RETHINKING CULTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION:
EVALUATION OF THE TREATMENTS OF FORMER PRISON SITES

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ABSTRACT

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The prevailing mindset of heritage practice which was originated in the early 20th century, is so associated with the 'thing' that causes incompetence in responding to cultural and social demands of heritage conservation. Therefore, this thesis examines the treatments of former prison sites with the aim of revealing contemporary agents of cultural heritage conservation that are utilized to sustain and, indeed, to nurture intangible features of heritages. The discourse that is constructed around the abandoned prison sites are perceived as a constructive repository since the conservation of old prison sites inherently embodies fundamental questions about the commemorative, political, social and economic features of heritage due to the compelling and idiosyncratic nature of prisons.

The study begins with a detailed undertaking of the statement that cultural heritage belongs to a 'present' and thus, all of the ruling conservation axioms have been emanated from certain former presents not the artifact per se. In the light of this

discussion, the conventional and contemporary notions of heritage are studied to evidence that heritage is temporal and open to alteration. Later, the motivations lying behind the visiting dark memories are determined and, with regard to the reactions against carceral identity of place, the treatments of decommissioned prison sites, particularly focusing on politically significant prisons, are examined. In the end, values, problems and potentials of prison heritages and the operative instruments of conservation processes are listed to constitute a constructive base for process-based conservation approaches.

Keywords: Prison heritage, memory, dark heritage, architectural conservation, critical heritage studies

ÖZ

KÜLTÜREL MİRASI KORUMAYI YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK:
ESKİ CEZAEVLERİNE YAKLAŞIMLARIN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

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Koruma pratiğinde 20. yüzyılın başlarında gelişen hakim anlayışın ana odağının 'obje' olması, kültürel mirası koruma alanının sosyal ve kültürel taleplerine yanıt vermekte yetersiz kalmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tez eski cezaevlerine karşı geliştirilen yaklaşımları, kültürel mirasın somut olmayan yönlerini koruyan ve hatta besleyen çağdaş koruma araçlarını ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla incelemektedir. Terkedilmiş cezaevlerinin etrafında inşa edilmiş söylem, cezaevinin çetin ve kendine has doğası hasebiyle zengin bir veri havuzu olarak kabul edilmiştir, çünkü eski cezaevlerinin korunması doğal olarak kültürel mirasın anımsatma, politik, sosyal ve ekonomik yönlerine dair soruları bünyesinde barındırmaktadır.

Çalışma detaylı bir şekilde kültürel miras 'şimdiki zamana' aittir önermesini ele alarak başlar, hüküm süren bütün koruma aksiyomları da artifaktın kendisinden değil belirli geçmiş şimdiki zamanlardan doğar. Bu tartışmalar ışığında, kültürel mirasın geleneksel ve güncel nosyonları, onun muvakkat ve değişime açık olduğunu göstermek için

çalışılmıştır. Daha sonra, karanlık anıların yad edilmesinin altında yatan motivasyonlar belirlendi ve, yerin cezaevi kimliğine karşı reaksiyonlar göz önüne alınarak, terkedilmiş cezaevleri için geliştirilen yaklaşımlar, özellikle politik öneme sahip cezaevlerine odaklanılarak, sorgulanmıştır. Son olarak, cezaevi mirasının değerleri, problemleri ve potansiyelleri ile beraber koruma sürecinin operatif aparatları, süreç odaklı koruma yaklaşımları için faydalı bir altlık oluşturma amacıyla listelenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: cezaevi mirası, bellek, tedirgin edici miras, eleştirel koruma çalışmaları

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INTRODUCTION

The fate of decommissioned prison sites has become the subject of heritage studies lately as a consequence of the growing interest in the baneful memories of the past. Despite the places of confinement, exile or torture have been existed for very long times, the recognition of them as heritage is a recent phenomenon[1] and this study is mainly concerned with the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon since spatial treatments of former prison sites request a critical approach to heritage and heritage conservation.

By way of introduction, temporal dimensions of heritage and heritage conservation are focused mainly to construct a more reliable understanding for prison heritage conservation since the dissonance between operative agents of heritage practice and contemporary understanding of heritage is presumed as the main problem of conservation of carceral spaces. Therefore, the origin of conventional and prevailing mindset of heritage practice and its agents in relation to nationalism are indicated and then the recent trajectories of heritage paradigm that results with the recognition of places where traumatic incidents have occurred as heritage is pointed out to create a constructive base for the rest of the study.

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[1] Sion, B. (2014). *Death Tourism,* p.3.

1.1. The Nature of Heritage Concept

Since prison heritages innately convey the fundamentals of heritage, the raison d'être of the heritage conservation, the heritage[2], is endeavored to be illuminated first. The connotations of heritage are both vague and manifold; David C. Harvey (2008) states "it is not a thing and does not exist by itself" and its perception depends on present conditions.[3] The abundance and diversity of the definitions and categorizations of heritage and also manifold uses of the expression blur the concept itself. Rodney Harrison states that "heritage today is a broad and slippery term"[4] as a consequence of the inflation in the range of the objects entailed by the term. Munoz-Vinas also portrays the vastness of the 'conservation objects' as a problem.[5] In the present climate, great variety of things and traditions are listed as heritage[6] regardless of size, material, quantity and location. Parallel to the increase in the number of heritage types, conducted studies on cultural heritage and heritage conservation have been multiplied and each singular study has its own impact on the study field. David C. Harvey (2010) asserts that there are 'as many definitions of the heritage concept as there are heritage practitioners'.[7]

Lowenthal, in his seminal book *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (1985), designates relics, both natural and artificial, as one of three sources that people employ to acquire information about the past along with memory and history. Venice Charter (1964) also

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[2] In the scope of this study, 'heritage' is used to refer to tangible and spatial legacies unless indicated otherwise.

[3] Harvey, D. (2008). *The History of Heritage,* p.19.

[4] Harrison, R. (2013). Heritage: Critical Approaches, p.5.

[5] Munoz-Vinas, S. (2005). *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*. p.9.

[6] See: http://en.unesco.org/

[7] Harvey, D. (2010). *Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies*. p.319.

identifies historic monuments as sources which are "imbued with a message from the past" for future generations.[8] Until late modern period, it could be claimed that the antiquity and belonging to past mostly captured the approaches to heritage.

Being associated with the past, however, is not enough to isolate heritage from the present. Many authors claimed that one of the main characteristics of heritage practice is determining the perception of past. Orwell, in his dystopian book; *1984*, emphasizes the significance of supremacy over the past to rule the future through the party slogan: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."[9] In addition to Orwell, many specialists point out the assured consequences of present needs and circumstances over heritage. For example, Lowenthal highlights the influence of the present intentions on determination of an object as heritage. He states: "*...heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present day purposes.*"[10] Harvey asserts that heritage is not an autogenous 'thing' that generates its own set of values; indeed it is constructed by people in relation to their employment of the past in present.[11] Similarly Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge reiterate that heritage is a responsive phenomenon that has tendencies for modifications and transformations depending on present concerns.[12] These readings on heritage that underline the formative aspect of the present on both definition and utilization of heritage caused scholars to question and contest firmly established attributes of heritage both in theoretical and practical manners.

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[8] ICOMOS. (2017). *Vencie Charter*, p.1.

[9] Orwell, G. (1949). *Nineteen eighty-four*. p.33.

[10] Lowental, (1998). *The Heritage Crusade*.

[11] Harvey, D. (2008) *The History of Heritage*. p.19.

[12] Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. J., & Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, p.1-4.

1.2. The Modernist Mindset of Heritage Conservation

> *The new concepts of historicity and aesthetics, but also the new relationships with culture and religion, nature and environment, have generated a new conception of time and new value judgements. These new values of Western society represent a paradigm that has effectively detached the present from the past and, at the same time, made it difficult if not impossible to appreciate fully the significance of the heritage.[13]*

Since heritage is a past-centered present process, prevailing heritage conservation approaches, principles, methods, agencies and institutions are creations of certain presents of which mostly reside in the past. Despite people had developed different ways for treatment to past edifices and their memories from ancient times, emergence of heritage conservation as an official and established specialty coexists with the modernity.[14]

Jukka Jokilehto points out the significance of the shift from the traditional society to the modern one since a brand new historical consciousness was constructed and its effects on treatment to tangible vestiges of the past is highly differentiated from the previous ones.[15] This transition have become the root of the material-based understanding of heritage which is still in force and operational through some established agents. It is aimed to reveal these agents, which are effective also today, and their historical origins to be able to criticize their current utilization.

Laurajane Smith, as one of the pioneers, draws attention to a contrived and prevailing discourse which is burgeoned in Europe in her book *Uses of Heritage* (2006). She terms

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[13] Jokilehto, J. (1999). *A History of Architectural Conservation*, p.6.

[14] *Ibid.*, p.1-20.

[15] *Ibid.*, p.6.

this dominant prescription of Western society for heritage as the 'authorized heritage discourse (*AHD*)' and notes:

> *Western account of 'heritage' tends to emphasize the material basis of heritage, and attributes an inherent cultural value or significance to these things. Furthermore, the sense of gravitas given to these values is also often directly linked to the age, monumentality and/or aesthetics of a place. The physicality of the Western idea of heritage means that 'heritage' can be mapped, studied, managed, preserved and/or conserved, and its protection may be the subject of national legislation and international agreements, conventions and charters.*[16]
> (Smith, 2006;3)

She claims that the debates around the tangible features of heritage driven from this Western account of which the attention is the 'thing' itself belong to a specific period of time. Rodney Harrison is another author who has similar observations; Harrison terms this "broadly Euro-American set of practices" as *'official heritage'* which are "authorized by state and motivated by some form of legislation or written charter." He interprets that the common perception of heritage, which is settled by official organizations, engages with the physical vestiges of the past and valorizes its material-oriented values.[17] Both authors assert that the currently encouraged and praised cultural heritage approaches are evaluated according to principles which are emanated from Western perspective rather than the inborn qualities of heritage per se. Pendlebury supports them by claiming that Western ideas of heritage is resulted with the rise of modern knowledge of history and nation-state.[18]

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[16] Smith, L. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*, p.3.

[17] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p.14.

[18] Pendlebury, J. (2015) *Heritage and Policy*, p.429.

In order to establish a nationalist and canonized understanding of heritage, some mechanisms and concepts were required to be constituted. It could be asserted that the main intention of these mechanisms is to fulfil the dreams of hegemonic ideologies by consolidating the nationalist passions of individuals with reference to Ana Maria Alonso who declares that:

> *...the nation is rendered real through a "vast iconic structuring of 'public' social space" that "transforms what was once the terrain of local and regional autonomies into a homogenized and nationalized domain, where an objectified official history makes the presence of the state palpable in everyday life.*[19]

In this respect, it makes sense to infer that the preservation of heritage from uncontrollable alterations, transformation or demolitions is eminently concerned by nation-states since heritage is a medium in which a collective past is implemented to strengthen the sense of belonging a nation.

Several agents are conducted to compensate the vulnerability of heritages, then especially monuments, to external and unsolicited factors, either implicit or explicit. The first one is the *professionalization and institutionalization* of heritage practices and the second one is the establishment of linear perception of time; namely *sequential narration*. The third apparatus that is employed for the modern heritage is the *classification* of heritage. The last one is the sanctification of material-centered features of heritage, primarily *aesthetic and authenticity*.[20] They all intend to freeze heritage, for inherently controlling history and homogenizing and unifying society.

- Institutionalization and Professionalization

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[19] Alonso, A. M. (1994). *The Politics of Space, Time, and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity*, p.382.

[20] Smith, *op. cit*. p.5-12.

Harrison signifies the year of 1837 as the date of first governmental organization for heritage assessment was founded in France, *Commission de Monuments Historique,* of which mission is to manage the historic sites of the nation. Since 1837, many other national or international and governmental or non-governmental organizations with the supremacy of West have been founded to be able to decide what is superior and worth to be admired to determine present-time values[21] and as a result of the professionalization, laymen become an impotent factor while identifying what is worth to be inherited and what will be its destiny. In parallel with Harrison, Santamarina and Beltran also indicate that in their article, *Heritage and Knowledge: Apparatus, Logic and Strategies in the Formation of Heritage (2016)*, scientific approach to knowledge of heritage and heritage conservation is intentionally devised to legitimize the existence of heritage and to guarantee be evaded from deviant interpretations.[22] Moreover, Smith claims that *"At one level heritage is about the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present."[23]* She mentions the significance of the non-governmental organization ICOMOS and its time-honored text, Venice Charter, in the course of authorizing ideologies of nationalism.[24]

It can be summarized as particular institutions and professionals are authorized to give decisions on some historic objects, buildings or sites whether they deserve to be preserved or not in order to eliminate alternative and inconsistent readings on the same heritage. This caused a split between heritage and lay person which still endures in the 21st century.

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[21] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p.44

[22] Santamarina, B., & Beltran, O. (2016). *Heritage and Knowledge: Apparatus, Logic and Strategies in the Formation of Heritage*, p.402

[23] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.4

[24] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.89

- Sequential Narration

> *Historical facts are timeless and discontinuous until woven together in stories. We do not experience a flow of time, only a succession of situations and events.[25]*

After clarifying the uses of institutions and professionals in the modern discourse of heritage, the question of how they function in practice is posed inevitably. The answer is categorization and chronology which are reciprocally interrelated to order past for governmental purposes. In this regard, Lowenthal focuses on the employment of "sequential order" while structuring the past and he emphasizes that in spite of the nature of time, tracking a one-way path, the understanding of past via a linear sequence, from a present stance, is artificial.[26] The subdivided and segmented past holds potentials to promote certain periods, dates and names which enables states to "shape memory", "secure identity" and generate tradition.[27] He explains the capability of chronology as:

> *An ordered chronology yields manifold rewards. We celebrate anniversaries, count up the days since important events, and base expectations on calendric regularities. We segment the past into equal or unequal intervals, making off periods in our own lives along with those in other histories. Sequence clarifies, places things in context, underscores the uniqueness of past events, and forms them into the lineaments of a true landscape. But it remains a landscape we can now observe only from beyond, framed in an inalterably determined temporal grid. (Lowenthal; 63)*

- Categorization

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[25] Lowental, D., (1998). *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. p.220.

[26] Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. p.126.

[27] *Ibid.*, p.63.

While the categorization of heritage is highly both caused by the linear perception of time and scientific knowledge of the past, it should be concentrated on individually because of its performative influence on heritage conservation legislations and acts. Harrison observes that the modernity requires categorization of heritage along with the description to locate itself in opposition to past.[28] Harrison and Santamarina and Beltran focus on the power of classification on the determining the boundaries of and hierarchies within the study field via analyzing the dissociation between natural heritage and cultural heritage. The separation between natural and cultural heritage implies the superiority of the modern over the primitive, the civilized over the wild and the artificial over the natural.[29] Smith goes further by claiming that the reference text of heritage studies, Venice Charter, is influenced by Western perspective that assumes itself as the zenith of cultural progress since the use of the term 'civilization'.[30] According to Waterton, the desire for capturing and freezing the image of the civilization leads to 'conserve as found' approach that promotes material attributes of heritage.[31]

Bowker and Leigh describe categorization as not a bad but a dangerous agent because the ethical responsibility of promoting one way of perception while shading the others.[32] Every categorization of heritage inevitably leads hierarchical affairs between relics that are not bad in essence but may have repercussions. The underlying causes of dividing heritage into categories and criteria that serve to classify heritages are not intrinsic but fictional, they worth to be investigated in order to reveal the understanding of heritage and objectives, intentions of power for heritage and heritage conservation.

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[28] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p.26.

[29] Ibid., p.26.

[30] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.88-90

[31] Waterton, E. (2005). *Whose Sense of Place? Reconciling Archaeological Perspectives with Community Values: Cultural Landscapes in England*. p.313.

[32] Bowker, G., & Star, S. (1999). *Sorting Things Out* (1st ed.). p.5.

• Sanctified Material: Aesthetic and Authenticity

The sanctification of the material-based attributes of objects could be noticed in the theories of heritage conservation; the material was consecrated by the pioneers, especially, by John Ruskin and William Morris. In his book *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), Ruskin describes material as sacred because of its consistent existing through ages while being witness to livings of our ancestors and he mentions the benefit of the genuine 'wall' for consolidating the identity of nations.[33] While Ruskin values genuine material as a substitute for the ancestors, Smith comments that drawing an analogy between human-being and monuments aims to create a delusion that whole meaning of past implanted into place.[34] In this regard, aesthetic and authenticity emerges as two pre-eminent concepts that are faced frequently within the texts of the modern period. Emma Waterton concedes that:

> *This historical thread of nationalist sentiment continued, and was supplemented by a recurring reference to conservation philosophy, particularly that of William Morris and John Ruskin. Here, concepts of authenticity and aesthetics gained precedence, affirming the idea of inherent value, 'conserve as found' and the focus of future generations as the inheritors of 'heritage'. (Waterton;313)[35]*

As reported by Jukka Jokilehto, Morris, in his writing *The Manifesto* that is published for The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), states that heritages which are evaluated as worth to preserve by experts should be materially conserved and transmitted to generations for illuminating the past. *The Manifesto* praises the material authenticity also via claiming that "the ancient monuments represented certain historic

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[33] Ruskin, J. (1996). *The Lamp of Memory*. p.42-43

[34] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.91.

[35] Waterton, E. (2005). *Whose Sense of Place? Reconciling Archaeological Perspectives with Community Values: Cultural Landscapes in England*. p.313.

periods only so far as their authentic material was undisturbed and preserved in situ…" and statements of Morris had constituted a base for the modern conservation policies; their influences could be observed through Venice Charter.[36]

Beside emphasis on historical values, artistic values of heritages were also highlighted intensively to esteem the object, the monument itself, by defining them as a work of art and considering their aesthetic values. Authenticity of genuine relics becomes venerated not only for its historical value but also for its artistic value. The Article 9 of Venice Charter indicates that historical and aesthetic values are acknowledged by authorities to ensure the material stability of monuments.

> *The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents(…) (Venice Charter, Article 9)*

Helaine Silverman, in her article *Authenticity and Heritage* (2015), traces the emergence of authenticity and its evolution through the heritage discourse and she foregrounds the construction of national memory and national identity as a rationale that is why authenticity is engaged and featured in heritage conservation in the 19th century.[37] Moreover, Silverman claims that despite the official and explicit introduction of the authenticity appeared in Venice in 1964, one of the early institutions of heritage conservation, the SPAB (Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings) formed a group named *authenticators* of which members are experts on heritage.

Authenticity have become one of the main features of heritage and heritage conservation corresponding to national identity policies since the late 19th century. Despite the

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[36] Jokilehto, *op. cit*., p.185.

[37] Silverman, H. (2017). *Authenticity and Heritage*. p.70-71.

meaning of the authenticity is extended due to the strong shifts in contemporary societies[38], it is still an assertive custom for heritage conservation practice to preserve the material authenticity of heritage.

1.3. Changing Paradigms in the Heritage Studies

Subsequent to late 70s, a decline in modernist narration had occurred and then, the past begun to be appreciated as a resource to interrogate the misdeeds and crimes of 20th century states on minorities instead of consolidating people around a favored majority.[39] The consequences of this dramatic shifts, from the fixed mono-ethnic society to the plural one and from authorized history to the personal memories, and their consequences are inquired within the heritage scholarship since they have led dramatic changes in the heritage conservation discourse.

The nationalism and nationalist dreams shape the modernist perspectives on the past and, consequently, on the heritage; accordingly, the fall of nationalism constitutes a base for contemporary studies on historiography and heritage conservation.[40] Similar to the influences of 'nationalism' on modern heritage understanding, 'pluralism' is considered as a notable concept, in here, regarding its correlation with heritage. In a similar vein, Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007) underline the role of heritage for plural identity policies and state that "pasts, heritages and identities should be considered as plurals.[41]

The new configurations of contemporary societies engender new perceptions on cultural heritage which generate a domain that minor identities legitimize their existence and

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[38] See Nara Document (1994) for detailed information.

[39] Olick, J., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., & Levy, D. (2011). *The Collective Memory Reader*. p.1-2.

[40] Ibid., p.1-2.

[41] Ashworth, G., Graham, B., & Tunbridge, J. (2007). *Pluralising Pasts*. p.45.

rights. In their seminal book, Pluralising Pasts, Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007) concentrate on how the plurality of societies transformed the description of heritage concept and treatments to heritage to represent plural identities through place. Throughout their studies, they provoke questions not only to illuminate contemporary aspects of heritage in plural societies but also to demolish the materialist Western understanding of cultural heritage which mainly promoted built and physical environment. Furthermore, Smith by stating "*Consensual heritage narratives about the nation and national identity were challenged by the diversity of community experience and identity claims*"[42] also alleges that sexual, religious, ethnical or political differences within societies encourage scholars to consider on heritage. Drawing on the influence of contemporary configuration of society on heritage, Cristóbal Gnecco, in his article, *Heritage in Multicultural Times* (2015), signifies the drastic change in the meaning of heritage after the transition from "homogenous national state to heterogeneous multicultural state".[43] Brian Graham and Peter Howard observes that

> *...societies, notably in Western countries, are experiencing greater socio-spatial segregation as they become more culturally diverse (and more self-consciously so), a fragmentation which raises issues as to how this heterogeneity should be reflected in heritage selection, interpretation and management.*[44]

Smith describes heritage as not only a social or cultural process but also a political one because of contested identities, which are imagined to coexist, negotiate and struggle with each other by means of heritage.[45] Heritage, of course, always holds political side; however, it can be claimed that it was kept concealed until the plurality comes out. That

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[42] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.5.

[43] Gnecco, Cristobal. (2015). *Heritage in Multicultural Times*.

[44] Graham, B., & Howard, P. (2008). *The Ashgate Research Comapnion to Heritage and Identity*. p.1

[45] Smith, *op.cit.*, p.7

is, preserving or validating a historic place as heritage or conversely demolish and erase it were inherently political in nation-states, but, with the rising of multiculturalism, heritage evolve into an arena where conflicted identities struggle and various policies are able to be embodied according to certain politics. John Pendlebury mentions 'policies' which are adopted not for heritages but for other political objectives through heritages.[46]

Similar to the plurality which makes palpable the political aspects and uses of the heritage, the increment of the interest in memories triggers manifold discussions on the economic uses of heritage and their impacts on heritage conservation studies. Although visiting places that have historical significances recorded before 20th century, R. Harrison[47] and D. Light[48] mark 70s as a critical period of time while pointing the 'heritage boom'. D. Light states

> *Some countries embraced heritage tourism with especial enthusiasm, with the UK being perhaps the best example. Between 1971 and 1987, the number of museums in England alone doubled (Urry and Larsen, 2011), and by the 1980s a new museum was reportedly opening every fortnight (Hewison, 1987). There have been various explanations for what became known as the 'heritage boom'. For some, such as Hewison (1987), heritage was the response to a collective identity crisis in the face of post-war national decline which generated a national mood of pessimism and nostalgia…[49]*

After 70s, the heritage practice has widely influenced by the growth in public interest to the past and heritage sites which is fostered by many social and cultural developments including high-speed transportation, more time for leisure, new modes of payment,

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[46] Pendlebury, John. (2015) *Heritage and Policy*.

[47] Harrison, op. cit., p.69-72.

[48] Light, D. (2015). *Heritage and Tourism*. p.145-148.

[49] Ibid., p.147.

affordable cars etc. as identified by Harrison.[50] However, the outcomes of the visiting heritages attract more attention rather than its reasons since they have long-term impacts on contemporary heritage understanding and also scholarships.

The reactions of heritage discourse to the effects of tourism, at the first stake could be accused of being full of negative feelings. In 1976, The ICOMOS Charter of Cultural Tourism which forewarns executives of the risk of the mass tourism was published in Brussels. This charter mostly concerns with the physical damages that uncontrolled use may cause, authenticity and unity of physical settings are considered primarily. Then, Robert Hewison (1987) coined the term 'heritage industry' to depict the 'museumification' of the past. As mentioned by Smith, *"Hewison (1987) identified what he called a 'heritage industry', which he argued offered sanitized, false and inauthentic history to a gullible audience of heritage tourists."* While Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) criticize the impacts of tourism that lead heritage to become commodified to attract visitors and fulfil their expectations, Smith evaluates tourism as a kind of relationship with heritage that should not be disregarded because of some presuppositions by stating that:

> *While the sense of experience often created in tourism has been criticized for its tendency to commodify or Disneyfy the past, or for its tendency to transform identities 'through pernicious vogue storylines' (Hollinshead 1999: 19), it nonetheless demonstrates the importance of 'doing' and 'being' at a 'place'.[51]*

It can be asserted that plurality and heritage boom both have reciprocal relationships with heritage conservation. While consequences of heritage policies are directly related with the identity conflicts and commercial issues, they draw the route of the heritage

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[50] Harrison, op. cit., p. 68-94.

[51] Smith, op. cit., p.71.

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studies. Many researches have been conducted and published by scholars, institutions and organizations to be able to reformulate heritage conservation to adopt it to the social changes.

Table 1 Difference between paradigms
(Source: Ashworth, G. (2011). Preservation, Conservation and Heritage: Approaches to the Past in the Present through the Built Environment. Asian Anthropology, 10(1), 1-18)

FOCUS	PARADIGM		
	PRESERVATION	CONSERVATION	HERITAGE
GOAL	Object	Ensemble	Message
JUSTIFICATION	Keep	Adaptive reuse	Use
TIME	Value	Value/ Reuse	Utility
CRITERIA	Past	Past/ Present	Present/ Future
PAST	Intrinsic	Preserve	Extrinsic
FOCUS	Real	Given	Imagined
AUTHENTICITY	Object	Compromise	Experience
CHANGE	Immutable	Adaptable	Flexible
ACTORS	Experts	Policy markers	Users

Asworth indicates that the focus of the heritage studies consistently experiences a mutation from "object to process and outcome" since the middle of the nineteenth century. In his study, Ashworth classifies three paradigms that determine the certain aspects of heritage treatments. These are listed as: *the preservation paradigm* of which its root lays in the middle of 19th century, *the conservation paradigm* which is shaped in 1960s and extend the content of heritage studies and lastly, *the heritage paradigm* which become popular after 1980s. The table which is drawn up by Ashworth indicates the perpetual change of conservation paradigms towards the process from the object (Table 1). The pursuit of authenticity has shifted its ground from the object itself to the meaning and experience. [52]

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[52] Ashworth, G. (2011). *Preservation, Conservation and Heritage: Approaches to the Past in the Present through the Built Environment.*

ICOMOS, as a leading force for heritage conservation, also have published some declarations and charters to compel the actors of heritage conservation to embrace the changing conditions of the world. It could be observed that for the last four decades, some new concepts have been introduced and some concepts have been empowered by ICOMOS. In order to grasp the effort of ICOMOS to enable heritage conservation theory viable, relatively recent and celebrated documents of ICOMOS -Burra Charter, Dresden Declaration, Nara Document, Quebec Declaration and Paris Declaration- will be reviewed briefly.

Burra Charter, which is first published in 1979 and revised twice in 1981 and 1999, is one of the early examples of that manifesting the alteration of the focus of heritage conservation from the object to the process. In the text, the conservation process is described as "an integral part" of the management of heritages.[53] The emphasis on conserving 'cultural significance', instead of referring solely to physical ingredients, proves that the perception of heritage and its meanings for society gain further importance. Moreover, *Article 12* which particularly promotes the participation of the public to the conservation process and *Article 13* which is dedicated to the multiplicity of values of heritages[54] are the indications of the attempts of heritage conservation theory to pursue changes in life.

Dresden Declaration (1982), mainly features the political facet of heritage conservation; *Article 6* underlines the stimulating power of political and cultural meanings of

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[53] Australia ICOMOS. (1999). The Burra Charter. Burra. Retrieved from http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/BURRA-CHARTER-1999_charter-only.pdf

[54] Ibid.

destructed monuments on restoring them.[55] The article implicitly acknowledges present-centered values of monuments by referring the meaning.

Nara Document(1994) could be counted as the epitome of theoretical studies aiming to capture the spirit of age and, then, to adopt heritage conservation field with it. The document explicitly pledges "to challenge conventional thinking in the conservation field"[56] and give response "to the expanding scope of cultural heritage concerns and interests in our contemporary world"[57] by mainly examining the concept of 'authenticity'. *Article 4* states:

> *In a world that is increasingly subject to the forces of globalization and homogenization, and in a world in which the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity."* (Article 4, Nara Document)

Nara Document also queries the universally standardization of the heritage conservation by revealing that heritage is a contextually-constructed and cultural notion of which criterion that are commonly utilized to evaluate heritages may show differences from culture to culture and time to time. *Article 8* gives priority to local community that owns the heritage for management and conservation of it.[58]

Another significant subject that Nara points out is the requisite of multidisciplinary collaboration to determine values of heritage and community consensus on the attributed

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[55] ICOMOS International. (1982). Declaration of Dresden on the "Reconstruction of Monuments Destroyed by War".

[56] ICOMOS International. (1994). The Nara Document on Authenticity.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

values. In Nara, it is suggested that determination of values should include "efforts to build, as far as possible, a multidisciplinary and community consensus".

One of the claims of Quebec Declaration(2008) is to comprehend intangible features of places with their physical entities and to develop a more dynamic approach that is more appropriate for contemporary life. It asserts that spirit of place

> *takes on a plural and dynamic character, capable of possessing multiple meanings and singularities, of changing through time, and of belonging to different groups. This more dynamic approach is also better adapted to today's globalized world, which is characterized by transnational population movements, relocated populations, increased intercultural contacts, pluralistic societies, and multiple attachments to place.*[59]

The impacts of globalization on both communities and heritage conservation field are stated as the main motivations behind the Paris Declaration(2011).[60] The document aims to enable a role to heritage in the contemporary world by indicating its social, cultural and economic potentials. Two of the five title, *Heritage and Economics* and *Tourism and Development*, indicate the efforts of conservation experts to adopt heritage conservation to changing circumstances.

As a result, it could be claimed that notable changes in heritage discourse have been experienced and the theoretical studies in heritage conservation discipline challenge the nationalist understanding of heritage conservation by questioning its modernist aspects. On the other hand, material-based interpretation of heritage still dominates the field of conservation practice. The duality prompts scholars to conduct critical studies on heritage conservation with the aim of responding intangible dimensions of heritage.

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[59] ICOMOS International. (2008). Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of Spirit of Place.

[60] ICOMOS International. (2017). The Paris Declaration On Heritage as a Driver of Development.

1.4. Justification

The world has changed, the understanding of heritage has been revised, the content of heritage has extended, the priorities of heritage conservation has been reestablished and here the main questions are: To what extents the official process of heritage conservation praxis adapted itself to the changes in the heritage discourse? Are the laws, legislations, institutions, specifications and concerns of conservation, which were developed before, adequate to reveal and conserve intangible features of heritage? Which concepts, agents and methods could be utilized to respond to the shifts in heritage understanding?

Despite the endeavors to adapt the heritage theory to the changes in the contemporary world are indicated in previous part of the chapter, the on-going supremacy of the modernist and material-based mindset in heritage conservation praxis is evidenced and acknowledged by many scholars. In the scope of this inquiry, the discrepancy between the heritage conservation praxis and the theory is considered an urgent problem and it is postulated that this clash becomes particularly concrete during the conservation of a recently emerging genre of heritage: prison heritage. Therefore, the afterlives of former prison sites are considered as specimen for comprehending the problems and potentials of contemporary heritage conservation practices since prisons are esteemed as the emblematic of intangible features of place. To rephrase it, since prisons, beyond their material-based qualities, are socially, politically and mnemonically significant places, how they are treated, ensuing their closure, is presupposed as a repository to discover contemporary aspects of heritage. The intangible features of tangible heritage are tried to be grasped via sealed prisons.

Nominating former prison sites as cultural heritage, by essence, triggers many discussions on the nature of heritage conservation. These sites of pain and torture, independent from their physical qualities and tangible values, embody moral, spiritual, economic and cultural meanings for societies. Therefore, surveying on the architectural

conservation of former prison sites requires being critical and even skeptical about the physical manifestations of memory through artifacts. Although this is not specific to dark heritages, they provide the prime examples to determine or observe the intangible features of heritage. Graham and Howard (2008) define dark heritage, in their words 'heritage of violence', as '*leitmotif*' of heritage studies for the fact that the past considerably was violent and most of the listed heritages witness various kinds of inhumanity. Although any specific treatment to dark heritage is refused, they acknowledge the ability of atrocity in consolidating the bonds between the members of a group via heritages.[61] Similarly, Laurajane Smith(2006) underlines that unwanted memories cause distrust and doubts on traditional understandings of heritage and heritage conservation concepts.[62] While Graham and Howard(2008) and Smith(2006) focus on the critical role of the dark memories on discursive turn itself, Rodney Harrison(2013) states that the excessive interest on memory discourse is materialized because of concerns on past catastrophes.[63]

In addition to critical outcomes of dark heritages on authorized heritage discourse, the multicultural pattern of societies also initiates debates to develop new routes for heritage studies after the decline of nationalism and consequently the unitary policies of governments. In this regard, former prison sites are notable places for heritage conservation since identity conflicts can be traced through their past. The repressed histories of minor identity groups could be ascertained through carceral places and, hence removal or mistreatment of former prisons is problematic for multi-cultural states. The new configurations of contemporary societies engender new analysis on cultural heritage which is the domain through which identities legitimize their existence and

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[61] Ashworth, G. J. (2008). *The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy: Human Trauma as Heritage*. p.231-233.

