷⁶

Between the 1950s and 1973, there was little preservation activity in Turkey due to the emphasis on the expanding cities as well as problems with financing and staffing conservation activity.¹⁷⁷ Meanwhile, the international awareness of heritage was rapidly increasing following the destruction of European cities between 1939 and 1945. This began with the recognition of the city as a potential monument by the First Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings in 1957. Much more effective was the 1964 Venice Charter, which formalized the necessity of protecting the built environment, and finalized the debate between the scrape and anti-scrape movements. The volume of heritage discussions expanded to the point that United Nations created an independent organization – the International Council on Monuments and Sites, or ICOMOS – to manage them in 1965. The importance of heritage for human culture was epitomized in 1972, with the UNESCO World Heritage Convention.

¹⁷⁵ See the previous chapter.

¹⁷⁶ Güçhan et al, 30.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 28.

2.3. 1973 – 2002: World Heritage and Shifts in the International Political Paradigm

The 1972 World Heritage Convention, and UNESCO’s ensuing World Heritage List, created a new mechanism for identifying and protecting the world’s historic and natural artifacts. This movement triggered the first formal historic preservation act of Republican Turkey: the 1973 Law No. 1710 “Historic Artifacts,” which replaced the AMR. Among many other features, Law No. 1710 defined “conservation areas” two years before ICOMOS’s Amsterdam Declaration called for the protection of “historic towns, the old quarters of cities, and towns and villages with a traditional character.”

Conservation areas, or “sites” were divided into three types: urban sites, archaeological sites and natural sites. Urban sites contained multiple cultural artifacts (such as buildings, gardens, landscaping, urban fabric, and walls) that carried architectural, urban, aesthetic, or artistic value, and were more significant together than they are individually.¹⁷⁸ Law No. 1710 contextualized the preservation of buildings, and instigated the identification of many sites.¹⁷⁹ Shortly after the law’s passage, the High Council began to designate sites, for which preservation master plans had to be prepared within two years of their designation.¹⁸⁰ After 1975, the General Directorate of Historic Artifacts and Museums established internal departments for documentation, designation, and preservation planning based on the principles of the Amsterdam Declaration; arguably the most significant leap in the application of preservation in Turkey up to that point.

Law No. 1710 was seen by many municipalities, planners, and landowners to be an obstacle to development. Despite the advancements made by the national government, “the society had not yet embraced ‘conservation as a necessity.’”¹⁸¹ Regardless, the High Council was the only preservation organization with decision-making power between 1973 and

¹⁷⁸ “Sit Alanları Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları,” Antalya İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, accessed January 22, 2018. www.antalyakulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,67605/sit-alanlari-koruma-ve-kullanma-kosullari.html.

¹⁷⁹ Güçhan et al, 27.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 29.

¹⁸¹ Güçhan et al, 30.

1983.¹⁸² Because of this domineering position, it received little public support. The leadership of the central government, in the face of disinterest from local governments and the public, exacerbated the top-down process in preservation in Turkey. The singularity of the High Council, and the lack of corresponding local bodies of organization meant that even as the central government made serious attempts in terms of conservation policy, a severe lack of financing and staffing hindered implementation.



Illustration 10: A rare historic building on Çankırı Avenue.

Source: Taken by the author.

Turkish preservation during the 1980s primarily consisted of an unprecedented national effort to list and document artifacts, along with a few physical projects. The 1980 coup created a significant shift in national policy from a centralized welfare state towards neoliberalization. This involved the privatization of many institutions as well as the localization of many central mechanisms. The subsequent national administrations gradually implemented these new policies throughout the 1980s. The policy change was reflected in

¹⁸² This level of preservation authority complemented concurrent, nationally-imposed planning principles described in the previous chapter.

Turkish preservation practice and policies through the dismemberment of the single, national designation authority and the empowerment of local governments.

The shift towards local governments was as much necessitated by the growing number of artifacts as by this sweeping national trend. The number of sites identified since 1973 had increased to the degree that they could no longer be regulated by a central authority. The cities' Historic Artifacts and Museums departments were responsible for their urban municipal jurisdiction, but many natural and archaeological sites were not in cities. Furthermore, local departments of municipalities and the land registry were informed of new designations and listings to include them in new development plans, but they had little power to enforce the requirements of conservation areas.¹⁸³

It soon became clear that the institutions that regulated preservation had to be reorganized to provide more precise attention to various sites. This led in 1983 to Law No. 2863 "Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property."¹⁸⁴ The legislation renamed the High Council of Historic Real Estate and Artifacts as the High Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property. It also created subgroups to the High Council called Regional Councils¹⁸⁵ for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage in each of Turkey's 67 provinces.¹⁸⁶ Four years later, Regional Councils were no longer enough, and Law No. 3386 was passed to amend its predecessor and to define "preservation councils" rather than regional councils, whereby each "region" could have multiple preservation councils that were responsible for various areas.¹⁸⁷ Since 1988, these councils have been the locus of the decision-making and regulation for preservation in the country.

Since 1951, the High Council had been overseen on a national level by the Prime Ministry. In 1989, the Council was integrated into the Ministry of Culture upon the latter's

¹⁸³ Güçhan et al, 30.

¹⁸⁴ "Tarihçe," Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu, accessed January 25, 2018. www.korumakurullari.gov.tr/TR,89184/tarihce.html.

¹⁸⁵ Regional Councils for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage is referred to as Regional Councils hereafter.

¹⁸⁶ In 1983, there were 67 provinces in Turkey. Currently, there are 81, but only 36 Preservation Councils.

¹⁸⁷ "Tarihçe," Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu.

creation.¹⁸⁸ The Ministry of Culture became the principal agency for conservation. It specified the framework for conservation further when—also in 1989—the General Directorate of Historic Artifacts and Museums was divided into the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums (responsible for archaeological sites and museums), and the General Directorate of Cultural and Natural Artifacts (responsible for buildings and sites). The High Council and preservation councils fell under the jurisdiction of the latter. This was the legal structure when the Ulus Plan was being implemented, and the first commissions for “Conservation Development Plans” were issued in the 1990s.¹⁸⁹

The localized preservation structure proved insufficient to make the field more efficient. The lack of strong national oversight created inconsistencies between different regions.¹⁹⁰ This became detrimental because local governments had little funding or staffing to implement the preservation councils’ decisions.¹⁹¹ The councils were tied to the Ministry of Culture, and not the municipality, creating a jurisdictional overlap. The municipality was required to prepare a conservation master plan within one year of an area being designated for conservation. All decision-making in such areas would be transferred to the Preservation Council until such time as the plan was prepared. The Council would make temporary development decisions, which were to be implemented by the municipality.¹⁹²

While it may be argued that this structure allowed more objective decision-making, the absence of the municipality in the design process led to an operational void. Adding to this was that municipalities had to have a planning department, but were not required to employ a conservation specialist. In other words, preservation was not integrated with planning and it was at the discretion of municipal governments whether or not to consider conservation principles in development plans. This gave municipalities the power to stall

¹⁸⁸ “Genel Müdürlüğün Kuruluş ve Tarihçesi,” Kültür Varlıkları Ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, accessed January 17, 2018. www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,43034/tarihce.html.

¹⁸⁹ Güçhan et al, 30.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, 31.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid, 33.

conservation projects that they did not support, and advantage new construction in historic areas.¹⁹³

The contentious local relationship between development and preservation was repeated at the national level.¹⁹⁴ Ministries that owned designated historic buildings were responsible for their upkeep and maintenance, not the municipalities.¹⁹⁵ Once again, these ministries were not required to employ conservation specialists, which left their historic structures vulnerable to interventions that were not in line with preservation principles. The same trend applied to the Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs), which supported the central government in the delivery of public services. From their establishment in 1987 to their abolishment in 2012,¹⁹⁶ SPAs were part of the decision-making process in preservation.¹⁹⁷ After 2004, they began to take a more active role in the implementation of projects, but were still not required to employ conservation specialists until 2004.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Güçhan et al, 31.

¹⁹⁴ Development and preservation are not, and should not be, mutually exclusive. However, the pressure of rapid urbanization and densification in Turkish cities, coupled with historically top-down conservation ideals, polarized the two concepts in the public perception.

¹⁹⁵ Güçhan et al, 38.

¹⁹⁶ SPAs were discontinued with Law No. 6360 in 2012.

¹⁹⁷ Güçhan et al, 33.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.



Map 11: The 26 districts of the Ankara Province.

Since 1984, each district has a municipality. The district municipalities in the ever-expanding metropolitan area are overseen by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. The provincial government is headed by a governor, while the municipal administration is headed by a mayor.

Source: *Ankara İli Hakkında Genel Bilgi*, www.etoplum.com/ankara-ili-hakkinda-genel-bilgi.html.

2.4. 2003 – Present

The Justice and Development Party (AKP) became the majority party in the 2002 national elections. Due to its markedly conservative stance, and its position as the first majority government after eleven years of coalition governance many drastic policy changes were implemented between 2002 and 2004. As noted previously, one of AKP’s foremost campaign promises was membership in the European Union (EU). To fulfill this, many regulations and government processes had to be brought up to EU standards, and that included those concerning preservation.

Three pieces of legislation led to major changes to conservation practice. The first is the 2003 Law No. 4848 “Concerning the Organization and Responsibilities of the Ministry of

Culture and Tourism.” This unified the ministries for culture and tourism, creating the new Ministry for Culture and Tourism, as well as changing most of the underlying institutional structure. The second policy change was the 2004 Law No. 5226 “Executing Changes to the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property Act and Other Acts,” which defined legal concepts such as the preservation master plan, management plans, nexus point and participatory area management.¹⁹⁹ The third was Law No. 5366 “Preservation through the Renewal of Degraded Immovable Historic and Cultural Artifacts” in 2005.²⁰⁰ Law No. 5366 expanded the definition of preservation, allowing sites to be declared as areas of “renewal” and making them vulnerable to the stresses of new construction. We will examine each law in turn in greater detail.

Law No. 4848

“In 2003 the Ministry of Culture’s budget had reached its lowest level as a percentage of the national budget (0.23%).”²⁰¹ It was time for a new emphasis on preservation. The 2003 legislation fundamentally changed the institutional structure and understanding of preservation by pairing the Ministry of Culture with that of Tourism. The law also launched new concepts such as “Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Areas” and “Tourism Centers”, such that tourism became inseparable from heritage.²⁰² Any sites that had tourist potential would prioritize mixed-use development to support tourist services.²⁰³ Many areas would not just be conservation areas, but also tourist areas, despite the distinct programmatic requirements of each identity.²⁰⁴ The law also consolidated the General

¹⁹⁹ Turkish Parliament. 5226: *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu ile Çeşitli Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun*. Resmi Gazete, 14 July 2004.

www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2004/07/20040727.htm.

²⁰⁰ Turkish Parliament. 5366: *Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*. Mevzuat, 17 November 2005.

www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5366.pdf.

²⁰¹ Güçhan et al, 36.

²⁰² Ibid, 33.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 34.

Directorate of Monuments and Museums with the General Directorate of Cultural and Natural Artifacts into the General Directory of Cultural Artifacts and Museums.²⁰⁵ Thus, the departments overseeing cultural and natural artifacts were unified after fifteen years.

The joining of “culture,” or preservation, to tourism highlighted the historic separation between preservation and planning in Turkish governance. The two were never regulated by the same institutions. Preservation fell under the jurisdiction of first the Prime Ministry, then the Ministry of Culture, and finally the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. By comparison, planning was designated to the Ministry of Public Works (est. 1928) and the Ministry of Zoning and Housing (est. 1958), which were merged in 1983 as the Ministry of Public Works and Zoning. This institution was renamed as the Ministry of the Environment and Urban Planning in 2011, emphasizing the distinction between preservation and planning, since the latter now had its own ministry.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, local governments had been much more involved in planning than they were in preservation because they were required to maintain a planning department, but not required to hire preservation specialists (Section 2.3).



Figure 3: The principal governmental bodies responsible for preservation in Turkey.



Figure 4: The principal governmental bodies responsible for planning in Turkey.

²⁰⁵ Turkish Parliament. 4848: *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun*. Mevzuat, 16 April 2003. www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4848.pdf.

²⁰⁶ “Tarihçemiz,” Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, accessed February 11, 2018. www.csb.gov.tr/tarihcemiz-i-7012.

The Ministry of Public Works (est. 1928) and the Ministry of Zoning and Housing (est. 1958) were merged into the Ministry of Public Works and Zoning in 1983.

Law No. 5226

Turkey had a sequence of ineffective coalition governments in the 1990s. At the turn of the millennium, public opinion was very strongly in favor of electing a single, majority party to lead the country. Since AKP was elected in this political climate, many of their policies were aimed at the implementation of projects that demonstrated physical development and indicated economic growth.

Law No. 5226 “Executing Changes to the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property Act and Other Acts” attempted to improve preservation processes in three ways. First, it allocated 10% of the property taxes in a province to be used for cultural property to manage the obstacle of limited available preservation funding from the central government.²⁰⁷ This provision produced significantly greater financial resources for the local governments to support the preservation efforts of municipalities. In addition, the legislation required that 10% of loans given to public housing projects in a province had to be spent on the maintenance, repair and restoration of designated, immovable artifacts.²⁰⁸

Second, Law No. 5226 revised Law No. 2863 to allow municipalities to create “Conservation Development Plans.”²⁰⁹ Previously, plans for conservation sites (not yet “conservation plans”) were to be prepared by the municipality within a year of historic designation, but there was no penalty for the failure to do so. Law No. 5226 required that Conservation Development Plan be required in two years, with the possibility of a year-long extension when necessary. If the municipal government did not produce the plan in this time frame, all construction (including maintenance and repairs) must cease.²¹⁰ This was an effort to prevent stagnation and the proliferation of unapplied master plans, which was common before 2004.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Turkish Parliament, 5266, Article 6.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Güçhan et al, 34.

²¹⁰ Turkish Parliament, 5226, Article 8(a).

²¹¹ Ibid.

The third revision to the legislation concerned the identity of preservation council members. Previously, each preservation council had three members appointed by the Ministry of Culture, and two appointed by YÖK, (the Council for Higher Education, the national public organization that regulates virtually everything that concerns universities, including standardized exams and faculty tenure appointments). Members were chosen among certified architects, urban planners, archaeologists, engineers, art historians, or similar fields.²¹² The members chosen by YÖK would be academics, who were often also practitioners.²¹³ Law No. 5226 increased the total number of preservation council members to seven: the Ministry would appoint five, and YÖK two.²¹⁴ This changed the nature of the preservation council to the advantage of the Ministry and decreased the influence of academics in the field of preservation.²¹⁵ YÖK appointees often have seniority because Ministry representatives typically have shorter tenures (they may be reappointed with following every national election).²¹⁶

Law No. 5366

The organizational changes to preservation practice in 2003 were quickly followed by operational alterations in 2005 with Law No. 5366, “Preservation through the Renewal of Degraded Immovable Historic and Cultural Artifacts.” The legislation granted large municipalities²¹⁷ the prerogative to declare sites as “renewal” areas if they had decayed to the point of losing their character.²¹⁸ Renewal areas, and the historic sites they included,²¹⁹ were

²¹² Turkish Parliament, 5226, Article 8(a). Preservation specialists in Turkey are generally tied to one of these professions; preservation is not an independent field. Museum specialists were removed from this list in 2004, attorneys were added instead.

²¹³ Aydan Balamir, interview by Sena Kayasu, January 12, 2018.

²¹⁴ Turkish Parliament, 5266, Article 6.

²¹⁵ Balamir, interview.

²¹⁶ Güçhan et al, 31.

²¹⁷ The municipalities that have this prerogative are ones that oversee a population of more than 50,000.

²¹⁸ Turkish Parliament, 5366, Article 1.

²¹⁹ For example, if an urban site is declared a renewal area, like Ulus was, any designated landmark it contains may also be vulnerable to changes.

to be “reconstructed and restored in accordance with the development of the area.”²²⁰ In addition, renewal areas were to be equipped with residential, commercial, cultural, touristic and social facilities, as well as strengthened against the risk of natural disasters. In other words, the law asserted that historic and cultural artifacts were to be “preserved through renewal.”²²¹

Any designated historic site was now at risk of becoming a renewal area by the decision of the Council of Ministers. Law No. 5366 required that a “renewal council” be formed for each renewal area, in addition to the preservation council of that region.²²² While councils directed and controlled preservation principles, the municipalities had yet to create specialized divisions to implement these decisions. This was an issue because municipalities were still the only major actor in the application of preservation. According to Güçhan, preservation specialists often chose not to be part of preservation or renewal councils are often because of the limited application of their decisions.²²³

After a “renewal area” project was approved by the Council of Ministers (through the approval of the municipal council²²⁴) and then by the preservation council, it could be implemented by three different entities. One was the municipality. Another, granted this possibility by Law No. 5366, was TOKI (the housing agency described on page 56), now allowed to operate in urban sites.²²⁵ The involvement of TOKI has made civil society organizations wary of historic designations to the point where the lack of designation is safer

²²⁰ Turkish Parliament, 5366, Article 1.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Güçhan et al, 31. At the time, there was one renewal area (Ankara Historic City Center) and one preservation council in Ankara. This organization changed again in 2010, through a process described in Section 4.1.

²²³ Güçhan et al, 31.

²²⁴ Municipal councils differ from preservation councils in that their members are appointed by the municipal government, rather than the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The physical jurisdiction of both councils are also different. Finally, municipal councils make decisions for any issue in the municipal area, while preservation councils are only concerned with preservation in their (larger) area. Until their dismissal in 2012, Special Provincial Administrations were also part of the preservation-related decision-making process.

²²⁵ Turkish Parliament, 5366, Article 3.

for the inherent fabric of the neighborhood²²⁶. A third entity that could implement the project was the landowner. The owner of any parcel could elect to implement part of the project on his or her own land, with two conditions attached. First, the implementation must begin and end simultaneously with the rest of the project being carried out by the municipality and/or other parcel owners.²²⁷ Second, the building must be used for the prescribed use after the completion of the project. If the owner failed to abide by these conditions, the relevant SPA and municipality could take over and complete the project in accordance with Law No. 5366.²²⁸

The utility of this article of the legislation is questionable, since residents or landowners have little opportunity to be involved with the design phase of a renewal area project. The most effective way for them to get involved would be to review a project and submit feedback while it is in *askı*, the month-long period for public comment. Even then, however, the project has already been designed by the time it is made available to the public. Involving the residents before then by holding public meetings and/or surveying residents' expectations occurs at the discretion of the (municipal or private) design team. As a result, landowners who do not wish to sell their land to the government when a renewal project begins will have to carry out all that the project demands on the municipality's schedule, but with their own funds, and with little or no possibility of contributing to the design process.

