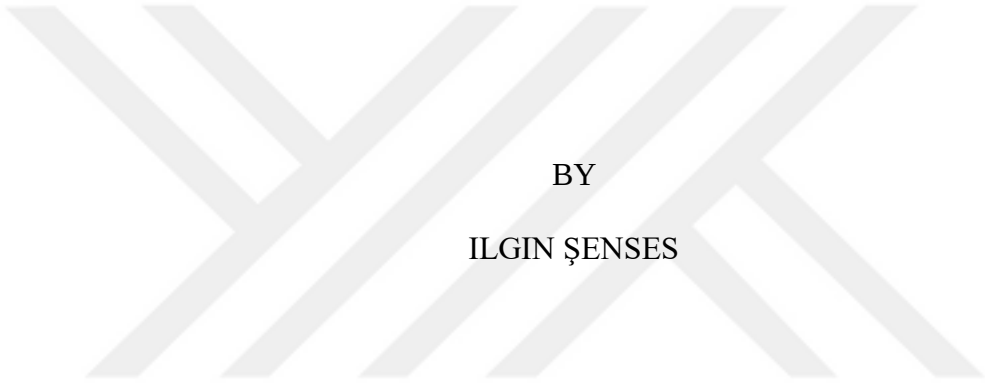


A RUPTURE IN URBAN MEMORY:
VACANT HEALTHCARE SITES IN THE CENTER OF ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
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VACANT HEALTHCARE SITES IN THE CENTER OF ANKARA**

submitted by **ILGIN ŞENSES** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Architecture, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Fatma Candaş Bilsel
Head of the Department, **Architecture**

Prof. Dr. İnci Basa
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Fatma Candaş Bilsel
Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. İnci Basa
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent Batuman
Architecture Dept., Bilkent University

Date: 08.07.2021



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name Last name : İlgin Şenses

Signature :

ABSTRACT

A RUPTURE IN URBAN MEMORY: VACANT HEALTHCARE SITES IN THE CENTER OF ANKARA

Şenses, İlgin
Master of Architecture, Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. İnci Basa

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In the past few years, Ankara has become the arena of countless renewal projects that have resulted as a loss of continuity in the urban space. A recent example to that is the closure of numerous well-established, still functioning and well-distributed public healthcare structures in the center of Ankara. These buildings were evacuated in 2019 due to the establishment of Ankara City Hospital in Bilkent which is the new healthcare site of the city. As a result, vital points of healthcare service in the inner city have lost their function and the structures have become vacant.

This thesis argues that those healthcare sites are significant in terms serving the city for decades. These artifacts occupy a considerable part in the everyday life of citizens; they possess multiple collective experiences and spatial practices. Furthermore, they are also representatives of the architectural culture of their own periods. Therefore, their endurance is essential and they occupy a considerable place in the collective urban memory.

This thesis problematizes these closures in a negative sense and regards them as huge interventions in the urban space. Their abandonment generates a discontinuity on the

urban sustainability which will inevitably lead to a rupture in urban memory. Thus, this study emphasizes not only the architectural value of these structures but also their complex and intertwined relationship with the city: Their vital place in our daily life, habits, and urban memory.

Keywords: Urban Memory, Collective Memory, Urban Artifact, Ankara, Healthcare Buildings



ÖZ

KENTSEL BELLEKTE KOPUKLUK: ANKARA ŞEHİR MERKEZİNDE TERK EDİLMİŞ SAĞLIK YAPILARI

Şenses, Ilgın
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. İnci Basa

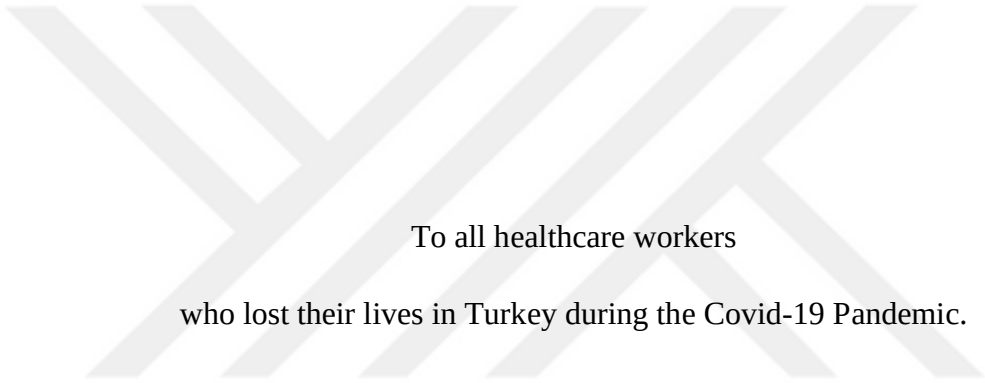
Temmuz 2021, 155 sayfa

Ankara'da son birkaç yıldır meydana gelen kentsel dönüşüm süreçleri kent merkezini olumsuz yönde etkilemekte ve kentsel sürekliliği göz ardı etmektedir. Kentte yaşanan bu olumsuz süreçlerden en çok etkilenen yer de yoğunlukla şehrin merkezi olmaktadır. Bu duruma örnek teşkil edip bu çalışmanın araştırma konusu olan bir başka güncel kentsel dönüşüm süreci de Ankara'nın hala işler durumda olan köklü kamu hastanelerini yitirmesidir. Ankara şehir merkezindeki birçok kamu hastanesi (Numune Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi (1924), Yüksek İhtisas Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi (1953), Zekai Tahir Burak Kadın Sağlığı Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi (1949), Dışkapı Çocuk Hastanesi, Ankara Fizik Tedavi Rehabilitasyon Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi, Atatürk Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi) 2019 yılı itibariyle devlet tarafından boşaltılarak teker teker işlevsiz hale getirilmiştir. Bahsi geçen sağlık yerleşimlerinin yanı sıra Sıhhiye Meydanı'nda yer alan ve Ankara'nın ilk modern binası olarak da bilinen Sağlık Bakanlığı yapısı da boşaltılarak Bilkent'teki yeni yerine taşınmıştır.

Bu tez, kente uzun yıllardır hizmet eden bu sağlık yapılarını ve yerleşimlerini kentlinin gündelik hayatında ve kent deneyiminde yer edinmiş nitelikli birer kentsel

servis olarak görmektedir. Aynı zamanda, bu kentsel mekanlar modern Türkiye'nin 20. yüzyıl toplumsal yaşamına da tanıklık etmiştir; bu nedenle şehrin kolektif belleğinde azımsanamayacak kadar önemli bir yere sahiptir. Öyle ki, bu yapıları sosyal tarih ve kültürel bellek gibi kavramların ışığında incelediğimizde, Ankara için nasıl bir kimlik tarif ettiklerini de gözden kaçırmamış oluruz. Kentlinin günlük yaşamında geniş yer kaplayan ve kent merkezi içerisinde önemli kamusal alanları tarif eden hastane yapılarının boşaltılması ve bu fonksiyonun merkezden ayıklanması kolektif bellekte kuşkusuz bir kopukluk yaratacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Bellek, Kolektif Bellek, Kentsel Artefakt, Ankara, Sağlık Yapıları



To all healthcare workers
who lost their lives in Turkey during the Covid-19 Pandemic.

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This thesis was structured and written in multiple countries, cities and homes. It has been a product of tough pandemic days. However, there have been numerous people who helped me along the way and turned this chaotic period into a joyous adventure.

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Last but not least, I offer special thanks to my mom and dad. I feel extremely lucky to have their consistent love, encouragement and patience. My mom and dad worked as doctors in many of the healthcare structures examined in this thesis. Therefore, it was even more meaningful for me talking about these places and their memory.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition of Problematic

In the past decades, Ankara has been the arena of many renewal projects that have resulted in a loss of continuity in urban space. Ankara has spread towards its periphery, where new urban centers have been formed and these developments have made the structure of existing urban centers very fragile.¹ Furthermore, Ankara appears to be a city where inner-city areas suffer from an urban decline in which urban memory is exposed to ruptures in its social and spatial continuities.² Most public spaces and structures in Ankara's city center have lost their function in terms of providing important urban services and are used for other purposes instead.³ The latest example of this, and the focus of the present study, is the closure of well-established healthcare sites in the center of Ankara due to the construction of Ankara City Hospital as part of city's new healthcare environment.

City Hospital projects are being built in cities across Turkey as part of new health and economic policies. New urban spaces like City Hospitals, which are produced through private ownership and management, and tend to have specific functions, are

¹ Fatma C  n   Bilse  , "Ankara'da Kentsel Ba  kala  m Kar  sında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar," *Dosya* (2009): 41.

² Segah Sak, and Burcu Senyapili, "Evading Time and Place in Ankara: A Reading of Contemporary Urban Collective Memory Through Recent Transformations," *Space and Culture* 22.4 (2019): 341-356.

³ Bilse  , "Ankara'da Kentsel Ba  kala  m," 41-42.

usually sited in centers outside the city. The state supports these privatized initiatives in which the free market economy rules.⁴ By transforming both healthcare environments and urban structure, these constructions inevitably alter our spatial practices.⁵ Almost all these settlements are sited away from crowded and multilayered city centers, and spread out over quite large areas due to their huge scale and over-complex programs.

The gigantic and complex architectural forms of City Hospitals bring myriad contested effects on the urban pattern. Regarding City Hospitals built on city outskirts, the primary socio-spatial effect is the closure of well-established public hospitals in inner-city areas. Thus, numerous inner-city healthcare structures have become vacant and left to decay through state abandonment, standing as empty structures in contradiction to their original function. A building's life cycle can be defined as build, manage, mend, extend, replace, or abandon. The initiation of each stage depends on decision-making processes, whether by individuals or more collectively. However, it can also be influenced by the regulatory and governing

⁴ Fatma C  n   Bil  el, "Kentsel D  n    m,   z  len Kentler ve Par  alanan Kamusal Alan," *Mimarlık Dergisi* 327, (2016),

<http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=41&RecID=1014>

⁵ Bilkent City Hospital, which opened on March 14, 2019, as the largest hospital complex in Europe, has had inescapable effects on Ankara's urban state. For instance, as underlined in a 2014 ESIA Report, traffic in Ankara has worsened since it was opened. At short notice in 2018, Ankara's citizens faced immense road constructions and traffic jam on Eski  ehir Road, a major artery, and within METU and Bilkent districts. In September 2018, the destruction of a forest on METU land was a disgraceful example of the damage that City Hospitals projects cause to the urban space. Both districts have experienced a sudden overload of an essential function without any precautions or planning.

institutions of the state.⁶ The spread of these new healthcare environments is a result of government policies.⁷ They have encouraged the evacuation of old public hospitals in city centers to concentrate patients in City Hospitals for the sake of their economic priorities.

Ankara, the particular city critically analyzed in this thesis, has been significantly affected by the establishment of Bilkent City Hospital. Six major hospitals have already been moved to the new site: Atatürk Training and Research Hospital, Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital, Ankara Numune Training and Research Hospital, Zekai Tahir Burak Women's Health Education and Research Hospital, Ankara (Altındağ) Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Education and Research

⁶ Judith Allen and Tony Lloyd-Jones, "Neighborhood Asset Management: Life Cycles and Learning for Social Sustainability," in *Social Sustainability in Urban Areas*, ed. Tony Manzi, Karen Lucas, Tony Lloyd, and Judith Allen (Routledge, 2010), 65-82.

⁷ City Hospital Projects are being constructed by the private sector in collaboration with the state, based on the current economic model, called the Public-Private Partnership. One of the main reasons why decision-makers prefer the Public-Private Partnership model is that they can overcome state budget limitations for public services through private financing. See Koray Karasu, "Sağlık Hizmetlerinin Örgütlenmesinde Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 66.03 (2011): 217-262. In this way, huge public investments like City Hospitals are relatively quickly. However, the most critical risk of this investment model is potential privatization of healthcare services. See Sedat Çal, "Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı (KÖO) ve Kamu Hizmetlerinin Metalaştırılması," in *Türkiye'de Sağlıkta Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı: Şehir Hastaneleri*, ed. Kayıhan Pala (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 35-54. The profit-seeking motive behind this economic model prioritizes the private sector's needs. Private investors of City Hospitals are promised a 70% patient guarantee, with the state covering deficits if this percentage is not reached. See Eriş Bilaloğlu, "Sağlık Alanında Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı," in *Türkiye'de Sağlıkta Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı: Şehir Hastaneleri*, ed. Kayıhan Pala (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 177-207. Thus, to ensure that patient numbers are sufficient to provide the promised profit for private investors, old public hospitals are being closed and patients are directed to City Hospitals as if they are potential customers.

Hospital, and Dışkapı Children Education and Research Hospital.⁸ While Bilkent City Hospital is Ankara's first such healthcare campus, another City Hospital project is already under construction in Etlik District. Once Etlik City Hospital opens, a few more inner-city public hospitals will be moved and their former sites closed.⁹ Therefore, many neighborhoods in Ankara will suffer from losing an essential function (Figure 1).¹⁰



⁸ As of 2020, several hospitals mentioned above have been partially re-opened and turned into pandemic hospitals due to the unfortunate Covid-19 outbreak. However, it is not clear yet that what will be the fate of those buildings after the pandemic is over.

