TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN SPHERE:
HACIBAYRAM SQUARE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN SPHERE:
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The aim of this thesis is put forward a critical inquiry into the new advent neoliberal publicity and the spatiality which brought forth by this emergent publicity in Ankara thereby interrogating some key concepts such as neoliberalism, neoliberal urbanization, public space and publicity. "The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center" will be assessed owing to constitute a model for understanding the tendencies in the planning of public spaces of Ankara for the last two decades. Considering the vast area which will be subjected to the renovation project, the borders of the study area is confined to "Special Project Area: Hacıbayram Mosque and Its Environs".

Keywords: Neoliberalism, neoliberal urbanization, public space, publicity, Hacıbayram District.

ÖZ

KENTSEL ALANIN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ:
HACIBAYRAM MEYDANI VE ÇEVRESİ, ANKARA

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, neoliberalleşme süreciyle ortaya çıkan yeni kamusallık ve bu kamusallığın Ankara'daki mekansallığına neoliberalism, neoliberal kentleşme, kamusal alan ve kamusallık gibi anahtar kavramlar aracılığıyla eleştirel bir inceleme ortaya koymaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, "Ankara Tarihi Kent Merkezi Yenileme Alanı Projesi" Ankara'daki son yıllarda yapılan planlama çalışmalarının kamusal alanlara yaklaşımını örneklemesi açısından bu çalışmada konu edinilmiştir. Yenileme alanının geniş sınırları düşünüldüğünden, bu çalışma "Hacıbayram Camii ve Çevresi Özel Proje Alanı" sınırları içerisinde tutulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Neoliberalizm, neoliberal kentleşme, kamusal alan, kamusallık, Hacıbayram Bölgesi.

To Nazife and Hüseyin Yardımcı

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aims and Objectives of the Study

> The process of capital accumulation and its associated regulatory problems are always articulated in territory-, place-, and scale- specific forms.[1]

This study aims at two things. Firstly, our account seeks to draw a critical perspective to the neoliberal urbanization and understanding predominantly the spatial, then the social and the political interfaces -within the context of spatial practices- between neoliberalism and urban restructuring. It is intended to argue that as the consequences of neoliberal urban restructuring projects, publicity has undergone a transformation and has been redefined. In doing so, the alterations in public space entailed by urban restructuring will mostly constitute our focus, owing to be intersecting those interfaces mentioned above and being the topographical manifestation of public sphere. Second aim of this study is to put forward a critical inquiry into the neoliberal urbanization which has started to emerge in the cityscape of Ankara and understand how consent is constructed in the service of neoliberalism thereby reading the redefined meanings of public space and of publicity. Although its implementation is controversial, "The

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[1] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism" in Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (eds.) *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europa*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.7.

Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center" will be assessed owing to constituting a model to comprehend the current tendencies in the planning of public spaces of Ankara.

While inquiring into the neoliberal spatialization and its publicity, our concern seeks to prove what will have been claimed within the context of neoliberal urbanization through the plan proposal for Hacıbayram Square in the scope of the renovation project. There are two reasons lay on such a spatial confinement. First one is the spatial typology of the study area, that is to say, the being of square regarding its contribution in urban life, where social actors gather and the consciousness of either being a community or being a citizen is underscored. The second reason is the proposal of religion-oriented touristic functional transformations in the compass of recent operations on the study area avows that, the privatization and the homogenization of public spaces are dialectically intertwined processes which would transform publicity, so that the neoliberal urbanization has been introduced on the cityscape of Ankara without any possible civil-objection. This will constitute the main argument of this study.

Here in this study, it is advocated that neoliberalism as the current order of the present day manifests an influential characteristic on a wide–range area. Although this dominant characteristic of neoliberalism will be scrutinized in the following part of this chapter, it is important to highlight already that space with its all built environment and architecture has used to be seen as instrumental in the construction of this dominance. Even, it would not be wrong to claim that the production of this dominant discourse is directly related to the production of space and with its all social and political meanings attached to that space.

Actually, the production of dominant discourse is not solely pertaining to neoliberal order, but in general it pertains to capitalism for the pursuit of

maintaining its own prolongation in order to legitimize the injustice and the exploitation that it creates. As Henri Lefebvre asserts, those who have the power to command, seek to keep up their hegemony by all available means and knowledge. Hegemony is implemented over "society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, and generally via human mediation: policies, political leaders, parties, as also a good many intellectuals and experts. It is exercised, therefore, over both institutions and ideas."[2] To the point, in his book The Production of Space, he argues that space is not leaved untouched by this exercise of hegemony and how the dominant mode of production makes use of space both operational and instrumental in the establishment of its own hegemony.[3] Subsequent to highlighting the significant impact of neoliberalism on the present day, it could be confidently argued that physical space has played a momentous role in that impact exercised by neoliberalism, both as being operational and instrumental.

Actually, the knight-knitted bond between physical space and capitalism has always been one of the central arguments among the most of literary works written on urbanism and urban theories. Harvey elucidates this intertwined relationship between city and capitalism from a political-economic perspective. As claimed by him, capital accumulation, more explicitly, the production of surplus value is the constitutive aspiration of capitalist society. Therefore, city, where the production and consumption processes are carried on, is defined as the spatial organization plays an essential role in the capital accumulation process.[4] However, Manuel Castells exposes this connection from another point of view with a social slant, focuses on the social agent and social processes. For him, city is not only the built environment where capital is circulated and

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[2] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1991, p.10.
[3] Ibid., p.11
[4] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989a.

concentrated, but also is the spatial manifestation of the reproduction of labor and class relations for the sake of capitalist society's prolongation.[5] Since city is not only a physical entity but also a mental arena where one could permeate into the very base of what constructs inhabitants of this physical space, socially and politically. Here, it is highly crucial to underline that, cities are the key arenas where neoliberal discourse primarily reproduces itself spatially and geographically; secondly but not least of all, socially and hence politically. As it has been usually acknowledged by scholars; the long-term survival of capitalism hinges upon the *production of space*.

However, with regard to the production of spatial practices and representational spaces in a Lefebvrian sense has not usually accomplished obviously. The hesitancy about being blatant is the practical reflections of the path dependent character of neoliberal restructuring strategies. Brenner and Theodore explains the path dependent character of neoliberal strategies as interacting with the pre-existing uses of space, being introduced within politico-institutional contexts that have been molded by the inherited regulator arrangements. Neoliberal restructuring strategies are hardly ever imposed in a pure tangible form.[6] The path dependent aspect manifests itself as a discourse concentrated on the need for revitalization, reinvestment and rejuvenation within metropolitan areas. Not bare, but indistinct touch established itself within the acquainted built environment. Besides opening up new spaces in city for the accumulation of capital, the ascending resolution on the ostensible need for the re-production of urban areas could be interpreted as alleviating the conflicts, contradictions induced by the market economy and manipulating the historically aggregated forms of socializations by the agency of the re-production of urban space.

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[5] Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, translated by Alan Sheridan, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1977.
[6] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.14.

The re-production of urban space under the name of revitalization, reinvestment and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas has been denominated by various categories; "deindustrialization, reindustrialization, post-Fordism, global city formation, internationalization, urban entrepreneurialism, informalization, gentrification and sociospatial polarization".[7] These denominations as such are competent to reflect market-oriented onslaught on urban space and the lived state of affairs thereof, but incapable of delineating the undercurrent of what have been implemented for the last two decades. "Neoliberal urbanization" would be complementary to those categories with regards to indicating the underlying tendency of the economic, social, political, ideological reorganization of late capitalism via the operations on physical space.

Within this multifaceted reorganization of Neoliberalism, as Peck and Tickell points out, neoliberal policies is undergirded by twin process of financialization executed in the field of economic policy and of social policy.[8] With the economic program launched in 24th January 1980, Turkey has taken part among the geographies where market-based economy is prevailed. These economic decisions are considered as the substantial step carries Turkey through the financialization process. That is to say with the implementation of 24 January Decisions, the neoliberalization process of Turkey in the realm of economic policy has begun to be tangible. Moreover, by the financial crises of 1990s initiated by neoliberalism itself, some mutations, which underwent as a response to the previous market, state and governance failures, has been lived in many geographies including Turkey. Actually, these mutations can be interpreted as

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[7] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, "Neoliberalism and The Urban Condition", *City*, Vol.9, No.1, April 2005, p.101.
[8] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, "Neoliberalizing Space" in Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (eds.) *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europa*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.44.

the deliberate stretching of the neoliberal policy especially in the field of social policy.

The stretching of neoliberal policy since the 1990s has been mostly achieved through changes in Neoliberalism's scalar formation.[9] It can be characterized by the multi-scalar organization comprises local, national and global scale as opposed to organization in the previous Fordist-Keynesian period when national scale was serving as the primary pivot.[10] The change in scalar constitution has impelled neoliberalism pervasion into even micro scales which would mean that local areas particularly cities are exposed to financialization both in economic and social field. The backdrop of the downloading of resources, responsibilities and risks to local administrations are provided by the conditions of interurban competition engendered by this scalar formation.[11] That is what Harvey defines as "the transformation of urban governance from managerialism to entrepreneurialism"[12] which has turned into being more and more tangible in the last few years in Turkey.

It could be claimed that the dynamic, to which neoliberal urbanization is prone, is that shift towards entrepreneurialism. On the economic side, the privatization of public spaces and on the social side, not only class-based but also ethnic- and religious-based homogenization of public space within the context of urban restructuring are the most concrete manifestation of the shifts in urban policies. As Smith and Low states "public space and the public sphere represent conjoined arenas of social and political contest and struggle" and hence controlling public

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.16.

[11] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002, p.44.

[12] David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entreprenuairalism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism", *Geograpfiska Annaler*, Vol. 71, No.1, 1989b, pp.3-17.

space is a central strategy of neoliberalism.[13] In other words, for those who seeks to maintain the market-oriented economy, public spaces are not only the arena where the economic relations takes place, but also an instrument to intervene and even to keep the social and political life of public under control; a tool to reproduce and reorganize the public sphere in accordance with the dominant discourse what neoliberal order pursues.

Therefore, in the following part of this chapter, we intend to portray the present day in the scope of neoliberalism as the dominant ideological and political form of late capitalism. Our concern is to underscore the *embeddedness* of the present state of affairs in rules of market with reference to Polanyi and how neoliberalism has actualized itself thereby turning into a dominant discourse.

1.2. Some Remarks on Present Day

1.2.1. Neoliberal Order

On the September 11th of 1973, after Pinochet's coup took charge of power, the first formation of neoliberal policies came out in order to reconstruct the Chilean economy. In point of fact, the economic restructuring project carried by the economists known as the Chicago boys was just a pursuit of a band-aid for the global economic crisis of the 1970s. Namely, it was an experiment in the periphery for the formulation of policies in the center.[14]

However, today neoliberalism is no longer a dream of Chicago economists; it has become the commonsense of the times.[15] In the beginning emerging as a mere political economic utopia as a response to the global economic recession during

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[13] Setha Low and Neil Smith, "Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space", *The Politics of Public Space*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p.15.
[14] David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*, New York and London: Verso, 2006, p.12.
[15] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002, p.38.

the late 1970s and the early 1980s, neoliberalism has no more than ever gain prominence in our economic, social and political life, even by which our present time can be marked. The substantiation of this assertion could be found concretely in the present decade. Smith and Low are delineating our present time by the capitalization of social life, the corporatization of media, the financialization of everyday life and so forth as the outcomes of the social restructuring of economies since the 1970s; they conclude that "we now live in an era appropriately described, in starkly political terms, as neoliberal".[16] At this point, what we refer by neoliberalism calls for a broad definition in order to map out the present day as being highly germane to what we aim here in this study.

From a political economic perspective, David Harvey's portrayal of neoliberalism as a theory of political economic practices for the sake of market economy;

> Neoliberalism is in the first place a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve the institutional framework appropriate to such practices.[17]

These practices could be extended from the deregulation of state control to the privatization/shrinking of public services, the dismantling of welfare programs, the intensification of interlocal competition as international capital mobility is enhancing. Accordantly, neoliberal ideology fostering such political economic practices is explained by the belief that open, competitive, and unregulated markets, liberated from all forms of state interference, represent the optimal mechanism for economic development.[18]

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[16] Setha Low and Neil Smith, 2006, p.15.
[17] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.2.
[18] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.3.

Nevertheless, neoliberalism as being based on market economy has brought about many contradictions in everyday life. Therefore, as Brenner and Theodore assert, there has been an apparent disjuncture between the neoliberal ideology and its everyday practice.[19] Since being liberated from all forms of state obstruction and even being in the domain of state preservation, untrammeled market economy fosters intensifying urban poor, inequality and the destruction of interlocal competition. Here, the question of how neoliberalism perpetuates itself in spite of the blatant problematic situation that it brings forth, gains importance through understanding the present state of affairs. For that reason the next part will focus on the answer of this question.

1.2.2. Embeddedness of the Present Day in Market

Although the roots of neoliberal ideology are predicated on the postwar writings of Friedrich and Hayek; hearth of the matter, the advent of free-market rules could be traced back to the nineteenth century. Pertinently, many scholars state that neoliberalism as what we experienced brutally in the last decades is just a resuscitated and yet upgraded form of nineteenth century's economic liberalism.[20] Since the 1980s, economic liberalism of nineteenth century, but this time more adherent to market rules has come to dominate the world under the name of Thatcherism, Reaganism, and finally neoliberalism and has become the dominant ideological and political form of capitalism. Therefore, the adoption of Karl Polanyi's insight into the advent of free-market and hence of market-economy in the nineteenth century civilization abound with anticipations about the neoliberal formation, could provide a comprehension regarding how

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[19] Ibid., p.5.
[20] Setha Low and Neil Smith, 2006. Fred Block, "Introduction" in Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2001. Similar interpretation for the Turkey's case; Alev Özkazanç, "Türkiye'nin Neoliberal Dönüşümü ve Liberal Düşünce" in Gültekin, Murat and Bora, Tanıl (eds.) *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Vol. 7: Liberalizm*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, p.635-657.

neoliberalism perpetuates itself. In the book, *The Great Transformation*,[21] Polanyi's concept of *embeddedness* is highly related in that regard.

According to Polanyi, before the nineteenth century, economy was always subordinated to social relations, politics and religion; it was not autonomous as it has been expressed in the economic theory. Such a subordination of economy to society expresses the idea of *embeddedness* in such a manner as Polanyi defines. That is to say, up to the nineteenth century, economy was embedded in society. What makes this century unprecedented in that regard is exactly the formation of market-economy which implies a self-regulating system of markets directed by market prices, a system capable of organizing the whole of economic life without outside interference.[22] As Polanyi argues, once the economic system gains a special status, organized in a separate institution, society will be shaped as an adjunct to the market so that social relations would allow system to function according to its own rules. That could be indisputably read as social relations starts to be embedded in the economic system rather than economy being embedded in social relations.[23] Nineteenth century is the time when the formation of such a reverse-embeddedness has come out.

Even so, Polanyi characterizes the nineteenth century with the advent of market-economy; he repeatedly accentuates that the expected next step could never be actualized. That is to say the formation of free market could not compel society to be embedded in market, to be subordinated to the logic of market. Perhaps that is why he begins his book by those words; "Nineteenth century civilization has collapsed."[24] Polanyi believes that the civilization has collapsed because;

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[21] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
[22] Ibid., p.45.
[23] Ibid., p.60.
[24] Ibid., p.3.

from the beginning the idea of a self-adjusting market was just a stark utopia and such an order could not perpetuate itself for a long time without annihilating the human and natural substance of society.[25] Briefly, it is something that could not exist.

At this standpoint, why neoliberalism has been resuscitated in spite of the impossibility of nineteenth century's economic liberalism begs for a clarification which would illuminate the question of how neoliberal order perpetuates itself, as well. Without further ado, the answer lies primarily in the fact that neoliberal order achieves in subjugation of social, political and religious relations to its own laws, to the logic of market rules. Our present day is embedded in market.

Correspondingly, it is alluded that the societal embeddedness in market economy in many scholarly writings. Harvey mentions the invasive effect of neoliberalism over perceiving, understanding and acting; more explicitly its incorporation into "the common-sense that we use to interpret, live in and understand the world"[26]. Another allusion could be read through the portrayal of the formation of a new vocabulary among not only the partisans of the neoliberal revolution but also the cultural producers-researchers, writers and artists. That new lexicon is portrayed by Bourdieu and Wacquant as "new planetary vulgate" in which the terms "capitalism", "class", "exploitation", "domination" and "inequality" are striking by their absence.[27] Then, we are dealing with the predominance of political economic practices over the whole society and its way

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[25] Ibid.

[26] David Harvey, 2005, p.3.

[27] Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant, *Neoliberal Speak: Notes on the New Planetary Vulgate*, 2001. Available in;
http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2187&editorial_id=9956 [accessed: 17.01.08].

of thinking and acting. As Harvey states; "Neoliberalism has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse".[28]

1.3. Content of the Study

Insofar as we have discussed, a series of questions was intended to be answered one after the other in order to bring about some guidelines which have constructed the backdrop of our problems in this study. First, the question of "how does neoliberalism perpetuate itself in the present day?" was answered as "creating consent". Afterwards, in relation to the first question, the answer of how neoliberalism succeeds in constructing consent was scrutinized underlining that market rules have the rest of the society embedded in itself. Associated with the previous questions, hitherto we have roughly mentioned about the embeddedness of social and political relations as the spatial practices in market rules by the effects of redefined meanings of publicity. Then we argue that this embeddedness induced by the impact of neoliberal urbanization on public space.

Within the context of our discipline, in the following chapter we will question neoliberal urbanization and its dynamics elaborately. In order to gain a wider perspective regarding with the dynamics of urbanization in the service of neoliberalism, the characteristics of neoliberalization concerned with its geographical pervasion; its path-dependency, creative-destruction moments and the related state-legislations will be studied. Furthermore, in the second part of chapter 2, our theoretical framework will be drawn through the concept of neoliberal geography, neoliberal state, and entrepreneurial urban governance in order to set up the scalar constitution of neoliberalism at each scale. Subsequent to drawing the dynamics and constitution of neoliberal urbanization and drawing a perspective from which the spatial processes in formation of

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[28] David Harvey, 2005, p.3.

neoliberalization, in the last part of the chapter, the concepts of public space and publicity will be defined in relation to the alterations that the definitions have undergone and the relationship between the topographical public space and political public sphere. Then the reciprocal relationship between socialization what neoliberalism seeks for and the publicity constructed by the public space and public sphere with their contemporary neoliberal references will be dealt with.

In chapter 3, the issues what will have been drawn so far will be assessed in the context of Turkey. At the outset, our assessment will be drawn through reading the redefined boundary between state and economy in order to understand the financialization in Turkey. Then our reading will be continued through reading the redefined boundary between state and society in order to understand the social formation in Turkey by the neoliberalization process. Finally in the third part of this chapter, the spatial neoliberalization process of Turkey will be interrogated through reading the urban legislations.

In chapter 4, it is intended to put forward a critical inquiry into the neoliberal urbanization which has started to emerge in the cityscape of Ankara and understand how consent is constructed in the service of neoliberalism thereby reading the redefined meanings of public space and of publicity. In doing so, firstly we shall argue that The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center constitutes a model to comprehend the reinvested urban core in Ankara. However, considering the vast area which will be subjected to the renovation project, the borders of our assessment will be confined to Special Project Area: Hacıbayram Mosque and The Square since the area particularly provides us the chance of reading the redefined meanings of public space and of publicity.

Chapter 5 will consist of the general evaluation of our theoretical survey about neoliberal urbanization, its social and political interfaces under the rubric of public space and public sphere; and of the transformation of public space and hence publicity in Ankara Hacıbayram Square by the introduction of neoliberal urbanization. Finally, the main argument of this study that the privatization and the homogenization of public spaces are dialectically intertwined processes which would transform publicity; so that the neoliberal urbanization has been introduced on the cityscape without any possible civil-objection, will be discussed.

CHAPTER 2

NEOLIBERAL URBANIZATION

2.1. Introduction

As aforementioned, what makes neoliberalism relatively distinctive and more successful than its cognates is the fact that neoliberal order achieves in subjugation of social, political and religious relations to its own laws, to the logic of market rules. That is to say, the very existence of market-oriented order dependent on how much the process of embedding the non-market features of society in market is prospering. However, assessing this process as it has nothing to do with spatiality or treating space as container within which social processes occur will throw us into the out of focus in the quest of understanding this process. As Harvey once remarks, the possibility of constructing the arguments about how the web of life and accumulation by dispossession and accumulation through expanded reproduction work together rests on the conception of what spatiality is all about in this process.[29]

Reiterating that "the process of capital accumulation and its associated regulatory problems are always articulated in territory-, place-, and scale-specific forms"[30] renders the question of how capital accumulation transforms our environment which besets the social and political processes, highly crucial for a critical work for understanding the production of space and urbanization of today. Again, as Harvey indicates that the question about the alteration of

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[29] David Harvey, 2006, p.76-77.
[30] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.7.

environment gains more importance when we insert the word *built* in front of the word *environment*.[31] Understanding today's *production of space*[32], upon which the long term survival of capitalism is premised would open up the prospect for unraveling the mechanism of neoliberalization as the self-actualizing process of the dominant mode of capitalism. Here, it might be momentous to acknowledge that among the cognates of capitalist orders; particularly neoliberalization brings forth a distinctive geography according to which physical and social landscape of urbanization is shaped. Likewise, Peck and Tickell assert, "...the deep neoliberalization of spatial relations represents a cornerstone of the project itself."[33]

Therefore, this chapter attempts to scrutinize the mechanism that underpins the neoliberal urbanization and its dynamics elaborately mostly by having recourse to the literature written on contemporary critics of urbanism. In so doing, it is intended to map out the spatial evolution of neoliberalism thereby investigating its genealogy at the outset. As Hackworth states, "understanding the evolution of the wider liberal tradition is the first step toward a workable definition of late-twentieth century neoliberalism and its policy framework."[34] Hence, such a study seeking for depicting the spatial evolution will contribute to the comprehension of the shifts in the conception of space and in the dominant patterns of spatial restructuring.

Thereafter, since highly structured depiction of characteristics of neoliberalism is required in order to shed light on the spatial constitution of neoliberalism, the

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[31] David Harvey, 2006, p.89.
[32] Correspondingly, Andy Merrifield explicates Lefebvre's emphasis on production of space as follows; "his obsession with production was designed to do just that: to get to the root of capitalist society, to get beyond the fetishism of observable appearance, to trace out its inner dynamics and internal contradictions, holistically and historically"; cited in Andy Merrifield *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p.104.
[33] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002, p.45.
[34] Jason Hackworth, *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, p.3.

second part of this chapter will get into the characteristic of neoliberalism that affects the spatial constitution of neoliberalization as a geography-based project. Subsequently, the structure of urbanization aspired by the neoliberal project will be analyzed in accordance with Brenner and Theodore's indication of neoliberalism under three rubrics; as a modality of urban governance, as a spatially selective political strategy, and as a form of discourse, ideology and representation. [35] In the end, urban restructuring in the core of metropolitan cities will be assessed in the context of spatially selective political strategy, as a tool for the mobilization of neoliberal strategies.

2.2. Genealogy of Neoliberalism

2.2.1. Classical Liberalism

It is widely acknowledged that as the word implies, neoliberalism is the revival of liberalism. Although the intellectual roots of neoliberalism has been traced back, as Atkinson does, even to the ascetic and individualistic outlook of Greek philosophy that had advocated the belief: "the individual cannot influence the flow of events and should thus attempt to be self-responsible"[36], it is better to take cognizance of that neoliberalism has found its theoretical foundation not in the freedom of individual but particularly in the freedom of individual in market place. So, neoliberalism could best be understood thereby pondering on the nineteenth-century liberalism, namely "classical liberalism" within which first time market notion had been the dominant objective that shaped the world of that time.

According to Hackworth, the consensus among classical liberals was organized around three tenets. First, the most important aspiration of a society should be providing a backdrop for individuals where they are allowed to pursue their desires. Second tenet was that the most effective and efficient means for

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[35] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005, pp. 103-106.
[36] Adrian Atkinson, "Urbanization in a Neo- liberal World", *City*, Vol.8, No.1, 2004, p.91.

encouraging individual autonomy without thwarting society from evolving into anarchy is an unfettered market system and the competitive atmosphere brought forth within it. The last principle and perhaps the most undergoing change was the non-interventionist state. It was believed that such a market-oriented society composed of pleasure-seeking individuals could have been most achieved by dismantling the nation-state and letting it be "laissez-faire".[37]

The adoption of these principles of classical liberals is also rightly construed as the advent of *justification for social irresponsibility* by Atkinson. As far as we can deduce from the information given in his essay about the two major theoreticians Adam Smith and David Ricardo, the theoretical foundations of some of today's prevailing concepts –neo-conservatism and globalization- were developed by those apostles of liberalism. While Smith as a theologian working on economics was seeking for foundations of a moral code for the sake of sprouting capitalist system, Ricardo propounded to concentrate on the exploitation of other territories for the fear of that resources were already stretched to the limit. Hence, what it is called contemporarily *economic globalization* has started to appear in theories under the name of *colonialism*.[38]

The ascending resolution of classical liberals on the ostensible need for untrammeled market unsurprisingly overshadows the conception of land which can be read through the stances towards city planning at that time. This study is, undoubtedly, not the place of such an enquiry into the city planning of nineteenth century; yet such an issue deserves to be studied individually. Nonetheless, in order to mention briefly, Marcuse's interpretation about the Manhattan's gridiron plan as an example of what he calls *laissez-faire planning* in the nineteenth century is highly relevant in that regard. The grid plan of the city

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[37] Jason Hackworth, 2007, pp. 3-4.
[38] Adrian Atkinson, 2004, p.91.

of laissez-faire capitalism, Marcuse argued, was facilitating "the buying and selling of the land, the rapid extension of the city's area, the minimum of public regulation or governmental decision making."[39] Correspondingly, Mumford construes the grid plan of the nineteenth century cities as a means of quick parceling of the land without respect for historic uses, for topographic conditions, or of social needs. He adds; "Urban land, too, now became a mere commodity, like labor: its market value expressed its only value"[40]

2.2.2. Egalitarian Liberalism and Keynesianism

To Hackworth in particular, in response to classical liberalism, there were two streams. Among them, the progressive counter-response was formed in the writings of Marx in which classical liberalism was formulated as nothing but the justification for capitalist exploitation. The other stream was represented by the egalitarian liberals who differed from the rest owing to their views about the non-interventionist state.[41] They argued that the tenets of classical liberalism could not be sympathized by mass without redressing the brutal state of affairs that market society creates; therefore these principles could not be attainable without a strong state for the ostensible redistribution of the wealth among the populace.

Although egalitarian liberalism kept the core of the principles of classical liberalism; the focus on the individual and the predominant status of market, their belief in the need for a strong state not only to protect freedom rights but also to guarantee the basic welfare rights instigated some criticisms. On the one hand, Hayek alluded that such a strong state would pave the way of status quo

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[39] Peter Marcuse, "The Grid City Plan: New York City and Laissez-faire Planning in the Nineteenth Century", *Planning Perspectives*, Vol.2, No.3, 1987, p.307.
[40] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: its origins, its transformations and its prospects*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1961, p.421 cited in Peter Marcuse, 1987, p.289.
[41] Jason Hackworth, 2007, pp.3-11.

and would lead the erosion of personal freedom.[42] On the other hand, they were blamed to still defend the interests of rich and powerful under the guise of a welfare-state. In the midst of those critics and counter-responses directed towards egalitarian liberalism, Keynesian economic managements which keeps the basic core of egalitarians in terms of a welfare state, had started to become prevailing.

What interests us is the Keynesian approach to non-market forms that Hackworth recapitulates in his book as follows;

> …most Keynesian economists never intended for non-market forms of failure to serve as justifications for intervention […] because market tended not to protect minimum socially acceptable standards for important commodities like housing.[43]

Hackworth includes that the state intervention manifests itself at the municipal level as regulations like Euclidean zoning, property taxes and building codes and as redistributions such as public housing, unemployment insurance, and food stamps.[44] Although we will discuss later in this chapter, it is meaningful to divulge that exactly such kind of a state intervention at the municipal level is nominated by Harvey as *urban managerialism* within the practical bounds of Keynesian managerialism.

Thus far, we intended to delineate the genealogy of neoliberalism assuming that urbanization process is impelled by economic forces; however the process deserves to be looked at from more than one angle. At this standpoint, the pervasion of Keynesian managerialism is an important issue on the way of understanding the evolution of spatiality and urbanization. Atkinson claims that the belief in progress was manipulated and a very material version of

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[42] Ibid., p.6.
[43] Ibid., pp.8-9.
[44] Ibid., p.9.

development was executed that focused "on changing the physical arrangements of life at the level of social infrastructure with a rather more sketchy idea of what was intended by way of a social and effective result."[45] We argue that, in spite of the all semblance of welfare state, Keynesian period witnessed, or better to say, associated with high modernism which will have been criticized because of losing all social tenets and reconciling with the mottos of Fordism "rationality, functionality and efficiency" in the revolutionary cultural movements of 1960s.

Correspondingly, the same period –the association of Modernism and Keynesian welfare state- was interpreted as the *Americanization of modernism* by Ockman. He argues that the great symbolic client of modernism was no longer the proletariat, but rather the middle class.[46] Such a change in the client of modernism, namely the Americanization of modernism will have built the backdrop of postmodern conception of space, architecture and planning. Furthermore, the postmodern understanding of space could be made more concrete through Harvey's differentiation of the modernist conception of space and postmodern's in his book *The Condition of Postmodernity*. He argued that the modernist understanding of space was something to be shaped for social purposes and therefore always subservient to the construction of a social project.

In contrast, today space has seen as something independent and autonomous, to be shaped according aesthetic aims and profitability which have nothing to do with any social objective.[47] What is striking in his comparison is that postmodern architecture and urban planning has seen urban fabric fragmentary and postmodern conception of space has been marked by this fragmentary conception of urban fabric which can be nominated the cultural background of

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[45] Adrian Atkinson, 2004, pp.97-97.
[46] Joan Ockman, "Introduction" in Joan Ockman and Edward Eigen (eds.) *Architecture Culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, New York: Columbia University, 1993, p.16.
[47] David Harvey, 1989a, pp.66-67.

neoliberal conception of urban space with a slight difference. As we shall discuss later on, the state of being ignorant to social objectives of postmodernity was replaced by the state of manipulating and of transforming socialization in the neoliberal conception of urbanization.

2.2.3. The Assessment of the Genealogy

In the previous chapter, we highlighted the process of disembedding economic relations from the non-market forms and of embedding non-market forms in market rules with reference to Polanyi's *embeddedness* concept with which he wisely delineated the place of economy in a society. Then we claimed that what nineteenth century liberalism couldn't have succeeded, has been achieved in the process of neoliberalization. If truth to be told, spatial, social, political in whatever context, evolution of neoliberalism as a project and its cognates hinge upon this embedding process; therefore the transformation in the liberal thought, namely the genealogy of neoliberalism can best be understood in the trajectory of such an embeddedness process. So, we shall evaluate the process thereby elaborating the Polanyi's concept in terms of which non-market forms and institutions thwarted this process and how those obstacles was eliminated.