Conclusion

Preservation practice was largely omitted in the young Republic's haste to modernize Turkey in the 1920s. This was partly due to its absence from the international discourse in which the politicians of the day were taking their cues. Conservation legislation and practice began to change as international advances occurred. The 1906 AMR adopted from the Ottomans was

²²⁶ A well-publicized opposition came from ÇEKÜL in Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Community organizations in this neighborhood are against the idea of "preservation plans" because they are made to facilitate redevelopment, or inauthentic historic rehabilitation.

²²⁷ Turkish Parliament, 5366, Article 3.

²²⁸ Ibid.

the only legal preservation tool in Turkey until 1973, and conservation remained mostly theoretical until the 1970s. The surge in designations resulting from UNESCO's adoption of a World Heritage List compelled a significant change to the institutional structure of Turkish preservation, which resulted in the groundbreaking 1983 legislation that is still in effect.

The 1990s were a lacuna for the preservation field in Turkey. Ankara's population increased by more than a million, with little visible activity in Ulus. Most of the incoming population was settling in the green areas, or more spacious districts in other parts of the city. While this caused many issues in Ankara's fabric, it was not particularly harmful for the historic district, which was undergoing the implementation of the Bademli Plan during that decade.

The most important legislation in recent years were the three laws that passed between 2003 and 2005. Law No. 4848 joined preservation sites to touristic areas in 2003. While municipalities contributed very little to the preservation field prior to 2003, they became the second-most important actors in the field (after the Ministry of Culture and Tourism) following Law No. 4848. Law No. 5226 revised the 1983 legislation and introduced crucial legal jargon, such as preservation development plans and participatory area management. These concepts had been known and used in preservation practice, but had not previously been included in legislation. Unlike most preceding conservation legislation, this law allocated funding to allow these concepts to be applied.

Until 2005, Turkish preservation legislation had moved in tandem with the international conservation developments, despite shortcomings in implementation.²²⁹ The preservation legislation that was spearheaded by the AKP in their eagerness to deliver finished projects, however, may have altered this trajectory. The possibility of converting historic sites into renewal areas, inviting reconstruction, and excluding the public from the design process may increase the speed of implementation, but it threatens the integrity of immovable cultural

²²⁹ Güçhan et al, 38.

artifacts. Based on decline, or the threat of natural disaster, urban sites may be declared renewal areas and exposed to the more ruthless forces of competitive development.

Urban planning in Turkey has always been divorced from preservation and heritage not just on a practical, but an institutional level. Law No. 5366 did not resolve the void between the two fields, but instead deepened it by valuing historic artifacts more for their potential in renewing so-called dilapidated areas such as Ulus, than their cultural value as representatives of the past civilizations and governments that have made their impact on Ankara.

Despite the considerable reforms in the legal framework of preservation over the decades, “extensive conservation/regeneration projects are yet to be implemented in areas such as the Historical Peninsula in Istanbul and the Citadel Area in Ankara, even if these districts have long been designated conservation areas.”²³⁰ The most recent changes have taken a great toll on Ankara’s historic city center, the details of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

²³⁰ Güçhan et al, 31.

THE 1986 ULUS PLAN

Introduction

The following chapter describes the main attributes of the Ulus Plan,²³¹ and evaluates its strengths and issues. The competition for the Plan resulted from the increased interest in preservation in the 1970s and 1980s, as described in the previous chapter. The Ulus Plan was one of the first attempts at urban-scale preservation planning in Turkey. As a result, the plan that Raci Bademli's Team prepared had to be adaptable enough to accommodate the issues of a pioneering preservation planning project.

Ulus Plan was a turning point with respect to the concept of a framework plan, and to the system of coordination between various institutional actors. A number of professionals from different disciplines participated in efforts to adjust and apply this plan to save Ankara's heritage. The plan facilitated progress, but ultimately succumbed to its inherent issues, as well as the changing economic and political forces of increased migration and neoliberalism described in the last chapter. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the reasons for the cancellation of the Ulus Plan, leading to the post-2005 period.

3.1. The Beginning of the 1986 Ulus Plan

Following the 1980 coup, both national and municipal governments were replaced by the military. Democracy was reinstated with elections in 1983, and local governments were restored in 1984. The sweeping neoliberal reforms engendered by the military changed local governance in Turkey's three largest cities—Ankara, Izmir, and Istanbul—where metropolitan municipalities were now established for the first time. Previously, planning policies were determined by the Ministry of Zoning and Housing. Following 1984, planning

²³¹ This master plan will be referred to as the Ulus Plan, UHCCPP or the Bademli Plan. In most literature, the 1986 Plan is referred to as the Ulus Plan because it was the first and, for a long time, only plan for the historic neighborhoods in the Ulus district in Ankara. The Bademli Plan, on the other hand, was used in this text to differentiate between the three preservation plans and acknowledge the ensuing efforts to conserve the area's cultural artifacts.

became the responsibility of the municipalities. This was part of the attempt to empower local governments.²³² Since then, metropolitan municipalities oversee numerous district municipalities in their area. Each district municipality comprises several neighborhoods. Ulus neighborhood is in the Altındağ District.

In 1984 Ankarans elected their first Mayor of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM). It was in this political climate that the Ulus Historic City Center Preservation and Rehabilitation Master Plan (UHCCPP) became the subject of an open competition in 1986.²³³ The members of the winning team were affiliated with the Faculty of Architecture of Middle East Technical University (METU), in a part-time or full-time teaching capacity.²³⁴ A highly influential Preservation Council member at the time, Gönül Tankut, was also a faculty member in the same institution, strengthening the connection.²³⁵ METU is home to one of Turkey's most prestigious City and Regional Planning departments, which was the country's first when it opened in 1961.²³⁶ The university's position would prove highly beneficial to the successful implementation of the UHCCPP in time.

Bademli Team's submission to AMM's competition in 1986 was an independent effort, but the group officially partnered with METU following the commission. This was largely due to the endeavors of Rüştü Yüce, the Dean of the Faculty of Architecture between 1985 and 1993. Yüce had witnessed the fate of the Ankara 1990 Master Plan in the 1970s, for which an independent bureau had been established by AMM.²³⁷ Once the design process was

²³² Turkish Parliament, *3030: Büyük Şehir Belediyelerinin Yönetimi Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname-nin Değiştirilerek Kabulü Hakkında Kanun*, Resmi Gazete, 1984, www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc067/kanuntbmmc067/kanuntbmmc06703030.pdf (accessed Feb 17, 2018).

²³³ Ankara's Historic City Center was designated as an urban site by the High Council's decision A-2167 on 12 April 1980. Ayşegül Mengin, Tayfun Çınar and Ruşen Keleş, "Transformation of Rural Lands into Urban Uses: Impact upon Environmental Assets in Turkey," in *Land Ownership and Land Use Development: The Integration of Past, Present, and Future in Spatial Planning and Land Management Policies*, ed. Erwin Hepparie (Zurich: vdf Hochschulverlag AG, 2017), 225.

²³⁴ The plan was prepared by Ömer Kırıl, Turgay Ateş, and Abdi Güzer under the leadership of Raci Bademli.

²³⁵ Günay, interview.

²³⁶ "About the Department of City and Regional Planning," Department of City and Regional Planning, accessed February 16, 2018. <http://crp.metu.edu.tr/information>.

²³⁷ Ömer Kırıl, interview by Sena Kayasü, January 9, 2018. See Section 1.3 for details on the Ankara 1990 Plan.

The UHCCPP was initially prepared on a 1/5000 scale, with the stipulation that the winner of the competition would prepare a 1/1000 implementation plan. While Bademli Team was working on the implementation plan, the inherent complexities of Ulus led them to propose a framework plan that aimed to revitalize the neighborhood after the loss of its commercial functions to Kızılay.²³⁹ The plan brief mandated that all Ulus property owners, including the local government, had to prepare a “1/500 New Zoning Implementation Plan” before altering their properties.²⁴⁰ Thus, the framework plan could focus on planning issues that had become “cancerous” to Ulus in order to set the stage for rehabilitation projects on a block or individual building scale.²⁴¹

The transition from a master plan to a framework plan was as necessary as it was beneficial. Günay emphasized that “the Ulus Plan was not based on a [current] map,” which meant that “[it] could not be implemented.” Bademli also stated that Ulus did not have a 1/1000 map in 1986, only the 1/5000 Plan for Regional Height Order from 1961.²⁴² Many measurements were “ballpark figures” because the most recent measured drawings AMM provided in the competition, and afterwards, were from the 1930s²⁴³ or the 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Plan.²⁴⁴ Due to the lack of interoperability between the zoning and cadastre documents, and the absence of a recent and complete mapping effort, there was no exact plan of the built environment in Ulus at the time. According to Günay, many measurements were improvised and gaps were filled in by the METU team.

²³⁹ Günay, interview.

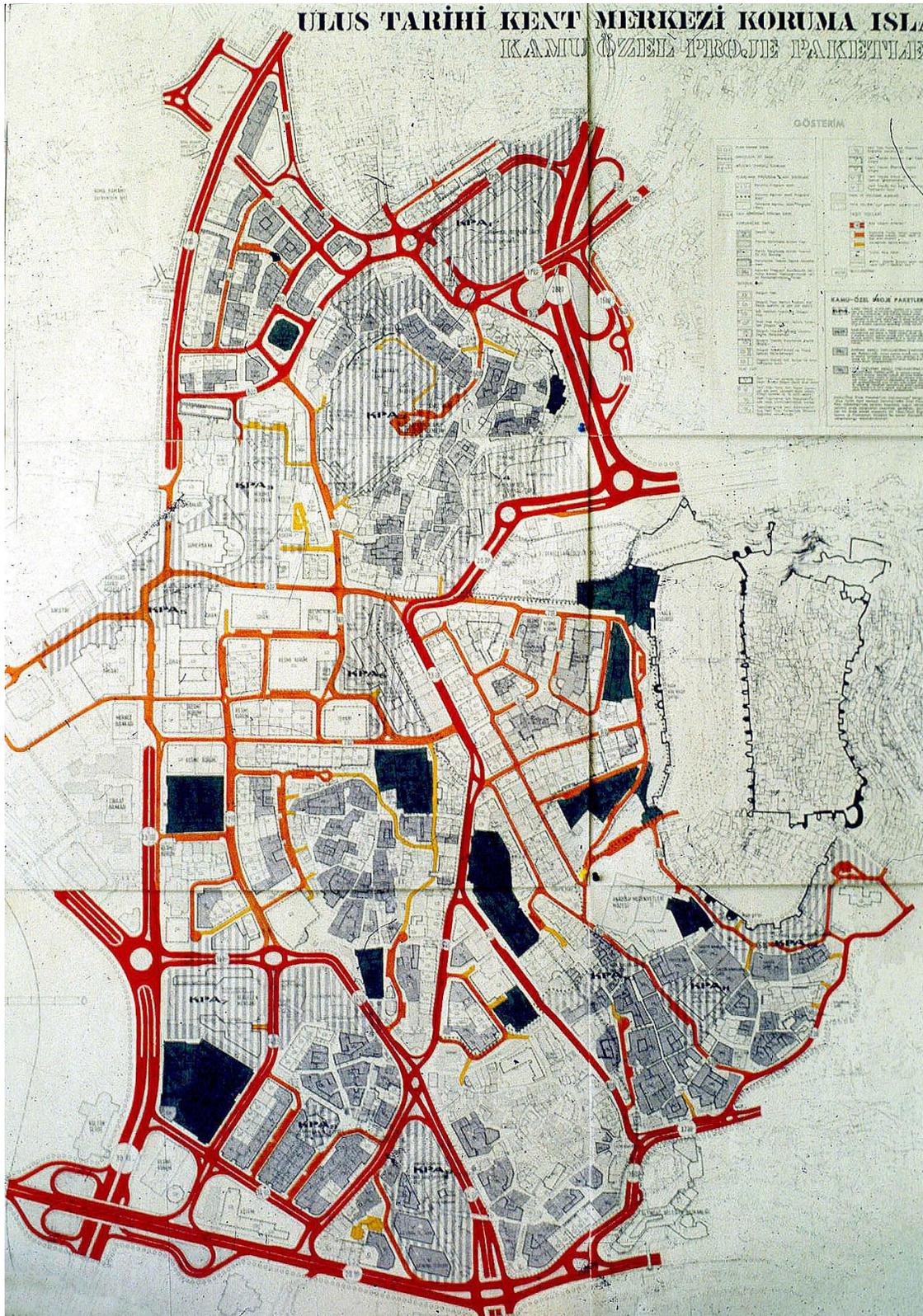
²⁴⁰ “Ulus 1990 Plan Hükümleri,” (unpublished plan brief, 1989), printed text. Ömer Kırıl Archives.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Raci Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 1992), 132.

²⁴³ Günay, interview.

²⁴⁴ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 133.



Map 12: The 1986 Ulus Plan.
Source: Çağatay Keskinok Archives

According to Kırıl, “Bademli Plan was not so much a preservation plan as a city plan with a preservation theme,” due to the scale²⁴⁵. He added that the implementation drawings commissioned by AMM at the start of the project were meant to be 1/1000²⁴⁶. While this may be appropriate for a zoning plan, it would be insufficient for an implementation plan²⁴⁷. İlçan also commented that “1/1000 was too large a scale for a preservation master plan, which must contain much more detail than 1/1000 could allow,” such as façade design or infrastructure²⁴⁸.

Ulus Plan divided the urban site into elements dubbed Program Areas (PA), which could be designed on a 1/500 or 1/200 scale.²⁴⁹ The PAs that were mostly on public land were declared Public Project Areas (KPAs). Private parcels in KPAs were consolidated through Replacement Purchases.²⁵⁰ After they were purchased by AMM, these parcels were designed by members of Bademli’s Team. By the late 1990s, PAs and KPAs had become quite numerous, and Bademli Team had expanded to approximately 40 people.²⁵¹ PAs could also be commissioned to people unaffiliated with Bademli Team, such as the Salman Street Project. The PAs recorded by the Altındağ Municipality in 1997 are as follows;²⁵²

- Ulus Historic City Center Preservation Project
- **Ankara Citadel Preservation and Development Project**
- Ankara Historic Urban Fabric Planning, Rehabilitation and Preservation Project (Hamamönü)
- **Hacı Bayram Mosque Environs Project (KPA-2)**²⁵³
- **Reorganization of the Hergelen Square (KPA-7)**

²⁴⁵ Kırıl, interview.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ İlçan, interview.

²⁴⁹ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 133.

²⁵⁰ Replacement purchases allowed the municipality to acquire the private land on site, and replace it land with equal value in another location.

²⁵¹ Günay, interview.

²⁵² The bolded names are KPAs.

²⁵³ Erkal et al, 36. The KPA-2 project began in 1989 and continued until 1994. It involved negotiations with storeowners and current residents. The replacement purchases in the area took place because of the enticing prospect of parcels in other projects areas would be more open to development and alterations, and would gain value quicker.

- **Karyağdı Mausoleum Environs Project**
- İstiklal Quarter Environs Project
- **Samanpazarı-Keklik Street and Environs Preservation and Development Project**
- Saraçlar Market Urban Design Project
- Can Street Urban Renewal Project
- Salman Street Urban Renewal Project
- İnci Street Renewal Project²⁵⁴

The framework plan was accompanied by a set of strategies that would rehabilitate the historic fabric in Ulus and revitalize the district.²⁵⁵ Firstly, it provisioned for a central business district (CBD) close enough to the neighborhood that it would not replace Ulus, but far enough that it would alleviate the pressure of commercial development. In order to be successful, the CBD would have to be in an area that responded to the expanding city's needs, since Ankara's growth had been channeled to the west and northwest with the Ankara 1990 Plan.²⁵⁶ Secondly, a building-scale land use survey had to be conducted by the team members in order to classify the status of each structure. This would help identify of historic blocks, as well as new development areas. Thirdly, the Ulus Plan proposed design interventions to the built environment in the city, such as pedestrianizing the main vehicular intersection, that could help protect historic structures or rejuvenate areas of new development. Finally, it was necessary for the team to compile accurate ownership information for the urban site. Over the preceding six decades, the system of land ownership in Ulus had been revised several times, but none of the new systems had been implemented or documented in their entirety, so there was no complete and accurate record of the built environment in the historic district.

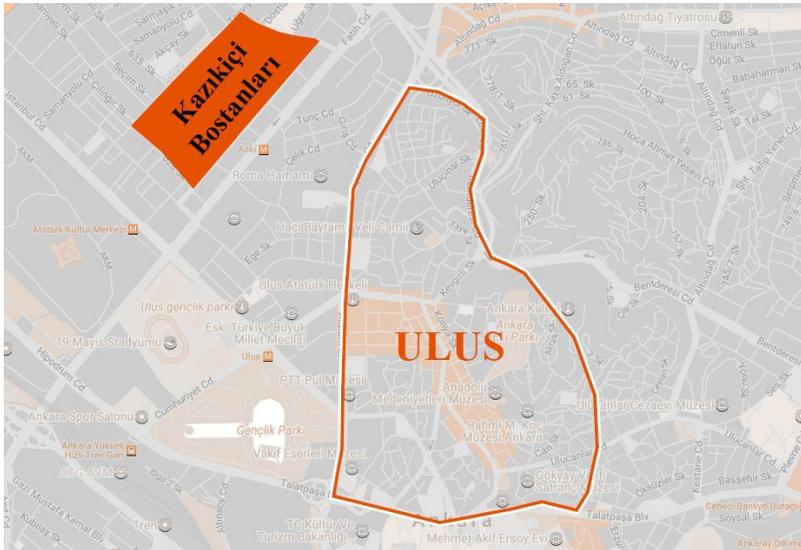
²⁵⁴ "1997 ATAK Yıllık Raporu," (unpublished, internal municipal report, 1997), Altındağ Municipality, Ahmet Öner Köse Archives. The list does not include the following KPAs Eynebey Hamam, Suluhan, and the Ulus Tunnel because the first two items were already complete and the third had been shelved (Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 133).

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ See Section 1.3.

Strategy 1: A New CBD in Kazıkıçı Bostanları

Before the Bademli Plan, it was taken for granted by the local government, experts, and the general public that Ankara's commercial/business district would continue to move south along Atatürk Boulevard, progressing through Kavaklıdere to Çankaya. In fact, the nascent satellite settlements in the northwest, Batıkent and Sincan, were changing the demographic distribution in the city. The Bademli Team's population analysis projected large growth in the north, which suggested that commercial activity was moving northward at a rate that the historic urban fabric in Ulus could not support.²⁵⁷ In light of this development, a new, planned CBD was incorporated to relieve the commercial pressure that Ulus would face.²⁵⁸ This area, known as Kazıkıçı Bostanları, was conveniently located between Ulus and Batıkent, which would permit Ulus to benefit from the traffic created by the CBD without being subjected to the competitive stresses (Map 13).²⁵⁹ It was believed that "historic preservation in certain areas may only be achieved through new development in certain areas."²⁶⁰



Map 13: Proposed location for the new CBD in relation to Ulus.