[62] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.58

[63] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p.168

rights. In their seminal book, *Pluralising Pasts*, Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge(2007) concentrate on how the multiplicity of societies transformed the description of heritage concept and the treatments to heritage to be able to represent plural identities through place. Throughout their studies, they provoke questions not only to illuminate contemporary aspects of heritage in plural societies but also to demolish the materialist Western understanding of cultural heritage which mainly promoted built and physical environment. Furthermore, Smith(2006) by stating that "*Consensual heritage narratives about the nation and national identity were challenged by the diversity of community experience and identity claims*"[64] also alleges that sexual, religious, ethnical or political differences within societies encourage scholars to consider heritage. Drawing on the influence of contemporary configuration of society on heritage, Cristóbal Gnecco(2015), in his article "*Heritage in Multicultural Times*", signifies the drastic change in the meaning of heritage after the transition from "homogenous national state to heterogeneous multicultural state".[65]

In addition to universal concerns, the concentration on decommissioned prisons holds local motivations too. A number of prisons have been listed as heritage over the last few decades, however, the official process of architectural conservation in Turkey mainly remains unchanged concerning the built environment and its historical records because of the established understanding that the heritage is a 'thing' which belongs to the past. Methods that are employed for both conservation and restoration tasks are developed under the influence of a linear and sequential understanding of the history. For instance, three main parts of conservation projects are mentioned via laws and regulations: architectural survey, restitution and restoration[66] which compulsorily must be followed

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[64] Smith, *op. cit.,* p.5

[65] Gnecco, Cristobal. (2015). *Heritage in Multicultural Times*.

[66] 2863 Nolu Kültür Ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu (1) (2)

to design a conservation project and primarily aim to record, investigate and interpret physical and tangible qualities of sites like materials, structure, dimensions etc. The main problem of the architectural conservations of politically significant defunct prisons in Turkey is their inadequacy in transmitting and preserving the memory and deploying its social potentials. Despite the physical intactness of the conserved and refunctioned edifices are allocated, it is hard to claim that their rebirth as public places are accomplished.

Furthermore, in Turkey, where identity conflicts are common and severe, unlike the Western cases, incarceration centers due to their political use represent more than solely violence or oppression. Through their lifetime, they commonly turn into monuments for minorities, even, on occasions, ingredients of a particular identity. Fuat Keyman(2007) points out the impacts of identity struggles and conflicts through various aspects of life for recognition of differences begun to be observed from 1980s but mostly from 1990s in Turkey.[67] Thus, architectural conservation of former prison sites as a cultural heritage emerges as an intricate problem and requires new perspectives, opinions and concepts to entirely comprehend the commemorative and intangible features of heritage, and its intricate relationship with identity and politics. However, it can be claimed that the amount of the inquiries which was actualized so far is evidently scarce to construct a framework for the conservation of former prison sites and inherently to change the route of heritage discourse in Turkey.

Recognition of former prison sites as heritage is also a crucial collective memory problem because it poses questions on dealing with trauma. Within the time span that this study has been in progress, eleven terror attacks in city centers, including Istanbul and Ankara, and also one defeated military coup attempt are recorded all establishing

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[67] Keyman, F. (2007). Türkiye'de Kimlik Sorunları ve Demokratikleşme.

new places and sites to commemorate a grief or a triumph. For example, the historical building of Grand National Assembly of Turkey, after damaged and ruined partly during the military coup attempt, have obtained a memorial value which emblems the victory of democracy over the armed forces and the sorrow for the death of more than 200 people.[68] Many places, including squares, towns and even Bosporus Bridge, are renamed by the government against collective oblivion. Besides recent incidents, the history of the country consists of many traumatic events such as population exchanges, occupations, executions, terror attacks, coups, earthquakes, assassinations and prison riots. Obviously, the architectural conservation of these places which are saturated with grief, pain and mourning poses some critical and challenging questions about the universal principles of cultural heritage and heritage conservation.

The architectural conservation studies could be labeled as a subset of the memory studies due to their mutual intention to transmit memories through people and generations. Therefore, the accomplished memory studies constitute valuable sources both to comprehend and to determine the trajectory of architectural conservation discourse. Although there are several individual works, one of the most inclusive works in memory field is the book compiled by Leyla Neyzi: *Nasıl Hatırlıyoruz? Türkiye'de Bellek Çalışmaları*(*How Do We Remember?Memory Studies in Turkey*). Neyzi (2011) underlines the impetus of the 1980 military coup and its tragic outcomes on the increasing interest on memory studies. According to Neyzi, political repression in 1980s prompted the public to investigate the late history of the Turkish Republic, while the transformation in media and communication methods facilitated the access to data by different actors and organizations. The foundation process of Republic and Republican mind-set towards minorities started to be interrogated. In addition to historical progress

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[68] *15 Temmuz'da bombalanan TBMM'de Demokrasi Müzesi kuruluyor*. (2016, September 20). Retrieved September 25, 2016, from http://www.emlaknews.com.tr/haberler/15-temmuzda-bombalanan-tbmmde-demokrasi-muzesi-kuruluyor-265228/

of memory studies in Turkey, this edited book evidences that the memory studies encompass a wide range of disciplines including literature, media, geography, architecture, heritage, monuments, religious and jubilees.[69] However, heritage conservation studies in Turkey could not be fully integrated to this great progress.

Despite the plentitude of dark heritages all over the country, studies on the subject remain unsatisfactory to construct a comprehensive approach to the conservation projects of dark heritages. It can be implied from the academic studies conducted at universities that mostly touristic aspects of the 'death' have been interested by scholars in Turkey.[70] However, the conservation problem of dark heritages requires a deeper consideration because of its multidimensional and complex structure. Besides considering touristic affiliations of dark sites; issues of politics, identity conflicts, commemoration and ethic should be concerned together to build a more comprehensive understanding. Despite the inquiries on the relationship between collective memory and space which have become fashionable over the last decades, an interrogation on dark places and their spatial qualities has not been conducted yet. As a sign of the inadequacy of studies in this research field; a compromised Turkish term corresponding to dark heritage has not been coined yet. While there is no particular research conducted on dark heritages, the number of academic studies on post-carceral sites is also limited. Münevver Çavuş(2013) in her master thesis, *Conservancy Authenticity: Prisons Reuse*, examines the authenticity of the restoration project of Sultanahmet Prison as a hotel. Çavuş evaluates the transformation of the site from a prison to a hotel as successful in terms of preventing the site from decaying and becoming a ruin. It can be asserted that this study principally concerns itself with the tangible and two dimensional architectural features of the site instead of its memorial and cultural values. Similarly, Banu Apaydın

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[69] Neyzi, L. (Ed.). (2014). *Nasıl Hatırlıyoruz? Türkiye'de Bellek Çalışmaları*. p.5-6.

[70] Council of Higher Education Thesis Center. https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/giris.jsp

examines the conversion of Sultanahmet Prison into Four Seasons Hotel through its spatial organization. From a counter perspective, another academic study is conducted by Tuğçe Aysu, graduate student at Sociology Department; in her master thesis *Turning Ulucanlar Prison to Ulucanlar Prison Museum: The politics of creating a memory place* (2015) she endeavors to illuminate the sophisticated relationship between the reutilization process of Ulucanlar as a museum and the present-day political background. However, the theoretical base of the study focuses on museology rather than a focus on heritage conservation and its political, social and commercial constituents.

The seminal book of Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House*, published in 2008, reframes cultural heritage from a different point of view. The book undertakes an analysis of the creation process of 'Turkish House image' in relation to the main stream nationalist heritage policies via analyzing the works of Turkish literature. The approach to cultural heritage that Bertram employs in her book became an inspiration for this study not only in its attempt to speculate on conventional and main stream heritage understanding but also to examine the multifaceted motives, uses and interpretations of the processes that are employed in the conservation of politically significant defunct prison sites.
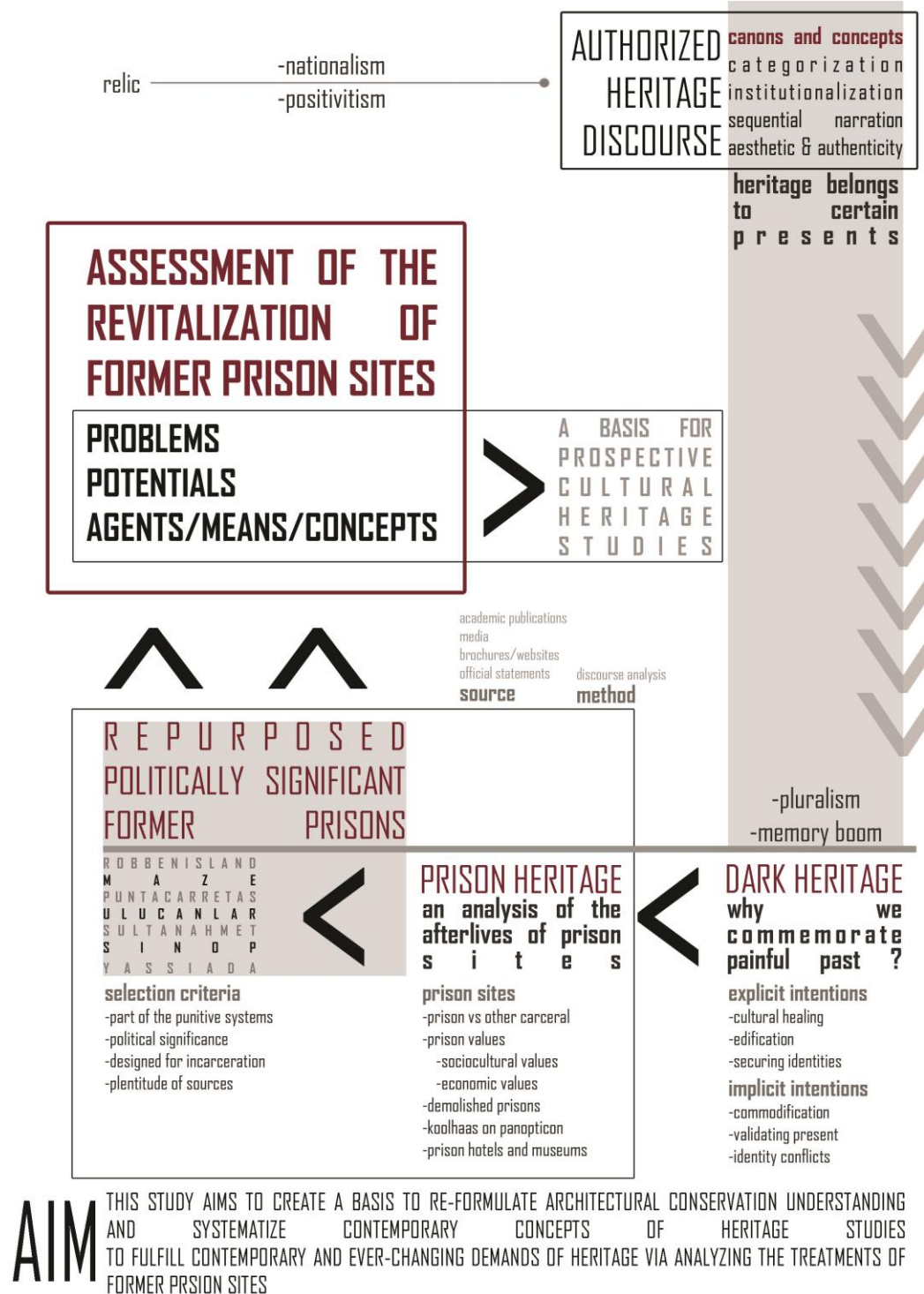
Figure 1 Diagram of the Thesis

1.5. Aim and Scope

The ways of handling abandoned prison sites are perceived as a repository which is full of information that may enable fresh concepts and approaches to the heritage conservation for manifold reasons. Instead of prison sites themselves as physical entities, the discourse that is constructed around the abandoned prison sites is embraced as the domain of the study since it holds the potential to demonstrate the engagements between people and the site. Within this framework, a comprehensive analysis of 'prison heritage' discourse is intended to be performed to reveal problems, potentials and operative agents/concepts/methods of the revitalization process of former prison sites. Hence, in the end, a provisional basis is aimed to be constructed not only for conservation of prisons but also for all heritage sites.

While the focus of the study is the process of the revival of politically significant prisons, all treatments which are responding to the carceral past that prison sites represent are reviewed. In other words, all spatial operations and projects concerning the carceral character of the prison sites are included in the study to have an all-embracing research. After a general view on treatments of dysfunctional prison sites, seven cases are selected for the detailed examination, constructing the main body of the study.

The selection of cases relies on a series of criteria. Being built for confinement is the first one, buildings that were used to incarcerate people for temporary periods are excluded from the scope of the study like ESMA which is originally designed as educational building but deployed as secret detention center during the military dictatorship in Argentina. The second criterion is that holding political significance, that is, political detainees must be imprisoned in selected cases and their political stances must be embraced or respected when the prison sites become sealed. Third criterion is that being utilized as a part of regular punitive system, in other words, being not associated with a more brutal, disgraceful and dramatic event such as genocide,

decolonization or war. Thus, cases from Rwanda, Cambodia, Germany and Australia are omitted. The last one is the plentitude of eligible and reliable sources in English and Turkish. Therefore, the written sources about the afterlives of Robben Island, Maze, Punta Carretas, Sultanahmet, Ulucanlar, Sinop and Yassıada Prisons are analyzed regarding both their social, political and economic uses in order to provide a base to formulate a new approach to conservation policies, legislations and practices. It is intended to determine some key aspects, concepts or methods that are focused on while analyzing the afterlives of these significant cases.

At this point, it should be clarified that not the sites themselves as physical entities but the discourse constructed around them are primarily taken into the consideration. Every document that concern an aspect of the process, which begins with the closure of prison site, is concerned and evaluated, considering the intentions of remembering trauma. With the priority of academic studies, every source, including news and articles in media and reports and publications of stakeholders, that present a perspective on the revitalizations of selected cases are aimed to be acknowledged.

1.6. Methodology and the Structure of the Thesis

Comprehension and assessment of such a complicated and intricate problem should be handled in different perspectives and methodologies because of its multifaceted nature. Fourth chapters are organized to orderly achieve a reasonable conclusion.

In the first chapter, literature search is worked through to legitimize the problem. Factors that shape the material based conservation understanding are listed and with regards to the changes of social life in late modern societies, the emanated definitions of heritage and critical perspectives on heritage discourse are studied to precisely describe the prison heritage and its characteristics. The main references of the chapter are Laurajane

Smiths' publication *Uses of Heritage* (2006) and Rodney Harrison's *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2013)*.

The second chapter is devised to see the emergence of dark heritage phenomenon; the reasons for remembering the tragic and catastrophic past is inquired through literature search. *The Past is a Foreign Country,* authored by David Lowenthal in 1985 and revisited in 2015, mainly guided the second chapter. His interpretation on the benefits and burdens of visiting past in a certain present have deeply influenced the way that this thesis handles the dark heritage concept.

The third chapter focuses on sealed prison sites; it firstly distinguishes prisons from other carceral places and then determine the distinctive values of prison heritages with respect to Randall's provisional value typology. In addition to the commemorative value that stems from unpleasant experiences of imprisonment, the values that are specific to prison sites and valid for all of them are aimed to be uncovered. Since there is no internationally accepted set of values for prison sites, notable studies on prison from disciplines of sociology, philosophy and geography are scrutinized. The seminal studies of Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault and Dominique Moran: orderly, *Asylums* (1961), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* (1975) and *Carceral Geographies: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration* (2014) are conducted mainly to discover features which are embedded to decommissioned prison sites.

Subsequent to the identification of values, the prevalent or noteworthy ways of handling carceral identities through place are aimed to be identified. Four manners, according to their attitude towards carceral identity, are designated and explained. One of them, revitalization of politically significant former prisons, are particularly focused and analyzed in detail since the process of the revitalization of politically significant prisons is considered as most complete sample to inspect contemporary facets of heritage conservation.

Selected cases, Robben Island, Maze, Punta Carretas, Sultanahmet, Ulucanlar, Sinop and Yassıada are examined in depth through publications which reflect various perspectives on their revitalization process. Each case is surveyed to response the following questions:

- •What is the significance of the site?
- •Is it influenced by the political background?
- •What are the intentions?
- •Who takes the decisions?
- •What projections are asserted?
- •Who or Which disciplines are interested in the process? and from which perspectives?
- •What problems are noticed about their revitalization process?
- •Which agents/methods/concepts, utilized to achieve the intentions, are mentioned in the surveyed documents?

The fourth chapter assesses and organizes the findings of the third chapter. Problems, potentials and agents/concepts/methods are determined to constitute a basis not only for conservation of prison heritages and but also for all heritages.

CHAPTER 2

DARK HERITAGE: COMMEMORATION OF THE DARK PAST

The main intention of this chapter is to determine the main motivations behind the conservation of relics that evoke disheartening feelings. In other words, why painful memories become the subject of the commemoration instead of forgetting will be the focus of this chapter. Considering on this question has significance in order to be able to comprehend new agencies, canons, principles or approaches that are utilized during the revitalization of old prison sites.

However, before exploring the motivations lying behind the visiting dark memories, firstly, the relationship between heritage conservation and the act of remembering is tried to be illuminated in here briefly to indicate that physical surrounding is an agent used for reshaping the collective memory.

Despite of the early modern conservation approaches, considering heritage merely as an art object[71], it can be asserted that heritage features prominently in the creation of collective memories and identities of groups.[72] Maurice Halbwachs, is one of the pioneers who draws attention to effects of physical surroundings on memory of groups. Many authors, succeeding him, like David Lowenthal(1996), Paul Connerton(1989), Pierre Nora(1984), Raphael Samuel(1996), Robert Hewison(1987), etc. have also

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[71] In the publication of Getty Conservation Institute 'Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage, it can be seen that modern theorists mostly focused on the object itself in the debates on conservation.

[72] Smith, op. cit., p.57-60.

attempted to examine and understand the sophisticated relationship between the heritage, memory and identity from different perspectives. For example, Diane Barthel demonstrates the perspective of heritage conservationists by stating that collective memory is solidified through the conservation of heritage places, she underlines the significance of selection, contextualization and interpretation of historic sites to reshape or strengthen the collective memory of societies.[73]

Halbwachs describe remembrance as not an individual performance but a collective one that is shaped by the external world and emphasizes the influence of physical surrounding on remembering the past.[74] Thus, he transformed a notion which had been believed as an individual and psychological one, remembrance, into a sociological and cultural one[75] and collective memory become an inventive field of study.

After acknowledging the collective facet of remembrance, the memory studies have mainly focused on tragic sides of the past. Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy explains the trajectory of memory studies in their edited book *The Collective Memory Reader*; they remark the association between the decline of nationalist utopias and increasing interest on the misdeeds of states.[76] Another stimulator that changes the direction of memory studies towards the dark and sorrowful events is the Holocaust. Many authors, as cited by Olick et al., including Pierre Nora and Paul Connerton underline the significance of the WWII on memory studies; Nora quotes from Mueller that "Whoever says memory says Shoah".[77] As a result of the forceful impact of trauma on collective

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[73] Barthel, D. (1996). *Getting in Touch with History: The Role of Historic Preservation in Shaping Collective M*emories. p.345-364.

[74] Halbwachs, M. (n.d.). *The Collective Memory*. MIT. Retrieved from http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/hawlbachsspace.pdf

[75] Sancar, M. (2014). Geçmişle Hesaplaşma. p.40.

[76] Olick, J., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., & Levy, D. (2011). *The Collective Memory Reader*. p.1-2.

[77] *Ibid*., p.27

memory studies, places that witnessed savage and disheartening events have taken attraction from heritage conservation discipline.

2.1. Emergence of the Dark Heritage: '*I Remember that Agony…*'

> *The preservation and presentation of places of incarceration as prison heritage sites, or as converted and repurposed locales which consciously rehearse and reinterpret a carceral past widely speak to wider discourses around 'dark heritage' and 'dark tourism' in general (Foley and Lennon 2000), and specifically to the notion of prisons as sites of 'dark heritage'.*[78]

The nationalist approach to heritage is mostly settled to promote the adorable face of the past; the great works of art, the eras of wealth and wisdom, the lives of legends and celebrities are generally praised via heritages. However, the past consists of many tragedies, catastrophes, pains and tears, and subsequent to the decline of nation-state, an interest on trauma, they are unleashed.[79] Many scholars from manifold disciplines have involved researches about the commemoration of 'traumatic' events through physical vestiges and places. These relics are named variously including 'difficult heritage', 'undesirable heritage', 'atrocity heritage', 'dissonant heritage', 'heritage that hurts', 'negative heritage', 'conflict heritage'[80], 'dark heritage'[81] and 'contested heritage'[82] by researchers. The expression of the 'dark' is selected purposefully for this study since its content embraces both man-made and natural disasters; in addition to former prison sites, concentration camps, natural disaster sites, slavery routes, targets of terrorism etc.

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[78] Moran, D. (2015). *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration*. p.137

[79] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, & Levy, *op. cit*., p.1.

[80] Simone-Charteris, M. T., Boyd, S. W., & Burns, A. (2013). *Dark Tourism and Place identity: Managing and Interpreting Dark Places.*

[81] Sather-Wagstaff, J. (2015). *Heritage and Memory*. p.196.

[82] Swensen, G. (2014). From Bastions of Justice to Sites of Adventure.

and it expresses the affiliation with dark tourism studies. Although dark heritages could not be considered as a special kind of heritage and they feature similar dilemmas and dissonances that all heritages do[83], the recognition of these traumatic sites where savagery or massacre occurred as heritage poses questions on the stereotypes and presuppositions about the tangible aspects of the heritage conservation.

In this part of the study, a recent study field, 'dark heritages', is aimed to be enlightened through a literature research which is conducted to comprehend the main intentions and uses of dark heritages. It is considered important because believing the maintenance of collective memory as an only valid reason for the architectural conservation of dark heritages seems inadequate to set a blanket and proper framework. Therefore, principal intentions are aimed to be pointed. The intentions detected through a literature research are categorized according to their explicitness in public discourse of heritage conservation. While some of the objectives are voiced frankly in public, some of them are concealed because of the fear to spoil the perception of darkness existing in heritage and being aware of intentions provides conservation experts wider perspective for decision.

2.2. Goals of Dark Heritage Conservation

> *[T]he exercise of memory is its use; yet its use includes the possibility of abuse. Between use and abuse slips the specter of the bad "mimetics".[84]*

Gregory Ashworth, while questioning the underlying reasons of the commemorating violent past despite it causes suffering and grief, asserts that "As with all heritage, *the question of who is selecting such heritage, for what reasons and on whose behalf, must*

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[83] Ashworth, G. (2008). The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy: Human Trauma as Heritage. p.232.

[84] Ricoeur, P. (2004). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. p.57.

always be posed.''[85] Comprehending the dark heritage conservation entirely necessitates the determination of its motives, in other words the projections of various groups on the dark heritage should be examined thoroughly. Ashworth in his article, which explains the management strategies of dark heritage, describes three main groups as having different perspectives and consequently different motives and strategies on dark heritage: victims, perpetrators and bystanders.[86] However, this approach may result with dissonance since there could appear some case-specific inconsistencies between predefined groups. For example, after a government change, state could become both victim and perpetrator. Therefore, it seems more viable to classify the motives of dark heritage conservation as explicit and implicit ones instead of Ashworth's role-based classification.

The explicit intentions embrace the fundamental motives that are expressed by whom relates themselves with the dark heritage. These intentions are listed as *cultural healing*, *edification* and *securing identities*. On the contrary, implicit intentions incorporate the mostly concealed motivations of groups that are affiliated with the heritage outside the realms of commemoration, instead economic or politic. *Managing identity conflicts*, *validating present*, *thantatourism* are all enveloped under the implicit intentions. They are obvious but never emphasized frankly in public.

2.2.1. Explicit Intentions

Explicit intentions correspond to obvious and highlighted goals of dark heritage conservation. It is difficult describe them as sublime, noble or beneficial but they are secured by the approval of public.

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[85] Ashworth, G. (2008). The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy: Human Trauma as Heritage.

[86] *Ibid.*, p.238

2.2.1.1. Cultural Healing

The influences of wars on memory studies are obvious; especially the veteran soldiers who were returned from the First World War made 'trauma' a potent phenomenon for the society which were investigated thoroughly, then.[87] Psychologists felt responsible themselves to create solutions for the complications that are caused by painful experiences. However, early attempts of comprehending the memory and trauma are accused of being too individual[88] as highlighted by Huyssen who claims that the psychoanalytic perspective on trauma results with overlooking the cultural and political features of it. Thus, adopting mostly medical and individual notions of trauma to the history studies is interpreted as problematic by Huyssen.[89] However, Ricoeur who categorized memory studies into three: the pathological-therapeutic, the pragmatic and the ethical-political, utilized the 'working through' concept of Freud in a larger and collective scale to explain the pathological-therapeutic strata of the remembering.[90] Freud, in his article *Remembering, Repeating and Working-Through,* originally published in 1914, mentions that noticing the hidden problem and then encountering with it, through a period of time, are essential for healing.[91] Accordingly, it is inevitable not to regard the remedial features of dark heritages.

The therapeutic uses of heritages and heritage policies are illustrated by Lynn Meskell and Colette Scheermeyer (2008) through analyzing post-apartheid era of South Africa, in their article *Heritage as Therapy*. They claim that beside juridical, legislative and social proceedings, places that are inherited from the Apartheid era of South Africa

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[87] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, *op. cit*., p.13.

[88] Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, *op. cit*., p.13-16.

[89] Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts*. p.8-9.

[90] Johnson N. C. (2015) *Heritage and Geography*.p.164-166.

[91] Freud, S. (1914). *Rememberıng, Repeatıng And Workıng-Through.*

become the spheres where society heals itself. Moreover, J. D. Giblin emphasizes the capability of heritage sites for reconciliation after the conflict ceased. The past is reconsidered through heritages, mostly dark heritages, to heal wounds "including individual and collective emotional, social, political and economic healing".[92] The restoration of the National Museum of Liberia in Monrovia in 2008 is instanced by Michael Rowlands, in his article *Civilization, Violence and Heritage Healing in Liberia*, to indicate the role of the heritage in the rehabilitation process of the country. The destroyed museum building is refreshed to promote the 'clean-up' campaign which is initiated by the President Ellen Johnson-Sireleaf.[93]

Defining dark heritage as a healing instrument of the post-conflict era demands an extra detailed assessment to be carried out especially for victim groups who bear the scars of the past. These heritage sites not only belong to whole nation or universe but also to specific identities which results with the various interpretations of the sites. Being a part of a governmental or an international healing process requires fresh approaches to conservation processes and standards.

2.2.1.2. Edification

The term 'guidance' is assessed by Lowenthal as one of the most beneficial aspects of the surveying on the past. History is full of lessons that could be used to determine present approaches of people to certain issues, because it repeats itself rhythmically.[94] David Hume, as cited by Lowenthal, states that the history is explored not to uncover the mysterious events and problems of the previous times but to unveil the "constant and universal principles of human nature" because it shows no temporal and territorial

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[92] Giblin, J. D. (2013). *Post-conflict Heritage: Symbolic Healing and Cultural Renewal*.

[93] Rowlands, M. (2008). *Civilization, Violence and Heritage Healing in Liberia*.

[94] Lowenthal, D. (2016). The Past is a Foreign Country. pp.88-90.

differences.[95] For many, the past stands there to be excavated for lessons that might help individuals, nations or humanity and heritage is an essential agency that makes humanity aware of its past mistakes and fallacies.

The educational mission of heritages is explicit[96] and inevitably, there is an exceptional focus on the dark heritage to instruct and inform people about the harmful experiences of the past. Laurie Beth Clark (2009) underlines the significance of education along with "mourning, healing, nationalism and activism" while explaining the reasons that trauma is commemorated for.[97]

The fear for the recurrence of tragedies is one of the main grounds that the dark heritage is built on. Ashworth also points out the educative role of the revealing traumatic past events via heritages. He states: "*Past violence is memorialized as a lesson for the present and hope for the future as much as a description of the past.*"[98] Although its effects on people are disputable, didactic role of the dark heritages is critical to be considered for the conservation and revitalization of them.

2.2.1.3. Securing Minorities

> *"…suffering in common unifies more than joy does"*[99]

Despite the modern heritage discourse is established for expressing homogeneous and ruling narration of a designed identities, subsequent to the decadence of nationalism, minorities also began to legitimize their existence and identities through heritages,

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[95] *Ibid.*, p.89.

[96] Heritage was used for national education in different countries in 19th century. (See A History of Architectural Conservation (2002) by Jokilehto)

[97] Clark, L. (2009). *Coming to Terms with Trauma Tourism*. p.7.

[98] Ashworth, G. J. (2008). *The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy.* p.241

[99] Bhabha, H. (2013). *Nation and Narration*. p.19.

especially which the hurtful events were enacted in. Many researchers, including Ashworth and Lowenthal, draw attention to the bonding feature of trauma and grief. Lowenthal states that in comparison with triumphs, joys and celebrations, defeats, griefs and sorrow are more influential binders for the groups.[100] Furthermore, Ashworth argues that commemorating the shared pain increases the communication within the group and strengthens the sense of belonging to the identity among the members. Designating a dark heritage motivates members of victim group to assemble against an explicit and palpable enemy, the perpetrator.[101]

Post-colonial era triggered the newly emerging ethnic groups or nations for searching their historical roots, after they declared their independence, and dark sites have become the most popular destination points for them. For example, Linda Lelo and Tazim Jamal indicate that the places of slave trade become a part of the African identity by giving example the increase in the African-American visitor population to Ghana with the aim of discovering their origins.[102] Similarly, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) claims that the most Australians and New Zealanders visit Gallipoli to position their identities throughout the history. In spite of the given examples of the dark heritages are coherent with the state policies, conflicted cases also exist. For example, in Northern Ireland, the same heritage causes to have been arisen conflicting implications for two different identities; while one group consider it as a part of their identities, the other one perceives it as a symbol of terrorism which should be erased.

Contemporary conservation practices and legislations are reconsidered with regard to the identity by various scholars. As a result of the emergence of multicultural societies and

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[100] Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade*. p.74

[101] Ashworth, G. J. (2008). *The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy*. p.232.

[102] Lelo, L., & Jamal, T. (2013). *African-Americans at Sites of Darkness: root seeking, diasporic identites and place making.*

post-colonialism, the correlation between heritage and identity politics are tried to be reformulated. Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, in *Pluralsing Pasts*, particularly focuses on the methods that states utilize to control identities and to manage the conflicts via heritages. Heritage is, in this respect dark heritages, deserve detailed researches to be able to respond expectations of both directly or indirectly involved people and groups.

2.2.2. Implicit Intentions

Having manifold and various potentials make dark heritage prone to be abused for veiled purposes. For example, sometimes perpetrators and their voluntary or involuntary successors may also have intentions and claims on the dark heritages to validate their beliefs or utilize them for their interest. Three subtitles are decided to identify and demonstrate the concealed motives of the dark heritages by authorities. The first and most contemplated account of the dark heritage is merchandising it. After noticing violence, atrocity and death as a source of income, executives, either local or national, begin to make investments on dark heritages to design attractive and interesting tourist sites. In the scope of the study, the effects of tourism, rather than its causes, on dark heritages are analyzed since both management and representation processes of the heritage are influenced by financial concerns. The second reason of official interest in dark heritages is the opportunity of the validating present. The presentation of a past violence implies that the present is safer than those days and helps individuals to distance themselves from the violence. The third reason is to control identity conflicts by controlling the past.

2.2.2.1. Thantatourism

Visiting sites of death, constructing mausoleums or making pilgrimages to graves are long-standing customs that people associate themselves with the demise, however, the

evolution of these sites into the ingredients of an industry is a recent phenomenon.[103] Various terms are coined to correspond to this phenomenon, including *thanatourism, dark tourism, death tourism, grief tourism and trauma tourism*[104] and many studies are conducted to investigate the motivations that make people recall suffering and also the social, economic and political backgrounds that engendered this kind of tourism.

In the scope of this study, however, it is aimed to comprehend the impacts of tourism on the conservation process of dark heritage rather than revealing the reasons that people visit dark heritages. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley point out the reciprocal relationship between the late modern understanding of life and dark tourism, that is, the present political, social and economic circumstances have influences on dark tourism and vice versa.[105] Studies on the dark tourism from manifold disciplines cover wide range of subjects, including commoditization, globalization, museum displays and ethics[106] and naturally the architectural conservation of dark heritages could not be considered without these perspectives.

Dark tourism influences the basis of the dark heritage; in other words, its identification, utilization, representation and management which are regulated by authorities to accommodate the touristic demands. On the contrary, there are some precautions which are employed to eliminate the potential ethical conflicts. The research of Laurie Beth Clark, *Ethical Spaces,* diagnoses the remarkable points of dark tourism in the world thoroughly and then demonstrates the conflicts and propositions that are encountered in these sites.