According to Polanyi, it is possible to encounter market in almost every society though the history. However, market system or market economy aspired by the liberal economists implies something more than the usual market that we can come across. It involves disembedding all economic relations from the domain of society, of non-market forms and rendering market as self-regulating.[48]   To Polanyi, the impossibility of the existence of market system, hence of self-regulating market bases on two phenomena;

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[48] Karl Polanyi, 2001.

i. The existence of non-market forms; Polanyi asserts that economy is composed of three principles; reciprocity, redistribution and exchange.[49] Among those two principles are not primarily associated with economics; *reciprocity* which can be described as mechanic relations between family members, ethnic or religious based community members that institutionalized in family or communities and *redistributio*n which can be expressed as the regulatory principle of taxes and of state expenditures that institutionalized in state. That is to say the basis of those principles' existence is not economic. From this stance, Polanyi argues that if self-regulating market have starts to regulate the whole economic relations owing to disembedded nature, that means handing over society to a mechanism which is not pertaining to society.[50] Such a self regulating market, Polanyi underlines, cannot exist because in that case, the embeddedness of non-market forms in market would drag society to chaos.[51]

According to Buğra's interpretation about this disembeddedness process, Polanyi anticipates that the institution of reciprocity, namely state is capable of enduring in this process and of securing society and individuals.[52] Unsurprisingly, the transition form classical liberalism to egalitarian liberalism can be read in this context. The state was called for charge, and the non-interventionist state was highly criticized. Furthermore, the notion of regulatory state was stiffened in the Keynesian managerialism. Nevertheless, the interventionist state will be the first on which apostles of neoliberalism will have come down. Non-market institutions; state and community will have been assaulted respectively in the first and second phases of neoliberalization project. As we shall see in the next part of this chapter, the assault on these institutions will be presented in the

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[49] Ibid., pp.49-51.
[50] Ibid., p.60
[51] Ibid., p.3
[52] Ayşe Buğra, "Introduction" in Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times* (Turkish edition) Istanbul: İletişim, 2007, p.28.

context of the spatial organization of neoliberal project. The formation of neoliberal project within the state will be discussed under the rubric of "Neoliberalization as a Modality of Urban Governance", subsequent to drawing the neoliberal project as "Spatially Selective Political Strategy", the formation of neoliberal project within the social purview will be scrutinized under the rubric of "Neoliberalization as a Form of Discourse, Ideology and Representation".

ii. The distinction between real and fictitious commodities; Polanyi defines *real commodities* as objects produced for sale on the market. Nevertheless, the essential elements of market -labor, land and money- are absolutely not produced for sale; hence they are not commodities according to the empirical definition of commodity. Thus this characteristic entitles particularly land and labor as *fictitious commodity*. As Polanyi states, self regulating market tend to behave toward those fictitious commodities as real commodities that can be bought and sold. For that reason, by implying especially land, he avers that;

> …in regard to labor, land and money such a postulate [treating them as if they are real commodities] cannot be upheld. To allow the market mechanism to be sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment indeed, even of the amount and use of purchasing power, would result in the demolition of society.[53]

Correspondingly, Harvey construes Polanyi's argument as an elucidation on "Marx's proposition that an unregulated market could only survive by destroying two main sources of its own wealth: the land and the laborer."[54] It can be argued that among those fictitious commodities, the position of land holds a vital role both operational and instrumental in the transformation of environments and in the manipulation of processes of social reproduction, of

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[53] Karl Polanyi, 2001, p.76
[54] David Harvey, 2006, p. 114

social relations, of inherited spatial and social practices. It can also be asserted that, Polanyi's fear from the murky distinction between real and fictitious commodities, which would cause land to be hunt down by market, could not merely be grounded on the commodification of land, but also on the critical initiative relay on social processes from society to market.

In regard to land, as aforementioned Mumford's assertion about the nineteenth century planning that urban land became a mere commodity, was done in an era at which mediums of struggle against the self-regulating market conception of land had still not been given away. Polanyi poses the state role in the core of struggle in that regard;

> In urban areas governments manage the use of the existing land through both environmental and land-use regulations. In short, the role of managing fictitious commodities places the state inside three of the most important markets; it becomes utterly impossible to sustain market liberalism's view that the state is 'outside' of the economy.[55]

Nevertheless, as we shall discuss in the next part of this chapter, in the neoliberalization process parallel with the regulatory arrangements in the urban governance, the regulatory role of state are actively mobilized to facilitate market-based spatial development; and neoliberalization has become a process mostly hinges upon spatially selective political strategies.

2.3. Spatial Organization of Neoliberalism

2.3.1. Neoliberalism as a Process-Based Project

Hackworth affirms that "the geography of neoliberalism is much more complicated than the idea of neoliberalism" since there are several dimensions to

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[55] Karl Polanyi, 2001, p.xxvi.

this point.[56] However, unraveling the intricate geography of neoliberalism goes through understanding the nature of it as a process-based spatial project. In this context, Brenner and Theodore repeatedly acknowledge that the imposition of neoliberalism has been uneven both geographically and socially; moreover the manifestation of uneven impacts on geography can vary across spatial scales. It generates powerful impacts not only at national scales as it was used to be in the nation-states, but also at sub-national scales within cities. In a concise manner, the polycentric and multiscalar character of neoliberalism is underlined in many scholarly writings.[57] Peck and Tickell acknowledge that neoliberalism is not like other –isms which are coherently bounded or "end-state", on the contrary it is a process-based project. With reference to the multi-scalar constitution of the project, they implies that historical and geographical constitution of neoliberalism as a project is in fact composed of different "local neoliberalisms" which are embedded within the wider structure of neoliberalism. Therefore it has to exist in temporally and geographically contingent forms.[58] Given the multiscalar formation and the contingent characteristic, those scholars conceptualize neoliberalism as a project under two titles: *actually existing neoliberalism* and *neoliberalization*.

With relatively dialectical stance towards the process, Brenner and Theodore explain the neoliberalism as a process-based project with the notion that *actually existing neoliberalism*. This conceptualization puts the contemporary process into the emergent, neoliberal, market-oriented restructuring projects at a wide range of geographical scales as a catalyst. To Brenner and Theodore the dialectical conception of actually existing neoliberalism deals with the operations and implementations executed. Thus, the project consists of two tendencies -creation

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[56] Jason Hackworth, 2007, p.11.
[57] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002. Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002. David Harvey, 2006.
[58] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002, p.36.

and destruction- which portray the geographically uneven, socially regressive, and politically volatile trajectories of institutional-spatial alterations. That is to say, actually existing neoliberalism tends towards *creative destruction*.

With more linear approach to the process through which neoliberal project undergo, Peck and Tickell conceptualize the process-based neoliberalism as *neoliberalization*. They argue that since neoliberalization is historically and geographically contingent, examining the process should therefore involve concentration particularly on shifts in the systems, logics and dominant pattern of restructuring. In that regard, their analysis of neoliberalization can be associated with dissecting a linear process into two phases, each signifies the crucial shifts; *roll-back neoliberalism* and *roll-out neoliberalism.*

Subsequent to these two conceptualizations with slightly different propensities, we shall unfold the two phases of the process which are entitled with diverse wordings in each conceptualization mentioned above. The first phase – destruction process or roll-back neoliberalism- involves the dismantling the Keynesian artifacts and policies to facilitate the construction of neoliberal policies, institutions, artifacts and ideas in the second phase; creation process or roll-out neoliberalism. Although each dissection method holds the same core; it is important to note that, mostly Brenner and Theodore's approach will be taken into account. This study takes this position, particularly because within the context of this study it is intended to deal with the operations and implementations which have manipulated the notion of space and its usage in the neoliberalization process and understanding them in a dialectical manner. Nevertheless, Peck and Tickell's dissection will be scrutinized to put the process into a wider context.

2.3.2. Two Phases of Neoliberalization: Destruction and Creation

Neoliberalism can simply be defined as the selective return to the tenets of classical liberalism and a partial denial of Keynesian welfare state. So, the first phase of neoliberalization "destruction" is widely clarified as the removal of Keynesian artifacts -public housing or public space-, of policies -redistributive welfare or central government for local municipalities-, of institutions and agreements. However, the destruction phase has not been always executed overtly but rather furtively. Therefore, suggesting that neoliberalism could provide a basis for stabilized, reproducible capitalist growth on a tabula rasa would be misleading owing to the very nature of the process that manipulates and transforms the inherited politico-institutional and geographical infrastructures without annihilating them. As indicated in the first chapter, the path dependent character of neoliberalization that engenders such hypocrisy thereby molding the earlier regulatory urban arrangements, the pre-existing uses of space and spatial practices into a new shape that facilitate the neoliberal project.

Within the context of our study, it could be argued that state regulation and regulatory policies over urban areas has mostly been the part that scrapped away in this destruction phase. As indicated in many scholarly writings, although uneven spatial development is endemic and a key expression of capitalism's aspiration in mobilizing particular territories and places for capital accumulation, this uneven development might be a barrier and destabilizing effect that undermines the basis upon which capitalist system has grounded.[59] In response to this dilemma, "capitalist states have mobilized a variety of spatial policies intended to regulate the uneven development of capital" in order to alleviate the

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[59] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005, p.8. Similar interpretation comes from Harvey "…through urban processes under capitalism are shaped by the logic of capital circulation, they in turn shape the conditions and circumstances of capital accumulation at later points in time and space", David Harvey, 1989, p. 3.

polarizing effects of uneven development. [60] It is important to note that, these regulations on spatial policies have mostly been enacted by the hand of state. As Brenner and Theodore indicate, neoliberalization hinges upon the active mobilization of state-power. That means, the neoliberal project does not involves dismantling state regulation as in the classical liberal thought and the creation of the market; rather it constitutes a complex state-economy relations in which state institutions are mobilized to endorse market-based regulatory arrangements.[61]

Then, it could be claimed that in the context of urbanization, neoliberalization as a project has assaulted on the state mechanism as regulatory force on urban areas. As Polanyi anticipated long ago, the institution of redistribution namely state regulates the fictitious commodities, particularly through land-use regulations, so it is not surprising that the target of the destruction process has been state. The first phase of neoliberalization has mostly been actualized in the domain of state. Although we shall extensively probe neoliberalization as a modality of urban governance, here we dip into some neoliberal formations within the state in the destruction phase.

The re-constitution within state can be understood in two scales; firstly on national level and secondly on local level. Such trajectories towards "dismantling of traditional national relays of welfare service provision, hollowing out of national state capacities to regulate money, trade and investment, de-centering of traditional hierarchical bureaucratic forms of governmental control, undercutting of regulatory standards across localities, regions, national states and supranational economic zones, selective withdrawal of state support for declining regions and cities, destruction of traditional relays of compensatory,

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[60] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.8.
[61] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005, p.102.

redistributive regional policy (spatial Keynesianism)"[62] could be assessed as the neoliberal destruction on national level.

Such alteration within state on local level; "dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities, imposition of fiscal austerity measures upon municipal governments"[63] exacerbate competitive atmosphere among municipalities by the absence of a central authority and bring forth entrepreneurial local governments in Harvey's term. Under such conditions, transformation on the built environment and urban form such as; "elimination and intensified surveillance of urban public spaces, destruction of traditional working class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative redevelopment, retreat from community oriented planning initiatives"[64] are indispensable.

To Brenner and Theodore, parallel with the destruction moments; the shifts in urban policies and in the organization of urban governments within state, the postwar image of city with reminiscent of Keynesian constitution has been re-rendered. By means of strong emphasis on urban disorder, dangerous classes and economic decline, the consent on the ostensible need for urban restructuring has been built.[65] Undoubtedly, the overarching goal of such consent construction is facilitating and legitimizing the concurrent creations of neoliberal project on urban areas. While on the national level, parallel with hollowing out the nation-state as central authority of subnational –regional and local- governments and mobilizing strategies to promote territorial competitiveness, the creation phase has witnessed new forms of sociospatial inequality, polarization particularly on subnational scales. According to Brenner and Theodore, creation of new

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[62] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, pp.17-19.
[63] Ibid., pp.22-25.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

privatized spaces of high class consumption, proposal and implementation of large-scale megaprojects intended to lure corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns, creation of class-, ethnic- or religious-based urban enclaves and other homogenized spaces of social reproduction should be taken into account regarding the lived transformation on the urban built environment in the creation phase.[66]

It could be argued that the implications of neoliberal strategy in the creation phase have mostly targeted socialization as the very activity of *reciprocity principle* in Polanyi's term for the non-economic forms besides state. The crucial point is implementations and operations in the creation moments have mostly been attained via the transformation of sociospatial pattern, particularly by means of reconfiguring the land-use maps of cities.

Unlike dialectical conception in the destruction and creation phases which occur concomitantly, mapping out the process as roll-back and roll–out indicates more linear conception of process, as Peck and Tickell do. Nevertheless, as mentioned above such a linear mapping of neoliberalization would assist for understanding the process in a wider context. In order mention concisely according to Peck and Tickell's enquiry, it could be begun with the first of the shifts that engender dissections in the process; the experimental *proto-neoliberalism* had begun in the late 1970s as neoliberalism underwent a transformation from the abstract intellectualism Hayek and Freidman to the state-authored restructuring projects of Thatcher and Reagan. The subsequent turn occurred during the 1980s accompanied by the mobilization of state power behind marketization, deregulation projects and dismantlement of the Keynesian welfarist settlement. This turn can be characterized as a movement from proto-neoliberalism to *roll-back neoliberalism*. Peck and Tickell portrays this period as the shallow

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[66] Ibid.

neoliberalism of Thatcher and Reagan which has brought forth too many internal contradictions within the project.[67] To the point, they argue that with regards to the shifting character of neoliberalism as a regulatory project, the motive force of the first shift during the 1970s is the Great Depression and the crisis conditions thereof that can be labeled as "external" to the project itself. Whereas, the problematic situation that shallow neoliberalism encountered as the corollary of social externalities of market-centric state formation which can be tagged as "internal" contradictions in the project.[68] However internal contradictions did not lead the process to self-destruction but reconstitution which might be portrayed *roll-out neoliberalism*.

In order to initiate dialogue between dialectical and linear approaches for dissecting the process, it could be asserted that two phases in both approaches are highly associated with the twin processes of neoliberalization, aforementioned in the first chapter; the twin processes of financialization in the realm of economic policy and social policy.[69] On the one hand, in the destruction or roll-back phase, the financialization of economic policies was attained towards a new scalar constitution within the state which can be characterized downloading responsibilities and resources to local governments. On the other hand, in the creation or roll-out phase the financialization of social policy has been fulfilled along with manipulating the extant social patterns and alleviating the counter-responses thereby transformations of spatiality and socio-spatiality on urban areas.

It is important to reiterate that during these phases, neoliberalization focuses particularly on three fields; the pattern of urban governance, of extant

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[67] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002, pp.41-43.
[68] Ibid., p.43.
[69] Ibid., p.44.

socialization and of spatial configuration of urban areas. In the field of urban governance, neoliberal project brings forth entrepreneurial municipalities rather than managerial. Considering the entrepreneurial discourses of municipalities focuses on the ostensible need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within metropolitan areas, the spatial backdrop of changing socialization has been provided by means of operations on urban space. Thus, in the following parts of this chapter we shall contemplate on the formation of neoliberalization as modality of urban governance within state, as spatially selective political strategy on urban areas and as a form of discourse, ideology and representation within the vocabulary of emerging socialization in order to understand the spatial organization of neoliberalism more elaborately.

2.3.3. Neoliberalism as a Modality of Urban Governance

Market-dominated implementations and regulatory arrangements that beset cities could be read on three different levels; on the level of urban governance, of spatially selective political strategies and of form of discourses, ideologies and representations that are being brought forth within cities. On the urban governance level, as a governance modality neoliberalism is primarily identified with supralocal forces like new forms of capital accumulation or new regimes of state power, however the latter involves structural alterations in the organization of state in order to have enveloped cities within ascendant market-dominated governance regime.[70]

Then it could be claimed that, under the sway of neoliberalization, there has been a noteworthy transformation in the hierarchical arrangement of state accompanied by the process in which national governments devolves most of their powers, resources and revenues to local governments. Hence the transformation of downloading authority to municipalities is underway. At the

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[70] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005, p.103.

outset, the deregulation of nation-state could be put forward as a motive force of this transformation in the urban governance. In addition, the scalar constitution of neoliberalism could also be asserted as another motive force as much influential as the former is. Even the devolvement of authority from central state to local governments could be entitled the *re-scaling state* as what Brenner remarks.

Scalar Constitution: According to Brenner the issue of *urban question*, which was once renowned through Manuel Castells, should be (re)contemplated under capitalism as a double-edged sociospatial problematic.[71] To Brenner, from a certain point of view, the urban question refers to "the role of cities as sociospatial arenas in which the contradictions of capitalist development are continually produced and fought out"; from the other point of view it refers to "the historically specific epistemic frameworks through which capitalist cities are interpreted, whether in sociological analysis, in public discourses, in sociopolitical struggles or in everyday experience."[72] Subsequently, he puts forward that the urban question is increasingly taking on the shape of what Lefebvre once designated *the scale question* and asserts that scales operate as co-constitutive territorial framework rather than as an exclusive structure.[73] As Brenner reiterates, scale question gains more importance more than ever before as the mutual dependence and linkages between urban and supra-urban scales are becoming fundamental within the domain of neoliberal scalar constitution.

As Brenner deploys Lefebvre as a conceptual springboard into the discussion of scale, it is essential to start with Lefebvre's notion about state space in order to

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[71] Neil Brenner, "The Urban Question as a Scale Question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, Urban Theory and the Politics of Scale." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.24, No.2, 2000, p. 362.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., p.364.

define scalar constitution of neoliberalism. To Lefebvre, only the state is capable of taking charge of the management of the space on a grand scale.[74] However, the production of space under capitalism is based on a highly fragile balance and at the same time collision of two practices and conceptions of space; the balance between logistical conception of space –global, rational and homogenous- and local conception of space –based on private interests and particular goals.[75] That is to say, there has been an omnipresent contradiction intensified between, on the one side the specific goals of individual property developers, speculators, and investors and, on the other side, the general goals of state. The crucial point is that, state is the one who is charged with keeping up this contradiction in balance.

Adopting this perspective, Brenner construes Lefebvre's conceptualization within scale discussion as follows; the tension between global integration and territorial difference entails *generalized explosion of spaces*, in which the relations among all geographical scales are incessantly rearranged and reterritorialized. Firstly, deregulation of nation state which has become the central strategy in the roll-back/destruction phase of neoliberalization; secondly, languishment of nationally organized configurations of scales owing to the nominal existence of the agent, state and finally, rearticulation of subnational and supranational hierarchies, are the particular steps towards a neoliberal constitution of scale. To Brenner, Lefebvre's conceptualization of re-scaling process of late capitalism as *explosion of spaces* appears more salient than ever under neoliberalism as those steps are done with more resolution.[76] Moreover, urban regions are the key sites

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[74] Henri Lefebvre, "Space and the State" translated by Alexandra Kowalski-Hodges, Neil Brenner, Aaron Passell, Bob Jessop in Neil Brenner et al (eds.) *State/Space: A Reader*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003, pp.84-100. The essay is the translation of "L'espace et l'état," originally published as in Henri Lefebvre, De l'Etat IV. Les Contradictions de l'état moderne. La dialectique et/de l'état, Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1978, pp. 259-324.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Neil Brenner, 2000, p.361-373.

and targets of this re-scaling process as the crucial geographical arenas particularly in which the neoliberal scalar constitution has deployed so as to rearticulate subnational and supranational hierarchies.

To sum up, there have been so many contradictions that the deregulation of state has brought forth. In the absence of a central state, the tension between logistical and local conceptions of space, therefore the contradiction between the specific goals of individual property developers, speculators, investors and the general goals of public welfare, the tension between global integration and territorial difference are exacerbated. At that point, the crux of the discussion about the scalar constitution of neoliberalism calls for some questions that "what if state cease to keep up the tension in balance?" or "which agent will be responsible for building up this balance?" In the midst of those tensions, the asymmetrical scale politics of neoliberalism have been chosen as a salve. Subnational governments, local institutions and actors have been equipped with power and responsibilities while the nation state is being dismantled. As Brenner states, consequently in the late 1990s, in the roll-out/creation phase of neoliberalism, process of state re-scaling and particularly scale constitution on subnational level have become a central dimension of the urban question.[77]

Urban Entrepreneurialism: As national scale is being undermined, and local scales are being promoted, it might not be so hard to predict which strategies urban governance would adopt when we take cognizance of the unstable state of affairs embedded within the logic of market that besets our present time globally. Brenner and Theodore characterize this state of affairs as *global-local disorder* deepened through speculative movements of financial capital, global location strategies by major transnational corporations and rapidly intensifying

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[77] Ibid p.372.

interlocality competition.[78] Parallel with the improved systems of communication, transportation and information flow and the consequent collapse of spatial barriers, interlocal competition has been considerably intensified. To the point, Harvey explains the backdrop of the stark shift in the trajectories of urban governance by interlocal competition that has been particularly exacerbated in the last two decades. In that regard, we shall deploy some of Harvey's conceptualization of *urban entrepreneurialism* in order to portray the trajectories of neoliberal urban governance.

According to Harvey, the more interurban competition becomes potent, the more it operates as an external coercive power over individual cities so as to bring them into line with the discipline and logic of capitalist development.[79] Therefore, for most of local governments it is inevitable that on the one hand, they have been compelled to engage with short-termist forms of interspatial competition, place-marketing, and regulatory undercutting; on the other hand they have directly internalize neoliberal urban policy regimes like adopting public-private partnership in order to stay afoot on the slippery ground of global market.[80]

Under the pressure of interurban competition *urban entrepreneurialism* what Harvey calls in order to describe the typical attitude of urban governance in the last two decades, has been adopted as a modality of urban governance. As the word implies, the way how municipalities regulate the urban land and urbanization could be characterized by entrepreneurial rather than managerial which is coupled with the strong appeal to market rationality. The shift from managerial approach pertaining to Keynesian period to entrepreneurial approach could be tagged as archetypal neoliberal transformation in urban

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[78] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.20.
[79] David Harvey, 1989b, p.10.
[80] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2002, p.20.

governance. Nevertheless, as Peck and Tickell asserts, entrepreneurial regimes of urban governance should not be evaluated solely as the local manifestation of neoliberalism, but also as systemic connection with neoliberalization which affects a wide range of national , political and institutional contexts and compels localities to adhere to a macro process. [81] Particularly, in the creation phase of neoliberalism after the destruction of Keynesian managerial slant, as the local governance is promoted to have more responsibility, authority and resources, the outcomes of the shift from managerial to entrepreneurial urban governance have become more devastating.

In order to scrutinize the neoliberal formation on the urban governance level as a regulatory agent on urban areas, the term *urban entrepreneurialism* needs to be elaborated to a further extent. Therefore, we shall open up the term by having recourse to Harvey's three implications on entrepreneurial regimes. First implication is that the crux of entrepreneurial regimes is the prevailing consensus on the need for public-private partnership to lure external sources of funding, new direct investments, or new employment sources.[82]

Secondly, entrepreneurial regimes have propensity to be speculative in execution and design. More explicitly, particularly decision making on urban areas and on related policies is based on speculations rather than being rationally planned and coordinated. To Harvey, the speculative characteristic of entrepreneurial regimes on the one hand, creates a fruitful climate for investors, land speculators, most of property owners; on the other hand brings forth asymmetrical sharing of the outcomes, that is to say the public sector undertake the risk and the private sector takes the advantages. [83]

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[81] Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell, 2002, p.48.
[82] David Harvey, 1989b, p.7.
[83] Ibid.

The third implication is that as a corollary of converging with market rationality, entrepreneurial local governance concentrates much more on the political economy of place rather than territory. To clarify, Harvey asserts that, local governances have ceased to propose projects for public good such as, housing, education and to ameliorate the living conditions within a particular jurisdiction, but rather they have focused on place-specific projects such as cultural, retail, entertainment and office centers which mostly appeal to populace and at the same time privately owned and profitable in the short-run.[84] The end products, executed projects which have been brought forth from such an expediency-oriented perspective, might not be a remedy for the ascendant urban poor and social polarization. Nevertheless, that is for sure that they are capable of diverting concern from the broader problems and attracting public attention. Likewise, Harvey points out that although the concentration on spectacle and image of place, instead on social problems of the inhabitants might facilitate procurement of political benefits, it also aggravates neglected problems in the long-run.[85]

Last but not least, another point should be highlighted in order to shed light upon the agents involve in the entrepreneurial regimes. Since *regime theory* points out the types of governing coalitions and under which conditions the coalitions are formed, transformed. To Hackworth, neoliberal urban governance as a modality bearing omnipresent murky boundary between private and public institutions could best be understood by regime theory. There is a dual thought in the purview of regime theory; pluralism and elitism. The former rests on the idea that at the local level, power is formed through political coalition and negotiation, therefore none of groups or constituencies is considered more prerogative than others. Whereas, the latter is based on the belief that local power

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[84] Ibid., pp.7-8.
[85] Ibid., p.16.

is not permeable for all who are organized enough to attain but rather, it can be procured by particular groups or individuals but only if they have economic power. Owing to the belief that power is assumed to be the by-product of economic power.[86]

In the light of the arguments of pluralist and elitist, what we intend to come up with is a kind of hybridity between these two streams so as to define the agents of entrepreneurial regimes. As aforementioned above, entrepreneurial regimes bring local governments into the line with market rationality, for that reason although those local governments have been in power as a result of electoral coalition; they might not pursue common goals with public, since they have to behave as if they are corporations who quest to improve their competitive position with respect to other firms. As the logics of local governance and of business sector are getting into convergence, the assertion that informal decision and policy making processes in the field of urban development are not influenced and manipulated by some roundtable of business leaders, real estate and property developer does not sound plausible.

We intend to disclose the deep neoliberalization of scalar constitution and hence of urban governance thus far. However, neoliberalization of urban governance, the shift from managerial to entrepreneurial regime should not be assessed as the structural transformation within state. It should also be considered as a path to the power exercised over urban landscape and hence over spatial relations in accordance with the tenets of neoliberalism. In the next part, the deep neoliberalization of built environment and spatial relations will be dealt with.

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[86] Jason Hackworth, 2007, p.62-64.

2.3.4. Neoliberalism as a Spatially Selective Political Strategy

Likewise its precedents, neoliberalism as a prevailing and recent mode of capitalism relies on the very existence of the vast geographies and localities that could be a possible haven for the prolongation of the projects itself. Parallel with the transformation from urban managerialism towards urban entrepreneurialism, and the scalar reconstitution mostly intensified on micro scales; the spatial organization of neoliberalism and the consequent built environment should have to be taken into consideration both as reflexive effects of the alteration in the urban governance and scalar formation and as a medium through which we can decipher the connection between political and social restructuring and physical change. Harvey once defines the creation of spatial configurations and the circulation of capital in built environment as a highly active moment in the general process of crisis formation.[87] In this part of this chapter, therefore, we shall delve into the production of built environment under the sway of neoliberal era.

The impossibility of equating neoliberal political strategies with any singular spatial strategy or geographical pattern is widely acknowledged by scholars[88] due to the multiscalar complexity and place- and scale- specific spatial configurations of the neoliberal project itself. However, at first sight, the outlook could be described by the process of revalorization of inner city that is epidemic of contemporary urbanization and endemic to neoliberal urbanization, by the process of devalorization of suburban areas although the physical outward expansion of cities have not come to an end.[89] These observations about the

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[87] David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*, Oxford: Blackwell, London: Verso, 1999, p.398.
[88] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005, p.106.
[89] The lexicon of "valorization", "devalorization" and "revalorization" is used in order to indicate the process of investment and disinvestment on urban land. While, "valorization" denotes the rise in land prices owing to the investments; "revalorization" means the decline because of disinvestment. As the word implies, "revalorization" signifies the rise in land price when disinvested urban lands is reinvested. Jason Hackworth, 2007, p.81.

processes of investment that cause transformation on built environment call for a wider conceptual framework in which we could rationalize what kind of a scenario that leads urban land to be so dependent on investment processes. So, at the outset we shall scrutinize the dependency of urban land to investment process thereby contemplating on the concept of *secondary circuit of capital*. Then, we shall scrutinize why particularly such an investment shift from periphery towards core of the city has been emerged by the means of Harvey's conceptualization, *spatial fix*.

The Secondary Circuit of Capital: Gottdiener, in his book in which he explores the social production of urban space, asserts as follows;

> The city is produced by the spatial patterning of these processes - accumulation processes -, and the role that the urban form plays in them is a function of the social, economic, technological, and institutional possibilities that govern the disposition of the surplus value concentrated within it.[90]

As it was mentioned before, the relationship between city and capitalism rests on accumulation processes as the constitutive aspiration of capitalist society. With reference to Harvey's specification of three separate circuits of capital accumulation; he asserts that built environment, particularly city is the spatial patterning of these processes. In Harvey's differentiation, in which the primary circuit refers to the productive forces itself, the secondary circuit refers to the fixed assets invested by real estate and the tertiary circuit refers to the investment science and technology; the second circuit of capital plays an important role in urban analysis in order to understand the mutual relationship between accumulation processes and the production of physical landscape.[91]

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[90] Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985, p.88.
[91] It is important to note that as Gottdiener asserts, the conceptualization of the second circuit of capital derives from Lefebvre. Gottdiener, 1985, p. 95. In another writings of Gottdiener, he explains Lefebvre's narration as follows; "According to Lefebvre, land and its advanced capitalist

Without further ado, the specification of the secondary circuit of capital which implicates investments on urban areas for the acquisition of fixed assets and consumption fund, discloses the connection between the production of the built environment and the capital accumulation process, and the dependency of built environment to investments due to the very expediency oriented approach of capitalist production towards fixed assets such as land, building, and so forth. In the secondary circuit of capital, investments boost capital's ability thereby installing more fixed assets and triggering consumption through the production of assets on urban land.[92]

Neoliberal Spatial Fix: As Harvey notes that the competitive atmosphere among capitalist ends up with overaccumulation and a short-term salve to this problem becomes a switch of capital flow into the other circuits.[93] Here, at this point, it can be asserted that the organization of capital during overaccumulation processes seems to be just like fractal-pattern. On the wider picture, parallel with the acceleration in industrial decline, investments has flowed towards real estate; that is to say a shift occurs into the secondary circuit. However, when investments in the secondary circuit reaches its limits, "the exchange value being put into the built environment has to be written down, diminished, or even totally lost."[94] This explains what has happened on the narrow picture; the oscillation between valorization and devalorization on a particular landscape. On the narrow picture, within city where the second circuit of capital intensifies,

relations of production, which he calls 'real estate,' constitute a second circuit of capital, even though a separate class of land owners no longer exists. That is, the channeling of money, the construction of housing, the development of space, financing, and speculation in land constitute a second means of acquiring wealth that is relatively independent of the 'first' circuit, industrial production." Mark Gottdiener, "A Marx for our Time: Lefebvre and The Production of Space" *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1993, p.132.

[92] Mark Gottdiener, 1985, p.96.

[93] David Harvey, "The Urban Process Under Capitalism" in Michael Dear and Allen Scott (eds.), *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Societies*, 1981, p.94 cited in Gottdiener, 1985, p.96.

[94] David Harvey, 1981, p.106 cited in Gottdiener, 1985, p.97.

there has been another shift of investments from erstwhile fixed assets which are no longer profitable to other fixed assets as in the case of the switch of investments from periphery to inner city during the spatial organization of neoliberal project.

The switch of investments on urban space is exactly the quest for a spatial fix to the internal contradictions of capitalism. As Harvey once remarks "the fixed spatial structures required to overcome space themselves become the spatial barriers to be overcome."[95] In his conceptualization of *spatial fix*, the very fixity of urban environment creates problems for continued capitalist accumulation because a particular landscape might no longer be as profitable as it was before. Under these circumstances switching to another landscape is put forward as an *external relief* where capital encounters barriers within its own nature.[96] In regard to the investment rush followed by disinvestment in built environment, Harvey's contribution sets up the bridge between investment processes and cyclical rhythms of capital.

Accordingly, the old built environment turns into a barrier which is overcome through devalorization, and where capital leaps undergoes valorization process. Given the backdrop of valorization and devalorization processes on urban land, Hackworth's portrayal of neoliberal city gains meaning at this point;

> If the Keynesian managerialist city was characterized by outward growth,
> inner city decline, regulated development, and public investments in
> infrastructure, the neoliberal city is increasingly characterized by a curious
> combination of inner city and exurban private investment, disinvestment in
> the inner-suburbs, the realization of land-use controls, and the reduction of
> public investment that is not likely to lead an immediate profit. If public-
> housing and middle class suburban housing were icons of Keynesian

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[95] David Harvey, 1999, p.415.
[96] Ibid., p.414.

managerialist city, then gentrified neighborhoods and downtown commercial mega-projects are the icons of the neoliberal city.[97]

In that regard, Hackworth construes such a spatial switch as the neoliberal spatial fix. To him, the erstwhile spatial fix used to be centrifugal, focusing on massive suburbanization and economic growth on the periphery. However, by the 1970s, such a spatially economic strategy expired. Nevertheless, as it was in the Keynesian period, cities have kept up outward growth accompanied by highly discernible inner city reinvestment and inner suburban disinvestment unlike the earlier period.[98]

It is important to note that, since spatial fix could only be provided by a consensus among capital and policy makers; the existence of a state willing to underpin the production and adjustment of built environment according to the needs of capital is a prerequisite for the acquisition of spatial fix. Hackworth states that it was hardly daring to speak of a spatial fix to the mid-1970s economic travails owing to that inner city real estate development seemed minor and unconnected to wider economic restructuring. However, by the 1990s when the deep neoliberalization process has started to manifest itself on urban landscape, the resolution of the picture has become high enough to discern the connection between the alterations in inner city and the wider reorganization of capital.[99] The neoliberal shift into entrepreneurial regime plays an effective role on that picture.

The same resolution by the 1990s could be read through World Bank's Urban Management Programme.[100] Dowall implies the new objectives in the urban

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[97] Jason Hackworth, 2007, p.78.
[98] Ibid., pp.95-96.
[99] Ibid., p.96.
[100] David E. Dowall, *UNDP/UNCHS/World Bank Urban management Programme, The Land Market Assessment: A New Tool for Urban Management*,1995.

development through his wording; "not enough land in the right location at the right price." There are two striking points in his assessment of land markets. First, he points out that zoning and other government land-use control such as greenbelt-policies, limiting building density might offer public amenities; policymakers, however, should take cognizance of the adverse impact on urban land supply and prices. The second point is that the normalization of the shift in land-use patterns through which all growing cities with market economies goes. Competition in urban lands markets often triggers such shift from one use to another so as to respond to shifting demands. [101]

Inevitably, such sensitivity to urban land markets has reified on the processes of urban policy-making and hence, of urban planning. Keskinok highlights the conflictual consequences of these processes. Planning is a form of decision making which transforms the political and social issues into technical questions, however, long-term goals and objectives of planning are confined by urban policies. He puts forwards that the conflict arises from these questions; first, "to what extent capital supports state planning and reproduces the objective interests of capital"[102] and secondly "how and when state planning becomes dysfunctional for capital?"[103] Unfortunately, those questions gain more significance when the state's fundamental mission is defined as facilitating conditions for profitable capital accumulation.[104] Even, the subject and the object of the first questions have started to replace.