The area is commonly known as Kazıkıçı Bostanları (sometimes called Iskitler), and it is approximately 25 hectares (65 acres). The size of Ulus in the province of Ankara is shown in Map 1.

Source: Google Maps, edited by the author.

²⁵⁷ Kıral, interview.

²⁵⁸ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 131. A new CBD in Kazıkıçı Bostanları was also part of the Ankara 1990 Plan, described in Section 1.2.2, page 52.

²⁵⁹ Kıral, interview.

²⁶⁰ Erkal et al, 24.

Kazıkıçı Bostanları, at the time, was not empty. It contained small industry, such as auto-shops, that would have to be relocated to Ankara’s peripheral industrial zones. Ömer Kırıl, one of the four original members of the Bademli Team, commented that the creation of a new commercial district “challenged the current chain of profit,” and diverted the resulting tension away from Ulus.²⁶¹ This strategy was fundamental to the success of the Ulus Plan.

Ali Vardar, Sedvan Teber, Selçuk Yener, and Oğuz Erkal won the 1993 competition to design the CBD at Kazıkıçı Bostanları, after which the parcellation was completed and the Transfer of Ownership Rights began.²⁶² The project did not come to fruition while the Ulus Plan was active however, because the intricate patterns and outdated records of land ownership made expropriation very difficult. As a result, the site could not be cleared for almost two decades. It is worth noting that while the urban site in Ulus was protected, preservation principles were not considered in Kazıkıçı Bostanları, where the local residents were expelled and their homes and businesses demolished. The architectural firm A Architectural Design was finally commissioned to redesign the site in 2008.²⁶³ As of January 2018, the site is empty but for one new building, which is not part of this proposal.

²⁶¹ Kırıl, interview.

²⁶² Erkal et al, 41.

²⁶³ “Kazıkıçı Bostanları CBD Masterplan,” *A Tasarım*, accessed February 18, 2018.
<http://www.atarim.com.tr/en/project/kazikici-bostanlari-central-business-district-masterplan>.



Figure 6: The 2008 design for the CBD at Kazıkıçı Bostanları by A Architectural Design.
Source: “Kazıkıçı Bostanları CBD Masterplan.” Digital Image. *A Tasarım Mimarlık*. Accessed February 18, 2018.
www.atarasim.com.tr/en/project/kazikici-bostanlari-central-business-district-masterplan.

Strategy 2: Site Survey

The Bademli Team completed a land use survey of the entire site and classified each building based on its current state and potential function. The classification system comprised three categories: safeguarded, saturated, or new development.²⁶⁴ Safeguarded structures included designated historic buildings as well as hitherto undesignated structures that the Bademli Team deemed historically significant.²⁶⁵ The buildings in the latter category were not protected by the law as designated buildings were, but the Ulus Plan discouraged demolition on these parcels. Instead, projects were to be geared towards rehabilitation.²⁶⁶ The plan stated that if an undesignated safeguarded structure was demolished, the new building was to have the same height and footprint.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Erkal et al, 39.

²⁶⁷ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

Saturated buildings were structures that would not be demolished, but reevaluated and modified based on their current state. They were not necessarily historic or significant. The Bademli Plan defined three subcategories of saturated structures.

- 1st Category: New zoning would not be given; the building will be maintained as is.
- 2nd Category: Current zoning would be reevaluated. This subcategory included buildings that had illegally constructed additional floors. For example, a 6-story building in a 4-story zone would be included in this subcategory and the two upper floors would be demolished.²⁶⁸
- 3rd Category: Areas that would be downzoned.²⁶⁹ In these areas, the zoning was deemed to be unfitting for the surrounding historic fabric. Following changes in zoning, these structures would be modified to ensure harmony with adjacent buildings.²⁷⁰

The new development sites identified in the survey were dilapidated structures or *gecekondus*. New zoning would be provided for the buildings in this category, along with regulations pertaining to maximum height, eaves, and architectural character in order to ensure consistency with the existing buildings.²⁷¹ The Bademli Team provided different regulations for interventions on undesignated, existing structures and new construction (interventions on designated structures are regulated by Preservation Councils). The regulations incorporated elements such as chamfering, arcades and passages where necessary.²⁷²

Both the 1932 Jansen Plan and the 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Plan had designed blocks and parcels that ignored the historic fabric and generated complicated ownership patterns on very small parcels.²⁷³ These had to be consolidated to allow for new development, or even

²⁶⁸ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

²⁶⁹ Erkal et al, 40.

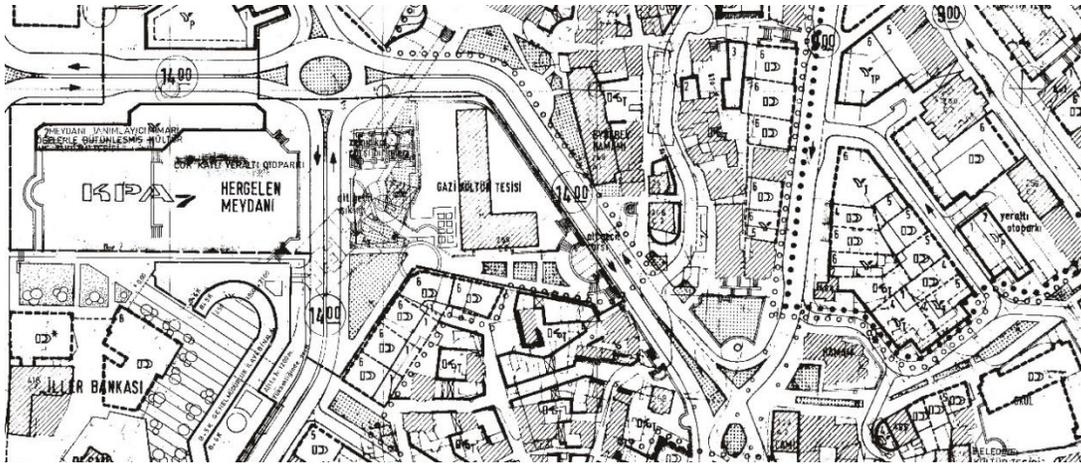
²⁷⁰ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Erkal et al, 40.

²⁷³ Ibid, 41.

rehabilitation.²⁷⁴ During the site survey, these sites were qualified as being intended for preservation (K_T), rehabilitation (S_T), improvement (G_T), or new development (Y_T).²⁷⁵ K_T and Y_T parcels were most common, and their consolidation would become a considerable hindrance to the implementation of the Ulus Plan in later years. K_T parcels were strongly correlated with the safeguarded structures.²⁷⁶ Bademli noted that it was important not to become too preoccupied with consolidation, so as not to fall into the trap of creating “block-sized parcels.”²⁷⁷ Blocks were likely to contain many different types of parcels. An example of this may be seen in Map 14.



Map 14: Excerpt from the Ulus Plan.

Each structure is marked as K (Safeguarded), D (Saturated), or Y (New Development), with markings to denote their subcategories and number of stories in the existing structure.

Source: Ahmet Öner Köse Archives

A number of areas were targeted for immediate action. These were designated structures that were on public land. They could not be altered and there were no further steps to be taken in terms of their ownership. An example of these is Hacı Bayram Mosque, the Temple of Augustus, and the surrounding square.²⁷⁸ The municipality and the project team believed that the rehabilitation of popular sites such as these were the best place to start

²⁷⁴ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

²⁷⁵ Erkal et al, 39.

²⁷⁶ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

²⁷⁷ Erkal et al, 42.

²⁷⁸ Any project done on this site inherently includes the adjacent Augustus Temple.

because they would move the project forward and improve its public image.²⁷⁹ It was recognized that a master plan project with such a large scope had to deliver some visible products: a sample of what was to come. Otherwise, its accomplishments could easily be overlooked. The number of small-scale projects in the urban site increased incrementally, as the ownership issues of more blocks were resolved.

Strategy 3: Urban Design

Following the decision to incorporate a new CBD and the completion of the site survey and the proposal for a parcel-scale revision of ownership in Ulus, the Bademli Team settled on several urban design elements that would revitalize the neighborhood:

- An axis that started at the Roman Baths, traversed Hacı Bayram and the Temple of Augustus would meet the archaeological site of the Roman Auditorium via “an urban balcony;”
- A new cultural center across from the channelized Bent Deresi;
- Revitalization and improvements on Hergelen Square;
- A square in front of Gazi High School;²⁸⁰
- The Ulus Tunnel and the pedestrianization of Ulus Square; and
- A set of steps that lead from the Citadel to downtown Ulus. The Bademli Team realized during their site analysis that, while the Citadel received much attention from tourists, Ulus did not benefit from the resulting economic activity.²⁸¹ The steep slope made Ankara so strategically important in its prior history now became a disadvantage for the surrounding neighborhood because visitors would drive up the hill to see the Citadel, then drive back down the same way so most of Ulus did not receive this economic traffic.²⁸² The steps were designed with the purpose of allowing pedestrian

²⁷⁹ Çağatay Keskinok, interview by Sena Kayasü, January 3, 2018.

²⁸⁰ Bademli, *Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi*, 23.

²⁸¹ Köse, interview.

²⁸² Ibid.

circulation to and (more likely) from the Citadel to Ulus to create an attractive connection between the two areas.

Strategy 4: Ownership

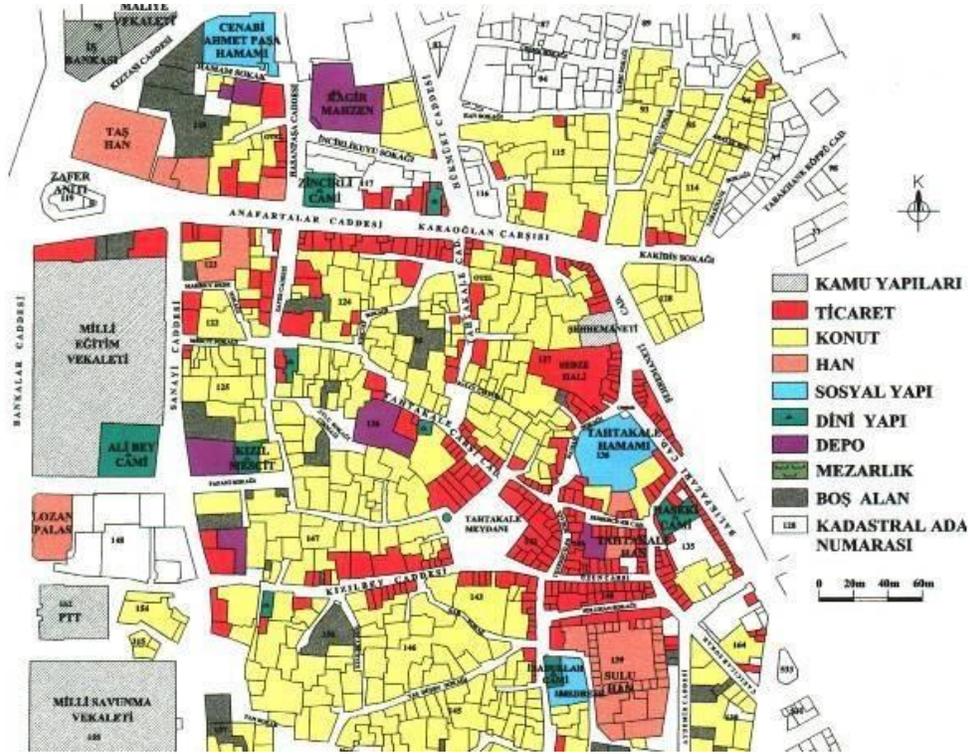
The first three strategies were important to create a comprehensive master plan for Ankara's historic core, however, no master plan could be implemented in Ulus without clear, accurate, and timely ownership data on a parcel basis. Being a historic settlement, the lots and parcels in Ulus had developed organically, and buildings often sat on very narrow roads. In the 1920s, several attempts were made to widen streets and create plazas. In 1929, the nascent Ankara Municipality²⁸³ had documented the existing structures in Ulus. The tax parcels of the neighborhood were extrapolated from these cadastral maps (Map 15).²⁸⁴ As described in Chapter 1, the many changes enacted by the young Republic in the 1920s and 1930s were not sufficient to meet Ankara's needs by the 1950s. The 1957 Uybadin-Yücel Plan overlaid an orthographic grid on Ulus that did not correspond to the cadastral pattern.²⁸⁵ Successive zoning maps and master plans followed this record rather than the existing cadastral pattern, so the two sets of documents became very incongruous.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Named Ankara Sehremaneti, it was not yet called Ankara Belediyesi.

²⁸⁴ "A cadastre is a record of areas and values of land and of landholders that originally was compiled for purposes of taxation. "Cadastral Maps," Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, accessed on February 23, 2018. www.fao.org/docrep/006/v4860e/v4860e03.htm.

²⁸⁵ Köse, interview; Kırıl, interview.

²⁸⁶ Mine Karataş, interview by Sena Kayasü, January 16, 2018.



Map 15: Excerpt from the 1929 Ankara Cadastral Plan, color-coded for land use.
 Source: Mehmet Tunçer, "Ankara (Angora) Şehri Merkez Gelişimi (14. – 20. yy)," T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 75).



Illustration 11: Example of the organic hillside architecture that developed around the Citadel, 1980s.
 Source: Baykan Günay Archives

Baykan Günay suggested that despite the effect of the two master plans, it was the 1961 Plan for Regional Height Order that irreparably damaged Ankara.²⁸⁷ This plan, described in Chapter 1, was made at the “perfect time” to create new areas of development and take pressure off of the inner city.²⁸⁸ Instead, it increased density in the city center by allowing additional stories in historic neighborhoods and legalizing basement apartments. The failure to expand spawned long-term issues such as overcrowding, loss of historic character, and loss of green areas. According to Raci Bademli, over-densification was caused by the discrepancy between ownership and the built environment: “changing the built structure without changing the ownership structure will not work.”²⁸⁹

The densification of the city center took a toll on its cultural resources. An indisputable victim of this impact was the St. Clement Church. This Byzantine Church was built between the fifth and ninth centuries AD in the name of an Ankara-born bishop who was killed by the Roman Emperor Diocletian in 303 AD.²⁹⁰ A mosque and madrasah were built on top of the church in the first half of the 15th century, both of which were destroyed in a 1917 fire.²⁹¹ Today, the remains of the church lie hidden between (and underneath) multiple modern structures, including a government building. This happened in spite of the fact that the remains of the church were designated by the High Council on April 12, 1980.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ Günay, interview.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 136.

²⁹⁰ “Last Byzantine church in Ankara close to disappearing,” *Hurriyet Daily News*, last modified February 9, 2016. www.hurriyetdailynews.com/last-byzantine-church-in-ankara-close-to-disappearing-94901.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.



Illustration 12: Broad view of the remains of St. Clement Church (the partial walls of Roman Brick).

Source: Benu Aldırmaz, "Ankara'daki son Bizans Yapısı Aziz Klemes Kilisesi Yok Oluyor," Digital Image, Arkeofili, 8 February 2016, <http://arkeofili.com/ankaradaki-son-bizans-yapisi-aziz-klemens-kilisesi-yok-oluyor/>.

A factor that complicated the issue of land ownership was that more of the land in Ulus was being expropriated for roads and other public services. Public works projects could claim up to 40% of each parcel, but the landowner would have to be compensated in kind by being given land elsewhere.²⁹³ This required land to be redistributed as infrastructure projects were

²⁹³ Karataş, interview.

planned and executed. The continuation of this practice over the course of a few decades, with inadequate documentation, created a chaotic ownership pattern in Ulus.

As more projects were designed based on the zoning records, the built fabric became increasingly dissimilar to any of the official documents. As generations passed and properties were bequeathed to multiple descendants, the number of owners of each parcel multiplied. Every landowner must be located for approval and remuneration for the sale of a parcel. In cases of expropriation, each owner holds the right to in-kind compensation. This discouraged rehabilitation projects in the area and emboldened *yap-satçı*-style development because it was much more convenient to demolish smaller structures and construct larger blocks in their stead than to arrange replacement purchases.²⁹⁴ *Yap-satçı* buildings allowed the developer and landowner to avoid the cost of rehabilitation, and ensured that each landowner would be given a property on the same parcel.

The Bademli Plan provided for the reorganization of the ownership pattern in the historic core of Ankara, and the reconciliation of the different sets of records with the existing buildings before any future projects to take place. There were 3,000 parcels in the Ankara Historic Core Urban Site at the time.²⁹⁵ The analysis process proved to be very taxing, and may have ultimately caused the cancellation of the project. The effect of the ownership on the progress of the Bademli Plan will be discussed in further detail in Section 3.3.

The UHCCPP was approved by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipal (AMM) Council's Decision No. 15.01.1990/33 in 1990.²⁹⁶

3.2. Strengths of the Ulus Plan

Most interviewees agreed that the Ulus Plan was an exceptional work that maximized the available cultural resources in Ankara. Günay described it as “a milestone in the field of

²⁹⁴ See Section 1.2.2, page 51 for more on *yap-satçılık*.

²⁹⁵ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 128.

²⁹⁶ Mengin et al, 227.

preservation in Turkey,”²⁹⁷ while İlçan remarked that the Bademli scheme was “ahead of his time.”²⁹⁸ The Plan “merged urban design, policy and architecture” and owed its interdisciplinary success to several factors.²⁹⁹

The plan’s primary strength was that it was developed as a framework plan rather than a master plan. Bademli himself commented that “conventional master plans”³⁰⁰ have unfortunately gained a one-dimensional, forbidding, and exclusionist connotation in the public eye.”³⁰¹ The framework angle permitted the Bademli Team to develop a set of strategies not only for the historic neighborhood, but for the entire district, and involved city-wide policies. This allowed for the Ulus Plan to be “proactive, not reactive,” such that it could set the stage for more precise master plans on a smaller scale.³⁰²

The Bademli Team broke tradition by beginning the design process on a smaller scale, such as 1/200 or 1/500,³⁰³ enlarging the scale as the plan developed.³⁰⁴ The site analysis had followed the convention of starting with a large scale, such as 1/25,000, and then zooming in. The novel method of designing smaller areas first, then merging them, allowed a much greater attention to detail as well as “flexible, dynamic feedback.”³⁰⁵ Creating a hierarchy of needed interventions also made the Ulus Plan “active, rather than passive.”³⁰⁶ In other words, it did not halt all activity until the plan is complete (which most traditional master plans do), but managed the process through short-term decisions and phased interventions. This quality removes most time constraints, and allows more participatory design.