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[103] Sion, *op. cit.*, p.1

[104] Sion, *op. cit.*, p.1

[105] Lennon, J., & Foley, M. (2010). *Dark Tourism*. p.3

[106] Sion, *op. cit.*, p.3

Laurie Beth Clark firstly addresses the constraints that regulate the behaviors of the tourists by giving examples from different cultures. Although Peter Eisenman, who designed the Berlin Jewish Memorial, opposes to the determination of guidelines for behaviors, people who are associated with the site ask for some limitations. Clark gives examples of both Killing Fields in Cambodia and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin where the actual guidelines for visiting are enforced. In Cambodia, visitors are asked to obey rules like 'dressing suitably', 'being quiet', 'being sober', 'removing hats and shoes' and in Berlin visitors are asked for to follow a list of rules that briefly warn them that the memorial is not a park.[107]

In addition to behavioral codes, Clark states, some architectural restrictions are also observable in the dark heritage sites to prevent the site from the exploitation by tourists. Gift shops, cafeterias and restrooms in particular cases are dispersed from the territories of the heritage sites to be respectful the memories of victims and survivors or reorganized to intensify the feelings. While in Rwanda cafeteria and restrooms located outside of the site, in Holocaust memorials themed restaurants are in service to cook only Jewish foods. Gift shops are also designed for only selling exclusive items that are related with the trauma that experienced on the site.[108]

Sion also underlines the tension which is caused by "the juxtaposition of human remains and food stands." The enquiries on the interrelationship between the dark heritage and the dark tourism are mostly derived from the recreational nature of tourism. Ethical dilemmas reside in the disaccord between the touristic facilities and memorial rituals. Marketing-oriented expectations inevitably require some modifications to adapt the site to consumers' needs and demands which results in ethical debates. Therefore, the commoditization of the sorrow and the aestheticization/domestication of violence for

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[107] Clark, L. B. (2014). *Ethical Spaces*.

[108] *Ibid*., p.13.

attracting more tourists with ease are remarked by many authors as a considerable complication.

2.2.2.2. Validating Present

While possessing relics associate people with the feeling of continuation and familiarity in present, they sometimes make more noticeable the contrast between the past and present that arise as a result of passing years.[109] Especially the severe and violent occurrences of the history such as brutal death sentences, tortures, famines, old medical treatments, non-having cell phones etc. make people appreciate the present and become grateful for existing in the current circumstance. Lowenthal examples the story of *The Five Little Peppers*, authored by Margaret Sidney, to explain the use of "a sorry or infamous past" to make more perceptible the advancement.[110] In the story, the "dear old things" indicate the richness of formerly poor family. He maintains "*We cherish the bad old days as proof of our improvement, conserving its remnants as evidence 'that life was really awful for our ancestors', hence a lot better for us*."[111]

In addition to personal remembrance of evil or shameful past, official recall of the dark past also aims to validate the present. Dominique Moran declares that the promotion of contemporary punishment policies and devices is one of the main concerns of the exhibiting the carceral past. She states that the representation of prison heritage sites is particularly intended to distinguish the 'brutal' past from the 'merciful' present. Through former prison sites, prevailing imprisonment methods and spaces are portrayed as more civilized and humane in comparison with the past counterparts.[112]

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[109] Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. p.126.

[110] *Ibid*. p.93.

[111] Ibid., p.93.

[112] Moran, D. (2015). *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration.*

2.2.2.3. Managing Identity Conflicts

Besides having presumed as a cohesive ingredient for building national and political identities, dark heritage may also be presumed as an agency to control the conflicts between identities; between the descendants of victims and perpetrators. The significance of heritage for identity management in plural societies was mentioned in the previous chapters and Ashworth et al. claim that different identity politics require different heritage conservation and management models.[113] Moreover, conservation of the relics which are accompanied with dark memories and produce fragile equations in society should be handled more carefully and detailed, since representing a painful past naturally discloses a victim and, thus, a perpetrator and in the most of the cases, they must coexist in the same society.

The owners of heritages, mostly the states or governmental organizations, follow manifold strategies to eliminate the probable disputes and hostilities between different identity groups throughout the conservation of dark heritages. Despite these strategies show differences from case to case with regards to meanings that the heritage conveys, at this point, heritage conservation strategies which are listed by Ashworth to illustrate motives and projections of perpetrators or their descendants on dark heritages[114] could be employed to explain how authority, mostly state, reacts to dark heritages.

Ashworth describes five main strategies for the memorialization of dark heritages that are employed by governments or other executive departments to be able to manage identity conflicts in his article *The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy*. The first strategy is *denial*, refusing the existence of a traumatic event inevitably means that there

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[113] Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. J., & Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies.*

[114] Ashworth, G. J. (2008). *The Memorialization of Violence and Tragedy.* pp. 240-241.

is no heritage to treat. The second one is *amnesia*, subsequent to the WWII, in Germany many heritages, resembling Nazis, were destroyed completely, in similar vein, following the removal of wall in Berlin many favored the demolition of the traces of the wall to strengthen the union of two nations.[115] The third strategy is *shifting culpability* which is applied to avoid from conflicts in present society. Ashworth mentions two various interpretations for this strategy: "narrowing or conversely widening the allocation of blame" to render it harmless and he maintains that the narrowing is mostly accomplished by claiming an obsolete, defunct entity responsible for an experienced trauma. Widening the allocation of blame also serves for governments to abolish conflicts by diffusing responsibility, thus, nobody could be acknowledged as main antagonist.[116] Ashworth points the *deliberate interlacing with the victims and perpetrators* as the fourth strategy. The act of cruelty which is presented as retribution of another violent act is beneficial to reduce the hostile feelings in the society. The last strategy that Ashworth asserts is *apologetic stance.* This strategy is usually preferred to get utilized when determining the descendants of victims or perpetrators is impracticable.[117]

Despite the power of dark heritage for claiming rights for minor identities was underlined before, the authority also has always projections on dark heritages to abolish identity conflicts rooted in the past. It could be implied that the governmental demands on heritage are highly influential and decisive. Huyssen points out, despite the concept of dark heritage developed as a result of the fall of nationalism "the political site of memory practices is still national, not post national or global."[118] The current identity politics of governments have influences on both identification and representation of the dark heritages.

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[115] *Ibid.*, pp.240-241.

[116] *Ibid.*, p.240.

[117] *Ibid.*, p.241.

[118] Huyssen, *op. cit.*, p.16.

It is important to conclude that the reasons for visiting dark memories are pivotal and should be considered thoroughly since they influence how dark heritages are interpreted and treated. Six main reasons of dark heritage conservation-*cultural healing(i), securing minorities(ii), edification(iii), thantatourism(iv), validating the present(v), managing identity conflicts(vi)-* are detected through a literature survey and they are classified into two. The reason for classifying them implicit intentions and explicit intentions instead of superior and inferior or favorable and unfavorable depends on their inconsistent natures. The essential act, at this point, is to take into consideration all intentions in relation with stakeholders and to establish a balance between them since dominance of one or two of them among the other intentions may cause inaccurate and unwelcomed applications. For example, the priority of cultural healing may turn the heritage into a shrine, or, on the other hand, excessive effort to validate present may lead to the manipulation of the past. Meanwhile, it should be noted that these six intentions are pinpointed as a result of a limited literature survey; thus, the motivations lying behind the conservation of dark heritages could be augmented.

CHAPTER 3

THE REBIRTH OF PRISONS

This chapter mainly aims to indicate characteristics of decommissioned prison sites and figure out its location in the dark heritage studies. Obviously, dark heritages have some common points but there are also some distinguishing features that prisons convey. Firstly, as a carceral place where people are detained for a while, it is questioned that every place where people are confined could be named as prison. Secondly, an effort to detect and indicate values of prison legacies which makes them socially notable by examining studies on prisons. The studies of Foucault, Goffman, Moran and a comprehensive edited book with its 48 article Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism are referred frequently to reveal significances of prisons. In the third part of this chapter, whether they are recognized as heritage or not, common treatments towards sealed prisons are studied to see what reactions are taken against carceral pasts and meaning. In this part, a further attention to the revitalization of politically significant prisons because of two main reasons. The first one is the plenitude of the sources documenting their afterlives and second one is the multi-layered, intriguing and complex nature of them which guarantees considerations on cultural heritage conservation.

3.1. Prisons vs Other Incarceration Places

Prison heritage is part of a larger discourse, namely dark heritage[119] and they innately embody all qualities and characteristics of dark heritages which are emblems of pain,

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[119] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.137.

atrocity, torture and death. Further, in addition to dark memories, carceral spaces have their own distinct values that render themselves, even after their closure, notable for the society. While the previous chapter reveals the main reasons for conserving dark heritages, this chapter aims to comprehend the meaning(s) that are embedded into physical edifice of prison sites. In other words, an answer to the question of what prison buildings mean to people is intended to be examined.

First, the boundary of the prison studies should be clarified in comparison with other incarceration centers. Could every fenced place where people are convicted be categorized as prison? Throughout the history, many incidents have been recorded that separate normal peoples from the *others,* for example Foucault mentions two medical conditions as models for punishment and disciplining; confinement of lepers and quarantined plague district[120] but it indicates that not every place where people are confined and disciplined is prison. In a similar vein, Goffman addresses five group of institutions in which bodies are controlled inspected and constrained. The group in which prisons fit is defined as

> *A third type of total institution is organized to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it, with the welfare of the persons thus sequestered not the immediate issue: jails, penitentiaries, P.O.W. camps, and concentration camps.*[121]

At this point, a further investigation on carceral sites is required to see whether all carceral places of which inmates are considered as 'intentional dangers' have same qualities. Derek Dalton, in his article *Juxtaposing Prison and Other Carceral Sites*, with the same intention inquires the similarities and differences between prisons and "*other carceral*" places like concentration camps, torture centers and P.O.W camps. Dalton's

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[120] Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*. p.198.

[121] Goffman, E. (1961). Asylums. p.4.

categorization is not satisfactory because it grounds on the assumption that all prisoners are criminals while inmates of other carceral institutions are innocent people.[122] However, the framework he got developed is legitimate and useable to disclose distinctive features of prisons. Dalton emphasizes both emblematic and spatial qualities in his essay. Prisons are associated with penal philosophies of states but *other* carceral sites are ingredients of more devastating incidents like war, colonization or genocide.[123] As a result, carceral places which are correlated with a cultural and historical significant event should not be considered individually. For example, a concentration camp which is used during the Holocaust should be treated with respect to the genocide. Another issue that Dalton notices, with reference to Michael Welch, is the representative power of architecture of prisons which are designed thoroughly to "say something bold"[124] but on the other hand other carceral places are erected or converted mostly to perform a deliberate function.

In brief, it is indicated that it is not enough to name an enclosed place as a prison because peoples are convicted in there. Being identified as a prison building heavily depends on its intentional relationship with penal philosophies. While other carceral sites mostly emerge as an outcome of some temporary situations, prisons are manifestation of a thinking process about punishment, rehabilitation and disciplining policies.

3.2. Features of Decommissioned Prison Sites

In order to analyze the prison heritage and its conservation process properly, the spatial and representative values of prison heritages and their reciprocal relationship should be

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[122] Dalton, D. (2017). *Juxtaposing Prison and Other Carceral Sites*. pp.88-90.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp.88-93.

[124] *Ibid.*, p.91.

ascertained initially since prisons have specific qualities and features that distinguish them from other dark heritages. Beyond architectural, aesthetic and historic qualities which are also essential factors but prone to show differences from case to case, this chapter particularly aims to detect distinct and notable aspects of carceral places; since the need for a special treatment to post-prisons is mostly caused by these characteristics that make prison an intriguing study field for numerous disciplines.

3.2.1. Social Aspects

The first and most celebrated feature of the prison architecture could be designated as its relationship with punitive policies. D. Massey, as cited by Moran, states "*prisons can be understood as the intentional translation of power relations into the organisation of space and movement for the purposes of production*".[125] Goffman (1961) describes incarceration centers as 'total institution' where the acts of inmates are deliberately formulated to achieve an institutional purpose and claims that the physical features of these places are distinguishable from other institutions. They spatially obstruct the connection with the public and create an inner and enclosed domain.[126] Moreover, Foucault, in his book Discipline and Punish (1977) reveals the influences of industrial society that launch a shift from corporal punishment to carceral one and consecutively points out the significance of spatial configuration of prisons via analyzing Bentham's 'Panopticon' design[127]. He states: "*The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unites that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately.*"[128] Therefore, architecture of incarceration, its plan typologies and physical traces which indicate how the space is deployed are remarked highly since prison sites depict the spatial ways of

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[125] Moran, *op.cit.*, p.75

[126] Goffman, *op. cit.*, pp.3-7.

[127] Foucault, *op. cit.*

[128] Foucault, *op. cit.*, p.200.

how power exists itself. In the ensuing years, after Foucault's interest on discipline, carceral sites become an attractive field of study for academics from various disciplines such as architecture, sociology, criminology, geography and cultural studies. With reference to these influential studies, it can be inferred that spatial configuration of carceral places is constructed by the notion of disciplining and controlling the body, therefore, carceral sites implicitly embody the power of state and punishment.

The second feature of a prison site as an exceptional problem is the relationship between political evocations of prisons and prison architecture, which may be paradoxical. Carceral sites are in most of the cases intentionally designed and constructed to represent sovereignty of state and justice[129] but political detainees and revolts in prisons somehow could ascribe an anti-authoritarian identity to them during their lifetime. That is, while incarceration centers stand for the power of state, at the same time they also could turn into a weak side.[130] It could be exemplified perfectly by Bastille Prison in France. The fortress had been firstly built to protect the country from English invasion and then, after a while, it was converted into prison by Charles VI.[131] The prison as an emblem of oppression and tyranny, increased its popularity during the reign of Louis XVI because of political imprisonments. Being symbol of despotism inevitably brought attention of dissidents to Bastille and in 14 July 1789 Storming of the Bastille occurred, a memorable event of French Revolution which is still celebrated as National Holiday.[132] Aftermath, the prison has begun to bear two conflicting meanings; historical records portray the situation, as cited in The Bastille: A History of a Symbol of Despotism and

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[129] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.130.

[130] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.131.

[131] *Why the Fall of the Bastille Was so Important*. (2017). ThoughtCo. Retrieved 15 July 2017, from https://www.thoughtco.com/the-bastille-overview-1221871

[132] History.com Staff. (2017). French Revolution. HISTORY.com. Retrieved 15 July 2017, from http://www.history.com/topics/french-revolution

Freedom (1997), exactly as: "*This maw of despotism has turned into a shelter of freedom that radiates the light of Enlightment…*".[133] These conflicted meanings made the future of the Bastille a puzzling issue for public and in the end, after long debates, decision was taken for the demolition of the site and building a memorial instead.[134] The governmental perspective on the prison image, on the other hand, could be illuminated through the evolution and metamorphosis of prison aesthetics in the UK. Moran correlates the designs of façades with 'cultural symbolism' and claims that the prison buildings manifest themselves to the society "as places of detention and punishment" within the cultural context of the era which they are constructed.[135] .She evidences four different prison design approaches in four different contexts regarding their statements on punishment: In the mid-nineteenth century, medieval looking architecture was preferred to show inhumanity face of punishment, in 20th century less decorative prison buildings were erected in the name of rational justice, after 1960s an "austere but humanely functional" language was targeted and lastly, with the early 1990s more secured and well-surveilled prisons begun to be designed.[136] Thus, it could be inferred that emblematic features of certain prison sites merge with the physicality of the edifices and they remain alive as long as buildings stay intact. Moran states that "…prison sites can also become stages for tension between dominant narratives (of justice, and the power of the state) and alternative perspectives."[137] They could both represent despotism and freedom, oppression and hope, justice and injustice or discipline and indulgence at the same time.

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[133] Lüsebrink, H., & Reichardt, R. (1997). The Bastille. p.73.

[134] *Ibid.*, pp.165-166.

[135] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.116.

[136] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.116.

[137] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.130.

The third aspect of prison sites which should be focused on to comprehend the significance of their physical existence is their contextual characteristic, or rather, their impacts, both negative or positive, on their neighborhoods. Despite prisons are taken granted as introverted facilities, they have great influences on their near districts. They hold the potential to transform the environment where they are sited, in many ways. However, in the scope of this study not the attributes or nature of the impacts but their existence is aimed to be indicated via focusing on NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) syndrome. Many studies have been conducted so far to measure public response to prison siting and influences of existing prisons to their neighborhoods.[138] Prisons are unwelcomed institutions due to a number of reasons but three of them seems more common; estate value, safety and aesthetic concerns could be primarily listed for public objection. According to common sense, hosting prison may result with increase in crime rate, relocation of inmates' families and prison escapes all of which threaten the public security.[139] Although studies indicate that these concerns are groundless,[140] the general negative attitude towards prison which is sited in near district is a fact. In addition to safety issues, economic side effects of incarceration centers on land value have also been foregrounded. Michael Dear, in his study *Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome*, points out the decline in land value as a crucial argument against the siting of unwelcomed facilities, including prisons.[141] Lastly, the appearance of prisons; high walls or fences covering large areas, provokes negative sentiments, for example Armstrong, as cited by Doran, shows in her study that local people criticize a prison building proposal

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[138] For example: Martin and Myers (2005), Sechrest (1992), Thies (2001), Combiesse (2002)

[139] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.60.

[140] Groote, B., & Latessa, E. (2007). *The Effects of a New Prison on the Local Community*. pp.3-6.

[141] Dear, M. (1992). *Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome*. p.290.

for being monstrous.[142] It is obvious that prisons are absolutely unwelcomed facilities by local members, they are generally perceived as a source of impurity.

Another aspect of prison sites is that incorporating heterotopic attributes. Foucault, in his article *Of Other Spaces*, describes heterotopia as a type of constituted real space that is connected with other typical and regular real spaces but is an absolutely different one and he asserts that heterotopias represent, contest and invert all other real spaces within the culture at the same time.[143] Prisons are exemplified as heterotopia by Foucault since people who are classified as deviant in relation to 'normal' are detained in prison sites and in prisons, places that are inhabited by culturally standard set of relations can be retraced.[144]

At this point, emphasizing some principles of heterotopias that are listed by Foucault is urgent to comprehend the deep and innermost aspects of former prison sites. He lists six principles that produce heterotopias and three of them are focused in here to evidence that after their closure, prison sites still tend to maintain incorporating these principles. The first one is that heterotopias can be functioned in different ways by society, Foucault gives example of cemetery which is discerned differently according to how society perceives dead body,[145] however for prison sites the utilization of the same space in creation of a distinct heterotopia could be attended. Another principle of heterotopology is that heterotopias bring several spaces into one space which is likely to be existing in former prison sites.[146] The last principle considered as notable for sealed prison sites is

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[142] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.61.

[143] Foucault, M. (1986). *Of Other Spaces*. Diacritics, 16(1), pp.22-27. doi:10.2307/464648

[144] *Ibid.*, p.25.

[145] *Ibid.*, p.24.

[146] *Ibid.*, p.25.

that heterotopias are controlled places, that is, they are not public spaces that people get involved freely.[147] Focault states as:

> *Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures.[148]*

Although these aspects are highly associated with the carceral uses of prison sites, they are so intensely ascribed prison sites that even after their closure, they adhere to the legacy of prisons and being aware of these aspects may have positive influence while developing treatment strategies for old prisons.

3.2.2. Economic Aspects

Recognizing heritage sites as commercial assets is a controversial subject because of the fear of commodification and trivialization. For many, the pressure of getting income from heritage sites poses risk of affecting conservation decisions that could severe heritages. However, Susana Mourato and Massimiliano Mazzanti insist that economic potentials that heritage sites contain is beneficial and even vital for preservation in appreciation of other values.[149] although it is difficult to find out economic equivalent of carceral past, it is considered as significant to indicate that there is a substantial market for all kind of prison products.

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[147] *Ibid.*, p.26.

[148] *Ibid.*, p.26.

[149] Mazzanti, M. (2002). *Economic Valuation of Cultural Heritage: Evidence and Prospects*. pp.51-52

In the previous chapter, the commodification of dark memories is mentioned in a broad sense, but a more particular focus on the popularity of prison pasts, images, stories and places emerges as a necessity to comprehend the economic facet of prison heritages. In addition to real estate value, decommissioned prison sites contain more economic potentials which stem from their intangible features. David Thorsby describes the economic capacity that is attributed to tangible heritages, namely cultural capital, as "the community's valuation of the asset in terms of its social, historical or cultural dimension"[150] all of which are very valid for former prison sites.

It is much easier to grasp the true extent of economic aspects of decommissioned prisons by illuminating the public interest in representation of imprisonment in different mediums. Oleson gives examples of *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994) movie which is rated as the best movie for years with approximately two millions vote in IMDB; many popular TV series like *OZ* (1997-2003), *Prison Break* (2005-2009) and *Orange is the New Black* (2013-); video games like *Prison Architect* and *the Escapist* and documentaries like *America's Toughest Prison* and *Lockup* to indicate that prison-related products are seriously consumed by people. In a similar vein, Paul Wright, in his article *The Cultural Commodification of Prisons,* explores the prison marketing through many examples and indicate that prison have become an ingredient of popular culture.[151]

The economic aspect of prison legacies which is mostly owed to tourism should be considered more thoroughly since it is double-edged. On the one hand, it helps to stimulate and increase conservation practices but on the other hand its probable priority over other values may result with the commodification of the prison heritages.

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[150] Thorsby, D. (1997). *Seven Questions in the Economics of Cultural Heritage*. p.15.

[151] Wright, P. (2000). *The Cultural Commodifcaiton of Prisons*. pp.17-18.

3.3. Treatments of Former Prison Sites

Old prisons are gradually getting deserted and the fates of decommissioned carceral sites become questioned immediately. Various studies spot many different reasons for closure of prison sites such as reforms in penal policies,[152] decline in prisoner population,[153] difficulty of managing old facilities[154] and relocation of prisons out of city centers.[155] To the extent that the number of decommissioned carceral sites have increased, the future of these sites -mostly vast, old, politically emblematic, urban, architecturally and historically significant, stimulating, outmoded and meaningful areas that usually evoke negative memories- brings with public attention which makes sealed prisons not only a historical, architectural and tangible problem but also a present, social and intangible one that should be handled very carefully. In the following, treatments of the obsolete prison sites are scrutinized and concerns of stakeholders with repurposing processes of sealed prisons are aimed to be illuminated.

Not only the intentions of dark heritage conservation mentioned in the previous chapter but also the spatial, contextual and emblematic significance of prison sites render the future of derelict prison buildings as a problematic issue that could not be neglected. These features of sealed prisons exclude them from being treated like any other building stocks waiting for deployment. The conservation and revitalization processes of them require special treatments and approaches since some of the main principles of architectural conservation like maintaining building's function or refunctioning it with a

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[152] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.131.

[153] Badger, E. (2017). America Is Finally Closing Prisons. Now What Do We Do With Them?. CityLab.

[154] *Ibid.*

[155] *Ibid.*

new function that suits its spatial organization[156] are not invalid but definitely inadequate.

In parallel, several deliberations are voiced from different perspectives for second life of closed prisons both in praxis and theory. As a result of these deliberations[157], it could be claimed that repurposing carceral sites with an appropriate function and representing dark, unwanted and conflicting pasts through tangible mediums constitute the main problems of their new lives. Therefore, answers for the questions of what kind of approaches are developed and what criteria are established for repurposing post-carceral sites will be looked for and, then, difficulties for expressing pain and building a consensual narration will be portrayed.

"The trickiest reuse challenge yet" says Emily Badger,[158] referring to the revitalization of ex-prison sites. On the other side, numerous instances of conversion have been accomplished so far owing to the large number of decommissioned sites of incarceration in the world. Obviously, locating and examining each case is beyond the bounds of possibility, however, discovering main approaches that are in use for repurposing carceral sites through publications and popular and significant examples are considered as sufficient. Walby and Piche, in their article, mention two different patterns for restoration of carceral sites. The first one which is affiliated with property developers is to convert them into accommodational or commercial facilities like condos, hotel, restaurant and the second one is cultural use of them.[159] Although this categorization seems partly reasonable, it could be accused of being too superficial because it is

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[156] See Article 5 in Venice Charter.

[157] For a comprehensive study on afterlives of prisons see The Palgrave Handbook of Prison Tourism (2017)

[158] Badger, E. (2017). *America Is Finally Closing Prisons. Now What Do We Do With Them?*. CityLab.

[159] Walby, K., & Piche, J. (2015). *Carceral Retasking and the Work of Historical Societies at Decommissioned Lock-Ups, Jails and Prisons in Ontario*. p.88.

difficult to claim a clear divide between commercial and cultural expectations. From a more representative perspective, Vanderburgh, as cited by Moran, states that afterlife of a prison is mostly determined by the various attitudes towards the past that is associated with the prison.[160] In other words, the decision for the new function of the site heavily depends on the certain perception of the past which is associated with it. Moran maintains that location could be another factor to decide the new function of prisons and gives examples of hotel-prisons like Llyod Hotel in Amsterdam, Oxford Castle Prison in UK and Lanhgholmen Prison in Stockholm which are all situated in commercially viable places[161] and she indicates negative examples of untouched prisons because of their low marketing values like Joliet Prisons in USA and Patarei, a soviet prison, in Estonia.[162] The increasing public interest on prison sites is also a determinant while deciding on the new function of prisons. James Oleson addresses the popularization of prisons to explain the extreme attention on prison sites; giving examples of TV shows, serials and games.[163] Therefore, functions, like museums or cultural centers, that enable the building to exhibit its carceral past to great amount of people, are preferred.

3.3.1. Demolishing 'the Prison'

Old prison sites, like all historical sites, suffer from the demolition. Not only before the dark places are valued as heritage but also then many sealed prison sites were demolished. Two main reasons could be enlisted for this razing tendency. The first one is the increasing land value of old prisons which were built outside of cities once but

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[160] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.131.

[161] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.132.

[162] Moran, *op. cit.*, p.135.

[163] Oleson, J. (2017). *Mapping the Labyrinth: Preliminary Thoughts on the Definition of "Prison Museum".* p.112.

now positioned in city centers. The second reason is negative and displeasing associations of prison sites.

In 1989, in a newspaper column about the demolition of Malatya Prison exemplifies both of the reasons by stating:
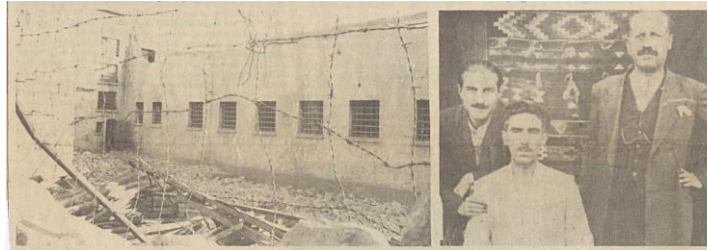
> According to statement of the mayor of Malatya, Münir Erkal, the prison, which was outside of the city when it was constructed, has remained in the city center due the growth of the city and its demolition become a necessity. Building an accommodation place is planned on the site of demolished prison.
>
> The same for the other prisons.[164]

While the mayor perceives the prison site as a potential construction area, the author wishes the abolishment of other prison buildings since they are negative. These perspectives, which are personified by the mayor and the journalist in Malatya case, lead to destruction of many abandoned prison buildings.

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[164] Güngör, N. (1989). Kemal Tahir'in Hapishanesi Yıkılıyor.(Translated by the Author) Earsiv. Retrieved 2 September 2017, from
http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/41989/001521962006.pdf?sequence=1

Figure 2 News about the demolition of Malatya Prison
(source:http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/41989/001521962006.pdf?sequence=
1)

For example, infamous Bayrampaşa (Sağmalcılar) Prison, in İstanbul, were locked in 2008 with a ceremony and demolished in 2009 ensuing its closure. The Mayor of İstanbul, Kadir Topbaş, declared, during the ceremony, the reason of destruction as to

construct a cultural center and he states that the buildings have no special features to be conserved.[165]

Figure 3 The news about the demolition of İzmit Penitentiary
(source:http://www.ozgurkocaeli.com.tr/ve-cezaevi-yikiliyor-264322h.htm)

Apart from the physical demolitions of incarceration sites, sometimes it could be witnessed the erasure of carceral identity from the old prison buildings while preserving their physical entities. This situation generally occurs when land value and aesthetic value merged and become superior to the carceral past. Despite the plentitude of practices, it is difficult to detect examples unless they were registered and documented since the traces of prison is erased as time passing. Buldan Prison, in Denizli, for

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[165] *Bayrampaşa Cezaevi Kapatıldı*. (2008). CNN Türk.

example repurposed as Crafts and Culture Center;[166] similarly, old prison in Kadirli, Osmaniye converted into city museum.[167]

3.3.1. Koolhaas On Panopticon

One of the most famous and intriguing renovation projects of an old prison remains unrealized. In 1979 a renovation project for Koepel Panopticon Prison, which is one of the three ever built panopticon prisons in Netherlands, was designed by OMA. The panopticon had been built in 1880, and in 1950 its spatial organization and architectural qualities were inadequate and the plan was to demolish it. In the end, fortunately, the mind has changed. On the website of the architectural firm, reasons to maintain the building in preference to demolish are recorded as:

> *Now, for a variety of reasons - its uniqueness as a purely theoretical building, its undeniable architectural quality, the convenience that it existed, reinforced by the fact that the prison was surprisingly popular with its inmates, who like the spaciousness of its vast interior - it was decided that perhaps it should continue to exist.*[168]

In 1979, even carceral sites were not perceived as cultural ingredients yet, it is seen that the non-material qualities of the panopticon were also appreciated. However, an update was required to fulfil present day expectations of penal policies and the role of the renovation project of Koepel is assigned as "to add a communal, almost public

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[166] Köşklük Kaya, N. (2011). *Buldan Eski Hükümet Konağı ve Cezaevi'nin Belediye El Sanatları ve Kültür Merkezi'ne Dönüşümü*.

[167] *Eski Cezaevinde 'Müzeler Haftası' Kutlaması*. (2017). Haberler.com.

[168] *Koepel Panopticon Prison*. (2017). OMA. Retrieved 24 July 2017, from http://oma.eu/projects/koepel-panopticon-prison

dimension to the life of the prison" via offering new public facilities and design places where groups of inmates can socialize with each other.[169]

The principal design decisions of Koolhaas and his colleagues intends to damage the 'disciplinary' agents of the panopticon. Ingrid Böck infers, in her book Six Canonical Projects by Rem Koolhaas, that Foucault might have influences on Koolhaas when they were both in Cornell University considering his enthusiasm for disciplinary.[170] While the intact of the dome and cells are preserved, the eye of the prison is removed and an outside is aimed to be created inside of the dome.[171] In a similar vein, 'randomness' is also hired by Koolhaas to provide freedom in an enclosed space.[172] Koolhaas utilized the prison to manifest his own idea for modern imprisonment via architecture. It is stated that:

> *For us the prison embodies, in a way, 100 years of wisdom, or at least experience; the scheme projects a layer of modernity on this experience without making claims of being definitive. The new is neither more nor less safe than the old. The iconographic deterrence of the old is left intact, saving the new the embarrassment of having to either ignore or express the idea of incarceration, which is incompatible with its aspirations.*[173]

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[169] *Ibid.*

[170] Böck, I. (2015). *Six Canonical Projects by Rem Koolhaas*. pp.49-50.

[171] Koepel Panopticon Prison. (2017). OMA. Retrieved 24 July 2017, from http://oma.eu/projects/koepel-panopticon-prison

[172] Böck op. cit., pp.22-23.

[173] Koepel Panopticon Prison. (2017). OMA. Retrieved 24 July 2017, from http://oma.eu/projects/koepel-panopticon-prison

Figure 4 Koepel Panopticon Renovation Project
(source: http://oma.eu/projects/koepel-panopticon-prison)

Despite this project intends to maintain its function as prison, its renovation could be counted as repurposing since shifts in penal policies require great changes in space and, thus, Koolhaas and his associates make necessary changes with respect to its existing status. In spite of principal contemporary notions and concerns that are related with public memory are missed in this project, it holds great significance because of indicating that prisons are palimpsests that contain knowledge of punishment, surveillance and discipline.

3.3.2. Prisons for Thantatourism

One of the main tendencies towards post-prison sites is to take advantage of its economic capacity as a tourist attraction point. The carceral pasts of prison sites are

promoted to increase income mostly in two different ways: prison hotels and prison museums

3.3.2.1. Prison Hotels

There is an obvious and widespread tendency to maintain 'accommodational' use of prisons after their discharge; many examples throughout the world have been witnessed prisons that are repurposed as hotels, guest houses and even apartments. The rationales behind this inclination possibly derives from not only the commercial capability of having carceral past but also the compatibility of architectural plan of prisons for accommodation. For example, before carceral tourism become popularized, in 1911, the Quod Prison, now known as Rottnest Lodge, was converted into a hotel without an indication that informs people about the history of prison where Aboriginal prisoners had been imprisoned.[174]
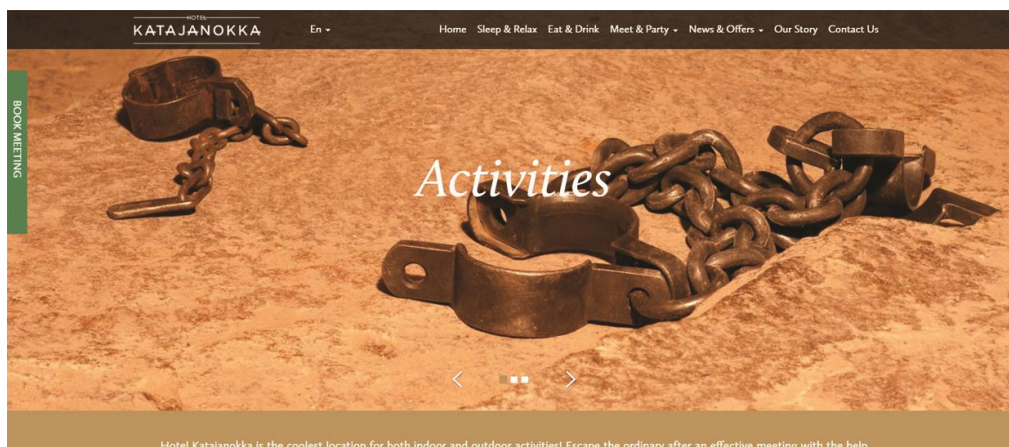
Figure 5 Website of Katajonakka Prison (source:https://www.hotelkatajanokka.fi/en/activities/)

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[174] Stasiuk, G., & Hibberd, L. (2017). *Rottnest or Wadjemup: Tourism and the Forgetting of Aboriginal Incarceration and the Pre-colonial History of Rottnest Island*. p.192.