Given the state of affairs, inner cities are the particular urban landscapes upon which most of the proposals, the projects and the implementations have been

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[101] Ibid., pp.2-4.
[102] Çağatay Keskinok, *State and the Reproduction of Urban Space*, Ankara: Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1998, p.82.
[103] Ibid.
[104] David Harvey, 2006, p.11.

executed. That is why; inner cities are portrayed as *soft* locations by Marcuse and Van Kempen "by analogy to the word's use in zoning practice, where a soft site is spoken of as one not developed to the limits its legal zoning permits, as one viewed a ripe for change and new development."[105] Concisely, revalorization of city cores has been prompted by inner city policies and planning decisions. The emphasis on the need for revitalization, reinvestment and rejuvenation within inner cities during the creation phases of neoliberal spatial restructuring should be assessed in that regard. "Waterfronts, currently central located manufacturing areas, formerly industrial sites, central city office, residential locations, and tourist sites, concentrations of social housing, locations on the fringe of central business districts, historic structures, and public spaces"[106] are the soft locations within inner cities that undergoes such creative destruction processes in which the old built environment is being cleared and reproduced for the pursuit of the neoliberal spatial fix.

2.3.4. Neoliberalism as a Form of Discourse, Ideology and Representation

Spatial restructuring processes on soft locations mentioned above should not only be assessed as the attempts for the investment-oriented pursuit of spatial fix. They also should be interpreted as a quest for *social*, *moral*, and *political fixes* [107] to the inner contradictions of neoliberalization, focusing on particular sites -public spaces, historic structures- where the conceptions of citizenship, community and everyday life are accumulated as in the account of Brenner and Theodore;

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[105] Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen, "Conclusion: Changed Spatial Order" in Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen (eds.) *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?*, 2000, p.275.
[106] Ibid., p.257.
[107] These fixes are put forward by Peter Dickens and James S. Ormrod within the discussion of Harvey's term "spatial fix", according to them "Harvey refers to the redirection of capital into the secondary and tertiary circuits as 'spatial fix.' But he also points to the ambiguity of the terms. The 'fix' involved is almost inevitably temporary and unstable. It is of the sticking-plastery variety. Equivalent social and moral 'fixes' intended by dominant orders to bind nations and military projects are similarly insecure." in Peter Dickens and James S. Ormrod, *Critical Approaches to Outer Space*, Ireland: BISA Annual Conference, 2006, p.17. Available in; www.bisa.ac.uk/2006/pps/dickens.pdf [accessed: 11.02.08].

…urban neoliberalism is not only a form of political, institutional and geographical change; it is also, centrally, a means of transforming the dominant political imaginaries on which basis people understand the limits and possibilities of the urban experience. In an urban context, as elsewhere, this redefinition of political imagination entails not only the rearticulation of assumptions about the appropriate role of state institutions, but also, more generally, the reworking of inherited conceptions of citizenship, community and everyday life.[108]

In relation to the quest for reworking of inherited conceptions, further account comes from Harvey. According to him, dominant discourses –neoliberalism- require the articulation of fundamental concepts which have been deeply embedded in common-sense understandings that they become unquestionable, taken for granted.[109]

In both account, the accentuation could be read as the embeddedness of neoliberalism calls for adjustment of non-economic forms and hence inherited concepts. Derived from these accounts, our conception of social, moral and political fixes is the reworking of non-economic forms within the spatial restructuring of neoliberalization process. Therefore, firstly the reproduction of social configuration as "the non-market cooperation between social actors"[110] will be scrutinized under the rubric of *Socialization Sought by Neoliberal Order*. Afterwards, how this social configuration has been introduced via space will be discussed under the title of *Redefinition of Public Space* in order to understand the way how these fixes are provided.

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[108] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005, p.106.

[109] David Harvey, "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction", *Geograpfiska Annaler*, Vol.88, No.2, 2006, p.146.

[110] Jamie Gough, "Neoliberalism and Socialization in the Contemporary City: Opposites, Complements and Instabilities" in Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (eds.), *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p.58.

Socialization Sought by Neoliberal Order

At this standpoint, Gough's account is highly insightful in which the dialectics of neoliberalism and socialization in contemporary urbanism are discussed. According to him, "socialization of diverse forms grew during the long boom, but this exacerbated the classic crisis tendencies of capitalism and resulted in increasing politicization."[111] He argues that, although the intensified socialization of the boom had beneficial effects on accumulation, it tended to undermine it and weaken capital's command over society. Thus, the tension brought forth by the increasing politicization has been resolved by neoliberalism through the imposition of unmediated value relations and class discipline, fragmenting labor and capital and fostering depoliticization. That is to say, he claims that reworking on the socialization is the matter of controlling social actor so as to render it free from social and political constraints to maximize its utility.[112]

In line with the social project of neoliberalism, Gough asserts that new forms of socialization have been emerged on urban space. He defines four instances regarding the advent social configuration under neoliberalism as; the role of business organizations in urban governance, the promotion of industrial clusters, community initiatives in poor areas, attempts at "joined-up"[113] urban governance.[114] Among these forms, "community initiatives in poor areas" has a particular significance in relation to our concern about social, moral and political fixes. Although Gough confines his argument to the poor areas, our concern will be the enhancing reproduction of wholesale society through community. He

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Gough uses the term "joined-up" attributed to urban governance in order to define the coordination of different branches of national and local government, public agencies as well as the private and voluntary sector in the body of urban governance. Jamie Gough, 2002, pp.72-75.

[114] Ibid., pp.66-75.

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claims that in order to fragment labor or in other words to control possible socialization which would bring forth any resist against the ascending impoverishment, community formation has been prompted from above by the very hand of neoliberalism, in his words "top-down community socialization has fostered conservative social relations and has headed off challenges to the forms of power that create poverty".[115]

However, one might claim that there is a discrepancy here in the community based socialization of neoliberalism. Since socialization contributes politicization of waged labor, of reproduction of relations and of urban space and community is a form of socialization, what neoliberalism has to do with community construction besides fragmenting the society? At this point, Sennett's account of *destructive gemeinschaft* may clarify this antimony.[116]

In his account, Sennett portrays the end of public culture and characterizes the emergent intimate society with two concepts, of which the latter is our particular concern, "narcissism" and "destructive gemeinschaft"[117]. Sennett defines the destructive aspect of *gemeinschaft* thereby indicating two points. Firstly, gemeinschaft brings forth and consist of *collective personalities* whose critical reason is emptied out within the gemeinschaft. He explicitly construes that the destructive gemeinschaft composed of such collective personalities is not able to engender any collective action. Moreover, in his second explication he argues

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[115] Ibid., p.70.
[116] Tönnies coined the terms *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* in order to discern the differentiation between social configurations in pre-capitalist and capitalist cities. "…in the *gemeinschaft* individuals remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, contrariwise in the *gesellschaft* they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors." Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Association*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955 cited in Richard Sennett *The Fall of Public Man*, 1992, New York, London: W.W. Norton, p.221.
[117] Richard Sennett, 1992, p.220.

that the only collective action that these destructive communities as an enclave could participate is exclusion of others.[118]

Through the discussion on the destructive gemeinschaft, it is intended to shed light the reason behind the enhancing community formation in the neoliberal urban socialization and what kind of community formation is sought. As far as we construe from Sennett's conceptualization, neoliberalism reaps double benefit from the new advent socialization based on destructive communities. On the one hand, this community formation composed of collective personalities whose critical reason is worn off can be manipulated through reworking on the common unquestionable conceptions and on the other hand, such a community based formation has contributed to the fragmenting the society into enclaves in accordance with the neoliberal quest for depoliticization.

Redefinition of Public Space

As it is put forward above, our conception of social, moral and political fixes is the reworking of social formation within the spatial restructuring of neoliberalization process. Enhancing community based social formation and deepening the fragmentation as the very strategy of neoliberalism on non-market forms have been actualized spatially by the physical operations on public space. So to speak, the assault on public space by the advent of neoliberalism, which is widely put into agenda by scholars,[119] could be read as well through the instrumentality of public space in the production and re-production of such destructive communities.

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[118] Ibid., pp.222-223.
[119] For detailed account of neoliberal strategies on public space, see; Setha Low and Neil Smith (eds.), 2006.

If the account of public space is unpacked as a built environment that provides space for individuals to congregate to discuss matters of public concern; then the argument that community formation has intended to be reified on public space gains more meaning. That is to say if our conception of public space is defined as topographical manifestation of public sphere where "private people come together as a public"[120], then we have opportunity to open an ample room for discussing the instrumentality of public space. At this point, the figure of speech regarding the *salon* will be used as a springboard for understanding the public sphere spatially;

> …yet this *salon* [the privatized individuals stepped out of the intimacy of their living rooms into the public sphere of the *salon*] does not serve the house –but society; and this *salon* society is by no means to be equated with the small intimate circle of friends of the house.[121]

In relation to the search for deepening community formation, our concern for the redefinition of public space could be clarified on this figure of speech. As far as we construe, the spatial bridge between the public sphere and *salon* –public space - has been overthrown. Public space as the salon of urban space has been redefined so as to be the room where intimate yet exclusionary circles of destructive communities are reproduced. Broadly stated, what is sought by this redefinition is the homogenization on public space and hence the fragmentation on public sphere. It could be argued that this is the way how social, political and moral fixes established on urban space.

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[120] Jürgen Habermas., *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991, p.27.
[121] Here, Habermas establishes a spatial bridge between the public sphere and the salon of the house by having recourse to W.H. Riehl. Habermas, 1991, p.45.

In order to understand how such a redefinition could be actualized, Sennett's explication about the symbolic materials in forming communities would be an appropriate insight;

> What has emerged in the last hundred years, as communities have begun to form, is that the shared imager becomes a deterrent to shared action […] Since the symbolic materials in forming collective personality are unstable, communal purification is unending, a continual quest after the loyal American, the authentic Aryan, the 'genuine' revolutionary […] This is the logical consequences of destructive gemeinschaft. [122]

Given the momentous role of symbolic materials and imageries in the production and re-production of communities, it could be argued that homogenization has been executed by the intensification of these shared symbols and imageries on public space. Such intensification could be regarded as writing a sub-text through the programme and the architectural style of public space that tells to whom space belongs. That is to say, this is the way of creating an invisible filter for the access to the public space as well as determining actions that take place there.

This intensification might be on the lifestyles as in the case of new public spaces 'malls' as centers of commerce and consumption where class-based enclaves are formed.[123] However, as we will discuss in the fourth chapter of this study in the case of Hacıbayram Square, this intensification may come about by the emphasis on the accumulated codes in a selective manner through re-writing the programme of public space so as to appeal to the already existing religious-based communities.

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[122] Richard Sennett, 1992, p.223
[123] For detailed account of the transformation of public space as shopping malls, see; Gülçin Tunç, *Transformation of Public Space: The Case of Migros Akköprü Shopping Center*, Unpublished Master Thesis, METU, 2003.

CHAPTER 3

NEOLIBERAL SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN TURKEY

3.1. Introduction

As what the title of this chapter implies, this study grounds on the assumption that there has been an obvious neoliberal formation in the last two decades of Turkey. Hence, at the outset, before starting to delve into the neoliberal spatial transformation in Turkey; it is essential to begin with a self-questioning here regarding with our assumption. Since the conceptualization of neoliberalism, on which we have hitherto intended to shed light, explains market-power relations of Western capitalism; the questioning concerns to what extent such a conceptualization inherent to West is capable to unfold the lived transformations particularly in the last two decades of Turkey. This study is, undoubtedly, not the place of such questioning involving a vast knowledge about Turkey's economics and political history; yet such an issue needs to be studied individually. Nonetheless, we have to mention briefly about the neoliberal formation in Turkey in order to put our assumption to test.

In doing so, in accordance with our argument with reference to Polanyi that neoliberal formation is not solely a matter of economy, but also a matter of non-market institutions; hence we shall deal with the neoliberalization process in Turkey in the second part of this chapter thereby pointing out the transformation lived in the conception of publicity within the context of social, moral, and political fixes facilitating the process. Such an accentuation on the publicity derives from our argument that space is not only the object of spatial fix but also

of social, moral, and political fixes to the inner contradictions of neoliberalization and the lived transformation in publicity is our medium through reading according to which desired social and political climate, the operations are executed on public space as the very manifestation of public sphere and publicity.

Subsequent to drawing a concise framework regarding the neoliberalization process in Turkey, we shall deal with the spatial aspect with reference to the layers urban governance and spatially selective political strategy that we have depicted in the second chapter of this study. Correspondingly, in the third part of this chapter, The Local Administration Reform and the legislations in the scope of this reform will be scrutinized in order to understand the alterations on urban governance level which renders possible the physical operations within city.

3.2. Neoliberalization Process in Turkey

3.2.1. Redefined Boundary between State and Economy

It could be asserted that the neoliberal formation in Turkey, parallel with the formation in Western countries, has begun in the 1980s. Although the late 1960s carries a particular meaning for Turkey, in terms of the collective action of society so as to seize the control of its own future; this collectivity turned into a stark clash as the welfare state was coming down on by the left wing followed by the ascending rise of right wing in the guise of authoritarian-populist state as a response at the end of the 1970s. Under such circumstances, the conflictual yet fruitful atmosphere ended up with the coup d'état in 1980.

Insightfully Özkazanç claims, accompanied by the redefined strong authority of state corollary to the coup d'état; parallel with formation of Western countries, the preponderancy of left parties has been striking after 1980 which has paved the way of a structural reform within state and its economic policies so as to

adapt Turkey to global capitalism. After the 1980s, the lexicon of authoritarian state and the lexicon of market have more and more solidified with reference to each other and have formed a quite synthesis.[124] The atmosphere, where lexicon of state and of market converges, is unprecedented for the blossoming of neoliberal policy adjustments. The fundamental reason of the assertion that the first neoliberal formation in Turkey has come in view in the 1980s, is that the idea of market and market society has never been underpinned as such till that time.

Özkazanç defines the exceptional feature of neoliberal formation as; the fundamental point that keeps apart neoliberalism form liberalism is the very dependent characteristic of neoliberal discourse to an authoritarian, interventionist mental set.[125] After the coup, the redefined strong authority of state has provided exactly such a mental set. As opposed to the common idea that neoliberal formation within the state necessitates the deregulation of interventionist state; as we have discussed before, the project hinges upon the active mobilization of state power so as to state institutions are mobilized to endorse market-based regulatory arrangements. So, what makes neoliberal formation indigenous in Turkey is that the idea of market and market society has been inserted by the very hand of state.

In that regard, as aforementioned in the first chapter of this study, the first step of twin process of neoliberalization executed in the field of economic policy has been triggered by the state. In the scope of the economic program launched in 24th January 1980, the economic decisions are considered as the substantial step carries Turkey through this process. The economic program which was proposed by the collaboration with IMF can be encapsulated as the switch from import substitution model to a new economic model within which principles of free

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[124] Alev Özkazanç, 2005, p.637.
[125] Ibid., p.636.

market rule.[126] That is to say, the state ceased to lead the economy in a closed economic system and retreat itself by opening up the economic system to both local and global markets.

The neoliberalization process was initiated through the agency of state and market, the state of being hand in hand did not last much long, as the state has turned into be restrictive for the aspiration of an untrammeled market. The limiting aspect of state was overcome by the deregulation of the state and by the active mobilization of state power according to market principles parallel with the West. At the 1990s, the deregulation within state begun with another economic program launched at 5th April, particularly comprising of devolvement of some public properties to private sector. As we shall see in the next part of this chapter, the imminent apparent deregulation of state has finally been prevailed in the 2000s, particularly under the mantle of downloading not only resources, but also rights and responsibilities to local administrations.

3.2.2. Redefined Boundary between State and Society: Reversed History of Publicity

Without doubt, such free-market oriented structural adjustments in the field of economy should not merely be assessed either from a political-economic stance or from the bivalent perspective regarding the strong or weak nation-state. Nevertheless, the redefinition of the boundary between state and economy is palpable; yet we should take cognizance of another significant outcome brought forth by these economic adjustments. That is the redefinition of the boundary between state and society which is highly germane to the social, moral and political fixes of neoliberalization what we have discussed in the previous

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[126] Salih Köse, "A comparative Study of Economic Decisions: 24th January 1980 and 5th April 1994", *Planlama Dergisi*, Ankara: State Planning Organization (DPT) Press, 2002, p.121. Available in http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/planlama/42nciyil/koses.pdf [Accessed: 27.01.2008].

chapter. Keyder implicitly interprets that these transformations in the field of economy begot the descending public trust in state which, as a matter of course, contributes the descending belief in the modernity project driven by the state. More elaborately, he states that as the populace witness how the ideals regarding economic independency have been abandoned by state; the commitments of state have started to be met with doubt. The lived depression within state was interpreted as the overall failure in the modernity project driven by the very hand of state.[127]

Complementarily, Özkazanç claims that neoliberalism as; the discourse, which constructs itself on the myth of classical liberalism, has highly been fed on the dissolution process of modernity and has deepened the dissolution process itself.[128] It could be argued that parallel with the dissolution of the modernity project, one of the striking dissolution is undergone in the conception of citizenship as the very subject of nation-state, hence in the conception of publicity. As it is widely put into agenda, accompanied by the dissolution of the subject of welfare state, namely society composed of citizens is gradually replaced by individuals and micro-moral communities.[129] Here we define such a formation of fragmented society based on individuality or micro-moral communities as *reversed history of publicity* in the context of Turkey, owing to that not for the first time, such a formation on this geography is coming to being.

Within the context of the formation of top-down communities as Gough illustrates as the new forms of socialization in the second chapter of this study; the reversed history of publicity is highly relevant in that regard owing to being

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[127] Çağlar Keyder "1990'larda Türkiye'de Modernleşmenin Doğrultusu" in Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (eds.), *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998.
[128] Alev Özkazanç, 2005, p.634.
[129] Alev Özkazanç, 2005. Çağlar Keyder, 1998. Hasan Bülent Kahraman, *Postmodernite ile Modernite Arasında Türkiye*, İstanbul: Everest, 2002.

an explanatory medium in order to understand the new formation of top-down communities in Turkey which break the urban land into pieces. Thus, it is noteworthy to contemplate on the lived transformation on publicity in Turkey. In doing so, in order to draw more elaborate and more legible perspective, it would be handy to use the periodization indicated significant thresholds which were proposed by Kahraman in his book *Turkey in between Postmodernity and Modernity*.[130] According to the periodization, there were three milestones which affected the conception of publicity in Turkey. These are as follows;

> i. Modernization movements intended for exceeding the community based system during Tanzimat and The First Constitutional Era in 19th century.
>
> ii. The Republican period: The rupture with the institutions and traditions that belong to Ottomans beginning with 1923
>
> iii. The criticism on the major republican tendencies about breaking off tradition during late-modern period and the reclamation of tradition after the 1980s.[131]

Habermas argues "public sphere in the sense of a separate realm distinguished from the private sphere can not be shown to have existed in the feudal society of the High Middle Ages [...] This *publicness* (or publicity) *of representation* was not constituted as a social realm, that is, as a public sphere; rather it was something like a status attribute"[132] Although it might be wrong to bridge a one to one correspondence, it could be argued that the similar echoing of such a *publicness of representation* in Ottomans is the *fragmented publicity* based on community at which the individual's role was subservient and rendered as a kind of vassal, then the prevailing status was attributed to the god and sultans. More explicitly, in Islamic law the concept of a communicative public sphere does not exist; state

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[130] Hasan Bülent Kahraman, 2002.
[131] Ibid., p.44.
[132] Jürgen Habermas., 1991, p.7.

namely sultan as the representative of the community is the only responsible institution.[133]

However, by the process beginning with the Reformist period and the ensuing Republican period, society as a totality of citizens has had the indirect control of social organization via state. Without doubt, such an alteration in the attribution of individual from being subservient to an indisputable authority to being a citizen of state is strongly related with the rupture with Islamic tradition and its social organization which was aspired to be overwhelmed by the Republican period. During this period, there could be mentioned about the existence of a publicity whose boundaries were drawn by the state.

Nevertheless, what can be observed after the 1980s, by the decline of state power and the modernity project; what could have been observed is the rising demand for reclamation of tradition once it has been lost during modernization period, not only in Turkey but also at a global scale. There has been a transformation in the publicity while the individuals' role as citizen has been changing in a parallel manner. Moreover, what renders Turkey different from the rest of the world which has been subjugated to similar process is the way the reclamation of tradition has been executed. As Kahraman states, the repossession of tradition could be identified as the transformation of Islam from being an episteme to a paradigm. While the public sphere predominated by the state had been contracted, the emergent absence was intended to be filled by the civil society. Consequently, as Kahraman argues, such a contraction brought forth a publicity based on community as Ottomans once had. That means the growing dominance of religion on the social life and on the consciousness of individuals.[134]

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[133] Suavi Aydın, Kudret Emiroğlu, Ömer Türkoğlui Ergi D. Özsoy, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü*, Ankara: Dost, 2005, p.274.
[134] Hasan Bülent Kahraman, 2002, p.65.

Correspondingly, Sargın argues that the new publicity in Turkey should have been conceived as the crumpled civil society and its public memory, furthermore he construes this publicity as the re-incarnation of the fragmented publicity based on community once Ottomans had.[135] In both arguments, the striking point is the accentuation on the reversed history what Turkey has undergone regarding the transformations in publicity. In other words, while the public sphere has been contracted and has recede from a communicative public sphere in the sense of what Habermas uses, the role of individual has rendered as being just a member of micro-moral communities who willingly participate in the public sphere "against its material, economic and class interests for cultural, nationalist and religious reasons."[136] That is nothing but the fragmentation in the public sphere in which the construction consent around central moral values is obvious.

3.2.2. The Assessment of the Redefined Boundaries

What interest us regarding the reversed formation in the public sphere could be explained by two points. First point is about the decision making regarding the production of space. Taking into account that the society has started to be a flock composed of individuals who behave against its material, economic and class interests for cultural, nationalist and religious reasons; the public sphere which is expected to be in between state and civil society has started to be located as the subset of state. That is the mergence of the civil into state, neoliberal state. Given that, the fundamental mission of neoliberal state is "to facilitate conditions for profitable capital accumulation"[137]; in the absence of a communicative public

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[135] Güven Arif Sargın, "Kamu, Kent ve Poltika" in Güven Arif Sargın (ed.), *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002. p.36 "...erken cumhuriyet ideolojisinin mekansal temsiliyeti bağlamında üretilmiş günümüz kentleri parçacı- ideolojik kamusallığın yer tuttuğu, sivil kamusal belleğin ise örselendiği cemaatlere dönüşmüştür"

[136] Harvey uses this phrase in order to define the typical attitude of the members of "moral majority" which is a movement founded in 1978 as the political arm of a right-wing and very conservative Christianity in USA. David Harvey, 2006, p.20.

[137] David Harvey, 2006, p.11.

sphere since it is the subset of state, it seems that no possible objection would come from society for the sake of public good.

This mergence might open some room for explaining the ascending arbitrariness in decision making of physical operations on urban space in the absence of any objections and in the very existence of easily constructed consent. Under these circumstances, legitimization of downloading resources, responsibilities and rights to urban governments in the scope of Local Administration Reform as rendering the governance closer to society is ironic. However, it is important to dare to claim here that the neoliberal intervention on urban space benefits from this transformation. More elaborately, while any possible civil-objection has been weakening, the permeation of neoliberal doctrine into the urban space of the cities of Turkey has been accelerated via the public-private partnership of municipalities. We shall discuss the growing importance of urban governance in Turkey in that regard in the following part.

Second point is about the outcomes of the reversed publicity on the perceived and on the lived space. Derived from Gough in the second chapter of this study; he asserts that one of the major features of the neoliberal city is the top-down remobilization of communities of the poor.[138] Thereafter as we construed from this assertion that the trajectories of physical operations on the urban landscape have been executed so as to foster this remobilization; the most known instance is the remobilization of the poor through gentrification processes from inner city to the peripheries and the formation of new poor communities on the edge of cities. As we have mentioned, gentrified neighborhoods and downtown commercial mega-projects are the new icons of the neoliberal city. These typical icons could read as the gated spatializations that function protect rich from poor. Neither for

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[138] Jamie Gough, 2002, p.69.

the first time, nor for the last time such a class-based fragmentation on space is either unprecedented or indigenous to Turkey.

Nevertheless, regarding the formation of the top-down communities based on moral values as the new emergent form of society breaks the public sphere into pieces, one to one projection of this fragmentation could be read as the homogenization on space not only in the sense of class-based but also in the sense of moral and political-based. Particularly homogenization on public space as the very topographical manifestation of fragmented public sphere is concrete. We argue that while the formation of the top-down communities, as the new emergent form of society, breaks the public sphere into pieces, one to one projection of this fragmentation could be read through the homogenization of public space.

While the homogenization on space constitutes literally and symbolically walls which prevent people from meeting, hearing and seeing each other, the contradiction of being a member of society or of micro-community has been intensified. At this standpoint, the operations on space have gained a vital importance regarding whether they contribute to this homogenization hence fragmentation or they do not. In that regard, the selection of our study area is meaningful, since the spatialization of social and moral fixes has always been a fragile point in the programme of the applied and proposed projects on Hacıbayram. This assertion will be discussed elaborately in the fourth chapter thereby reading the programmes of projects particularly concentrating on the recent project. In addition to that we intend to reify our arguments that, in the scope of neoliberal urbanization there has been an obvious intention of spatial fix on the area in the sense of the re-invested urban core of Ankara; and also intention of social and moral fixes on the area in the sense of homogenization of the programme which concentrates on religious and touristic activities in the

scope of the recent project. However, first in the following part, we should discuss the legislations concerning the urban governance which make possible all these fixes via physical operations on urban space

3.3. "Local Administration Reform" as an Exemplary of the Neoliberal Transformation on Urban Governance

3.3.1. Varying Degree of Authority of Municipalities in Turkey

When the republic was established, the policies about local government had aimed at creating a new modern urban fabric in order to render it different from the Ottoman cities, which would imply a rupture from the community-based social life inherent to Ottomans. In order to fulfill such a grueling mission, urban governments were commissioned with generating modern urban life in a salubrious urban environment. Therefore, municipalities were vested with wide authority according to the Municipality Law no. 1580/1930. Tekeli acknowledges that within this wide authority, municipalities were responsible for from urban infrastructure, fundamental urban services, development plans and their audits, housing to religious and cultural services. This extensive authority given to urban governments is interpreted by him as the strong aspiration of creating urban life, urbanization, and city images consistent with the modernity project in the republican period. [139]

Tekeli states that, the wide authority of local governments lasted till the Second World War. However, under the pressure of rapid urbanization entailed by the inward migration accompanied by the postwar depression, local governments were turned into being incapable of sustain such a rapid urbanization.[140] Consequently, the balance of work sharing between local and central

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[139] İlhan Tekeli, *Belediyecilik Yazıları (Essays on Local Administration)*, İstanbul: IULA-EMME, 1992, pp.138-139.
[140] Ibid., p.139.

government, in which municipalities were vested with wide authority, overturned. As opposed to the prewar period, the central government had started to take responsibilities and rights on behalf of municipalities. In addition to the crisis engendered by the rapid urbanization, the rising belief in the welfare state not only in Turkey but also at a global scale might be considered as another prevailing factor which sets the backdrop of such transposition.

As Tekeli notes in regard to the image of cities in this period, owing to the permanence of bureaucratic cadre who responsible for the development plans of cities and the constant feature of the aims of modernity project, the intended modern city image consistent with modern urban life kept its legitimacy. Nevertheless in this period, the ones which direct the urbanization were not the intentions, but rather the instant solutions to the rapid urbanization had shaped the cities in practice.[141]

After the mid 1970s, the impact of central government on the authority of local governments has started to change. Even though the Municipality Law no.1580, which determines the rights and responsibilities of municipalities, had not undergone any alteration yet; the notion of local governments has gone beyond providing urban services, and local governments has started to be seen as the very medium through which democracy could be grounded on civil-society. [142] As this notion has been prevailing, the authority of municipalities has appropriately widened and they were commissioned to regulate the public works. Even in this period, for the first time large mass housing projects were put into practice by municipalities. [143]

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[141] Ibid., p.140.
[142] Ibid., p.134.
[143] Ibid., p.139.

3.3.2. Liberal Discourse on Urban Governance

Although central government and the urban government form a totality as state, the thought that central government is intrinsic to state, whereas urban governments indwell in civil society, has widely been promoted after the mid-1970s as Tekeli acknowledges, too. This highly popularized thought in regard to that, municipalities would become the agent of urban governance within which civil society can participate, legitimize itself by the motto; municipalities are the closest device of state to society.

According to Güler, such a thought is nothing but the figment of liberal discourse. She argues that what is intended to mean by closeness is not the matter of a geographical proximity; if not so municipalities are indeed close to society in geographical sense. If public services are organized according to the expediencies of corporations or of individuals and these services are given, provided that they are purchased on the basis of market principles; the interval between society and urban governments has already been expanded.[144]

Nevertheless, as the connotation between urban governments and civil society has been intensifying among populace; the belief, according to which municipalities should be vested with more authority, is getting prevailed. Güler states that it might be claimed that in Turkey municipalities are commissioned, firstly to sustain the order inherent to government, secondly to provide reproduction of labor and finally to contribute to accumulation of capital. However, she points out that in practice the second responsibility of municipalities has been disappeared and municipalities have started to concentrate on merely contributing to capital accumulation.[145] For that reason the matter of downloading more rights and resources to urban governments should

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[144] Birgül Ayman Güler, *Yerel Yönetimler: Liberal Açıklamalara Eleştirel Yaklaşım*, Ankara: İmge, 2006, pp.12-17.
[145] Ibid., p.273.

be assessed considering the function of municipalities in the production and redistribution of urban rent.

3.3.3. Local Administration Reform in Turkey

By producing and redistributing land rent, municipalities directly interfere into the process within which land properties change hands, including public properties owing to that the rights of planning was given to urban governments by the central government in the 1980s. That is to say, in regard to the management of spatializations, municipalities have become the fundamental apparatus of state and the function of contributing to capital accumulation is mostly done via production and redistribution of land rent by municipalities. Land rent is produced by two ways; the first one is urban expansion and the second one is urban regeneration.[146] Since the rights of planning belong to municipalities, local governments are operative in both.

Since the function of contributing to capital accumulation can mostly be executed through the production and redistribution of land rent, The Local Administration Reform in Turkey which was launched in 2004-2005, unsurprisingly enhance the authority of local governments in terms of the planning rights. Concordant with the liberal discourse, the broader aim of the reform programme was declared as a strategy to modernize and democratize the Turkish administrative system.[147] The numerous legislations encompassed by the reform programme are said to be focusing on three main areas; first is "to strengthen the capacity of local administrations", second is to "develop instruments and enhancing capacities of local authorities to improve budgetary procedures, financial management and service performance", and final one is "to improve the efficiency and

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[146] Ibid., p.324.
[147] "Local Administration Reform Programme", available in
http://www.lar.gov.tr/introduction.html [Accessed: 04.04.2008]

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effectiveness of human resources in local administrations".[148] Yet, among these laws the ones, which bestow extensive authority to local governments in the field of planning of the city cores, are striking.

These legislations could be interpreted as downloading authority to local governments so as to determine the direction of land rent. The word "direction" is used in the sense of the switch from periphery to inner city. When the spatial fix hinged upon investment of the periphery of cities, legislations were done in accordance with such spatial fix which centers on the investment of peripheries. According to the erstwhile municipality law, municipalities were commissioned to buy land in the periphery of the city, to develop plan for the area and to provide basic infrastructure.[149] In addition to that in order to thwart squatter type housing entailed by the rapid urbanization, municipalities might proclaim areas as the squatter prevention area and again by developing plans for the area and providing basic infrastructure, they might sell these lands.[150] Güler interprets these erstwhile laws as the legislations which are done to take under control city development processes; whereas in practice these laws are nothing but the facilitator of converting public property lands into lands for sale by municipalities. In this way, municipalities have increased the land rent on particular areas and have functioned so as to transfuse lands from public property to private property.[151]

Nevertheless, today circumstances have been overturned. As we have mentioned in the second chapter of this study, neoliberal urbanization is characterized by the spatial switch from the periphery to urban core as the spatial fix. The spatial

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[148] Ibid.

[149] Municipality Law No.1580/1930, Article: 15 and Article: 68, available in http://www.khgm.gov.tr/mevzuat/kanun/belediyekanunu.htm, [Accessed: 19.11.07].

[150] The law no 3414, Article: 247 and Article: 150 in Birgül Ayman Güler, 2006, p.330.