²⁹⁷ Günay, interview.

²⁹⁸ Makbule İlçan, interview by Sena Kayasü, January 10, 2018.

²⁹⁹ Günay, interview.

³⁰⁰ Conventional master plans define elements including, but not limited to, blocks and parcels, the use on each parcel, how many stories it will have, what percentage of the land can be used (Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 133).

³⁰¹ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 128.

³⁰² Erkal et al, 44.

³⁰³ Ibid, 40.

³⁰⁴ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 132.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, 132.

³⁰⁶ Erkal et al, 44.



Illustration 13: Ulus Square in 2017.

This intersection, which would have been pedestrianized according to the Bademli Plan, is one of the busiest in Ankara.

Source: Taken by the author.

METU's influence in the fields of architecture and planning afforded the Bademli Plan Team a degree of protection from political and commercial pressure. Once the initial design phase was complete, the METU partnership provided Bademli (and later, Günay) with a powerful leveraging tool. Instead of being “dominant, as government usually is,” visiting one of Turkey's foremost universities for permits was often “intimidating” for municipal officials.³⁰⁹ This often tempered negotiations.³¹⁰

Altındağ District Municipality architects, such as Köse, had to obtain permission from Bademli (and later, Günay) whenever the original plan had to be altered during implementation. The steps for approval of alterations were as follows:

1. Find the parcel in the zoning map;
2. Find the corresponding area in Bademli Plan Map “Project Area;”

³⁰⁹ Günay, interview.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

3. Take the documents from steps 1 and 2, along with the new project proposal, and obtain written approval from the project owner³¹¹ for the change in plan;
4. Obtain written approval from Altındağ Municipal Council;
5. Obtain written approval from AMM;
6. Obtain written approval from the Preservation Council, attached to the Ministry of Culture (MoCT); and
7. Acquire the construction permit.³¹²

The academic affiliation also allowed for a more objective outlook on the project. According to Köse, “it was very beneficial for there to be a separation of powers between decision-makers.”³¹³ The academic viewpoint afforded Ulus Plan a level of immunity from commercial and political pressure, while the municipal involvement afforded practicality, funding, access, and an increased workforce. The academic team was able to incorporate the latest theories and knowledge into the preservation plan, even as the local government prevented it from becoming too theoretical or idealistic. Moreover, METU’s faculty members did not have a financial or administrative stake in the matter, and they did not feel as constrained by time limits as municipal officers, which allowed them to enforce planning and preservation principles more freely.³¹⁴

The separation of powers became a distinctive strength for this project. Not only did the balance between academic and governmental input create a more objective decision-making process, but the existence of two municipalities within the governing structure made the Plan’s implementation considerably more efficient. Beginning in 1983, Altındağ had two of municipalities: AMM and the district municipality. AMM focused on implementing the sample projects and provisioning for the attainment of the Ulus Plan overall, but Altındağ

³¹¹ The project owners were Raci Bademli (1989 and 2003) and Baykan Günay (2003-2005).

³¹² Köse, interview.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

District Municipality was responsible of resolving the ownership issue. The dual relationship between AMM and the Altındağ District Municipality allowed the project to continue even after AMM became disinterested in its completion following the election of Melih Gökçek as Mayor in 1994.³¹⁵

Ulus Plan may have been disadvantaged by changes in local politics towards the late 1990s, but the project's early years were made much easier when Murat Karayalçın became Mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in 1989. Until then, the negotiations between the Bademli Team and the AMM had prolonged the official contract of the commission. Upon the center-left politician's appointment, the contract was signed and the project could begin. Moreover, Karayalçın appointed Bademli as AMM's Director of Construction Affairs. Thus, Bademli was afforded a unique position of power to implement Ulus Plan, and obtaining approval and funding for the project became much easier.³¹⁶

The involvement of various departments in several agencies created issues of communication. In a 1992 speech at METU, Bademli commented that municipalities were organized vertically, not horizontally, i.e. the flow of communication was much simpler between supervisors and subordinates than between equal-ranking bureaucrats in different departments.³¹⁷ This was interpreted as a significant obstacle to the implementation of the Bademli Plan, which required correspondence between METU and each municipalities' departments of public works, real estate, zoning, and law.³¹⁸ A special preservation department was formed in both the metropolitan and district municipalities to facilitate inter-departmental correspondence: ATAK.³¹⁹ This unique provision was later made compulsory for all preservation projects via 2005 changes to the 1983 Law No. 2863.³²⁰

³¹⁵ Köse, interview.

³¹⁶ Bademli, *Ankara Konuşmaları*, 128.

³¹⁷ Bademli, *Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi*, 22.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ ATAK stands for *Ankara Tarihi Alanlar Koruma (Birimi)*, or Ankara Historic Areas Conservation Unit.

³²⁰ Erkal et al, 44. Instead of ATAK, these units are called KUDEB (Preservation Implementation and Regulation Bureaus). They are essentially the municipal corollaries to the Preservation Councils, but with less decision-making authority.

3.3. Issues Related to the Ulus Plan

The Ulus Plan was interdisciplinary, worked on different scales, and integrated the strengths of its numerous stakeholders to accomplish its goal. Still, several internal issues hindered it. Coupled by various external concerns that developed over the twenty-six years that the plan was active, these issues led to the Plan's ultimate cancellation.

An inherent weakness was that the UHCCPP was an urban framework plan with a preservation theme, and not primarily a preservation plan.³²¹ This was partly due to the understanding of preservation at the time,³²² and partly to the lack of a trained preservation professional in the core Bademli Team in the initial years. Günay, who helped draft most of the drawings that were submitted to AMM, commented that “if [he] could turn back the clock,” he would prioritize cultural artifacts, and that he would have “structured the plan another set of documents.” He would also have included the following items that were omitted from Bademli Plan;

- The archaeological remains of the inner citadel wall (“the third wall”);
- The remains of St. Clement Church;
- Surp Asvadzadzin Monastery;
- All Roman archaeological remains; and
- The Roman Embankment.³²³

Very little of several of the remains listed above were visible by the 1980s. Either significant portions had been built upon, or the structures were destroyed. The former is true for the Byzantine St. Clement Church,³²⁴ which lies underneath the Yeğenbey Tax Administration Office, and the Armenian Surp Asvadzadzin Monastery underneath the Gülhane Training and Research Hospital.³²⁵ The fate of the Roman Embankment is unknown

³²¹ Günay, interview.

³²² İlçan, interview.

³²³ Günay, interview.

³²⁴ Described on page 115.

³²⁵ The Monastery is not in Ulus, but is an important artifact whose remains need to be recorded.

at this time. The river on which it stood, Bent Deresi,³²⁶ was channelized after the 1940s. This implies that the artifact has been, at least partially, destroyed.



Illustration 14: The embankment on Bent Deresi, seen in relation to the outer walls of the Citadel, n.d.

Source: "Roma Su Bendi ve Ankara Kalesi (Jerphanion)." Digital Image. O.O.D.E. January 23, 2014. www.oodegr.com/tourkika/ieroi_xwroi/ayios_klimis_ekklisies_agkyras.htm.

³²⁶ Bent Deresi may be seen within the network of rivers in Map 2.

From the urban planning perspective, one of the Bademli Plan's major strategies eventually became its primary issue: ownership. Its aim to reconcile the different parcel data with the existing fabric, described in Section 3.1, proved to be extremely time-consuming and expensive. The main reason for this was the necessity to draft a plot plan.

Any master plan project in Turkey has three stages: the conceptual master plan (generally prepared on a 1/5000 scale), the implementation plan (generally prepared on a 1/1000 scale) and a plot plan.³²⁷ The master plan is the document that integrates urban design, architecture, planning and preservation principles in order to draft a proposal for the area. The implementation plan produces the documents necessary to realize architectural projects. It includes the blocks as assigned by the 1/5000 plan, their density, and organization, as well as the specification of roads and infrastructure. The implementation plan also includes a phased schedule of the work to be done.

The plot plan is slightly more complicated. It defines the plots and parcels affected by the changes brought about by the master plan, and assigns them to the land owners.³²⁸ The plot plan is necessary in order to redistribute land in the event of replacement purchases. It is also needed to define the relationship between private and public lots and infrastructure. It cannot be started before the implementation plan and as-is drawings are complete. Once the plot plan is made, individual landowners may apply to the Directorate and Land Registry to obtain the two documents required to begin any architectural project or building activity: the zoning status report and the road elevation map.

The plot plan may not be completed by a group of planners, because it must combine soil condition, transportation, land use and zoning in order to determine how a master plan will be adopted at a parcel scale.³²⁹ Its preparers are required to overview current land owners and determine the extent of potential architectural projects in order to justly redistribute plots.

³²⁷ The requirements for an implementation master plan are defined by Article 5 of Law No. 3194 on Zoning. According to Köse, this legislation and Law No. 2863 were the basis of Altındağ Municipality's actions.

³²⁸ The requirements for a plot plan are defined by Article 18 of Law No. 3194 on Zoning.

³²⁹ Karataş, interview.

Therefore, the process demands an interdisciplinary committee comprising geomatic engineers, geologists, preservation experts, planners and architects.³³⁰ Once completed, the plot plan must be approved by first the Department of Cadastre within the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre, then the Department of Land Registry.³³¹ When this process is finally complete, the record is ready at the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre for architectural projects.

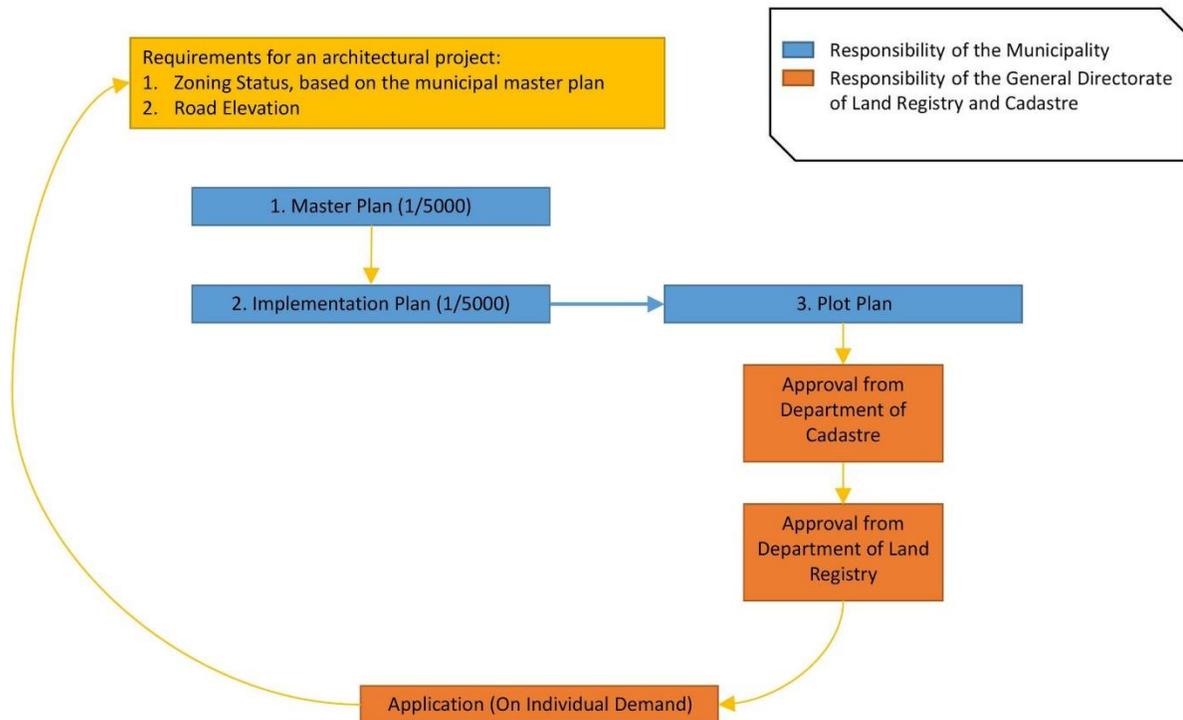


Figure 7: The process of creation of a plot plan, and its relationship to documents required by architectural projects.

Karataş suggested that Bademli could have used his position as Director of Construction Affairs in order to facilitate the completion of the Plot Plan, but he did not.³³² What happened instead was what usually happens to master plans in Turkey: the third stage in the above process (Figure 7) was bypassed, and application documents were derived from the implementation plan.³³³ This shortcut repeated the cycle that created the Bademli Plan's

³³⁰ Karataş, interview.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Karataş, interview.

³³³ Ibid.

ownership issue in the first place, in that the changes made by the plan were not fully documented, or fully implemented, and it added another layer of confusion to the existing documentation. Bademli's sense became increasingly "stuck" in the age-old, bureaucratic clash between zoning and cadastral formation.³³⁴

Since the plot plan was bypassed, the duty of tracing the full ownership record for a parcel fell to the architect.³³⁵ When a project (rehabilitation or new construction) was commissioned by the owner, it was part of the architect's duty to locate the parcel in the cadastral records and the zoning/public works plans, then reconcile these with what is physically on site. It was highly likely to investigate a parcel that, on written record, has a road going through it, only to realize that the road from the 1950s plans was never built and the building on the site was designated in the 1970s.³³⁶ For a single block, this discovery and reconciliation process lasted up to a year, and there were hundreds of blocks under the scope of the Ulus Plan.³³⁷

Adding to this confusion were the K_T and Y_T parcels. Since these parcels were very numerous, their cadastral situation was left to the landowners to resolve.³³⁸ The landowner who initiated the consolidation was responsible for the rest of the process. It became very difficult for landowners to agree amongst themselves without a municipal official to mediate the conversation, especially because it was very difficult to attain fair compensation for proprietors who were selling their pieces of the lot.³³⁹ The situation was exacerbated by "leftover parcels," slits of land that constitute a very small percentage of the K_T or Y_T area, but have to be located and compensated nonetheless. The owners for these leftover parcels were often discovered very late in the process because the plot plan was never completed.³⁴⁰

³³⁴ Karataş, interview.

³³⁵ Ibid. This process being carried out by the project architect is the case, to this day - 2018.

³³⁶ Ibid.

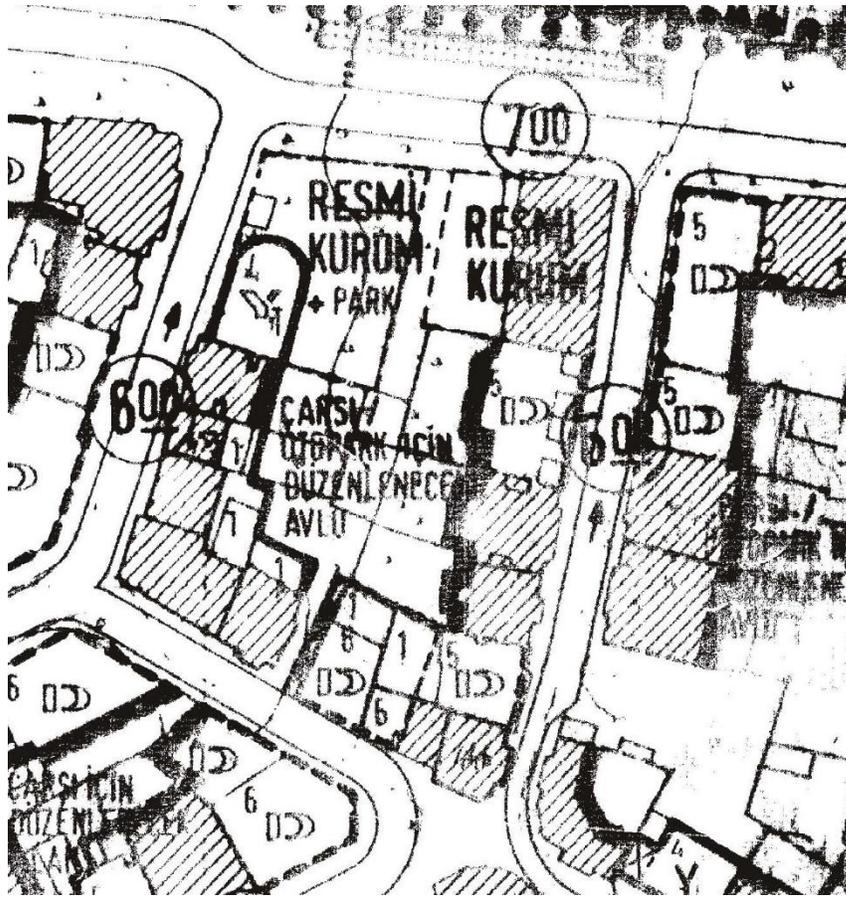
³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

An example of this is a block on Çantaclar St. (Map 17), where the Ulus Plan had provisioned for a courtyard to be reorganized as a parking lot.³⁴¹ The various buildings on the block comprised a small hotel, a government building, a shop that sold purses (*çantacı*), a K_T parcel and an Y_T parcel.³⁴² One of the owners of the KT parcel tried to consolidate his lot, but to do so, he would have to facilitate the construction of the parking lot per the zoning code. This meant negotiating with every other landowner, before he could achieve his personal goal.³⁴³ The project fell through.



Map 17: Block on Çantaclar St.

Source: Ahmet Öner Köse Archives

Consolidation became an issue for the Ulus Plan not only because of ownership, but also because Ulus was extremely multi-dimensional. Parts were to be preserved as is, others

³⁴¹ Köse, interview.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

to be revitalized, while still others were meant for reconstruction or new development. Amidst this complexity, the scope of the Ulus Plan was too large. Bademli unsuspectingly acknowledged this when he articulated that “if this project was to be taken as a single enterprise... it would surpass the economic capacity of the entire country.”³⁴⁴ The preservation architect Mine Karataş similarly stated that “the cost of the completing the plot plan and ensuing consolidation would exceed the government’s means.”³⁴⁵ The price of resolving ownership issues had increased, both in terms of money and time. The correspondence between the different official actors (METU, AMM, Altındağ Municipality and the Preservation Council) slowed the implementation of the project.

An initial misunderstanding between different authorities was the difference between a master plan and a framework plan. AMM’s expectation was for a complete document that would not be subject to major alterations, but the Ulus Plan was defined by its flexibility in various scenarios. According to Günay, this was difficult for architects to understand at the time.³⁴⁶ Other professionals and the later municipal administrations expected a rigid master plan and implementation plan that may be followed with minimal changes.