Along with unwitting instances that transform prisons into accommodations without any reference to brutal carceral experiences. There are numerous cases of which their carceral identities are cited and even promoted; Moran gives three more examples - Oxford Castle Prison, UK; Katajanokka Prison, Helsinki; Langholmen Prison, Stockholm- to illustrate how investors capitalize on carceral image and carceral architecture for marketing. There are also trend lists in web[175] that rank best prison hotels; from Australia to USA, tens of prison-hotels are advised to stay a night in an old prison cell for hundreds of dollars. Despite these luxury and sterilized facilities do not resemble prison and do not offer an authentic prison experience, carceral past of places are intentionally utilized to form a distinguishing character in the market. However, it could be deduced from the websites of prison-hotels that the relationships between hotels and their carceral pasts are highly superficial, the real experiences of prisoners and the site-specific memories are mostly ignored. Moreover, the 'prison' word is removed from their names.

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[175] *The world's best prison hotels*. (2017). The Telegraph.
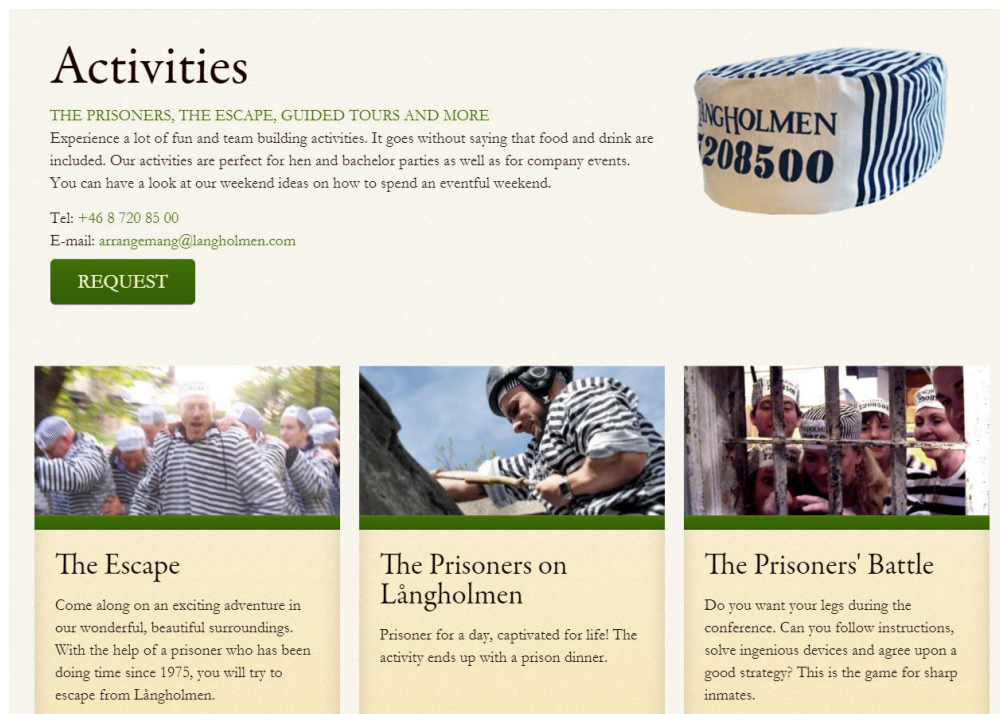
Figure 6 The website of Langholmen Prison (source:https://langholmen.com/en/aktiviteter)

On the other hand, there are some prison-hotels that is tried to establish more specific, and secure relationship with the penal characteristic of sites, like Langholmen[176] and Karosta[177] of which histories are described and represented in a more detailed way. In the both cases, the accommodational use is combined with museum function that heighten carceral image of the sites. Another common point of them is prison-themed activities like excursions with guides, interactive games and role playing to have fun by paying extra charges. People's curiosity and interest for experiencing imprisonment and prison life are extended; besides these fictionalized, safe and inauthentic interactions, they are in search of genuine and dangerous prison habitat. For example, in south America, before their closures working prisons like Garcia Moreno Prison in Ecuador

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[176] See http://langholmen.com/en

[177] See http://karostascietums.lv/en/

and San Pedro Prison in Bolivia became focal points for tourists. J. Fleetwood and J. Turner states that the working prison tourism which blurs the boundary between prison tourism and prison visiting creates chances for prisoners to earn money.[178]

The increasing interest on prisons reveals commercial potentials of incarceration centers and various ways have been utilized for economic income. Despite the positive influences on conservation of prison heritages, the commercial expectancy from prisons may cause trivialization of imprisonment.[179] The relationship between prison-hotels and their carceral past become superficial, that is, the representations of imprisonment are shaped not to interrogate penal policies or to illuminate dark past but to attract more tourists. The 'old prison' image is mostly used for advertisements in moderation to avoid disturbing guests.

3.3.2.2. Prison Museums: Alcatraz Natural Park

Another prevalent approach towards sealed prison sites is to transform them into prison museums. The conversion of Alcatraz, also known as the Rock, into a natural park could be counted as an epitome of the deployment of carceral past in the form of museum. Due to the its long lifespan as a museum and worldwide popularity, Alcatraz Prison is selected as a model to see all aspects of prison museums.

Between 1933 and 1963, the prison hosted many of the most infamous criminals of American penal history, including Al Capone, Robert Stroud -the Birdman of Alcatraz-Alvin Karpis etc.[180] of which prison owe its recognition and its popularity heightened by Hollywood. Ensuing its closure, Birdman of Alcatraz (1962), Escape from Alcatraz

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[178] Fleetwood, J., & Turner, J. (2017). *The Backpacker's Guide to the Prison: (In)Formalizing Prison Boundaries in Latin America*. p.903.

[179] Strange, C. & Kempa, M. (2003). *Shades of Dark Tourism: Alcatraz and Robben Island*. p.387.

[180] *Famous Alcatraz Inmates*. Retrieved 25 July 2017, from http://www.alcatrazhistory.com/famous.htm

(1979), The Rock (1996) and many other movies and TV shows advertised the prison that have helped for mystification and mythologization[181] of Alcatraz.

After its closure, in 1963, the island had not been operated with a specific function until 1972.[182] However, one of the most significant events that have been experienced in the island had occurred within this gap. The island was occupied by a group of Native Americans in 1969, for two years, until "they removed by order of President Richard M. Nixon (1913-94) in 1971."[183] Richard Oakes, the leader of the activist group, declares their target as to utilize a university and a museum "on behalf of Indians of All Tribes."[184]

Alcatraz Natural Park is a significant and valid sample to detect how imprisonment is transformed into a product that is enjoyable for tourists. The reciprocal relationship between the carceral past and tourism are explicit in the case of Alcatraz that triggers many researchers to conduct studies on the site. Strange and Kempa states that Alcatraz is one of the places where representation, marketing and consumption of dark memories are exemplified.[185] Therefore, beside its history, values or conservation process, the questions of how tourism penetrates itself through prison bars and how it influences the meaning of heritage sites are aimed to be interrogated with the help of Alcatraz.

Decommissioned and infamous prison sites are subject to a keen interest from people. As cited by Jeffrey Ian Ross, on the year of 2012, there were approximately 100 prison

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[181] Paul Wright observes, in Cultural Commodification of Prisons (2000), that "The social and physical reality of prisons is constantly mystified and mythologized".

[182] Alcatraz. (2009). History.com. Retrieved 13 September 2017, from http://www.history.com/topics/alcatraz

[183] *Ibid.*

[184] *Ibid*.

[185] Strange & Kempa, *op. cit*.

museums throughout the world[186] and as a result, prison museums have become a specialty, a productive branch of study. As a prison museum, where carceral past, torture, death and tragedy are presented and sold, Alcatraz holds a significant locus by reason of accommodating 1.5 million visitors per year.[187] The large quantity of visitors is an outcome of the meaning of the place but at the same time it holds the capability to change the narration and reveal or add new meanings to the place.

According to Loo and Strange, however, the conversion of island from prison into a museum was not only option and they state:

> *When Alcatraz was closed in the mid-60s, the idea of turning it over to tourists as a "prison museum" was one of the least favored schemes for its reuse. Much more viable were commercial or recreational developments that would have erased its history as a place of punishment or merely featured it as a colorful setting for shops and amusements.[188]*

Mary Rachel Gould claims that Alcatraz symbolizes the worldwide fashion of converting old prisons into tourist attraction points and in her article, *Return to Alcatraz*, she aims to explore how history, politics and consumerism exist in the same place via analyzing Alcatraz.[189] Gould dwells upon both "light-hearted" representation of the notorious past and "the commodification of Alcatraz into a product to be purchased" which are criticized as being obstacles that prevent the site from accomplishing its main

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[186] Ross, Jeffrey I. (2012). *Touring Imprisonment: A Descriptive Statistical Analysis of Prison Museums.* Tourism Management Perspectives 4, pp.113–118.

[187] Koenen et al. (2017). *Interpretive Programing on Alcatraz Island: Balancing Increasing Demand, Changing Demographics and Preservation Priorities. p.850.*

[188] Strange & Kempa, *op. cit.*, p.391.

[189] Gould, M. (2014). *Return to Alcatraz: Dark Tourism and the Representation of Prison History.* pp.267-268.

tasks: education and commemoration.[190] According to her, the more the site become appealing to tourists, the less visitors confront with the genuine dark history of the island and the realities of punishment and disciplinary systems which reduce the political significance and potentials of Alcatraz Island.[191] In other words, mediated depictions of the site aims not to disclose 'the real past' and trigger debates on the functionality of punishment systems but to satisfy touristic expectations.

The popularization of Alcatraz detaches the site from its own history and turns it into a generic carceral place where people satisfy their curiosity about incarceration and prison myths. The priority of becoming popular place over authenticity and site-specificity could be observed through the series of artworks of Ai Weiwei which are placed in Alcatraz. Weiwei, a very popular artist who has been detained by China creates seven installations in Alcatraz to "raise questions about freedom of expression and human rights that resonated far beyond"[192] and one of the works, Trace, in which 176 political detainees are portrayed with LEGO bricks, indicates the distance between the mediated narration and the past but none of them were incarcerated in Alcatraz. Eamonn Carrabine interprets works of Weiwei as an endeavor to associate the prison with the concept of "freedom" instead of "confinement for marketing.[193] On the other hand, Carrabine claims that the apolitical stance mentioned by Gould was challenged with the installations and they posed considerable questions about the "nature of confinement".[194]

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[190] *Ibid.*

[191] *Ibid.*, pp.281-283.

[192] @Large: Ai Weiwei on Alcatraz. (2017). FOR-SITE Foundation. Retrieved 30 July 2017, from https://www.for-site.org/project/ai-weiwei-alcatraz/

[193] Carrabine, E. (2017). *Ethics, Human Rights and Penal Spectatorship*. p.24.

[194] *Ibid.*, p.27.

Figure 7 The exhibition of Ai Wei Wei in Alcatraz
(source: https://artlawjournal.com/ai-wei-weis-art-censorship-lego/)

With its gift shops, celebrities, representation, spatial uses and touristic facilities, Alcatraz Prison is considered as the quintessence of prison tourism sites. Its conversion into museum embodies many issues that various scholars have been concerned. The battle between commodification and commemoration endures through the mediated depictions of Alcatraz and it has influences on the carceral past of the prison with regard to the site-specificity of experiences and representation of agony.

Prison tourism and/or prison museums have been studied many times so far and it would be a reductive approach to claim that analyzing only Alcatraz Island is sufficient to comprehend aspects and attributes of prison tourism and, moreover, revitalization of Alcatraz is also available for different readings. However, within the scope of this study, Alcatraz Prison is focused on because of two main reasons. Firstly, it indicates the power of incarceration to take public attention; as cited by Koenen et al. the site was selected in 2015 one of the top ten tourist attraction points in the world by Trip

Advisor.[195] Secondly, it evidences the primacy of economic realities in the site which is described as "a consumed place" by Strange and Kempa.[196]

The very presence of tourism in Alcatraz reminds that both demands and expectations of tourists could be decisive while deciding the presentation of the site. Strange and Kempa states:

> *The presentation of Robben Island's and Alcatraz's penal histories has altered over time; in addition the intervention of external stakeholders and storytellers and the pressures of audience expectations have shaped and reshaped distinctive interpretive moulds.[197]*

Prison tourism strictly modifies the relationship between the site and its carceral past to reach more audience. Michelle Brown states that in order to have a popular imaginary, educational and historical roles of prison museums are neglected.[198] In the case of Alcatraz generic and designed depictions of the prison are attempted to be constructed in parallel to Ross's argument, claiming that prison museums "reinforces stereotypes and myths about prisons."[199] In short, despite visitors are necessary for post-prison sites, its repercussion should be considered deeply.

3.3.3. Revitalization of Politically Significant Former Prisons

This part of the chapter primarily examines the treatments of post-incarceration centers through selected cases and discussions on a number of significant cases to comprehend the multifaceted problems, features and potentials of conservation of post-carceral places

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[195] Koenen et al., op. cit., *p.850.*

[196] Strange & Kempa, *op. cit.*, p.401.

[197] Strange & Kempa, *op. cit.*, p.388.

[198] Brown, Michelle. (2009). *The Culture of Punishment: Prison, Society, and Spectacle*. p.102.

[199] Ross, Jeffrey Ian. (2015). *Varieties of Prison Voyeurism: An Analytic/Interpretive Framework*. p.406.

as cultural heritage. Although motivations and disputes may considerably differ between the cases, the main intention of this chapter is to reveal recently emerging agencies and concepts of architectural conservation through analyzing the publications about revitalization projects of the selected politically significant old prisons. A thoroughly analysis of publications, either academic or nonacademic, about revitalization processes of seven selected sealed prisons regarding the possible implicit or explicit intentions that launch the processes are performed in the following. The selected cases are reuse of Sultanahmet prison as hotel; Robben Island, Ulucanlar prisons as museums; Punta Carretas as shopping mall and the ongoing conservation processes of Maze, Sinop and Yassıada prisons.

Regarding the issues mentioned in the previous chapters, seven significant and influential former prisons have been selected to analyze. The selection of the cases depends on a number of criteria. Firstly, the scope of the study narrowed downed to sites built as prisons due to their existential dissonances: Prisons or other planned detention centers, like McAtackney mentioned "symbolize both the power and vulnerability of the state".[200] They remind the punitive measures of states to the society, on the other hand, many political oppositions are initiated from carceral places or they are supported by prison riots. Moreover, from the architectural conservation perspective, conservation of prisons as cultural heritage offers a great challenge for architects and conservation experts that is very intriguing. Conservation processes of prisons demand a new function to be successful which is very unusual and extraordinary. The other criterion is the political significance of the sites. All of the selected cases hold national or international significance, which causes many people to concern about the fate of the places and the last criterion is the plentitude and accessibility of the sources in English and Turkish. Moreover, a criterion is also engaged not for the selection but for the elimination of

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[200] Moran, op. cit., 130.

some cases: having a role in more severe, untamed or brutal event like genocide or colonization which compels these cases to be studied with a different framework regarding different axioms. Despite the obvious physical and contextual differences, the cases are selected to illustrate the contemporary and multidisciplinary concepts that challenge the settled mindset of heritage conservation in different cultural, social and economic contexts.

3.3.3.1. Robben Island

> *The buildings of Robben Island bear eloquent testimony to its sombre history... Robben Island and its prison buildings symbolise the triumph of the human spirit of freedom and of democracy over oppression.* – ('Nomination Dossier' 1999)

Robben Island has been converted into a museum in 1997 and listed as World Heritage in 1999, as stated by UNESCO, owing to two criteria it fulfils: one of them is the capability of buildings to narrate the site's dark and mournful history (Criterion III) and the other criterion underpins the emblematic significance of both island and prison building for representing the "triumph of human spirit, of freedom and of democracy over oppression (Criterion IV)."[201] These criteria intentionally appreciate the physical and spatial setting of the island by associating the intangible features with the artificial buildings which lead scholars to investigate on the site.

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[201] Robben Island. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/916.

Figure 8 Robben Island Prison Prisoners breaking rocks and sewing clothes in 1964
(source:http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/mandelas-prison-this-is-an-island-here-you will-
die-8996418.html)

The history of Robben Island is rich and remote. Harriet Deacon, in her book, *The Island: A History of Robben Island (1996),* indicates the uses of the island after Bartolomeu Dias explored the Africa. According to her, beginning from its colonization by Portuguese, the carceral history have been rooted in the island and it had been used to confine sailors since 1400s; during Dutch period, the fame of island as a prison were increased. Not so many changed under British rule with regards to the dark incidents that take place in the island. Following 1806 the prison continued be used and between 1846 and 1931 the island hosted chronic sick, lunatics, lepers and political prisoners. During the Apartheid era, 'most dangerous prisoners' who threaten the government were

incarcerated in here.[202] 1991 was a memorable day for the history of the island since all political prisoners released and after 5 years the facility was locked.[203]

After the Apartheid era, in South Africa, a comprehensive transformation had been initiated to ease the traces of traumatic memories of the past. Government of National Unity promoted and funded institutions, particularly cultural ones, to reshape the social structure and collective identities.[204] The Robben Island Museum has become one of the most prominent places in South Africa to produce collective memory due to its historical significance and the brutal experiences which had been witnessed here. Marback (2004) states, Robben Island, during apartheid era, embodied the unfair treatments to black people and evolved into a politically expressive and representative place for Africa. Subsequent to the political shift from apartheid to democracy, the cultural narration that the site stands for necessiraly is revised to meet contemporary needs of new policies.[205] Hence, the influences of new government policies on conservation approaches and practices in order to promote 'national-building' and 'civil peace' have to be considered thoroughly. As cited by J. Giblin (2015), "Meskell (2012) describes and critiques, in the immediate post-apartheid years, state and non-state actors alike engrossed themselves in 'past-mastering' to tackle and deconstruct problematic histories, to construct new more palatable ones, and to sell the new South Africa through its pasts to the world."[206] [207]

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[202] Deacon, H. (1996). *The Island: A History of Robben Island*.

[203] *Robben Island Timeline 1400-1999 South African History Online*. (2012). Sahistory.org.za. Retrieved from http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/robben-island-timeline-1400-1999

[204] Phaswana-Mafuya, N., & Haydam, N. (2005). *Tourists' Expectations and Perceptions of the Robben Island Museum—a world heritage site.* pp.149-150.

[205] Marback, R. (2004). *The Rhetorical Space of Robben Island.* p.8.

[206] Giblin, J. (2015). *Critical Approaches to Post-Colonial (Post-Conflict) Heritage.* p.322.

[207] Benton, T. (2010). *Heritage and Changes of Regimes.*

Figure 9 Emblem of Robben Island Museum (source: http://www.robben-island.org.za/)

The recognition of Robben Island as world heritage and its conversion into a museum bring forth a considerable prospect for the comprehension of elusive qualities of heritage, especially dark heritage, because of its contested nature. The first dilemma is about the scale; Robben Island Museum is expected to both heal individual and national wounds of the past and represent modern policies of new South Africa to the rest of the world. The second one is about the employment of the site both as 'a secular pilgrimage site' and a touristic destination with some profit expectations. This makes difficult to decide on the utilization of the site and to meet user needs.

Figure 10 Robben Island (source: http://www.capetown.travel/products/robben-island-museum)

Many scholars have studied Robben Island Museum as a case from various scholarships like tourism, history, cultural geography, criminology, psychology and anthropology. Despite the diversities, in this chapter, the common and paramount debates mentioned in frequency are attempted to be pinpointed in order to construct a framework for succeeding analyses. Barbara Hutton (1994), Harriet Deacon (1995), Charlene Smith(1997) and Fran Lisa Buntman (2004) explore the history of the prison and its process of becoming a symbol for resistance against oppression and racism. Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee (1998), Sandra Bologna (1999), and C. Shearing and M. Kempa (2004) indicates the political uses of Robben Island Museum with reference to the dark heritage discourse. They reveal the intricate relationship between 'Rainbow Nation' and the representation of Robben Island Museum as 'triumph of freedom' instead of a 'crime monument' via indicating the influences of prevailing political perspectives on the conservation of the museum, in historiographical terms. Caroline

Strange and Michael Kempa (2003) survey the tourist expectations and observations on the site and figure out the user profile. Chris Colvin (2003) focuses on victims and the therapeutic effects of conservation process regarding psychotherapeutic discourse. Myra Shackley (2001) and H. Deacon (2004) draw attention to management issues of emotional sites and their intangible features.

As a result of controversial implications and expectations from the conservation of former Robben Island Prison as a heritage, new aspects of heritage conservation are revealed and debated by various researchers from different disciplines. It could be deduced from the studies on RIM that the new function of the ex-prison site has been concentrated on as a critical subject since the way people employ the site inevitably influences its meaning. In order to satisfy all expectations, the adaptive function of the site exclusively examined by stakeholders and executors. Robben Island is intended, implicitly or explicitly, to be transformed into a therapeutic place for victim groups, an educational place for humanity, a reconciliation place for different identity groups and a tourist attraction point for economic intentions. As a result of these intricate and interwoven projections on the heritage site, it is observable that naming its function as 'museum' is insufficient for RIM; indeed, the experience of visitors-the ways of involvement, its means and actors etc.- is concentrated after the closure of Robben Island Prison. Laurajane Smith, in a similar vein, draws attention to the significance of getting interaction with heritages; she states that new meanings are constructed while heritage sites are experienced.[208]

The designed experiences in RIM are explored by Shearing and Kempa, in their article, *A Museum of Hope: A Story of Robben Island.* They study the methods and means that are used by government, managers or designers to publicize their messages in Robben

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[208] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp.47-48.

Island Museum (RIM). At this point, their claim is that the administration of RIM and its extensions endeavor to plant the hope in parallel with the post-conflict state politics by providing some space to visitors to make them able to create their own stories.[209] Instead of constructing a strict and official narration, an 'unmediated experience' in the museum is intentionally designed.[210] An endeavor to emancipate from conventional museum principles could be observed in RIM. As cited by Shearing and Kempa, the director of the RIM states that an inescapable meta-narration and a script for visitor's tour are intentionally are avoided.[211]

Figure 11 A former detainee tells his memories
(source: https://nontando58mposo.com/2013/02/14/robben-island-mass-wedding)

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[209] Shearing, C., & Kempa, M. (2004). A Museum of Hope: a Story of Robben Island. p.62.

[210] *Ibid., pp.69-70.*

[211] *Ibid.*, p.70.

Shearing and Kempa also believe that the construction of the unmediated experience in RIM is mainly ensured by the employment of former prisoners for guidance in the museum since each former prisoner narrates personal and hence different story which leads each visitor to have their own understanding about apartheid. A similar perspective is also noted by Harriet Deacon who emphasizes the "extensive oral history project" that is organized by RIM with the aids of former inmates as a significant feature of the site. She also underlines the moral responsibility for involvement of ex-prisoners to the representation of the site.[212] Myra Shackley is another researcher who appreciates the collaboration of ex-prisoners in the museum. In her article, *Potential Futures for Robben Island: Shrine, Museum or Theme Park? (2001),* she values the employment of former political prisoners as an influential factor for "enhancing the quality of visitor experience and generating an authentic 'spirit of place'." She also claims that despite the inadequate physical setting and organization, guests generally feel contented about their experiences in RIM.[213]

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[212] Deacon, H. (2004). *Intangible Heritage in Conservation Management Planning: The Case of Robben Island*. p.312.

[213] Shackley, M. (2001). *Potential Futures for Robben Island: shrine, museum or theme park?*

Figure 12 Former detainee is hosting the visitors
(source: http://www.capetown.travel/products/robben-island-museum)

Tours also have a significant role to enrich and to cultivate experiences in RIM. On the official website of RIM, it could be seen that *Tours* and *Virtual Tour* are particularly celebrated as a title in the main menu. There are five types of tours and they show variations according to the profile of visitors and have different charges. Educational Tours, Private Tours, VIP Tours, Protocol Tours and Virtual Tour are mentioned. Educational Tours are organized with association of individual primary and secondary schools in South Africa with their requests in order to nurture edification mission of the site. Engagement of children with the site is concerned primarily. On the other hand, VIP Tours and Protocol Tours imply the intention of drawing a national persona of the state via RIM.

Learning in Robben Island is another issue which is aimed to be designed cautiously. In addition to school tours, learning camps intending to attract youngsters to the site are organized. Theme of the camps are generally associated with the concepts that are linked

with the memories of the place. Independence, human rights, citizenship and dark history of the RIM is told young participants to increase awareness among the country. Other facilities like resource center and archives are also established in the site and University of Western Cape to support learning and research activities. At this point, the collections of the archives require special attention to comprehend the ingredients of memory. The collections include not only artefacts founded in the site but also many related pieces that sketch the racist and nondemocratic incidents in the Apartheid era. Oral history and sound archive consists of interviews with ex political prisons, radio broadcasts, significant lectures and speeches. Photographs are also constituted considerable part of the archives, 30 000 negatives, 70 000 prints and 4 000 transparencies of images are kept in the photographic archive.[214] The large and inclusive archive of RIM also includes artefacts, arts, banners and posters that are associated with the protests during the Apartheid. Historical artefacts of the prison also preserved by the museum builds an archive to record the works, events and publications of the museum itself. The museum recognizes itself as a part of the island's history and constantly documents the afterlife of the Robben Island Prison.

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[214] *Robben Island Museum*. (2017). Robben Island Museum. Retrieved from http://www.robben-island.org.za/learn#conservation
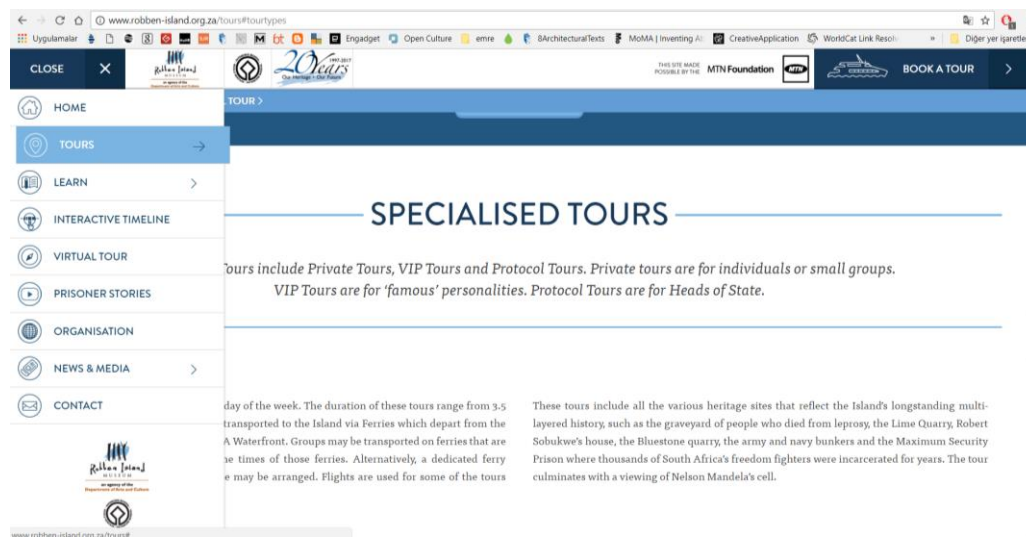
Figure 13 Museum Tours (source: http://www.robben-island.org.za/)

As an international tourist attraction point, the effects of tourism on Robben Island should be interrogated. Brett Seymour, in his paper, draws attention to the commodification of the meaning and the space in Robben Island, and he maintains that in order to keep tourism alive, the history of the island "widened" and various interpretations of the prison are created.[215] Merchandises of the gift shop of Robben Island, to avoid from mundane commodification, are carefully composed of more 'dignified' products like Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994), or other ex-prisoner's books.[216] Despite some precautions have been taken against commercialization in terms of goods, tours and representation of the site are determined according to tourists' expectations.

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[215] Seymour, B. (2012). *Robben Island Histories, Identities and Futures* (B.A in History). The University of Sydney.

[216] Strange and Kempa, *op. cit*., p.400.

Figure 14 Mandela breaking rocks after years (source: http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/grim-prison-robben-island-couldn-sap-nelson-mandela-spirit-article-1.1541066)

The conservation process of RIM and studies conducted by researchers indicates that the experience in heritage sites should be comprehended from different perspectives. In parallel with the government's ethnic and economic policies, RIM become a critical tool to implement and spread ideal of Rainbow Nation. The conservation of RIM, not only as a building but as a set of communicative process, utilizes many new concepts, agents and methods to respond recent changes in the world and some of these methods are worth to be considered on thoroughly.

In the website of RIM, four conservation principles are listed as:

> *There is an evolving understanding of Robben Island's meaning and value which has both tangible and intangible manifestations in cultural and natural contexts;*
>
> *Robben Island's heritage value is both local and universal;*
>
> *Robben Island's heritage value is related to current social debates about, for example, stigma, human rights, reconciliation and healing;*
>
> *Robben Island Museum is committed to a conservation-based approach to development and to a transparent use-based, policy-based and process-driven management that seeks to balance the Island's tangible and intangible heritage resources.[217]*

In this respect, the conservation of Robben Island Prison and published reviews and studies on Robben Island Museum contain many learnings waiting to be disclosed to comprehend new tendencies of commemoration.

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[217] Robben Island Museum. (2017). Robben Island Museum. Retrieved from http://www.robben-island.org.za/learn

Figure 15 A visitor group under world heritage emblem
(source: http://www.mycapetours.co.za/portfolio_page/table-mountain-robben-eiland/)

3.3.3.2. Punta Carretas

It is inevitable not to mention Latin America while studying about conversion and representation of carceral pasts. Recently experienced coups and ensuing oppression eras in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay have bequeathed many dark places including former detention centers and prisons. The prospective futures of these carceral heritages are perceived as a delicate issue because they hold the capacity both to determine and to indicate present reactions of the states to the notorious and critical past. For example, Susana Draper, in her book *Afterlives of Confinement (2012)* aims to comprehend the social transformation from dictatorship to post-dictatorship or democracy in South America by exploring the spatial transformation of the confinement places. She conceives the conversions of ex-carceral sites in literature or architecture as benchmarks to decipher the present understanding of the democracy in these countries.
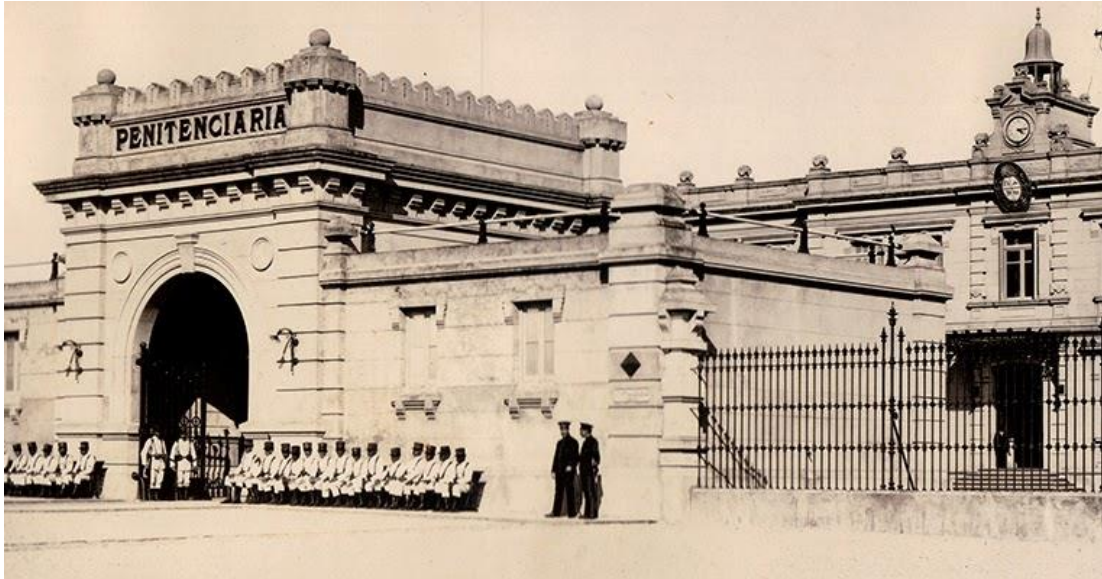
Figure 16 Punta Carretas Prison
(source:http://parlanch.blogspot.com.tr/2016/01/penal-de-punta-carretas-1915.html)

In the scope of this chapter, the departure point of Susana Draper for her study,[218] Punta Carretas Prison is selected as the case because beyond its political significance, it is believed that its transformation from a political prison to a luxury shopping mall contains many learnings to be revealed. It clearly, and even exaggeratedly, depicts how the transformation of carceral past is perceived as a source for present politics. Draper explains the emblematic significance of the revitalization of Punta Carretas as following:

> *The transformation of Punta Carretas Prison into Punta Carretas Mall represents a paradigm of post-dictatorial reconfiguration of spaces of incarceration, in which prison features, systems of impunity, spatial fantasies from the Cold War, and ideals for democracy were equated to the capacity for consumption. The palimpsest created by the superimposition of the architectural models of prison and mall*

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[218] Draper, S. (2012). *Afterlives of Confinement: Spatial Transitions in Post-Dictatorship Latin America*. p.2.

involved the temporal reconfiguration of a carceral space that bore significant political and semantic weight in the 1960s and 1970s.[219]

In addition to neoliberal trends, a public will to forgive and forget the dark memories of military government also influences the route of conservation process. Hugo Achugar, as cited by Draper, states that the transformation of the Punta Carretas into mall *"must be considered in tandem with the referendum and the subsequent plebiscite for the Law of Caducity of the Punitive Claim of the State, in which 51 percent of the population voted to pardon military personnel for their human rights violations during the decade of terror."[220]* It could be claimed that the revitalization of Punta Carretas inwardly desires not to remember severe incidents of the past that may cause conflict and despondency.