[151] Birgül Ayman Güler, 2006, p.331.

fix of neoliberal era is gained by the production of land rent in the core of cities which is mostly done via urban regeneration. In that regard, we argue that the recent legislations in the scope of the Local Administration Reform in Turkey are done so as to facilitate such a production of land rent in the core of cities thereby downloading more rights and resources to municipalities. However, we shall concentrate on alterations in the related laws regarding the planning rights on the urban core. In this context, what interest us are two laws which has widened the municipalities' rights of planning and of implementation concerning inner cities; the Municipality Law no. 5272/2004, Article 73 and Law no. 5366/2005, "Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties".

According to the Municipality Law no. 5272/2004, Article 73;

> Municipality may carry out urban renewal and development projects in order to rebuild and restore decaying parts of the city in keeping with the city's development process, to create residential areas, industrial and business areas, technology parks and social amenities, to take earthquake prevention measures or to protect the city's historical and cultural heritage.[152]

Moreover, as it is acknowledged in the related law; areas, which will be assigned to urban renewal and development projects, could be decided by the agreement of the majority of the full membership of the municipal council provided that the area is located within the boundaries of the municipality or local planning area.

Among the laws which follow one another in the scope of reform, the law no. 5366/2005 entitled as "Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties" has unprecedented impact particularly on historic city centers. According to the law,

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[152] "Local Administration Reform Programme", available in *http://www.lar.gov.tr/legislation.html* [Accessed: 04.04.2008].

municipalities have the right to proclaim the decaying parts of the city as the urban renewal area even they have already been assigned as preservation site.[153] The striking point in regard to the law, municipalities can decide the boundaries of renewal area provided that the council of ministry approve; moreover they could change the land-use patterns on the proclaimed area by means of development plans. They could propose residential, commercial, cultural, and touristic programmes for the renewal area.

Particularly the proposed new law on urban transformation areas, which has not been ratified yet, will have facilitated the production of vast amount of land rent in urban cores regardless of how this rent would be redistributed. It is noteworthy to say that this proposed law derives its legitimization from the former ratified laws which we have mentioned before. According to the interpretation of the Chamber of City Planners, disposition of the proposed new legislation is not for developing the legal framework with regard to urban regeneration and transformation, but rather for rendering the urban transformation processes free from legal confinements. Urban transformation areas are reduced to a mere physical entity regardless of their social, cultural and economic aspects.[154] Moreover, one of the most significant outcomes of this law is asserted that the authority of urgent land confiscation, which was formerly belonged to council of ministry under circumstances of natural disasters, will be given to municipalities.[155]

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[153] The Law No. 5366/2005, available in
http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/eskiler/2005/07/200 50705.htm&main=http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/eskiler/2005/07/20050705.htm [Accessed: 05.02.2008]
[154] TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası, "Kentsel Dönüşüm Değil Rant Amaçlı Tasfiye Yasası", available in http://www.spo.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=194&tipi=3&sube=0 [Accessed: 12.04.2008]
[155] Ibid.

Parallel with the devolvement of such extensive authorities to municipalities; what could be apparently observed is modernist planning notions have been ceased since "the modernist production of space relied on heavily on state"[156]. Günay describes the dissolution of modernist outlook as follows;

> The simple functional discourse proved insufficient in a market economy. The deductivism of comprehensive planning [master and development plans] was replaced with an inductivist outlook…[157]

Such an inductivist outlook has entailed the adoption of a fragmentary approach to the planning of city owing to that master plan is found too restrictive. That is to say, corollary to inductivist approach to planning, cities has started to be transformed into bits and pieces. It can be construed that, since the quantity of land rent depends on both the quantity of land subjected to urbanization and the quantity of urban land subjected to regeneration; the fragmentary approach to the planning of city facilitates the production of land rent particularly via urban regeneration.

Here it is meaningful to note that, the dissolution of modernist outlook has also been tangible in the aims and objectives of the planning as an institution. Şengül asserts that during this dissolution, comprehensive planning has been accused of aiming to shape cities around master narrative or scenario regardless of local, cultural and ethnic differences within them.[158] Transferring planning authorities from state to municipalities has been advocated in the liberal discourse believing that local administrations would be more sensitive to these differences. Nonetheless, as we will discuss in the next chapter, these differences might have

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[156] Baykan Günay, *Property Relations and Urban Space*, Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2000, p.181.
[157] Ibid, p.182
[158] Tarık Şengül, "Planlama Paradigmalarının Dönüşümü Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme", *Kentsel Planlama Kuramları*, Melih Ersoy (ed.), Ankara: İmge, 2007, p.80.

been used instrumental within the purview of planning by intensifying these differences and deepening the enclave formation.

In the context of the recent legislations, there have been so many renewal projects were proposed and one by one historic city centers have been assigned to urban renewal projects. Some areas within the boundaries of Fatih district which constitutes one part of the historic Peninsula of İstanbul and the historic city center of Ankara are among these urban cores which have been proclaimed as urban renewal project area and have found their legitimization through the law no.5366/2005. Without doubt, the renewal of decaying parts of cities is essential for the sake of a salubrious urban environment not only in the sense of physically but also socially and economically.

Nevertheless, the urban transformation areas in Ankara as it is shown on the figure below which was ratified through the Article 73 of municipality law; vast amount of urban lands, even suburban lands are undergone urban transformation.[159] Considering the stark impact of these legislations on cityscape, and also bearing in my mind that the authority of carrying out these urban transformation projects from planning to controlling; the question of whether municipalities would use their extensive authorities so as to limit private properties or contrariwise they use these authorities so as to augment land rent of these areas and facilitate these properties change hands from public to private, gains importance.

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[159] The list of the urban transformation areas in Ankara is available in
http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/Projeler/emlak/kaynak_gelistirme_2/kaynak_gelistirme_2.aspx [Accessed: 14.04.2008].

The Renovation Project Area of Ankara Historical City Center, Ulus

Other Proclaimed Urban Regeneration Areas
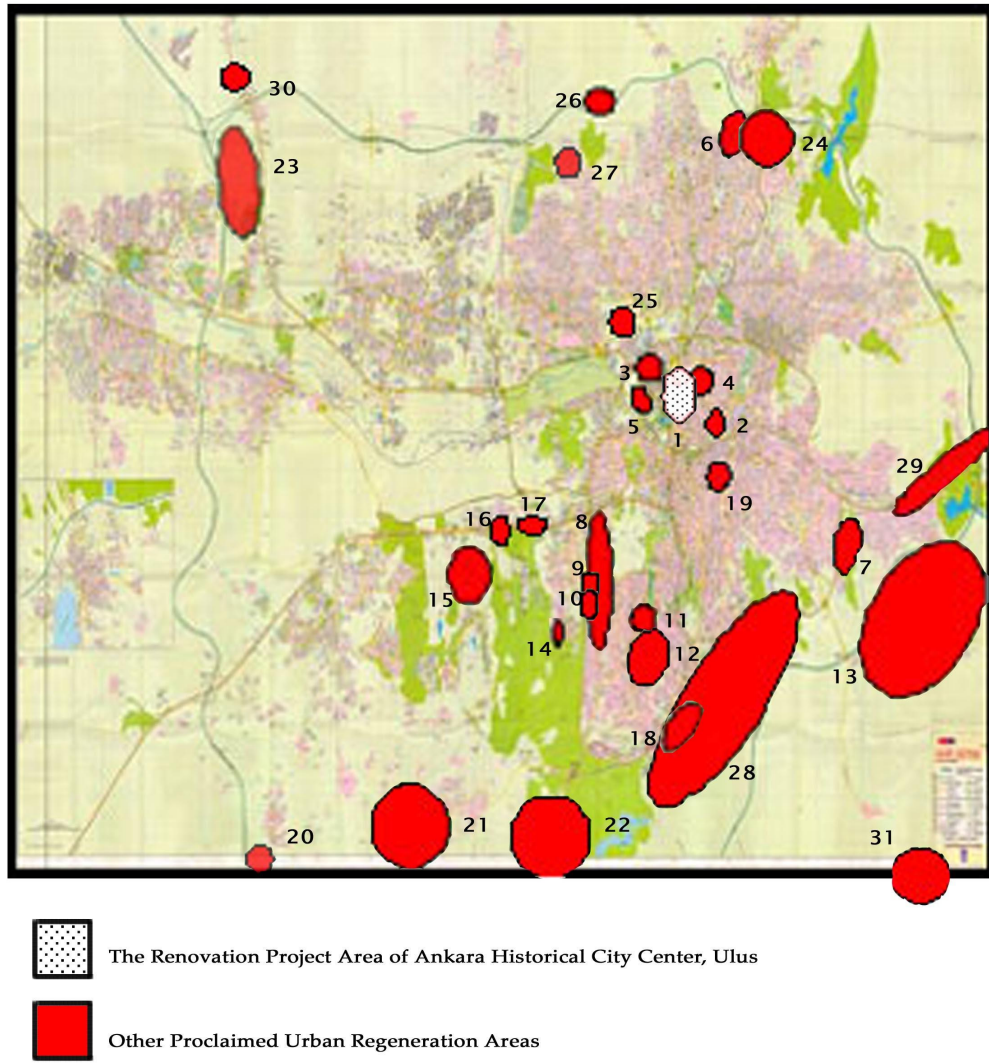
Figure 1: Urban Transformation Areas in Ankara

Table 1: The Urban Transformation Areas in Ankara

		Municipality		Project Name		Area (ha)
1		ALTINDAĞ		Ulus, TKM Yenileme		210.0
2		ALTINDAĞ		Şükriye Mah.		19.7
3		ALTINDAĞ-YENİMAHALLE		Merkezi İş Alanı		130.0
4		ALTINDAĞ		İsmetpaşa, Ulus		13.0
5		YENİMAHALLE		BHA-Hipodrom		20.0
6		KEÇİÖREN		Kuzey Ankara		11.0
7		MAMAK		Doğukent		758.0
8		ÇANKAYA		Çaldağ		320.0
9		ÇANKAYA		Tanyeli Kavşağı		9.6
10		ÇANKAYA		Semazen KDGPA		6.4
11		ÇANKAYA		Dikmen Vadisi 1,2,3		288.0
12		ÇANKAYA		Dikmen Vadisi 4,5		177.0
13		ÇANKAYA-GÖLBAŞI		Yakupabdal-Karataş-Yaylabağ		3600.0
14		ÇANKAYA		Şirindere		13.7
15		ÇANKAYA		Lodumlu (Kamu)		600.0
16		ÇANKAYA		Nasreddin Hoca		7.3
17		ÇANKAYA		Anadolu Bulvarı		5.0
18		ÇANKAYA		Mühye, Güneypark		177
19		MAMAK-ÇANKAYA		50.Yıl		116.0
20		ÇANKAYA		Ahlatlıbel (Anayasa Mah.)		6.3
21		GÖLBAŞI		İncek, Taşpınar, Kızılcaşar		2235.0
22		GÖLBAŞI		Mevlanakapı		300.0
23		ETİMESGUT		Göksu-Susuz		550.0
24		KEÇİÖREN		Kuzey Ankara Girişi		11.0
25		YENİMAHALLE-KEÇİÖREN		Kasalar		230.0
26		KEÇİÖREN		Alüminyumcular		80.0
27		KEÇİÖREN		Yükseltepe-Taşlıtepe		108.0
28		MAMAK-ÇANKAYA		İmrahor Vadisi		3560.0
29		MAMAK		Yeni Mamak		940.0
30		YENİMAHALLE		Saklıkent		125.0
31		KARAALİ		Beynam		633.2
32	*	ÇANKAYA		TOBB Lodumlu		14.3

Table 1 (Continued)

		Municipality		Project Name		Area (ha)
33	*	YENİMAHALLE		İstanbul Yolu Kent Girişi		365.0
34	*	GÖLBAŞI		Güneykent		3000.0
35	*	GÖLBAŞI		Bilkent		1669.0
36	*	ÇANKAYA		Çukuranbar		235.0
37	*	SİNCAN		Fatih		220.0
38	*	YENİMAHALLE		Batıkent		107.0
39	*	YENİMAHALLE		Tilkiler Çiftliği		25.63
40	*	YENİMAHALLE		TOBB Söğütözü		43.7
41	*	YENİMAHALLE		Temakent		2860.0
Total Area (ha)						**29911.7**
* Location and boundaries of projects have not been declared						

CHAPTER 4

THE URBAN REGENERATION PROJECT OF HACIBAYRAM SQUARE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter of this study the urban regeneration project of Hacıbayram Square and its environment, which has recently started to be carried within the extent of The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center, will be dealt with as an exemplary of the neoliberal transformation lived on spatial and representational level. As we have mentioned in the preceding chapter of this study, by the aid of recent legislations, there have been so many renewal projects were proposed and one by one historic city centers have been assigned to urban renewal projects in Turkey. In that regard, we argue that the urban regeneration project of Hacıbayram Square and its environment would constitute a well fitting example in order to understand the neoliberal spatial transformations in Turkey and how space is made operational for the quest of spatial, social and moral fixes.

At the outset, we shall deal with The Renovation Project of Ulus, Ankara Historical City Center; in doing so we shall concentrate on two perspectives. Firstly owing to constituting a model for understanding the disinvestment and investment processes in the core of Ankara, we delve into how the area has been turned into a deprivation area in order to legitimize the recent operations in Ulus for the pursuit of creating urban land rent and new spatial fix in the inner city. Secondly, the importance of the area as being the very place where the most definition of republican citizenship, publicity, and urban life accumulate, shall be

assessed in terms of whether the recent operations aim at any social or moral fix by changing those accumulated definitions or not.

Subsequent to take a look at the project of Ulus, Ankara Historical City Center; we shall concentrate on the Special Project Area; Hacıbayram Square and its environs within the extent of the Ulus project. Here in this part of this study, we intend to prove our arguments which were hitherto put forth regarding with how consent is constructed in the service of neoliberalism thereby reading the redefined meanings of public space and of public sphere in the area. Moreover, the emphasis of the recent project on religion as the ascending social value in the context of reclamation of tradition that we have mentioned in the previous chapter will be examined through reading the programme of the recent project. Such a reading will be done in order to prove our argument that space, more explicitly the transformation of the area into a religious touristic oriented area, is rendered operational so as to construct consent for the legitimization of the stark privatization on the area.

That is to say, space is used as a tool so as to set up not only spatial fix, but also moral and social fixes as a salve for the contradictions which has been brought forth by the neoliberal spatial interventions on the area. In order to depict the symbolic importance of the area, this implies the tension between the spatial interpretations of the secular republican era and the innate spatial interpretations of the religious representations, the design attitudes to the area which has been oscillated between being the secular or religious from the republican period to today will be concisely examined, along with the matter of which type of publicity is intended to be inserted into the public space, Hacıbayram Square. Afterwards, the recent proposal will be scrutinized elaborately in that regard through reading the plan notes of the project and raw materials regarding the planning proposals along with the interview done with the archeologist who is in

charge of providing information about the project at the Preservation Implementation Control Office (KUDEB) in Ankara.

4.2. The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center

4.2.1. Ulus as the Historic Site of Ankara

Having more than three thousand years of historical heritage, Ankara can be regarded as one of the oldest cities of Anatolian. The city has undergone cultural, political and economic transformations in its long history.[160] As the historian Vryonis acknowledges, the transformation entailed by the Hellenization, Romanization, Arabization, Christianization, Islamization and finally Turkization lived in Anatolia[161] have had a wide impact on Ankara's social, economic, and spatial structures.[162] The corollary of these transformations was that many different civilizations brought their cultural, political, and architectural accumulations to Ankara like Phrygian, Roman, Seldjukid and Ottoman.

As we have learnt from many resources about the history of Ankara and as we have observed the remains of those civilizations; today we can exactly differentiate that the contemporary city center of Ankara, particularly Ulus district is located on the ancient city whose establishment can be dated back to even Phrygian era.[163] Owing to its importance as the intersection point of Roman roads, Ankara's most prosperous period is dated back to the era under the domination of Roman Empire. Today, remains of the Roman period like Temple of Augustus and Rome, Roman Bath, and Column of Julian still stand in Ulus. Moreover, the citadel was built by the Galatians and completed by Romans.

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[160] Sevgi Aktüre, "16.Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz (ed.), Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, p.3.
[161] Vryonis, Spiros, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and The Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angles: University of California Press, 1971, p.1 cited in Sevgi Aktüre, 2000, p.3.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Sevim Buluç, "İlkçağda Ankara", *Ankara, Ankara,* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1994, p.22.

Playing a vital role in the determination of the city growth of Ankara, it has taken its present form during the Byzantine and Turkish principalities period.

In the development of the Ottoman Period, Ankara became one of the most important cities where the commercial activities have taken place as a node between the capital and the rest of the Anatolian cities. Therefore the population rose along with the growing importance of the city. Parallel with the rise in population, the city has begun to expand and new commercial districts have developed around Suluhan. *Bedestens* and *khans* where commercial activities took place and religious buildings were constructed in and around today's Ulus district in accordance with such a rise in population.[164] Nevertheless, towards the end of 19th century, Ankara had lost its importance entailed by the economic depression till its proclamation as the capital of Turkish Republic.

4.2.2. Legitimization of the Current Operations on the Historic City Center

As it might be construed from the concise history of the city given above; the area, on which the Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center has started to be implemented, is the very place where different historical layers overlapped. Given the emphasis that Ulus district is carrying a significant status for Ankara in terms of being the historic city center where the historic and the contemporary urban texture has mingled, the recent physical operations' motivation for preserving the area seems plausible on the surface.

As it was aforementioned, the authority of planning and implementing renewal projects for historic part of cities was given to local administrations according to the law entitled as Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties. As the title of the

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[164] *Project Competition on Ulus-Historical Center*, Ankara Greater Municipality Department of Planning, 1986, p.9.

law implies, physical operations could only be legal provided that the operation area is in decaying process. More explicitly, legitimization of the recent operations on Ulus hinges upon that the area is in deprivation and required to be rebuilt and restored as the decaying historic center of Ankara.[165] Once more, the recent physical operations' motivation for keeping decaying historic city center with the city' development process and revitalizing the area seems plausible, yet on the surface. It has been widely discussed among the Chambers of Architects and the Chambers of City Planners that the decadence of the area is not an organic process but rather the area is –deliberately or not- left to decaying process by series of wrong decisions regardless of their outcomes given by the local administrations.

Actually, the decadence process has started long ago on the area. As a result of the shit of the center of city from Ulus to Kızılay –Yenişehir-, hence public investments has switched to the new center; Ulus lost its central position and had undergone decadence process. However, with the endeavors of the Ankara Greater Municipality, "Ulus Historical Center Planning Competition" was launched in 1986 in order to "find solutions for conservation, rehabilitation, and renewal problems"[166] for the area. The competition was won by the METU Planning Team under the leadership of Bademli and the winning project had been put into practice in 1990. Owing to that Ulus Historic City Center Planning Area is highly vast; Bademli's plan proposed to separate the project area into public and private project packages that could be dealt with in itself.[167] In accordance with the project packages, implementations had started by the selected packages like Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Public Project Area, and Keklik

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[165] Ankara Greater Municipality Council, *Decision no:210*, available in
http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/?id=1526 [Accessed: 30.01.2008].
[166] *Project Competition on Ulus Historical Center*, Ankara Greater Municipality Department of Planning, 1986, p.14.
[167] Raci Bademli, "Hacıbayram Çevre Düzenleme Projesi", *Ankara Söyleşileri*, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları,1994, p.86.

Street and Its Surroundings Conservation and Development Project.[168] Unfortunately, the implementations had come to a standstill due to the diminishing support entailed by the changes in authorities.

On January 14th, 2005, within the extent of the Ulus Historic Center Conservation and Improvement Plan all ratified plans at 1/1000 and 1/5000 scale were cancelled with speculative excuses by the decision of Ankara Greater Municipality Council. Moreover, the proposal regarding the redefinition of the boundaries of the historic city center at 1/5000 scale, implementation plan at 1/1000 scale in the scope of the Renovation Project of Ulus, in lieu of the cancelled plan, were approved.[169] Thereafter, by the ratification of the Council of Ministers, the area was proclaimed as urban renewal area, so as to be the subject of new conservation and improvement plan.[170]

The legitimization of the recent project hinges upon the idea that the situation of the area is in decadence, opens an ample room for discussing whether there is a deliberate intent which have a hand in decadence process of the area for the seek of creating anew second circuit and of setting up spatial fix. At this point, Cengizkan's acknowledgement about the decadence process of the area will be used as a springboard into this discussion.

Cengizkan claims that it is possible to render a particular area as valuable or valueless by providing easy access or thwarting access to the area.[171] The access to the Ulus district is provided by public and private transport. Nevertheless, the main public transport terminal between Hacıbayram-Atıfbey areas has been

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[168] For further information about the implementations of Bademli's Plan, see; Sinem İ. Şiranlı *Urban Design As Process Design: An Evaluation of Ulus Historical Center Planning And Urban Design*, Unpublished Master Thesis, METU, 1999.
[169] Ankara Greater Municipality Council, *Decision no:210*
[170] The Council of Ministers, *Decision no: 2005/9289*, available in *http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Eskiler/2005/09/20050907-1.htm* [Accessed: 03.02.2008]
[171] Ali Cengizkan, *Kentte Rant Üretimi*, Cumhuriyet, 05.01.07.

closed for almost six years. According to Cengizkan, closing up the station without providing any alternative as public transport hub has hindered the access to Ulus.[172]
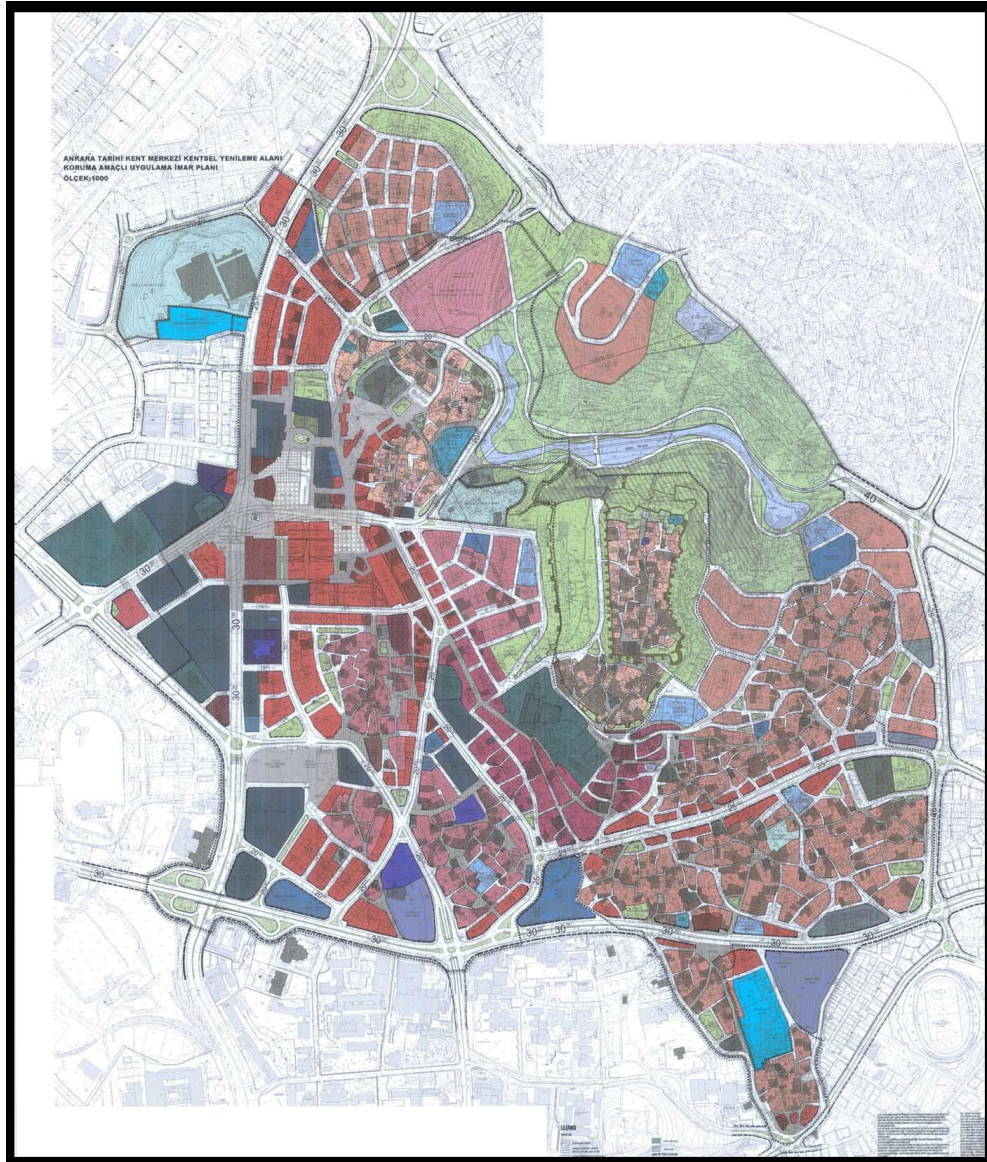

Figure 2: The Renovation Project Area of Ankara Historical City Center

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[172] Ali Cengizkan, *Ulaşımla Beslenmek ya da İşlevin Candamarını Kesmek*, Cumhuriyet, 29.12.06.

Therefore the area has hardly been used by most part of the city inhabitants that engenders dysfunctionalization of the area. In addition to rendering the area dysfunctional, utilization of the branch roads as a terminal for public transport might be another point which contributes the decadence process of the area owing to making a mess of the area and spoiling the urban texture. Moreover, it is important to note that the planlessness since the cancellation of Bademli's plan to today has abandoned the area by itself[173] and threw it into the midst of haphazardness considering the alleged physical operations within the extent of the new project have not started yet apart from the squatter clearance around Hacıbayram.

The steps that we have mentioned above dragged the area into the decadence process. Being not an organic process, the decadence on the area might be read through devalorization and valorization processes that aforementioned in the second chapter. If the old built environment turns into a barrier for capital accumulation, it is overcome through devalorization; more explicitly, where capital is going to leap, is thrown into decadence so as to create a decline. So that, revalorization namely the switch of investments on decaying areas would be legitimized. In that regard, it might be asserted that the cancellation of the Bademli's plan without any cogent excuses, and throwing the area into planlessness for more then three years can be construed as the first step – devalorization- of creating a spatial fix in the inner core of Ankara.

Nonetheless, in order to claim that there has been a quest for a spatial fix through the recent operations on Ulus, it must be examined that whether the project proposes a revalorization or not, that is to say, it must be clarified that the possible rent, which will be brought forth by the physical operations on the area, will be used to whose avail, public or private interests. Yet, considering the

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[173] Ibid.

immensity of the area, we shall prove our argument that there is a quest for spatial fix on the backdrop of recent operations through reading the land-use proposal for the Hacıbayram district in the following part.

4.3. The Special Project Area of the Hacıbayram Square and Its Environs

4.3.1. Hacıbayram as the New Focal Point for the Touristic City Center of Ankara

It is acknowledged that by the impact of the decline of nation-states, capital cities of nation-states have undergone transformation regarding the erstwhile functions as a capital and have compelled to attach themselves to the global economy by somehow. Ankara is one of those cities which lost its functional importance as a capital in the process of the dismantlement of the nation state.[174] Within the extent of the structural transformations that capital cities have undergone in order to merge with global economy, Ankara's new path has gradually been drawn with short-termist decisions.[175]

In this context, the path chosen for Ulus as the first center of the capital of Ankara could be read through the plan notes of the Renovation Project Area of Ankara Historical City Center. As it is written on the plan notes, the framework of decisions with respect to the over all aim of the project is defined as; developing the historic city center thereby utilizing the area for traditional residential and commercial functions along with cultural and touristic purposes.[176] Nevertheless, the articles in the same plan notes have a particular accentuation on touristic functions such as; the articles about the allowances regarding the conversion of residential units into pensions, cafés, restaurants so as to supply touristic

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[174] Ayda Eraydın and Bilge Armatlı Köroğlu, "Anakara'nın Yeni Gündemi: Ulus Devletin Başkentliğinden Küresel Ekonominin Düğüm Noktası Olmaya Uzanan Yapısal Dönüşüm Çabaları", *Cumhuriyet'in 'Ankara'sı*, Tansı Şenyapılı (ed.), Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2006, p.267
[175] Ibid.
[176] Plan notes: Article 4.2.5.1., Appendix A.

activities both in the residential zones which will be subject to conservation and in the residential/tourism zones[177], the article about the reservation of edifices which have architectural value for touristic facilities[178] and the article about conversion of historic commercial area into a mega-scale souvenir[179]. This accentuation arouses the idea that the path picked for the historic center of Ankara is being a touristic center mingled with commercial activities.

As far as we construed from the plan notes, and the plans at 1/1000 and 1/5000 scales; it could be claimed that Hacıbayram district is rendered to play a central role in this touristic city center. Here, what is meant by "central role" should be taken both in terms of physical centrality and in terms of representational centrality. At the outset, we intend to clarify the issue of physical centrality of Hacıbayram district thereby reading the macro decisions regarding the access to and circulation in Ulus. Afterwards, the issue of representational centrality that addressed to Hacıbayram square will be discussed.

4.3.1.1. Physical Centrality

Among the macro decisions regarding the access and the transport in the historic city center, the proposal about the pedestrianization is obvious. In accordance with the decision on plan notes[180], so as to create unity and transition between Ulus Square with its environs and Hacıbayram Square with its environs, Susam Street, Hükümet Road and Hacıbayram Road will be pedestrianized[181] as it could be seen below (Figure: 3). In order to pedestrianize the aforementioned area, the road junctions; Atatürk Boulevard-Çankırı Road and Cumhuriyet Road-Anafartalar Road will be embedded in ground.[182] Such an operation could be

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[177] Plan notes: Article 4.1.1.1. and Article 4.1.3.1., Appendix A.
[178] Plan notes: Article 4.2.5.1., Appendix A.
[179] Plan notes: Article 4.2.3.1., Appendix A.
[180] Plan notes: Article 4.4.1., Appendix A.
[181] Ankara Greater Municipality Council, *Decision no: 1619*.
[182] Plan notes: Article 4.4.3., Appendix A.

interpreted as accelerating the traffic speed and promoting private transport to historic center. Moreover, the central public transport terminal and car parking area is proposed to be located on the north side of Hacıbayram district.

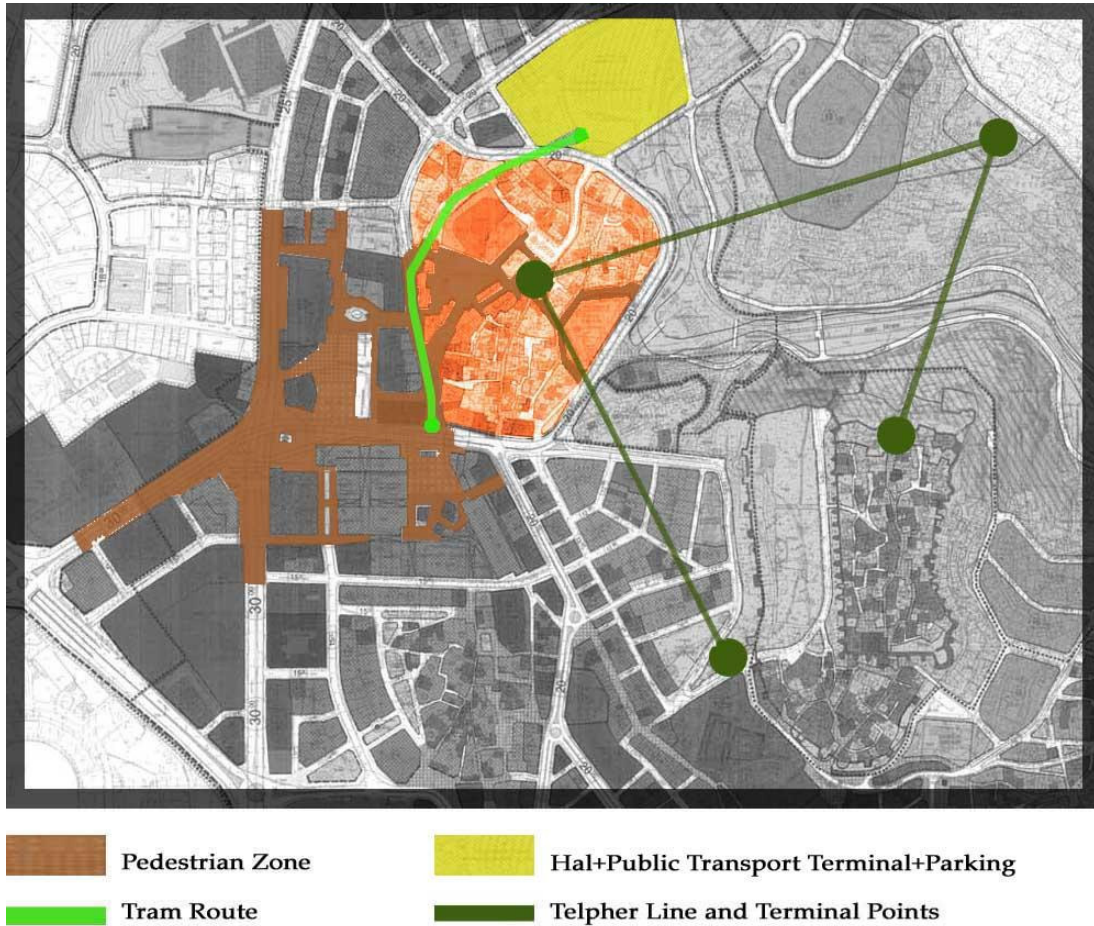Figure 3: Schematic plan regarding the macro decisions on transportation and circulation

The pedestrianization might be evaluated positively as long as easy access to the pedestrianized zone is provided. Nevertheless, despite of the vastness of pedestrian zone, the proposals about how public could access and circulate in the pedestrianized zone are ambiguous and far from being realistic. As far as we

figure out, tram system is suggested in order to provide transition from the public transport terminal to the existent center of Ulus district, Ulus Square[183] (Figure: 3).