⁹ Ankara Etlik Şehir Hastanesi,” T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://khgmsehirhastaneleridb.saglik.gov.tr/TR-48164/ankara-etlik-sehir-hastanesi.html>

¹⁰ Once Etlik City Hospital is completed, the following hospitals will be transferred: Dışkapı Yıldırım Beyazıt Education and Research Hospital, Sami Ulus Education and Research (Maternity and Children's) Hospital, Etlik Zübeyde Hanım Education and Research Hospital (Etlik Maternity Hospital), (Dr. Abdurrahman Yurtaslan) Ankara Oncology Education and Research Hospital, Ulus (Rüzgarlı) State Hospital (already moved to Pursaklar State Hospital), Ulucanlar Ophthalmic Education and Research Hospital. See “Ankara Etlik Şehir Hastanesi,” T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://khgmsehirhastaneleridb.saglik.gov.tr/TR-48164/ankara-etlik-sehir-hastanesi.html>

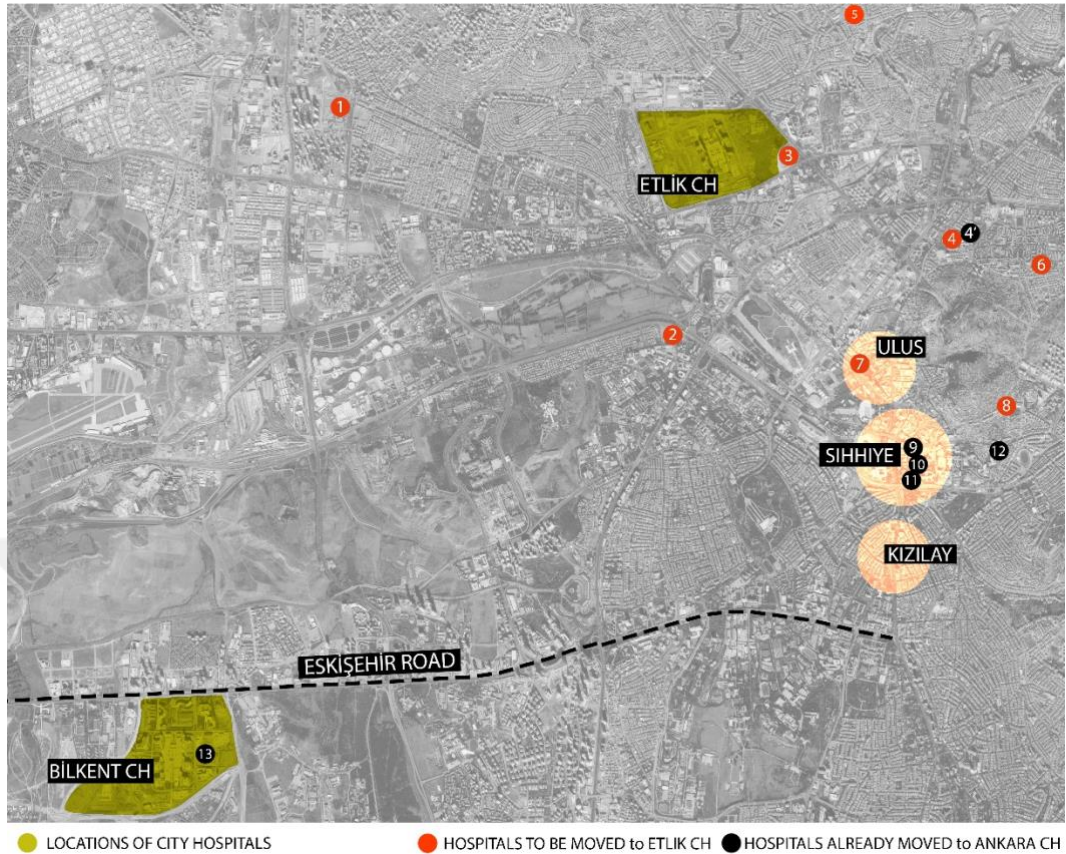


Figure 1.1. Mapping of the location of Ankara City Hospital and Etlik City Hospital together with public hospitals which are subjected to closure or already closed (Rendered by I. Şenses by adopting a Google Earth image)

At the writing stage of this thesis, an unexpected situation occurred, which had not been an issue before December 2019, namely the Covid-19 pandemic. This has forced the entire world to acknowledge failures in contemporary health services. What needs to be stressed regarding this study's research topic is that, during the pandemic, the government partly re-opened some of the closed hospitals as pandemic hospitals. However, there is no precise information or a formal statement regarding how the state will handle the emptied healthcare sites once the pandemic is over. This study is limited to the structures that were already closed before the pandemic. Thus, it did not investigate other healthcare sites, which are likely to be moved once Etlik City Hospital has opened. Currently, however, their eventual fate is unknown due to the uncertain pandemic conditions within the country.

The study investigated six healthcare environments of twentieth-century Ankara, which have already been moved to their new site, along with the Ministry of Health building in Sıhhiye. These are Numune Education and Research Hospital, Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital, Zekai Tahir Burak Women's Health Education and Research Hospital, Ankara (Altındağ) Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Education and Research Hospital, and Dışkapı Children's Education and Research Hospital.

Following the evacuation and closure of these hospital structures, several neighborhoods in Ankara have lost their most vital function, which had been provided for decades. In addition to the effect of removing this important function, it is critical to consider how both the urban space and the citizens will be affected by the abandonment. That is, it raises a crucial long-term urban issue that requires critical thought. This study conceptualizes these healthcare structures as significant urban artifacts of previous periods that witnessed the early twentieth-century societal life of Ankara, as the capital of modern Turkey. The closed healthcare buildings occupied a considerable part in the everyday life of the citizens and have a substantial place in the memory of the city, considering that they served the city for several decades. Furthermore, they are highly valuable architecturally as the products of modern architectural experiments in Turkey by both local and foreign architects. However, beyond their architectural quality, they constitute an identity for the city by containing the citizens' spatial experiences. This is important because "identity is intimately tied to memory."¹¹ As Fatma Candaş Bilsel argues:

The identity or the memory of a city can only be maintained by preserving the original characteristics of its urban spaces that reflect its different periods. Just

¹¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 9.

as a person who has lost his memory cannot know his identity, a city that destroys its spatial memory loses its identity.¹²

According to Dolores Hayden, “a single, preserved historic place may trigger potent memories,” and eventually “networks of such places begin to reconnect social memory on an urban scale.”¹³ Since urban identity is socially produced, different social relationships in various parts of the city contribute to that identity of the city.¹⁴ Consequently, urban space and architectural artifacts become the “storehouses” of social memories. In time, they develop as the loci of citizens’ daily routines. Such urban artifacts are the elements that trigger the dynamics of urban memory. In this regard, Jan Assmann states:

If persons – and societies – are only able to remember what can be reconstructed as a past within the referential framework of their own present, then they will forget things that no longer have such a referential framework. (...) Memory lives and survives through communication, and if this is broken off, or if the referential frames of the communicated reality disappear or change, then the consequence is forgetting.¹⁵

That is, because memory is alive, when the referential object of the past disappears, the social and cultural link that binds past, present, and future is also destined to be broken. Moreover, Michel de Certeau asserts a city learns “the art of growing old” only by “playing on all its pasts.”¹⁶ Such artifacts of the city cannot be easily sacrificed as they are deeply rooted in societal habits. Accordingly, this study argues that the loss of the vital structures of everyday life, within which people have spatial

¹² (Author’s translation) Fatma C  n   Bilse  , “Ankara’da Kentsel Ba  kala  m Kar  sısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar,” *Dosya* (2009): 43.

¹³ Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 78.

¹⁴ İlhan Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 1991), 83.

¹⁵ Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 22-45.

¹⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (University of California Press, 1988), 91.

experiences, can damage urban memory. The thesis therefore argues that the architectural artifacts listed earlier play a substantial role in sustaining Ankara's memory.

Furthermore, I would like to express my connection with the research topic in question. I, somehow feel deeply connected with the structures examined in this thesis because I have kept experiencing those buildings since my childhood. It is because my parents are both doctors and they have practiced their professions in some of the structures examined in this study. I and my sister used to visit them while they were working; usually, it was a stop before the destination to which we were headed. We used to stop by at my mum's, probably took a dolmuş to Sıhhiye, or took a bus from Etlik and hop off in Ulus. I also remember that I was fascinated by my mother in her white coat, chatting with the shopkeepers around, in the neighborhood. When I and my sister stopped by at the hospital, my mother used to buy us a delicious toast from a buffet near. While we were enjoying our meal, some of her colleagues used to drop by and chat with us. It was like another place in the city that I am accustomed to: multiple familiar faces and familiar spots in the neighborhood which I have a command of. So, if these words can demonstrate my deep experience with that places of the city, I would like you to imagine my parents' attachment to the area. They were graduated from Hacettepe Medicine and then continued their profession in the same neighborhood for decades.

This experience does not necessarily have to address a genuine fun or a fascination from my childhood when I was walking and exploring the streets of Sıhhiye or Ulus. It was just an experience; an urban experience that is coded in my memory. The memory used to be vivid but now it becomes to fade away. Not because I grow up but Ankara has started to lose those places and so my memory. I do not want to romanticize my own experience and personal relationship with the buildings in question. I just know what Numune Hospital means for Ankara, how its Emergency Service used to be the best unit in the whole of Ankara based on what my parents told me. My father is a pediatrician and his specialty is on newborns/ infants,

therefore I know how many babies are born in a day in Ankara Maternity Hospital. I know how Dışkapı Children Hospital sustains a neighborhood and is resilient for the demands of a population which mostly consists of lower-income groups. In conclusion, it can be said that I have a lot of personal experience and familiarity, which brought me to the point where I discuss they must continue to serve as healthcare buildings in the city center.

To conclude, this thesis aims to highlight places in the city where there are no ostentatious buildings around for defining the importance of an urban space in terms of its place in the social memory. In other words, this study is an attempt to uncover cultural, historical, and social attributes of modest and functional buildings in the city which can easily become a constituent for collective urban memory. It aims to highlight their potential for comprising a memory for the city which cannot be ignored. Furthermore, the study intends to stress that by witnessing their period these healthcare structures are part of our social history. Therefore, their endurance is important for sustaining cultural memory. Their history is also the history of a country.

Urban experience gains spatiality over time by the everyday practices of the inhabitants. Thus, the phenomenon of urban memory is highly significant in terms of defining and understanding the urban experience. In the case of this study, healthcare sites and structures can easily become a constituent for collective urban memory by occupying a place in the urban experience. It is both because they are well-distributed urban services in the city which are loaded with related spatial practices and also their cultural and functional aspects are what accelerates social sustainability. Not all these hospital buildings are identified as artwork. On the contrary, the majority of them are standing in the center of the city as functional buildings since they were initially built to meet a demand for an important urban service.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Former state hospitals should not be understood solely as individual buildings since they constitute a bigger structure in terms of their site and the surroundings in the urban pattern. Therefore, these structures should be considered within the context of the urban fabric. This context can be defined as the combination of abstract and tangible aspects of an experienced urban space. Urban identity encompasses other phenomenological and morphological definitions because the urban texture, together with its architectural elements, the general quality of the buildings and public spaces, and the frequency of usage of public space, are the elements that form a city's spatial identity.¹⁷

Regarding the tangible aspect of the context, the structure as a concrete, physical form sustains the surrounding environment through its social, economic, and spatial activities. The spatial significance of hospital buildings cannot be neglected because, from a macro perspective, they determine the continuity of the economy, social relations, and the liveliness of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, their closure dislocates people and every sort of business from the area, which brings urban decline to the area and harms the city space by the loss of socio-spatial activities. The healthcare structures in question are embedded in the urban infrastructure; they sustained both a social and physical environment over the years by bringing together citizens and businesses who live or work in it.

Healthcare buildings are also important regarding the abstract aspect of the context. Yi-Fu Tuan, who is a geographer recognized for his humanistic approach, argues that spaces become *places* as we know them better and endow them with value.¹⁸

¹⁷ Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, "Ankara'da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar," *Dosya* (2009): 34.

¹⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

The healthcare settlements in question have a substantial place in the everyday life of Ankara's citizens. Individual spatial experiences evoke the mental and psychological aspects of these places since the concept of *place* is not only perceived materially. In other words, urban space is constantly exposed to societal experiences, which generate peculiar places within the city. Thus, architectural structures can easily become the signifiers of the identity of a city:

Architectural space—even a simple hut surrounded by cleared ground—can define such sensations and render them vivid. Another influence is this: the built environment clarifies social roles and relations. People know better who they are and how they ought to behave when the arena is humanly designed rather than nature's raw stage.¹⁹

Rossi elaborates on these scattered architectural structures which make citizens more conscious about the past of the city they live in.²⁰ Our social understanding of a city, meaning the way we perceive the whole or its parts, the meanings we attribute to them, and our experiences within it, constitutes an urban imaginary.²¹ The urban image is a combination of different mosaics of perception since the city is perceived piece by piece.²² People recognize the same places of the city differently and, over time, the quality of their perception and cognition changes to develop the urban imaginary.²³ We can quite easily replace the concept of urban imaginary with the collective memory of the city to claim that urban artifacts are the main triggers of the urban imaginary or urban memory:

¹⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 102.

²⁰ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 21.

²¹ Bülent Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri: Mekan ve Görsel Politika* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 11.

²² İlhan Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 1991), 81.

²³ Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları*, 81.

An urban imaginary mark [*sic*] first and foremost the way city dwellers imagine their own city as the place of everyday life (...) Urban imaginaries are thus part of any city's reality, rather than being only figments of the imagination. What we think about a city and how we perceive it informs the ways we act in it.²⁴

This thesis conceptualizes the healthcare settlements in question in these terms and investigates them within the dynamics of urban memory. At this point, it is of great importance to mention the impact of graduate courses offered in the Master of Architecture program at METU. The academic knowledge that emerged as a result of the discussions in the courses was also very effective in determining the research topic of this study.²⁵

Rossi argues that urban artifacts are “complicated entities which develop in both space and time.” He continues by stating that:

If the architectural construction we are examining had been built recently, it would not have the same value. In that case the architecture in itself would be subject to judgment, and we could discuss its style and its form; but it would not yet present us with that richness of its own history which is characteristic of an urban artifact.²⁶

In the light of Rossi's words above, compared with the old public hospital structures, City Hospitals undoubtedly cannot easily become a part of or contribute to urban

²⁴ Andreas Huyssen, “World Cultures, World Cities,” in *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age*, ed. By Andreas Huyssen (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.