Another issue with the Bademli Plan was that the architectural projects developed in the KPAs were not always successful. An example of this is the design of Hacı Bayram Square (1989-1994).³⁴⁷ Some of the shops in the area were demolished, and two new commercial buildings were designed to better define the square. As with many new commercial construction projects, the profits from the new shops had to cover the cost of the demolition and construction. In other words, “if 10 shops had been demolished, 15 had to be built in their stead.”³⁴⁸ This became a design challenge for the architect, who utilized differences in grade to develop a second set of stores behind an arcade. Due to reduced visibility, these stores no

³⁴⁴ Bademli, *Koruyucu Kent Yenilemesi*, 22.

³⁴⁵ Karataş, interview.

³⁴⁶ Günay, interview.

³⁴⁷ 1920s photographs show that the area surrounding the Temple of Augustus and Hacı Bayram was full of wooden houses. These were demolished sometime between the 1920s and 1980s.

³⁴⁸ Köse, interview.

longer attracted as many customers.³⁴⁹ Thus, they could not make a profit, and eventually closed.

Starting in the mid-1990s, the implementation of the Ulus Plan was negatively affected by the changing political context. Murat Karayalçın did not complete his five-year term, but left to enter national government as Deputy Prime Minister in 1993.³⁵⁰ Following a year-long interim period, the right-wing candidate Melih Gökçek was elected as AMM Mayor. Gökçek held this title through the following four elections, until he was deposed in 2017.

Gökçek's election triggered a period in AMM characterized by disinterest in Ulus Plan. There was mixed conjecture from all the interviewees that this could be because of METU's association with left-wing politics since the 1960s, or because Gökçek wanted to make his mark on the city instead of toiling to apply a plan devised by his predecessors. Whatever the reason, the Bademli Plan was not as effective enough to overcome the difficulties brought on by the political shift. AMM's disinterest in the following years created a lapse in construction activity and maintenance in Ulus, while Gökçek concentrated on other, thriving districts, mostly on the western development corridor.³⁵¹ The result was that much of the physical change engendered by the Ulus Plan decayed.

A development in 1999 changed the commercial fate of Ulus: Migros Shopping Center opened in Akköprü. Many Ankarans were enticed by the colossal structure and its six floors of underground parking. This was a radical change from the traffic congestion and street parking that had become characteristic of Ulus and Kızılay. Shopping at small, local stores on the streets and in bazaars quickly became outmoded because of the shelter this mall provided for Ankara's harsh winters.³⁵² The center of commerce had finally slid northwest as intended, but Akköprü was much farther away from Ulus than Kazıkiçi Bostanları was. Consequently, small business owners began to vacate Ulus to meet the increasing demand in other parts of

³⁴⁹ Köse, interview.

³⁵⁰ "Sayın Murat Karayalçın'ın Özgeçmişi (Aralık 1994)," Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, accessed February 22, 2018. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-murat-karayalcin_in-ozgecmisi-_aralik-1994_.tr.mfa.

³⁵¹ Item 1 in Map 2, page 14.

³⁵² Köse, interview.

the city.³⁵³ Migros Shopping Center triggered the mall trend, and Ankara soon became dotted with gargantuan commercial buildings that sprawled along the Western Corridor. Migros itself had to be doubled in size and reopened in 2006 as ANKAmall to compete with newer shopping centers.³⁵⁴

The culminating obstacles to the implementation plan were finalized with the death of Raci Bademli in 2003. Project authorship was transferred to Baykan Günay, who carried out this role for the following two years. Bademli's death had a huge impact on Ulus Plan, which had become irrefutably tied to his influence. The news struck a blow to the project morale, at a time when implementation was already at risk.

Furthermore, the transfer of the authorship rights to Günay made AMM very dubious as to the future of the project.³⁵⁵ The project was heavily dependent on the author, who had to judge and approve each alteration. AMM realized that the author may change again under tragic circumstances and jeopardize the integrity of Ulus Plan³⁵⁶. Even though the frequent revisions allowed the Bademli Plan to “breathe,” they could significantly hinder the project if not adequately regulated by the owner.³⁵⁷

3.4. The Cancellation of the Ulus Plan

After sixteen years, the Bademli Plan was cancelled by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipal Council Decision No. 14.01.2005/210 in 2005.³⁵⁸ The cancellation was incredibly controversial and led to a series of court cases and other events that have since been jeopardizing the integrity of the remaining historic fabric in Ulus.

The first reason for the controversy was that the cancellation was unlawful. Law No. 2863 states that plans may not be cancelled unless a new preservation master plan, or a revised

³⁵³ Köse, interview.

³⁵⁴ See Map 2, item 1.

³⁵⁵ Köse, interview.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Mengin et al, 227.

version of the original plan, is approved or there has been a judicial decision against the plan.³⁵⁹ None of these conditions were true for the Bademli Plan, therefore there was no legal basis for it to be revoked. The next preservation plan adopted by the city, the Hassa Plan, would not be commissioned until 2006. Furthermore, there were two smaller preservation plans that had been disregarded—the cancellation decree did not pertain to them, and they were not incorporated into the Hassa Plan.³⁶⁰

Immediately after the dissolution of the Bademli Plan, Ulus was declared a “renewal area” under Law No. 5366 by Council of Ministers Decision No. 2005/9289 on 08.08.2005.³⁶¹ Renewal areas are identified by the Council of Ministers, based on applications from municipal councils or provincial councils (connected to the SPAs), and advised by the Ministry of the Environment and Planning.³⁶² In other words, Preservation Councils (the MoCT, by extension) and KUDEBs are not involved in the conversion of a preservation site into a renewal area. Neither the General Directory of Artifacts and Museums, nor any other MoCT department, spoke against this, or the decision that Ankara’s Historic City Center was a renewal area.³⁶³

The application of Law No. 5366 in Ankara’s Historic City Center made the neighborhood vulnerable to the stresses of the city’s continuing expansion, and to the potential increase in property values that could lead to the expulsion of current residents. Furthermore, this application involves a discrepancy: the renewal area is larger than the urban site. Article 1 of the 2005 legislation states that only designated sites are eligible as potential renewal areas.³⁶⁴ The renewal area in Decision No. 2005/9289 comprised more than 300 hectares,

³⁵⁹ Turkish Parliament. 2863: *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*, Article 6(c). Mevzuat, 21 July 1983. www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2863.doc

³⁶⁰ Mehmet Tunçer, “Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı Koruma Planı, Niteliği ve İptaline İlişkin Gerekçeler,” *Journal of Ankara Studies* 1, no. 2 (2013): 12.

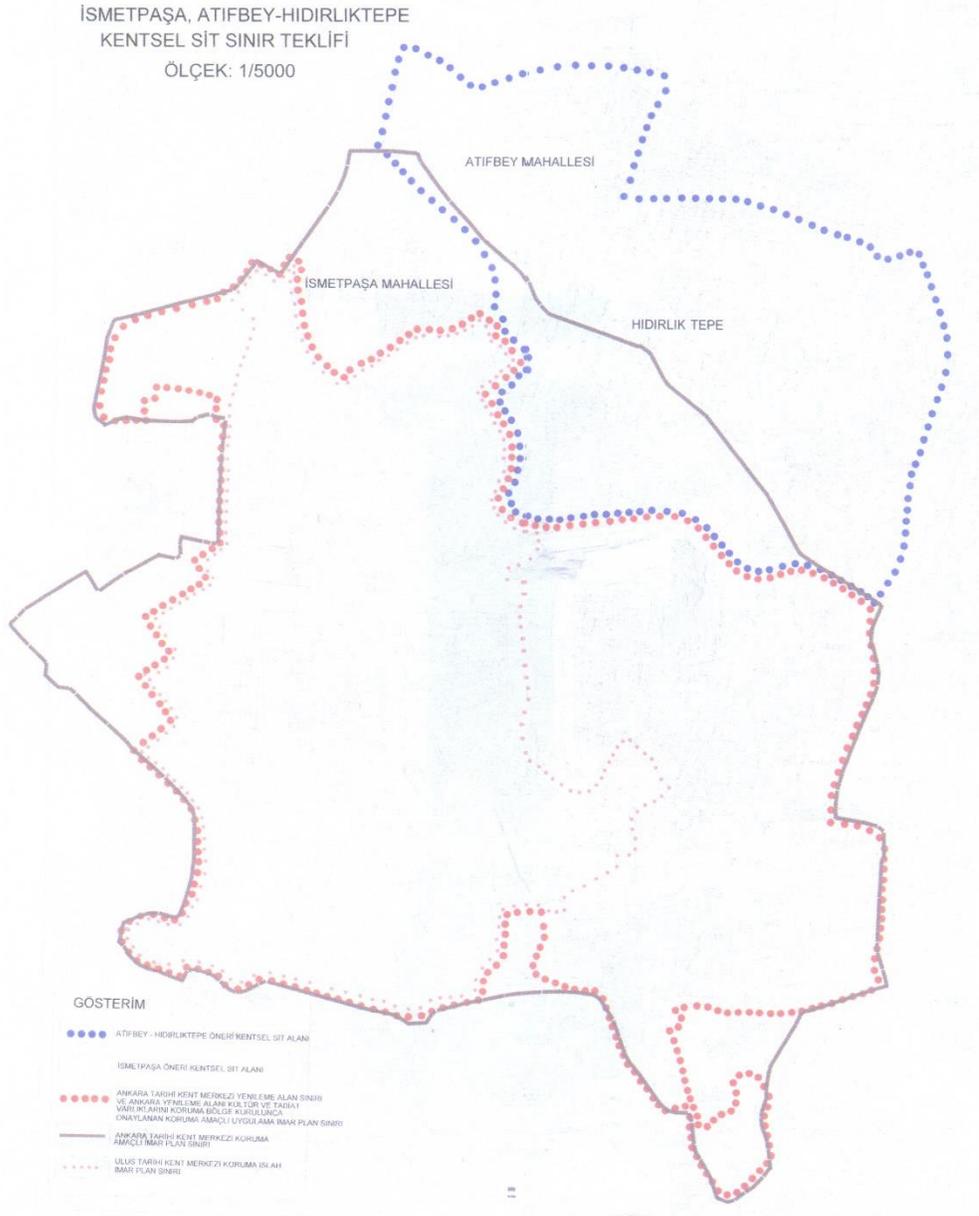
³⁶¹ Tunçer, “Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi,” 12.

³⁶² Turkish Parliament. 5366, Article 2. Between 2005 and 2010, the relevant body was the Ministry of Public Works and Zoning. As described in Section 2.4 (page 86), The Ministry of the Environment and Urban Planning was established to replace the Ministry of Public Works and Zoning in 2011.

³⁶³ Erkal et al, 47.

³⁶⁴ Turkish Parliament, 5366, Article 1.

while the original urban site was approximately 110 hectares.³⁶⁵ Since two thirds of the renewal area was not designated before the decision, the proposal could not have been legally accepted by the Council of Ministers.



Map 18: The Extents of the Preservation Plans.

The Bademli Plan's extent is shown by the fainter red line, the expanded renewal area that defined the site for the Hassa and UTТА plans is denoted by the larger-dotted red line. The area bounded by the blue line was added to the Hassa Plan, but this decision was repealed following a court decision.

Source: Çağatay Keskinok Archives

³⁶⁵ Tunçer, "Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi," 12.

The controversy was propelled by informal accounts and suspicions. These were partly triggered by the resignation of two Ankara Preservation Council members immediately following the cancellation.³⁶⁶ City planners Funda Erkal, Ömer Kırıl and Baykan Günay wrote in 2006 that within the preceding year, the unlawful declaration of the renewal area had been implicitly accepted as a matter-of-fact by most Ankarans.³⁶⁷ The Chamber of Urban Planners were “just getting started” on their court case, and most professionals who opposed the decision waited for a verdict that would not come for years.³⁶⁸ The lack of a preservation plan was thus normalized.³⁶⁹

The most outspoken groups during the controversy were the professional chambers. Many architects, planners and engineers became suspicious of AMM’s reasons for the cancellation of the Bademli Plan and the approval of a renewal area in Ulus. There was conjecture that AMM had ulterior motives that used the Bademli Plan’s issues as an excuse to make Ulus more profitable for politically well-aligned developers. These suspicions were exacerbated by the lack of maintenance in Ulus by AMM since 1995. The idea was that he purposefully neglected the area in order to have another reason for its renewal.³⁷⁰ In addition, the Bademli Plan’s safeguarded buildings had reduced the number of sites viable for redevelopment. Many professionals believed that the cancellation of the Plan was to reopen these sites for revenue.³⁷¹

The cancellation of the Bademli Plan fractured the partnership between the institutions that were responsible for the protection of Ulus. This partnership had been at least partially engendered by Bademli’s vision of an efficient and interdisciplinary framework for the implementation of his plan. While no clear line may be drawn between stakeholders to denote who ended up on which side, Ankara’s historic core has been injured by the controversies and

³⁶⁶ Kırıl, interview.

³⁶⁷ Erkal et al, 48.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 46.

³⁷¹ Ibid, 42.

political conspiracy theories that accompanied AMM's decision. To rehabilitate and protect Uluş, it is necessary to create a participatory institutional structure comprising NGOs, professional chambers, universities, residents and shopkeepers.

Conclusion

The Uluş Plan was an innovative leap for preservation planning in Turkey. It introduced the concept of a framework plan to the field, and attempted to solve city-wide planning issues such as the creation of a new CBD, the revitalization of Uluş, and the complex land ownership record. One of the greatest triumphs of the Plan was the creation of an interdepartmental communication system between the various agencies involved. With the continuing lack of a specialized preservation department within municipal governments, such a network will be crucial for future projects.

The Bademli Plan was strengthened by the involvement of METU. The affiliation with an academic institution increased the influence of the Bademli Team and balanced the practical outlook of municipal governments. The Uluş Plan was weakened, however, by the inadequacy of existing documentation, the extent of the ownership issue and the lack of a plot plan. The Plan's eventual cancellation created suspicion and conjecture among professionals, which fractured the collaborative network of institutions that Bademli had implemented. This rupture led to the post-2005 period.

AFTER BADEMLI

Introduction

The following chapter outlines the changes in Ulus following the cancellation of Bademli Plan in 2005. It examines ensuing master plans by two firms, Hassa and UTТА, in order to better understand their strengths and weaknesses. Both plans became inactive shortly after they were approved by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM), but they had an impact on Ankara's historic core. The division created amongst municipal governments, academics, and design professionals as a result of the Bademli Plan's dissolution exacerbated Ulus' condition.

The urban fabric in Ulus is currently under immense pressure to develop and densify. The lack of a preservation plan for the area since 2005 had an intense effect on the integrity of the historic neighborhood. An investigation into the actions of various stakeholders over the past thirteen years may provide some insight as to how the area can be protected in the future.

4.1. The 2006 Hassa Plan

Amid the tension generated by the cancellation of the Bademli Plan, in 2006 the AMM commissioned Hilmi Şenalp's firm Hassa Architecture to design a new master plan³⁷² for the newly established Ankara Historic City Center Urban Renewal Area. The firm was named after the central architectural organization in the Ottoman Empire.³⁷³ In accordance with their name, the style of many of Hassa Architecture's designs follow "uncorrupted" Ottoman character, and many of their previous commissions had been for mosques and other Islamic buildings.³⁷⁴ This led to suspicion among some academics and design professionals that the firm was chosen more because of a political alliance with the conservative government, and

³⁷² Hereafter referred to as the Hassa Plan.

³⁷³ "About us," Hassa Architecture, accessed February 7, 2018. <http://www.hassa.com/en/about-us>.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

less for their merit. Furthermore, Hassa Architecture was based in Istanbul (not Ankara). They also had no previous experience in urban planning, and few projects in historic sites.³⁷⁵

An external factor that led to contention about the 2006 Hassa Plan was the Council of Minister's identification of the Ulus Urban Site as a renewal area in 2005. The renewal area was expanded beyond the limits of the urban site, as delineated in Section 3.4. The enlarged area comprised 341 hectares, including the following;

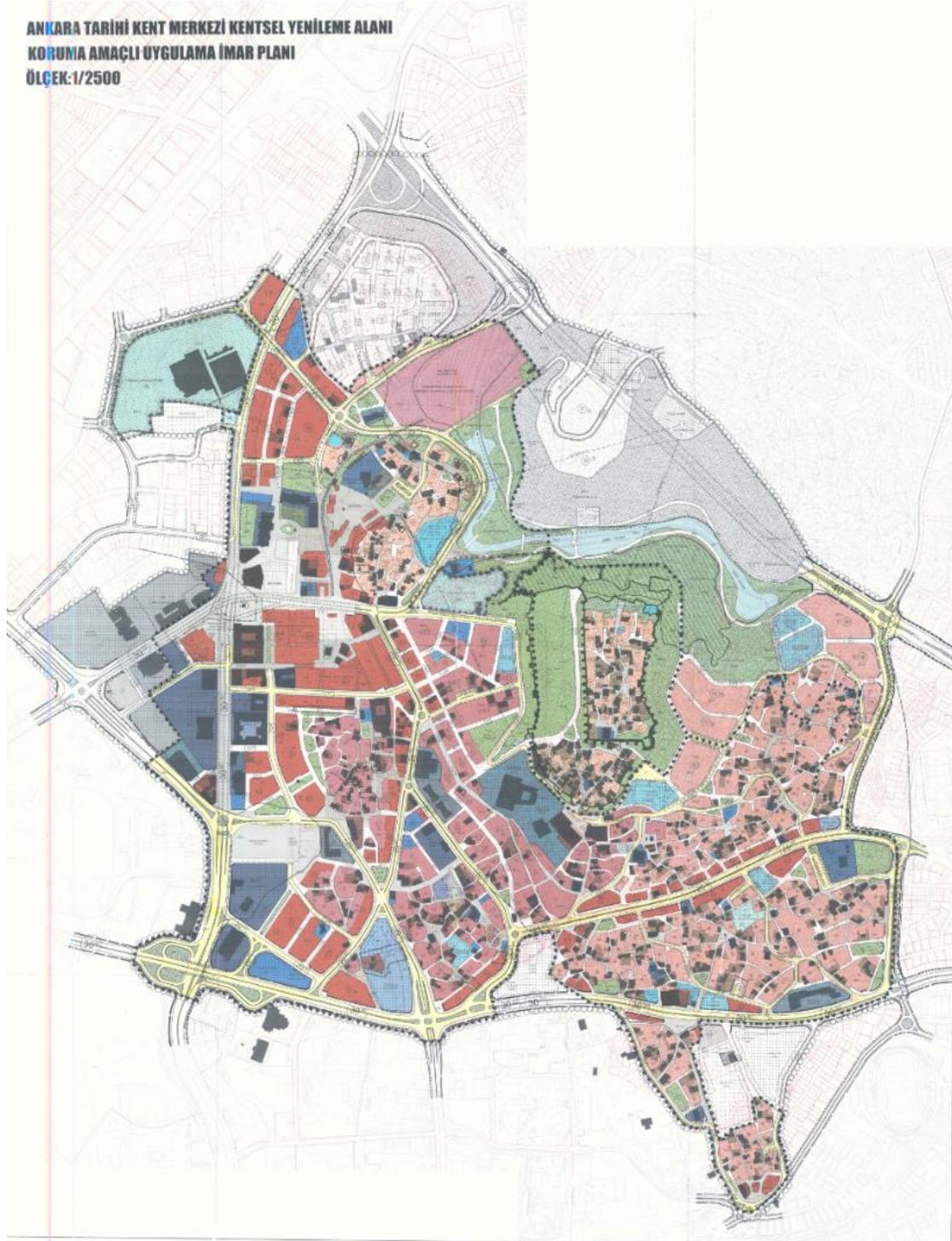
1. Roman Bath Archaeological Site,
2. Ankara Historic City Center Renewal Area (scope of Bademli Plan),
3. Ankara Citadel³⁷⁶ and Hamamönü Neighborhood,
4. İsmetpasa Urban Renewal Area, and the
5. Atıfbey-Hıdırlıktepe Urban Renewal Area.³⁷⁷

The new limits included many residential blocks of low-quality apartment buildings and *gecekondus*. The project aimed to construct large blocks and social housing in neighborhoods such as Hıdırlıktepe and İsmetpaşa.