Given the macro decisions regarding the transportation and circulation on the historic center; the vastness of the pedestrian zone, the weak connection between the transport terminal and Ulus Square, the proximity of transport terminal and main car parking area to Hacıbayram Square will bring about that Hacıbayram Square and its environment gains relative importance in the sense of physical centrality whilst the existent center, Ulus Square, loses its centrality due to the difficult access.

Furthermore, as it is shown above (Figure: 3), the telpher line is suggested so as to provide transportation between The Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Hacıbayram Square, Citadel and Hıdırlık Hill which have high touristic potential. It is specified that the line will not be used for public transport but for touristic purposes[184] and Hacıbayram Square is determined as the link between the pedestrian zone where tourism oriented commercial and residential units are intensified and the rest of touristic sightseeing points via telpher system.

4.3.1.2. Representational Centrality: Ulus Square vs. Hacıbayram Square

Within the extent of the Renovation Project Area of Ankara Historical City Center, two special project areas are proclaimed as; The Special Project Area of Ulus Square and its environs and The Special Project Area of Hacıbayram Square and its environs.[185] Such a spatial confinement that will be the subject of special project areas could be rationalized that these areas have required physical, social

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[183] The schematic tram route was specified on; Ankara Greater Municipality Council, *Decision no: 1619*.
[184] Ankara Greater Municipality Council, *Decision no: 1619*.
[185] Plan notes: Article 3., Appendix B.

87

and economic rehabilitation due to the decadence and deprivation processes as a result of the wrong decisions given by the local administrations thus far. However, it should be taken cognizance of that that these areas have occupied representational importance both in the collective memory and have played a crucial role in the definitions of urban life of Ankara. As once Park states "[…] in making the city man has remade himself"[186], we assume that built environment plays a significant role in the construction of collective memory and definitions of meanings regarding citizenship, publicity, and urban life.

Therefore, any physical operation, which would be implemented on these areas, should have brought along the discussion about the outcomes of these operations in the context of this representational importance.[187] Nevertheless, owing to that an enquiry into the representational importance of these areas requires special consideration, here in this study this issue will be mentioned briefly[188] in order to argue that the hierarchy among these areas, in terms of representational importance, is likely to be changed by the recent operations.

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[186] Robert Park, *On Social Control and Collective Behaviour*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967, p.3 cited in David Harvey, 2006, p.89.

[187] Here, what it is meant by representational importance of these areas is not only related with the collective memory, but also related with in which context how space is lived with reference to Lefebvre's conception of representational space. As Lefebvre utters, representational space is likely to be dominated, even passively experienced under the domain of prevailing conceptions of space. This domination relation between the lived space-representational space- and physical operations as the manifestation of conceived space-representations of space- could be elaborated by having recourse to Lefebvre; "We may be sure that representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and specific influence in the production of space. Their intervention occurs by way of construction- in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in spatial context and a texture which call for "representations" that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms" Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1991, p.42.

[188] For detailed information about the importance of these areas in terms of collective memory, see; İnci Yalım, *Ulus Square as a Representational Form of Collective Memory*, Unpublisjed Master Thesis, METU, 2001 and , Özkan Karababa, *City and Collective Memory: Urban Projects in The Hacıbayram Area*, Unpublisjed Master Thesis, METU, 2002.

Today, Hacıbayram Square and its surrounding are reckoned as the most important religious site in Ankara where funeral ceremonies are being held. Moreover, the site gives commercial services so as to foster religious activities; containing bookstores in which one could find religious books about Islam, politics, history, travel agents for the pilgrimage to Mecca, shops in which accessories for funeral ceremonies like *kefen* and for praying activities like seccade, tesbih. Similar to the existent utilization, the site had been used for mostly religious and congregational activities in the pre-republican period. Even, having a visit to the mausoleum of Hacı Bayram Veli adjacent to the Hacıbayram Mosque was reckoned as pilgrimage.[189]

Besides being a religious center, the site had been used for congregation in the organization process of the War of Independence and in the earliest Republican Period which will be mentioned elaborately in the next part thereby discussing the site as a public space. Yet, as Karababa acknowledges, the centrality of Hacıbayram had been faded in the Republican period;

> "In the urban configuration of the new capital the Hacıbayram Mosque gradually lost most of its importance as an urban center. Parallel to the decreasing role of religion in the political life, the Hacıbayram Mosque also lost its central role within the urban formation. The modernization project of the new Republic decreased the role of the Hacıbayram Mosque in the social life of the city…"[190]

It could be claimed that due to the decreasing role of religion in the political life of Republican period, the representational centrality of Hacıbayram was

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[189] The excerpt from the novel "Üç Nesil, Üç Hayat" gives an idea about the religious importance in the period of Abdülaziz' reign. "Bu gidiş yarı haç sayılır, Hacıbayram Veli Hazretleri'nin türbesine yüz süreceğiz!" Refik Halit Karay, *Üç Nesil Üç Hayat*, İstanbul: Lütfi Kitabevi, 1943, p.106. cited in Suavi Aydın et al., 2005, p.302.
[190] Özkan Karababa, 2002, p.128.

devolved to Ulus Square and its environs from the early Republican Period to the 1980s[191].

In the urban formation of early republican era, the center of social life had become the area within the triangle confined by I. Turkish Grand National Assembly building, Ankara Palas which is the first modern hotel of Ankara and the train station.[192] Correspondingly, a vivacious social life had been blossoming around the late Ottoman commercial building Taşhan which is adjacent to the mentioned triangle and the area was named soon as Hakimiyet-i Milliye Meydanı -today's Ulus Square- dedicated to the national sovereignty. Thereafter, by the emplacement of the statue of Atatürk designed by Krippel, the square has acquired a special status regarding the commemoration of the War of Independence and has become the symbolic center of the capital of new Republic. As Jansen was carrying away the center of administrative facilities to Yenişehir, he kept Ulus as the business and commercial center of the capital, therefore the vivacious social life has been kept in and around the square.[193]

Moreover, by the construction of commercial buildings around the square in 1950s and 1960s –each was selected as the result of architectural competitions-, the central character of Ulus square has been consolidated and the square has gained further significance with relation to history of modern Turkish architecture. The square has been the arena where one can observe national and

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[191] As we have mentioned in the fourth chapter, the 1980s implies the criticisms on the major republican tendencies about breaking off tradition during late-modern period and the reclamation f tradition as religion. Nevertheless, it could not be asserted that Hacıbayram and its environs have gained its centrality after the 1980s rather have acquired relative importance comparing to its erstwhile situation.

[192] Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, "Homo Politicus of Ancyrensis", *Ankara, Ankara,* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1994, p.141

[193] Elvan Altan Ergut, *Ulus Meydanı ve Çevresinin Mimarlık Tarihi'ndeki Yeri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme*, Unpublished Paper, 2004.

international architectural styles in terms of varying architectural approaches to the production of built environment during the 20th century in Turkey.[194]

Given the representational importance of the areas which will be the subject of the special projects in the scope of recent renovation plan, it could be argued that each of these operation areas has significant status addressing different representationalities and different periods. It is important to reiterate that representational hierarchy between these areas has been formed so as to render Ulus Square as the new representational center beginning with early republican period. Nevertheless, as far as we construe through reading the plan notes of the recent renovation plan, the proposed physical operation will subvert the characteristic of the Ulus Square, hence the representational character of it.

In the scope of the Special Project Area of Ulus Square and its environs, the built environment around the square, particularly the buildings constructed since 1950s, are harshly criticized. According to plan notes, the built environment around the square consists of the public building; 13-storeyed section of Ulus İşhanı and commercial buildings; Anafartalar Çarşısı and 100. Yıl Çarşısı are censured for being massive and hence thwarting the silhouette of citadel and Ulus district from being perceived. Thereafter in the plan notes it is emphasized that these negative aspects will strongly be taken into consideration.[195] Although most of the buildings subjected to criticism are credited as exemplary of varying approaches to the modern Turkish architecture by professionals and scholars, considerations about these buildings ended up with the decision of destruction within the extent of the current special project.

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[194] Ibid.
[195] Plan notes: Article 3.2., Appendix B.

Given that Ulus Square and its environs played a significant role in the modernization process of Ankara and has become the symbol of being modern; as it is acknowledged by the chambers of related professions that such destruction will entail the representational references of the square fade out. Not only will the proposals cause such a fading with regards to the modern references, but also it will change the period to which the square addresses its representational importance through the proposed construction of new Taşhan Arcade referring to the erstwhile state of the Square in the late Ottoman period. Whilst, the purpose of the construction of Taşhan arcade is explained as re-animating the typology of traditional Turkish arcade[196]; the conversion of Ulus İşhanı into hotel[197], which was built as the modern interpretation of traditional arcade, is ironic. We argue that all these physical operations proposed in the scope of the special project for Ulus square, will have entailed the square lose its representational importance for Ankara.

Concerning the Hacıbayram Square and its environs it is important to note that in a parallel manner there have been shifts in the references to which the Hacıbayram district addresses its representational importance. As it was stated above, due to the decreasing role of religion in the modernization project of new republic, The Hacıbayram Mosque and its surrounding had undergone a discreditation in the republican period. Yet, along with remaining divergent from religious importance in the republican period; having been the site where layers of different cultures and periods juxtaposed, historical importance had been attached to the area in accordance with the objectives of secular republic. As we shall argue in the next part, beginning with the early republican period urban designs, which were implemented on the area thus far, has manifested such

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[196] Plan notes: Article 5.2.2., Appendix B.
[197] From the interview with Berathan Bilir who is responsible for providing information about the recent project, KUDEB.

objectives which aim at to render the representational importance of the area as being equally distant from religious representations of Ottoman period and pagan representations of Roman and Phrygian period so as to credit all layers of different cultures and periods. However, having looked at today's situation of the area, it could be claimed that Hacıbayram and its environs are being utilized mostly for religious purposes through the appropriation of users.

Through the dissection of the representational shift on the area from the republican period to today, it is aimed at to question the approach of the recent proposal to this oscillation. We argue that by the implantation of the recent proposal, there will be possible another representational shift regarding the references to which Hacıbayram district is addressed. Although the project proposed for the area will be elaborately examined in the next part of this chapter; in order to mention briefly it could be construed from the plan notes, the area is proposed to be a historical center where religious, touristic and commercial facilities mix.[198] In this mix used proposal, particular emphasis on the religious utilization of the area could be read through the enlargement of the mosque section by the construction of a new separate mosque in the square.[199] Moreover, contrariwise to the preceding design approaches sought for modern interpretation of the traditional fabric which defines the boundaries of square, in the recent proposal it is specified that the urban fabric around the square will be revived by keeping the contours and heights.[200] That is to say, the proposal seems to pursue for a kind of *staged authenticity*[201] serving for religious and commercial facilities thereby reanimating the old urban fabric as once they had been before.

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[198] Plan notes: Article 4.3.1.2., Appendix B.
[199] Plan notes: Article 3.1., Appendix B.
[200] Ibid.
[201] MacCannell uses the phrase "staged authenticity" in order to mean a kind of strained truthfulness which embodies mystification that supports social reality. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of The Leisure Class*, California: The University of California Press, 1999, p. 93.

In both special project areas Ulus Square and Hacıbayram Square will have undergone a representational shift in relation to the addressed references along with the implementation of the recent proposal. It could be asserted that while Ulus Square and its surroundings as being the symbol of modernization process is subjected to disidentification, the references for the representationality of Hacıbayram Square are reinforced in a selective manner.

4.3.2. The Transformation of Hacıbayram Square as Public Space

With reference to the discussions about public space and public sphere mentioned in the second chapter of this study, here it is noteworthy to reiterate that public space as being the topographical space, where every individual or group can freely participate politically and socially, has been subjected to shrinkage within the scope of neoliberal spatialization. However, as we argued, the transformation lived on the public space should not only be assessed from the bivalent perspective of public versus private but also the assault on the public space should have been considered as the physical operations for the pursuit of social and moral fixes. As being the topographical manifestation of public sphere, built environment and representations addressed to this built environment, particularly representationality of public space has been regarded as a *communication tool*.[202] Then, the discussion about physical operations on public space gains importance with respect to how and to which extend this communication are affected by these physical operations. In addition to that, such an assessment of physical operations on public space in that regard opens an ample room for discussing how space is rendered operational for the sake of providing fixes to the contradictions of neoliberalization.

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[202] Şebnem Gökçen Dündar, "Kamusal Alan'dan 'Kamusal Mekân'a Kentsel Tasarımın Değiş(tir)en Rolü: Küresel / Yerel Parçalar Üzerinden Kent Temsilleri Üzerine Bir Tartışma", *Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu*, İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Yayını, 2003, p.203.

Therefore, it is critical to assess the transformation that Hacıbayram Square and its environs undergone in order to understand the characteristic of the publicity, hence communication is introduced via recent operations. In doing so, it is important to disclose that the area as a public space has always been spatially vulnerable as being an operational tool against social and moral fixes. Thus, we intend to comprehend the ongoing transformation lived on the area thereby examining the implemented and proposed designs for the area and their approach to the concept of public space.

4.3.2.1 The Early Republican Approach: Jansen's Proposal for the Hacıbayram Square

On the assumption that public space is the very place where every individual or group can participate politically and socially; till the early years of republican period, besides being a religious center Hacıbayram Mosque and its environs had manifested such an attribution of public space, though there had not been any physical arrangements so as to render here as public space. As we have learnt from the sources that narrate the years of the War of Independence, Hacıbayram Mosque was chosen for many congregations. One of these congregations was organized by Mehmet Akif Ersoy on June 30th; in Hacıbayram Mosque he made a speech in order to persuade the public get into the National Struggle.[203] Once more, Hacıbayram Mosque was chosen for the gathering of teachers from all over Anatolia and the National Assembly.[204]

Given that Hacıbayram Mosque and its surroundings were not only a religious center but also a gathering point where the organizations of The War of

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[203] İsmail Safi, *Türkiye'de Muhafazakarlığın Düşünsel-Siyasal Temelleri ve Muhafazakar Demokrat Kimlik Arayışları*, Unpublished Phd. Thesis, Ankara University, 2005, p.107.

[204] "1919 Haziran'ında Ankara'da kadın erkek öğretmenler, Muallim ve Muallimeler Cemiyeti'ni kurmuşlardı. Cemiyet-i katib-i umumisi Nami (Duru)ydu ve Meclis'e gönderdiği bir davetiye ile Hacı Bayram'daki mevlide cemiyet çalışmalarına hüsn-ü muvaffakiyetlerini bildirmek üzere çağırıyordu." cited in Suavi Aydın et al., 2005, p.370.

Independence had taken place till the early years of republican period. Nevertheless, religious importance of the area had still been prevailing. By the establishment of the Turkish Republic which is distinguished by being secular from the preceding Ottoman Empire; the importance of the religion had been gradually faded. As a result, the secular objectives of the new republic were reflected to the urban configuration of Ankara and the position of Hacıbayram in this configuration. This could be read through the planning efforts of Herman Jansen who was responsible for planning the capital of new Republic.

In the early years of republic, planning efforts for the old historical urban fabric in Ulus was challenging considering that the new republic has carried out a pure modernization project offering a rupture from the past and the operations planned for the old urban fabric would have defined the republic's relationship with its past. The reconciliation of its past was done in a selective manner, constructing the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic cultures. Thus, Jansen had approached to the old historical section of the city as the center of the War of Independence[205] and also an archeological site which should be preserved. In Jansen's plan notes, The Temple of Augustus and The Hacıbayram Mosque were among the historical edifices which should be preserved.[206]

In accordance with the objectives of new secular republic, Jansen designed Hacıbayram and its environs so as to come into prominence with its historical aspects, rather than religious aspects. Jansen, as being a follower of Camillo Sitte[207], had been highly influenced by the public square notion of Sitte who "campaigned against straight rectangular lines and admired the mixed angles of streets found in medieval towns, the churches placed eccentrically in squares

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[205] Herman Jansen, *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937 p.7 cited in Özkan Karababa, 2002, p.135.
[206] Herman Jansen, *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937 p.40 cited in Özkan Karababa, 2002, p.137.
[207] Gönül Tankut, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Şehir Mimarisi 'Ankara' ", *Bir Başkentin Oluşumu Ankara*, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 1969, p.24.

even partially surrounded by small houses".[208] This influence could be read through Jansen's proposal for Hacıbayram Square.[209] As it could be seen below, the square was designed with an irregular shape so as to emphasize the organic growth of the square as it is in medieval urban plazas and was surrounded by hatches in order to give the sense of an enclosed square which is drawn by Sitte as an essential quality of any artistic effect.[210]

Jansen proposed a relatively small square in the southeast side of the mosque and temple which allows quite vista for visitors to observe the historical buildings. The open air museum adjacent to the Temple of Augustus, which was sooner used for the storage of archeological remains excavated from Malatya Arslantepe (Figure: 5), renders the site as completely historical place for sightseeing. In accordance with the republican endeavor for constructing the roots of Turkish nationalism through pre-Islamic cultures, Jansen proposed the area as a historic sightseeing place regardless the site's religious identity.

Yet, the subsequent planning and implementations did not go in conformity with Jansen's decisions; the proposal of Jansen could not have been put into practice.[211] Although in Yücel-Uybadin plan, the proportional size relation between the buildings and the surrounding open space was changed and relatively widened open space in square-shaped was suggested; frequently changed authorities and high speculative demands subverted the area. Then, spontaneously expanded square, which was far from being a public square, had started to be utilized as car parking area till the implementation of Bademli's structural plan for the area.

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[208] T.W. Freeman, "Reviewed Works: City Planning According to Artistic Principles by Camillo Sitte", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 132, No.1, March 1996, pp.135-136.
[209] Such a reading has been done before by Özkan Karababa, 2002.
[210] Camillo Sitte, "The Enclosed Character of The Public Square", *The City Reader*, London: New York: Routledge, 2003, p.421.
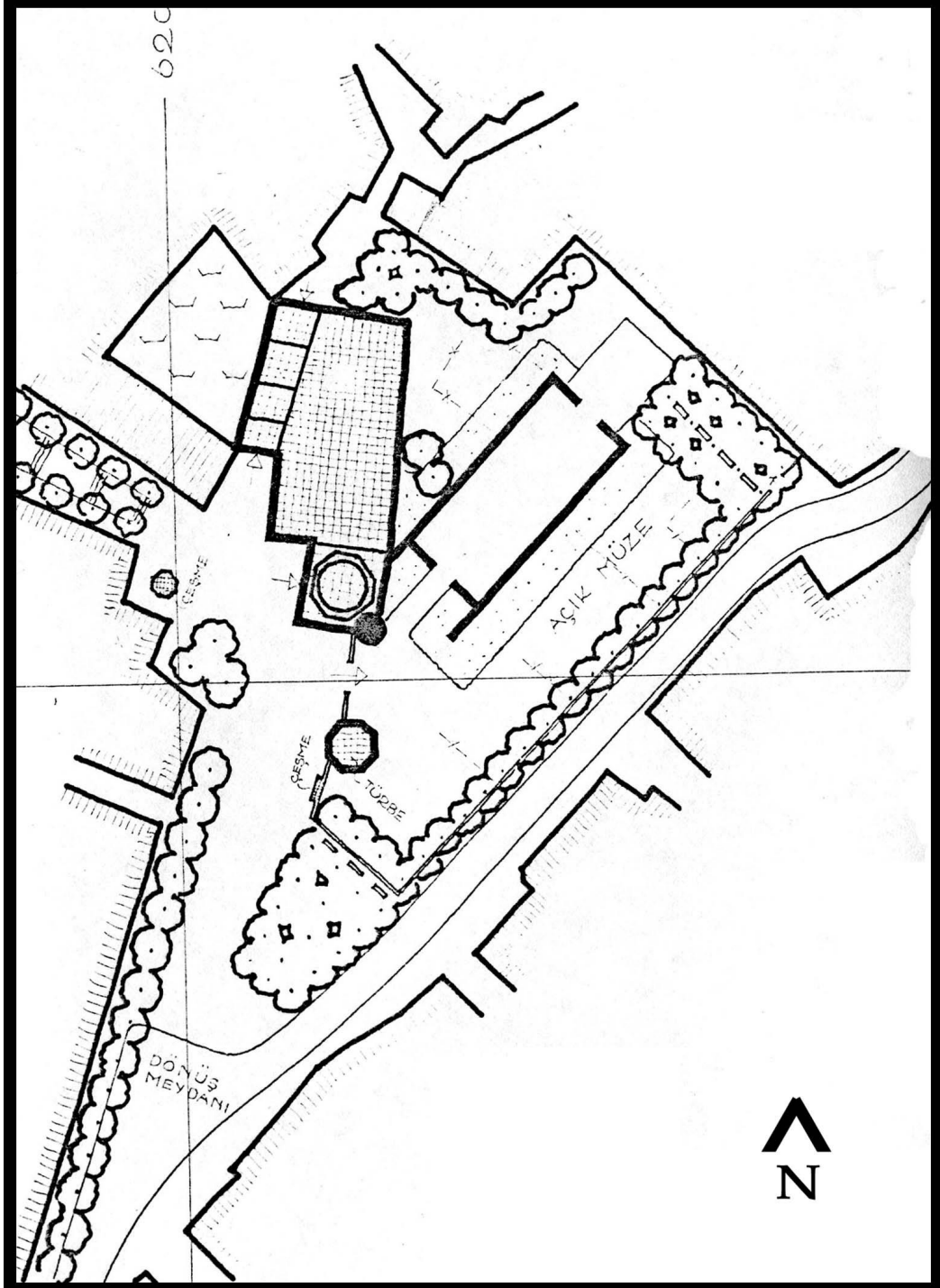[211] Raci Bademli, 1994, p.89.

Figure 4: Jansen's proposal for the Hacıbayram Mosque and The Temple of Augustus.
(Baykan Günay's Archive)

4.3.2.2. METU Planning Team's Proposal and Implementations for the Hacıbayram Square and Its Environs

As being the winner project of Ulus Historical Center Planning Competition launched in 1986, the plan of the METU Planning Team under the leadership of Bademli proposed an interlock of urban squares in the historic center of Ankara, Ulus. As Bademli stated, up to that time unfortunately any well-defined legible urban square which is designed by taking cognizance of its surrounding had been brought forth in the metropolis of Ankara. Therefore, within the aims of their proposal fulfilling such an absence in conformity with the modern image of Ankara was having priority.[212] In that scope, introducing urban squares as public spaces in Ankara's social life had been reified on the proposal of main squares in the core of Ulus; Hacıbayram Square, Hükümet Square and Ulus Square (Figure: 6). The first implementation had been started in Hacıbayram Square and its environs under the name of Public Project Area 2 (KPA2): Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project. Bademli stated that, the choice of Hacıbayram project among the project packages as the first implementation was not individual but rather political.[213]

As far as we could read through the requirements regarding the Hacıbayram area specified in the project competition, the concept envisioned for the site was far from being a public space; but rather the idea of a religious center had come into prominence in the programme. Besides the rehabilitation of the mosque, the temple, and the square; a multipurpose building "Hacıbayram Culture Center" was required. Moreover, it was suggested that the existing buildings might have been used for Koran courses, *tabutluk*, *gusulhane*, animal sacrifice, library,

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[212] Ibid., p.90.
[213] Raci Bademli, "Ulus Tarihi Kent Planlama Çalışmaları", *13-14 Aralık 1991 Türk-Alman Semineri*, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 1992, p.22.

exhibition hall, book store, and imam's dwelling. In addition to these, the enlargement of walls defining the mosque's courtyard was asked.[214]
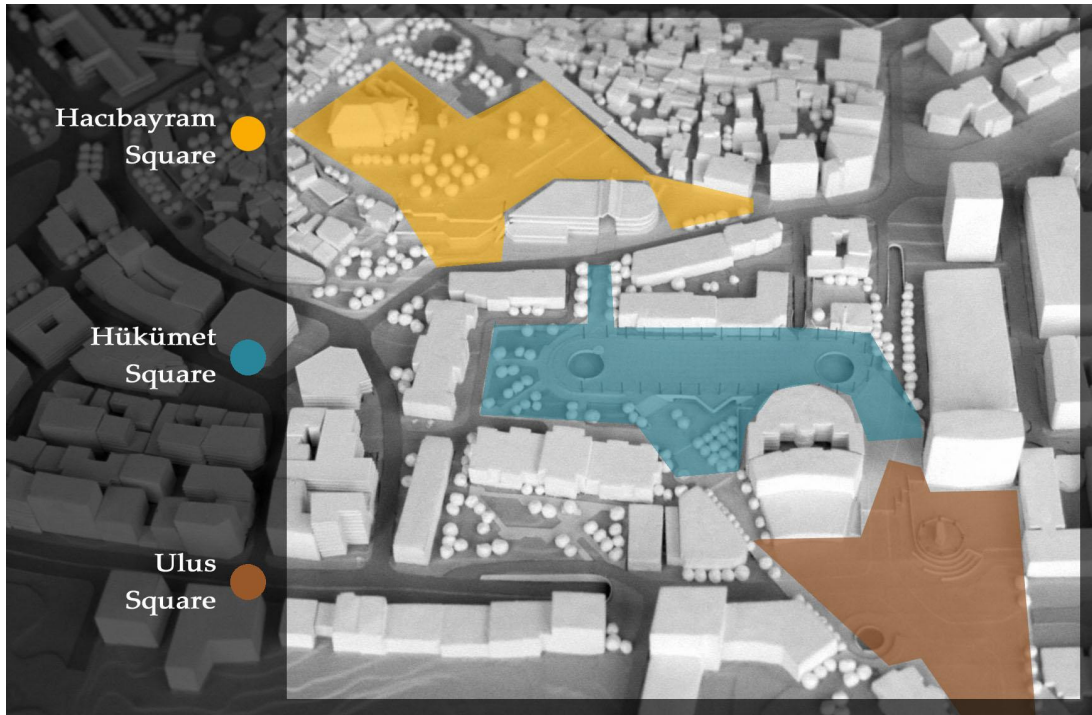
Figure 5: Interlocking urban squares proposed in the plan of METU Planning Team
(Baykan Günay's Archive)

Nevertheless, within the extent of Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project, the area was serving as far more than a site for religious activities and was designed as an urban square in the interlock of other squares. The requirements mentioned in the competition were not included in the project.[215] What was intended by creating an urban square in Hacıbayram could be understood through Bademli's consideration. According to him, as being a sub-center of Ankara with its religious, historical, cultural, and touristic values,

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[214] *Project Competition on Ulus Historical Center*, 1986, p.5
[215] Özkan Karababa, 2002, p.159.

the project area itself carries richness alongside being in social and physical chaos both derived from all these values with one accord. Considering the situation of the area, the aim of the project was defined as transforming this chaos into a physical richness by rendering the area as a cultural focus of modern Ankara and creating a well-defined legible urban square.[216]

As it was emphasized before, there has been tension between the spatial interpretations of the secular republican era and the innate spatial interpretations of the religious identity of the area. It could be argued that the innate tension on the area manifested itself on the design attitudes to the site. In that regard, it could be claimed that METU planning team's project determined its position without being tendentious. The possible discord between the religious emphasis and the historical emphasis -as it was in the Jansen's proposal- was intended to be solved by inserting an urban square which could provide a ground for "all" utilizations with the emphasis of the public identity of the square.[217]

The idea of urban square as a social gathering place, which offered heterogeneity in users and uses of the site, was reified on the square in a fitting manner as being the fundamental element which collects the all facilities together. The factual function of the square in the over all design was specified as a frame where all the metaphorically and physically fragmented components; the mosque, the temple, the remains of rampart, existent old and contemporary urban fabric, etc. come together into a meaningful whole.

Besides proposing a new function into the urban vocabulary of the city by the insertion of the urban square as a public space for social gathering, it was attempted to generate a new approach regarding the way how all these cultural

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[216] Raci Bademli, 1992, p.25.
[217] Ibid., p.26.

heritage could be harmonized by means of a contemporary architectural style. The utilization of the geometry of square in relation to the orientations of Hacibayram Mosque and the Temple of Augustus could be interpreted as the pursuit of a modern architectural style that represents the juxtaposition of the distinctive yet equally important representatives.[218]

The pursuit of an architectural style in harmony with the existent old fabric could be read through the other design components of the project. Bademli states that arcade shops facing the castle as being frequently used typology in the Ottoman architecture were reinterpreted within modern architectural style. By the design of arcade shops, besides defining the square with its linear form at the mosque side, at the rear side of shops it was aimed to engender a harmony between the organic urban texture of periphery and the square.[219] Correspondingly, the terraced shops designed providing continuity of rampart remains has contributed to the definition of the square with its linear form, yet transparent so as to let circulation from the Hükümet Square. It was aimed at creating an accord with the organic texture here too by the   articulations on the façade of the structure facing Hükümet Square.

The contribution of METU's implementation for the area might have been positively credited in relation to its approach to the problematic issue of oscillation between secular and religious representations on the area. By the introduction of urban square to the site which houses heterogeneous utilizations as a social gathering and by the insertion of a new modern vocabulary in the sense of engendering a common architectural style as a way of reconciliation between the cultural layers juxtaposed on the area the project has overcome this problematic issue.

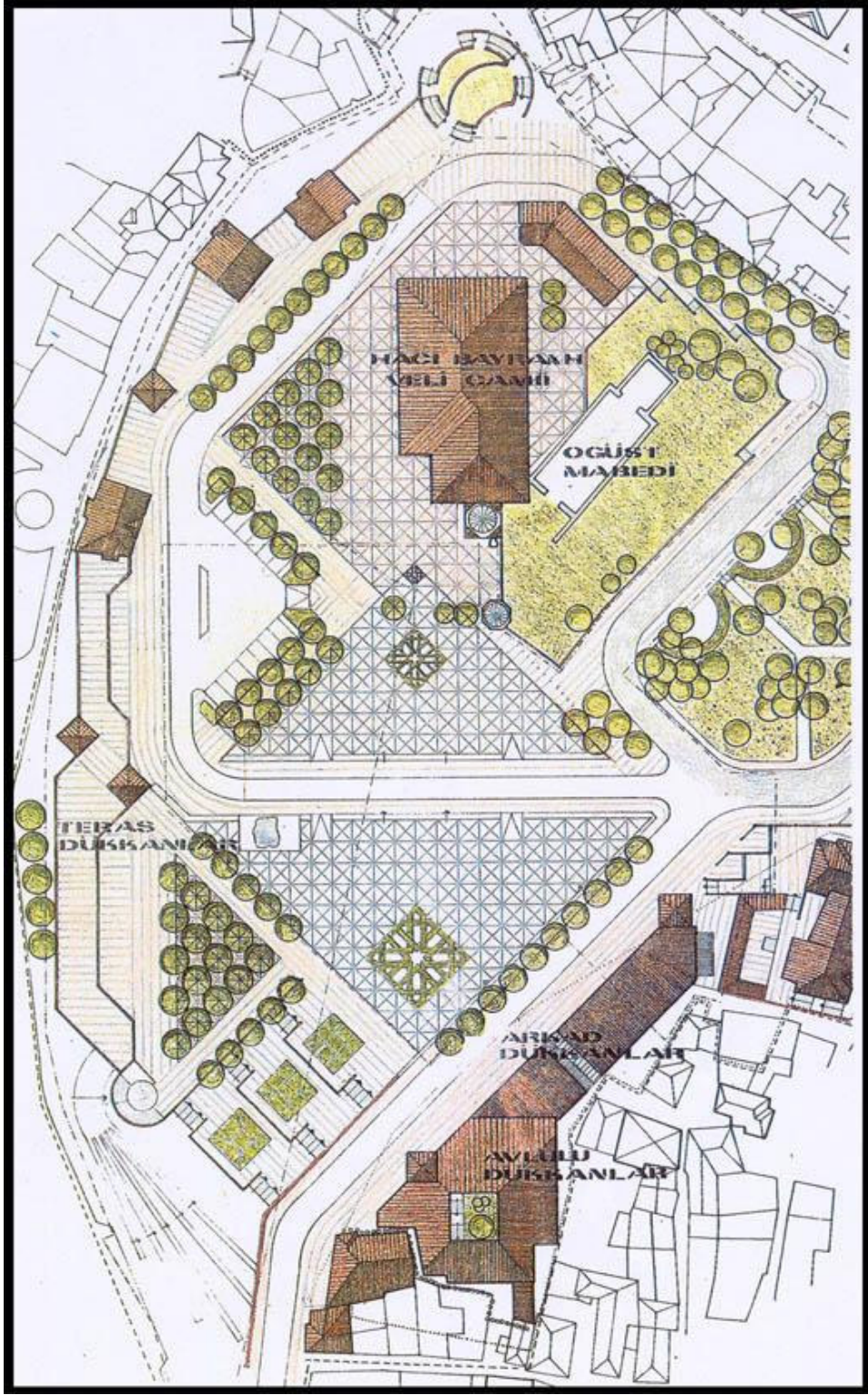[218] Özkan Karababa, 2002, p.154.
[219] Raci Bademli, 1992, p.27.