²⁵ For instance, *ARCH511 Socio-Cultural Themes in Urban Architecture* which is offered by Prof. Dr. Fatma Candaş Bilsel is one of the first graduate courses that I enrolled in the fall semester (2018) of the Master of Architecture Program in METU. Readings of the course and the presentations made by students on social and cultural theories related to urban space have eventually help me to develop an understanding of urban phenomena. Thus, it has forced me to ask critical urban questions on relevant urban theories which subsequently brought me to the point I study urban memory and urban sustainability.

²⁶ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 29.

memory, even given sufficient time, because they represent a different kind of configuration in the urban space. City Hospitals bring their huge socio-spatial effects, not just to Ankara but to all other Turkish cities where they are being constructed with the same design parameters. Building them with indistinguishable architectural forms shows that the planners have no interest in making them part of each city's specific urban memory. Therefore, this study regards the opening of City Hospitals as one significant indicator of contemporary modifications to the urban pattern that is changing people's relationship to the city. Marc Augé claims that, in the 21st century, there are increasing numbers of global, neutral, and impartial buildings that do not need to develop any perspective related to their context.²⁷ According to Augé, since the contemporary urban space is mostly experienced quickly, it generally reproduces itself as spaces that support the consumerist habits of the era:

If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place.²⁸

Instead of being a place within the city, City Hospitals are mostly 'non-places', as defined by Augé. In order for a place to be defined as historical and relational, it must contain spatial practices accumulated over long periods. It is extremely difficult for an urban space to have a place in the collective urban memory where spatial practices are weakened and lost meaning due to their inability to mingle with other urban services. To summarize, as Augé puts it, since supermodernity continuously

²⁷ Marc Augé, *Yok-Yerler*, trans. Turhan Ilgaz (Istanbul: Daimon, 2016), 20.

²⁸ Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (Verso, 1997), 77-78.

produces non-places like City Hospitals, the discussion of ‘urban identity’ and ‘urban memory’ is still on the agenda of architecture and urban sciences.²⁹

The discourse that cities have lost their memory emerged in parallel with the rapid destruction of their ‘historical sites’. In addition, they were replaced by stereotypical and unqualified *non-places*.³⁰ Subsequently, the proliferation of standardized and anonymous urban structures generates new urban spaces that are difficult to distinguish from each other. This will eventually harm collective urban memory and create discontinuities in urban cultural sustainability.

1.3 Methodology

This study is based on the following concepts; social memory, cultural memory, urban memory, and urban artifacts. In order for this thesis to achieve its purpose, those concepts and relevant literature review need to be clarified since they provide and cover the theoretical basis of the study. The concepts of social memory and cultural memory have been articulated in many disciplines from sociology to psychology, cultural geography to urban studies, different perspectives were also added in the bibliography. Notes and relevant viewpoints were organized according to the emergence of key concepts within the related sections of the study.

These concepts help to grasp the significance of the city space as being the locus of the spatial practices of inhabitants. The general objective is to investigate six healthcare sites to uncover their importance for urban memory by drawing on such applicable theories in architecture and other branches of knowledge. To concretize its arguments and articulate its problematic, as its methodology the thesis analysis those healthcare sites and structures in the guidance of abovementioned concepts.

²⁹ Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, “Ankara’da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar,” *Dosya* (2009): 33.

³⁰ Bilsel, “Ankara’da Kentsel Başkalaşım,” 33.

The aim is to understand and demonstrate their socio-spatial importance in the presence of inhabitants. Accordingly, the main research questions are as follows: To what these healthcare sites and structures trigger urban memory by shaping our past, present, and future perceptions of the city space? How is the city space and cultural memory affected by the sudden losses of these places? Guided by these research questions, the study highlights how the opening of Ankara City Hospital and the subsequent closures of old public hospitals caused a sudden and destructive modification of Ankara's urban space.

Furthermore, the information on architectural knowledge about healthcare sites and structures were gathered from archival study of primary sources, such as architectural plans and government correspondence, and bibliographical study of secondary sources. The architectural information about the structures was provided by the documents from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and Altındağ Municipality.

1.4 Literature Review

Before considering relevant social and urban memory studies, I would like to briefly mention data and studies about City Hospitals. These were studied within various disciplines even before they were actually constructed. Since 2007, for example, the Turkish Medical Association has tracked the transformation of healthcare politics and services in Turkey.³¹ Since 2017, they have shared all their publications and data on their web page.³² The Turkish Medical Association also established the City

³¹ 'TTB Şehir Hastaneleri Çalışmaları,' Turkish Medical Association, accessed November 22, 2020, http://www.ttb.org.tr/kollar/_sehirhastaneleri/yayin_goster.php?Guid=495bd934-e17d-11e7-ae04-02a94b7a8425

³² 'Şehir Hastaneleri,' Turkish Medical Association, accessed November 13, 2019,

Hospitals Monitoring Group after newly built campuses started to provide services in different cities. An edited book, entitled *Türkiye’de Sağlıkta Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı: Şehir Hastaneleri* (*The Public-Private Partnership in Healthcare in Turkey: City Hospitals*), was published in 2018. In this publication, academicians from different disciplines evaluated and criticized City Hospitals as Turkey’s new healthcare settlements.³³

On March 11, 2017, the Ankara Chamber of Architects and the Ankara Chamber of Medicine held a symposium in which scholars from varying fields of research, such as health, medicine, law, economics, and urban studies, developed a framework to critically assess City Hospitals. They elaborated on their possible effects on Turkey’s healthcare, economy, and urban politics. For instance, Bülent Batuman and Tarık Şengül, academicians from architecture and urban sciences, criticized Ankara City Hospital from the perspective of city planning.³⁴ They argued that the spatial characteristics of the campus and its impact on the urban pattern should be closely examined and evaluated.

On November 11, 2019, the Turkish Medical Association and the Istanbul Chamber of Medicine held a symposium for physicians working in City Hospitals.³⁵

http://www.ttb.org.tr/kollar/_sehirhastaneleri/makale_goster.php?Guid=b9c1ff12-d98c-11e7-9fad-23dff326e1f9

³³ Kayıhan Pala, ed., *Türkiye’de Sağlıkta Kamu-özel Ortaklığı: Şehir Hastaneleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

³⁴ *Şehir Hastaneleri Sempozyumu: Şehir Hastanelerinin Kent Planlamasındaki Yeri ve Mekansallığı, Ankara, March 11, 2017.*

<https://ato.org.tr/files/documents/0142223001507278956.pdf>

³⁵ *Şehir Hastaneleri: Yalanlar ve Gerçekler*, İstanbul, November 9, 2019.

https://www.ttb.org.tr/haber_goster.php?Guid=6215639c-0461-11ea-9041-8f759fbedb0f

Two recent academic studies of City Hospitals are noteworthy. One is a master's thesis, *Design Evolution of Healthcare Buildings: City Hospitals as a New Building Typology*,³⁶ in which Selin Nevrim considers City Hospitals as a new type of healthcare structure in terms of their architectural features and design parameters. The other study is *Restructuring Urban Space Through City Hospitals*,³⁷ in which Eren Can Yücel focuses on areas in Turkish cities where public hospitals have been closed. He concludes that, in most cases, the closure of old state hospitals in city centers causes urban decline.

This study does not examine City Hospitals in as much detail as the aforementioned studies. Instead, it focuses on the urban spaces in Ankara where old state hospitals were subjected to closure. It investigates a current urban transformation process that sacrifices long-standing urban artifacts and related spatial experiences to make room for new spatial configurations. The study uses City Hospitals and their spatial outcomes in Ankara as a case to explain how the loss of well-established old state hospital structures affects the memory of the city and how much their spatial and architectural features nurture the collective urban memory. Therefore, the study is located at the intersection between two main concepts: urban space and memory, which “takes root in the concrete, in spaces”.³⁸ In order to grasp how architecture and related urban studies have instrumentalized the concept of memory in their territory, one must trace the significant milestones in this development.

³⁶ Selin Nevrim, “Design Evolution of Healthcare Buildings: City Hospitals as a New Building Typology in Turkey” (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2020).

³⁷ Eren Can Yücel, “Restructuring Urban Space Through City Hospitals” (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2020).

³⁸ Pierre Nora, “Between memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations*, 26, (1989): 9.

The concept of memory has long been repeatedly adapted and used in numerous disciplines. However, it has gained a new dimension and growing prominence in late twentieth-century memory studies.³⁹ Pierre Nora correlates this upsurge with the re-discovery of a significant actor and his notions on social memory, namely Maurice Halbwachs. During 1925-1945, he considered the social aspects of memory under the term ‘collective memory’ in his seminal works *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (*The Social Frameworks of Memory*) and *La Topographie Légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte* (*The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land*). He brought a new perspective to memory studies by claiming that memory is collective rather than individual, an object of social interaction that is socially produced.⁴⁰ Halbwachs also argued that these social memories are created and represented in architectural space.

Similarly, in his canonic work *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (*Sites of Memory*), the French historian Nora suggested that memory and place are related: “memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events”. Influenced by Halbwachs, Nora states:

The idea that memory can be collective, emancipatory, and sacred turns the meaning of the term inside out. Individuals had memories, collectivities had histories. The idea that collectivities have a memory implies a far-reaching transformation of the status of individuals within society and their relationship to the community at large.⁴¹

³⁹ Pierre Nora, “From “Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., & Levy, D. (Oxford University Press, 2011), 437-441.

⁴⁰ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. A. Coser (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992, Original work published 1925).

⁴¹ Pierre Nora, “Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Olick, J. K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., & Levy, D. (Oxford University Press, 2011), 440.

The concept embraces any noteworthy entity, whether material or not. It considers them as symbols of a society's collective heritage. It may also refer to an architectural space with historical significance in the collective memory of the community.⁴² These notions of Halbwachs and Nora are essential in this study to establish the relationship between memory and place.

In 1966, the Italian architect Aldo Rossi included numerous references from Halbwachs' studies of urban sociology and collective memory.⁴³ Halbwachs' influence on Rossi's definitions of collective memory are mostly spatial. The architecture audience was introduced to Halbwachs' theories when Rossi referred to city space as the locus of memory. He also coined the term *fatto urbano* (translated as 'urban artifact' in English) as a constitutive part of a city. Rossi highlights memory as a major theme associated with urban artifacts.⁴⁴

Architectural scholars have continued to study memory as a social phenomenon. In 1994, Christine Boyer reintroduced Halbwachs' theories concerning contemporary cities in her work *The City of Collective Memory*. She argued that Halbwachs made

⁴² See Pierre Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları*, trans. M. E. Özcan (Ankara: Dost, 2006), Original work published in 1989.

⁴³ Aldo Rossi was not just influenced by Maurice Halbwachs but also by the historian and urban planning theoretician Marcel Poëte. For example, Rossi's way of defining urban structures that occur on the urban form as the things that ensure urban continuity was especially guided by Poëte's works on urban morphology. See Bilsel, Fatma Cânâ. 2015. "Kent Tarihi Araştırmalarında Mekânbilimsel Bir Yaklaşım Olarak Kentsel Morfoloji." In, 59. Mersin, Türkiye: Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu: Temel Yaklaşımlar ve Teknikler (2015). <https://hdl.handle.net/11511/83994>.

⁴⁴ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982).

theories of memory more accessible to planners and architects.⁴⁵ In parallel to Rossi's ideas, Boyer argues that the city is a "collective expression" of architectural traces in which urban memory lies buried. Urban planner Kevin Lynch associates urban memory with mental maps. He defines the city as "a thing perceived only in the course of long spans of time."⁴⁶ This definition corresponds with Boyer's statement that a city's architectural forms contain grand discourses on history that also represent a society's public memory.⁴⁷ It is what individuals remember of urban space that constructs the mental image of the city. Moreover, Michael Hebbert discusses the role of urban spaces as loci of memory and claims that human memory is spatial.⁴⁸

Intersecting parts of the social context of memory and urban studies can be traced in the works of late twentieth-century urbanists. For instance, Jane Jacobs has restored the concept of urban space in a Halbwachsian manner by considering it as the locus of memory.⁴⁹ Jacobs' work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*⁵⁰ is a beneficial source in this regard. By referring to the ordinary places of the city in a similar manner to Jacobs, Dolores Hayden prioritizes the social importance of urban artifacts by highlighting the potential of ordinary urban public spaces. She points to

⁴⁵ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 26.

⁴⁶ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 1.

⁴⁷ Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 31.

⁴⁸ Michael Hebbert, "The Street as a Locus of Collective Memory," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23 (2005), 581-596.

⁴⁹ Michael Hebbert, "The Street as a Locus of Collective Memory," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23 (2005), 586.

⁵⁰ Jane Jacobs, *The Death, and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992).

other urban services, such as small parks, streets, or a city's old and modest buildings – or hospital structures in the case of this thesis. Hayden's and Jacobs' arguments coincide because they refer to the same social and physical benefits that an urban artifact brings if it is preserved rather than demolished.