The case of Punta Carretas Mall indicates that neoliberal expectations from carceral pasts do not always come out in the shape of museum or hotel and not only concern the commercialization of the edifice itself but also its neighborhood. In other words, every incarnation center naturally creates or mutates its close district, and their transformations have considerable social and economic consequences in addition to their upper scale repercussions and this chapter aims to encounter with the local extents of carceral centers and also economic and social influences of spatial transformation of them in the case of Punta Carretas considering its political and cultural facets. Thus, the conservation process, its operative agents and debates on them are aimed to be illuminated

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[219] *Ibid.*, p.2.

[220] *Ibid.*, p.23.

Figure 17 Punta Carretas Shopping Centre
(source:https://www.taringa.net/posts/noticias/13819504/Invertiran-35-millones-de-dolares-en-Punta-Carretas.html)

The history of Punta Carretas Prison is full of peculiar meanings and events that render the site as a memorable one for Uruguayans. The carceral site, which is built in 1910 with modern surveillance approaches, is described as one of the most significant ideological apparatuses of dictatorship within the history of Uruguay.[221] It could be observed that the prison has gained manifold symbolic meaning since it was constructed. Both Draper[222] and Ruetalo[223] signify its representative aspect which aims to express the modernization of Uruguay in the beginning of 20th century. The

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[221] Ruetalo, V. (2008). From Penal Institution to Shopping Mecca: The Economics of Memory and the Case of Punta Carretas. p.38.

[222] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.46.

[223] Ruetalo, *op. cit*., p.48.

architecture of Punta Carretas imitated its many aspects from French prison, Fresnes-lès-Rungis[224] and its construction aims to correspond to the advancements of prison policies. In addition to its symbolic meaning for the state, as a result of political imprisonments and prison breaks the significance of Punta Carretas passed to another level. The politicization of the Punta Carretas coincides with 1930s when anarchists from different countries moved into Montevideo[225] and the escape of Catalan anarchists, in 1931, via a tunnel dug by their comrades spotlighted Punta Carretas.[226] Moreover, in 1971, el Abuso (the Abuse) occurred; 106 members of MLN (Tupamaros) and 5 common prisoners accomplished the most massive prison escape in the history.[227] Ruetalo evaluates these escapes as following:

> *These persistent and direct assaults on the authority of the state substantiate the fallaciousness of a structure once celebrated for its architectural wonder and its role in providing a sense of security for the status quo.*[228]

Despite Punta Carretas was constructed with the intention of representing the power of state and its modern face, the large prison escapes inevitably render it as a weakness point. However, it could be claimed that the long term use of Punta Carretas as a political correction facility contributes the most of memories that Uruguayans keep. The meaning of prison is strongly associated with the oppression since Punta Carretas were utilized as the most important detention center for male political prisoners[229] during the fight between the state and leftist urban guerilla

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[224] Ruetalo, *op. cit*., p.48.

[225] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.46.

[226] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.46.

[227] Ruetalo, *op. cit*., p.50.

[228] Ruetalo, *op. cit*., p.52.

[229] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.423.

group MLN, also known as Tupamaros, which is founded in 1963 by a law student in Montevideo.[230] In 1984, military rule ceased and political prisoners released and Punta Carretas finally closed in 1986.[231]

Subsequent to its closure, the future of sealed Punta Carretas emerged as a controversial subject because of its political meanings and economic potentials. The decision about the fate of the site is the first subject, that is, the determination of the new function of the site and decision-makers are acknowledged as controversial issues. Draper reports in her book that after the closure of the prison site, first plan was the demolition of the building because of the estate value of the plot, however; then, the site was considered as worth to preserve due to its cultural and historic values.[232] Thus, a renovation idea that should be money-making jointly was looked for through an open bid and as a consequence, reutilization of Punta Carretas Prison as a mall by a private corporation was decided.[233] Although it was an open bid, Draper states that the negotiations between the state and corporation, which is owned by former minister of interior affairs, were perpetuated in confidential.[234] It could be deduced from Draper's comments that the decision-making process was not neither participative nor transparent to reach a consortium.

In 1994, Punta Carretas Shopping Mall which includes many leisure activities opened after the expenditure of 42 million dollar.[235] Re-use of Punta Carretas where many torture and violent acts were experienced as a commercial center also arises

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[230] *The Tupamaros Of Uruguay*. (2017). Latinamericanstudies.org. Retrieved from http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/uruguay/tupamaros-uruguay.htm

[231] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.45.

[232] Draper, *op. cit.*, pp.47-48.

[233] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.48.

[234] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.48.

[235] Ruetalo, *op. cit.*, p.53.

manifold concerns about the conservation project. Is the transformation of a dark heritage into a mall legitimate and adequate to transfer painful memories between generations? What are the differences between different functions for example museum and mall with regard to conservation ideals? How ex-prisoners and neighbors are impacted from the exclusive shopping mall?

In order to explore the reasoning behind the new function of the old prison, declarations of the architects in charge are firstly reviewed. The chief architect of the mall project, J.C. López explains the idea of conversion the prison into a mall was derived from the resemblance between mall and prison and Estala Porada, architect from the design team, states that the conservation project deal with the past in a way that does not harm both its 'spirit' and the new function, as cited by Draper.[236] At this point, a further investigation on the relationship between the dark memories of incarceration and the consumption should be launched. Two different approaches are mentioned here: the first one surrogates the prevailing idea that interrelate the freedom and democracy with the consumption. Being aware of this kind of approach is significant because it promotes overwriting dark memories with conspicuous ones. Beatriz Sarlo, in her book *Scenes from Postmodern Life* (2001, translated by Jon Beasley-Murray) underlines the dominant characteristic of malls that subdues the traces of past for its own sake. She states that malls or shopping centers creates its own interiority independent from spatial and temporal context and claims that in adoption of historic places as mall, history inevitably becomes 'decorative'.[237] In her words:

> *Almost always, or even in the case of "conservationist" malls that keep the old architecture intact, the mall is a part and parcel of evacuation of*

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[236] Draper, *op. cit.*, p.48.

[237] Sarlo, B. (2001). Scenes from Postmodern Life (1st ed.). p.13.

urban memory, because it represents new customs and does not have to pay tribute to tradition.[238]

Figure 18 Juxtaposition of new users and old prison
(source:http://www.pvp.org.uy/2015/12/29/la-logica-de-mercado-y-las-configuraciones-de-las-memorias)

Despite the claim of architects, Lopez and Porada, Sarlo's assertions seem also valid and notable in the case of Punta Carretas. Ruetalo reports that in Punta Carretas, only the envelope of the building that reminds the painful past is conserved as a reminder; on the other hand, parallel to amnesty policies of the Uruguay state, there is no

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[238] *Ibid.*, p.13.

evidence inside of the building which indicates the historic significance of the site.[239] In the interior where shopping takes place, dark memories are intentionally swept away or disguised. These mentioned reviews on the conversion of Punta Carretas into an exclusive mall make more explicit that the dark memories are likely to be manipulated in order to increase the expenditure and create an economic source. Draper also emphasizes the dilemma between commemoration and commodification in her book by interrogating the erasure of sensations like violence, fear or dread that may prevent people from buying things in the site.[240]

In spite of the misrepresentation, concealment or erasure of the past on behalf of marketing are naturally more notable in prison-malls, they are not peculiar only to them. The manipulation of the past under the influence of commodification could be seen within different architectural programs also. In this sense, Draper finds similarities between the conversions of Buen Pastor Prison, into cultural center, and Punta Carretas because of the commercial utilization of them.[241]

Alongside the neoliberal impacts on dark memories in order to maintain the retailing, gentrification of Punta Carretas, following its revitalization as an exclusive mall, is a critical subject that should be investigated. There are two types of social whitening that will be focused on. The first one is the gentrification of the prison site itself where is generally inherited by low class groups, criminals; however, following its reopening as a commercial center, the demographic statuses of 'guests' of the building have shifted dramatically. Thus, the question of how the relationship between ex-prisoners and the former prison site was established is posed. Mari Hayman, a journalist, in her article, asks a former prisoner his thoughts on the new

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[239] Ruetalo *op. cit*., p.47.

[240] Draper op. cit., p.50.

[241] Draper op. cit., p.3.

role of Punta Carretas.[242] His answer indicates the bare indifference to the dark past which is severely experienced by him and his family. Riverio, the interviewed former detainee, founds the visiting traumatic memories pointless and declares that he does not intend to visit Punta Carretas Mall neither his memories. In his words, as cited by Hayman, *"I'm not curious about it. It doesn't interest me."*[243] Riverio's words on Punta Carretas reveal a different perspective on dark heritage conservation that questions the emotional commitment of victims in the conservation process. The affinity between the heritage site and former convicts is required to be considered not to offend or marginalize them from the renovated circumstance.

In Hayman's essay, the neighbors of Punta Carretas are also selected as an interviewee group since they are inevitably subjected to a dramatic shift as a result of the transformation. The abolition of the prison facility caused great sociodemographic changes in the neighborhood; the gentrification of the district which was highly characterized by the prison is focused in the essay. Hayman states:

> *Thanks to the mall, the neighborhood of Punta Carretas has emerged from the shadows to become one of Montevideo's most elegant residential districts, where the 26-story Sheraton Hotel towers over tasteful single-family homes and fashionable stores, restaurants and bars.*[244]

Reusing Punta Carretas as an exclusive mall does not only change the inhabitants of the prison site but also of the whole neighborhood since the negative connotations of prison are faded away. Prisons are the institutions where citizens are mostly reluctant

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[242] Hayman, M. (2009). *FEATURE: Burying the Past? Former Uruguayan Prison Becomes Shopping Mall – Latin America News Dispatch*. Latindispatch.com. Retrieved from http://latindispatch.com/2009/12/21/feature-burying-the-past-former-uruguayan-prison-becomes-shopping-mall/

[243] Ibid.

[244] Ibid.

to live nearby which causes a public reaction, so called as NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) and many studies[245] have been conducted to comprehend this concept. It is claimed by B. Groot and E.J. Latessa, as cite by Moran, that financial and safety concerns constitute the base of negative public attitude towards carceral neighborhoods and, thus, the closure of prisons generates positive impact on the districts.[246] In the case of Punta Carretas, in addition to the closure of prison, inauguration of a luxury shopping center causes considerable shifts in the demographic pattern of the neighborhood.

Figure 19 Punta Carretas Prison
(source: http://www.viajeauruguay.com/montevideo/compras-de-lujo-punta-carretas-shopping.php/)

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[245] For detailed information see: Heiman 1990, Sechrest 1992, Rasmussen 1992, Martin 2000, Thies 2001.

[246] Moran, op. cit., p.60.

In brief, the studies and reviews on the transformation of Punta Carretas from a correction facility to a mall highlight three main issues for dark heritage conservation. The first one is the extreme pressure of neoliberal policies and economic projections on memory of places. The case of Punta Carretas indicates that the selection of the memories and the narration of dark history are tended to be interpreted, shifted and manipulated for the sake of the commerce. Conservation for commerce may serve to oblivion to encourage people buying things. The second issue is the expulsion of ex-prisoners from the site due to the new function of the old prison which is not associated with the cultural structure of victims and victim-related groups. The re-assigned function of the old prison should convince ex-prisoners to be involved in. The third point that is considered on is the socio-economic structure of carceral neighborhoods since prisons are dominant components that shape their surroundings. Repurposing Punta Carrets with another function inevitably have consequences on neighborhood. the land value creates a pressure on the conservation process to correspond economic expectations of the public.

3.3.3.3. Maze Prison

> *In the post-Agreement era, the conflict in Northern Ireland remains inherently territorial and the 'ground' a key political resource. Territoriality reflects the continuing importance of place to social networks and mental and emotional bindings while control of space is still regarded as being crucial to identity, power and politics.[247]*

After the 1998 Peace Agreement (henceforth, the Agreement), the political stance and policies of the state has shifted dramatically in Northern Ireland to efface the traces of

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[247] Graham, B., & Nash, C. (2006). *A Shared Future: Territoriality, pluralism and public policy in Northern Ireland*. p.262.

the severe past and to build "plural but socially cohesive society".[248] Place, due to its sectarian and zero-sum nature[249], has emerged as one of the most critical and controversial domains to perform these post-conflict policies. Elizabeth Crooke (2001), corresponding Ashworth et al. who pinpoint the function of the place for stimulating ethnic, religious or cultural identities[250], mentions the significance of the place in both representation and determination of the identity.[251] Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (2006), also define the 'ground' in Northern Ireland as pivotal, decisive and also troublesome medium to utilize the post-Agreement protocols. The transformation of the territories at various scales *–landscapes, governmental buildings, residential areas, heritages and carceral sites-* have been discussed or examined, particularly the places where traumatic memories anchored, with respect to the relationship between spatial policies and peace-building process of post-conflict Northern Ireland. In particular, derelict carceral sites become the most apparent and observable cases to disclose, after the Agreement, how present governmental intentions shape the place, its history, representation and management to create and control identities.

Following its closure, in 2000, the future of Maze Prison, also known as 'H-Blocks', therefore, as an ethnic and cultural territory, is an ongoing and controversial debate in Northern Ireland. In addition to its emblematic significance, the site offers 'the largest single potential redevelopment opportunity' for the country.[252] In a similar tone, M. K. Flynn (2011) claims that the political considerations of the stakeholders are eminently engaged with the spatial redevelopment of the site. The utilization of Maze Prison, as a contested heritage, for the political transformation of Northern Ireland makes the

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[248] *Ibid.*, p.253.

[249] Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, *op. cit.*, p.37.

[250] Ashworth, Graham & Tunbridge, *op. cit.*

[251] Crooke, E. (2001). *Confronting a Troubled History: Which past in Northern Ireland's museums?.*

[252] Graham, B., & Mcdowell, S. (2007). *Meaning in the Maze: The Heritage of Long Kesh.* p.343.

conservation and revitalization process of the site unique and precious case for heritage studies. Unlike Robben Island, a universal agreement on the significance of the site for the humanity as a world heritage has not been reached. Instead of its cultural and memorial values, opponents claim that the place might be used to commemorate the violence and hostility in the future.

In order to get the significance of the Maze/Long Kesh Prison as a cultural heritage, the background of the conflict in the North Ireland must be enlightened firstly because of the intangible values of the Maze Prison Case have been emanated from the longstanding conflict between UK and Ireland. Despite the intricacy of the conflict, not to extend the scope of the thesis, only a superficial review of the John Darby's article *'Conflict in Northern Ireland: A Background Essay'* will be summarized here to introduce the main historical incidents. Darby focuses on four main historical events to demonstrate the background of the Northern Ireland conflict. The first one is Norman Invasion in 1170, Henry II of England conquered a small field known as Pale around Dublin and this date become the beginning of the English influences in Ireland. Secondly, in 1609, English army invaded the majority of the island and lastly the province of Ulster -where the modern Northern Ireland has been established. After the invasion, from England, Scotland and Wales, many people were brought to the northern of Ulster to create a loyal community to English Rule and assimilate native inhabitants. Most of the newcomers were dissimilar to natives culturally, politically and religiously. Unlike catholic Irish people, they were protestant and spoke English. Main reasons of the contemporary conflicts are mostly rooted in this transplanted community. The third milestone date is the 1921 when the partition occurred. Northern Ireland had established to retain British existence in the island and according to Nationalists, all the institutions were designed and organized by the Protestants. 1969 is the fourth significant date because it is the beginning of 'the Troubles', by that time bloodshed and violence began to be appeared exceedingly in the conflict. IRA (Irish Republican Army) and British

Army had battled approximately 30 years till 'the Good Friday Agreement' in 1998.[253] As a consequence, two main communities which are extremely opponent to each other have been appeared: Unionists or Loyalists who support the British sovereignty over Northern Ireland and Republicans or Nationalists who long for joining Republic of Ireland. This dichotomy constitutes the base for all controversies.

The Troubles era is accused by Laura McAtackney (2008) of being the responsible for the extreme increase in the polarization between the ethnic groups, namely, Republicans and Loyalists in Northern Ireland.[254] During 'the Troubles' 25000 people are sentenced[255] and more than 3600 people lost their lives[256] and throughout this long-standing, controversial and disastrous past, Maze Prison hosted myriad symbolically significant events and political leaders for Irish people, especially for Republicans. Louise Purbrick (2004, as quoted by McAtackney, 2008) emphasizes the association between the physical setting of Maze Prison–the buildings and the landscape- and the conflict.[257]

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[253] Darby, J. (1995). *Conflict in Northern Ireland: A Background Essay.*

[254] McAtackney, L. (2008). *The Archaeology of Political Prisons: The case of Long Kesh/Maze, Northern Ireland* (Unpublished dissertation). Retrieved from http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.492582

[255] *Ibid.*, p.38

[256] Graham & Mcdowell, *op. cit.,* p.343.

[257] McAtackney, *op. cit.*

Figure 20 Aerial view of Maze before the demolition
(source:http://parlanch.blogspot.com.tr/2016/01/penal-de-punta-carretas-1915.html)

Maze Prison located 9 miles out from Belfast, the capital city of Northern Ireland, in Lisburn and consists of 300 buildings on 360 acres area, including the 90 acres nearby military area which is programmatically associated with the prison. Indeed, before the site was utilized as prison in 1971, it had been used by British Army during World War II, and, then, until 1971 various governmental institutions had occupied the present boundaries of the former prison. The area was featured as incarceration center in 1970 when Nissen huts of the Air Force firstly used to kept prisoners and it was named as Long Kesh Internment Camp. Quantity of the huts increased as the quantity of prisoners multiplied. Imprisonment in the huts instead of prison cells deeply affected the communal life of prisoners and their relationship with authority and discipline. Since there were no internal partitions, communication and interaction between prisoners who have differences in their ideologies, was enabled. Despite the H-Blocks begun to be functional in 1975, Compounds, known as Cages, where the huts were placed totally abandoned in 1987. McAtackney mentions the significance of the area, period and remnants 'for the role that they played in the development of the resistance of the

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prisoners to the regime and their negotiations with the site in general.'[258] However, she notes that by autumn 2007 most of the huts were hammered except ones kept for the demonstration.

Figure 21 Google Earth Image of Maze Prison
(source:https://www.google.co.uk/maps/@54.4893578,-6.1057632,1218m/data=!3m1!1e3)

In 1975, to eliminate the old and comparatively loose regime of the prison, the famous and symbolic constructions of the site, H-Blocks were built by British Army Engineers and they swiftly began to be employed.[259] These repetitive cellular blocks initiated a new era in the life span of Long Kesh/Maze. In 1976, with the cancellation of Special

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[258] McAtackney, *op. cit*., p.45.

[259] McAtackney, *op. cit*., p.46.

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Category Status, the positive discrimination towards political prisoners was ceased and they were treated on equal terms with the common-law prisoners. As a consequence, 'blanket protest' and then 'dirty protest' are performed to restore the abolished rights of political prisoners;[260] these protests could be signified as the signals of forthcoming hunger strikes. First hunger strike, in October 1980, lasted for 53 days without death and the second hunger strike which is started in March 1981 endured for 7 months and 10 of 23 demonstrators lost their lives, one of them was Bobby Sands who was elected as MP during the hunger strike. The outcomes of the deaths have become both immense and permanent for Northern Ireland regarding the formation process of identities and ethnic groups. Moreover, the prison hospital where the deaths occurred evolved into a culturally significant and commemorative place. McAtackney (2008) also claims that the hunger strikes made the Maze an internationally notable location. In addition to 'hunger strikes', the mass escape from Maze, in 25 September 1983 caused transformations not only in the meaning but also in the design of the site. The break of 38 Republican prisoners from the Maze prison which was the greatest escape in British History, as McAtackney reports, resulted with the implementation of new security measures, including spatial changes throughout the site.[261] In 2000, with the transfer of the last four inmates to another prison, a new era for the Maze prison has been opened. Afterward the Agreement was signed, the 'Troubles' period ended and the peace process began, Maze moved into a new phase as a post-conflict heritage. The symbol of disobedience and rebellion, during the conflict era, dramatically has emerged as a key figure for the conciliation and alliance in the post-conflict era. Following the closure, Maze had been quarantined and, consequently, ruined; until the demolition begun in October 2006 to build a mix use sports complex and International Conflict

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[260] Flynn, M. K. *Decision-Making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland: The Former Maze Prison/Long Kesh*. p.389.

[261] McAtackney, *op. cit.*, p.158.

Transformation Centre, the site remained untouched. Afterward the demolition was accomplished, due to extensive Unionist allegations about the transformation of the former prison into a holy place for Republicans, this plan has been suspended.[262] Despite being left until the first public tour to the Maze prison which was permitted in 2011,[263] arguments on the future of the site had being kept sensitively. No compromise has been reached over the future of the Maze prison at present, however, as McAtackney (2008) mentions, the cultural significance of the Maze, although it has been locked, is lasting.[264]

In this parallel, studies on Maze, commissioned by manifold scholars, particularly focus on the intangible features of the former carceral site. They mostly aim to ascertain and indicate the impalpable features and values of Maze regarding its conflicted past and collective memories of social groups of Northern Ireland and also to explore potential political uses of these features and values for reconciliation, in parallel with the current state policies. Laura McAtackney (2008), in her dissertation, 'The Archaeology of Political Prisons: the case of Long Kesh/Maze, Northern Ireland', investigates the prison thoroughly in many aspects. She takes the former prison rather than just as a physical boundary, but as a complicated relationship between the material and people. In addition to tracking the tangible and physical artefacts existing in the site, she passionately researches personal narrations, social configuration of Northern Ireland and contemporary politics. Brian Graham and Sarah McDowell (2007) discuss the revitalization process of Maze Prison as a significant and contested cultural heritage. The reactions of stakeholders to the new function of former prison site as Conflict

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[262] Gordon, G. (2006). *First Peek at Maze Masterplan*. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/4663512.stm

[263] Lindo, N. (2011). Inside the Maze prison - The first public tours. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-14871213

[264] McAtackney, *op. cit.*, p.50.

Transformation Centre are analyzed in comparison with Robben Island and Auschwitz-Birkenau to comprehend commemorative significance of Maze for public. M. K. Flynn (2011) also emphasizes the intrinsic political facets of re-establishment process of Maze by surveying personal narrations of both ex-prisoner groups and politicians from each political party. Cahal McLaughlin (2006) inquires the nature of storytelling of a conflict and its association with the place by interviewing with three ex-prisoners of Long-Kesh. Louise Purbrick who is an art historian, also has examined the Maze prison in many aspects until now. She especially concentrated on materiality of past, and its representation in present; murals, marketing of prison artefacts that belongs ex-residents of Maze on web and 'transformation of cell units'[265] are profoundly studied and documented by Purbrick. In spite of the conflict between Northern Ireland and England regarding politics and social sciences holds international significance, it can be deduced from the academic studies which are mentioned above that Maze as a symbolic heritage of the conflict have been reviewed mostly by national scholars.

However, some consociational initiatives were founded on the web which makes the history of Maze prison easily accessible for the whole world and they collect and highlight personal narrations which are disguised behind the official and materialized history. For example, *Coiste na n-Iarchimi* which is an institution that organizes activities to reintegrate former Republican political prisoners to social life. They arrange walking tours with Republican ex-prisoners in Northern Ireland during which they tell their personal memories about the Troubles. Prisons Memory Archive is another organization that gathers individual stories taking place in Maze and Armagh Gaol through '175 walk-and-talk recordings', made in 2006 and 2007; the web site consisted

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[265] Louise Purbrick. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/staff/louise-purbrick

of interview videos with ex-prisoners, custodians, lawyers, doctors, et cetera. Moreover, a collective attempt on web which is supported by Ulster University was made. The CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet) Web site is consisted of written and visual materials on Northern Ireland conflict, and naturally on Maze. Contribution to the archive is welcomed, any source like written documents, booklets, posters or souvenirs are registered and represented on the web site. Consequently, it can be deduced that in spite of manifold characteristics and features of the Maze prison are highlighted via mentioned studies, its intangible aspects like the politics and re-utilization of the site seems discussed more frequently.

The departure of Maze, in 2000 gave rise to critical questions about the future of the derelict site. The transformation process of the former political prison, in a sense, represents reasonable controversies of the post-conflict policies. In the purpose of creating a multi-cultural and shared society, the Maze prison inherently bred the debates and oppositions between Republicans and Unionists because of the zero-sum nature of place and heritage. In other words, realization of the conflicted demands of the both sides simultaneously are impracticable. The first question is if the Maze prison should be listed as a heritage regarding its cultural value or if it should be demolished since symbolizing the terrorized past. The second question is more complicated and multi-phased which inquires the new function, management and representative features of the former prison. The site was transferred to Northern Ireland from Britain in 2002, and subsequently, a commission -Maze Consultation Panel (MCP)- which was composed of four substantial parties of the country (Sinn Fein, SDLP, UUP and DUP) was established to find an answer to the question.[266] McAtackney states that MCP, after approximately 3 years lasting dialogues, in 24 February 2005 compromised on a final decision which

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[266] McAtackney, *op. cit*., p.225.

intends to remove the potentially harmful impressions of the former carceral site.[267] In the pursuit of formulating a corporate use by both identities, six zones were determined to utilize six new functions that are the Sports Zone; the International Conflict Transformation Centre; the Rural Excellence and Equestrian Zone; Offices, Hotels, Conference and Leisure facilities; the Light Industrial Zone and the Retained Zone.[268] The main aim of the panel, in parallel with the post-conflict policies could be concluded as designing a reconciliation center which attracts large amounts of society without any exclusion. Partial architectural conservation of the site and the establishment of eclectic mix-use architectural program unrelated with the genius loci prove that the site, throughout process, was disregarded as a historical site and a complete landscape. McAtackney diagnoses the central problem of the published conservation plan as its 'piecemeal nature'.[269] Despite only minimal amount of the physical fabric of the site preserved in the revealed plans, Loyalists draw attention to the risk of the transformation of the site as 'a Republican shrine'.[270] Therefore, the preservation of the remnants and artefacts was disparaged consciously to promote certain amount of amnesia for future political objectives. It is easily observable that the final decisions of the MCP for the Maze prison are mostly grounded on political and societal concerns and the responses and criticisms are constructed on the same manner. Ulster Unionist Party leader Mike Nesbitt (2013) strictly opposes to be told the story of the Troubles in Maze Prison although he admits the significance of the confrontation with the catastrophic past.[271] Unionists interpreted the enlistment of the prison buildings as heritage disrespectful to memories of the terror victims. On the other hand, Republicans generally approve the

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[267] McAtackney, *op. cit*., p.226.

[268] McAtackney, *op. cit*., pp.226-227.

[269] McAtackney, *op. cit*., p.228.

[270] McAtackney, *op. cit*., p.228.

[271] McDonald, H. (2013). *Maze Prison Redevelopment Gets Green Light*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/apr/18/maze-prison-redevelopment-green-light

revitalization project owing to International Conflict Transformation Centre which utilizes the one of the H-Blocks and they emphasize the national and international significance of the project. Against the Unionist objections, Martin McGuinness (2007) defines destruction of the site without preserving any remnants as ridiculous.[272] In brief, the debates on the afterlife of Maze chiefly concentrated on political considerations rather than economic, urban and architectural ones. Any agreement has not been reached on whether the Trouble should be remembered via conservation or forgotten via demolition of the remains of the site.

The architectural program emerged as a contentious topic throughout the planning process of the Maze prison. In addition to official multiparty panel, non-governmental organizations also take the future of Maze into consideration and declare their proposals for prospective uses. Coiste -Republican prisoner association- for example, in 2003, manifest their desire to transform a part of the former prison into a museum not only with regard to its historical significance but also highlighting tourism and economic interests.[273] Museumifaction of a conflicted site is a very expected proposition and outcome, however, for the Maze case, utilization of the site as a museum despite its economic benefits is decisively rejected because of its exclusive and restricted nature. Representation of the contested past in situ where memories of polarization anchored is founded perilous by the majority. According to common sense, subsequent function of the site should be more future-oriented and independent from the painful past. Hence, in the final report, it is stated that the usage of the site as a conflict transformation center holds significance for the normalization and neutralization process of the place.[274]

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[272] *Maze Must Keep Status*. (2007). Retrieved from
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/6279442.stm

[273] Graham & McDowell, *op. cit*., p.351.

[274] Maze Consultation Panel. (2006) *Maze/Long Kesh Masterplan and Implementation Strategy Final Report*

Debates on the re-functioning which consists the body of the masterplan design phase of the Maze prison, mostly built on political and social consequences on the peace process rather than architectural and urban ones. In this case, it can be deduced that a dramatic shift in the conventional understandings and approaches on refunctioning of the heritage has been experienced.

Figure 22 LongKesh/Maze Master Plan and Development Strategy

Humankind ascribes names places to define them regarding their physical, historical or mnemonic features. However, after entitling a place, name becomes an indigenous part of the place. Especially in multi-cultural societies where different languages and memories exist, toponymy emerges as a politically and culturally controversial realm. L. McAtackney (2008) and C. Nash (1999), in their works, signify that in entire Ireland, place-names are subjected to hegemonic struggle between Loyalists and Republicans;

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many examples indicate that naming a place whether in Gaelic or English language creates a tension between identities.[275] Almost everywhere in the island, naming or using a name of a place, street, square, city or even the country itself incorporates a dichotomy. Nash (1999) demonstrates that the implementation of English place-names instead of Gaelic ones during mapping studies in the middle of 19th century systematically was the result of British politics. In Northern Ireland, after 1970 many debates were focused on the political and cultural nature of place-names aiming to sustain cultural aspects of Ireland.[276]

Naming Maze also causes controversies because of each identity has its own association with the site and these bonds and memoirs are stimulated for each cultural group by different names. McAtackney, in her dissertation, portray the various political and cultural connotations of the names of Maze Prison. Throughout its lifetime, manifold names have been used like Long Kesh, the Kesh, Ceis Fada, the Compounds, HMP (Her Majesty Prison), the Maze, the Blocks and Maze Cellular. She states that in addition to Republican and Loyalist sectarian divisions, the cultural, political or religious segregations between political prisoners and mundane prisoners or custodians and prisoners have influences on to decide which name will be used. Briefly, while the name of 'Long Kesh' mostly used by political ex-prisoners both by Republicans and Loyalists, Loyalist politicians and people who are politically neutral use 'the Maze' to call the site.[277] Hence given an official name to the redevelopment project of the heritage site considered in many respects by MCP and mutual use of Maze/Long Kesh names are concluded with the aim of satisfying identity-oriented problems of each group.

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[275] Nash, C. (1999). *Irish Placenames: Post-Colonial Locations.*

[276] *Ibid.*, p.468.

[277] McAtackney op. cit., p.39.

Analysis of the maze prison in the scope of this thesis is mostly based on its intention to create a consociational structure for the administrative organization to develop a masterplan. After the closure of prison and its transfer to OFMDFM (Office of First Minister and Deputy First Minister) in May 2002, Maze Consultation Panel was established to give advices and detailed instructions about the future of the Maze prison. The organization of the panel is highly remarkable since it was constituted by both government officials and the representatives of four main political parties (UUP, DUP, Sinn Fein and SDLP). In February 2005, after approximately 3 years long research, final report was published by the MCP to declare the masterplan proposal for the old Maze prison.