Figure 6: Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project
(Source: Baykan Günay Archive)

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Nevertheless, as Şiranlı states that though the project had been fully supported; in the political authority of conservative parties which would probably not appreciate the modern character drawn in the project, the implementation was interrupted.[220] Correspondingly, such an interruption is interpreted as the political choice of political authorities;

> Since the main concept of the project such as, the square design in front of the Hacıbayram Veli Mosque was discouraged, the attempts for the implementation process of the project were interrupted and every kind of support given in the previous political authority were cut off.[221]

Inevitably after the interruption of the implementation process, the area had turned into its old function and has started to be utilized as car park again.

4.3.2.3. Reading the Stance of the Current Proposal

Subsequent to the cancellation of METU planning team's project, in lieu of the cancelled plan The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center was approved. Within the extent of the new project, as it is specified in the terms of the contract, the first phase of the project is determined as the architectural-statistical survey, and the restoration projects of Hacıbayram Mosque, the mausoleum and the Augustus temple.[222] Soon after, it was declared to public that the first implementation will have been started on Hacıbayram district.[223] Concerning the first implementation, we have learnt that the urban design project at 1/50 scale designed for the Hacıbayram Square is in the process of ratification. Due to the legal obstacles to the access of plan which is in approval process, here we intend to read the proposal for the site and to understand the stance of the proposal through the plan notes, partial plan acquired from KUDEB

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[220] Sinem İ. Şiranlı, 1999, p.76.
[221] S.Sayıt, *An Interview about Hacıbayram Veli Mosque Environmental Renewal Project*, 1999 cited in Sinem İ. Şiranlı, 1999, p.73.
[222] The Terms of Contract of The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center, Article: 7.1.
[223] Büyükşehir *Ankara Dergisi*, No:177, 7-13, Ankara Greater Municipality, May 2008, p.6.

and the interview done with who is in charge of providing information about the project.

As we have mentioned before, the preceding project wrote a programme so as to render the site as a public space for heterogeneous social gathering by the insertion of an urban square in the interlock of Hükümet and Ulus Squares. However, the suspended implementations undermined the objectives of the project and the area has been subjected to appropriation as a site where mostly religious activities has been carried out around the mosque. The dynamics of this appropriation could be read by having recourse to the study of Karababa which involves interviews with the users in order to understand the assessment of the implemented Hacıbayram Project from users' perspective.

It is stated that, according to the users whilst the earlier project has been appreciated in relation to improving the physical quality of the built environment, the stance of METU's project has been criticized because the religious activities was challenged with the concept of urban square. The consensus is that the most important entity for the identity of the area is the Hacıbayram Mosque and religious activities; nevertheless the previous project has been accused of being ignorant to the identity of area. The emphasis on the need for physically well-defined, visually secluded open space in the service of the activities taken place around the mosque, the demand for the construction of an additional place in order to increase the capacity of the mosque and service area for prayers are discernible among users' evaluation regarding the requirements for the area.[224]

Given that the representational importance of the area is mostly attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque and religious activities according to the evaluation of users.

[224] Özkan Karababa, 2002, pp.176-180.

Moreover, needs and demands from users regarding the programme of the site, which were specified as the relative emphasis to the religious purposes like enlargement of the mosque's courtyard and additional place for praying and related services, opens some room for discussing the programme of the current proposal. Through reading what is proposed by the recent plan, it could be asserted that the programme by focusing on the religious identity of the area arouses the idea that there has been a quest for appealing to the public opinion.

Concerning the proposal for the area, in the plan notes it is specified that along with the restoration of the Hacıbayram Mosque, within the extent of restoration project the section, which was constructed as an addition to the mosque, will have been removed. In lieu of the removed part, provided that being in harmony with the façade, height and architectural style of the Hacıbayram Mosque, an additional mosque will have been built at the rear side of the Hacıbayram Mosque.[225]

Regarding the courtyard of the mosque, although there is not any specification in the plan notes, as far as we could read through the partial plan, the proportional size relation between the previous and the recent projects shows that the open space servicing for the mosque will have been enlarged according to the demands of users. As it could be seen on the figure, the two plots at the back side of the mosque will have been allocated for the facilities which were mentioned in the competition booklet[226] like *tabutluk*, *gasilhane*, place for *imam*, etc. that were not included in the previous project (Figure: 8).

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[225] Plan notes: Article: 3.1, Appendix B.
[226] *Project Competition on Ulus Historical Center*, 1986, p.5

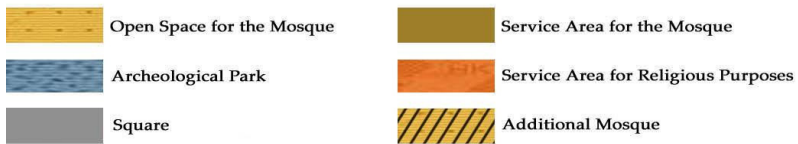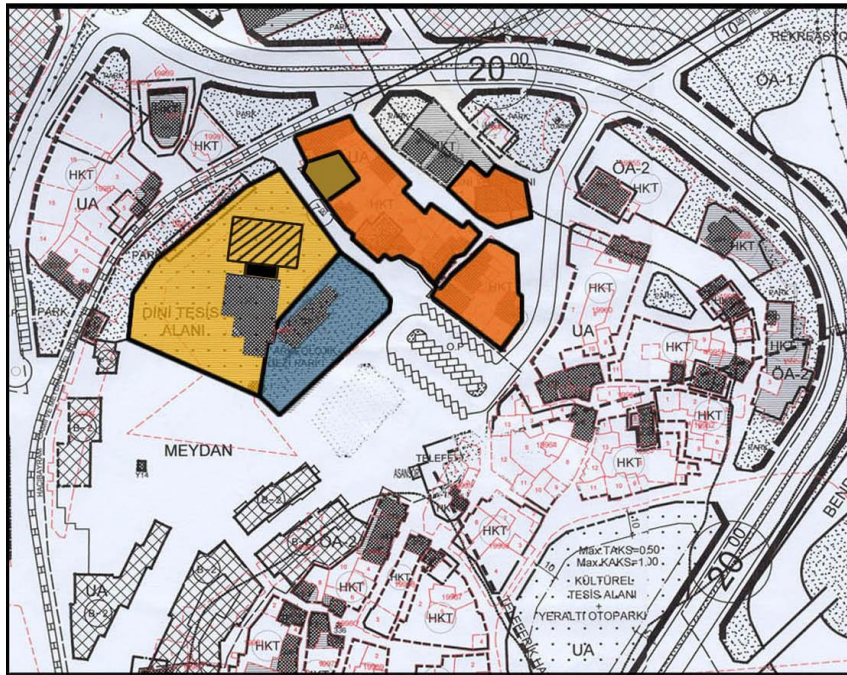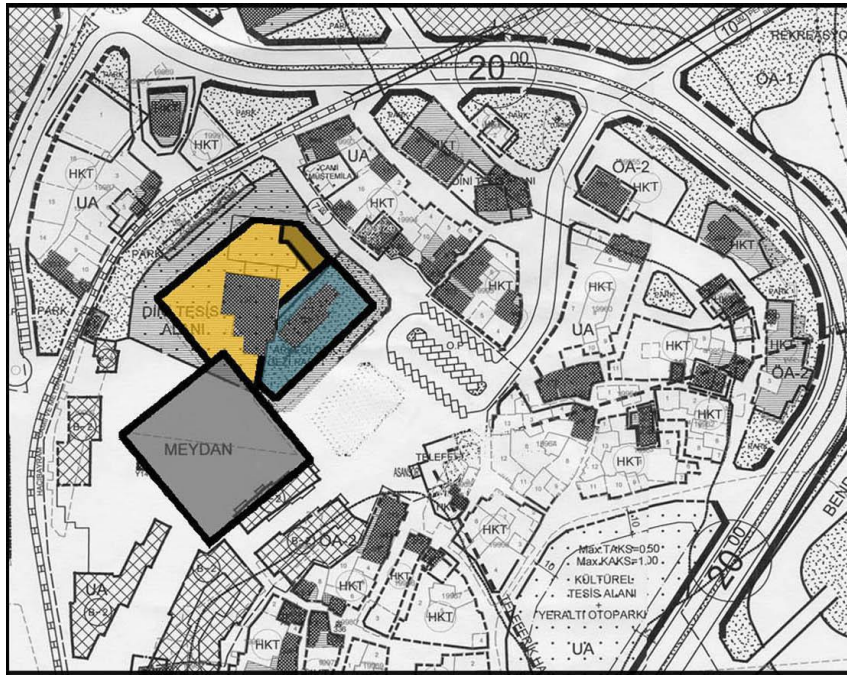| | Open Space for the Mosque | | Service Area for the Mosque |
| | Archeological Park | | Service Area for Religious Purposes |
| | Square | | Additional Mosque |

Figure 7: The plan indicated above has shown the function areas in the implemented project and the plan indicated below has shown the function areas in the current proposal.

In addition to giving service to the mosque, the plot closer to the mosque will have been reserved for religious and charitable foundations.[227] In comparison with the previous project designed by METU planning team, the recent proposal seems more correspondent to the concerns of the 1986 competition in which religious emphasis had come into prominence in the programme.

As much as we could construe, besides the shift in the emphasis from heterogeneous social gathering proposed in the previous project to relatively religious oriented gathering pertaining to the programme of the area; it could be anticipated that there will have been another shift in the references to which the representationality of the area has been addressed beginning with the republican period. It could be argued that, while in the early republican period edifices which belongs to the pre-Islamic culture, were chosen as reference, in the previous project an urban square was chosen as reference deliberately regardless of any concern for creating a one to one bridge with any heritage by the insertion of a modern architectural style.

Whereas, regarding the recent proposal it is specified that the old urban fabric defining the square will be revived by keeping the contours and heights. In order to "represent" the erstwhile built environment small scale plazas will have been inserted into the reanimated urban fabric.[228] Here, what can be observed is the quest for "emulating" the old urban fabric as being the reference of Ottoman period. In order to illustrate the old urban fabric and its contours defining the square in the 1980s when the Ottoman fabric had still been discernible, the plan is put on the right below of the figure 8.[229] In comparison with this plan, it could be

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[227] From the interview with Berathan Bilir, KUDEB.
[228] Plan notes: Article: 3.1., Appendix B.
[229] The plan is taken from *the Project Competition on Ulus Historical Center*, 1986.

seen the recent plan is in attempt to reanimate the contours of old urban fabric –

shown in blue- at the point of entry to the square.

Figure 8: Schematic indication about the vista and the old urban fabric: the plan indicated left has shown the shops emulating the old urban fabric in blue and direction of vista in the recent proposal, the photo indicated right above has shown the erstwhile vista in 1956, the plan indicated right below has shown the old urban fabric before 1986.

On the one hand, such emulation might be appreciated in relation to the resuscitation of vista from the entry point to the mosque and the temple. On the right below of the figure 8, the photograph dated 1956 showing street view had a similar vista. On the other hand, it is known that the urban fabric at the right side of the photograph was cleared away during the implementation of previous project. As shown in blue color on the figure the two-storeyed shops where traditional handcrafts and books will be sold, is proposed in lieu of the vanished fabric with reminiscent of the old traditional buildings.[230]

In the quest of reanimating the old urban fabric, the architectural style which will be chosen for the rebuilt urban fabric opens an ample room for us to discuss the end state of the area. What we infer that as opposed to the pursuit of the preceding project for a contemporary architectural style in order to harmonize the cultural layers from today's perspective whereas, in the recent proposal the attempt to emulate the old urban fabric thereby imitating the traditional architecture would create nothing but a staged environment feigning to be authentic. Although it would be controversial, it could be argued that such a staged authenticity with the reminiscent of Ottoman period would also be appreciated by the users of the area considering that they seek for a cultural continuity reified in the built environment regarding the religious identity of the square.

4.3.3. The Transformation of Land-Use on Hacıbayram District

Besides the shift in the representationality and the programme of the site, there will be a transformation in the land-use. Here, in order to depict the transformation we will have recourse to the comparison between the land-use proposal prepared in 1985 and the recent proposal. In order to produce a project

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[230] The Terms of Contract of The Renovation Project of Ankara Historical City Center, Article: 7.1, and from the interview with Berathan Bilir, KUDEB.

for the Hacıbayram Mosque and its environs, Planning Department of Ankara Greater Municipality in collaboration with METU Department of City Planning carried out a study in 1984.[231] Thereupon, "Hacıbayram II. Environmental Conservation Development Plan" and its "Implementation Conditions" were prepared and were also used in the competition specifications launched in 1986.[232] The land-use plan proposal indicated below was within the extent of the implementation conditions defined in this collaborative work. (Figure: 10)

Figure 9: Hacıbayram II. Environmental Conservation Development Plan, 1985
(Source: Project Competition on Ulus Historical Center, 1986)

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[231] Sinem İ. Şiranlı,1999, p.46.
[232] Ibid.

According to the plan, the plots within the boundary defined by Etizafer Street on the north side, Hükümet Road on the west side, Güvercin Street on the east side and Hisar Parkı Road on the south side was proposed to be commercial zone. In addition to these plots, the left side of the Güvercin Street and the big plot facing the Bent Deresi Road were in the commercial zone, as well. The rest of the plots, which had been used for residential purposes, were separated into two zones. The one located at the both side of the Güvercin Street where mostly chandelier shops situate, was offered to be mixed-use as commercial and housing zone. The other zone which was larger in proportion to mixed use zone was decided to be continued as housing. (Figure: 10)

As for the recent proposal goes, the land-use of Hacıbayram district has been prepared consistent with the path chosen for the historic center of Ankara as being a touristic center mingled with commercial activities. The main motives behind the adjustment of residential units so as to supply touristic activities both in the residential zones which will be subject to conservation and in the residential/tourism zones could be read through the path picked for the Ulus. According to this adjustment, the traditional housing units in Hacıbayram district and the Inner Citadel, most of which still have been used for residential purposes, are decided as being in the housing/tourism zone.[233] As it could be read on the recent land-use proposal (Figure: 11), the motivation of creating an attraction site for tourists highly changes the land-use patterns on the area.

In comparison with the old land-use proposal, at first sight it may be observed the decrease in the commercial zones. In that regard, the big commercial plot facing the Bent Deresi Road in the old proposal was put into the zone servicing for social purposes and a convention hall was proposed which hosts 3000 seated

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[233] Plan notes: Article 4.1.3.1., Appendix B.

and 1500 seated assembly halls along with exhibition hall.[234] The decrease in the

commercial zones might also be noticed at the both side of Güvercin Street where

the erstwhile commercial zone proposal is converted into housing/tourism zone.

Actually, apart from the commercial and the social zone, in the recent proposal

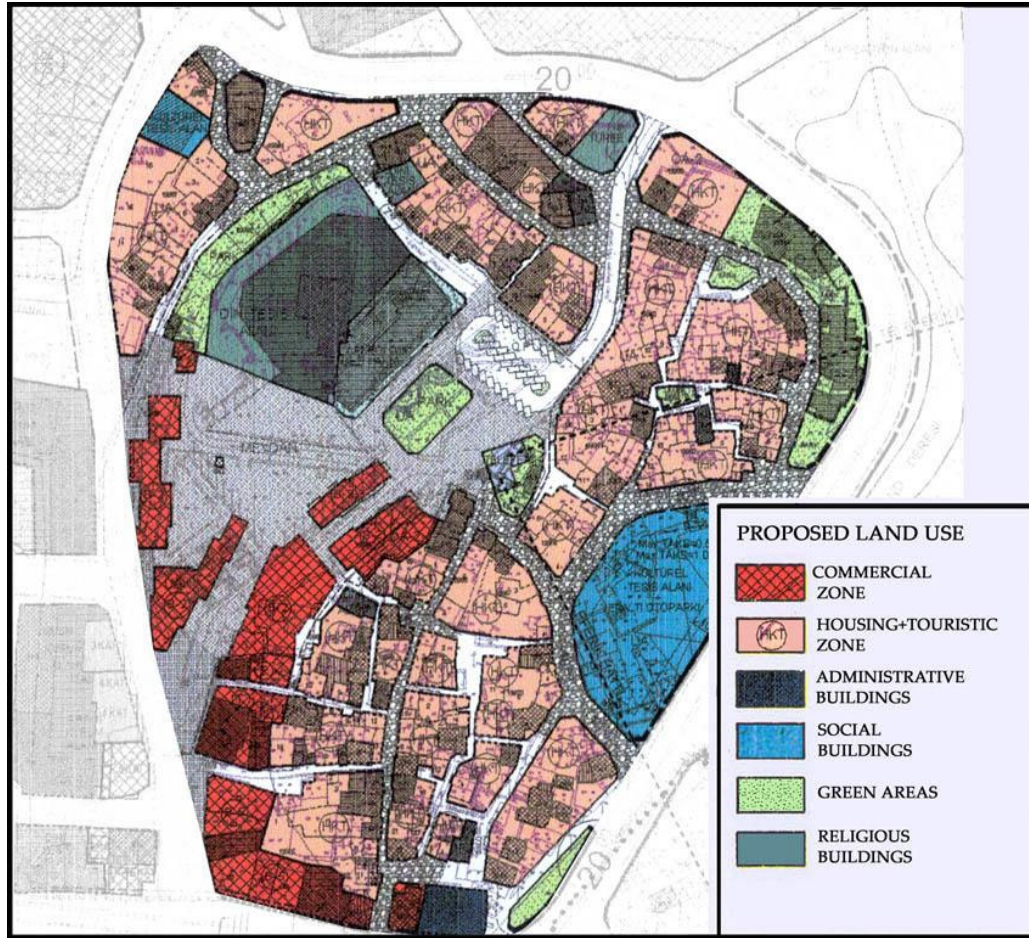the immensity of the housing/tourism zone is highly discernible.

Figure 10: The proposal indicating land-use pattern in the recent plan

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[234] From the interview with Berathan Bilir, KUDEB.

Although most of the actual land-use is housing in present, on the whole district the residential utilization was replaced with mixed use utilization in which the touristic facilities comes into prominence. In the plan notes transformation of the residential houses into touristic area is articulated in the articles: 5.1.3.1.[235] and 4.1.3.2.[236] According to the plan notes, the plots nominated as HKT (Hacıbayram Housing/Tourism Zone) will be allowed to be used as resident, pension, exhibition house, boutique hotel, guesthouse, etc and for other touristic facilities. Considering the vastness of the zone indicated in pink color on the figure, a series of question has stirred up in minds.

Firstly, the question of whether the utilizations defined in the plan notes are proposed in a realistic manner in terms of functionality or not gains importance. If we take into account the immensity of the zone, the utilization proposal might be naïve and far from being capable of generating an organized area. To be on the optimist side, even if we consider that there will have been a boom in touristic activities, the zone reserved for touristic activities mostly for accommodation still sounds excessive.

Secondly, the question of whether such a land-use proposal is well specified without any blank so as to thwart land speculations, and potential rise in land rent or not is crucial. In case there will not have been any boom in touristic activities and such an excessive accommodation will not be required, it could hardly be foreseen that the existent utilization as housing will be kept under these circumstances, considering the possible rise in land value of Ulus entailed by the renewal project.

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[235] Plan notes, Appendix B.
[236] Plan notes, Appendix A.

Considering that in both cases whether here will have been the accommodation zone for tourists or not, the possible rise in land rent of Ulus will prompt transformation in property ownership; then thirdly, the question of whether this proposal has any concern about how the inhabitants of Hacıbayram will be affected by this transformation. According to the conspectus for the renovation project of Ulus prepared by METU Faculty of Architecture, the stance of the project is not clear regarding the outcomes of the transformation from a so-called deprivation area to tourism/commerce area on -the population working and dwelling on the area.[237] Concomitantly, as for the population in Hacıbayram, considering that the residents of the area are mostly among low-income class[238], the probable rise in the rent prices would entail the evacuation of the inhabitants of Hacıbayram. As far as we could discern form the plan notes, the only concern of the project in that regard is articulated in the article 4.2.2.2. which states that the accommodation of vocational education units will be encouraged for whom will be vacated corollary to the urban transformation.[239]

As a coda, on the big picture the recent planning efforts on Ulus historic center could be evaluated as a search for revalorization of the inner city that is epidemic of contemporary urbanization and endemic to neoliberal urbanization. As we delineated the decadence process of the historic center or better to say, how the area was thrown into this process may unfold the construction of the emphasis on the need for revitalization, reinvestment and rejuvenation within inner cities. However, these planning efforts should not only be evaluated as the pursuit of creating land rent and new spatial fix in Ulus - being the *soft* location of Ankara

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[237] The Conspectus for The Renovation Project of Ankara Historic City Center, Middle East Technical University Faculty of Architecture.
[238] Quantitative datas based on 2000 enumeration of population which encapsulates Hacıbayram District formerly; Altıntaş, İzzettin, Köprübaşı, Öztürk and Turgutreis Districts, have shown that among the 5027 interviewees; 2134 (2105 men / 119 women) are employed, 901(810 m / 91w) are unemployed and 1992 (808 m / 1184 w) are unable to work. Datas were acquired from Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK).
[239] Plan notes, Appendix A.

with reference to Marcuse and Van Kempen- but also as a quest for social, moral, and political fixes.

On the narrow picture, within the extent of the renovation project of Ulus, *softer* location was chosen as Hacıbayram district as the construction site of these fixes. Softer, because as we have delineate through the design proposals for the Hacibayram Square, the area as a public space has been spatially vulnerable as being an operational tool against social and moral fixes hitherto. We argue that, the construction of consent on the recent proposal hinges upon this vulnerability more explicitly, the tension between the secular and the religious interpretations which have been manifested on the built environment so far. Concisely, it could be argued that it is intended to alleviate the probable aggression among the inhabitants entailed by the unjust outcomes of the transformation in land-use patterns, the proposed physical operations focused on the religious identity of the area so as to appeal to the public opinion has been used operational.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study starts with the stimuli of two arguments. First, neoliberal order achieves in subjugation of social, political and religious relations to its rationale; secondly, the instrumental and operational role of space with its all built environment in the *embeddedness* of these relations in market laws. In that regard, the obvious emphasis on the need of re-production of urban space under the name of revitalization, reinvestment, renovation and rejuvenation are assessed as the very strategy of reorganization of neoliberalism within not only economic but also social, political and ideological spheres.

Throughout the study, our primary concern has been drawing a critical perspective to the neoliberal urbanization and understanding the spatial, then the social as well as the political interfaces between neoliberalism and urban restructuring. Then, our second concern has been to locate our discussion on the neoliberal urbanization into the proposed physical operations on the Hacıbayram Square and its environs in the scope of the Renovation Project of Ulus which has been scrutinized within the context of this aim. Here in this chapter, it is intended to merge our theoretical discussion with the evaluation of our study area.

While contemplating on the spatial restructuring of neoliberalism, at the outset we intend to draw attention to process-based structure of neoliberalization. It is acknowledged that neoliberalism is not like other –isms which are coherently bounded or end-state but rather it is a process-based project composed of two

phases. These two phases are elaborated as *destruction* and *creation* phases, of which the former involves the destruction of Keynesian artifacts and policies to facilitate the latter phase; the construction of neoliberal policies, institutions, artifacts and ideas. However, the destruction and the creation processes have not been carried out obviously and yet hypocritically. The path dependent character of neoliberalization achieves at such hypocrisy thereby molding the earlier regulatory urban arrangements, the pre-existing uses of space and spatial practices into a new shape that facilitate the neoliberal project.

It is deduced that during these phases, neoliberalization focuses particularly on three fields; urban governments, urban areas and urban socialization. With reference to these targeted fields, the structure of urbanization aspired by the neoliberalization project are clarified through the levels indicated below in accordance with Brenner and Theodore's explication of neoliberalism;[240]

    i.   as modality of urban governance

    ii. as spatially selective political strategy

    iii. as a form of discourse, ideology and representation

In this last chapter of the study, we shall locate the theoretical account of neoliberal urbanization into our study area in order to put forward a critical inquiry into the neoliberal urbanization which has started to emerge in the cityscape of Turkey. In doing so, it is also aimed at understanding how urban space is rendered operational and instrumental in the service of neoliberalism thereby re-reading these three levels.

Neoliberalization as a mode of urban governance
In relation to the neoliberal restructuring within state, it is argued that parallel with the salient deregulation of nation state; resources, responsibilities and the

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[240] Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore, 2005.

risks have gradually been downloaded to local governments. Considering the competitive atmosphere exacerbated by capitalism, the extensive authority given to local governments has redefined the role of municipalities in relation to their contribution to the capital accumulation. We discuss the redefined role of urban governments as entrepreneurial rather than managerial which is coupled with the strong appeal to market rationality derived from Harvey's conceptualization of *urban entrepreneurialism*.[241]

In conformity with the entrepreneurial attribution, urban policies have undergone series of adjustments so as to endorse the untrammeled local authority exercised over built environment and hence over spatial relations in accordance with the tenets of neoliberalism. It could be argued that parallel with the regulatory arrangements in the urban governments, the role of municipalities are actively mobilized to facilitate land rent seeking spatial development as a contributor to the accumulation of capital.

Having briefly put forward our indication about the restructuring of neoliberalism within the urban governance level, we argue that Turkey has slowly but surely undergone such a restructuring which could be read through the "Local Administration Reform". The numerous legislations encompassed by the reform programme are said to be focusing to strengthen the capacity of local administrations in relation to extending the authority of urban governments, and to improve budgetary procedures, financial management and service performance in relation to facilitating municipalities act as entrepreneurial. Yet, among these legislations the ones in the field of planning rights on urban space are striking, since the function of municipalities as a contributor to capital accumulation can mostly be achieved by creating and redistributing land rent.

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[241] David Harvey, 1989b.

According to these legislations, municipalities have the authority of proclaiming and executing urban renewal or development projects on the decaying parts of the city, namely the disinvested inner cities. The location of the areas in the urban configuration on which municipalities could perform their authorities arouses the question whether there is a quest for new spatial fix in the core of cities. This question is our springboard into the discussion of spatially selective political strategy of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism as spatially selective political strategy

Re-adjustment of urban policies regarding the re-production of inner cities under the name of revitalization, regeneration, renovation and rejuvenation so as to open up new spaces for investment as an external relief, is not solely pertaining to Turkey, but rather refers to the characteristic of spatial restructuring under the sway of neoliberalism. Given that the switch of investments on urban space is exactly the quest for a *spatial fix* owing to the very nature of the fixed spatial structure that reaches its limit in terms of profitability and starts to be a barrier for capital accumulation. Such a switch from periphery to inner core of cities has been assessed as the neoliberal spatial fix. The erstwhile spatial fix is characterized by being centrifugal, focusing on massive suburbanization and economic growth on the periphery. On the contrary neoliberal spatial fix is distinguished by discernible inner city reinvestments and inner suburban disinvestments unlike the earlier period. Among the reinvested lands within inner cities, waterfronts, formerly industrial sites, residential locations, tourist destinations, historic structures, and public spaces are the widespread areas where the old built environment is being cleared and reproduced for the pursuit of the neoliberal spatial fix.

Similarly, subsequent to the legislations regarding the re-production of inner cities, there has been several renewal projects were proposed and historic sites

have been assigned to urban renewal projects in Turkey including the historic city centers of Istanbul and Ankara. Among these projects, the renovation project of Ulus as the historic center of Ankara is chosen in this study for understanding the disinvestment and investment processes executed within the spatial restructuring of neoliberal urbanization. Having recourse to the Cengizkan's account of the decadence process, it is intended to disclose how the operation area has been turned into a deprivation field in order to legitimize the recent operations in Ulus for the pursuit of creating land rent and new spatial fix. Moreover, having pointed out that the path picked for the historic center of Ankara is being a touristic site mingled with commercial activities, it is aimed to have some clues regarding among whom the produced rent over urban space will be redistributed.

Nevertheless, the programmatic approach of the renovation project towards the public spaces is the most striking point. As far as we could construe from the planning notes of the project, we argue that the programme and its architectural style proposed for the two important public spaces of the historic center; Ulus and Hacıbayram Squares will have entailed a representational shift in relation to the addressed references. On the one hand, Ulus Square and its surroundings as being the symbol of modernization process will have been subjected to disidentification by the demolition of buildings credited as exemplary of the modern Turkish architecture. On the other hand, the references for the representationality of Hacıbayram Square will have been reinforced in a selective manner. Such anticipation about the shift in the representationality of these public spaces each addresses different definitions of publicity and of urban life that brings forth the question that whether the recent operations might aim at any social, political and moral fixes by reworking on those definitions. This question opens an ample room for us discussing neoliberalism as a form of discourse, ideology and representation inserted into urban space.

Neoliberalism as a form of discourse, ideology and representation

It has been argued that the re-production of urban space should not only be assessed as the attempts for the investment-oriented pursuit of spatial fix, but also as a quest for social, moral, and political fixes to the impoverishment brought forth by neoliberalization. Given that our conception of social, moral and political fixes is the reworking of non-economic forms -socialization as the coordination and cooperation of social agents other than through markets- within the spatial restructuring of neoliberalization process. With reference to Gough, it is put forward that since the intensified socialization brings forth politicization and undermines capital's demand over society; the potential politicization has been thwarted through the imposition of unmediated value relations and class discipline, fragmenting labor and capital and fostering depoliticization.[242] That is to say, socialization on urban space has been the subject of a rework so as to engender fragmentation and depoliticization. It is argued that such a pursuit of fragmentation has been read through the endeavors of enhancing the community based socialization in the reproduction of social configuration within neoliberalization.

In order to clarify the attribution of community sought for fragmentation, we have recourse to the Sennett's account of *destructive gemeinschaft* composed of *collective personalities* whose critical reason is emptied out within the gemeinschaft and incapable of engendering any collective action apart from the exclusion of others.[243] Through this discussion it is aimed to define the aspiration of neoliberal social, political and moral fixes; intensifying the formation of (self) *destructive gemeinschaft* which can be manipulated through reworking on the common unquestionable values and rendering the individual as a collective personality

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[242] Jamie Gough, 2002.
[243] Richard Sennett, 1992.

who participate in the public sphere "against its material, economic and class interests for cultural, nationalist and religious reasons."[244]

As it is put forward above; our conception of social, moral and political fixes is the reworking of social formation within the spatial restructuring of neoliberalization process and the neoliberal strategy in relation to these fixes is promoting the formation of enclaves. As for our study goes, our concern is to understand the reinforcement of the religious references for the representationality of Hacıbayram Square in a selective manner by the programmatic proposal of the recent planning through these fixes.

In doing so, it is important to state that through reading the design attitudes to the area in the previous chapter, along with being controversial it has been discerned that the design approaches towards the representationality of Hacıbayram Square has been oscillated between being the secular or religious interpretation from the republican period to the present time. However, as far as we deduce from Karababa's study it could be identified that the representational importance of the area is mostly attached to the Hacıbayram Mosque and religious activities according to the evaluation of its users. In conformity with this evaluation, the appropriation of the area mostly for religious purposes has been differentiated.

As it is aforementioned in the beginning of this chapter, the destruction and creation phases have not been blatant but rather hypocritical. Throughout these processes, the pre-existing uses of space and spatial practices are molded into a new shape that facilitates the neoliberal project. The stance of the recent project could be read within this perspective. Considering the religious activities are prevailing in the programme of the project, the pursuit of current planning

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[244] David Harvey, 2006.

efforts could be interpreted as appealing to the public opinion. In point of fact, as indicated in the land-use analysis; the project proposes almost the whole residential district into accommodation zone for tourists where residents, pensions, exhibition houses, boutique hotels, guesthouses will have been located.

As a coda, with a short termist perspective it could be asserted that such an emphasis on the religious activities in the programme may provide consent among the users of the square. Nevertheless, considering the long term outcome it could be argued that such an emphasis on the religious representationality may deepen the formation of religious enclaves on the area which will pave the way of homogenization of Hacıbayram Square as a public space for gathering of a particular social group. In any case, our anticipation is such a consent seeking project will have contributed to the fragmentation in the urban sphere.