Contemporary Turkish academicians have widely discussed the effects of new urban spaces in Turkey on collective urban memory. Bilsel, for example, evaluates the contemporary condition of Ankara. She argues that Ankara became a city without an identity by rapidly destroying its historical urban settlements and architectural culture. Segah Sak and Burcu Şenyapılı investigate how Ankara's urban spaces have dealt with contemporary formations of the urban pattern through the concept of 'urban collective memory' in order to assess contemporary urban experience and people's relationship to urban spaces.⁵¹ Their emphasis on urban experience as the spatial practices of citizens is one of the crucial elements in the dynamics of urban memory. Similarly, İnci Basa argues that changes in the spatial practices of citizens results in the loss of urban memory.⁵²

Zeynep Uludağ and Hilal Aycı investigate how significant urban artifacts and citizens' spatial practices within these artifacts have been altered state policies and regulations. Their arguments are essential since, as in the case of this thesis, well-established state hospitals are being closed due to state abandonment. As Uludağ and Aycı put it, "memory is not a value that associates with or exists only through spaces, in that it is also present within the daily life practices that carry urban culture and its

⁵¹ Segah Sak and Burcu Şenyapılı, "Evading Time and Place in Ankara: A Reading of Contemporary Urban Collective Memory Through Recent Transformations," *Space and Culture* 22.4 (2019): 341-356.

⁵² İnci Basa, "Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi," *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi*, 1(15) (2015): 27-42.

continuity.”⁵³ According to Bülent Batuman, the city is a place of daily life, traditions, continuities, historical events, conflicts, and many other events. Therefore, considering the cognitive system that determines our understanding of the built environment around us, Batuman examines the architectural object and the urban space in which societal relationships are established. He draws on several concepts, including urban memory, to explain how the architectural artifact can become a part of the dynamics of social remembering.⁵⁴

Overall, these recent studies reveal how interventions in the urban pattern can break urban continuity and damage urban memory by altering our physical environment and our spatial practices within it. Furthermore, they all underline the importance of the urban artifact and its role in sustaining the everyday life within which collective urban memory is constantly produced.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of five chapters including the Introduction Chapter above in which the main concerns, problem definition, and research questions of the study are discussed.

The second chapter draws a conceptual framework for the study. It provides necessary concepts by showcasing numerous viewpoints. It starts by introducing the concept of social memory and continues to elaborate on its relationship with space. Spatiality is what strengthens mnemonic features of a place, therefore city space occurs as a strong medium for collective memory. Furthermore, this study prefers to

⁵³ Zeynep Uludağ and Hilal Aycı, “Modernin Güçlü Sahnesi Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara’ında Kolektif Belleğin İnşası ve Toplumsal Unutma Süreci,” *İDEALKENT*, 7(20) (2016): 746-773.

⁵⁴ Bülent Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri: Mekân ve Görsel Politika* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019).

stress places in the city by conceptualizing them as urban artifacts. Subsequently, it introduces the concept of urban memory and aims to define it by discussing it together with urban experience. Thus, chapter two is concluded by analyzing city space as the sum of multiple spatial practices which take place in numerous urban artifacts.

In the third chapter the study aims to portray six healthcare sites in Ankara as significant urban artifacts. It highlights their socio-spatial attributes which make them valuable for the collective urban memory. It reveals certain features of the buildings which introduces the architectural culture of their own period. Moreover, it also intends to underline their importance in the everyday life of citizens of Ankara. Thus, the basis for the discussion of how these structures, which some of them are extremely modest in terms of architectural quality, can become highly valuable for collective urban memory, is prepared.

Fourth chapter tries to understand the sudden loss of healthcare sites in the center of the city. It aims to provides a discussion on why those urban spaces are abandoned and become vacant.

Finally, in the conclusion chapter, it is aimed to summarize the problematic and discussion of the thesis. This study aims to present healthcare sites of Ankara as important urban services of the city which sustains urban continuity. They are the urban artifacts which constitutes an urban memory. The study tries to demonstrate their importance for the collective urban memory and intends to make suggestions in order to keep them in service as healthcare environments.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN MEMORY

“We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.”⁵⁵

2.1 Social Context of Memory

The study of memory has of course taken its place in the works of philosophers and social thinkers since the Ancient Greeks. Yet, by the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, memory studies gained a distinctive social perspective that changed our contemporary perception of recollecting the past.⁵⁶ Their main assumption was that, while it is the individual who recalls the past, the act of remembering is not just personal because even the most private memories are embedded in a social formation of life involving common languages, rituals, and commemoration practices. Accordingly, this means that the act of remembering is mostly shaped by what has been shared with other members of a society.⁵⁷ The extent to which a social group remembers or forgets its historical journey towards realizing

⁵⁵ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 7.

⁵⁶ Jeffrey K. Olick, and Joyce Robbins, “Social memory studies: From “Collective Memory” to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 106.

⁵⁷ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 6.

itself is an important indicator of its cultural structuring.⁵⁸ In other words, the more a society remembers and adopts its cultural past, the more individuals become conscious about their past. In this vein, memory studies have accumulated under the term collective memory or social memory. While definitions of the term vary from one point of view to another, the main feature of contemporary interpretations of memory is the experience of past time lived in relation to others.⁵⁹

The concept social memory has long been adopted in social sciences, arts, and humanities due to its interdisciplinary nature.⁶⁰ The vast majority of researchers have addressed memory as a notion that is enabled collectively, rather than something that only appears in an individual mind. Furthermore, as an interdisciplinary concept, it embraces various schools of thought and interpretations to form an open-ended yet fruitful totality of work.

Architecture specifically provides a good account of memory. Since “memory is crucial to our ability to make sense of our present circumstances,” architecture has supposed that the physical environment and architectural landscapes can represent such circumstances.⁶¹ Thus, it draws our attention to spatiality, which enables collective memories to be deposited within the architectural product. The cognitive systems that determine our understanding of the built environment are the subject of architecture as a field of knowledge as well as the meanings created by individual structures. While imagining an architectural space we actually benefit from the

⁵⁸ Tülin Selvi Ünlü, “Kent Kimliğinin Oluşumunda Kentsel Bellek ve Kentsel Mekân İlişkisi: Mersin Örneği,” *Planlama* 27.1 (2017), 77.

⁵⁹ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 6.

⁶⁰ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, “Collective Memory and the Politics of Urban Space: An Introduction,” *GeoJournal* 73.3 (2008): 161.

⁶¹ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 1.

frameworks that determine how architecture is mentally produced.⁶² Therefore, the interaction between these frameworks and society constitutes the dimensions of architecture that should be taken into consideration.⁶³ However, before discussing the place of architecture in the realm of collective memory it is essential to explore the emergence of the term collective memory.

2.1.1 The Concept of Collective Memory

Contemporary investigations of the social context of memory has mostly depended on the works of Maurice Halbwachs, the pupil of sociologist Emile Durkheim. While considering the social aspects of memory, Halbwachs introduced the term collective memory. Of course, he was not the only person who stressed memory and its social aspects. Nevertheless, most present-day studies on collective remembering are usually traced back to Halbwachs. He is often considered as “the founding father” of contemporary theories of collective remembering.⁶⁴

Scholarly works on socio-spatial memory in architecture and other related disciplines have been inspired specifically by Halbwachs’ collective memory studies. Halbwachs’ argument in *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (The Social Frameworks of Memory), published in 1925, that memory is socially constructed, has strongly influenced how later researchers have approached the notion of memory. Halbwachs defines collective memory as the communal representations and meanings of the past anchored in the lives of individuals who take part in societal life. Thus, every society possesses an “inventory of signs and symbols” through

⁶² Bülent Batuman, *Mimarlığın ABC’si* (İstanbul: Say, 2012), 22.

⁶³ Batuman, *Mimarlığın ABC’si*, 22.

⁶⁴ “Introduction” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 3-49.

which collective memory is produced.⁶⁵ Halbwachs' works legitimized the assumption that any social order has a shared memory.⁶⁶

It is necessary to summarize how Halbwachs gradually constructed the term collective memory. His career started after he decided to study philosophy under the guidance of the philosopher Henri Bergson. However, he then switched to studying sociology after meeting Emile Durkheim. Thus, his works on collective memory accommodate and combine the main insights of these two important figures.

Bergson analyzed the 'experience of time', in which he highlighted the concept of memory.⁶⁷ Bergson interprets memory in terms of images formed in the mind to represent reality after perception. For Bergson, perception, and therefore individual imagery, occur under cultural and psychological influences. Bergson's work on memory paved the way for Halbwachs' studies in that Halbwachs elaborated the discrepancies between objective and subjective perceptions of the past experiences.

However, Durkheim's legacy is more prominent in Halbwachs' works. In contrast to Bergson's subjective approach, he adopted a collectivist way of analyzing time by emphasizing social organizations.⁶⁸ While acknowledging many of Bergson's ideas, both Halbwachs and Durkheim criticized his insistence on "subjective time and [the] individualistic consciousness" of the self.⁶⁹ In Durkheim's conceptualization, time is

⁶⁵ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41(May 2002): 188.

⁶⁶ Jeffrey K. Olick, and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 106.

⁶⁷ "Introduction" in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 3-49.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 3-49.

⁶⁹ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 112.

an abstract impersonal notion. Time is also social and depends on the rhythms of societal life. Consequently, there is a time common to a group, which varies from society to society.⁷⁰ Durkheim argues that each society needs “a sense of continuity with the past”, which is provided by social time.⁷¹

Drawing on the Durkheimian collectivist view, Halbwachs investigated memory as “a matter of how minds work together in society, how their operations (...) are structured by social arrangements.”⁷² He then enriched Durkheim’s legacy by uncovering elements of social life and establishing a “connection between a social group and collective memory.”⁷³ Halbwachs argues that, although remembering is an individual act, it appears according to social codes. Hence, individual memory cannot be defined independently of the physical and social environment. Halbwachs’ approach has paved the way for numerous discussions among architects and urban planners. Conceptualizing memory as a social phenomenon has enabled new viewpoints that consider an individual’s interaction with the built environment in relation to memory.

To grasp how Halbwachs conceptualized collective memory, it is useful to start by summarizing an essential part of his study where he discusses dreams. To enable us to comprehend his interpretation of how we recollect the past, Halbwachs suggests that dreams and sleeping are an exemplary condition because dreams are the only realm where human existence is not rooted in a social context.⁷⁴ That is, since we

⁷⁰ Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, 112.

⁷¹ Ibid., 4.

⁷² Jeffrey K. Olick, and Joyce Robbins. "Social Memory Studies: From “Collective Memory” to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 109.

⁷³ Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, 51.

⁷⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 23.

cannot recollect the past while we dream, we are isolated, without any contact with society:

Dreams do not contain true memories, [*sic*] this is because, to remember, one must be capable of reasoning and comparing and of feeling in contact with a human society that can guarantee the integrity of our memory.⁷⁵

What Halbwachs wanted to show through the example of dreams is that no memory is available for the individual mind when that person is isolated from the ‘social frameworks’ of a society. Dreams are based on themselves “whereas, recollections depend on the great frameworks of the memory”.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he states that dreams are “based only upon themselves, whereas our recollections depend on those of all our fellows, and the great frameworks of the memory of society”.⁷⁷ Memories differ according to the social setting, and are socially constructed within ‘social frameworks’. People located in a specific group recollect the past by acknowledging those frameworks, which Halbwachs describes as the totality of common thoughts, interests, and perspectives of a group.⁷⁸ He defines the ‘social frameworks of memory’ as “the combination of individual recollections of many members of the same group”, also demonstrating how memories hang or stay together.⁷⁹ Collective or social frameworks are the instruments of social remembering, which depends on them to “reconstruct an image of the past” blended into the group’s shared experiences.⁸⁰ In other words, the act of remembering is shaped by the society or

⁷⁵ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 41.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

culture within which individuals recall the past by relying on collective everyday life experiences.⁸¹

Before concluding this section, it is crucial to touch on the one contested aspect of collective memory if it is attributed to involve 'knowledge of the past'. In particular, we should briefly consider contemporary descriptions of the relationship between collective memory and *history* to assign a specific standpoint for this study. Contemporary social memory studies generally claim that memory and history are either almost the same thing or complementary. Seeing the act of recollection in this way brings a new dimension to contemporary social memory studies. In different places and periods, certain facets of the past that are considered as memorable happen to be represented in different ways through varying mediums of recollection. A certain knowledge of the past can be traced in both the material and immaterial objects of a certain culture that accommodates multiple personalities and stories. Inevitably, this has led scholars to question how to define memory and its relationship to history:

The traditional conceptualization of the boundary between memory and history has been destabilized. This current process of redefinition has led to a fruitful indeterminacy with history being freed of disciplinary constraints and becoming an organic form of knowledge.⁸²

However, although this boundary fades away in a way that generates fruitful research areas, most scholars, especially traditional historians, are concerned with the concept of social memory and its reliability when it comes to talking about history. Most

⁸¹ Rebecca Bramall. "Book Review: Theories of Memory: A Reader: Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead (eds) Edinburgh University Press, 2007, *Memory Studies* 1.3 (2008): 341-343.

⁸² Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 103-105.

regard memories as malleable. Therefore, a reliable representation of the past requires an understanding of who shapes memories and how.⁸³

Peter Burke elaborates the problem, which concerns most academics, by stating that collective memory is selective, so one must be concerned with identifying the principles of this selection. It must be investigated in terms of how they alter when there are variety of scenes or social groups. However, he then liberates the concept of collective memory from its biased determinations:

Remembering the past and writing about it no longer seem [*sic*] innocent activities. Neither memories nor histories seem objective any longer. In both cases, we are learning to take account of conscious or unconscious selection, interpretation, and distortion. In both cases, this selection, interpretation, and distortion are socially conditioned. It is not the work of individuals alone.⁸⁴

Similarly, Olick and Robbins claim that history is inscribed from the point of view of a particular group in a definite time and place with sources that may be arbitrarily chosen.⁸⁵ By emphasizing the contested objectivity of history itself, they emancipate the concept of social memory from the sense that it is unreliable while generating knowledge of the past. Furthermore, Misztal's claim that "without memory of the past there is no history" because "memory was not perceived as an alternative to history."⁸⁶ Misztal warns us not to choose one over the other but to show how history

⁸³ Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford University Press), 189.

⁸⁴ Burke "History as Social Memory," 188.

⁸⁵ Jeffrey K. Olick, and Joyce Robbins. "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24.1 (1998): 110.