At first glance, the whole procedure seems properly managed, however, some objections which claim that the organization had deficiencies in operation are raised. For example, Flynn (2011), describe the decision-making process as problematic because of three main polarities. The first conflict of interest is between "political parties vs stakeholders". In other words, inhabitants of Belfast and both Loyalist and Nationalist ex-prisoners believes that their considerations disregarded as a result of political competition particularly between Sinn Fein and DUP. The second one is "open door vs capacity building". MCP was available for public attendance between 5 December 2013 and 29 February 2004 with the aim of collecting different perspectives about the future of the site; however, Flynn evaluates this attempt as unsuccessful because of its negative consequences regarding civil participation. He underlines three critical impacts on why the contribution of public participants to the panel was limited. Firstly, in spite of published announcements which intend to encourage individual involvement, only well-organized groups with their fixed ideas took part. As a result, a dialogue and consultation between groups were out of question. Secondly people were not convinced that the consultation process might have influences on the final decisions. The last analysis of Flynn on the failure of the consultation process is about time schedule. 12

weeks interval to make contribution coincide with holidays (Christmas and New Year) and moreover, after the period had finished, any contribution and interaction was restricted. The third main dichotomy is "gatekeeping vs inclusion." Herein, Flynn points out the vulnerability of consociational democratic process because of the inclusion of some groups intendedly or unintendedly results with the exclusion of the others. For example, Coiste na nIarchimı -a republican organization- "acted as a gatekeeper" and people consider that Coiste has influences on panel which negatively effects the community for commitment to participating.[278] In addition to Flynn, McAtackney accused the MCP of being too political-oriented and also neglecting the role of professionals like archeologists and heritage conservators in the organization.[279] Despite the general procedure followed for designing the masterplan of the Maze prison seems an appropriate way for a multi-shared and contested heritage, the excessive domination of political parties throughout the planning process, in parallel with post-Agreement policies in order to create a consociational atmosphere, inevitably resulted with disapprovals of some groups.

The revitalization project of the Maze prison, as a contested heritage, reveals manifold cultural controversies to be handled. Following the Agreement, the official state policy of the Northern Ireland was founded on national-amnesia to heal the scars of the Troubles era, and in this context, commemoration of one of the most emblematic sites in the country that resembles the turmoil, violence and death is a puzzle. Beside the design itself and its tangible features, the decision-making process which aims to include both sides of the conflict and to enable them to depict their ideas liberally is worthwhile to be examined by conservation experts with the aim of developing a genuine framework, or

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[278] Flynn, M. K. (2011). *Decision-Making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland: The Former Maze Prison/Long Kesh.* p.393.

[279] McAtackney, *op. cit.*, p.226.

at least guidelines, for contemporary heritage studies. In this regard, although the revitalization project has not been realized yet, the process itself signals a transformation in heritage conservation studies.

Debates on the renovation project of the former carceral site are situated away the conventional heritage conservation discourse. Instead of the tangible features of the former prison site like material, architectural style, structure, corrosions, aesthetics, etc., political and cultural aspects of the site and project are mainly concerned. Laurajane Smith (2006) defines heritage not as a 'thing' from the past but as an engagement and communication with present.[280] In the Maze case, the dominance of current political policies and concerns over the history itself is explicitly observable. However, this domination causes disregarding of the technocrats, experts and specialists which inevitably leads to demolition of considerable amount of the site. The intention for amnesia embodied demolition in Belfast.

3.3.3.4. Sultanahmet Prison

The pigeons all together
carrying the sun in red legs
they can fly.
Can not stop them the wall and the iron.[281] (Nazım Hikmet Ran)

Sultanahmet Prison (original Turkish name is Dersaadet Cinayet Tevkifhanesi) is situated on the historic peninsula in Istanbul adjacent to the Sultanahmet Square between Hagia Sophia and Blue Mosque in Eminönü. The construction of the prison is dated in

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[280] Smith, *op. cit.*, p.2.

[281] Translated by the author.

Güvercinler hep beraber
güneşi taşıyıp kırmızı ayaklarında
uçabilirler.
Durdurmaz onları demir ve duvar.

1917 by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, in *Istanbul Encyclopedia* and today it serves as a five-star hotel.
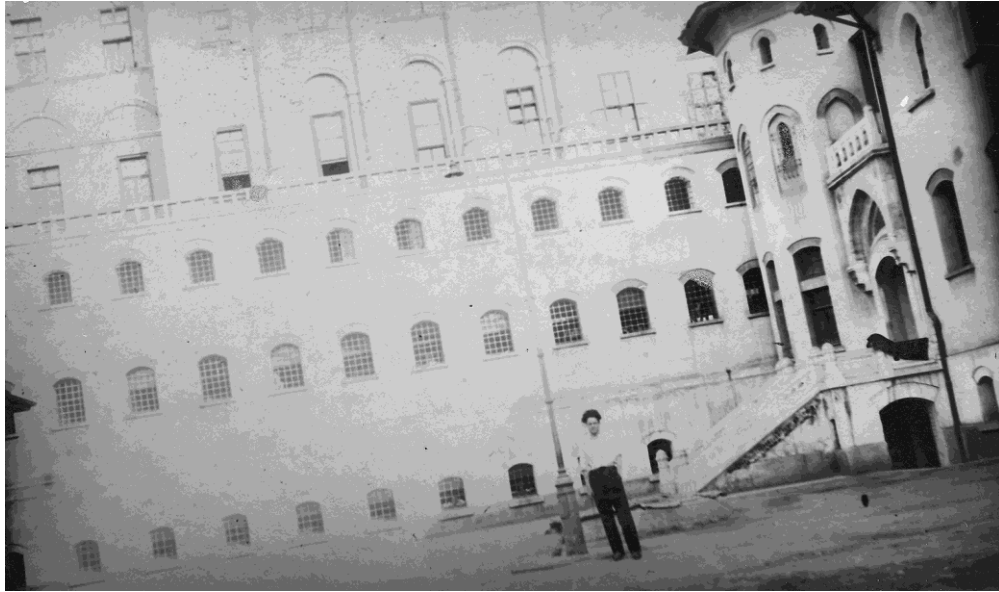
Figure 23 Nazım Hikmet in the courtyard of the Sultanahmet Prison
(source:http://schools.aucegypt.edu/academics/rhet/Newsletter/Pages/articleDetails.aspx?aid=110)

The building itself and its district both have historical and architectural values that appeal to experts of architecture, archeology, history, art history, etc. A report about the conservation project of Sultanahmet Prison which is prepared by Chamber of Architects emphasizes tangible features of the site extensively. The report (09.11.1992) first mentions the archeological significance of the prison site located in the historic area of Istanbul which was listed as World Heritage List in 1985. The Roman, Byzantine and pre-historic period relics reside beneath the earth are endorsed by a decree in 1954 which indicates the archeological significance of the site. The second physical feature of the site that is issued by Chamber of Architects is the architectural quality of the building which is described as one of the authentic examples of I. National Architecture Period (I. Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi). The façade, ornaments, general architectural quality, its constructional elements like voltaic flooring, and plan type are recounted in

the report to illustrate the exigency of the sensitive and detailed conservation project before the 'restoration' projects begun to be designed.[282]

Beside its historical and architectural significance, cultural meaning that the site conveys, engages public attraction towards the place itself. Being the first prison of İstanbul in contemporary sense[283] and, as a consequence, the plentitude of historic moments it witnessed makes the site culturally momentous place. Jale Özgentürk, in her column, mentions that until 70s many dissidents were confined here because of colliding with government in political manners; many fames also stayed in this prison including Nazım Hikmet, Aziz Nesin, Orhan Kemal, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Vedat Türkali, Rıfat Ilgaz and Çetin Altan.[284] Inevitably, the prison resonated itself in literature and is become the scene for one of the most significant novels of Kemal Tahir, *Esir Şehrin Mahpusları, 1961 (The Prisoner of the Captured City)* and in another novel of Tahir, *Esir Şehrin İnsanları, 1956 (The people of Captured City),* the protagonist sketch the prison while looking to courtyard as small, yellow and very deep pit which is depressing also. *72. Ward (72. Koğuş),* which is authored by Orhan Kemal, also deploy the Sultanahmet Prison as the background. In 1969 the prison had been closed[285] until 1980 when many detention centers were required because of the military coup. During martial laws was in force, between 1980 and 1982, the prison again is inhabited by political detainees. The great number of political prisoners incarcerated in here inevitably makes the old prison a symbol of state coercion over marginal and divergent political views.

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[282] TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükkent Şubesi 2008-2010 Dönemi Çalışma Raporu. Retrieved from http://www.mimarist.org/40Donem/

[283] Apaydın, B., & Eren, C. (2013). *Yapıların Otel Olarak Yeniden Kullanım Bağlamında Mekânsal Dönüşümlerinin Analizi: "Four Seasons Oteli-Sultanahmet Cezaevi"* p.80.

[284] *Çifte Hapishaneli Sultanahmet*. (2012). Milliyet. Retrieved from http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-magazin-1499312/

[285] *Sultanahmet Cezaevi Kapısına Kilit Vuruldu.* (1969). Hürriyet. Retrieved from http://www.gecmisgazete.com/haber/sultanahmet-cezaevi-kapisina-kilit-vuruldu

In the periods that the prison is unused, the future of the building became the subject of proposals to reuse it. Following the first closure which was in 1969, the prospective plans on the building area are manifold and various. According to an article which was published in Turkish magazine Pirelli, Mustafa Refik, mentions that subsequent to the closure, the building first was intended to be functioned as asylum, the other options that are voiced are to demolish the departed prison for building a hotel and art and sculpture museum for exhibiting the works of Turkish artists.

Figure 24 News about the closure of Sultanahmet Prison – Hürriyet(26.01.1969)
(http://www.gecmisgazete.com/haber/sultanahmet-cezaevi-kapisina-kilit-vuruldu)

The ideas of transforming the building into asylum or demolishing it to construct a new 'touristic hotel' complex is completely opposed by Pirelli Magazine. The reason of the objection is unrelated with memories, detainees, identity or politic, it is mostly based on the central location of the site and the architectural value of the prison which is estimated as designed by Vedat Tek. Similarly, Reşad Ekrem Koçu, a significant Turkish historian, as cited by the same article, states that this edifice could be anything besides asylum and he appreciates the hotel idea of the magazine which is published previously.[286] It can be implied that the touristic and cultural uses of the prison building are approved in 70s while the destruction and clinical uses are condemned certainly.

After 80s, a new life for Sultanahmet Prison has begun due to the recognition of the prison site was recognized as cultural heritage by Supreme Council of Antiquities and Monuments at 10 July 1981 with the decision numbered 13012.[287] Subsequent to the decision, however, between 80s and 90s the heritage was deserted and begun to decay despite the prevailing intention of using the site for tourism. In Cumhuriyet newpaper, Refik Durubaş, inscribes the prison as full of meanings but vacant and decayed:

> *The Sultanhamet Prison stands there as a monument to all these moments, memories, anguishes, sorrows, joys, aspirations, angers, shortly, human values. Iron gates, unprinted walls and damp-proof damp...*[288]

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[286] Resim ve Heykel Müzesi. Retrieved March 4, 2017, from
http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/16842/001583081010.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

[287] TMMOB Architectural Association Report, (n.d).

[288] Durubaş, R. (1989). *Yalnızlığa Mahkum Bir Cezaevi*. (Translated by author) Retrieved March 4, 2017, from
http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/572/001500160006.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

Another newspaper column complains that the prison is neglected despite its potential for tourism and implicitly accuses the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board for the situation.[289]

Figure 25 Sultanahmet Prison is seized by hobos (https://emlakkulisi.com/1990-yilinda-sultanahmet-cezaevi-berduslar-meskeni-olmus/356024)

On 6 November 1991, the prison site and building were rented for 49 years to the Sultanahmet Tourism A.Ş to build a luxury hotel. Contrary to expectations, in the summer of 1992, subsequent to the political view change from the right wing to the left one in government, the cultural events begun to be organized in the heritage site.[290] The aim of the events was to make available site for public occupation before it becomes a hotel with 300 rooms; Hande Şenköken, mentions in her report that the open-air movie screenings and before the movie sessions conversations with the former detainees are

[289] Emlak Kulisi. (2015). *1990 Yılında Sultanahmet Cezaevi, Berduşlar Meskeni Olmuş!*. Retrieved from http://emlakkulisi.com/1990-yilinda-sultanahmet-cezaevi-berduslar-meskeni-olmus/356024

[290] Ekinci, O. (1992, November). *Yok Edici Turizm Anlayışı*. Retrieved March 4, 2017, from http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/638/001500161006.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

planned. The movies for the events are selected between 1980 and 1992 national and international movies which are barely displayed and the English subtitles for Turkish movies are prepared for the international audience. For conversations, in order to promote and increase contribution, voluntaries, who were once imprisoned there, only needed to make phone call to be speaker. The physical consequences of these events on prison are minor but the characteristic yellow color of the prison mentioned by Kemal Tahir is altered because the outer walls of the courtyard whitewashed.

Oktay Ekinci who is a journalist and also an architect, authored an article about the prospective problems of the revitalization of Sultanahmet Prison as hotel. He emphasizes the destructive impacts of tourism on heritage sites in both architectural and cultural terms. According to Ekinci, "the historic building changes its identity with an operation that preserving the building as "decorative" outside, but "hollowed out" inside." After mentioning the favorable conservation practices of former prisons as cultural centers in Anatolia –*Trabzon, Muğla, Aydın, Yozgat*- in the same period Ekinci evaluates that the reuse of Sultanahmet Prison as a hotel instead of a cultural center may lead society to a cultural amnesia and thus, he insists on the revision of commercial function to cultural one. [291]

In April 1995, an agreement between Four-Seasons Hotels –Canadian luxurious hotel group- and Sultanahmet Tourism A.Ş was reached and this agreement triggered some controversies on the site once more. The feeling of departure from an accustomed past is obvious in the title of Mehmet Demirkaya's article which is 'Farewell Sultanahmet Cezaevi'. The erasure of memorial, cultural and historic traces of the heritage in order to commence the new life of Sultanahmet Prison as Four-Seasons Hotel is concerned by Demirkaya. With reference to the report, published by Chamber of Architects in 1992,

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[291] *Ibid.*

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Demirkaya signifies that the refunctioning the site as five-star hotel is an uncivilized perception since it causes privileged and limited use of the heritage. He asks critically that:

> *Everything was destroyed and thrown away. A skeleton was left under the name of restoration. Indeed some of its components have also been changed. If there is nothing to remind you of the past, if most of the architectural features of the building are to be removed, what is the purpose of restoration? If a simple citizen will not be allowed to go around the place one day, if the same simple citizen will not able to say that, the famous Turkish poet, the great master Nâzım Hikmet had imprisoned in this prison, what is the purpose of restoration?[292]*

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[292] Demirkaya, M. (1995). *Elveda Sultanahmet Cezaevi.* Earsiv. Retrieved 8 March 2017, from http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/633/001500174006.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

Figure 26 Courtyard of Four Seasons Hotel
(source:http://ipekinkelebekleri.blogspot.com.tr/2014/08/hafta-sonu-kesifleri-aya-lounge-four.html)

In the same article, Demirkaya cites Mehmet Ali Aybar's expression and viewpoint on the conservation. Aybar, who was a politician and former detainee in Sultanahmet Prison, vigorously opposes the reutilization of the site as hotel because of its historical significance. He claims that the place represents the stance of the state against masterminds and progressives.

In opposition to concerns, it is claimed that some precautions are taken to preserve and transmit the memory. Tavit Köletavitoğlu, the manager of Sultanahmet Tourism A.Ş, states that the amount of the rooms halved, the Byzantine wall is authentically conserved

and the rooms where popular names were confined will be mentioned through plates.[293] However, in 1996 the manager of the hotel, Marcos Bekhit declares that the hotel administration intends to stay distant from violent past while constructing the theme of the hotel.[294] Therefore, it could be asserted that the visibility of the political past in Sultanahmet is restricted to prevent the probable association between hotel and the prison.

8 years after the opening of Four Seasons Hotel, a comprehensive analysis of the revitalization of Sultanahmet Prison was conducted by Zeynep Kezer. In her article, *If Walls Could Talk: Exploring the dimensions of heterotopia at the Four Seasons Istanbul Hotel* (2004), Kezer investigates the heterotopic relationships within the site which are resulted from the 'ironic conversion' from the prison to the luxury hotel. In this regard, she enlists three ways that the site produces heterotopic relationships.

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[293] Çiloğlu, M. (1995). *Cezaevinde Para Verip Yatacaklar*. Earsiv.sehir.edu.tr. Retrieved 8 March 2017, from
http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/697/001500196006.pdf?sequence=3&isAllo
wed=y

[294] Güngör, Z. (1996). *Beş Yıldızlı Cezaevi.* Earsiv.sehir.edu.tr. Retrieved 8 March 2017, from
http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11498/4166/001503453006.pdf?sequence=3&isAllo
wed=y

Figure 27 Facade of the Sultanahmet Prison
(source:http://www.gzt.com/hayat/fasist-diktator-mussoliniyi-dolandiran-turk-eyuplu-halit-2640517)

First of all, after expressing the heterotopic quality of the prison sites, Kezer underlines the resemblance between prison and luxury hotel in terms of surveillance and exclusion. She elucidates:

> *The hotel is an example of this more elusive sort of heterotopic site, where what appears to be a public space is, indeed, carefully monitored and only selectively accessible and where no effort is spared to make the guests feel 'as though they were in their own home'*

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but never really are. This is not simply because all stays at a hotel are, by definition, temporary or because just about all human interaction is, in effect, business. Rather, an international hotel at the turn of the twenty-first century is also a point of sale, a node at which information is gathered and conveyed to the global nerve centres of data processing to be catalogued for further use in consumer research, sales, and marketing.[295]

The second heterotopic relationship that Kezer identifies, is the conjunction of the unique characteristics of the site and generic qualities of the luxury hotel group. She makes plain it as:

Seasons management uses these unique attributes to attract business, it also frames the Istanbul Hotel as just one among the many in its rich repertoire of equally exceptionally appointed hotels. Thus, by the same token, uniqueness is reduced to ordinariness and what would otherwise be priceless is commodified.[296]

According to Kezer, the third facet of the revitalization project that converts the site into a heterotopia is the juxtaposition of the incompatible geographic meanings and atmospheres in the site. On the one hand, the Ottoman characteristic of the site are promoted for the Western visitors, on the other hand, it is an indicator of the modernization and adaption to global capitalism for Istanbul citizens.[297] Kezer signifies two important historical event that supports her claim: 24 January Decisions and 12 September military coup which facilitate the implementation of financial policies[298] and she associates the revival of Sultanahmet Prison with these neoliberal policies.

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[295] Kezer, Z. (2017). *If Walls Could Talk*. p.223.

[296] *Ibid.*, p.226.

[297] *Ibid.*, p.228.

[298] *Ibid.*, p.228.

The conservation process of Sultanahmet Prison, until the inauguration of the five-star hotel, is illuminated above focusing on the different perspectives and considerations of different social groups on the former prison site and its reutilization rather than its tangible or architectural aspects. Further, the new life of former prison site, following the inauguration, poses manifold questions about the representation and management of the conflicted past. The inquires on how the savage past of the site is expressed in situ and what kind of communications have been established are also surrogated via site analysis, surveys and archive research.

Following the official launch of the Four Seasons Hotel, the former prison site has continuously accommodated tourists. During this period, any commemorative event has not taken place in the hotel which have resulted in the memories of Sultanahmet Prison have begun to be blurred. The solid programmatic demands of the hotel leave no space for commemorative events. Equally, except a few points, the physical and spatial vestiges of the past are mostly obliterated. The inscription which is scripted in Ottoman Turkish above the main entrance, the fountain on the outside corner, the façade and color of the building, some murals and name plates of famous former detainees on the particular rooms are only emblems of the carceral past.

In summary, the conservation process of Sultanahmet Prison and its current life as hotel provide major outcomes to comprehend the significance of the heritage for professionals, state and social groups. The central place of the prison, in addition to its architectural and archeological values, causes concerns and debates about the utilization and possession of it, after its function as prison is discharged. At this point, it could be inferred that the concerns of professionals, state, victims and identity groups about the afterlife of Sultanhamet Prison did not coincide exactly and caused dissonance. While Chamber of Architects and individual experts primarily state their concerns and irritations about physical aspects of the building, the solicitudes about the memorial value of the site for Turkey through its democratization progress are mostly underlined

in media. On the contrary, the state primarily aims to pursue economic interest under the influence of neoliberal policies. Consequently, it could be asserted that a democratic and participatory mechanism could not be devised throughout the conservation process of Sultanahmet Prison.

3.3.3.5. Ulucanlar Prison

Ulucanlar Prison which is close to the historic city center in Ulus was built in 1925. The site was specifically chosen by Carl Christoph Lörcher because of the large agricultural fields around the plot that were conceived as an opportunity to make prisoners work for rehabilitation. Between the opening and the closure of prison manifold names are used such as Cebeci Gaol, Cebeci Public Prison, Ankara Prison, Ankara Cebeci Civilian Prison, Ankara Central Indoor Prison and last Ulucanlar Prison. [299][300] Many historically significant places like Ankara Citadel, Aslanhane Mosque, Karacabey Bath and the Museum of Civilizations Museums are located near the prison site. In addition to its cultural and historic meaning, the district holds significance for citizens because the prison site also abides in the medical center of Ankara. Following its 81 years long duration of service as a detention center, Ulucanlar Prison abandoned in 2006; the prisoners were transported into another prison because Ulucanlar could not fulfil its function as a modern prison in the center of Ankara.

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[299] *Ulucanlar Cezaevi Müzesi*. (2013). *Ulucanlarcezaevimuzesi.com*. Retrieved from http://www.ulucanlarcezaevimuzesi.com/default.asp?page=icerik&id=27

[300] Their Turkish equivalents in same order: *Cebeci Tevkifhanesi, Cebeci Umumi Hapishanesi, Ankara Hapishanesi, Ankara Cebeci Sivil Cezaevi, Ankara Merkez Kapalı Cezaevi ve Ulucanlar Cezaevi*

Figure 28 The old entrance of Ulucanlar Prison
(source:http://www.78liler.org/78web/yazdir.asp?hid=657)

Between 1925 and 2006, manifold traumatic incidents were occurred that render Ulucanlar Prison culturally and politically prominent one for the society. Many severe violent incidents were experienced; many notable detainees were imprisoned and even executed here. Politicians, poets, authors and journalists including Nazım Hikmet, Ahmed Arif, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Yılmaz Güney, Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, Behice Boran, Sabiha Sertel, Fakir Baykurt, Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, Bülent Ecevit and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu were incarcerated.[301]

The transformation of the prison into a memorial place comes from its painful history which is vested in the site. Before it was decommissioned, 18 executions from different

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[301] *Ulucanlar Cezaevi Müzesi*. (2013). *Ulucanlarcezaevimuzesi.com*. Retrieved from
http://www.ulucanlarcezaevimuzesi.com/default.asp?page=icerik&id=27

political views, from right and left or religious and secular views, had been realized in the courtyard of Ulucanlar Prison. İskilipli Atıf Hodja and former mufti of Babaeski Ali Rıza Hodja were punished with death because of the opposition to the Constitution in 4 February 1926.[302] In 6th of the May in 1972, Hüseyin İnan, Yusuf Aslan and Deniz Gezmiş, political activists and the pioneers of student movements in 68s, were also executed according to the same charge that is opposition to the Constitution. Subsequent to the 1980 military coup Erdal Eren, Necdet Adalı, Mustafa Pehlivanoğlu, Fikri Arıkan and Ali Bülent Orkan were sent to the rope. Despite they are named as last people who are executed in Ulucanlar, in 1999, 10 prisoners were lost their lives and many of them got wounded during the military operation which intends to cease the riot against F type prisons and the severe conditions of Ulucanlar Prison.[303] As a consequence of these traumatic experiences Ulucanlar have gained a significant place in the Turkey's recent history for manifold identity groups. Therefore, after its closure, in July 2006, a contest over the future of the site instantly was initiated.

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[302] Sılay, M. (2011). *İskilipli Atıf Hoca (1876 - 1926)* (3rd ed.). İstanbul: Düşün Yayıncılık.

[303] *Ulucanlar'daki "Hayata Dönüş Operasyonu"na Tazminat Kararı*. (2015). CNN Türk. Retrieved from https://www.cnnturk.com/haber/turkiye/ulucanlardaki-hayata-donus-operasyonuna-tazminat-karari

Figure 29 Informative plaque in the museum indicating the list of executed people in Ulucanlar
(source: http://fotogaleri.hurriyet.com.tr/galeridetay/79747/2/7/ulucanlar-cezaevi-muzesi-ziyaretcilerini-
bekliyor)

The recognition phase of the prison as a cultural heritage is contributed by manifold
stakeholders and non-governmental organizations. However, it could be implied that
especially two of them, Municipality of Altındağ and the Chambers of Architects lead
the process mainly. In this respect, the discussions which are raised by them are
particularly focused on and investigated through the scope of this chapter. The
Chambers of Architects and the municipality, they both, published many documents and
materials to illuminate the revitalization process from their perspectives; not only during
the process but also after the museum was initiated.

Figure 30 New entrance of Ulucanlar Prison
(source:http://www.mehmetakinci.com.tr/ulucanlar-cezaevi-muzesi-ankara.html)

According to the bulletin of the Ankara Branch of Chamber of Architects in which the conservation process of the prison is depicted, right after the Ulucanlar Prison had been closed, the Chamber of Architects organized a journey to the site with the permission of Ministry of Justice and documented the existing physical situation via drawings, photographs and video records to register Ulucanlar Prison as a cultural heritage in December 2006.[304] In spite of the first usage of the decommissioned prison in 2006 was performed by a limited group of architects and old prisoners, in 2007 the former prison site became more publicized and a focal point for more people.

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[304] TMMOB Architectural Assocaition Ankara Branch. (2010). Bulletin, Issue 84.

On the 1st of February 2007, an architectural competition for graduate and undergraduate students were announced to generate ideas about the future of the former prison site.[305] At this point, it is significant to emphasize that architectural competition is acknowledged as a participative method since many participants could get a chance to make his/her own claim. The head of the Chamber, Tezcan Karakuş Candan, states that architectural competition was an instrument not only to get professional ideas about the architectural conservation of the site but also to compel people from different social groups to work together, therefore, the jury consisted of architects, journalists, former detainees and intellectuals and the discussions of the entries were open to public to provide a social consensus.[306] The result of the competition was declared in 6th of May which is a memorable day along the history of prison.

In the meanwhile Ulucanlar was deserted and entrance to the site was strictly prohibited by Ministry of Justice, on the other hand, two times in June and October 2007, with the endeavors of the Chamber, the site was permitted to public visit.[307] The first event that takes place in the former carceral site is named as Ulucanlar Cezaevi Halka Açılıyor: Cezaevinde Şenlik Var (Ulucanlar Prison is Publicizing: Festival in the Prison) which is organized between 19th and 30th June 2007 and the event was organized by the cooperation of Ankara Bar Association and Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects. During the event, the movie 'Don't Let Them to Shoot the Kite' (Uçurtmayı Vurmasınlar) which is filmed in Ulucanlar was screened. Halit Çelenk, the lawyer of Gezmiş, İnan and Aslan in 1972, told his memories in the authentic site. In October 2007, Social Architecture Festival (Toplumsal Mimarlık Şenliği) was also hold in Ulucanlar to increase the public awareness about the dark past of the site.[308] These two

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[305] *Ibid.*

[306] *Ibid.,* p.31

[307] *Ibid.*

[308] *Ibid.*

events provide great opportunities for people to visit the untreated site and to have communication with victims, witnesses or other visitors. It could be deduced that this process draws public attention to the site and inevitably its sorrowful past.

In 2008, Municipality of Altındağ became involved in the process and four main actors, Ministry of Justice, the Chamber of Architects, Ankara Bar Association and Municipality of Altındağ, come to an agreement on the repurposing of the site as a cultural center and museum.[309] However, Tezcan Karakuş Candan, in her article, complains that the municipality, after their participation, eliminated the Chamber of Architects from the collaboration and they obstructed the Chamber in the course of observing the interventions in the site.[310] It is stated in the same bulletin that the request of the Chamber to have a workshop which was entitled as 'Political Readings through the Space' in Ulucanlar was denied by the municipality, contrary to the ministry. Moreover, the members of the chamber were removed from the site in the opening day of museum by using force.

The official narration of the conservation process, however, is highly different from the Chamber's publications. On the website of Ulucanlar Prison Museum, neither the Chamber of Architects nor the Ministry of Justice are mentioned once. On the other hand, the devotion of the Municipality of Altındağ to memorize the recent history of Turkey via conservation of Ulucanlar is underlined repeatedly and the mayor of Altındağ is quoted many times to show his exertion for the accomplishment.[311] The dissonance between the parts demonstrates that the conflicts between municipality and the chamber could not be mastered democratically and despite the intentions for

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[309] *Ibid.,* p.29.

[310] *Ibid.,* p.33.

[311] *Ulucanlar Cezaevi Müzesi*. (2013). Retrieved from http://www.ulucanlarcezaevimuzesi.com/default.asp?page=icerik&id=27

encouraging and increasing the participation, the collaboration of groups was initiated but it could not be maintained.

Figure 31 Inside the museum
(source:https://www.altindag.bel.tr/haber.asp?islem=1&haber_ID=5188)

An analysis of the revival process of Ulucanlar Prison Museum is scrutinized by an architect; Ezgi Balkanay, in her article, evaluates the conservation process of Ulucanlar Prison regarding the relationship between memory, place, and subject and questions the capability of the revitalization of prison site to restore the collective memory.[312] She emphasizes the paradoxical nature of Ulucanlar Prison in terms of representation. The prison was built to represent the vision of Turkish Republic, and then transformed into the symbol of oppression as a result of the enforced imprisonment policies and finally, ensuing its revival, has contradictorily become a portrayal of both violence and

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[312] Balkanay, E. (2017). *Kolektif Belleğin Yeniden İnşası: Ulucanlar Cezaevi Müzesi'nde Özne-Mekan İlişkisi*.

resistance.[313] After briefly explaining the history of the prison and addressing the historic incidents rendering the prison as a notable place for the social memory, she particularly focuses on the interaction schemas between the site and people.

Figure 32 Ulucanlar Museum and Cultural Center
(source:https://www.altindag.bel.tr/haber.asp?islem=1&haber_ID=3066)

The issues, Balkanay mainly dwells on, could be named as the decision-making process, the adaptive function and mostly, the presentation of the traumatic past. She firstly documents the accusations against the Municipality of ruling the conservation process without any association with other actors and notes the significance of the multi-layered structure of the memory places.[314] In this regard, she is also skeptical about the competence of utilizing the former prison site as museum since museums resides at a frozen time and she describes Ulucanlar Prison Museum as "a superficial 'spectacle'".[315]

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[313] *Ibid.,* p.163.

[314] *Ibid.,* pp.167-168.

[315] *Ibid.,* p.168.

Afterwards she examines the designed and staged ingredients of the spectacle. She criticizes the mundane 'environmental design' of the site due to inauthentic and generic architectural productions.[316] Moreover, she draws attention to the exhibited objects and the intentionally established distance between the observer and violence.

Figure 33 The Original Scaffold is Prisoned
(source:http://www.dogakoleji.k12.tr/kampusetkinlikleri/ankara-batikent-kampusu/ulucanlar-cezaevi-muzesi-gezisi/170644)

Repurposing Ulucanlar Prison as a museum, and acquiring its architectural project via competition could not be sufficient to terminate disputes on the product. Despite the Mayor of Altındağ Municipality, Tiryaki, claims that the authenticity of the site is not damaged as much as possible, the Chamber of Architects and leftist non-governmental organizations complain about a deliberate erasure and manipulation of the history and meaning of the site. The oppositions are mainly focused on scaffold, women's ward, murals and stashes, and the entrance space of the museum.

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[316] *Ibid.,* p.170.

Figure 34 Representations of a convict and mice
source:http://www.mynet.com/haber/guncel/utanc-muze-oldu-548227-1

3.3.3.6. Sinop Prison

One of the most symbolic and popular prisons of Turkey were operated in Sinop until its closure in May 1996. Famous political prisoners had been confined in here. For example, Kerim Korcan who authored prison-stories including *Tatar Ramazan* (1969) and Sabahattin Ali, who writes the lyrics of popular Turkish song "*Aldırma Gönül*" during his imprisonment in Sinop,[317] had being kept in Sinop Prison for long times. Even though Sinop Prison built in 1885 within the boundaries of the inner citadel, a historic area, the carceral memories of site could be traced hundreds of years ago when

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[317] Ciğerim, C. (2014). *Sinop Cezaevi Zindanlarından Kimler Geldi Kimler Geçti*. Gazete Ekonomi. Retrieved from http://www.gazeteekonomi.com/sinop-cezaevi-zindanlarindan-kimler-geldi-kimler-gecti/

some of bastions were employed as dungeons[318] and in 1939 a new building was constructed for juveniles.[319] Moreover, the combination of the historical connotations of the city as a 'place of exile'[320] with the popularity of prison inevitably gives Sinop a carceral identity which is highly associated with the name of 'Sinop'. Therefore, the closure of the prison brings out a multifaceted conservation problem. In addition to its dark and political meanings, the sealed prison is a considerable element for the city brand of the Sinop.

Figure 35 Sinop Prison (source: http://secreturkey.com/sinopun-neyi-meshur.html)

The revitalization of Sinop Prison is still in process and during the process many actors have been authorized to manage the site in sequence. After a new prison was built in the city, the prisoners were discharged in 1996 and, then, in 1999 the prison facility was assigned to the Minsitry of Culture and Tourism for cultural uses and the prison area

[318] Kalan Mühendislik. (2008). *Sinop Kalesi ve Tarihi Cezaevi*. p.95.