³⁷⁵ "Projects," Hassa Architecture, accessed February 7, 2018. <http://www.hassa.com/en/projeler?type=120>.

³⁷⁶ The interview with Aydan Balamir revealed a conflicting account that the Citadel had a separate designation, and did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Renewal Council.

³⁷⁷ Tunçer, "Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi," 11.



Map 19: Ankara Historic City Center Urban Renewal Area Implementation Plan, prepared by Hassa Architecture

Source: Çağatay Keskinok Archives

Hassa Architecture's 1/5000 master plan and 1/2500 implementation plans were approved by AMM in 2007 (Map 19). They had no framework quality like the Bademli Plan: they were rigid master plans, which would make their application much more efficient. The Hassa Plan reversed the channelization of Bent Deresi. Several roads and slums in the area would be demolished to revitalize one of Ankara's primary streams along with the surrounding neighborhoods. The firm envisioned a promenade near Ulus Square to similar effect. According to the architect and professor Aydan Balamir, the benefits of such an intervention could outweigh the costs, depending on the level of citizen participation and the quality of the final design for the area.³⁷⁸

Balamir commented that, despite numerous suspicions concerning the Hassa Plan, "Hilmi Şenalp was an architect above all else."³⁷⁹ He had no intention of removing historic designations. Ulus Hali³⁸⁰ was designated as a historic structure following the design process. Moreover, the Hassa Plan "kept some of the axes proposed by Bademli Plan, such as the area around Bitpazarı. If the former had not been cancelled, a major feature in Bademli Plan would partially be in effect."³⁸¹ This was not generally acknowledged by the professional circles, since the plan had already become so controversial.³⁸²

³⁷⁸ Balamir, interview.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ *Hal* denotes a central food market, usually meant for bulk shopping. It is most likely derived from the French *halles*, which holds similar meaning.

³⁸¹ İlçan, interview.

³⁸² Ibid.

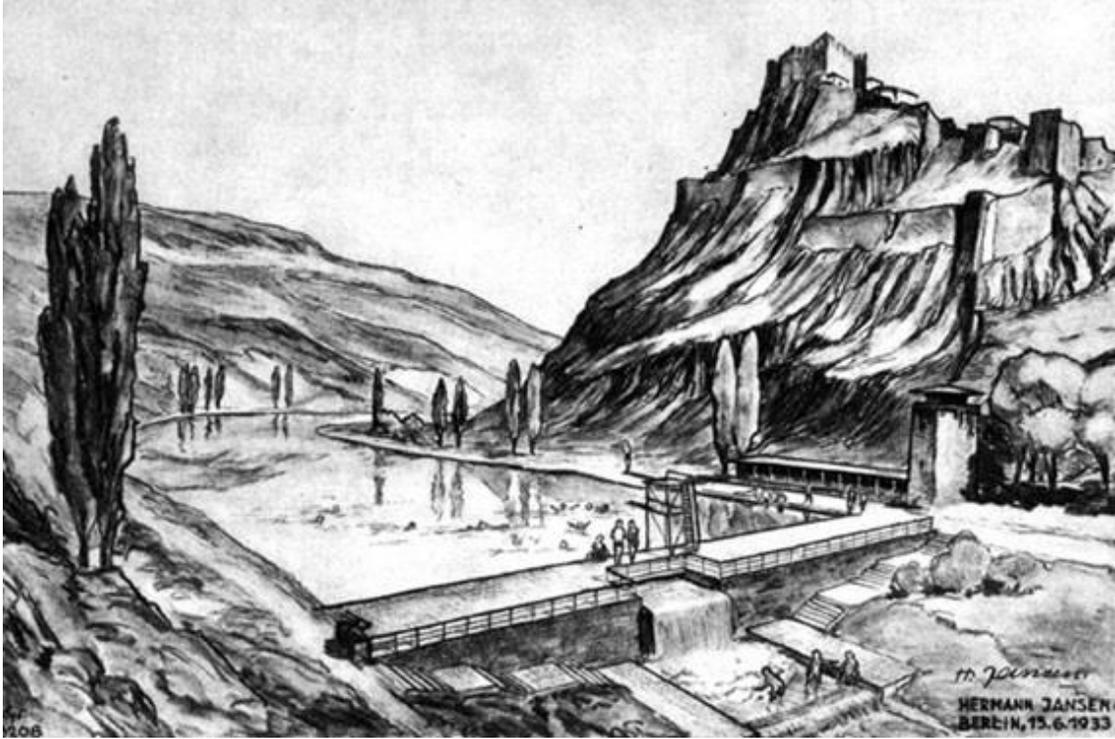


Figure 8: Bent Deresi in the 1930s, before it was channelized (drawn by Hermann Jansen in 1933).

Source: Çağatay Keskinok Archives



Illustration 15: Bent Deresi in 2017.

Source: Taken by the author.

The Hassa Plan proposed several drastic interventions in Ulus, such as installing an aerial lift on the steep incline between the Citadel and the rest of Ulus.³⁸³ The most controversial, however, was the proposal to construct three commercial structures by demolishing historic buildings. These were;

1. The demolition of 100. Yıl Mall for the construction of Millet Mall;
2. The demolition of the Talim Terbiye Headquarters, Anafartalar Mall, historic Undersecretariat of Customs, and Türk Telekom to build Ulus Business Center; and
3. The demolition of Modern Mall, Directory of Customs Protection and other safeguarded buildings for the construction of Taşhan Bazaar.³⁸⁴

The inspiration for Taşhan Bazaar was Istanbul's "Grand Bazaar."³⁸⁵ The goal was creating a touristic attraction. The Hassa Plan was heavily criticized for this as well as other demolition plans that disregarded safeguarded structures.³⁸⁶ These interventions were concentrated around Ulus Square, which has a plethora of Early Republic-era architecture. According to Aydan Balamir, the structures that would take their place did not consider human scale or the urban context.³⁸⁷ A similar path would be followed around Anafartalar Avenue, which would essentially be overturned.³⁸⁸

The Chamber of Architects published a press release containing an evaluation of the Hassa Plan in August 2006. In terms of transportation, the plan was thought to provide insufficient strategies for pedestrianization, contain no examination of public transportation systems, fail to denote parking sites, propose roads, and intersections that promote vehicular

³⁸³ "Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Tamamlandı," *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*, last modified 19 September 2006, www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=2536.

³⁸⁴ Tunçer, "Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi," 15.

³⁸⁵ Balamir interview.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ "Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Tamamlandı."

³⁸⁸ Balamir, interview.

traffic leading to congestion, and design new underpasses that disregard potential the archaeological findings.³⁸⁹

The Chamber further criticized the provision for new development areas that “implied a lack of research and site analysis, as well as a deficiency of feasibility reports.”³⁹⁰ An example was the construction of an addition to the Hacı Bayram Mosque and new commercial buildings that imitate traditional residential architecture in the surrounding square. The press release noted that this would densify the already crowded public square. In addition, the Hassa Plan rezoned many existing residential parcels as commercial lots. This, along with the planned parcel consolidations in the Citadel area, would significantly alter the characteristics of the historic neighborhood.³⁹¹



Figure 9: A rendering of Hassa’s vision for the Hacı Bayram Square and surrounding neighborhood.

Source: “Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı Projesi.” *Digital Image*. Hassa Mimarlık. Accessed March 9, 2018. www.hassa.com/tr/proje/ankara-tarihi-kent-merkezi-yenileme-alani-projesi.

³⁸⁹ “Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Tamamlandı.”

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

Another issue with the Hassa Plan was the regulatory system instated in 2005 was radically different from the previous one. Law No. 5366 established that a renewal council must be formed for each new renewal area.³⁹² Ankara Historic City Center Urban Renewal Council³⁹³ fulfilled this purpose in 2007.³⁹⁴ Much like the Preservation Council,³⁹⁵ it comprised members appointed by the Council for Higher Education (YÖK) and by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MoCT).³⁹⁶ For unknown reasons, the Renewal Council for Ankara's historic city center was closed for short periods that amounted to a total of nine months out of the three years that it was active.³⁹⁷ It was permanently discontinued in 2010.

The MoCT declared in 2010 that renewal areas would fall under the responsibility of preservation councils. This eliminated the extra, parallel body that had previously existed for each renewal area in the scope of a particular preservation council.³⁹⁸ In provinces that have greater numbers of historic resources, preservation councils would be divided with jurisdiction over different districts in order to increase their operational capacity.³⁹⁹ The responsibilities of Ankara's Preservation Council was expanded to include three adjacent provinces,⁴⁰⁰ and it was split into two.⁴⁰¹ Altındağ falls under the jurisdiction of Ankara Preservation Council II.⁴⁰²

The fragmentation of authority jeopardizes the integrity within a province because interpretation of legislation may vary significantly between councils. While application will justifiably be different on each site, the simpler system of organization overseen by the MoCT provided a level of regional consistency. Law No. 5366 increased this risk when it allowed

³⁹² See Section 3.4

³⁹³ Hereafter referred to as the Renewal Council.

³⁹⁴ Balamir, interview.

³⁹⁵ The jurisdiction of Ankara Preservation Council was expanded to include adjacent provinces in 2010. As a result, the council was split into two. Ulus falls into the jurisdiction of Ankara Preservation Council II (source)

³⁹⁶ Balamir, interview.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Bolu, Çankırı and Kırıkkale.

⁴⁰¹ "Ankara," Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu, accessed January 25, 2018. www.korumakurullari.gov.tr/TR,200595/ankara.html.

⁴⁰² Ibid. There are two preservation councils in Ankara.

for new strategies in renewal areas: demolition would rarely, if ever, be considered in urban sites prior to 2005. In addition, smaller councils are more susceptible to external manipulation.⁴⁰³

The Chamber of Architects sued AMM in 2007. The reason was the commission and approval of the Hassa Plan following the illegal cancellation of the Bademli Plan, detailed in Section 3.4. The court case continued until 2009. It indirectly caused the cancellation of the Hassa Plan in 2007 because the litigation prevented the plan from remaining active on time.

The law mandates that all plan implementation, of any scale, must cease when the area is declared an urban site. The Preservation Council must set a temporary construction code for the site within three months and an official preservation master plan must be completed within two years of the declaration.⁴⁰⁴ This period may be extended by a year in case an unavoidable obstacle delayed the completion of a master plan.⁴⁰⁵ In the event that a plan is not approved within these three years, the temporary construction conditions are void, and all construction on the site must cease.⁴⁰⁶

Law No. 5226 legally defined a preservation master plan for the first time.⁴⁰⁷ Since the term was not previously defined, the metaphorical clock to prepare a master plan for Ulus restarted on 14 July 2004 when the legislation passed.⁴⁰⁸ Due to the aforementioned court case, the Ulus Renewal Area did not have an active master plan on 14 July 2007, and construction in the site should have stopped until a new preservation plan was prepared.⁴⁰⁹ It did not.

⁴⁰³ Balamir, interview.

⁴⁰⁴ Turkish Parliament, 5226, Article 8(a).

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, Article 1.

⁴⁰⁸ “23.07.2006 Tarih Ve 26237 Sayılı Resmi Gazete’de Yayımlanan Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planlarının Yapımına İlişkin Tebliğ’e Açmış Olduğumuz Davada Karar,” Şehir Plancıları Odası, 18 August 2010, accessed on 2 February 2018. http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=1907&tipi=78&sube=0.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. The termination of construction activity would have been enforced via an immediate discontinuation of permits.

The case between AMM and the Chamber of Architects was finalized when the former's request for an appeal was denied in December 2009.⁴¹⁰ AMM commissioned a new master plan in 2010.

4.2. The 2012 UTТА Plan

UTТА Planning won the next bid to prepare a preservation master plan for Ulus. Established in 1963 by two architects and a planner, the firm had extensive experience with large-scale master plans.⁴¹¹ It was also politically unaligned, which placed its work beyond the suspicions that Hassa Architecture had suffered. UTТА Planning was expected to create an objective plan, mitigate tension caused by the previous projects, and abate the risk of litigation. AMM had attempted to expand the renewal area once again in 2008,⁴¹² but could not because the Chamber of Urban Planners, the Chamber of Landscape Architects, and the Chamber of Architects jointly sued the decision (Map 20).⁴¹³ The court ruled in favor of the professional chambers, and the expansion was nullified. Hence, the boundaries of the UTТА Plan are the same as those of the Hassa Plan (Map 18).⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁰ "Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı 1/5000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı Nazım ve 1/1000 Ölçekli Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planının İptaline Yönelik Açtığımız Davada 200/3256 Esas, 3009/8387 Nolu Danıştay Kararı," Şehir Plancıları Odası, 21 December 2009, accessed on 2 February 2018. www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=1248&tipi=78&sube=0.

⁴¹¹ "UTТА," Utta, accessed February 6, 2018. <http://www.utta.com.tr/TR/ana-sayfa/1-0/20151211.html>. The firm had been in existence since 1963 as A Planning and Architecture, but it was renamed UTТА Planning in 1994. UTТА refers to the surnames of its senior partners at the time: Ahmet Uzel, Kamutay Türkoğlu, and Mehmet Tunçer (who later left the firm). Makbule İlçan became a senior partner in 2009.

⁴¹² İlçan, interview.

⁴¹³ "Ulus Yenileme Alanı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı İptali Davası," *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*, last modified 20 February 2010, www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=5343.

⁴¹⁴ "Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Planları Durduruldu," Şehir Plancıları Odası, 29 April 2015, accessed 12 February 2018. http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=6666.

UTTA performed site analysis and concept design between 2010 and 2011. Prior to the design process, the firm conducted a survey among the residents in part of the neighborhood. “It is worth noting,” İlçan said, “that most of the residents were renters and not the homeowners.”⁴¹⁵ The survey also revealed that most residents were worried about their safety and that they favored renewal and reconstruction rather than preservation. UTTA began drafting the 1/1000 implementation plans in 2011, and submitted the final product in 2012. The Ankara Metropolitan Municipal Council approved the UTTA Plan on 15 March 2013 through Decision No. 490.⁴¹⁶ Similar to the Hassa Plan, UTTA’s design was a rigid master plan rather than a framework plan.

The interventions proposed by the UTTA Plan were not as dramatic as those of the previous two master plans. The firm focused on fabric preservation, i.e. the consideration of smaller aspects such as roads and street names in addition to the conservation of ownership and structures.⁴¹⁷ İlçan commented that the Bademli Plan had made some radical decisions that damaged the urban fabric (non-building elements) in order to protect designated and safeguarded structures.⁴¹⁸ UTTA remained “as loyal as possible” to the 1929 Cadastral Plan, at AMM’s request.⁴¹⁹ In addition, the new design pedestrianized most of Ulucanlar neighborhood and decreased the maximum number of stories in this area to two. For transportation, the UTTA Plan featured a bus lane between the Ulus Statue and Hergelen Square⁴²⁰ in the effort to decrease traffic congestion in on Çankırı Avenue.

The principal issue with the implementation of the UTTA Plan was that the project area changed too quickly for the firm to respond. İlçan stated that they could not incorporate elements of Bademli Plan, which may have mitigated the professional chambers’ opposition

⁴¹⁵ İlçan, interview.

⁴¹⁶ “Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Planlari Durduruldu.”

⁴¹⁷ İlçan, interview.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Most structures on Hergelen Square would be destroyed to build a new mosque, as described later in this section.

to the Plan, because Ulus in the 2010s was very different than the 1980s.⁴²¹ In addition, “it would not have been right” to utilize elements from the 1986 Plan because the very understanding of preservation had evolved.⁴²²

The Chamber of Urban Planners filed a motion against AMM and Ankara Preservation Council II to cancel the 1/5000 Ulus (Ankara) Historic City Center, Urban and Archaeological Site Preservation Master Plan⁴²³ in 2013. The grounds were that;

- It defied planning and preservation codes,
- It did not comply with city-wide master plan decisions,
- It was not in the public interest,
- The archaeological and urban site boundaries used in the plan were inaccurate,
- New construction defined by the plan is not compatible with the traditional fabric of the historical city center,
- It ignores previous court decisions,
- The building use pattern it defines contrasts the functions in the current fabric, and
- It will prove destructive to Ulus.⁴²⁴

The court ruled in the favor of the Chamber of Urban Planners on 29 April 2015.⁴²⁵ While this case was ongoing, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipal Council again approved UTTA’s 1/5000 master plan through Decision No. 1871 on 14 October 2014, and the Chamber of Urban Planners had once again sued, to the same result on 9 April 2015.⁴²⁶ AMM is still appealing the court’s decision as of January 2018.⁴²⁷ They have not commissioned another

⁴²¹ İlçan, interview.

⁴²² Preservation started as the protection of monuments, then became concerned with buildings, then the integrity of the urban fabric, and most recently the people (as a result of the realization of the negative effects of gentrification).

⁴²³ Also known as The UTTA Plan.

⁴²⁴ “Ulus Tarihi Kent Merkezi Planlari Durduruldu.”

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ İlçan, interview.

preservation master plan since, so there has been no preservation ordinance for Ulus since 2015.

Law No. 2863 mandates that if a master plan is overruled (or cancelled), alterations may be based on individual parcels with the approval of the Preservation Council. The plans for large swaths of land were passed through the Council parcel by parcel, then implemented as a whole. This has been AMM's preferred method of construction, rather than commissioning another master plan. It is especially beneficial in areas like Hacı Bayram, where many of interventions were against international preservation principles.⁴²⁸ On a large scale, the Preservation Councils could not justifiably have approved these alterations. On a parcel-scale, it was acceptable.