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APPENDIX A

PLAN NOTES 1/5000

ANKARA TARİHİ KENT MERKEZİ YENİLEME ALANI

1/5.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI NAZIM İMAR PLANI

PLAN NOTLARI

MADDE 1- AMAÇ

SINIRLARI 5366 SAYILI KANUNA GÖRE BAKANLAR KURULU TARAFINDAN "KENTSEL YENİLEME ALANI" TANIMI DAHİLİNDE BELİRLENEN ANKARA TARİHİ KENT MERKEZİNDEKİ İŞLEVSİZLEŞME VE ÇÖKÜNTÜLEŞME EĞİLİMLERİNİN PLANLAMA YAKLAŞIMI İÇİNDE ORTADAN KALDIRILMASI VE BÖLGENİN TİCARİ, TURİSTİK VE KÜLTÜREL GELİŞİMİNE UYGUN OLARAK YENİDEN İNŞA VE RESTORE EDİLEREK, BÖLGEDE KONUT, TİCARET, KÜLTÜR, TURİZM VE SOSYAL DONATI ALANLARI İLE YENİ ULAŞIM ÇÖZÜMLERİNİN OLUŞTURULMASI AMAÇLANMIŞTIR.

MADDE 2- KAPSAM

BU KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANI VE PLAN NOTLARI İLE TANIMLANAN HÜKÜMLER PLAN ONAMA SINIRLARI İÇİNDE GEÇERLİ OLUP TÜM UYGULAMALARI KAPSAR.

MADDE 3- GENEL HÜKÜMLER

3.1 BU PLAN KAPSAMINDA; 3194 SAYILI İMAR KANUNU VE YÖNETMELİKLERİ, 5366 SAYILI KANUN VE UYGULAMA YÖNETMELİĞİ, 5216 SAYILI BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU, 2634 SAYILI TURİZMİ TEŞVİK KANUNU, 06/07/2000 TARİH VE 24101 SAYILI TURİZM TESİSLERİ YÖNETMELİĞİ, 2863 SAYILI KÜLTÜR VE TABİAT VARLIKLARINI KORUMA KANUNU VE YÖNETMELİKLERİ, 11/12/1986 TARİH VE 19308 SAYILI GÜRÜLTÜ KONTROLÜ YÖNETMELİĞİ, 10/08/2005 TARİH VE 25902 SAYILI RESMİ GAZETEDE YAYIMLANAN İŞYERİ AÇMA VE ÇALIŞMA RUHSATLARINA İLİŞKİN YÖNETMELİK, DEPREM YÖNETMELİĞİ, OTOPARK YÖNETMELİĞİ, YANGIN YÖNETMELİĞİ VE İLGİLİ DİĞER KANUNLAR, YÖNETMELİKLER VE MEVZUATLAR GEÇERLİDİR.

3.2 BU KORUMA AMAÇLI NAZIM İMAR PLANI, PLAN NOTLARI VE PLAN RAPORU İLE BİR BÜTÜNDÜR.

3.3 NAZIM İMAR PLANI KARARLARI DOĞRULTUSUNDA, PLANLAMA ALANINDAKİ TARİHİ KONUT DOKULARI, TARİHİ TİCARET ALANLARI, SİLUET ALANLARI, TARİHİ PEYZAJ VE REKREASYON DEĞERLERİ İLE VADİ TABANLARI, ANIT ESER VE SİVİL MİMARLIK ÖRNEĞİ YAPILAR İLE CUMHURİYET TARİHİ AÇISINDAN SİMGESEL YAPILAR VE ÇEVRELER GİBİ TARİHİ, KÜLTÜREL VE DOĞAL DEĞERLERİN KORUNMASI VE İHYASI İÇİN GEREKLİ TEDBİRLER BELEDİYESİNCE ALINACAKTIR. 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA TESCİLLİ OLMAYAN ANCAK KORUNMASI VE İHYASI ÖNGÖRÜLEN TAŞINMAZ KÜLTÜR VE TABİAT VARLIKLARI BELİRLENEREK, ÇEVRELERİ İLE BİRLİKTE PLANLAMA YAKLAŞIMI İÇİNDE ELE ALINACAKTIR.

3.4 NAZIM İMAR PLANI KARARLARI DOĞRULTUSUNDA, PLANLAMA ALANI BÜTÜNÜNDE YASAL OLMAYAN VE SAĞLIKSIZ GELİŞMİŞ YERLEŞİM ALANLARININ SAĞLIKLI VE YAŞANABİLİR MEKANLARA DÖNÜŞTÜRÜLMESİ İÇİN NAZIM İMAR PLANINDA BELİRLENEREK PLAN AÇIKLAMA RAPORUNDA USUL VE ESASLARI TANIMLANAN KONUT VE TİCARET ALANLARINDA YAPILACAK BOŞALTMA, DÖNÜŞTÜRME, YENİLEME, SAĞLIKLAŞTIRMA VB. İŞLEMLER İÇİN 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINA UYGUN OLARAK 1/500, 1/200 VE/VEYA DİĞER GEREKLİ ÖLÇEKLERDE ÇEVRE DÜZENLEME VE KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİ YAPILACAKTIR.

3.5 BU KORUMA AMAÇLI NAZIM İMAR PLANININ ONANMASINDAN ÖNCE YÜRÜRLÜKTE OLAN İMAR PLANLARINA GÖRE KAMULAŞTIRILAN VEYA İMAR KANUNUNUN 18. MADDESİ UYARINCA DÜZENLEME ORTAKLIK PAYI OLARAK AYRILAN VE TAPU SICIL KAYITLARINDA ADI GEÇEN KURUMLAR ADINA TESCİL VEYA TERKİN OLUNAN SOSYAL VE TEKNİK ALTYAPI ALANLARININ HUKUKİ DURUMU SAKLIDIR.

3.5 BU KORUMA AMAÇLI NAZIM İMAR PLANINDA ARAZİ KULLANIM KARARLARINA AIT SINIRLAR ŞEMATİK OLARAK GÖSTERİLDİĞİNDEN, BU PLAN ÜZERİNDEN ÖLÇÜ ALINAMAZ, YER TESPİTİ VE UGULAMA YAPILAMAZ. FONKSIYONEL SINIRLAR VE UYGULAMAYA YÖNELİK DETAYLAR 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA GÖSTERİLECEKTİR.

3.6 NAZIM İMAR PLANI ÖLÇEĞİNDE GÖSTERİLEMEYEN ANCAK PLANLAMA ALANINDA YER ALMASI ÖNGÖRÜLEN MAHALLE ÖLÇEĞİNDEKİ ÇOCUK BAHÇELERİ, PARK VE YEŞİL ALANLAR, KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ DONATI ALANLARI ILE GENİŞLİK OLARAK 12.00 METREYİ AŞMAYAN TRAFİK VE YAYA YOLLARI, KÜÇÜK CEP OTOPARKLARI 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA GÖSTERİLECEKTİR.

3.7 TİCARİ FONKSIYONLAR VE KAMU KULLANIMINA AYRILAN ALANLAR ILE HER TÜRLÜ YOL VE DİĞER AÇIK ALANLARDA, PROJE VE UYGULAMA AŞAMASINDA ANKARA İMAR YÖNETMELİĞİ HÜKÜMLERİ DOĞRULTUSUNDA ÖZÜRLÜLER IÇIN GEREKLİ DÜZENLEMELER YAPILACAKTIR.

3.8 1/5.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI NAZIM İMAR PLANINA UYGUN OLARAK HAZIRLANACAK 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA UYGULAMA YAPILACAK PARSELLERDE BELİRLENEN SOSYAL VE

TEKNIK ALTYAPI ALANLARI ILE KENTSEL YEŞIL ALANLAR KAMU ELINE GEÇMEDEN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

3.9 REKREASYON ALANLARI ILE PLANDA DÜZENLENEN DIĞER YEŞIL ALANLARDA, ZORUNLU HALLERIN ORTAYA ÇIKMASI DURUMUNDA, ILGILI KURUM VE KURULUŞLARIN GÖRÜŞ VE ONAYI ILE BIRLIKTE GEREKLI TEDBIRLER ALINMAK KAYDIYLA KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLI OLMAK ÜZERE TRAFO, SU DEPOSU, VB GIBI TEKNIK ALTYAPI KULLANIMLARINA ALAN TAHSISI YAPILABILIR.

3.10 PLANLAMA ALANI BÜTÜNÜNDE KORUNMASI GEREKLI TESCILLI YAPILAR ILE, TESCILLI OLMAMAKLA BIRLIKTE 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA PLANINDA BELIRTILEN TESCILI ÖNERILEN KORUNMASI GEREKLI YAPILAR VE DIĞER KÜLTÜREL VE DOĞAL VARLIKLAR ILE ILGILI BIR ENVANTER ÇALIŞMASI ANKARA BÜYÜKŞEHIR BELEDIYESINCE YAPILARAK KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNA SUNULACAKTIR.

3.11 BU PLAN VE PLANA UYGUN OLARAK YAPILACAK 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA IMAR PLANI HÜKÜMLERINDE AVAN PROJE, VAZIYET PLANI, KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESI, PEYZAJ PROJESI VB. ILE UYGULAMA YAPILACAK SIT ALANLARINDA KALAN ALANLARDA SÖZ KONUSU PROJELER ILGILI KURUM VE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNCA ONAYLANACAKTIR.

3.12 BU PLAN YÜRÜRLÜĞE GIRDIKTEN SONRA, PLANLAMA ALANI ILE İLGİLİ YAPILMIŞ TÜM IMAR PLANI VE PLAN DEĞİŞİKLİKLERİ İLE PLAN NOTLARI GEÇERSİZDİR.

MADDE 4- FONKSİYON ALANLARI VE ULAŞIM

4.1 KONUT ALANLARI

4.1.1 KORUNACAK KONUT ALANLARI

4.1.1.1 KENTSEL SIT ALANLARINDA KALAN KORUNACAK KONUT ALANLARINDA ASLI KULLANIM BIÇIMI KONUTTUR. ANCAK ALTYAPI IYILEŞTIRMESI, ÇEVRE DÜZENLEMESI VE DIĞER GEREKLI KOŞULLAR SAĞLANDIKTAN SONRA, EV PANSIYONCULUĞU, LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, VE SERGI EVLERI VB. TURIZME YÖNELIK KULLANIMLAR ILE PERAKENDE TICARET GIBI YEREL IHTIYAÇLARA YÖNELIK KULLANIMLARA IZIN VERILEBILIR.

4.1.1.2 SÖZ KONUSU KONUT ALANLARINDA, TESCILLI YAPILAR VE 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA IMAR PLANINDA BELIRLENECEK OLAN TESCILI ÖNERILEN KORUNMASI GEREKLI YAPILARIN SAÇAK KOTLARI, YAPI-PARSEL-SOKAK ILIŞKISI, MEVCUT CEPHELERI VE MIMARI ÖZELLIKLERI DIKKATE ALINARAK YENI YAPILAR YAPILABILECEKTIR.

4.1.1.3 KENTSEL SIT ALANINDA KALAN KORUNACAK KONUT ALANLARINDA SOKAK DOKUSUNUN KORUNMASI ESASI BENIMSENMIŞ OLUP, 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI UYGULAMA IMAR PLANINDA YAYA YOLLARI, KONTROLLÜ ARAÇ YOLLARI,

ZEMINDE CEP OTOPARKLARI, MEYDANLAR, AKTIF YEŞIL ALANLAR, SOSYAL VE TEKNIK DONATI ALANLARI VB. DÜZENLEMELERI YAPILACAKTIR.

4.1.2 YENİLENECEK KONUT ALANLARI

4.1.2.1 KENTSEL SIT ALANLARININ DIŞINDA KALAN KONUT KULLANIMINA AYRILAN ALANLARDA IMAR, KORUMA VE BELEDIYE MEVZUATININ ÖNGÖRDÜĞÜ ÇERÇEVEDE KENTSEL YENILEME PROJELERI YAPILARAK KENTSEL ÇEVRE ÇAĞDAŞ STANDARTLARA GÖRE YENILENECEKTIR. KENTSEL VE ARKEOLOJIK SIT ALANLARININ GEREKTIRDIĞI SILUET VE DIĞER KORUMA ILKELERINE UYULACAKTIR. SÖZ KONUSU KENTSEL YENILEME PROJE ALANLARINDAKI YAPILANMA KOŞULLARI 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI UYGULAMA IMAR PLANINDA BELIRLENECEKTIR.

4.1.2.2 KADASTRAL PARSELLER IMAR PARSELINE DÖNÜŞTÜRÜLMEDEN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

4.1.3 KONUT + TURİZM ALANLARI

4.1.3.1 HACIBAYRAM ÇEVRESİNDEKİ VE KALE İÇİNDEKİ GELENEKSEL KONUT ALANLARI KONUT+TURIZM ALANLARI DÜZENLENECEKTIR.

4.1.3.2 HACIBAYRAM ÇEVRESİ GELENEKSEL KONUT ALANINDA KONUT AĞIRLIKLI KULLANIMLARA İZIN VERILECEK OLUP, PANSİYON, SERGİ EVLERİ, BUTİK OTELLER, MİSAFİRHANELER, VB. TURIZME YÖNELİK KULLANIMLARA DA İZIN VERILECEKTIR.

4.1.3.3 KALE İÇİ GELENEKSEL KONUT ALANINDA KONUT KULLANIMI İLE BİRLİKTE TURIZM FONKSİYONLARININ GELİŞMESİ AMAÇLANACAKTIR. AYRICA TURIZME YÖNELİK TİCARET FAALİYETLERİ KAPSAMINDA LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, KÜLTÜR VE SANAT ATÖLYELERİ, TURIZM ACENTESİ, GEZGİN KULÜPLERİ, KİTABEVİ GİBİ KULLANIMLAR DA KALE İÇİNDE GELİŞTİRİLECEKTIR.

4.2 KENTSEL ÇALIŞMA ALANLARI

4.2.1 RESMİ KURUM ALANLARI

4.2.1.1 MEVCUT RESMİ KURUM ALANLARINDA KALAN TESCİLLİ VE PLAN İLE TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNMASI GEREKLİ YAPILARIN ÖNCELİKLİ OLARAK SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL TESİS KULLANIMLARINA TAHSİS EDİLMESİ AMAÇLANACAKTIR. MEVCUT RESMİ KURUM ALANLARINDA İLAVE YAPILMAMASI TEŞVİK EDİLECEK OLUP TARİHİ ÇEVRE VE DOKU ÜZERİNDE OLUMSUZ ETKİLERİN BU SURETLE ORTAYA ÇIKMASI ENGELLENECEKTIR.

4.2.2 TİCARET ALANLARI

4.2.2.1 BU ALANLARDA GÜNÜBİRLİK, HAFTALIK VE AYLIK İHTİYAÇLARA CEVAP VERECEK OFİS, MUAYENEHANE, İŞHANI, PASAJ TİPİ ÇARŞI, TİYATRO, MÜZE, KÜTÜPHANE, SERGİ SALONU, LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, BANKA, FİNANS KURUMLARI, KONAKLAMA TESİSİ, MAĞAZA, SAĞLIK VE EĞİTİM TESİSLERİ YER ALABİLİR.

4.2.2.2 BU ALANLARDA ANKARA METROPOLİTEN KENT BÜTÜNÜNE YÖNELİK MERKEZİ İŞ ALANI İHTİYAÇLARINI KARŞILAMAK ÜZERE TİCARİ VE HİZMET BİRİMLERİ YER ALABİLİR. KENTSEL ÇALIŞMA ALANLARINDAKİ DÖNÜŞÜMLER SONUCUNDA İŞSİZ KALMASI MUHTEMEL ÇALIŞANLAR İÇİN MESLEKİ EĞİTİM AMAÇLI BİRİMLERİN BU ALANLARDA YER ALMASI ÖZENDİRİLİR.

4.2.2.3 PLANLAMA ALANINDA YENİ YAPILACAK TİCARET YAPILARINDA, ÇEVRESİNDEKİ MEYDANLAR, YAYA BÖLGELERİ, TARİHİ HANLAR, İŞ HANLARI, TESCILLI VE PLANLA KORUNACAK YAPILARIN OLUŞTURDUĞU SOKAK SILUETLERI, VB. DEĞERLER DIKKATE ALINACAK OLUP 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA ÖNGÖRÜLEN YAPILANMA KOŞULLARINA UYULARAK HAZIRLANACAK MIMARI AVAN PROJELER YAPILARAK KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU VE BELEDIYESİ TARAFINDAN ONAYLANMADAN UYGULAMA YAPILMAYACAKTIR. TİCARET ALANLARINDA MÜLKIYET TOPLULAŞTIRMASI YOLUYLA YENİ YAPILANMA KOŞULLARININ DÜZENLENMESİ ESAS ALINACAKTIR.

4.2.2.4 ULUS MEYDANININ YENİNDEN ELE ALINMASI ÇERÇEVESİNDE ÖNEM ARZ EDEN TAŞHAN KAPALI ÇARŞISININ FONKSİYONLANDIRMA, ÇEVRE İLİŞKİLERİ VE YAPILANMA KOŞULLARI AYRINTILI OLARAK 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA BELİRLENECEKTİR.

4.2.3 TARIHI TICARET ALANI

4.2.3.1 ANKARA TARIHI KENT MERKEZİNİN GELENEKSEL TİCARET ALANI OLAN TARIHI TICARET ALANINDA TURIZME YÖNELİK PERAKENDE TİCARET VE HIZMET BIRIMLERI YER ALABILIR. BU KAPSAMDA, KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ GELENEKSEL EL ZANAATLARI ATÖLYELERİ İLE SERGİ VE SATIŞ BİRİMLERİ, KÜLTÜR VE TURIZME YÖNELİK HER TÜRLÜ SERGİ VE SATIŞ BİRİMLERİ, KÜLTÜR VE SANAT ATÖLYELERİ, KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ LOKANTA VE KAFETERYALAR, HAMAM VB. KULLANIMLAR YER ALABİLİR.. HALEN SINIRLI DA OLSA VARLIĞINI SÜRDÜREN BÖLGEYE HAS KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ EL ZANAATLARININ TURIZME YÖNELİK ÜRETIM, SERGILEME VE SATIŞ BIRIMLERININ OLUŞTURULMASI TEŞVİK EDILIR.

4.2.3.2 İMALAT, TAMIR, DEPOLAMA, VB. TARIHI ÇEVRE VE DOKU ÜZERINDE OLUMSUZ ETKILERI OLAN KULLANIMLAR YER ALAMAZ.

4.2.3.3 TARIHI TİCARET ALANINDAKİ HANLARIN VE DIĞER TESCILLI YAPILAR ILE 1/1000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA BELIRLENECEK TESCILI ÖNERILEN KORUNMASI GEREKLI YAPILARIN RESTORE EDILEREK TANIMLANAN FONKSIYONLAR IÇIN UYGUN DURUMA GELMESI AMAÇLANIR. YENİ YAPILACAK YAPILARIN, BULUNDUĞU SOKAĞIN SILUETINE, TARIHI ÇEVRENIN ÖZGÜN KARAKTERINE VE ÇEVRESINDEKI TARIHI YAPILARA REFERANSLA PROJELENDIRILIP UYUMU SAĞLANACAKTIR.

4.2.3.4 TARIHI TİCARET ALANI YAYA AĞIRLIKLI DÜZENLENEREK ARAÇ TRAFIĞI SERVIS AMAÇLI VE KONTROLLÜ OLACAKTIR.

4.2.3.5 ALANDA, ÇARŞI BÜTÜNLÜĞÜNÜ OLUŞTURACAK ŞEKİLDE 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA BELIRLENEN

KOŞULLARA UYGUN OLARAK KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU VE BELEDIYESINCE ONAYLANACAK KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESI ELDE EDILMEDEN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

4.2.4 TURIZM + TICARET ALANLARI

4.2.4.1 TURIZME YÖNELIK PERAKENDE TICARET VE HIZMET BIRIMLERI YER ALABILIR.

4.2.4.2 YENI YAPILACAK YAPILARIN TARIHI ÇEVRE VE IÇINDE BULUNDUĞU SOKAĞIN SILUET DEĞERLERI ILE UYUMLU OLMASI, TESCILLI VE PLANLA KORUNMASI GEREKLI YAPILARIN SAÇAK KOTLARINI GEÇMEYECEK ŞEKILDE PROJELENDIRILMESI SAĞLANACAKTIR.

4.2.4.3 FONKSIYON DÖNÜŞÜMÜ VE SAĞLIKLAŞTIRMA AMAÇLI MÜLKIYET TOPLULAŞTIRMALARI ÖZENDIRILECEKTIR.

4.2.4.4 MEYDANLAR, SOKAK YAYALAŞTIRMALARI, AÇIK ALAN DÜZENLEMELERI, AYDINLATMA, ALTYAPI IYILEŞTIRMELERI, TESCILLI YAPILARIN RESTORASYONLARI, VB. TURIZM AMAÇLI DÜZENLEMELER ÖNCELIKLI OLARAK YAPILACAKTIR.

4.2.4.5 IMALAT, TAMIR, DEPOLAMA VB. KULLANIMLAR YER ALAMAZ.

4.2.5 TURISTIK TESIS ALANLARI

4.2.5.1 ANKARA TARIHI KENT MERKEZININ GELENEKSEL KONUT VE TICARET KULLANIMLARININ YANI SIRA KÜLTÜR VE TURIZME YÖNELIK KULLANIMLAR ILE BIRLIKTE GELIŞTIRILMESI KARARLARI ÇERÇEVESINDE ORTAYA ÇIKACAK KONAKLAMA IHTIYACININ ÖNCELIKLE MIMARI NITELIĞI YÜKSEK TARIHI YAPILAR TARAFINDAN KARŞILANMASI AMAÇLANACAKTIR. TICARET VE KAMU HIZMETLERI IÇIN KULLANILAN SÖZ KONUSU YAPILARIN KÜLTÜR FONKSIYONLARINI DA IÇERECEK ŞEKILDE TURISTIK TESISLERE DÖNÜŞÜMÜ SAĞLANACAKTIR.

4.3 AÇIK VE YEŞIL ALANLAR

4.3.1 MEYDANLAR

4.3.1.1 ULUS MEYDANI

4.3.1.1.1 ULUS MEYDANI VE HACIBAYRAM MEYDANININ ANKARA TARIHI KENT MERKEZININ KORUNMASI VE YENILENMESI BAKIMINDAN TAŞIDIĞI HAYATI ÖNEME ISTINADEN DETAYLI ÇÖZÜMLERI 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA IMAR PLANI VE PLAN NOTLARI ILE BELIRLENECEKTIR.

4.3.1.1.2 BU KAPSAMDA, ULUS MEYDANININ 1950'LI YILLAR SONRASI YAPILAŞMALAR TARAFINDAN TARIHI KIMLIĞINDEKI TAHRIBATLAR ORTADAN KALDIRILARAK, ÇEVRE, YAPI, FONKSIYON VE ULAŞIM ILIŞKILERI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA IMAR PLANINDA YENIDEN DÜZENLENECEKTIR. YAPILACAK DÜZENLEMELERDE ULUS MEYDANININ YENIDEN CANLANDIRILMASI AMACIYLA FIZIKI VE FONKSIYON YENILEMELERININ YANI SIRA, KALE VE ISTASYON ILE OLAN TARIHI ILIŞKISI DE DIKKATE ALINACAKTIR.

4.3.1.2.1 HACIBAYRAM MEYDANI, HACIBAYRAM CAMİSİ VE AUGUSTUS TAPINAĞININ DÜZENLENMESİ YANINDA, ÇEVRESİNDEKİ GELENEKSEL KONUT DOKUSU İLE YENİDEN BÜTÜNLEŞTİRİLECEK ŞEKİLDE DÜZENLENECEKTİR. BU AMAÇLA, MEYDANDA DİNİ, TURİSTİK VE TİCARİ KULLANIMLAR İLE KONUT ALANLARININ KENDİ ÖZGÜNLÜKLERİ İÇİNDE BİR BÜTÜN İÇİNDE ELE ALINMASI SAĞLANACAKTIR.

4.3.2 REKREASYON ALANLARI

4.3.2.1 ERKEN CUMHURIYET DÖNEMININ SIMGESEL DEĞERI YÜKSEK REKREASYON ALANI OLAN BENTDERESI'NIN ÇEVRESIYLE BIRLIKTE YENIDEN DÜZENLENMESI IÇIN 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINA UYGUN OLARAK KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESI HAZIRLANACAKTIR.

4.3.2.2 BENTDERESI REKREASYON ALANI, ERKEN CUMHURIYET DÖNEMINDEKI ÖZGÜN KARAKTERINE UYGUN OLARAK ARAÇ TRAFIĞINDEN BÜYÜK ÖLÇÜDE ARINDIRILACAKTIR. KALE VE HIDIRLIK TEPESI ILE GÖRSEL VE IŞLEVSEL BÜTÜNLÜĞÜ SAĞLANACAK ŞEKILDE YAYA YOLLARI ILE ERIŞIMI ARTTIRILACAKTIR.

4.3.2.3 REKREASYON ALANININ ÖZGÜNLÜĞÜNE UYGUN KÜLTÜREL VE TICARI FAALIYETLERE IZIN VERILEBILIR.

4.3.3 ARKEOLOJIK SIT ALANLARI

4.3.3.1 ARKEOLOJIK SIT ALANLARININ TURIZM VE EĞITIM AMAÇLI OLARAK ZIYARETE AÇILMASI; SÖKÜLÜP TAKILABILIR ELEMANLAR ILE YAPILACAK ÇAY BAHÇESI GIBI GÜNÜBIRLIK KULLANIMLAR ARACILIĞIYLA CAZIP HALE GETIRILMESI SAĞLANACAKTIR. SÖZ KONUSU DÜZENLEMELERDE ARKEOLOJIK KAZILARIN GEREKTIRDIĞI KISITLAMALAR UYGULANACAKTIR. BU AMAÇLARLA YAPILACAK FIZIKI DÜZENLEMELERE ILIŞKIN USUL VE ESASLAR 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA BELIRLENECEKTIR.

4.4 ULAŞIM

4.4.1 ANKARA TARIHİ KENT MERKEZİNİN ANA ARTERLER DIŞINDA YAYA ÖNCELİKLİ DÜZENLENMESI AMAÇLANACAKTIR. 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA DETAYLANDIRILACAK OLAN MEYDANLAR, AÇIK ALANLAR, GELENEKSEL TİCARET VE KONUT ALANLARI YAYA AĞIRLIKLI BİR DOLAŞIM SİSTEMİ İLE GELİŞTİRİLECEKTİR.

4.4.2 ANA ARTERLERIN KAPASİTELERİNİN ARTTIRILMASI VE YAYALAŞTIRMA YAKLAŞIMI PARALELİNDE OTOPARK İHTİYACI, 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINDA KESİN YERLERİ BELİRLENEN ALANLARDA ÇÖZÜLECEKTİR.

4.4.3 BU PLANA GÖRE KAVŞAKLARDA YAPILACAK DÜZEY AYRIMLI GEÇIŞLER VE TÜNEL ILE YERALTINA ALINACAK GEÇIŞLER, 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINA UYGUN OLARAK HAZIRLANACAKTIR.

APPENDIX B

PLAN NOTES 1/1000

ANKARA TARİHİ KENT MERKEZİ YENİLEME ALANI
1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANI
PLAN NOTLARI

MADDE 1- GENEL HÜKÜMLER

1.1 BU PLAN KAPSAMINDA; 3194 SAYILI İMAR KANUNU VE YÖNETMELİKLERİ, 5366 SAYILI KANUN VE UYGULAMA YÖNETMELİĞİ, 5216 SAYILI BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU, 2634 SAYILI TURİZMİ TEŞVİK KANUNU, TURİZM TESİSLERİ YÖNETMELİĞİ, 2863 SAYILI KÜLTÜR VE TABİAT VARLIKLARINI KORUMA KANUNU VE YÖNETMELİKLERİ, GÜRÜLTÜ KONTROLÜ YÖNETMELİĞİ, 10/08/2005 TARİH VE 25902 SAYILI RESMİ GAZETEDE YAYIMLANAN İŞYERİ AÇMA VE ÇALIŞMA RUHSATLARINA İLİŞKİN YÖNETMELİK VE İLGİLİ DİĞER KANUNLAR, YÖNETMELİKLER VE MEVZUATLAR GEÇERLİDİR.

1.2 KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNUN ONAYI OLMADAN, 1/1.000 ÖLÇEKLİ ANKARA TARİHİ KENT MERKEZİ YENİLEME ALANI KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANINA GÖRE UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

1.3 BU PLAN YÜRÜRLÜĞE GİRDİKTEN SONRA, PLANLAMA ALANI İLE İLGİLİ YAPILMIŞ TÜM İMAR PLANI VE PLAN DEĞİŞİKLİKLERİ İLE PLAN NOTLARI GEÇERSİZDİR.

1.4 BU KORUMA AMAÇLI UYGULAMA İMAR PLANININ ONANMASINDAN ÖNCE, ESKİ İMAR PLANLARINDAKİ YAPILANMA KOŞULLARI VE GEÇİŞ DÖNEMİ YAPILANMA ŞARTLARINA GÖRE ALINMIŞ RUHSATLAR DOĞRULTUSUNDA YAPILMIŞ OLAN UYGULAMALARA AİT VE BU PLAN İLE KORUNAN MÜKTESEP HAKLAR SAKLIDIR. YENİDEN YAPILANMA DURUMUNDA BU KORUMA AMAÇLI İMAR PLANINDA TANIMLANMIŞ ŞARTLAR GEÇERLİDİR.

1.5 HER TÜRLÜ İMAR UYGULAMASI (KAZI, HAFRİYAT, VB.) SIRASINDA ÇIKABİLECEK KÜLTÜR VARLIĞI VE ARKEOLOJİK KALINTILARIN ÇIKMASI DURUMUNDA, KÜLTÜR VARLIĞININ YERİNDE VEYA TAŞINARAK KENT KÜLTÜR YAŞANTISINA KATILMASI SAĞLANACAKTIR.

MADDE 2- KORUMA HÜKÜMLERİ

2.1 TESCİLLİ TAŞINMAZ KÜLTÜR VARLIKLARI ÖZGÜN PARSELLERİ İLE BİRLİKTE KORUNACAKTIR.

2.2 TESCİLLİ KÜLTÜR VARLIĞI PARSELLERİNE KOMŞU PARSELLERDE YAPILACAK YENİ YAPILARDA VE SOKAK DÜZENLEMELERİNDE TESCİLLİ KÜLTÜR VARLIĞININ PARSELİ İÇİNDEKİ YERLEŞİMİ, PARSEL-KİTLE İLİŞKİSİ VE SOKAK İLE OLAN ÖZGÜN İLİŞKİSİ, VB. HUSUSLAR DİKKATE ALINACAKTIR.

2.3 TESCİLLİ OLMADIĞI HALDE MİMARİ ÖZELLİKLERİ NEDENİYLE TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNMASI GEREKLİ YAPILAR DA DOKUSU, KONUMU, GABARİSİ, CEPHESİ, PARSELİ VB. ÖZELLİKLERİ İLE KORUNACAKTIR.

2.4 ADA BAZINDAKİ KORUMA KARARLARININ HAYATA GEÇİRİLEBİLMESİ İÇİN KONUTTAN TURİZM VE TİCARETE KULLANIM DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNE İZİN VERİLİR. BU KULLANIM DÖNÜŞÜMLERİ PLANDAKİ FONKSİYON ALANLARININ GEREKTİRDİĞİ KULLANIM KISITLAMALARINA TABİDİR.

2.5 TESCİLLİ VE TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNMASI GEREKLİ YAPILARDA YAPILACAK BASİT ONARIMLAR HARİCİNDEKİ ONARIMLAR VE DEĞİŞİKLİKLER İLE KULLANIM DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNDE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNUN ONAYI ZORUNLUDUR.

2.6 ANIT ESER VE SİVİL MİMARLIK ÖRNEĞİ YAPILARIN YOĞUN OLDUĞU ALANLARDAKİ SOKAKLARDA YOL KOTLARI ÖZGÜN SEVİYELERİNE GETİRİLECEKTİR.

2.7 ARKEOLOJİK VE KENTSEL SİT ALANLARINDA SURLAR VE SUR KALINTILARI, KISMEN YIKILMIŞ DURUMDAKİ ANITSAL YAPILARIN KALAN KISIMLARI, TARİHİ DUVAR, KAPI, YER KAPLAMALARI, MERDİVEN, VB. KORUNACAKTIR.