[319] *Tarihi Sinop Cezaevi - Müze.* (n.d.). Müze. Retrieved from http://www.muze.gov.tr/tr/muzeler/tarihi-sinop-cezaevi

[320]. Acehan A. (2008). *Places of Exile and Exile Policy of Ottoman Government.*

were utilized as "open air museum" without any intervention.[321] In 2003, the site was assigned to Sinop Provincial Administration (Sinop İl Özel İdare) to perform its maintenance and conservation and in 2004 the project for architectural survey and conservation of the site was started after the Ministry was agreed to grant a budget.[322] Another critical actor which is involved to the process is EU, and by virtue of the collaboration with EU the conservation of the prison become perceived as an agent for civil society development. Thus, the revitalization process could be divided into two parts: before EU and after EU.

Figure 36 Sinop Prison has been used as museum since 1999
(source: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/eu-restoration-grant-for-turkish-writers-jail-sinop-fortress-prison.aspx?pageID=238&nid=62222)

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[321] Kalan Mühendislik, *op. cit.*, p.1.

[322] Kalan Mühendislik, *op. cit.,* p.1.

Before EU, the restoration project which is commissioned by Sinop Provincial Administration is mainly concerned with the building itself and re-functionalization of it with cultural uses. The restoration report, which is prepared by Kalan Engineering, states that the aim of the restoration is to transform the site into a "Cultural Complex" by ascribing architectural functions like museum, gallery, social activity spaces, conference hall, shops, and café.[323] After the blueprints of the conservation project were approved in 2007, the conservation project of the citadel and the prison, including archaeological excavations and removal of unqualified buildings, have been initiated.[324]

Subsequent to the closure of prison, the site has been utilized as prison. The permission of public access to the prison before restoration begins attracts attention since it promises to supply an authentic experience of imprisonment. According to an article, *Evaluation of Tourism Statistics of Province Sinop (1995-2015)*, the visitor numbers have begun to be statistically recorded since 2010 and Kaptangil, Gargacı and Çetin indicates that the Sinop Historical Prison Museum is the most visited museum in Sinop(Table 2).[325]

Table 2 Visitor numbers of museums in Sinop according to years
(source: Sinop Provincial Cultur and Tourism Directorate, cited by Kaptangil, Gargacı and Çetin)

The Number of Visitors of Museums in Sinop					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Archaelogy Museum	19569	17962	33280	15876	6200
Ethnography Museum	13448	16111	18985	14883	8915
Prison Museum	135956	169584	273959	158441	174279

[323] Kalan Mühendislik, *op. cit.*, p.102.

[324] Tosun, H. (2013). *Sinop Tarihi Cezaevi Projesi*. Turizm Haberleri. Retrieved from
http://www.turizmhaberleri.com/koseyazisi.asp?ID=2159

[325] Kaptangil, K., Gargacı, A., & Çetin, H. (2016). *Evaluation of Tourism Statistics of Province Sinop (1995-2015).* p.38.

This authentic stage inevitably attracted producers and the prison used as a stage for two movies -*Eşkiya Dünyaya Hükümdar Olmaz* and *Pardon*- and three series for TV – including *Tatar Ramazan* which its story was written in Sinop Prison-. Hakan Tanrıöver, a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, in his book, observes that with the help of long term TV series local peoples get more engaged with the prison by taking part roles.[326]

Figure 37 A plaque in the prison indicating the movies and series that are filmed in Sinop Prison
(source: https://gezimanya.com/GeziNotlari/cruise-ile-dunyanin-kesfi-sinop-gezisi)

In 2010 a new actor, European Union was involved to the process following the submission which is made to Delegation of the European Union to Turkey to demand economical and intellectual support for the conservation of Sinop Prison by Ministry of Culture and Tourism.[327] This is the first restoration project in Turkey which is

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[326] Tanrıöver, M. (2017). Kültür İçin Memleketim İçin. p.110.

[327] *Ibid.*, p.121.

economically supported by EU, as stated by Tanrıöver.[328] Although according to the rules of IPA(Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance) the restoration projects could not be funded, the Sinop project is introduced as a driving force to increase the civil society dialogue which is a core EU objective[329] via conserving the former prison site.[330]

The duration of the project is determined as 12 years and it consists of two phases. The first one that covers the period between 2011 and 2017 is "*Common Cultural Heritage: Preservation and Dialogue between Turkey and the EU (phase I)."* In service contract notice of the first phase, the purpose is described as the "preparation of a sustainable management plan" which supports *cultural diversity*, promotes *cross border dialogues and networking*, establishes *partnership between NGOs in Turkey and EU* and increases *exchange of experience*. The expected services in this phase are not only developing a pilot model site management plan for Sinop but also education of students and the increase of public awareness about cultural heritage, stressing cultural diversity.

The Summary Project Fiche of the first phase more clearly indicates the visions of EU on Sinop Prison. The referenced articles while indicating the aim of the project are based on the necessity for the advancement of civil society. For example, a cited entry of Accession Partnership in the fiche states: "facilitate and encourage open communication and cooperation between all sectors of Turkish civil society and European partners."[331] Another point of the project that is underlined is to promote and increase the involvement of civil society in the making-decision phases of public policies.

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[328] *Ibid.*, p.121.

[329] Civil Society Dialogue and Culture. (2017). Delegation of European Union to Turkey. Retrieved 28 August 2017, from https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/civil-society-dialogue-and-culture-32

[330] Tanrıöver, *op. cit*., p.105.

[331] *Common Cultural Heritage: Preservation and Dialogue between Turkey and the EU (Phase II) - Pilot Implementation of the Restoration Project of Sinop Historical Prison | CFCU*. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.cfcu.gov.tr/tender/37250

The subject of the second phase that will be realized between 2017 and 2023, "*Common Cultural Heritage: Preservation and Dialogue between Turkey and the EU (phase II)* is stated as "the restoration of Sinop Historical Prison in order to "promote preservation and international cooperation on cultural heritage and cultural diversity in Turkey."[332] It could be deduced that EU's priorities for the conservation of the prison are mostly based on cultural and social capacity of it to strengthen communication between different groups and organizations.

Figure 38 A meeting to discuss the future of Sinop Penitentiary

In addition to an infamous historical prison, another cultural significance of Sinop is hosting the second international biennale event of Turkey, namely Sinopale which is

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[332] *Ibid.*

projected by Prof. Dr. Melih Görgün and organized by European Cultural Association[333] It is described "*as an art organization which involves the inhabitants of the city in the production process. Sinopale is a civil society activity of an artistic nature*."[334] The event has been organized six times since 2006 and today, it has become one of the most principal and leading civil organizations in Sinop.

The relationship between the prison and the event was settled during the first biennale, in 2006, since some of the works were installed in the prison.[335] It is stated that the selection of the prison for the occasion stands on the idea that detainees who were accused of being 'thought criminals' transformed prison into a creative place where serious intellectual works were created.[336] In the following years, visits to prison, both in physical and intellectual manners, are maintained. An essay in Sinopsis 2008, the publication of the biennale, examines how art works are influenced from being produced in a prison, Volkan Kaya indicates the reciprocal relationship between art and prison via many examples.[337] In 2011, after the EU project became valid, the forum section of the biennale become more specialized and transformed into a more comprehensive organization in which concerns and issues about Sinop are debated. The forum, - '*Collecting the Future, Culture and Arts as a Catalysers*'- the opening of which is placed in the prison, consists of presentations, workshops and roundtable discussions, available for public participation. During the forum, the future of the former prison site

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[333] T.C. Kültür Ve Turizm Bakanlığı. *Başkanlığımızca Yürütülmekte Olan Projeler.* Retrieved 29 August 2017, from http://disiliskiler.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,22119/baskanligimizca-yurutulmekte-olan-projeler.html

[334] *Conceptual Framework*. Sinopale. Retrieved from http://sinopale.org/sinopale-1-concept/conceptual-framework-2/

[335] Ibid.

[336] Ibid.

[337] *Bienal Mekanı Olarak Cezaevi*. (2008). Sinopsis. p. 55-57. Retrieved from http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1o7jw/Sinopsis/resources/index.htm?referrerUrl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.free.yudu.com%2Fitem%2Fdetails%2F181665%2FSinopsis

was also discussed and a publication which documents the process, discussions and works was published.

A workshop on 'transforming and re-functioning the heritage buildings in Sinop' was performed during the forum by a multi-disciplinary and international group which opens to public participation encountering different perspectives. Some of them are directly concerned with the ways of utilization of the prison building such as:

Hakan Tanrıöver, in the name of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, mentions local and social features of the project as:

> *We are encouraging decentralization. But the specific subject of this project is to convert the Sinop Penitentiary into a cultural institution, to restore it and dedicate to it to Sinopians.*[338]

Fuat Dereli, the Director of Archaeological Museum of Sinop, states his suggestions about the future use of the site:

> *For a vivid and effective utilization; educations, workshops, exhibitions and sales functions aiming at the documentation and maintenance of local folkloric arts and traditional production could be supporting as well. One-day utilization commonly organized with cultural activities that could contribute to tourism, a café, bookstore, and sections with show or screening facilities could be amongst functional solutions that could take place in cultural services. The day when all aforementioned activities take place in a cultural complex here, will be the day when we celebrate the participation of the historical penitentiary in cultural services. The penitentiary where all*

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[338] *Collecting The Future: Culture and Arts as Catalyzers for Cultural Development.* (2011). p.390. Retrieved from http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1xe0g/CollectingTheFutureC/resources/3.htm

kinds of suffering has been experienced and countless lives have been wasted, will finally be freed from all its sins and get purified.[339]

Shams Asadi, as an urban planner in Vienna, underlines the significance of contextual approach and states:

We have to think of penitentiary as a whole together with its exterior and its towers. It has to be protected in tandem with its surrounding streets. This idea is also included in the proposal of the Chamber of Architects. The space does not necessarily have to adopt a function. It can continue to be visited to as a penitentiary. It could be turned into a museum for justice as well.[340]

The urban sociologist, Eugen Panescu signals the necessity of the new function of the site to include all social classes of the city. He states:

Function to be part of the city life is not to be a museum but a social space. An open space for the city to become a part of the city again and not a closed part of the city to which you have to pay some money to come in. having an open space is the key to reintegrate the whole prison in the city life.

Regarding the re-functioning, *Collecting the Future* organization published a manifestation collectively to be considered. The title of the document is '*Re-functioning of the Historical Sinop Penitentiary*' and it aims to determine a function to the Sinop Prison which is consistent with the projections about the future of the city. In this vein, the penitentiary is considered as a "creative milieu" for the transformation of the city.[341]

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[339] *Ibid,.*p.93.

[340] *Ibid.,* p.94.

[341] Re-functioning of the Historical Sinop Penitentiary. (n.d.). Yudu.com. Retrieved from http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1xe0g/CollectingTheFutureC/resources/3.htm

The expectation of the group is the utilization of the site as an 'urban academy' and listed an architectural program composed of 24 entries[342]:

1. Site Management Office
2. Sinop Urban Academy Executive Offices
3. Sinop Urban Academy Research Center
4. Cultural Heritage Academy Office
5. Urban Memory Center
6. Urban Memory Exhibition
7. Movement/Motion/Activity Studio
8. Theatre Studio
9. Offices for NGOs
10. Naval Museum
11. Science and Technology Center
12. Science and Art Center for Children
13. Contemporary Art Center and Museum
14. Exhibition Spaces for Contemporary Art
15. Rooms for Workshops
16. Conference Hall
17. Film Screening Hall
18. Space for Social Activities
19. Café-Restaurant
20. Multi-purpose Spaces for Outdoor Recreation
21. Artist Residences
22. Participant Residences
23. Internet Cultural Social Network
24. Printed Publication Production Centre

In 2016, the fourth of the forums was organized in the name of 'Culture and Creativity for Local Development' in İstanbul and Sinop at different times. The executives of the group who wins the tender for the development of the site management plan (phase I) of Sinop were participated to the forum. Prof. Dr. Manfred Wehdorn, from Wehdorn Architeckten, states that "*in line with the feedback from local stakeholders during field management project period to develop a design to convert it into a multifunctional*

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[342] *Ibid.*

cultural center" and he notes the design decisions for physical intervention. According to Wehdorn, three sections of the building will be functioned with different functions and juvenile hall is designed for children activities. The café of the facility will be obtained from the conversion of the bath.[343] *(pg13-14)*

3.3.3.7. Yassıada

After the military coup on 27 1960, the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and the Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan were executed. Yassıada is the place where they were detained and received trial with other DP(Democrat Party) members, which leads island to become politically significant. The name of the island has perceived as a token of the era. Documentaries, books, articles etc. that depicts the era are generally featured the name of Yassıada.[344]

The recognition process of the island as heritage is illustrated in the report of 'Adalar Savunması'(Defense of Islands), a civil organization, published on May 2016 in detail.[345] According to the report, Yassıada and all other islands were enlisted as a cultural and historical site to be preserved in 1979 by Higher Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments and later, in 2006 the island registered as first degree natural heritage site and, in 2011, as third degree archaeological heritage site.[346] Along with archaeological and natural values of the islands, some of the individual artifacts like the chateau buildings, constructed by British ambassador Bulwer, from Ottoman period, the

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[343] Sinopale. (2016). *Culture and Creativity for Local Development*. Retrieved from http://forum.sinopale.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Forum_ing_metinekitap_isbn.pdf

[344] For example, The Scream of Yassıada – Rasim Ekşi; Yassıada, Tears of Menderes – H. Emre Oktay. Yassıada – Sinan Demirbilek. As documentary, The Reality of Yassıada(2013).

[345] Adalar Savunması. (2016). *Bir Doğa, Tarih ve Kültür Katliamı: Yassıada ve Sivriada*. Retrieved from http://dokuzadabirdeniz.com/Yass%C4%B1adaRaporuMay%C4%B1s2016low.pdf

[346] *Ibid.*

cistern and dungeon cells from Byzantine period and the sports hall which was employed for the trials have been also registered as heritage.[347]

The island had been utilized by military services after the trials until it has totally uninhabited since 1978, except two years. İstanbul University Faculty of Aquatic Sciences occupied the island for investigations between 1993 and 1995.[348] The long term isolation leads decays on buildings and Ertuğrul Günay, Minister of Culture and Tourism of the period, in 2008 declares his plans about the future of Yassıada and he states that despite it is abandoned and decayed now, in future the island which is full of dark memories will be remembered with pleasant feelings.[349] On the same time, the mayor of Adalar, Çoşkun Özden emphasis his will to rehabilitate the island and he suggests a 'democracy museum' project which could be enriched with touristic facilities regarding the beauty of island and its proximity to İstanbul.[350] In 2010, Ertuğrul Günay applied for the permission to use the island for touristic aims with regard to its cultural and touristic potential and on 27 April 2011 the rights of island were transferred to the Ministry.[351] Later, in 2011, both the Prime Minister of the period, R. Tayyip Erdoğan and Günay promised to convert Yassıada into freedom and democracy island.[352] While the government were working on its project, there were some oppositions; for example,

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[347] *Ibid.*

[348] *Ibid.*

[349] *İktidarın Yassı Ada Planı*. (2008). İyibilgi. Retrieved from http://www.iyibilgi.com/haber.php?haber_id=68704

[350] *Ibid.*

[351] Adalar Savunması, *op. cit*.

[352] *Yassıada Özgürlükler Adası Olacak*. (2011). Yeniasir. Retrieved 30 August 2017, from http://www.yeniasir.com.tr/politika/2011/05/28/erdogan-aydin-2014e-buyuksehir-olarak-girecek

Balçiçek İlter, a journalist, on those days, tried to indicate that the current situation of the island is so striking and meaningful that any intervention could be harmful.[353]

Çare Olgun Çalışkan, in the name of Chamber of City Planners, points out some consecutive irregularities after the Minister possessed the island. The first irregularity he mentions is the removal of the natural heritage status of the island in October 2012 and then, stresses that in April 2013, with a special decree, Yassıada freed from all regulations and laws for construction 'in behalf of culture and tourism'.[354]

In 2015, the construction permit for building hotels, restaurants, marine etc. was committed to the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey and in the April of the same year, with the participation of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the successor of Erdoğan, a ceremony was organized to celebrate the beginning of the new project.[355] After the construction begun, accession to the island was prohibited, the requests both from media and specialists to visit the island has been denied.[356]

Various actors have different perspectives for the project. As a relative of victims, the bride of Adnan Menderes, Ümran Menderes, underlines the significance of the island by stating her expectation from the project to be educational for youngsters and she claims that the project will be subtler if the authenticity could be preserved.[357]

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[353] *Bırakın Yassıada Utanç Adası Olsun.* (2011). Haberturk.com. Retrieved from http://www.haberturk.com/polemik/haber/658831-birakin-yassiada-utanc-adasi-olsun

[354] Adalar Savunması, *op. cit.*

[355] Adalar Savunması, *op.cit.*

[356] *Yassıada: Yasak Bölge.* (2015). Cumhuriyet. Retrieved from http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/cevre/331095/Yassiada__Yasak_bolge.html

[357] *Yassıada, Yas Adası.* (2017). Al Jazeera Türk. Retrieved from http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/yassiada-yas-adasi

Abubekir Taşyürek, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Assembly Deputy Chairman of AK Party Group, states that the conservation project enables 'us' to commemorate one of the most notable Presidents of Turkey, Adnan Menderes who was agonized by an ideology, and to help families of victims to ease their sufferings[358]

The owner of the architecture office that design the project (figure 2) of 'Democracy and Freedom Island', Çiğdem Karaaslan who is also a member of parliament from AKP, describes the project as "a salvation from the darkness to the light" and she states: "*during the design process, we do not aim to create a meaning but to build on the existing one which is saturated with pain and in fact we demand to impose hope and to give a message with that hope.*"[359]

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[358] *Yassıada'nın İmara Açılması Tartışmalara Yol Açtı.* (2016). Bugünün Haberi. Retrieved 3 September 2017, from https://www.bugununhaberi.com/gundem/yassiadanin-imara-acilmasi-tartismalara-yol-acti-h4565.html

[359] *Karaaslan: "Yassıada Projesi, Karanlıktan Aydınlığa Geçiş Projesidir".* (2015). Hürriyet. Retrieved 30 August 2017, from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/karaaslan-yassiada-projesi-karanliktan-aydinliga-gecis-projesidir-37112036

Figure 39 Rendered Images of the Project
(Source: https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/yassiada-fotograflarina-aciklama)

After the construction has progressed (figure 3), too many negative reactions against the project arose. E. Günay who had initiated the project, states his despair about the project due to its disrespectfulness to the memories.[360] Beside damages to the meaning and spirit of the island, according to the report of Adalar Savunması claims that archeological vestiges and natural environment have been impaired because of the excavation.[361] In the report, İstanbul Branch of Archaeologists Association records the mistreatments on the site; they assert that most of the 20th century buildings were demolished for the project and during the demolition, the historical 19th century buildings got also damaged. Moreover, they suggest that archeologists should have been employed to escort the excavations and the demolition in case of discovering archeological remnants.[362]

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[360] Ocak, S. (2016). *Yassıada Dikleşti*. Hurriyet. Retrieved 30 August 2017, from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yassiada-diklesti-40296135

[361] Adalar Savunması, *op. cit.*

[362] Adalar Savunması, *op. cit.*

Figure 40 The Consequences of the Construction. Source: http://www.famahaber.com/yassiadada-plan-degisikligi-deniz-doldurularak-ada-genisletilecek/

3.3.3.8. An Overall Evaluation

In this part of the chapter, the outcomes of analyses are formed into a table to grasp the relations, differences and common points easier for further evaluation. The first column, *heritage status*, indicates that the futures of politically significant prison sites are not just local issues since they hold national, even international significance. The second column is the *administration* and it registers the authorized body for making decisions throughout the conservation processes. The *closure* and *reopening dates* and *political backgrounds* of the period when the sites recognized as heritage are recorded since heritage is a present and political process, the relationship between the heritages and temporal political conditions is inquired. Main intentions that could be pinpointed through the analyses are listed since intentions are acknowledged as the influential factors of heritage conservation. Another common and debated issue is the *adaptive*

function of the sites, thus, both ***proposals*** and the final decisions are specified in two separate columns. ***Research fields*** which have been contributed to the studied discourse are listed to determine the related disciplines with the conservation of old prison sites. The fields are decided according to the study field of authors. Last two columns are ***problems*** and ***agents/means/concepts***. Expressed concerns during the revival processes are itemized under the 'problems' column; every mentioned concern is recorded in this section. The last column is consisted of means, agents and concepts that are utilized or proposed to be utilized to achieve the intentions or to solve the encountered problems.

This table comprises many information and combines them that facilitate making further deductions. At this point two obvious inferences will be mentioned:

The first one is that the duration between the closure date and the re-opening date of selected cases depends on the suitability of political backgrounds. While the cases of Maze and Sultanahmet evidence that the recognition of prisons as heritage could take a long time while awaiting the appropriate time to be esteemed, Robben Island have been immediately converted into a museum after its closure. In this regard, some precautionary measures should be established.

The second deduction is that who manages the conservation process and takes decisions directly influence the forthcoming audience of the former prison sites. It could be seen that when private associations are authorized for the revitalization process, heritage sites are more likely to suffer from gentrification. For instance, both Sultanahmet and Maze prisons are deployed by economically high-class people ensuing their re-opening. On the other hand, increasing tendency is to establish commissions including manifold stakeholders and viewpoints to attain more comprehensive and compassionate results.

In brief, this chapter examines former prisons and the ways of treatment of them to disclose the contemporary aspects of the conservation process of old prison sites. By

particularly focusing on politically significant former prison sites, the recently emerging concepts are identified and in the following chapter, the outcomes of this chapter are tried to be assessed and reorganized to form a basis for prison heritage conservation.

Table 3 An overall evaluation of the revitalization of politically significant prisons

	HERITAGE STATUS	ADMINISTRATION	CLOSURE DATE	RE-OPENING DATE	POLITICAL BACKGROUND	ADAPTIVE USE	PROPOSALS ON NEW FUNCTION	RESEARCH FIELDS	PROBLEMS	AGENTS / MEANS / CONCEPTS
ROBBEN ISLAND	World Heritage	Future of Robben Island Committee	1996	1997	Rainbow Nation	Museum	Museum	*Tourism* History *Cultural Geography* Criminology *Psychology* Anthropology	*Trivialization* Commodification *Mandela/Tabloidization* Political Abuse	*PARTICIPATION OF VICTIMS* MINOR NARRARTIONS *EDUCATION PROGRAMS*
MAZE PRISON	National Heritage	Maze Consultation Panel	2000	NA	The Agreement	NA	*Sports Hall* Museum *Conflict Transformation Center*	*Human Geography* Mainstream Media *Archaeology and Heritage Studies* Politics	*Sanctification of Evil* Gentrification	*CARCERAL TRACES* EXHIBITION *CONFLICT ARCHIVE* ADAPTIVE FUNCTION *PARTICIPATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC DECISION MAKING PROCESS* MINOR NARRATIONS *NAMES*
PUNTA CARRETAS	National Heritage	Private	1986	1994	Amnesty to the Military Neoliberalism	Shopping Mall	Open Bid for New Function	*Comperative Literature* Cultural Studies	*Political Abuse* Gentrification	ADAPTIVE USE *DRIVING FORCE FOR DEVELOPMENT*
SULTANAHMET PRISON	National Heritage	Private (Loan)	1960 (until 1980) 1982	1994	24 January Decisions (Tourism)	Five-Star Hotel	Asylum *Modern Art Museum* Hotel	*Mainstream Media* Museology *Architectural Conservation*	*Gentrification* Political Abuse	*PARTICIPATION OF VICTIMS* OCCUPATION
ULUCANLAR PRISON	National Heritage	Municipality	2006	2011	Confrontation With the Republic Era	Prison Museum	*Market for Shoemakers* Museum	*Mainstream Media* Museology *Architectural Conservation* Sociology	*Trivialization* Commodification *Non-Transparent Process* Political Abuse	*CARCERAL TRACES* PARTIAL CONSERVATION *ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION* EXHIBITS *ADAPTIVE USE*
SINOP PRISON	National Heritage	Site Management Comission	1996	1999 (museum) 2011 - 2023 (planning)	**EU Acquisitions**	Prison Museum Cultural Center (planned)	Urban Academy **Non-programmed Space** Local Art Center	Urban Sociology	Tabloidization *Commodification*	**PARTICIPATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC DECISION MAKING PROCESS** DRIVING FORCE FOR DEVELOPMENT
YASSIADA	National Heritage	Ministry of Culture and Tourism	1978	NA	Ideologic Heiress Claim	NA	**Museum and Congress Center** Peace Island	NA	Non-Transparent and Despotic Process *Political Abuse*	DRIVING FORCE FOR DEVELOPMENT **NAME**

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CHAPTER 4

ASSESSING THE TREATMENTS OF FORMER PRISON SITES

The conducted study in the previous chapter evidences that established legislations, institutions and methods become inadequate to fulfil the demands on the prison heritage. Piecemeal endeavors have been made to overcome experienced problems or to benefit from captured potentials throughout the conservation of former prison sites. Thus, this chapter aims to first enlist problems and potentials of the conservation of prison heritages and then to detect and organize utilized means regarding the previous chapter, especially focusing on the political cases. Despite the backgrounds of the cases may show great differences, the focus is directed towards the conservation, transmission, representation and use of their carceral pasts and identities.

4.1. Values

As a recently emerging concept, the values embodied by decommissioned prison sites has not been scrutinized and as a result any mutual consensus on the values of prison heritage has not been reached yet. The question of what features of prison sites make them notable merits for heritage conservation should be considered as Randall Mason states "*Conservation decisions(...) use an articulation of heritage values(...) as a reference point*"[363]. Therefore, the most emphasized aspects of carceral spaces throughout the prison studies are aimed to be documented in here to identify some of the values without claiming that they are fixed and firm. In other words, the characteristics

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[363] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.5.

of the places which are particularly derived from being a part of a punitive system are listed to discover common values of prison spaces.

It should be mentioned first that former prison sites are appreciated owing to both tangible and intangible values. However, in this study intangible values that stem from the carceral usage of sites are focused particularly since tangible qualities of prisons may show differences for each instance. Therefore, their tangible values should be studied case by case, and it is important to emphasize that the physical values of derelict prison sites should be esteemed while dealing with them.

In addition to incorporating dark memories, of which advantages are concentrated on the second chapter, prison sites have further values. Although there are numerous studies[364] for determining the values of heritage places, it seems legitimate to determine these values in line with Mason's value typology since Mason's typology is not based on the object but the relationships. He, in his article *Assessing Values in Conservation Planning*, clarifies that values are not intrinsic to heritage sites but they are ascribed to them according to social, cultural and economic contexts and he proposes a provisional value typology that are classified into two groups: *sociocultural* and *economic*.[365]

The sociocultural values include historic, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious and aesthetic values.[366] The sociocultural values of prison sites are inspected in this order to reveal which aspects of them are worth to preserve.

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[364] For example: Riegl, 1902; Frey ve Pommerehne, 1989; English Heritage, 1997; Throsby, 2007; Throsby, 2012. They have developed various approaches to the same aspects of heritages according to their own distinct set of criteria.

[365] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.8.

[366] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.10.

The first subject of sociocultural values is historical values. Mason correlates historical value not only with the age of material but with several other ways including the "association with people or events" and "documentary potential" of the merit.[367] While the material-based historical values of prisons show differences from case to case and, thus, should be regarded individually, prison sites holds documentary value in every case. Each prison documents punitive policies of certain periods and experiences of former convicts to gain knowledge from them. Moreover, it is seen that politically significant prisons are always associated with people or events that renders them historically significant sites.

Cultural/symbolic and social values are second and third headings. Despite some of them are contingent on the nature of instances, it could be claimed that cultural/symbolic and social values are ubiquitous for incarceration centers. Mason describes cultural/symbolic value as "shared meanings associated with heritage"[368] and prison sites intrinsically express statements about two main issues: punitive policies and sovereignty of power. On the other side, holding social values could also be ascribed to the confinement sites because they have capacity to construct a carceral neighborhood and "facilitate social connections, networks and other relations in a broad sense."[369]

Spiritual/religious values can also be assigned to prison sites but in a more profane manner. Prison sites where violent death or torture had witnessed are instinctively sanctified. People who feel for the ex-convicts who lost their lives or was tortured desire to visit the prison sites.

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[367] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.11.

[368] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.11.

[369] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.12.

It is difficult to set canons for aesthetic values of prison sites since Mason describes it as the most personal type of sociocultural value that evokes fascinating emotions.[370] It is obvious that prison architecture appeals people to experience its spatial qualities in pursuit of authentic feelings, however, they are case-specific values.

Another type of value that could be easily associated with prison sites is their economic use. Mason categorizes economic values under two headings: *use value* and *nonuse value*.[371] While use value refers to the trade potential of the heritage in market, nonuse value indicates the features of the site that make people will to supply economic support even they do not consume its services or products. Nonuse values have three subheadings: existence value, option value and bequest value.[372]

Despite it could be claimed that economic values are common for all heritage sites, the use value of prison sites is evident and should be regarded particularly. The increasing interest on prison life lends incarceration centers a commercial capability. Not only carceral spaces but every carceral-related product has a demand in the market and decommissioned prison sites inevitably are acknowledged as a source of income. In addition, prison sites are also appreciated by people who do not employ them but care for their existence due to their sociocultural meanings. Cultural/symbolic values of prisons, in particular, ascribe them existence and bequest value.

4.1. Problems

The conservation and revitalization of former prison sites constitute a number of problems. While some of these problems are common for all heritages like assertive

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[370] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.12.

[371] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.13.

[372] Mason, *op. cit.,* p.13.

pressure of the real estate, some of them are peculiar to the conservation of detention centers. In this part of the study, the problems which are particular to or influential for conservation process of prisons are determined. Eight main problems are derived from the previous chapter.

- *Political Abuse*

Indeed, every heritage is a political process but former prison sites are more inclined to be manipulated in the manner of politics because of their nature. The social and political associations which are attributed prisons while they are in use render them operative to propagate political messages. Therefore, their spatial endurance, image, use etc. become a subject for political powers.

It is seen in the Chapter 3 that political interventions manifest themselves in space by using two methods: demolition and conservation. Politicians invoke the closure and demolition of prison buildings as a symbol of advancement and progress. For example, Sağmalcılar Prison were locked with a ceremony and its demolition was extolled by the Minister of Justice, Mehmet Ali Şahin in the ceremony.[373]

The analyzed cases indicate that the conservation of carceral pasts is also susceptible to be shaped by prevalent political thoughts. The power sometimes dictates its message and sometimes intimates it through the conservation projects of sealed prisons. Meanings of prison sites or the tone of their messages could be modified by the prevailing political attitude.

The recognition of Robben Island Prison, Maze Prison, Punta Carretas Prison, Ulucanalar Prison and Yassıada Prison as heritage and their meaning determined under

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[373] *Bayrampaşa Cezaevi Kapatıldı.* (2008). CNN Türk. Retrieved from
https://www.cnnturk.com/2008/turkiye/07/18/bayrampasa.cezaevi.kapatildi/482173.0/index.html

political influences. The promotion of peace and hope through the revitalization of Robben Island is associated with the policies of Rainbow Nation. Maze become the heritage equivalent of the Agreement, the site is introduced as a medium in capable of solving the conflict between Republicans and Loyalists. In Punta Carretas Prison, its meaning is tamed in accordance with the Amnesty decision. The revitalization of Yassıada and Ulucanlar, in Turkey, also aim to implement the message that the old regime caused pain, injustice and death in harmony with political statements of Justice and Development Party.

These constructed meanings, however, could not be able to embrace all views of people every time. Determination of the message by an authoritative and centralized power damage the adoption of the place by society. The closed and nontransparent circuit of the conservation process weakens the relationship between public and heritage.

- *Commodification of Trauma*

Another emphasized issue about prison heritages is their commodification. The increasing interest on prison life results with the transformation of old prisons into commercial products. Prison hotels are the best indicators of this trend, they advertise their carceral histories to take more attraction. Multiple examples throughout the world indicate that having a dark history is a distinctive feature for accommodation business which, in fact, brings no real gain for visitors.

The prison-themed products and activities are marketed in prison hotels. Souvenirs like coffee mugs, T-shirts, key chains, etc. that remind the prison life and the experience of being incarcerated could be bought in prison hotels. By paying the fee, it is even available to be treated like a prisoner.

This commodification pattern of prison hotels repeat itself in prison museums too. Alcatraz, the epitome of the commodification of prisons, supply many merchandise to

visitors. Even the pieces of the prison, by-products of renovation, are sold in the gift shop of the island.[374] The problem of commodification is summarized by Gould via the Alcatraz case as:

> *More often, tourists become involved with the spectacle of the island and the commodification of the experience and not with the island… The design of the Alcatraz experience permits visitors to participate in a form of forgetting that serves as an agent of reification.*

In spite of their cultural, social and political significances, the conservation of Robben Island, Ulucanlar, Sinop, and Sultanahmet prisons have suffered from the commodification. As a popular international tourist destination, the representation of Robben Island is commercialized. Sultanhamet Hotel, mentions its penal history in brochures and website. The entrance fee of Sinop and Ulucanlar Museums render them as businesses with profit expectation.