⁸⁶ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 100.

and memory nurture each other. Rather than what was the truth in the past, the focus here is to highlight what happened and what it meant for societies.⁸⁷

To conclude, Halbwachs asserts that collective memories acquire their references through present social frameworks to represent knowledge of the past.⁸⁸ Similarly, Paul Connerton states that our experiences of the present day are mostly based on our knowledge of the past, which in turn is commonly built within a legitimate contemporary social order.⁸⁹ His viewpoint coincides with Barbara Misztal, who claims that people construct their relationship to the past through collective memories that are replete with the present set of collective ideas, cultural practices, rituals, and monuments.⁹⁰ In other words, collective memory is somewhat an “active past” that shapes our present condition at the very moment.⁹¹ Wulf Kansteiner claims that collective memory is comprised of three interacting historical factors:

The intellectual and cultural traditions that frame our representations of the past, the memory makers who adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform those artifacts according to their interests.⁹²

⁸⁷ Tülin Selvi Ünlü, “Kent Kimliğinin Oluşumunda Kentsel Bellek ve Kentsel Mekân İlişkisi: Mersin Örneği,” *Planlama* 27.1 (2017), 79.

⁸⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Frances D. Jitter Jr and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 78-82.

⁸⁹ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3.

⁹⁰ Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, 6.

⁹¹ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 111.

⁹² Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41(May 2002): 180.

In a Halbwachsian manner, Kansteiner refers to ‘frameworks’ that are constructed through social interactions and that help individuals understand their past. However, those individuals are simultaneously both memory makers and memory consumers.

To sum up, collective memory, the social context of remembering, is always in relation to the past, and collects knowledge of the past from different agents and their experiences. In *The production of Space*, Lefebvre asks the rhetorical question: “Can space be reduced to the objectification of knowledge?”⁹³ He answers by saying both yes and no. On the one hand, a knowledge objectified in a space does not coincide with theoretical knowledge; on the other hand, it contains certain social relations.⁹⁴

2.2 Collective Memory and Place Association

The relationship between memory and the vehicles of memory can become complex in terms of identifying the vehicles since they can be of various types.⁹⁵ Collective memory depends on different forms of mediations provided by a group’s internal experiences.⁹⁶ Individuals tend to prioritize different mediums of memory in the act of recollection. The physical environment, which is a more concrete term for place, is one of them.⁹⁷ We experience our daily environment through place. It is also a substantial source of communal identity by being the center of the immediate

⁹³ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 57.

⁹⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 57.

⁹⁵ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 21.

⁹⁶ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 19.

⁹⁷ Christian Norberg-Schulz, “The Phenomenon of Place,” *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald (Routledge, 2013), 126.

experiences through which people establish emotional and psychological bonds.⁹⁸ According to Norberg-Schulz, “it is meaningless to imagine any happening without reference to a locality, (...) place is an integral part of human existence.”⁹⁹ Places are unique spaces associated and replete with significant intersubjective values. Meaning is attributed to a place through experiencing it, with experiences being stored in individual memories to be remembered again. Thus, whether built or natural, a place possesses mnemonic features that are enabled when one establishes a relationship with that specific space by assigning a meaning to it. Thus, the philosopher Edward S. Casey argues that places are the containers of experiences that contribute social groups recollecting the past.¹⁰⁰ Casey formulates a place-oriented memory, which help groups remember through a specific space:

Places are potently receptive and preservative of memories, which they hold to keep. As much as body or brain, mind or language, the place is a keeper of memories – one of the main ways by which the past comes to be secured in the present, held in things before us and around us.¹⁰¹

According to Casey, an experience or an event in a place is ready to be well remembered since it will always be recollected through that specific space.¹⁰² Different cultures have benefited from place memory, and regarded it as a powerful tool when they need to remember certain subjects. Imaginary landscapes or built structures are instrumentalized in mnemonic exercises, such as the Ancient Greeks’

⁹⁸ Edward Relph, “Prospects for Places,” in *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald (Routledge, 2013), 120.

⁹⁹ Christian Norberg-Schulz, “The Phenomenon of Place,” *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald (Routledge, 2013), 126-136.

¹⁰⁰ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 186-187

¹⁰¹ Casey, *Remembering*, 213.

¹⁰² Casey, *Remembering*, 214.

practice the Art of Memory. According to Frances A. Yates, who comprehensively investigated the Art of Memory, “this art seeks to memorize through a technique of impressing places and images on memory.”¹⁰³ First, a set of images are specified that are associated with another set of successive information, which is mostly happen to be a public speech. These specified images remind the main topics of the speech to the spokesman through association. Next, a well-recognized building or a structure must be chosen, with specified objects placed within the rooms or spaces of the building. The order of the places in the building also determines the order of the speech and the objects in the rooms remind us of the main topics. The fixed sequence of places helps to remind speaker about the right order of the speech.¹⁰⁴ The speaker imagines that he/she goes for a walk through the building’s rooms and remembers his/her speech through visual images. Theories on the Art of Memory determine the relationship between places and mental images. The Art of Memory enables one to grasp the built environment and mental constructions as a system of remembrances.¹⁰⁵ By stressing on an implicit phenomenon, which is “easily grasped by the memory,” the Art of Memory reveals another medium for the collective memory: Images are the simulacra of what we want to recollect, and to achieve that “we must place (...) images on definite loci.”¹⁰⁶

In Burke’s view, it is one of the most interesting parts of Halbwachs’ posthumous study, *The Collective Memory*, in which he considered this medium of space, where memories accumulate and are conveyed.¹⁰⁷ Halbwachs’ works make the implicit

¹⁰³ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1999), xi.

¹⁰⁴ Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 128.

¹⁰⁶ Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Burke, “History as Social Memory,” 190.

phenomenon explicit by elaborating on the social context of remembering.¹⁰⁸ He specifically establishes a link between place and collective memory. While claiming that “every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework,” he regards the physical space as a medium in which memories are formed from social experiences.¹⁰⁹ He probes the question that everyone who studies place memory wonders: *Why does a person become attached to objects?*¹¹⁰ We can immediately consider the object here as the lived physical environment. Halbwachs answers as follows: “Let us leave aside for the moment any considerations of convenience or aesthetics. Our physical surroundings bear our and others’ imprint.”¹¹¹ The imprint that Halbwachs talks about occurs gradually in the physical space where people’s daily experiences take place. People live, work, study, or simply pass time by engaging in regular activities in the place where their social life takes place. They meet other members of society and collectively become part of an event, whether a meeting, social gathering, or work-related. What is important in this context, however, is the individual’s involvement in the social environment rather than the reason for being in a particular space. It is the place where the individual witness the imprint of the other is the main concern of collective memory.”¹¹²

Accordingly, Halbwachs continues:

¹⁰⁸ Peter Burke “History as Social Memory,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford University Press), 190.

¹⁰⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Frances D. Jitter Jr and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 139.

¹¹⁰ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 84.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

Each aspect, each detail, of this place, has a meaning intelligent only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society (...).¹¹³

Halbwachs defines memory as the collective remembrances of a certain social order. Even an individual's remembering depends on a social ecosystem and the symbols of a social group. Subsequently, his statements regarding place and memory always reflect this social context that individuals belong to. Each member of the society contributes through their involvements within a place by generating a flock of representations of the past:

What is involved is no mere harmony and physical congruence between place and person. Rather, each object (...) recalls a way of life common to many men. To analyze its various facets is like dissecting a thought compounded of the contributions of many groups.¹¹⁴

The subject here is the society that transforms, yields, and accordingly adopts the physical surroundings that are the object of collective memory.¹¹⁵ This explains how spatial sites play a substantial role in collective memory. Plural memories hold on to places where they turn into collective knowledge of the past. Places or spatial frameworks are the rigid "supports and frames of reference" for anchoring and preserving collective knowledge.¹¹⁶ Halbwachs states that "every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time." Ultimately, he makes us notice the intimate relationship between collective memory and place.¹¹⁷ To become a medium of collective memory, places need to generate enough associations

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Frances D. Jitter Jr and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 84.

¹¹⁶ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 51-52.

¹¹⁷ Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 84.

with a social group over time through a vast number of experiences. Furthermore, “only spatial imagery has the stability to allow us to discover the past in the present.”¹¹⁸ In this regard, while highlighting that place memory can trigger social memory through the physical environment, Dolores Hayden continues as follows:

“(It) encapsulates the human ability to connect with both the built environment that is entwined in the cultural landscape. It is the key to the power of historic places to help citizens define their public pasts: places trigger memories for insiders, who have shared a common past, and at the same time places often can represent shared pasts to outsiders who might be interested in knowing about them in the present.”¹¹⁹

Similarly, Pierre Nora discusses sites of memory, which are the material and immaterial cultural deposits of a particular collective memory. Halbwachs’ collective memory studies strongly influenced Nora and his theorization of *realms of memory*.¹²⁰ Nora offers the following view on “the social context of memory”:

The idea that memory can be collective, emancipatory, and sacred turns the meaning of the term inside out. Individuals had memories, collectivities had histories. The idea that collectivities have a memory implies a far-reaching transformation of the status of individuals within society and their relationship to the community at large.¹²¹

Like Halbwachs’ place and memory discussions, Nora argues that a social group’s specific symbols and signs become memorable when they are infused within a particular medium, i.e. places. That is, they become concrete in the memory of individuals. The part of Nora’s work that is relevant to architecture is his reference

¹¹⁸ Michael Hebbert, “The street as the locus of collective memory,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23.4 (2005): 584.

¹¹⁹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 46.

¹²⁰ Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 104.

¹²¹ Pierre Nora, “Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory,” in *the collective memory reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy (Oxford University Press), 440.

to the Art of Memory in terms of how it instrumentalizes *places* enable collective remembering.¹²² In his famous work *Lieux de Mémoires* (Realms of Memory), Nora identifies four different types of *sites of memory*: symbolic sites (e.g., commemorations, anniversaries), functional sites (e.g., manuals, autobiographies, associations); monumental materiality (e.g., cemeteries, buildings); and topographic entities (e.g., archives, libraries, museums).¹²³ Through them, Nora gives concrete examples of the city and architecture to argue that memory can be produced by the establishment of the past in different forms and thereby initiate new discussions. According to him, sites of memory initiate collective memory, which enables societies to rediscover their history through these cultural deposits.

To conclude this section, Casey's detailed argument epitomizes the function of places in the act of remembering:

Partly because places furnish convenient points of attachment for memories; but also, because places provide situations in which remembered actions can deploy themselves (...) Places are congealed scenes for remembered contents; and as such, they serve to situate what we remember. "Place is a *mise en scene* for remembered events precisely to the extent that it guards and keeps these events within its self-delimiting perimeters."¹²⁴

¹²² Nora's work on realms of memory, published in France between 1984 and 1993, is regarded as providing cultural support for a specific collective memory in the French national identity. See Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2003), 103.

¹²³ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 12.

¹²⁴ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 189.

2.2.1 Places of the City

Cities contain a range of objects or sites generated through architecture; society is always in relation to that architecture. Therefore, at the very beginning of *Architecture and the City* (Italy, 1966), Rossi defines the city space as the sum of diverse architectures of different periods.¹²⁵ We cannot identify the spatial habits of any social group without examining its architecture.¹²⁶ We should define architecture as the built environment that emerges as a social product and its cultural reflection.¹²⁷ Through architecture, people can hold on to time and space.¹²⁸ Architectural objects define places in the city not just only by their interior but also with their exterior appearance, borders, immediate surroundings, and relation to other architectural forms. Multiple juxtaposed architectural edifices of different periods constitute the places of the city. As Rossi argues, the production of the city is naturally collective.¹²⁹ Since the city is “the collective expression of architecture” it becomes

¹²⁵ Rossi’s definitions above and below were mostly nourished by Marcel Poëte’s notions on what makes a city within the scope of ‘urban morphology’. According to Poëte, the city is a living entity that has occupied the same location for thousands of years, with a memory that has been developing since birth. What keeps this memory permanently alive t are the structural forms of the city. These forms sustain an environment and they are also the loci in which collective urban memory is maintained. See Bilsel, Fatma Cânâ. 2015. “Kent Tarihi Araştırmalarında Mekânbilimsel Bir Yaklaşım Olarak Kentsel Morfoloji.” In, 59. Mersin, Türkiye: Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu: temel yaklaşımlar ve teknikler (2015). <https://hdl.handle.net/11511/83994>.

¹²⁶ Segah Sak, İnci Basa, The Role of the Train Station in the Image Formation of the Early Republican Ankara, 779.

¹²⁷ Bülent Batuman, *Mimarlığın ABC’si* (İstanbul: Say, 2012), 24.

¹²⁸ Baykan Günay, “Planlama ve Kentin Kurgusu,” in *Kentsel Planlama Kuramları*, ed. Melih Ersoy (İmge, 2012), 379.

¹²⁹ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 21.

the medium of collective memory.¹³⁰ For Andreas Huyssen, the exquisite reality about the cultural environment is the way that collective memory has occupied the most “stable and fixed” media in the urban space: architecture.¹³¹ Furthermore, Rossi claims that “architecture (...) is deeply rooted in the formation of civilization and is a permanent, universal, and necessary artifact.”¹³² Thus, cities can show themselves as a medium of the collective memory :

One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory, it is associated with objects and places. (...) Both of architecture and landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory (...) In this entirely positive sense, great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it.¹³³

Assmann defines cultural memory in terms of the external dimensions of individual memory. He argues that social conditions and cultural frameworks can provide relevant information about the content of cultural memory. Thus, cultural memory can encompass everything that is considered meaningful within a social group.¹³⁴ In the light of this conceptualization, if we consider who ordered and built the architectural object, and then who used it, architecture should be understood as a social process. The practice of architecture understood in this way is nothing more than the representation of the built environment in the field of culture. In other words,

¹³⁰ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 30.