Many of these small-scale interventions were completed in the two years that UTТА took to perform site analysis and produce its proposal. The firm then had to modify their plan at the risk of compromising the integrity of the design.⁴²⁹ İlçan notified the Chamber of Urban Planners that the process was jeopardizing UTТА's master plan as well as the integrity of the Ankara's historic city center.⁴³⁰ In the interview, she stated that The Chamber did not take action to prevent AMM's interventions in Ulus.⁴³¹

Land ownership rights are ensured by the Turkish Constitution. They may only be restricted in case of "public benefit," at which point the value of the property is calculated by the relevant administrative body and paid to the owner in full in return for the deed (whether just land or land and a structure), a process called compulsory purchase.⁴³² In certain exceptional cases, compulsory purchases must be undertaken urgently because the time spent

⁴²⁸ İlçan, interview.

⁴²⁹ The prevention of this type of problem is exactly why Temporary Construction Conditions were mandated by Law No. 2863. Site-specific conditions declared by a politically unbiased Preservation Council would restrict the extent of parcel-scale construction activity during the creation and approval processes of a prospective master plan.

⁴³⁰ İlçan, interview.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² "Acele Kamulaştırma Nedir?" Kulaçoğlu Hukuk Bürosu, 5 August 2017, accessed February 9, 2018. <https://kulacoglu.av.tr/acele-kamulastirma-nedir>.

in the bureaucratic process will be detrimental to the public good.⁴³³ This is referred to as “accelerated public purchase.”⁴³⁴ The municipal government under Mayor Melih Gökçek was suspected of using this clause to justify undue land expropriation from residents.⁴³⁵

Another suspicion against AMM is that completed plans are sometimes altered, without informing the author, before being submitted to the Municipal Council and the Preservation Council.⁴³⁶ İlçan claimed that the same thing happened with the UTTA Plan, where a demolition proposal for a designated structure (İller Bank) was inserted after the firm’s submission and without its knowledge. The Ulus İller Bank structure, built in 1937, housed one of the first banks of the Republic and was a defining structure on Ulus Square for many decades before it was demolished in 2017 to define better views for the new Ulus Melike Hatun Mosque (opened in October 2017). According to İlçan, this was not part of UTTA’s Plan and it was unnecessary, since the Bank building did not inhibit the use of the mosque.



Illustration 16: Melike Hatun Mosque. To its left is where İller Bank used to stand.
Source: Taken by the author.

⁴³³ “Acele Kamulaştırma Nedir?”

⁴³⁴ Defined by Article 27 of Law No. 6203 on Expropriation and Article 4 of Law No. 5366. The latter was modified to this effect in 2012.

⁴³⁵ İlçan, interview.

⁴³⁶ Neriman Şahin Güçhan, interview by Sena Kayasu, January 4, 2018.

İlçan commented that “AMM currently has no expectation or wish for another master plan” after the collapse of the first two strategies, since projects can take place in Ankara’s Historic City Center uninhibited by preservation ordinances.⁴³⁷ Ulus remains without zoning or construction guidelines. The worst decision is better than indecision and as Makbule İlçan pointed out, “even the worst plan is better than no plan.”⁴³⁸

4.3. Ulus in 2018

In the absence of an active preservation master plan, much of the construction activity since 2005 has jeopardized the integrity of the remaining historic fabric in Ulus. This has been especially concerning because of new, high-profile developments around the neighborhood. Some of these may stimulate the economic revitalization of Ulus, such as the new Presidential Symphony Orchestra building (Illustration 17) or the High-Speed Railway Station. They may also strengthen the pressure on the historic core to redevelop, which the Bademli Plan attempted to prevent through the new CBD in Kazıkıçı Bostanları.

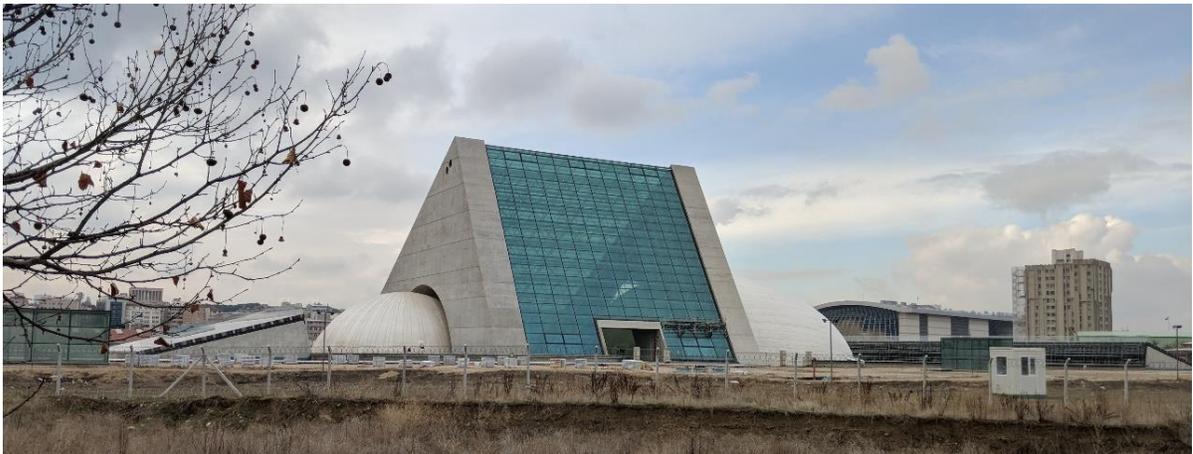


Illustration 17: The new Presidential Symphony building, with the High-Speed Railway Station visible to the right.

Source: Taken by the author

The Ankara branches of the Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Urban Planners submitted written reactions against the planned demolition of AMM Youth Sports

⁴³⁷ İlçan, interview.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

Headquarters (ABB Gençlik Spor Genel Müdürlüğü) and the Customs Undersecretariat (Gümrük Müsteşarlığı). Head of the Chamber of Architects branch, Tezcan Karakuş Candan, made a public statement questioning which plan AMM is the basis for demolition, as there is no active master plan for the urban site in the historic city center at the moment.⁴³⁹ The Chamber of Urban Planners released a written statement that AMM has to provide a reason based on “science and cultural ethics,” and that reasons such as “solving transportation and parking needs” do not validate tearing down a historic structure.⁴⁴⁰

The majority of historic structures in Ankara are not designated. At a time when even İller Bank could be demolished, these structures are especially at risk. Many are dilapidated. Some were abandoned before the Bademli Plan and never renovated, such as the apartment building on Işıklar Street (Illustration 18), while some were purposefully neglected by AMM in the late 1990s. These structures are the most susceptible to redevelopment under commercial pressure.

⁴³⁹ “Odalardan Ulus’ta Yıkım Tepkisi,” *Hürriyet Ankara Eki* (Ankara, Turkey), Jan. 12, 2018.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*



Illustration 18: An abandoned apartment building constructed in the 1950s on Işıklar Street, at the eastern edge of the Ankara Historic City Center.

The windows are broken, so the building is completely exposed to the elements. The rehabilitation of such buildings is often difficult because the interior must be updated to the current code and comfort requirements (e.g. larger rooms, fire escapes, showers)⁴⁴¹.

Source: Taken by the author.

⁴⁴¹ Köse, interview.



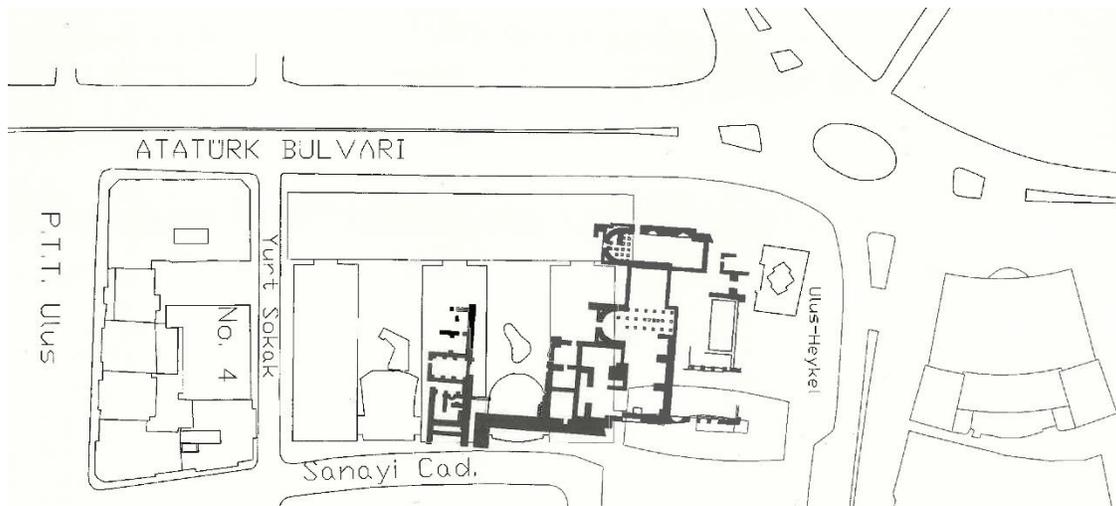
Illustration 19: The Republic's first Ministry of Health.

The structure was not designated, and is privately owned. The owners cannot finance a rehabilitation project, but were reluctant to sell the building to AMM with the other replacement purchases during the implementation of post-2005 master plans for fear that it would be demolished as part of the reconstruction project⁴⁴².

Source: Taken by the author.

⁴⁴² Köse, interview.

The most massive of ongoing new construction projects is the *dolmuş* station in Bent Deresi. This location has been a major vehicular intersection since it was channelized, and it lies adjacent to a large, empty swath of flat land that acts as the terminus of most of Ankara's *dolmuş*. The Bademli Plan charted an available area, and proposed that a multi-story terminal here so that the eyesore could be alleviated. The structure is under construction, almost thirty years after the Ulus Plan was completed. Parts of the terminal will now be dedicated to a cultural center and shopping mall. This fragmented and unidentifiable mega-structure dominates views from Hacı Bayram, and the geomorphology of the entire district. Furthermore, a project that requires such an extensive excavation in a historic site is highly risky (Map 21). In Baykan Günay's words, it is "culturally dangerous to dig extensively in Ulus."⁴⁴³



Map 21: The floor plan of the archaeological remains discovered during the construction of Ulus İşhanı in 1954.

Source: Ali Cengizkan and Didem Kılıçkaran, *Yer'in Sesi* (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2009), 32

Many of the projects undertaken by the Bademli Team were neglected by AMM in the late 1990s, or overturned after 2005. The most obvious example of neglect was the İstiklal Neighborhood (the old Jewish Quarter), a KPA in the Ulus Plan. The area was restored in the

⁴⁴³ Günay, interview.

1990s, but by 2018 the buildings were idle and decayed once again. The renovations and new commercial structures in Hacı Bayram were demolished and reconstructed by AMM in the late 2000s. Nevertheless, Raci Bademli's name lives on in Chamber of Urban Planners' Raci Bademli Best Practice Award.⁴⁴⁴

The KPAs of the Ulus Plan led to projects even after the Ulus Plan was cancelled. The most significant example of this is Hamamönü,⁴⁴⁵ where a regeneration project began in 2006.⁴⁴⁶ The neighborhood consisted chiefly of two-story wooden houses, similar to the residential area around Hacı Bayram Square. The Hamamönü Project made significant progress over a short period of time and became the locus of Ankara's preservation discourse in the 2010s, despite being criticized for imitating the architectural typology of UNESCO World Heritage Site in Beypazarı rather than staying loyal to Ankara's vernacular style.

The Hamamönü Project comprised extensive reconstruction, similar to Hacı Bayram. Karataş expressed that this was inevitable: many of the 19th century buildings are made of adobe with a haphazard wooden structure beneath them.⁴⁴⁷ During the building condition assessment, most of the material was found to have decayed beyond the possibility of repair, so they were documented before being demolished and reconstructed.⁴⁴⁸ However, extra stories and basements were often added to the structures during reconstruction.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ Bahar Bayhan, "Raci Bademli İyi Uygulamalar Ödülü 2015," Arkitera, 14 September 2015. www.arkitera.com/yarisma/677/raci-bademli-iyi-uygulamalar-odulu-2015

⁴⁴⁵ Hamamönü literally translates as "in front of the hamam," referring to the historic Karacabey Hamam (1440).

⁴⁴⁶ Nevin Gültekin, "Urban Conservation Policy: the Case of Hamamönü," paper presented at the *54th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: Regional Development & Globalization in St. Petersburg, Russia, 26-29 August 2014*, <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/124358>.

⁴⁴⁷ Balamir, interview; Karataş, interview.

⁴⁴⁸ Karataş, interview.

⁴⁴⁹ Balamir, interview; Güçhan, interview; İlçan, interview.



Illustration 20: Hamamönü Buildings on Talatpaşa Boulevard.

The brutalist building in the background is the Altındağ District Municipality.

Source: Taken by the author

Part of the reason for Hamamönü's commercial success was its visibility from main roads leading to and from the Citadel (Illustration 20). The prioritization of repairing buildings that are visible from roads has become the norm in Turkish planning since the Plan for Regional Height Order in 1960s. In accordance with this plan, many of the street-facing structures were rebuilt with more stories all over Ankara, but the shorter buildings that were not as visible were neglected as time passed and new plans began to be implemented.⁴⁵⁰ Since these shorter buildings were now completely blocked by the taller ones in the front, they were quickly abandoned and became dilapidated.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Keskinok, interview.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.



Illustration 21: Reconstructed buildings on the main paths in Hacı Bayram.

The dilapidated mansion behind them has yet to undergo treatment.

Source: Taken by the author.

Hamamönü's commercial success is also related to its proximity to the main campus of Hacettepe University. This is one of the largest institutions of higher learning in Turkey, and its medical school is often ranked as the best in the country. The medical school and training hospital are in Sıhhiye, adjacent to Ulus. The construction activity generated by the process of Hamamönü's renovation attracted enough attention from the professors and students, who began to frequent Hamamönü during lunch breaks and in the evening. Perhaps partly owing to its popularity with Hacettepe, Hamamönü quickly became a very popular weekend destination for a stroll or traditional Turkish breakfast for all Ankarans. The project's commercial success ensured its continuation; KM Architecture was commissioned to renovate the adjacent neighborhood, Hamamarkası.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵² Hamamarkası literally translates as "behind the hamam," referring to the historic Karacabey Hamam (1440).

Ulus has a proximity to Hacettepe University as well as other educational and medical institutions due to its central location (many of the country's first institutions were in Ulus or Yenisehir). Prominent examples are Gazi University, behind the train station, and Ankara University's Ibni Sina Hospital across the street from the Hacettepe Hospital. With the incremental loss of government functions to the Western Corridor, it is imperative to utilize the commercial and social benefit provided by the occupants and visitors of these anchor institutions before they, too, leave Ulus. This process has already begun, since AMM has launched a large project to build two Urban Hospitals in collaboration with the Ministry of Health. These mega-hospitals are intended to meet the demands of Ankara's entire population, and the completion of their construction will probably be followed with the closing of all other major hospitals.

The mid-term resignation of Mayor Melih Gökçek in 2017 led to wide conjecture about possible changes in municipal policy. However, the new mayor Mustafa Tuna has yet to cancel demolition plans in Ulus. This is disconcerting because recent demolitions in the district have preceded either the construction of mega-structures (usually shopping malls), imitative reconstructions of 19th century houses, or unnecessary⁴⁵³ religious structures.

The interviewees provided various suggestions on how to Ulus revitalize without losing its historic fabric. Makbule İlçan stated that the first step may be as simple as cleaning commercial signage and the façades of landmarks because "Ulus is not blighted, but it looks blighted."⁴⁵⁴ Mine Karataş, who has achieved commercial success for Hamamönü, advocated that interior renovations are necessary for historic structures in Ulus, because "nobody wants to buy property that has an outhouse but not a shower in the 21st century."⁴⁵⁵ An example of this is the Eynebey Hamam (1502), the only remaining major project from the Ulus Plan. Like Karacabey Hamam (1440), Eynebey has been in operation as a bathhouse since its

⁴⁵³ Ulus has a shrinking residential population, and little need for new mosques.

⁴⁵⁴ İlçan, interview.

⁴⁵⁵ Karataş, interview.

construction. The interior spaces and plumbing have been updated to contemporary hygiene expectations and building codes.

Ahmet Köse recalled from his tenure during Mayor Karayalçın's term that there were plans to relocate two AMM buildings to historic buildings in the Citadel.⁴⁵⁶ This potential strategy was to display a greater interest in the neighborhood, ensure a level of middle-class patronage in its shops, and firmly connect the Citadel to the rest of Ulus, where the other functions of AMM was located.⁴⁵⁷

Another strategy to promote more interaction between the Citadel and the remainder of Ulus was to increase the latter. Köse pointed out that Ankara, despite its historic treasures, is not so much a tourist destination as a stopover between Istanbul and Cappadocia.⁴⁵⁸ Many foreign tourists only go to Ulus to see the remote Citadel area for a day, and do not extend their stay to see other historic structures or museums in the area.⁴⁵⁹ Ulus plays host to commercial, touristic, transportation-related and recreational building uses. However, it does not have a proportional amount of residential buildings or temporary accommodation to support these functions.⁴⁶⁰ Köse asserted that if Ankara wishes to utilize its touristic potential, it must advertise itself as a destination rather than a stopover.

Comprehensive strategies are difficult to consider due to Ulus' issue of ownership. Planners cannot simply reverse the parcel distribution determined by the Uybadin-Yücel Plan to the Cadastral Plan, not only because it would be time-consuming, but also because that it would be "childish to ignore the 1957 Plan as a historical fact."⁴⁶¹ Instead, AMM must collaborate with the MoCT and the Altındağ District Municipality to complete the plot plan as it should have been completed nearly thirty years ago. Section 3.3 demonstrated that this requires interdisciplinary committees that will consolidate diverging sets of records. The

⁴⁵⁶ Similar to the strategy followed by the local government of Suisun City, CA concurrent with the completion of the original Bademli Plan.

⁴⁵⁷ Köse, interview.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Keskinok, interview.

Bademli Plan proved that Ulus is too complex for any one committee to undertake alone, so multiple committees must be formed for sub-sections, which must be identified by a framework plan, in order to figure out how to resolve the land ownership pattern in the historic district.