MADDE 3- ÖZEL PROJE ALANLARI

3.1 PLANDA SINIRLARI BELİRLENEN HACIBAYRAM CAMİİ VE MEYDANI ÖZEL PROJE ALANINDA YAPILACAK YENİ YAPILAR, PLANDA YAPI ADALARI ÜZERİNDE BELİRLENEN KATLAR DAHİLİNDE OLACAKTIR. CAMİ VE MEYDANI TARİF EDEN ESKİ KENT DOKUSUNUN KONTUR VE GABARİ ÖZELLİKLERİYLE YENİDEN CANLANDIRILMASI VE MEVCUT GELENEKSEL KONUT DOKUSU İLE SÜREKLİLİKLERİNİN SAĞLANMASI AMACINA UYGUN OLARAK, İÇİNDE YAYA GEÇİŞLERİ VE MEYDANCIKLAR OLAN, TARİHİ KENTSEL ÇEVREYİ TEMSİL EDEN BİR MEKAN DÜZENLEMESİ YAPILACAKTIR. YAPILARIN YÜKSEKLİKLERİ, ÇEKME MESAFELERİ, AÇIK VE KAPALI ÇIKMALARI, CEPHE DÜZENLERİ, VB. HUSUSLAR 1/500 VE 1/200 ÖLÇEKLİ KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE BELİRLENECEKTİR. AYRICA, HACIBAYRAM CAMİİ RESTORE EDİLECEK OLUP, EK BÖLÜM KALDIRILARAK; ÖZGÜN CAMİ YAPISININ YÜKSEKLİĞİNİ GEÇMEYECEK ŞEKİLDE İLAVE BİR BÖLÜM İLE CAMİ ALANI GENİŞLETİLECEKTİR. İLAVE CAMİ YAPISI, ÖZGÜN CAMİ YAPISININ GABARİ, CEPHE DÜZENİ VB. MİMAR ÖZELLİKLERİ İLE UYUMLU OLARAK YAPILABİLECEK OLUP, PROJESİNDE ÖZGÜN YAPIDAN BAĞIMSIZ BİR YAPI OLARAK ÇÖZÜLECEKTİR. PROJESİNDE AUGUSTUS TAPINAĞI DA, ÇEVRESİNDEKİ ARKEOLOJİK KALINTILARLA BİRLİKTE ZİYARETE AÇILACAK ŞEKİLDE YENİDEN DÜZENLENECEKTİR.

3.2 PLANDA SINIRLARI BELİRLENEN "ULUS MEYDANI VE ÇEVRESİ ÖZEL PROJE ALANI"NDA KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİ YAPILARAK KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU VE BELEDİYE ONAYINDAN SONRA UYGULAMA YAPILACAKTIR. ULUS

MEYDANI VE ÇEVRESİNE AİT KENTSEL TASARIM VE MİMARİ PROJELERDE; MEYDANIN 1950'Lİ YILLARDAN İTİBAREN YAPILAN YÜKSEK YAPILAR SONUCU ANKARA KALESİNİN OLUŞTURDUĞU VİSTA'YI KAYBEDEREK, ANKARA KALESİ, HACIBAYRAM CAMİİ VE ÇEVRESİNDEKİ TARİHİ DOKU İLE İLİŞKİSİNİN KOPTUĞU; ULUS İŞHANI'NIN YÜKSEK KİTLESİNİN, SÜMERBANK BİNASI İLE UYUM YERİNE, ANAFARTALAR ÇARŞISI VE GÜMRÜK MÜSTEŞARLIĞI BİNALARI İLE BİRLİKTE ÖNCEKİ DÖNEMİN TÜM YAPILARINI VE MEKANLARINI YAPISAL VE KİTLESEL OLARAK EZDİĞİ VE DOLAYISIYLA ANKARA KALESİ VE ULUS'UN İSTASYON TARAFINDAN ALGILANMASINI ENGELLEDİĞİ HUSUSLARI AZAMİ ÖLÇÜDE DİKKATE ALINACAKTIR. BU KAPSAMDA, BİRİNCİ MECLİS BİNASI KARŞISINDAKİ "MİLLET BAHÇESİ" VE İKİNCİ MECLİS BİNASI İLE ANKARA PALAS ARASINDAKİ TARİHİ MEKANLAR PROJE ÇERÇEVESİNDE YENİDEN YORUMLANACAK VE ANKARA VE TÜRKİYE'NİN MODERN TARİHİNİN GEREKTİRDİĞİ KORUMA KARARLARI HAYATA GEÇİRİLECEKTİR. ULUS MEYDANI VE ÇEVRESİNDEKİ FİZİKİ VE KULLANIM BAKIMLARINDAN DÖNÜŞTÜRÜLECEK YAPILAR GRUBU, ULAŞIM İLİŞKİLERİ, MEYDAN BÜTÜNLÜĞÜ, TARİHİ ÇEVRENİN RUHU VE DOKUSU KORUNARAK YENİDEN CANLANDIRILMASI VE PLAN AÇIKLAMA RAPORUNDA BELİRLENEN HUSUSLAR SÖZ KONUSU KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİNDE ÇÖZÜLECEKTİR.

MADDE 4- UYGULAMA HÜKÜMLERİ

4.1 PLANLAMA ALANI BÜTÜNÜNDE

4.1.1 BAYINDIRLIK VE İSKAN BAKANLIĞI AFET İŞLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ TARAFINDAN ONAYLI JEOLOJİK VE JEOTEKNİK ETÜT RAPORLARINA GÖRE UYGULAMA YAPILACAKTIR.

4.1.2 PLANIN UYGULANMASI AŞAMASINDA, RUHSATA ESAS OLMAK ÜZERE PARSEL ÖLÇEĞİNDE DETAYLI ZEMİN ETÜTLERİ YAPTIRILMADAN İMAR UYGULAMASI YAPILAMAZ.

4.1.3 KENTSEL SİT ALANI İÇİNDE YAPILACAK HER TÜRLÜ HAFRİYAT MÜZE MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ KONTROLÜNDE YAPILACAKTIR.

4.1.4 TESCİLLİ YAPILAR VE TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNACAK YAPILARIN YOLA BİTİŞİK CEPHELERİNDE MEVCUT YAPI SINIRLARINDA ZEMİN KATTAKİ KONUMU ESAS ALINIR; PLANDA GÖSTERİLEN ÇIKMALAR ZEMİN ÜSTÜ KATLARDA ÇIKMA VE SAÇAK PAYLARI OLUP MEVCUT DURUMLARIYLA KORUNACAKTIR.

4.1.5 PLANLAMA ALANI BÜTÜNÜNDE YENİ YAPILACAK YAPILARDA MİMARİ ESTETİK AÇIDAN ÖNERİLEN KAPALI VE AÇIK ÇIKMALAR, ÇATI KATLARI, EĞİMDEN KAYNAKLANACAK İLAVE KATLAR VE BENZERİ MİMARİ UYGULAMA İLE DÜZENLENECEK ALANLAR PLANDA VE PLAN NOTLARINDA TANIMLANAN EMSALE DAHİL OLUP İLAVE YAPILANMA HAKKI OLARAK DEĞERLENDİRİLEMEZ.

4.1.6 KAPALI VE AÇIK ÇIKMALAR ÇEVREDEKİ TESCİLLİ VE TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNMASI GEREKLİ YAPILARIN ÇIKMALARI İLE UYUMLU OLACAK ŞEKİLDE

KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNUN ONAYI İLE BELİRLENECEK OLUP PLAN VE BELİRLENEN EMSALE DAHİLDİR. AÇIK ÇIKMALAR KAPATILAMAZ.

4.1.7 YENİ YAPILARDA YAPILACAK ÇIKMALARDA KÜLTÜR VARLIĞI BULUNAN BİTİŞİK PARSELDEKİ MEVCUT TEŞEKKÜLE UYULUR.

4.1.8 UYGULAMA YAPILACAK PARSELLERDE, PLANDA BELİRLENEN SOSYAL VE TEKNİK ALTYAPI ALANLARI İLE KENTSEL YEŞİL ALANLARDAN (YOL, YEŞİL ALAN, PARK, ÇOCUK OYUN ALANI, EĞİTİM VE SAĞLIK TESİSLERİ, RESMİ KURUM ALANI, SOSYAL VE KÜLTÜREL TESİS ALANLARI, TEKNİK HİZMET ALANLARI) PARSEL TERKİNİ KAMU ELİNE GEÇMEDEN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

4.1.9 KAMU TESİS ALANLARINDA (RESMİ KURUM, EĞİTİM, SAĞLIK, KÜLTÜR, VB) UYGULAMA, ÇEVRE YAPILANMA KOŞULLARINA UYGUN OLARAK, BELEDİYESİ VE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNUN ONAYLAYACAĞI MİMARİ AVAN PROJE DOĞRULTUSUNDA YAPILACAKTIR. PLANDA YAPI DÜZENİ VE KAT ADEDİ VAZİYET PLANI İLE BELİRLENECEK ALANLAR İÇİN PLAN NOTLARI İLE TANIMLANAN HÜKÜMLER KAMU TESİS ALANLARINDA GEÇERLİ DEĞİLDİR.

4.1.10 KORUNACAK KONUT ALANLARI (K) VE KONUT+TURİZM ALANLARINDA (KKT) ASGARİ PARSEL BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ 150 M² OLACAKTIR. BU KAPSAMDA HANGİ PARSELLERİN TEVHİD EDİLEBİLECEĞİ ADA VAZİYET PLANINDA AYRINTILI OLARAK BELİRLENECEKTİR. BİTİŞİĞİNDEKİ TESCİLLİ KÜLTÜR VARLIKLARI NEDENİYLE TEVHİD EDİLEMEYEN 150 M²'NİN ALTINDAKİ PARSELLER BAĞIMSIZ OLARAK YAPILANABİLİR.

4.1.11 UYGULAMADA PLAN KARARI İLE KADASTRAL DURUM ARASINDA OLABİLECEK KAYMALAR HATA PAYI KABUL EDİLİR VE MEVCUT DURUM ESAS ALINIR.

4.1.12 TİCARET ALANLARINDA PARSEL ALANININ TAMAMINDA YER ALTI OTOPARKI YAPILABİLİR. BUNUN DIŞINDAKİ ALANLARDA YER ALTI OTOPARKI ADA VAZİYET PLANINDA ÇÖZÜLÜR.

4.1.13 UYGULAMALAR NET PARSEL ÜZERİNDEN YAPILACAKTIR.

4.1.14 TERAS KAT VE ÇEKME KAT YAPILAMAZ.

4.1.15 YENİ YAPILACAK YAPILARDA SAÇAK GENİŞLİĞİ ASGARİ 0,60 M OLARAK UYGULANIR.

4.1.16 YENİ YAPILACAK YAPILARDA ÇATI EĞİMİ ADA VAZİYET PLANINDA BELİRLENECEKTİR.

4.1.17 PLANDA "YENİLENECEK ALAN" SINIRI GETİRİLEN BÖLGELERDE ALAN BÜTÜNÜNDE VEYA ETAPLAR HALİNDE UYGULAMA YAPILABİLİR.

4.1.18 PLANDA YEŞİL ALAN OLARAK AYRILAN ALANLARDA (REKREASYON ALANI HARİÇ) BİNA YAPILAMAZ. ANCAK ZORUNLU HALLERDE ALANIN % 2'SİNİ AŞMAMAK VE TOPLAM 50 M²'Yİ GEÇMEMEK KAYDI İLE WC, TRAFO, SU DEPOSU GİBİ TEKNİK ALTYAPI KULLANIMLARIYLA İLGİLİ KURUMLARDAN UYGUN GÖRÜŞLER İLE GEREKLİ TEDBİRLER ALINMAK KAYDI İLE KORUMA

BÖLGE KURULUNCA ONAYLANACAK AVAN PROJEYE GÖRE UYGULAMA YAPILABİLİR.

4.2 YAPI DÜZENİ VE KAT ADEDİ VAZİYET PLANINDA BELİRLENECEK ALANLAR

4.2.1 SÖZ KONUSU ALANLARDA İŞBU PLAN ÇERÇEVESİNDE ADA BAZINDA VAZİYET PLANI ETÜDÜ YAPILARAK KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNDAN ONAYLANMADAN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ. BU VAZİYET PLANLARI PLAN BÜTÜNÜNDE YA DA EN AZ 1 ADA BAZINDA ETAPLAR HALİNDE YAPILABİLİR.

4.2.2 BU ALANLARDA ADA İÇLERİNDE GÖRSEL VE MEKANSAL BÜTÜNLÜĞÜ OLAN İÇ AVLULARIN OLUŞTURULMASI ESASTIR.

4.2.3 BU ADALARDA TESCİLLİ YAPILAR HARİCİNDEKİ PARSELLERDE MAKSİMUM TAKS DEĞERİ 0,60 OLUP EMSAL 1,25'İ GEÇEMEZ. BU ÜST SINIRLAR İÇİNDE, PARSELİN BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ, KONUMU, TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNMASI GEREKLİ VE TESCİLLİ YAPI PARSELLERİ İLE FONKSİYONEL VE GÖRSEL İLİŞKİSİ GİBİ KRİTERLER ÇERÇEVESİNDE HAZIRLANACAK ADA VAZİYET PLANINA GÖRE YÜKSEKLİK, KAT ADEDİ, TAKS, EMSAL VE YAPININ PARSELDEKİ YERLEŞİMİNE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNCA KARAR VERİLİR.

4.2.4 BU ALANLARDA YENİ YAPILACAK YAPILAR İÇİN; YAPININ YAPILACAĞI PARSEL VE BİTİŞİK PARSELLERDEKİ MEVCUT YAPILAŞMA DURUMUNU, SAÇAK KOTLARINI, DOĞAL ZEMİN VE OLUŞMUŞ YOL KOTLARINI, MEVCUT CEPHE VE MİMARİ ÖZELLİKLERİ İLE PEYZAJ UNSURLARINI VB. GÖSTEREN 1/500 VEYA 1/200 ÖLÇEKLİ HALİHAZIR ETÜT ÇALIŞMASI YAPILARAK; YENİ YAPILACAK YAPININ PARSEL İÇİNDEKİ KONUMUNU, SAÇAK KOTUNU, CEPHE DÜZENİNİ, MALZEME KULLANIMINI, ÇEVRE DÜZENLEMESİNİ VE ÇEVRE İLİŞKİLERİNİ GÖSTEREN, ADA VAZİYET PLANINA UYGUN, 1/500 VEYA 1/200 ÖLÇEKTE VAZİYET PLANI ÖNERİSİ HAZIRLANARAK ÖN İZİN İÇİN KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU VE BELEDİYESİNE BAŞVURULACAKTIR. ÖN İZİNDE BELİRLENEN ESASLAR DOĞRULTUSUNDA HAZIRLANACAK MİMARLIK VE PEYZAJ UYGULAMA PROJELERİ İLE YAPININ KULLANIM ÖNERİSİNE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNUN ONAYINDAN SONRA İNŞAAT İZNİ VERİLECEKTİR.

4.2.5 BELİRLENEN YAPILANMA KOŞULLARINA UYGUN OLARAK BİR PARSELE 1'DEN FAZLA YAPI YAPILABİLİR. BU DURUMDA YAPILARIN HER BİRİNİN TABAN ALANI 90 M²'NİN ALTINDA OLAMAZ.

4.2.6 BU ALANLARDA ÇATIDA BACADAN BAŞKA ÇIKINTI YAPILAMAZ.

4.3 PLANDA YAPI DÜZENİ VE KAT ADEDİ BELİRLENEN ALANLAR

4.3.1 ÖN BAHÇE MESAFELERİNİN BELİRLENMESİNDE MEVCUT TEŞEKKÜLE UYULUR. ARKA BAHÇE MESAFELERİ YAPI YÜKSEKLİĞİNİN YARISI OLARAK UYGULANIR. PLANLA BİTİŞİK DÜZENDE 10 KATLI YAPILAŞMA GETİRİLEN PARSELLERDE ARKA BAHÇE MESAFESİ 8 METREDİR.

4.3.2 BU ALANLARDA, BİTİŞİK PARSELİNDE TESCİLLİ YAPI BULUNMASI HALİNDE, YENİ YAPILACAK YAPILARIN YÜKSEKLİĞİNDE PLANDAKİ YAPILANMA KOŞULLARI UYGULANMAYACAK OLUP, BİTİŞİK PARSELDEKİ EN

YÜKSEK TESCİLLİ YAPININ SAÇAK KOTU ÜST SINIR OLACAK ŞEKİLDE UYGULAMA YAPILACAKTIR.

4.3.3 BU PLANLARDA ESKİ TESCİLLİ İMAR PARSELLERİ GEÇERLİDİR.

MADDE 5- FONKSİYON ALANLARI

5.1 KONUT ALANLARI

5.1.1 KORUNACAK KONUT ALANLARI (K)

5.1.1.1 BU ALANLARDA KULLANIM ŞEKLİ KONUTTUR.

5.1.1.2 ARAÇ TRAFİĞİNE AÇIK YOLLARA CEPHELİ PARSELLERDE ALTYAPI İYİLEŞTİRMESİ, ÇEVRE DÜZENLEMESİ VE DİĞER GEREKLİ KOŞULLAR SAĞLANDIKTAN SONRA, PERAKENDE TİCARET, TURİZME YÖNELİK TİCARİ VE KÜLTÜREL KULLANIMLAR (LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, SERGİ SALONU, PANSİYON, MİSAFİRHANE, VB.) YER ALABİLİR.

5.1.1.3 TESCİLLİ YAPILARDA KONUT KULLANIMININ DIŞINDA PANSİYON KULLANIMINA DA İZİN VERİLİR. SÖZ KONUSU YAPILARA İLİŞKİN KULLANIM DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNE, RÖLÖVE, RESTİTÜSYON VE RESTORASYON PROJELERİ İLE BİRLİKTE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU ONAY VERMEDEN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ.

5.1.2 YENİLENECEK KONUT ALANLARI (Y)

5.1.2.1 YENİLENECEK KONUT ALANLARINDA PLAN İLE BELİRLENEN KOŞULLARA UYGUN OLMAK KAYDIYLA YAPILACAK DÜZENLEMELER MİMARİ AVAN PROJESİ İLE TEKLİF EDİLECEK OLUP KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU ONAYINDAN SONRA UYGULAMA YAPILACAKTIR.

5.1.2.2 YENİLENECEK KONUT ALANLARINDA BİR PARSELE 1'DEN FAZLA BİNA YAPILMASI HALİNDE MİMARİ AVAN PROJE DOĞRULTUSUNDA AYRIK, İKİZ VEYA BLOK DÜZENDE UYGULAMA YAPILABİLİR.

5.1.2.3 BU ALANLARDA MİN. ÖN BAHÇE MESAFESİ 5 METRE, YAN BAHÇE MESAFESİ 3 METRE VE ARKA BAHÇE MESAFESİ H/2'DİR.

5.1.3 KONUT+TURİZM ALANLARI (HKT, KKT)

5.1.3.1 HACIBAYRAM BÖLGESİ KONUT+TURİZM ALANINDA (HKT), KONUT, PANSİYON, SERGİ EVLERİ, BUTİK OTELLER, MİSAFİRHANELER, VB. TURİZME YÖNELİK KULLANIMLARA İZİN VERİLİR.

5.1.3.2 HACIBAYRAM BÖLGESİ KONUT+TURİZM ALANINDA (HKT) YAPILMIŞ OLAN 18. MADDE VE DİĞER İMAR UYGULAMALARI GEÇERLİDİR.

5.1.3.3 KALE İÇİ KONUT+TURİZM ALANINDA (KKT), KONUT, PANSİYON, SERGİ EVLERİ, BUTİK OTELLER, MİSAFİRHANELER, LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, KÜLTÜR VE SANAT ATÖLYELERİ, TURİZM ACENTESİ, GEZGİN KULÜPLERİ, KİTABEVİ VB. TURİZME YÖNELİK DİĞER KULLANIMLAR DA YER ALIR.

5.2 TİCARET ALANLARI

5.2.1 TİCARET ALANLARI

5.2.1.1 BU ALANLARDA GÜNÜBİRLİK, HAFTALIK VE AYLIK İHTİYAÇLARA CEVAP VERECEK OFİS, MUAYENEHANE, İŞHANI, PASAJ TİPİ ÇARŞI, TİYATRO, MÜZE, KÜTÜPHANE, SERGİ SALONU, LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, BANKA, FİNANS KURUMLARI, KONAKLAMA TESİSİ, MAĞAZA, SAĞLIK, EĞİTİM TESİSLERİ VB. YER ALABİLİR.

5.2.1.2 BİNA KÖŞE KOTLARI ORTALAMASI ±0.00 KOTUDUR.

5.2.1.3 ÇATIDA ASANSÖR KULESİ VE TESİSAT BÖLÜMÜ DIŞINDA FONKSİYONLAR YER ALAMAZ.

5.2.2 TAŞHAN KAPALI ÇARŞISI

5.2.2.1 TAŞHAN KAPALI ÇARŞISI İÇİN HAZIRLANACAK MİMARİ AVAN PROJE YAPILIP KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU VE BELEDİYESİNCE ONAYLANMADAN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ. ÇARŞI İLE MEYDAN ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİNİN KURULABİLMESİ AMACIYLA, BU MİMARİ AVAN PROJE, ULUS MEYDANI VE ÇEVRESİ KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİ TAMAMLANDIKTAN SONRA HAZIRLANIR.

5.2.2.2 MİMARİ AVAN PROJEDE; ULUS İŞ HANI YAPISI, ULUS MEYDANI, TESCİLLİ YAPILAR VE SULU HAN İLE BÜTÜNLEŞEN BİR TASARIM YAPILACAKTIR. KAPALI ÇARŞI YAPI GRUBU İÇİNDE GELENEKSEL TÜRK ÇARŞISININ "HAN"LARDAN OLUŞAN BİRİMLERİ OLUŞTURULACAKTIR.

5.2.2.3 MİMARİ AVAN PROJEDE ESKİ "HAL" BİNASININ MİMARİ ÖZELLİKLERİ KORUNARAK SULU HAN ÖNÜNE AÇILAN BİR ARASTA HALİNDE YENİ ÇARŞI YAPISI İLE BÜTÜNLEŞTİRİLECEKTİR.

5.2.2.4 KAPALI ÇARŞI ALANINDAKİ MEVCUT CADDE VE SOKAKLAR, AVAN PROJEDE, YAYA VE/VEYA BELLİ ZAMANLARDA SERVİS AMAÇLI ARAÇ TRAFİĞİNE AÇIK OLACAK ŞEKİLDE KORUNACAKTIR. ÇARŞININ FİZİKİ BÜTÜNLÜĞÜ 2. VE 3. KATLARDA SOKAK VE CADDELERİN ÜSTÜNDE YAPILACAK GEÇİTLERLE SAĞLANACAKTIR.

5.2.2.5 MİMARİ AVAN PROJEDE BİR BODRUMU TİCARET OLMAK KOŞULU İLE ÇOK KATLI YER ALTI OTOPARKI DÜZENLENECEKTİR.

5.2.2.6 MAKSİMUM 5 KAT (ZEMİN + 4 KAT) YAPILAŞMA OLACAKTIR.

5.2.2.7 KAPALI ÇARŞI BÜTÜNÜ İÇİNDE MİMARİ AVAN PROJESİNDE ÇÖZÜLMEK KOŞULUYLA TRAFO VB. TEKNİK ALTYAPI TESİSLERİNE YER VERİLEBİLİR.

5.2.2.8 PLANDA BELİRLENEN SINIRLAR İÇİNDE KALMAK KOŞULUYLA, MİMARİ AVAN PROJEDE 3 KATLI YER ALTI OTOPARKI DÜZENLENECEKTİR.

5.2.3 MİLLET ÇARŞISI

5.2.3.1 MİLLET ÇARŞISI İÇİN HAZIRLANACAK MİMARİ AVAN PROJE YAPILIP KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU VE BELEDİYESİNCE ONAYLANMADAN UYGULAMA YAPILAMAZ. ÇARŞI İLE MEYDAN VE MİLLET BAHÇESİ ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİNİN KURULABİLMESİ AMACIYLA, BU MİMARİ AVAN PROJE, ULUS MEYDANI VE ÇEVRESİ KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİ TAMAMLANDIKTAN SONRA HAZIRLANIR.

5.2.3.2 YER ALTI ULAŞIM SİSTEMİ, TRANSFER MERKEZİ, YER ALTI OTOPARKI VE METRO BAĞLANTISI MİLLET ÇARŞISI MİMARİ AVAN PROJESİNE ENTEGRE EDİLEREK ÇÖZÜLECEKTİR.

5.2.3.3 MAKSİMUM 4 KAT YAPILAŞMA OLACAKTIR.

5.2.4 PERAKENDE HALİ + MİNİBÜS TERMİNALİ + KATLI OTOPARK

5.2.4.1 PLANDA BELİRLENEN YAPILANMA KOŞULLARINA UYGUN OLARAK MİMARİ AVAN PROJESİNDE ÇÖZÜMÜ YAPILACAK YAPININ "HAL" OLARAK KULLANILACAK BÖLÜMLERİNDE TOPTAN VE PERAKENDE GIDA MADDELERİ TİCARETİ BİRİMLERİ YER ALABİLİR. SÖZ KONUSU YAPININ "MİNİBÜS TERMİNALİ" OLARAK KULLANILACAK BÖLÜMLERİNDE, TARİHİ KENT MERKEZİNE SERVİS YAPAN MİNİBÜS SAYILARI DİKKATE ALINARAK KAPASİTE BELİRLENECEKTİR. KATLI OTOPARK KULLANIMLARINA YER VERİLİR.

5.2.4.2 BODRUM KATLARDA YAPILACAK YER ALTI OTOPARKLARI EMSALE DAHİL DEĞİLDİR.

5.2.4.3 UYGULAMA PROJESİ VE YAPIM AŞAMALARINDA PARSEL BAZINDA YAPILACAK AYRINTILI JEOLOJİK-JEOTEKNİK ETÜTLERE UYULACAKTIR.

5.2.5 TARİHİ TİCARET ALANI (T1)

5.2.5.1 KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ GELENEKSEL EL ZANAATLARI ATÖLYELERİ İLE SERGİ SATIŞ BİRİMLERİ, KÜLTÜR VE TURİZME YÖNELİK HER TÜRLÜ SERGİ SATIŞ BİRİMLERİ, KÜLTÜR VE SANAT ATÖLYELERİ, KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLİ LOKANTA VE KAFETERYALAR, ZÜCCACİYE, TUHAFİYE, MANİFATURA, HAMAM VB. KULLANIMLAR YER ALABİLİR.

5.2.5.2 MAKİNA, MOBİLYA, AKARYAKIT VB. OLUMSUZ ÇEVRESEL ETKİLERİ OLANLAR DIŞINDA KALAN PERAKENDE TİCARET BİRİMLERİ YER ALABİLİR.

5.2.5.3 BU ALANDA İMALATHANE VE DEPOLAR İLE BÜYÜK MAĞAZALAR VE ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİ YER ALAMAZ.

5.2.5.4 GÜRÜLTÜ VE SARSINTI YAPABİLECEK DONANIM GEREKTİREN İMALATHANELER İLE TESCİLLİ VE TESCİLİ ÖNERİLEN KORUNMASI GEREKLİ YAPILARIN CEPHE DÜZENİNDE BOZULMAYA VE STRÜKTÜR SİSTEMİNDE HASARA YOL AÇABİLECEK, YOĞUN SERVİS ARACI KULLANIMI GEREKTİRECEK İMALAT VE TİCARET BİRİMLERİ YER ALAMAZ.

5.2.5.5 ADA İÇLERİNDE ORTAK KULLANIM ALANLARINA BAKAN CEPHELERDE TİCARİ BİRİMLER YER ALABİLİR.

5.2.5.6 TESCİLLİ YAPILARIN RESTORASYONU VE YENİ YAPILARIN YAPILMASINDA, KÜÇÜK PARSELLER ÜZERİNDE BİTİŞİK DÜZENDE OLUŞAN MEVCUT YAPI DOKUSUNUN BOZULMAMASI ESASTIR.

5.2.5.7 ÖZGÜN SOKAK DOKUSU KORUNARAK, SOKAKLARIN TARİHİ NİTELİĞİNE UYGUN KAPLAMA YAPILACAK VE YAYA AĞIRLIKLI DÜZENLENECEKTİR.

5.2.6 TURİZM+TİCARET ALANLARI (T2)

5.2.6.1 LOKANTA, KAFETERYA, OTEL, PANSİYON, VB. HER TÜRLÜ TURİSTİK VE PERAKENDE TİCARET KULLANIMLARI YER ALABİLİR.

5.2.6.2 İMALATHANE VE DEPOLAR YER ALAMAZ.

5.2.6.3 BU ALANLARDA, ÜZERİNDE TESCİLLİ YAPI BULUNAN PARSELLERİN DIŞINDAKİ PARSELLERDE UYGULAMAYA ESAS ASGARİ PARSEL BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ 200 M² OLACAKTIR. ADA BAZINDA YAPILACAK ETÜDLER VE VAZİYET PLANLARI YAPILARAK; ASGARİ PARSEL BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ ŞARTININ FİZİKİ ÇEVRE KOŞULLARI OLUŞTURULACAK VE PASAJ, ARKA BAHÇE, ADA İÇİ DÜZENLEMELERİ, UYGUN YAPILARIN BİRLİKTE ELE ALINACAĞI DÜZENLEMELERE İMKAN SAĞLANACAKTIR. BİTİŞİĞİNDEKİ TESCİLLİ KÜLTÜR VARLIKLARI NEDENİYLE TEVHİD EDİLEMEYEN 200 M²'NİN ALTINDAKİ PARSELLER BAĞIMSIZ OLARAK YAPILANABİLİR.

5.2.6.4 BU ALANLARDA İMAR UYGULAMASI YAPILMADAN ÖNCE GEÇERLİ OLAN KADASTRAL MÜLKİYETE GÖRE MEVCUT DOKUYU KORUYARAK İMAR UYGULAMASI YAPILACAKTIR.

5.2.7 TURİSTİK TESİS ALANI (TT)

5.2.7.1 TARİHİ MERKEZDEKİ KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM GELİŞMELERİNİN DOĞRUCAĞI KONGRE VE KONAKLAMA İHTİYAÇLARININ KARŞILANMASINA YÖNELİK OLARAK DÜZENLENEN TURİSTİK TESİS ALANLARINDA YAPILAR MEVCUT HALLERİYLE KORUNACAKTIR.

5.2.7.2 ULUS İŞ HANINDA, ÇEVRESİNDEKİ DİĞER YAPILAR İLE KENTSEL AÇIK ALANLARA REFERANS OLUŞTURDUĞU DİKKATE ALINARAK, KULLANIM DÖNÜŞÜMÜ İÇİN HAZIRLANACAK MİMARİ PROJELER, KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİNİN TAMAMLANMASINDAN SONRA YAPILIR.

5.3 ARKEOLOJİK GEZİ PARKLARI

5.3.1 PLANDA ARKEOLOJİK GEZİ PARKI OLARAK DÜZENLENEN ALANLARDA KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİ YAPILIR VE KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNUN ONAYINDAN SONRA UYGULAMAYA GEÇİLİR.

5.3.2 ALANIN ZİYARETLERE AÇILMASI AMACINA YÖNELİK OLARAK KENTSEL TASARIM PROJESİ, YUMUŞAK VE SERT ZEMİN DÜZENLEMELERİ, YAYA DOLAŞMA ALANLARI, SEYİR ALANLARI, YAPILACAK GÜNÜBİRLİK SERVİS YAPILARI, AYDINLATMA VE DİĞER ÇEVRE DÜZENLEME DETAYLARINI İÇERECEKTİR.

5.3.3 ARKEOLOJİK DEĞERLERİ KORUMA AMACIYLA, ARKEOLOJİK SİT ALANLARININ KENT İLE BÜTÜNLEŞMESİNİ SAĞLAMAYA YÖNELİK OLARAK VE KAMU YARARINA YAPILACAK HER TÜRLÜ DÜZENLEME ÇALIŞMASINDA, ARKEOLOJİK VERİNİN KORUNMASI VE KAZILARIN KORUMA BÖLGE KURULUNCA BELİRLENEN KOŞULLARDA SÜRDÜRÜLEBİLMESİ İÇİN GEREKLİ TEDBİRLER ALINACAKTIR.

5.4 REKREASYON ALANLARI

5.4.1 REKREASYON ALANLARINDA DOĞAYI TAHRİP ETMEYEN, DOĞA VE TARİHİ ÇEVRE İLE UYUMLU, YÜZEYSEL TEMELLİ, HAFİF VE SÖKÜLÜP TAKILABİLİR MALZEMELER KULLANILMASI KAYDI İLE KAKS: 0,02 VE MAKSIMUM H: 4,50 METRE OLACAK ŞEKİLDE, ÇAY BAHÇESİ, KIR LOKANTASI, KIR GAZİNOSU, BÜFE, WC VE BENZERİ GÜNÜBİRLİK KULLANIMLAR VE AÇIK ALAN DÜZENLEMELERİ YER ALABİLİR. BUNLARIN YERLERİ, BİÇİMLERİ VE ÇEVRE DÜZENLEMELERİ 1/500 VE/VEYA 1/200 ÖLÇEKLİ KENTSEL TASARIM PROJELERİNDE BELİRLENECEKTİR.

5.4.2 BU ALANDA HAZIRLANAN PROJELERİN YENİLEME ALANINDA KALAN KISMINDA KORUMA BÖLGE KURULU ONAYINDAN SONRA UYGULAMA YAPILIR.