¹³¹ Andreas Huyssen, *Present pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 6-7.

¹³² Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 21.

¹³³ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 130.

¹³⁴ Jan Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek: Eski Yüksek Kültürlerde Yazı, Hatırlama ve Politik Kimlik* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2018), 29.

each architectural object should be evaluated within the framework of certain cultural codes.¹³⁵

According to Umberto Eco, “(It) is like constructing (...) a space, (...) memories are built as a city is built”.¹³⁶ That is, cities are constructed collectively, step by step and stone by stone by plural identities who happen to contribute to each phase of this ongoing production. Like memories, the buildings and sites of a city gradually accumulate and turn into each other to become “subject to the vicissitudes of time.”¹³⁷ Throughout history, city space adorns itself with precious collective memories that are also ready to shape both its present and future forms. Rossi provides a clear illustration of the relationship between the urban scene and collective memory:

The value of history seen as collective memory (...) helps us to grasp the significance of the urban structure, its individuality, and its architecture which is the form of this individuality. (...) Thus, the union between the past and the future exists in the very idea of the city that it flows through in the same way that memory flows through the life of a person; and always, to be realized, this idea must not only shape but be shaped by reality. This shaping is a permanent aspect of a city's unique artifacts, monuments, and the idea we have of it.¹³⁸

In this study, it is intended to develop a viewpoint of cities as the knowledge of the past. In this regard, several significant interpretations of the concept of city are provided to establish a theoretical foundation. For instance, Lynch argues that “the city is a construction in space, but one of vast scale, a thing perceived only in long

¹³⁵ Bülent Batuman, *Mimarlığın ABC'si* (İstanbul: Say, 2012), 21.

¹³⁶ Michael Hebbert, “The Street as Locus of Collective Memory,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23.4 (2005): 581.

¹³⁷ Andreas Huyssen, *Present pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 6-7.

¹³⁸ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 131.

spans of time.” This is highly relevant while considering the city as a place of memory.¹³⁹ The society’s formation in a space by representing both itself and this space is not does not happen in a day; rather, it is a process.¹⁴⁰ City space is replete with numerous public spaces and a vast number of varying types of buildings, which are regarded as the material traces of the past.¹⁴¹ According to Lynch, those historic traces, whether spectacular or anonymous, help us to perceive an environment that has been gradually constructed in time in front of its citizens’ eyes. However, to grasp what constitutes a city, one must trace both the material and immaterial components of the past that help provide each city’s characteristic features. Architectural objects and the city are “mutually dependent.”¹⁴² Consequently, cities are likely to reveal their identity through the buildings as these have the “biggest effect on the image of the city”.¹⁴³ Huyssen, who studies cities as palimpsests of space, provides another relevant definition on which to base the following sections.¹⁴⁴ Layers of architectural data eventually juxtapose within the city space, transform each other in varying ways, or just gradually accumulate to adopt different forms over time. Huyssen’s illustration of the city space as a

¹³⁹ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 1.

¹⁴⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 63.

¹⁴¹ Andreas Huyssen, *Present pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 1.

¹⁴² Segah Sak, İnci Basa, *The Role of the Train Station in the Image Formation of the Early Republican Ankara*, 779.

¹⁴³ Segah Sak, İnci Basa, *The Role of the Train Station in the Image Formation of the Early Republican Ankara*, 779.

¹⁴⁴ Andreas Huyssen, *Present pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 7.

palimpsest reminds us of the words of Boyer, who also questions the relationship between urban tissue and history:

(C)ity is the collective expression of architecture and it carries in the weaving and unraveling of its fabric the memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments. (...) Its physical structure constantly evolves, being deformed or forgotten, adapted to other purposes, or eradicated by different needs. The demands and pressures of social reality constantly affect the material order of the city, yet it remains the theater of our memory.¹⁴⁵

In a way, Huyssen's definition corresponds to Rossi's expression that "the city is in itself a repository of history."¹⁴⁶ What is important to stress here is that all the definitions and interpretations given above highlight the significance of the city space in relation to time. In the end, "place acts to contain time itself; this is not to trivialize time but to make it into a dimension of space through the active influence of place."¹⁴⁷ Consequently, the relationship between time and place eventually leads us to memory and place association, which reminds us of Nora's emphasis on the relationship between memory and place: "(...) Memory requires (...) to be rooted in the concrete: in space, gesture, image or object."¹⁴⁸

To conclude, many social memory theorists, including Halbwachs, argued that architectural landscapes and cityscapes either become or contain mediums of memory. Their research has evolved as a wave through the work of later academics who have investigated cities' architectural objects as expressions of collective

¹⁴⁵ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 31.

¹⁴⁶ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 127.

¹⁴⁷ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 214.

¹⁴⁸ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 9.

memory.¹⁴⁹ As Kansteiner puts it, those expressions “are attempts to record the images that make up our collective visions of the past.”¹⁵⁰ The city space is probably the most complex yet precious physical space, which has been bombarded with collective memories over many years. City space is an epitome of accumulated memories. It accommodates prominent cultural signs and symbols, which in turn make it a “storehouse for social memories.”¹⁵¹

2.3 Urban Artifacts

The Italian architect Rossi coined the term *fatto urbano* (urban artifact) in 1966 to propose a new approach to explaining the relationship between collective/ social memory and city space. The concept of urban artifact, which this study borrows from Rossi, should not be grasped solely as the buildings within a city.¹⁵² An urban artifact is likely to occur as a void between two or more structures, define a near surrounding of a certain architectural object, or even represent the totality of several structures that identify a particular place in the city. For Rossi, urban artifacts are the city’s enduring elements and memory. They are the structures that contain its history.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41(May 2002): 191.

¹⁵⁰ Kansteiner, “Finding,” 191.

¹⁵¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 9.

¹⁵² Instead of using a generic and comprehensive term, such as ‘urban space’, I prefer to use a more specific one: *urban artifact*. This encourages a more fruitful discussion about healthcare buildings, which are examined in the next chapter.

¹⁵³ Rossi conceptualized the city as a human-made ‘artifact’ based on Marcel Poëte’s ‘fait urbain’, a concept that Poëte brought to urban sciences. It can be translated as ‘urban phenomena’ that express physical and social urban formations. Bilsel claims that Aldo Rossi reintroduced ‘urban memory’

According to Hebbert, Rossi's approach paved the way for architects and designers to understand the built environment not just as a system of isolated buildings but to rediscover it as a totality in which each structure engages in a dialogue with society.¹⁵⁴ Bilsel suggests that the discourse of urban architecture, which Rossi defends here, has gained importance since the last quarter of the twentieth century to become very influential in both urban design and architectural projects within the urban context.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, she asserts that Rossi also argued that "there is a dialectical relationship" between architecture and the city that transforms and shapes each other:

Urban architecture has ceased to be an autonome area of architecture; it has developed as an inclusive research area where the relations between the shaping of urban space and social practices are also the subject of the research.¹⁵⁶

Peter Eisenman, who is also the editor of the English version of *The Architecture of the City*, describes Rossi's term as follows:

The Italian *fatto urbano* comes from the French *faite urbaine*. Neither the Italian nor the English translation "urban artifact" adequately renders the full meaning of the original, which implies not just a physical thing in the city, but

and 'urban phenomena' nearly 30 years later with reference to Poëte. See Bilsel, Fatma Cânâ. 2015. "Kent Tarihi Araştırmalarında Mekânbilimsel Bir Yaklaşım Olarak Kentsel Morfoloji." In 59. Mersin, Türkiye: Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu: temel yaklaşımlar ve teknikler (2015). <https://hdl.handle.net/11511/83994>.

¹⁵⁴ Michael Hebbert, "The Street as Locus of Collective Memory," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23.4 (2005): 587-589.

¹⁵⁵ Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, "Kent Mekânlarının Yeniden Üretiminde Kentsel Morfoloji ve Kent Mimarlığı Yaklaşımı: Paris Örneği," "*DeğişKent*" *Değişen Kent, Mekân ve Biçim, Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Ağı II. Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu* (İstanbul, Turkey, 2018): 54, <https://kentselmorfolojisempozyumu2018.files.wordpress.com/2019/04/m-a2.pdf>

¹⁵⁶ Bilsel, "Kent Mekânlarının Yeniden Üretiminde Kentsel Morfoloji," 35.

all of its history, geography, structure, and connection with the general life of the city.¹⁵⁷

Rossi's conceptualization of 'urban artifact' is rooted in Halbwachs' studies on the relationship between place and collective memory:

Indeed, the forms of surrounding objects certainly possess such significance. They do stand about us a mute and motionless society. While they do not speak, we nevertheless understand them because they have a meaning easily interpreted.¹⁵⁸

By stating that "life is merged with things" in the city, Halbwachs highlights the significance of the relationship between the physical landscape and the social groups who are in close and continuous contact with it.¹⁵⁹ In parallel, Boyer's influential statement explains what urban artifacts mean for a city:

It is in these physical artifacts and traces that our city memories lie buried, for the past is carried forward to the present through these sites. Addressed to the eye of vision and the soul of memory, a city's streets, monuments, and architectural forms often contain grand discourses on history.¹⁶⁰

Boyer claims that remembering and forgetting are directly related with daily spatial practices and the built environment. She highlights the importance of every kind of urban artifact such as the modest public spaces of a city. Urban public spaces are the city's most vital nodes for establishing the relation between past, present and future. Therefore, these genuine artifacts, which can appear in different forms of the public space, can reflect the collective memory. The implication that urban artifacts are also

¹⁵⁷ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 13-19.

¹⁵⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Frances D. Jitter Jr and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 84.

¹⁵⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Frances D. Jitter Jr and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 131-132.

¹⁶⁰ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 31.

a “connection with the general life of the city” is what makes the ideas of Rossi relevant to the present study. These connections made through a society’s social and physical experiences constitute an urban artifact and ultimately the city’s identity for the city. When we talk about a city’s identity, we are actually talking about the set of values that inhabitants find within it – an idealization attributed to a city. That is, identity becomes something ascribed to the city.¹⁶¹

At this point, it is essential to stress that this study prefers to interpret Rossi's conceptualization in a way that tectonic structures in the city can be defined as precious too. In other words, in my consideration of the concept of urban artifact, structures do not have to occur as artworks of the city. A highly functional well-established building that possesses multiple spatial practices of inhabitants can easily become the subject of social memory, and I interpret such structures as urban artifacts as well, without dismissing what Rossi states. Why are we accustomed to seek ostentatious buildings that are the ones with precious architectural quality only capable of tying us up with the past? What must be understood to be important from Rossi's words are time and urban practice. We should not skip the importance of spatial practices which make up a city. This is how a city space becomes the locus of collective urban memory. As Rossi claims, a structures' “persistence is a result of its capacity to constitute the city”. Therefore, regarding their service and contribution to the city of Ankara, this study is prone to regard six healthcare sites which will be examined in the next section as urban artifacts in the light of this conceptualization. It is obvious that they are “conditioning the urban area” by constituting an important “urban focus”.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ İlhan Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 1991), 80.

¹⁶² Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 59.

Rossi also argues that urban artifacts must be examined together with their immediate surroundings. He uses the term *locus* to specify the relationship between a location and the building in it.¹⁶³ He asserts that not only the architectural form itself ensures urban continuity by representing accumulated knowledge but also the meaning that the form adds to the area where it is located. According to Rossi, each physical part of the city accommodates its memory and make the social relationships of people visible. In defining these parts as *locus*, he envisages the city as a living organism. Lynch supports the idea behind Rossi's term *locus* in his claim that "nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences."¹⁶⁴ Similar to Rossi's conceptualization of *locus*, Lynch abstracts three aspects of a city's image, namely identity, structure, and meaning:

A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. This is called identity, not in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness. Second, the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. Finally, this object must have some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional.¹⁶⁵

Through these three concepts, which are also seen in Rossi's notions of *locus* and the collective memory relationship, Lynch emphasizes the city's identity. Consequently, if we read or trace the relationship between individuals and the city space through these concepts, we can argue that urban memory functions together with urban identity. This in turn enables us to better understand the social

¹⁶³ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 103.

¹⁶⁴ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 1.

¹⁶⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 8-9.

relationships that urban artifacts establish with their immediate surroundings. Rossi argues that although this relationship is abstract initially, it becomes concrete through the numerous daily experiences and social interactions of citizens within these specific places.¹⁶⁶ Rossi also defines this relationship through locus and explains where we can find it:

It resides in the single artifact, in its material, the succession of events that unfolds around it, and the minds of its makers; but also, in the place that determines it—both in a physical sense and above all in the sense of the choice of this place and the indivisible unity that is established between it and the work.¹⁶⁷

Locus is constituted by everything, from the reason why the architect chooses a particular material, to the successive social events that take place around that artifact. Locus is the “characteristic principle of the urban artifact.”¹⁶⁸ Whether a single artifact or a totality of structures within a district, a locus is always related to social experiences, hence memories:

The collective memory participates in the actual transformation of space in the works of the collective, a transformation that is always conditioned by whatever material realities oppose it. Understood in this sense, the memory becomes the guiding thread of the entire complex urban structure (...).¹⁶⁹

Rossi claims that memories are what shape the urban artifacts in time and accordingly, the condition of the city. He emphasizes the importance of memory in the “creation of places” because “places are not space but places because memories

¹⁶⁶ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 103.

¹⁶⁷ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 113-114.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 130-131.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 130-131.

are created in relation to them.”¹⁷⁰ Therefore, Rossi interprets the city and its architecture as the main subjects of collective memory.