Conclusion

The Ulus Plan's cancellation in 2005 led to the creation of two more preservation master plans in the following years. The controversy over the illegal cancellation engendered fractures within the planning community, including AMM. The resulting disunion led to inactive plans and a lack of preservation ordinances in Ulus, which gave rise to unchecked development. This is dangerous to the remainder of the historic fabric, especially since the neighborhood faces increasing economic pressure to redevelop. Many structures, like Anafartalar Mall and AMM Youth Sports Headquarters are under imminent threat of demolition, not to mention the vulnerability of undesignated residential buildings. It is critical to utilize the existing built environment in Ulus, not only for the value of the structures, but also because extensive excavations may prove detrimental to undiscovered, archaeological evidence underneath them.

The Hamamönü Project is representative of the possibility of commercially successful, neighborhood-scale projects in Ulus. Even though it primarily consists of reconstruction, the project remains loyal to the external form of the historic, wooden houses. The realization of the Hamamönü Project was due to the area's visibility from main roads leading to and from the Citadel as well as its proximity to Hacettepe Hospital. Based on this example, future preservation projects in Ulus must make ties to prominent institutions to the adjacent neighborhoods to be financially successful.

CONCLUSION

This thesis seeks to understand how the current situation in Ulus came about, and whether another approach is possible. The first chapter was an attempt to understand the forces that have shaped Ulus' current physical form. Ankara is a historic settlement centered around Ulus, which reached its current state as a creation of the Turkish Republic. As a model for modern Turkish urban growth, the city and its historic core have become a metaphorical petri dish for the implementation of planning and preservation policies. Successive plans were based on poor assumptions due to a lack of understanding of the forces at play at Turkish cities. The plethora of master plans engendered clashing policies and records. Due to the failure of the early plans to accurately foresee the dramatic change that Ankara would undergo, master plans mostly became prematurely outdated, and had to be replaced before they had been fully implemented. This process defined a wide breadth of problems that the preservation plans for Ulus had to solve after the site was designated in 1980.

The second chapter describes how preservation framework developed in Turkey in order to better understand the developments in Ankara's Historic City Center, and the legal tools that may be used to improve Ulus. Preservation theory in Turkey has moved in tandem with international preservation developments and charters. This correlation must be recognized in order to ensure that Turkish preservation principles continue in this trajectory. If preservation activity did not meet expectations, it was because implementation has been insufficient due to a lack of financial resources and expertise in key institutions.

Preservation has mostly been state-led in Turkey. As a result, policies were often determined based on the political trends of the time. The introduction of renewal areas in 2005 is a significant example of this. The change, however, may have been the first major divergence from international preservation canon. The effect could be devastating: as a renewal area, Ulus has been more vulnerable to unchecked development than ever. Years of

inactivity and legal battles have caused extensive decay in historic structures, requiring reconstruction for the buildings to become functional again.

In order to consider possible new approaches to the urban site, the final two chapters of this thesis analyzed the preservation master plans that have been generated for the neighborhood since 1986. The Bademli Plan was devised as a framework plan as a response to the magnitude and range of Ulus' issues. It was not just a spatial urban design project, but also offered legal, financial and organizational solutions. One of the Ulus Plan's primary strengths was the formation of Ankara Historic Areas Conservation Unit (ATAK), and the opportunity it provided for collaboration between the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (AMM), Middle East Technical University (METU), Altındağ District Municipality and the Ministry of Culture. The number and variety of institutional actors was beneficial for the Bademli Plan to be a balanced and thorough project. However, the staffing and time frame of the Plan were not sufficient to reconcile the decades-old clash between zoning and cadastral layout, and resolve the ownership issue. As a result, a very small portion of the plan could be implemented without being unjust to the property rights of the area's current occupants.

In a way, Ankara is unlucky: its position as the seat of government and the fact that many of its residents are prominent politicians indicates that it is under closer scrutiny than other Turkish cities may be. Without extensive visible product, the Ulus Plan eventually succumbed to the changing economic and political context. Having learnt their lesson, the AMM began to look for projects that could be implemented with a degree of certainty and consistency—like all processes of simplification, this excluded many stakeholders who had been creating complexities.

The exclusion of certain parties, the legal changes that exposed Ulus to new development, and the misgivings about the legitimacy of the Hassa Plan resulted in a preservation community characterized by distrust. The recent, parcel-scale construction method has further engendered bad faith among institutions and stakeholders. This has led to the cancellation of the UTTA Plan.

There is a lot of development going unchecked in Ulus, where many commercial forces are at play since the new Central Business District (CBD) has not been built. With the proliferation of large-scale shopping malls and the development of economic nodes in the districts along the Western Corridor, Ulus' economic prosperity is even more compromised. Current developments in the neighborhood may lead to the demolition of even more historic structures, not to mention the recovery of archaeological artifacts that have been built over. Plans to demolish buildings like Anafartalar Mall to build shopping centers similar to ones in other parts of the city will not save Ulus. It needs to maintain its unique character.

Most studies discovered during literature review focus either on various aspects of the Bademli Plan, the legality of its cancellation, or better-known parts of Ulus where the architectural character has changed drastically.⁴⁶² Although it is difficult to consider the scope of the historic site, this author believes that a comprehensive understanding of the preservation process so far is necessary for the design and successful implementation of a fourth preservation master plan.

The general conception among Ankara's planners and architects is that the Ulus Plan was cancelled purely because of political conflict between the right-aligned Melih Gökçek, and the supposedly left-aligned METU team. This investigation proved that this was not the case. There are inherent problems in Ulus that the Bademli Plan, for various reasons, could not solve in the expected period of time. This does not mean that it was not a successful effort. Far from it: current treatments in Ulus still utilize the Public Project Areas (KPAs) it defined, such as Hamamönü. The fact remains that the two main problems diagnosed by the Bademli Team remain unsolved today: Kazıkıçı Bostanları lies empty and the ownership pattern is as it was in areas that have not been wholesale expropriated by the AMM.

Many of the aforementioned planners and architects have been embittered by the municipal government's actions since the cancellation, and are not supportive of new master

⁴⁶² Such as Hamamönü, Hacı Bayram, Ulucanlar, İstiklal.

plans because of this. The Bademli Plan, though it was ahead of its time in terms of scope, was not a preservation master plan so much as a master plan in a historic area. This is crucial, especially when considering the number of historic artifacts that were excluded, even from the base maps. The Plan's attitude towards the protection of undiscovered artifacts was lacking since partial archaeological remains are still valuable artifacts that can be very telling of their period. In addition, the understanding of planning and preservation have changed significantly since the 1980s, and the best hope for Ulus is a preservation master plan that draws a clean slate over past disputes. There is little purpose in trying to avenge the Ulus Plan because, in Baykan Günay's words, "only diamonds are forever."⁴⁶³

There has not been an active preservation master plan in Ulus since 2005. Even worse, the legal battles and general contention have discouraged the most important parties from considering another one in the near future. Academics have lost faith in the AMM, and the AMM may have lost faith in the very process of preservation planning. Both sides have long been suspicious of each other, and have settled on prescribed roles in every discussion. The result is unhealthy for the city, since suspicions lead to repetitive quarrels born of older wounds. This investigation attempted to illuminate a different perspective to past events in order to foster constructive communication between various parties.

A current challenge in Ulus is the lack of cooperation between various institutional stakeholders involved with preservation in Ankara. This has led many unsuitable interventions in the area to go unchecked. Bad faith and distrust impedes progress. The Bademli Plan offers many ways to mend these fractured connections that today's planners and architects could take as examples. For instance, more stakeholders such as landowners and tenants should be involved with the decision-making process in a more formal manner. This is even more relevant now, with the recent change in municipal leadership. The deposition of Melih Gökçek

⁴⁶³ Günay, interview.

and the selection of Mustafa Tuna as the new Metropolitan Mayor has created a window of opportunity for a clean slate.

Another major challenge to Ulus is the continuing expansion of the economic nodes in satellite neighborhoods such as Batıkent, Sincan, Çayyolu and Etimesgut. This growth ensures that Ulus remains susceptible to the commercial pressure, since the distance of these areas from the city center proves detrimental to the activity in the historic core. The proliferation of shopping malls in these areas further detracts from Ulus' income. In addition, the transfer of many government buildings to the western expansion corridor leaves a number of large buildings in Ulus without their principal occupants, and leaves many small, local establishments without the patronage of middle-class government employees.

This thesis attempted to provide preliminary ideas for alternative strategies in Ulus in the future. Without an active preservation plan, the area will remain vulnerable to applications on a parcel-by-parcel basis, which has created divergent patterns of rehabilitation and development. Thus, what remains is for institutions to foster an environment where a new preservation framework plan for Ulus may be created with fair participation and representation of all stakeholders. The inclusion of more stakeholders could distract from the polarized relationship between institutions. It is necessary to realize a deeper understanding of the current socio-economic dynamics in the neighborhood in order to achieve this goal.

The Bademli Plan was insufficient in community involvement, especially because most of the community members that were involved were landowners. Renters, who comprised the majority of the residents, were not considered. Residents and shopkeepers must be involved with any project in the area from the initial design stages so that Ulus can preserve its inherent fabric. These stakeholders are currently included in the decision-making process of the Hamamönü Project, which may be analyzed to realize a similar model in future enterprises in Ulus.

The first step in increased community involvement is the comprehension of the community organization in Ulus. Community leaders, who are most likely religious

personalities, must be identified to foster effective communication. Since it is probable that not all tenants do not have proof of residency through legal documents such as rent contracts, other ways must be discovered to obtain information about them. An example may be an investigation into the elementary schools in the neighborhood. Teachers are also likely to prove as good sources of information about neighborhood profiles.

School networks could also be used to initiate short-term, small-scale clean-up projects that could galvanize community engagement. These projects could significantly improve Ulus' public image and empower residents to take ownership of their neighborhood. The oral interviews showed these interventions may have a very large impact on Ulus, especially as testaments to stakeholders' dedication to the site. Modest changes may lead to a master plan and its larger, phased projects.

Schools may also be useful in disseminating knowledge about the rich history of Ulus, and communicating with parents who may otherwise be uninterested in community meetings. This step is important, because the residents must realize that they have a stake in what happens to their neighborhood before they can become stakeholders. Ulus' identity as a transition area for migrants must be adapted to prevent disenfranchisement and promote investment, at least by the residents themselves. In this way, institutions can be made aware that Ulus is a neighborhood with caring occupants, and not just parcels waiting to be expropriated, either for new development or historic preservation.

Another step to accomplish this aim would be to survey the area for accurate demographic data, and ensure that maps are complete not only for the historic structures, but also the slums. *Gecekondus* are often only acknowledged in city plans through bulk presence, which tends to mean that they are not viewed as individual households. Since one of the issues with the Bademli Plan was the absence of accurate city maps, the precision of information is crucial.

The preservation planning process must be made more inclusive through a change in the design and *askı* process. This would allow the consideration of not just occupants, but also

the professional chambers. These representative bodies were the most important tool of resistance against the Hassa and UTTA Plans, and their support is critical to the success of any project. The integration of chambers' stance on a particular project would be less likely to lead to a court case if considered prior to municipal approval. The distrust from the professional chambers could be mitigated by involving them in the process, for instance by having them offer volunteers to check construction activity in conservation areas. This would have the added benefit of lowering chances of corruption and post-approval alteration from the municipality.

The feeling of ownership may be fostered by investing in the educational and medical institutions that are still anchored in the district. Ankara, Gazi, and Hacettepe universities could provide jobs for the residents as well as drawing other Ankarans to the area. It is unrealistic to expect that government functions will return to Ulus, but perhaps their effect can be replaced. Since the Urban Hospitals are already underway, it is unrealistic to expect that Hacettepe and İbni Sina Hospitals will remain in the neighborhood indefinitely. The presence of the universities, however, can be strengthened by considering the relevant demographic groups' needs. For instance, adaptive reuse projects that create new dormitories or student residences is likely to increase interest from prospective students.

The re-organization of government agencies caused problems in Turkey's preservation history. Private sector initiatives could be fostered to balance state presence. This could start in Kazıkıçı Bostanları, an area that is currently empty and waiting for new development. The land could be utilized as leverage in order to have developers invest in historic property in Ulus. A short-term step in accomplishing this long-term goal would be to perform an evaluation of private sector organizations that have taken an interest in the neighborhood, such as the Koç Foundation.

Future projects in the Citadel must be considered in conjunction with the rest of Ulus. The steep slope that separates the Citadel makes it difficult to connect the two areas through an urban design intervention such as an "urban balcony," as the Bademli Plan intended.

Nevertheless, if future projects on the slope are done with the aim of utilizing the touristic value of the Citadel to benefit the rest of Ulus, a unique solution may be devised. In order to accomplish this, Ankara must advertise itself as a touristic destination rather than a stopover. This may trigger a wave of economic revitalization and new businesses in the form of tourist accommodation. New interventions have to be well-documented to prevent the repetition of issues similar to the clashing patterns of land ownership.

It must be restated that this study is only a first step in filling in the blanks in the preservation process that has brought Ulus to its current state in March 2018. With more time it could use input from many more sources including but not limited to representatives from the ministries and Hassa Architecture, accurate mapping of the changes that have taken place in the area since the 1980s, accurate demographic data, and a questionnaire among the occupants. Moreover, further archival research must take place to better understand the changes in Ulus' built environment before 1980. A comprehensive map of the alterations based on archives would be very helpful for all future research in the area.⁴⁶⁴ Based on the findings, the conclusions of this thesis may change.

This study reveals many channels for further investigation. The most obvious of these is a study of how the vast urban site in Ulus may be divided into manageable sizes that would allow plot plans to be completed. In a sense, this would be an improved update to the methodology of the Bademli Plan and perhaps Ankara could see its completion. To this end, researchers may look at analogous issues in other countries, especially other developing countries that underwent rapid modernization in the 20th century. In the process, more studies could be done the effect of changes in ownership structure to the residents, which has not been a focal point in literature about Ulus. The effect and participation of residents, in general, must be investigated in further detail.

⁴⁶⁴ Merve Demiröz began to do this in her master's thesis for Hacı Bayram. Merve Demiröz, "Causes and Effects of Urban Transformation Processes on Cultural Heritage of Hacı Bayram Area, Ulus," (master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2015).

It is the author's hope that Ankarans will soon look beyond their city as a modern construction, and see the diverse heritage that it plays host to. Ulus was not under immense pressure for conservation because Ankara did not suffer destruction as many European cities did during World War II, but it is under pressure now. The defense of historic artifacts is the reason why preservation-related legislation was passed, and a detailed regulatory structure was established in the 1980s to oversee the process. This thesis aims to facilitate a better job of preservation in the capital of Turkey. Current tools can be used to conserve Ulus, and so they shall.

APPENDIX A

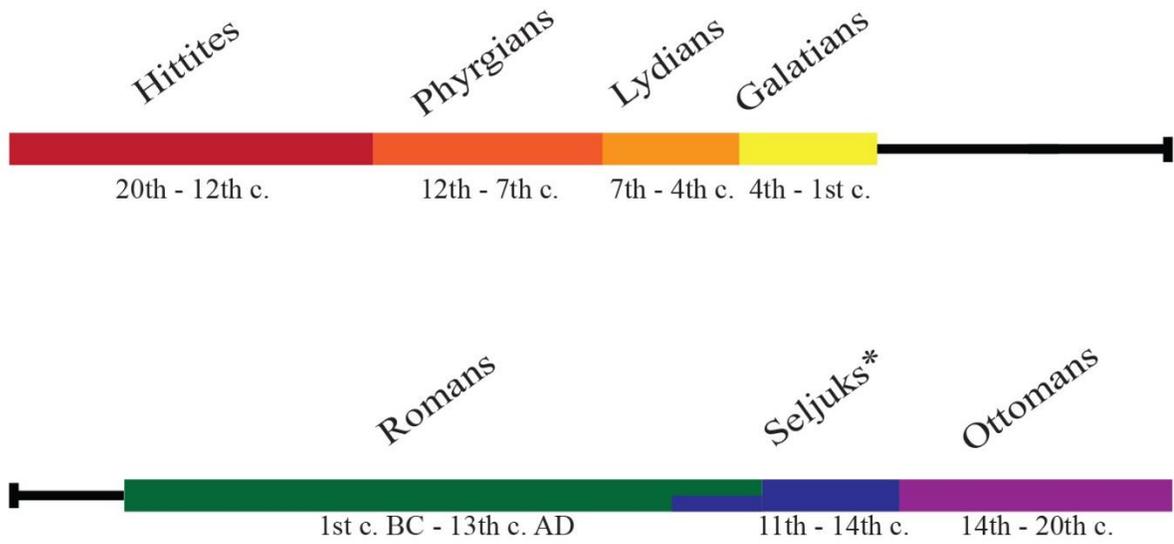


Figure 10: Timeline of known pre-Republic civilizations in Ankara.

APPENDIX B

Table 2: List of socio-cultural changes or “revolutions” that were introduced by the Republic.

Date	Change
1922	Abolishment of the Sultanate
1923	Proclamation of the Republic
1924	Abolishment of the Caliphate
	Introduction of the 1924 Constitution
	Removal of Shariyya (Islamic Law) Courts
	Introduction of the Standardized (Secular) School System
	Establishment of Model Farms
1925	“Law of Hats” that banned the use of <i>fes</i> or any other religious headpiece and replaced them with the Turkish <i>kalpak</i> , or Western hats.
	Conversion to the solar calendar from the lunar calendar.
1926	Suffrage for Women
	“Marriage Law” that allowed for women to file for divorce as well as men, and that instituted equal rights of inheritance to both genders.
	<i>Medreses</i> , or Islamic high schools, were closed.
1927	“Law of Industrial Encouragement”
1928	Introduction of the Latin Alphabet in lieu of Ottoman text.
1931	Turkish Language Association and Turkish Historical Association were established.
1933	University Reform
1934	“Law of Surnames” required every family to adopt a last name.
1934	“Law of Change in Outfits” outlawed religious garb, especially women in hijab.
1935	Chamber of Trade and Chamber of Commerce were established.

APPENDIX C

Table 3: The population of the province of Ankara⁴⁶⁵

Year	Population⁴⁶⁶
1923	Estimated less than 25,000
1927	75,553 (“civil servants, businessmen and workers from throughout the country, especially Istanbul, flocked to the city”)
1935	122,720 (third largest city after Istanbul and Izmir)
1940	157,242
1950	288,536
1960	650,067 ⁴⁶⁷
1970	1,208,791
1980	1,867,755
1990	2,782,000
2000	4,007,860
2010	4,771,716
2023	(Estimated) > 5,900,000

⁴⁶⁵ Turkish Statistical Institution, www.tuik.gov.tr.

⁴⁶⁶ Cross et al, 153.

⁴⁶⁷ Ankara’s population surpassed that of Izmir in 1955, making it the second largest city after Istanbul.

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