•*Trivialization of the Trauma*

Telling the story of a dark memory is a difficult task and each conservation project of former prison sites inevitably deals with it. The best way of representing death, torture, imprisonment and oppression are investigated in each case. It could be deduced from the accomplished cases that information plates or other traditional exhibition techniques are evaluated as inadequate and endeavors were efforted to discover fresh methods to represent dark past. However, Ulucanlar is criticized to caricature the trauma because of the representation of wardens, convicts and mice through wax models.

Piecemeal, inconsistent and unimpressive representations of 'darkness' causes problems while producing narrations.

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[374] Gould, Mary R. 2014. *Return to Alcatraz: Dark Tourism and the Representation of Prison History.* p.279.

- *Scale Clash*

Decommissioned prisons do not represent the same meaning for different groups. International, national, and local meanings of prison may vary and even conflict with each other. For example, while a foreigner Robben Island represents freedom and Mandela, it resembles sorrows of the Apartheid and discrimination to South Africans. Its recognition as a World Heritage brings a scale problem with it. The same problem is valid for most of the prisons because their local connotations are mostly distinguished from national and international ones. In Sinop case, for instance, the decommissioned prison site holds different international, national and local meanings. For Sinopians it is a part of daily life, for nation it is a brutal prison where Sabahttin Ali were detained and it's an infamous historical prison for international visitors.

- *Long Time Duration*

Another problem faced during the conservation of prisons is the considerable lapse of time between their closure and the revitalization. Since heritage is present use of the past, valuation of prisons as heritage sometimes requires long time. The long span of time causes deterioration of sites. While Robben Island has been repurposed after a short time, It took 3 years for Sinop, 5 years for Ulucanlar, 8 years for Punta Carretas and 34 years for Sultanahmet to begin their new lives and Maze Prison and Yassıada Prisons has been derelict respectively since 2000 and 1978. The longer the duration between the closure and the revitalization, it is more troublesome to preserve the physical intact of the decommissioned prisons.

- *Sanctification of Evil*

The conservation of prisons and the commemoration of their past may lead to the sanctification of evil and criminals. Especially, for the cases in which members of a

terror organization were confined once and their legacy is still valid, the site might become a shrine for them. A similar concern is voiced during the revitalization process of Maze Prison. During the Troubles era, many convicts who were imprisoned for killing people and hence, oppositions to the conservation of prison site are strongly expressed.

- *Gentrification*

Gentrification presents itself in two different ways: gentrification of the site and of the neighborhood. Gentrification of the site is caused by the negligence of the main ingredient of the prison sites. Prisoners who generally belong to low-income social classes are disregarded in most of the revitalization cases. The target audiences of the repurposed prison sites are middle and high class and as a consequence, the social transformation of a former prison site inevitably influences the social and economic formation of its neighborhood which was shaped before by the prison. The cases, especially, which are repurposed with luxurious facilities indicates that a socio-demographic transformation around the prison is assured.

- *Non-Transparent Process*

The revitalization processes of former prison sites are concerned by considerable amount of people since they hold national even international significance and as a result a public will emerges to be able to monitor conservation process of them. Not only the stakeholders or citizens but also all relevant people should be informed about the both decision-making and the construction phases. The conservation processes of Ulucanlar, Yassıada, Sultanahmet and Punta Carretas are accused of being to confidential which have resulted with disapproved applications and uses.

- *Tabloidization*

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One of the problems encountered throughout the conservation processes of politically significant prisons is the popularity of former celebrity convicts. The curiosity about well-known prisoners may shift the focus from the memories and meaning of the site to the life of the celebrities. For example, the excessive interest on Mandela is complained since it creates a superficial relation between the visitor and the site.

4.2. Potentials

In addition to planned implications of the revival of a locked prison site which is mentioned in Chapter 2, *Intentions and Uses of Dark Heritages*, conservation of a prison is capable of producing many positive effects, both physical and incorporeal. Prison heritages have instrumental and operative impacts to stimulate positive impacts owe to their sociocultural and economic values and, generally, covering large areas in city centers.

•*Driving Force for Development*

The revitalization of decommissioned prisons has the ability to trigger not only an economic development but also a social one. Robben Island Museum, in this regard, is tasked to maintain its educational mission, which was known as Robben Island University due to its intellectual prisoners lecturing each other, for South Africa after repurposed as museum. Moreover, RIM have facilitated the international connections of South Africa; have increased the reputation of the country and have attracted millions tourist. Maze Prison is received as a chance for urban development also because of its location towards where Belfast can grow only. It is seen that the conversion of Punta Carretas have caused a shift in sociodemographic formation of the neighborhood. Lastly, the conservation of Sinop Prison is supported and authorized by EU to raise civil society's consciousness and to accustom the public to the participation in decision-making processes.

• *Questioning Punitive Policies*

Every prison site is a document to comprehend punitive policies of a state and experienced modifications throughout its life. The renovation project of Koepel Panopticon Prison indicates that every spatial intervention to prisons, independent from its new function, creates an opportunity to interrogate current punitive policies. While Koolhaas questioning the surveillance in punishment policies, many other problems of imprisonment like sanitary conditions, human rights, sexual assault etc. could be questioned via the conservation of old prisons.

4.3. Agents

Manifold agents, concepts and methods have been emphasized and/or utilized through the revitalization processes of former prison sites in order to deal with encountered problems, fulfill the intentions or to take advantage of the embedded potentials of the sites. They are aimed to be discovered by analyzing the discourse on the conservation of politically significant prisons. The detected agents/concepts/methods are categorized into three groups with the intention of signaling the main concerns of the revitalization processes of former prisons: *Decision Making*, *Constructing the Narration* and *Representation*.

4.3.1. Decision Making

Under this title, means which are employed to design a more responsive procedure to contemporary demands of prison heritages are determined. Since institutionalized ways of heritage conservation -its legislations, laws and policies- remain inadequate for the expectations which should be fulfilled, fresh concepts/agents/methods are proposed and deployed during the revitalization processes of selected cases. These concepts/agents/methods aim to overcome the problems of political abuse, commodification and trivialization.

• *Participative Management*

A decisive body should be first determined to initiate the conservation process and it is seen that the eligibility of the body, which administrates the process, is reconsidered thoroughly within the some of the selected cases.

Private businesses are commissioned for Punta Carretas and Sultanahmet Prison; for Yassıada case Ministry of Culture and Tourism is authorized. It is observed that these processes are accused of being monopolized since monitoring the processes and any interference are restrained by authorities.

The conversion of Ulucanlar Prison into museum was launched by a collaboration of Ministry of Justice, the Chamber of Architects, Ankara Bar Association and Municipality of Altındağ however it has a short-life and then the Municipality become the only authority.

For the conservation of Robben Island, a commission is established by the government[375], *Future of Robben Island Committee,* after the afterlife of the prison as museum has been started, it was transferred to Ministry of Arts and Culture and today a commission which is appointed by the Ministry manages the RIM.

Maze and Sinop cases are examples of the endeavors to establish more democratic and participative administration procedures. Maze Consultation Panel is constituted by four political parties in the Parliament. On the other side, for the conservation of Sinop Prison, a site management committee is formed by fourteen delegates who represent different actors and institutions.

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[375] *No Place on Island for Ex-Prisoners.* (1996). The M&G Online. Retrieved from https://mg.co.za/article/1996-12-13-no-place-on-island-for-ex-prisoners

It could be deduced that to the extent that number of represented actors increases, a more democratic and sustainable conservation process is obtained.

- *Multidisciplinary Field of Study*

The discourse on revivals of political prisons is composed of studies from various disciplines, including architectural conservation, heritage, tourism, history, cultural geography, criminology, psychology, anthropology, archeology, politics, comparative literature, museology, sociology and nurtured with the views of media and tourists. It implies that the revitalization of prisons is interest of multiple disciplines and the decision-making process should be reorganized to facilitate their contribution.

- *Competition*

Consulting on public or specific expert groups to determine the future uses of the site are preferred as a method to increase public awareness and involvement. For Punta Carretas, a renovation idea is looked for through an open bid and the idea of mall is obtained. Similarly, for the revitalization of Ulucanlar, the Chamber of Architects organized a competition for architectural competition at two different levels: graduate and undergraduate students. The winner project of the graduate branch is selected for the application. 'Future of Robben Island Committee' also aimed to ensure public participation and consulted to the public to make them submissions for the future of the island and as a result more than two hundred opinion was granted.[376]

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[376] Blacky, N. (2012). *Organization Management Challenges Of National Heritage Institutions In South Africa: A Case Study Of The Robben Island Museum* (Rim) (Master). p.2

4.3.2. Constructing the Narration

Ashworth describes 'the message' as the goal of the heritage paradigm and how the message has been narrated through the conservation of the selected cases is examined in this part. The focus is directed towards the ways how people interacts with the heritage sites.

• *Adaptive Function/Event*

Michael Haldrup and Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt underline the significance of the use of heritage with reference to Smith's expression: "*that heritage had to be experienced for it to be heritage…*" and establish heritage as an ordinary and habitual thing which is constantly reproduced. The adaptive function is the main determinant of the user experience.

Prison heritages are strange, and even a kind of unique type, in terms of repurposing the derelict place, since, even if possible, their original function is not preferred to be maintained. In 1964, the problem of repurposing a heritage was indicated by the first International Restoration Charter in *Article 5*:

> *The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted.[377]*

It could be drawn from the treatments of former prisons that the repurposing a derelict prison, in other words assignment of a new function to a historic relic is a multifaceted

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[377] ICOMOS. (1964). Venice Charter.

and complex problem. While Article 5 in Venice Charter places the physical aspects of historic sites at the center in decision process of the new function of a heritage, the case of RIM indicates that there are more perceptual aspects that should be considered. Individual encounters with the heritage which enable visitors to construct their meanings, feelings and thoughts are taken into account rather than pre-determined, official and univocal narrations. In other words, in RIM case, the adaptive reuse of the heritage not only serves to maintain physical coherence of the prison and prevent it from decay but also formulates new relationships between the material and people that produce feelings and meanings.

While museum is preferred as new function for Robben Island Prison, a strong opposition to the conversion of Maze prison into a museum is voiced because of worries about the sanctification of terror. Possibility of the site to turn into a shrine for the legacy of IRA causes to compromise on another function.

The adaptive function is debated also for Sultanahmet and Punta Carretas prisons. Five-star hotel and luxury shopping malls as adaptive function are accused due to their exclusive natures. A necessity to determine more inclusive functions that suit for different segments of society and prevent the site from being gentrified is mentioned.
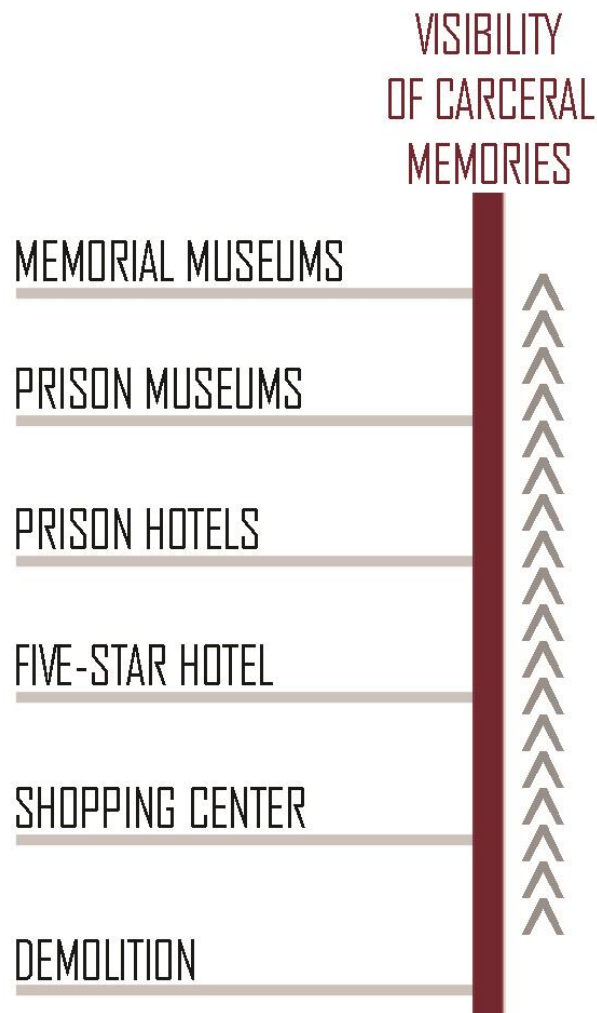
Figure 41 Visibility of carceral memories in relation to adaptive function

The frame of the discussion should not be limited only with the adaptive function, every event and performance should be considered with regards to the meaning of the site. David Crouch, in his article, *Affect, Heritage, Feeling* (2015) examines the individual participation in heritage in a more perceptual manner and pinpoints the significance of performativity in heritage site. He states:

> *...performativities relate to performance yet are the unscripted, the slight adjustments in the ways individuals do and may feel about things, for example, through which potential, change and variety may occur: the potentialities of living. Performativity is distinctly precognitive, and can change anticipations and the ways in which things in the world are felt, the emotional character of experience.*[378]

- *Participation of Ex-Prisoners / Oral Memories*

Involvement of ex-prisoners to the revitalization process to strengthen the narration is a notable approach since the problem of gentrification inside the boundaries of the former prison site is overcome and the most important actors of the history become incorporated.

RIM employed former convicts intentionally as guides in the museum, hence multiple minor narrations could be created in the site instead of a officially established meta-narration. The increasing interest on memory makes more valuable and attractive oral and authentic histories of former prisoners. Moreover, RIM supports them to heal their wounds.

Similar applications can be noticed in Sultanahmet and Ulucanlar too, but informal ways. While prison sites were derelict, former political prisoners participated daily organizations in heritage sites.

Ex-prisoners should be included and some of them should be employed in site to strengthen the meaning of site and oral histories should be documented and stored for the transmission of memories.

- *Name*

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[378] Crouch, D. (2015). *Affect, Heritage, Feeling.* p.181.

Name also can be an operational tool to give the message of the heritage in a short way. Its utilization to construct and broadcast the meaning of place are exemplified in the case of Maze. The duality of names, both in Gaelic and in English, creates a conflict between the parts in Northern Ireland. Maze has several names and every name has political and cultural connotations that should be associated with the message of the site. Another example that 'name' is concerned is Yassıada which is changed after revitalization project as 'Democracy and Freedom Island'. For Ulucanlar, the place names which are invented by prisoners like Menderes Boulevard and Hilton is maintained to be used after the conservation. As a result, it could be claimed that names of places should be considered and determined within the conservation process.

4.3.3. Representation

> *Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things.[379]*

This phase stands for a set of spatial decisions and its representative apparatuses that regulate the communication between the different types of visitors and the physical existence of the heritage and its extensions in different mediums. After the decisions are made, the relic and its representation begin to construct a narration, giving messages, and thus it should be designed carefully to increase both the commemorative value and the publicity of the former prison site.

Stuart Hall's study, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (1997), identifies representation as the base for cultural studies because he states that it

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[379] Hall, S. (1997). *Introduction*. In S. Hall, Representation: Cultural Represantations and Signifying Practices (1st ed., pp. 1-5). SAGE.

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is not the objects themselves that constitute the culture but the "set of practices" and thus,[380] the representation of dark heritages emerges as a critical point to be considered through. Regarding the discursive debates on dark heritage and repurposed ex-prison sites which are surveyed in previous chapter, some agencies which hold central role in the construction of public memory are revealed to comprehend the representative instruments of dark heritages.

Extensions of former prison sites in different mediums should be determined well and designed in accordance with the place itself. That is, design of website, brochures, catalogues and artefacts of permanent exhibitions should be approached in a holistic understanding.

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[380] *Ibid.*
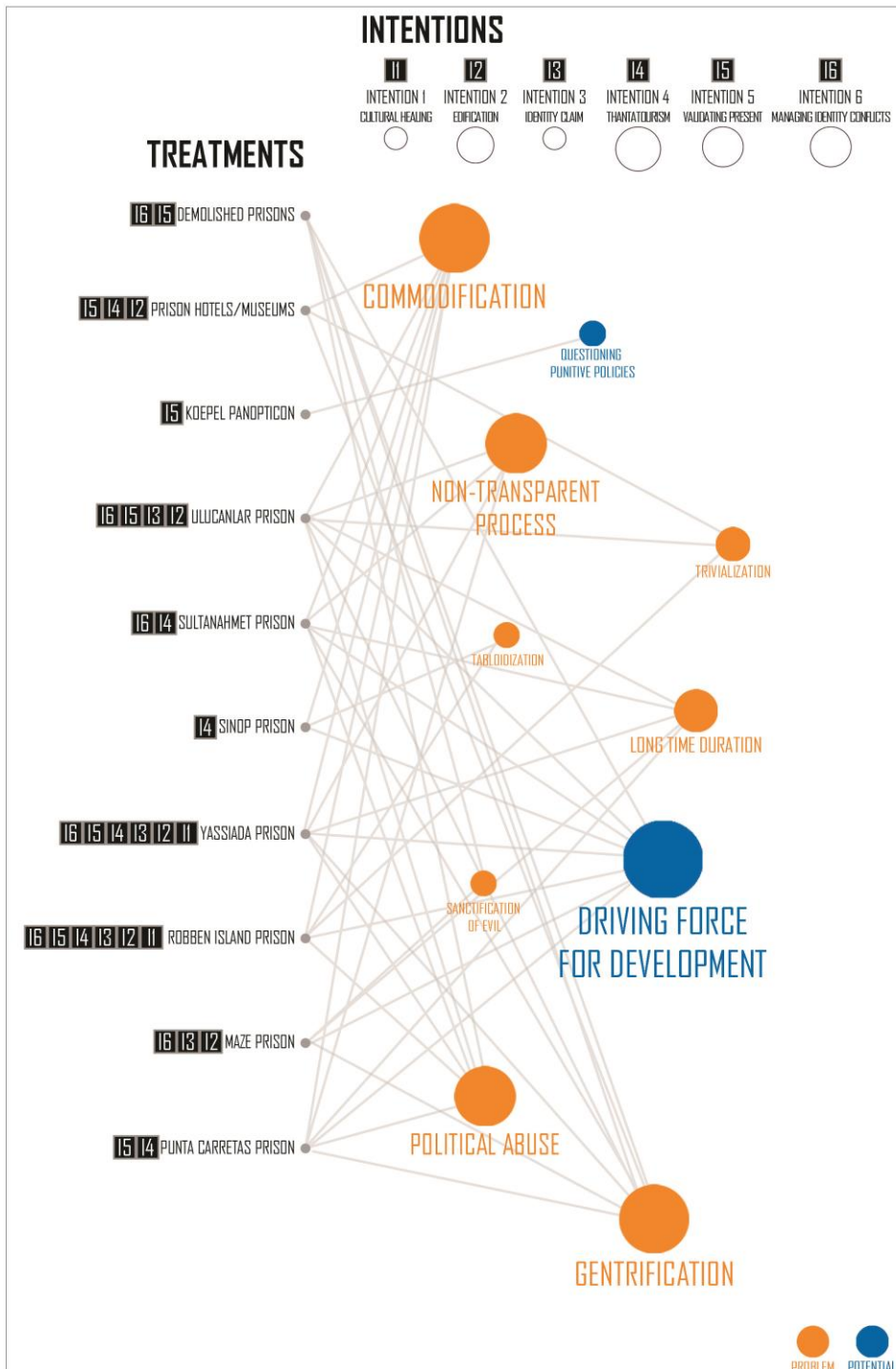
Figure 42 Problems and Potentials Diagram

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Figure 43 Means Diagrams

Figure 44 Framework

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4.4. Discussion

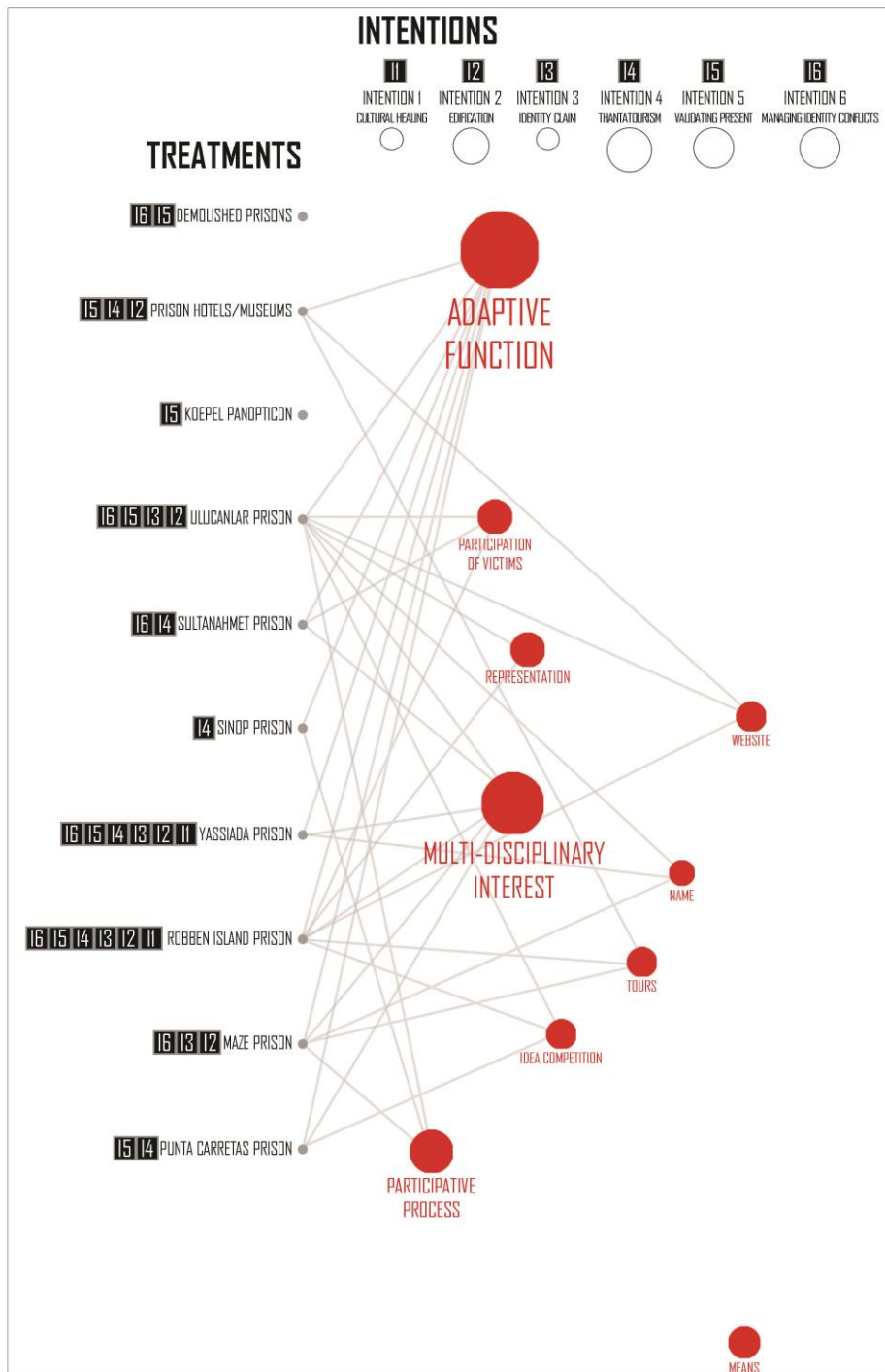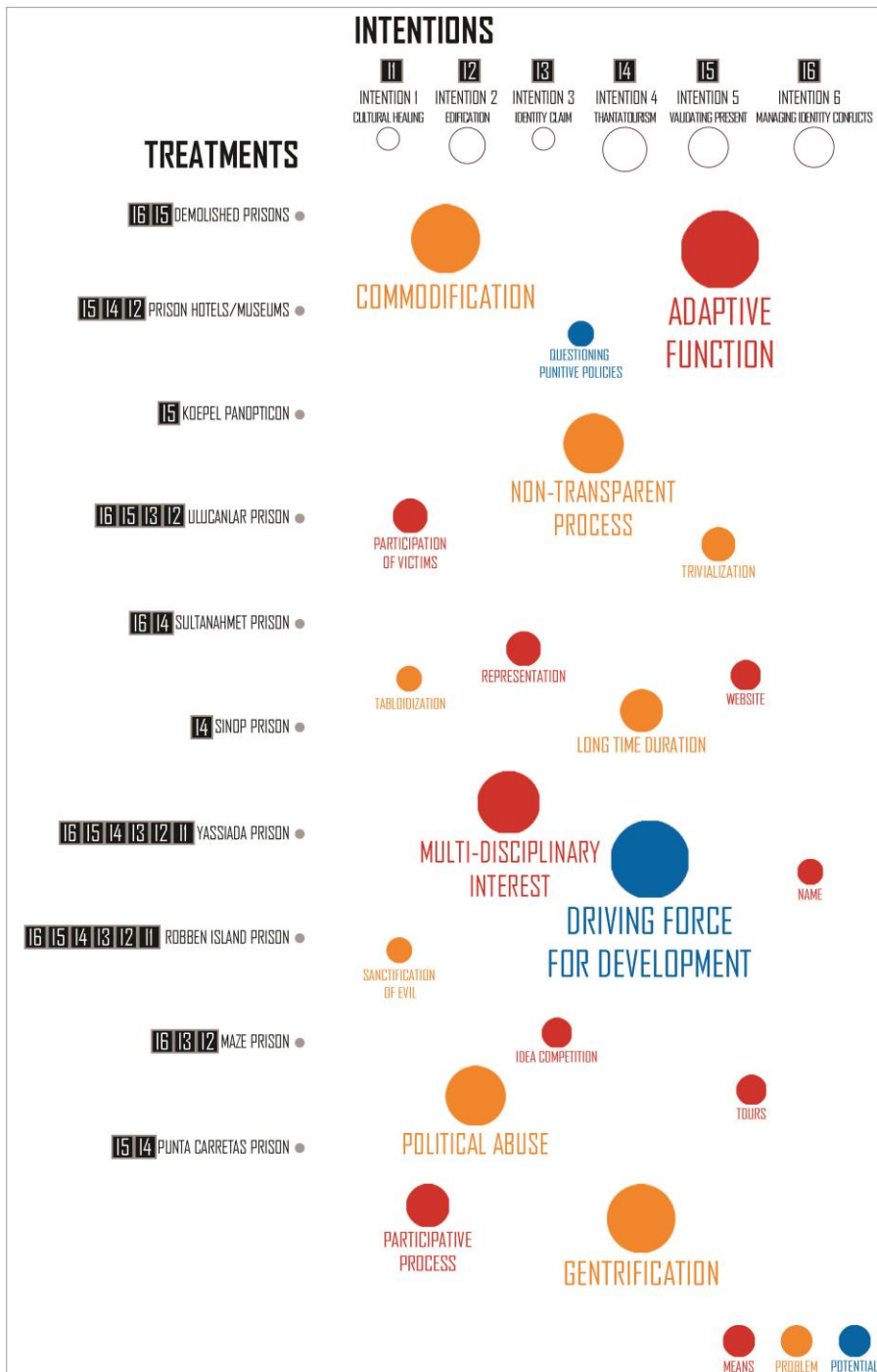The afterlives of prisons indicate that the focus of heritage conservation is far beyond only the maintenance of physical vestiges. There are manifold uses of heritage for temporal conditions. In this respect, the conservation problem of places that are associated with painful memories constitutes a productive base to see and to discuss contemporary facets of heritages.

One of the most significant implications of the study is that heritage conservation begins with the claim of an artefact as heritage and it is a long process. The cases of Maze and Ulucanlar evidently demonstrate the influence of civil society. While there is no professional or governmental attempt for the conservation of Maze and Ulucanlar, public request for the conservation of the prisons has led them to be recognized as heritage.

Ensuing the recognition of a site as a merit to be conserved, the democratic and participatory tools that facilitate the participation of stakeholders and collaboration of various disciplines should be devised. The non-transparency of decision-making process and the political abuse of heritage are mentioned as considerable problems. Throughout the examined instances, it is seen that idea competitions, forums and decentralized non-governmental bodies to administrate the process are utilized to overcome these problems.

The second main implication of the study is that the space itself remains inadequate to narrate the message of heritage. There is an inclination to design interaction between the visitor and the space rather than the space itself only. In this regard, the adaptive function of heritages has a major role in constructing the narration. In addition to being suitable for spatial organization, the new function of heritages should increase the connections not only between site and people but also between groups of people. Names

of places are also intervened in some of the cases as an agency that enables interaction between sites. Another significant issue is the consideration of ex-residents of the site, that is former convicts. The juxtaposition of them with the revitalized sites holds potential to amplify the meaning of old prisons.

The major troubles of constructing the narration in prison heritages could be accounted as commodification, gentrification, sanctification of evil and tabloidization. These concerns should be primarily considered while deciding the new users and new function of the heritage. The common approach to former prison sites is to convert them into museums which may cause these problems.

The third implementation is that the representation of prison heritages should be integrated with the conservation process of prison heritages. The piecemeal and inconsistent exercises for the representation of carceral heritages should be avoided. Today, prison heritages hold potential to reach via various mediums as many people as via its place, thus, website, brochures, flyers, magazines etc. of heritages should be perceived as extensions of heritages. The trivialization of dark memories must be evaded.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The heritage theory has undergone a great change since 70s[381] in response to the changes in the world and, today, it does not refer to a solid, self-proclaimed and past-centered 'thing' but does a fluid, malleable, constructed and present-centered 'process' between a legacy and certain group of people at certain moment. Meaning, present circumstances and prospective uses -either political, economic or social- determine which legacies are worth to consideration.

In this regard, the recognition of former-prison sites as heritage have emerged as an up-to-date phenomenon and, in praxis, it questions both the adequacy and the efficiency of the conventional, material-based approaches of heritage conservation since within the bounds of prisons, particularly politically significant ones, tangible values of place are interwoven with intangible values which inevitably requires a special treatment and creates its own discourse. Thus, the revival of decommissioned prisons is considered as a prosperous domain for an excavation to reveal contemporary aspects of heritage conservation.

Despite the undeniable significance of the maintenance of physical edifices, this study indicates that keeping only the edifice intact, in terms of its materiality remains insufficient in managing and complying with the intentions towards decommissioned prison sites. There are intangible problems, potentials, qualities and values of

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[381] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p.69.

incarceration centers which are rooted in place and in space which should be revealed and, then, esteemed during the conservation of them.

The political, economic, mnemonic and commercial projections cause a certain pressure on former prison sites. The discourse on prison heritages, analyzed in the scope of this study, implies that there are concerns for the revitalization of old prison sites which include *political abuse*, *commodification*, *trivialization*, *conflicts in meaning*, *sanctification of evil* and *gentrification*. In addition to the intentions, lying behind the visiting dark memories, these problems should be dealt with some supplementary means which are able to reinforce the meaning of the former prison sites since they could not be deciphered through only conventional instruments of heritage conservation; the authenticity of material, minimum intervention, the reversibility etc. could not help these problems on their own.

In order to overcome the mentioned problems or to achieve the intentions, some agents and methods were utilized and some concepts were devised during the revitalization processes of former prison sites. These piecemeal endeavors are summoned in this study and tried to be reorganized and as a result, they are classified under three main themes: *Decision-Making*, *Constructing the Message* and *Representation*. The agents under these themes aim, orderly:

- −to formulate a participative and democratic decision-making process.
- −to create an inclusive public sphere which enables the participation of various actors with their own identities and memories.
- −to facilitate the effective use of different means as the extension of the place to increase the interaction.

The assessment indicates that the conservation of prison heritages begins with the claim of a site has a meaning. Ensuing the claim, a participative and democratic way should be established to encourage the participation of different stakeholders and increase the

public awareness. The means which increase the involvement of different actors and the contribution of various disciplines to make decisions about the future of the prison sites are utilized in some of the cases and it is highly appreciated. In similar vein, prison heritages, after they are repurposed, are expected to be deployed by every part of the society. The revivals of them aim to increase interaction both within and between the identity groups. Instead of a frozen historic object, they are intended to be transformed into an experience. The representation of the heritage is not discrete conservation process since it has influences on the construction of the meaning of the prison.

A tentative framework is aimed to be constructed as the end product of this study. Values, problems and potentials that are encountered during the revitalization process of former prison sites and operative agents that are utilized to fulfil the expectations from the reuse of prisons. However, it is important to mention that it would be misleading to treat all prisons as a monolith, hence, the case-specific values of ex-prisons, both tangible and intangible should be interrogated in critical measures in advancement of each case. This study takes a small part of the whole prison heritage discourse as specimen and survey through it and, therefore, it does not assert itself as the ultimate guidebook, or the checklist for the conservation of former detention centers, rather, its claim is speculating on dark heritage and conservation of dark heritages via former prison sites to provoke further debates on the conventional mindset of heritage practice. The main contemporary issues of cultural heritage conservation such as: management, decision-making, representation, tourism, spirit and meaning of place etc. can be further investigated by the prospective studies as the thesis directs. In this regard, this study aims to constitute a base for them and aims to draw attention on dark heritages due to their intriguing potentials.

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