Another important aspect of the urban artifacts is that they can occur in very humble, ordinary parts of the city. An urban artifact can appear in people’s minds as a street or an ordinary neighborhood that has meaning for its inhabitants or simple greenery between buildings where children and youngsters enjoy passing time. The city’s ordinary places also have the potential to become urban artifacts. As Hayden argues, this power of ordinary places comes from their cultural and social importance.¹⁷¹

Society possesses urban artifacts as cultural products of their past:

The importance of ordinary buildings for public memory has largely been ignored, although, like monumental architecture, common urban places like union halls, schools, and residences have the power to evoke visual, social memory.¹⁷²

It is important here to address Jane Jacobs’ ideas here because Rossi and Hayden both evoke what Jacobs says about the ordinary and aged buildings within a city:

Cities need old buildings so badly it is probably impossible for vigorous streets and districts to grow without them. By old buildings I mean not museum-piece old buildings, not old buildings in an excellent and expensive state of rehabilitation—although these make fine ingredients—but also a good lot of plain, ordinary, low-value old buildings, including some rundown old buildings.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Segah Sak, and Burcu Senyapili, “Evading Time and Place in Ankara: A Reading of Contemporary Urban Collective Memory Through Recent Transformations,” *Space and Culture* 22, no.4 (2019): 1.

¹⁷¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 9.

¹⁷² Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 47.

¹⁷³ Jane Jacobs, *The Death, and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 200.

Jacobs advocates that we should acknowledge the social, economic, and cultural value of a city's old sites and settlements. The streets, neighborhoods or buildings that Jacobs highlights sustain a vivid environment and create a well-established locality for adding later structures. Of course, this lively and sustained environment depends on its inhabitants' experiences and participation because they attribute meaning to the urban space. Lynch's statement also supports and draws on Jacobs' ideas. Lynch emphasizes the same issues in describing people's preferred physical environment:

We need an environment that is not simply well organized, but poetic and symbolic as well. It should speak of the individuals and their complex society, of their aspirations and their historical tradition, of the natural setting, and the complicated functions and movements of the city world. But the clarity of structure and vividness of identity are the first steps to the development of strong symbols. By appearing as a remarkable and well-knit place, the city could provide a ground for the clustering and organization of these meanings and associations. Such a sense of place in itself enhances every human activity that occurs there and encourages the deposit of a memory trace.¹⁷⁴

It is no coincidence that Jacobs' arguments parallel Rossi's claims that city space is the *locus* of collective memory. Late-twentieth-century urbanists, including Jane Jacobs, have been strongly influenced by Halbwachs' concepts (as has Rossi), and in turn reestablished a novel Halbwachsian conceptualization of urban space.¹⁷⁵ Thus, in support of Jacobs, Lynch claims that:

A vivid and integrated physical setting, capable of producing a sharp image, plays a social role as well, it can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 119.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Hebbert, "The Street as a Locus of Collective Memory," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23 (2005), 586.

¹⁷⁶ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 4.

Whether they are an old building or a particular district with historical attributes, places that citizens regard as meaningful must be appreciated as significant artifacts. This is because, as Lynch claims, “every citizen has had long associations with some part of the city, and its image is soaked in memories and meanings.”¹⁷⁷ Finally, Relph states that “a deep human need exists for associations with significant places”. If this need is ignored “then the future can only hold an environment in which places simply do not matter.”¹⁷⁸

2.3.1 Urban Artifacts and the Dynamics of Urban Memory

Urban memory can be regarded as a form of collective memory. City space is where collective memory is spatially produced. Halbwachs strongly emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between society and individual memory by highlighting how individual memory can nourish collective everyday experiences within a socially shared place, and vice versa. Urban memory includes the shared societal activities and experiences within a shared city space. Moreover, Batuman argues that in order to understand the nature of urban memory, it is very helpful to consider it as “an accumulation in various cultural media in relation to memory”.¹⁷⁹ This is constituted through the social and shared imaginations of the city. Thereby, collective images affect the urban space, which is how the built environment is represented in our memory.¹⁸⁰ According to the approaches above, the meaning of a place is constituted

¹⁷⁷ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 1.

¹⁷⁸ Edward Relph, “Prospects for Places,” in *The Urban Design Reader*, ed. Michael Larice and Elizabeth Macdonald (Routledge, 2013), 123.

¹⁷⁹ (Author’s translation) Bülent Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri: Mekân ve Görsel Politika* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 12.

¹⁸⁰ Bülent Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri: Mekân ve Görsel Politika* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 12.

by what it has accumulated over time. Thus, besides the collective memory formed through the places in the city, it also has a memory of itself.¹⁸¹ That memory, which belongs to the city, appears in the literature as urban memory while urban artifacts are where societies' collective memories are both shaped and stored. When completed, an architectural artifact is a place that is powerful enough to affect the people who will live within it and functions as the media of memory.¹⁸²

Individuals frequently experience urban artifacts and the image of the artifact stored in the city's collective memory. The city's buildings establish its identity by accommodating individual and collective experiences that "lead to the attachment of meaning".¹⁸³ Urban memory consists of plural images of the city that together constitute a strong collective identity for it. This identity delivers a sense of continuity to the inhabitants. Since the city is where constant dynamic formations happen, only urban memory can offer "a sense of temporal anchoring in a world of up-to-the-minute".¹⁸⁴ Throughout their urban experience, societies need concrete, permanent reminders of the past and present time to alive with some sense of stability. Edward Casey argues that the sense of being in a place is the order of nature that remembers us to know "what we are (now) in terms of what we were (then)."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Işıl Ekin Çalak, *Kentsel ve Kolektif Belleğin Sürekliliği Bağlamında Kamusal Mekanlar: ULAP Platz Örneği*, Almanya, 35.

¹⁸² Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 102.

¹⁸³ Segah Sak, İnci Basa, *The Role of the Train Station in the Image Formation of the Early Republican Ankara*, 779.

¹⁸⁴ Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Making time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 7.

¹⁸⁵ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 215.

The city space is composed of numerous people “seeking a general order that is consistent with their particular environment.”¹⁸⁶ Hayden asserts that both collective and individual identity are intertwined with urban memory:

Both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers (...). Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbors, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes.¹⁸⁷

“The interplay between the entity of the urban environment and people” explains how urban memory realizes itself.¹⁸⁸ It simultaneously reflects and produces the ‘knowledge of the past’ because every society produces a space and every society creates its own space.¹⁸⁹ Our everyday experiences within these places constantly mingle with those of earlier generations. Spatial experiences are generated either by the relationship between individuals and other members of the society or with the city and individuals. In each case, as Henri Lefebvre notes, space is a social product that is again socially experienced.¹⁹⁰ Associating the issue of representing the city with spatiality, he claims that in order to comprehend the production of the space, one must consider three different aspects of the space:¹⁹¹ “spatial practices

¹⁸⁶ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 21.

¹⁸⁷ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 8.

¹⁸⁸ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 40.

¹⁸⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 61.

¹⁹⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 56.

¹⁹¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 62-63.

(*perceived space*), representations of space (*conceived space*), and spaces of representations (*lived space*).”¹⁹² In this way, according to İnci Basa, Lefebvre not only conceptualizes the way space is produced but also the construction of urban memory.¹⁹³ Her interpretation is highly relevant for understanding and instrumentalizing Lefebvre’s notions while discussing the nature of urban memory. According to Basa, Lefebvre’s ‘conceived space’ finds its meaning as ‘representations of space’ through the ‘spatial practices’ of the citizens. Lefebvre defines spatial practices as the rigid coalescence of everyday reality (the use of time in daily practices) and urban reality (networks that connect working life, private life, and leisure time) inside the perceived space.¹⁹⁴ Within the fluidity of everyday life, spatial experiences enable citizens to code the urban pattern as references in their mind. More ordinary places within the city can certainly be included within this coding, such as unpretentious green areas, modest squares, or – as in this thesis – hospitals.¹⁹⁵ This is because the prior condition for urban memory is not the quality of a space but the spatial practices in which urban experience has proliferated. Spatial practices or experiences allow citizens to develop a view of the city.¹⁹⁶ Like Basa, Uludağ and Aycı associate Lefebvre’s notion of spatial practices with urban memory and urban experience. Lefebvre, claims that space is a three-dimensional phenomenon that is simultaneously abstract-mental, conceptual and social, and

¹⁹² Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 67-69.

¹⁹³ İnci Basa, “Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi,” *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi* 1, no.15 (2015): 28-29.

¹⁹⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 67.

¹⁹⁵ Basa, “Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği,” 28-29.

¹⁹⁶ İlhan Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 1991), 80.

concrete-physical.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, James Donald explains the condition of being in urban space as follows:

Presence in the city is both a mental and physical experience: being in the city, not only because your lungs and ears have been assaulted like mine, but because you too operate with the city as a category of thought and experience.¹⁹⁸

That is, urban experience is a mental activity because mental life and cultural life are intertwined within space.¹⁹⁹ Our relationship with architecture as the physical environment we live in is established by our mental understanding of that environment.²⁰⁰ When talking about architecture as a mentally conceived object, it is appropriate to mention its social aspects rather than its artistic qualities²⁰¹ because a place's imageability depends on social meaning, its function, history, or even its name, rather than just its concrete form.²⁰² It would be unfair to only seek a city's identity in terms of its architectural quality because these positive qualities can only be completed through people's everyday experiences within them.²⁰³ Ultimately, this is how individual minds acquire an image of urban space. Above all, the image of a city defines how inhabitants imagine their city.²⁰⁴ Each separate image is necessary for the sake of inhabiting and acknowledging a city:

¹⁹⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 63-69.

¹⁹⁸ James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City*, (London: The Athlone Press, 1999), 179.

¹⁹⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 2016), 25.

²⁰⁰ Bülent Batuman, *Mimarlığın ABC'si* (İstanbul: Say, 2012), 22.

²⁰¹ Batuman, *Mimarlığın ABC'si*, 22.

²⁰² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 9-13.

²⁰³ İlhan Tekeli, *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 1991), 82.

²⁰⁴ Bülent Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri: Mekân ve Görsel Politika* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 11.

There seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images. Or perhaps there is a series of public images, each held by some significant number of citizens. Such group images are necessary if an individual is to operate successfully within his environment and to cooperate with his fellows. Each picture is unique. (...) With some content that is rarely or never communicated, yet it approximates the public image, which, in different environments, is more or less compelling, more or less embracing.²⁰⁵

Our bodily experiences in an urban space do not only belong to the immediate present but become accessible by the act of remembering in time.²⁰⁶ This is how collective urban memory functions because “memories are visible on the landscape directly through societal activities (...) within particular socio-spatial conditions.”²⁰⁷ According to Casey, “the memorability of place (...) is the source as well as the reinforced product of experiences of being-in-place.”²⁰⁸ Urban space “grows upon itself”, and both the city and its citizens develop consciousness.²⁰⁹ Halbwachs also mentioned urban experience in his posthumously published book *The Collective Memory*:

The diversity of customs and functions are what differentiates a city. Societies and communities tend to evolve; thus, the appearance of the city slowly evolves as well. However, specific physical settings accommodate certain habits that are not subjected to a change-up until a certain degree. Spatial habits are tending

²⁰⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, U.K., The MIT Press, 1960), 46.

²⁰⁶ Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), x.

²⁰⁷ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, “Collective Memory and the Politics of Urban Space: An Introduction,” *GeoJournal* 73.3 (2008): 161.

²⁰⁸ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 200.

²⁰⁹ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 20.

to resist and this indicates how urban experiences shape collective memory by bombarding it with spatial images.²¹⁰

Urban memory is generated and sustained by an urban locus. According to Bloomer and Moore, memory is “an extension of experience.”²¹¹ The experienced urban space is “as significant as what the urban space is.”²¹² Thus, urban experience must be considered as a valuable part of inhabiting a space since the knowledge and experience accumulated gradually affects not just our present time but the future as well:

Our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in a context that is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present.²¹³

Architecture provides fixed and stable objects for the city, which provide the necessary spatiality for collective memory. The use value of the architectural object that is developed by citizens over years, makes this object a medium for the collective memory. Thus, by taking its place in a city’s cultural heritage and societal life, the architectural object becomes a constant for the urban imaginary. These constants thus accumulated in the city space connect the city’s past with its present as well as adapting the present to the city’s future changes. Therefore, these urban structures are valuable because they are prerequisites for cultural and social sustainability.

²¹⁰ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Frances D. Jitter Jr and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 133.

²¹¹ Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), x.

²¹² Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 45.

²¹³ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2.

CHAPTER 3

VACANT HEALTHCARE SITES IN THE CENTER OF THE CITY

“Knowledge is also the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse.”²¹⁴

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, we cannot be able to speak of any collective memory if we isolate ourselves from the common thoughts and interests of the social group that we are part of it. Collective remembering is only possible by acknowledging the social frameworks which bind inhabitants together through several mediums. The object of architecture is one of those mediums. On the one hand, the physical space it offers, defines places in the city in which people experience the urban daily life. On the other hand, in phenomenological terms, the places architecture provides make ground in the perception of citizens which gradually generate an urban imagery. Therefore, architectural objects or namely the urban artifacts are not only physical entities with architectural values but spaces that establish strong social and cultural bonds with the society. The dynamics of urban memory have been considered as based on a spatiality in which urban imaginary can be rooted. Given this conceptualization, this chapter aims to discuss six of the twentieth-century healthcare sites in the center of Ankara by investigating their social, architectural, and cultural attributes which comprise a collective memory by becoming a medium for it in years.

²¹⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 201.

This study argues that all these buildings play a substantial role in constructing an identity and memory for the city. The thesis suggests treating these buildings as substantial assets that should be associated with the form and infrastructure of the city, rather than considering them as individual physical settlements independently of their urban context. Furthermore, each of them represents their own period by possessing and reflecting a great amount of knowledge of the past. They occur as significant artifacts which make a medium for the collective urban memory which this thesis traces.

The hospital structures examined in this chapter were closed after Ankara City Hospital was opened. The healthcare workers and physicians who used to work in them have commuted to the new campus since spring 2019. The state evacuated the facilities, including the historic Ministry of Health building in Sıhhiye, which is known as the first modernist building of the new capital of the Turkish Republic (1926, Architect: Theodor Jost).²¹⁵ Although the buildings still stand, there are no longer any hospitals there, including Numune Research and Education Hospital, Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital, Dışkapı Children Education and Research Hospital, or Ankara Maternity Hospital.

This chapter also considers the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic, which has changed the current usage of some of these settlements. Since December 2019, the pandemic has spread worldwide, thereby unavoidably becoming relevant to this thesis. This chapter therefore also examines how the pandemic has affected decisions to partly re-open several facilities of these hospitals.

²¹⁵ İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 122.

3.1 The Locus of the Research

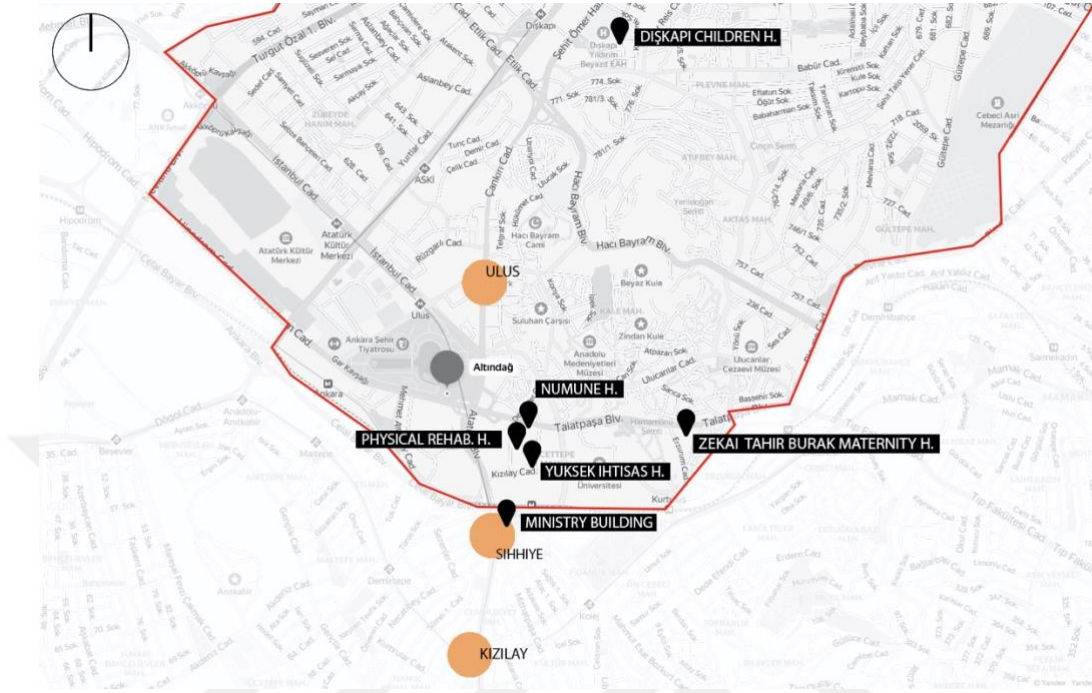


Figure 3.1. The six healthcare sites in the inner-city areas of Ankara (Made by I. Şenses by adapting a Yandex Maps image)

Healthcare sites examined in this chapter are regarded as noteworthy twentieth-century public buildings and public spaces. They were initially located in Ankara's historically significant centers (Figure 3.1). The socio-spatial importance of the city center for is indisputable. Ankara's identity is particularly associated with the architectural and cultural values introduced in Early Republican Turkey, although the city includes a deeper historical past. Indeed, Ankara is where different archeological layers have accumulated. The city does not reveal much of this from its current appearance; yet, it has accommodated many civilizations in different periods while ultimately becoming an important city space for the modern capital of

Republican Turkey.²¹⁶ Thus, inner city areas must be considered in this respect since what makes it essential are all these layers of knowledge, including the modern period.

3.2 Ankara's Healthcare Sites Subjected to Closure

Healthcare sites and buildings are examined under two separate headings according to the period that they were built in.

3.2.1 Constructions in 1923-1938

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the government began transforming the physical condition of cities.²¹⁷ According to Gönül Tankut, between 1923 and 1927, the young republic began to densely structure the urban space, so the new era was heralded by the ongoing construction work, which proceeded systematically in accordance with the principles of modernization; the plan was to “supply the needs of a modern social life and enhance a public realm”.²¹⁸ Of all Turkey's cities of the country, Ankara was exposed to these projects the most²¹⁹ by leading the way as the new capital of Republican Turkey. In other words, fast-paced modernization encouraged by the newly proclaimed Republic, prioritized the capital

²¹⁶ Suavi Aydın, “Altındağ: Şehrin Çekirdeği,” in *Ankara/ Altındağ Tarihi Kent Merkezi Mimarlık Rehberi*, (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, 2011), 6-17.

²¹⁷ Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Arkadaş, 2019), 37-38.

²¹⁸ Sinem Türkoğlu Önge, “Spatial Representation of Power: Making the Urban Space of Ankara in The Early Republican Period,” *Politica* 306 (2007): 88.

²¹⁹ Gönül Tankut, “Ankara'nın Başkent Olma Süreci,” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, no.2 (1988): 93.

within the country-wide architectural and constructional missions of the new regime.²²⁰

The regime's "social modernity project" was implemented through ideological revolutions and socio-cultural developments,²²¹ Symbolized by state-sponsored modernist architectural and planning practices. That is, the newly built public spaces and buildings were charged with representing the pioneering cultural breakthroughs of Republican Turkey.²²² Ankara was planned in terms of the goals of a modern society and vision of a modern capital. It witnessed the settlement of new spatial practices and the construction of new meanings.²²³ One of the new regime's most comprehensive nationwide initiatives was enhancing and modernizing public health and healthcare facilities, especially in the capital.²²⁴ The state was searching for a way to concretize the new regime's ideological agenda. Thus, Sıhhiye in Ankara found its meaning in this context. The ideological framework of modern methods exemplified in health-related policies was also embodied in the architecture of Sıhhiye's public buildings.²²⁵ Sıhhiye and its public healthcare buildings were given

²²⁰ Elvan Altan Ergut, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Tanımlar, Sınırlar, Olanaklar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7, no.13 (2009): 124.

²²¹ Sinem Türkoğlu Önge, "Spatial Representation of Power: Making the Urban Space of Ankara in The Early Republican Period," *Politica* 306 (2007): 85.

²²² Kıvanç Kılıç, "Öncü Halk Sağlığı Projelerinin Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Sıhhiye," in *Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 123.

²²³ Zeynep Uludağ and Hilal Aycı, "Modernin Güçlü Sahnesi Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sında Kolektif Belleğin İnşası ve Toplumsal Unutma Süreci," *İDEALKENT* 7, no. 20 (2016): 746-773.

²²⁴ Kılıç, "Öncü Halk Sağlığı," 124-125.

²²⁵ Kılıç, "Öncü Halk Sağlığı," 123.

the task of representing the regime's mission of a "healthy society" and "healthy city".²²⁶ However, this mission was more than an ideological goal. The young Republic unfortunately was dealing with serious infectious diseases all over the country. For this reason, another goal of the Republic was to make healthcare accessible and widespread for every citizen in the country.²²⁷

Ankara's modern public healthcare environments were designed under the guidance of the Lörcher Plan (Figure 3.2).²²⁸ Carl Christophe Lörcher's plan divided Ankara into fourteen zones. The structure of this zoning system, which reflected modernist approach on urban planning, created the following zones: industry, administration, administrative dwellings, recreational and cultural spaces, cemeteries, agricultural land, healthcare facilities, prisons, and abattoirs.²²⁹ The plan guided Ankara's planning practices and works. Following the Lörcher Plan, Herman Jansen's Ankara Plan was implemented in 1932. This incorporated Lörcher's earlier design.²³⁰

²²⁶ Kılıç, "Öncü Halk Sağlığı," 125-129

²²⁷ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 80-84.

²²⁸ Ali Cengizkan, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları için Bir Çalışma Programı," in *Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 220-225.

²²⁹ Nuray Bayraktar, *Ankara Yazıları* (Ankara: Nobel, 2017), 2-3.

²³⁰ Bayraktar, *Ankara Yazıları*, 3-4.



Figure 3.2. Carl Christophe Lörcher, *Plan of Ankara*, 1924, Goethe-Institute Ankara, <https://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/loe/trindex.htm> (The site of healthcare buildings in Sıhhiye indicated by black rectangle on the image by I. Şenses)

In particular, Hermann Jansen retained Lörcher's spatial configurations, with Sıhhiye as a defined and structured urban space for healthcare buildings. Lörcher also declared *Hacettepe* as the hospitals area because its topography could provide clean air (Figure 3.3).²³¹ Subsequently, Ankara's pioneering public health institutions were established in this zone. Pioneering examples of early Republican modernist buildings include the Ministry of Health (1926) and Ankara Numune

²³¹ Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Arkadaş, 2019), 37-51.

Hospital (1928). Thus, the capital's spatial structure and the location of its healthcare settlements were initially decided according to the both plans.²³² Over time, other buildings were constructed to join Numune Hospital, namely Ankara University Medical School (1945), Hacettepe University Medical School (1954), Ankara Yüksek İhtisas Hospital (1964), Ankara Physical Rehabilitation Hospital (1968), and İbn-İ Sina Hospital (1985). They remained for decades as prominent healthcare buildings in Sıhhiye (Figure 3.6).²³³



²³² Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, “Ankara’da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar,” *Dosya* (2009): 36.

²³³ They were built as efficient, complete, and appropriate for the new Republican living standards, with every kind of interior feature, such as toilets, laboratories, lighting, and clean water supply. See Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekân ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Arkadaş, 2019), 90-91.

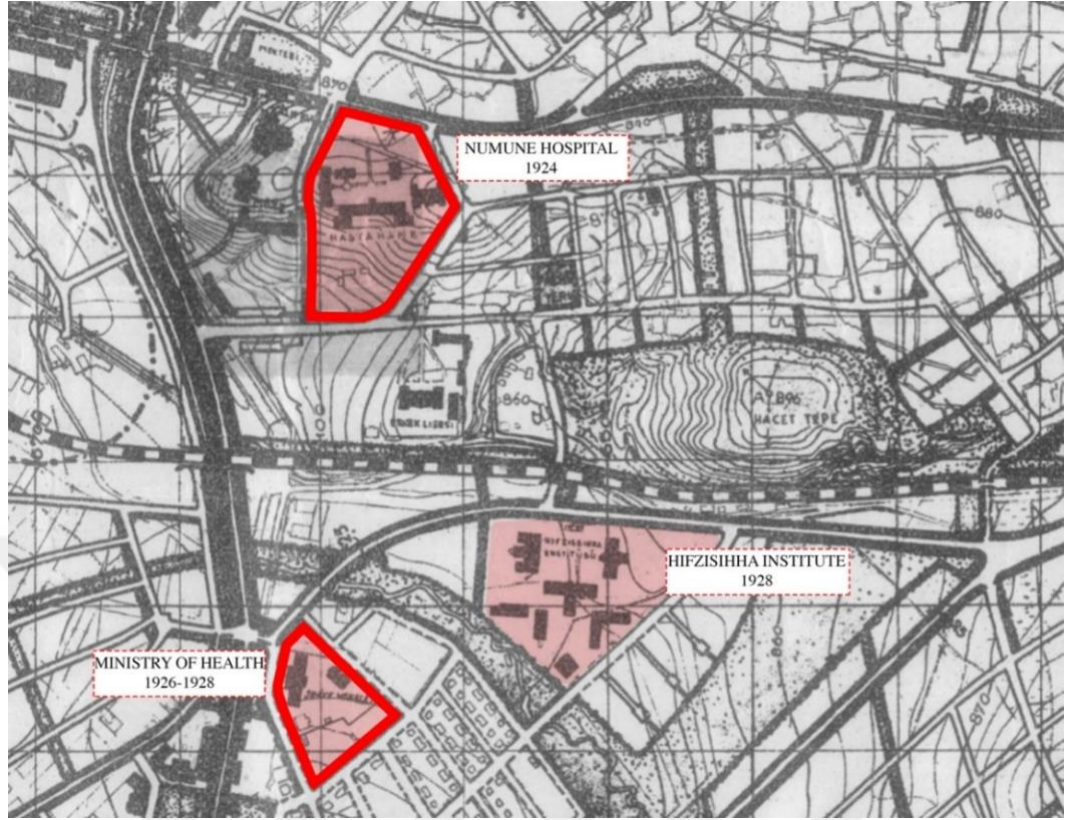


Figure 3.3. Herman Jansen, *Plan of Ankara*, 1932, Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center (VEKAM) (Image cropped from the original plan; locations of the Ministry of Health, Numune Hospital, and Hıfzısıhha Institute indicated by I. Şenses)

3.2.1.1 Ministry of Health Building in Sıhhiye

Hudut ve Sevahil-i Sıhhiye Umum Müdirriyyeti or *Sıhhat ve İctimai Muavenet Vekaleti* (Ministry of Health) was built between 1926 and 1927.²³⁴ It initially served as a management center (*Hudut ve Sevahil-i Sıhhiye Umum Müdirriyyeti*) within the Ministry of Health, with a responsibility to solve health problems on Turkey's borders and coasts during the early Republican period. The building was positioned

²³⁴ Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Arkadaş, 2019), 73-74.

according to the Lörcher Plan and even gave its name to the area (Figure 3.4).²³⁵ The word *Sıhhiye* (which can be translated as sanitary matters) is derived from *sıhhat*, an Arabic word meaning health that passed into Turkish. Thus, Sıhhiye was supposed to represent the healthy condition of newly proclaimed Republic while the ministry building itself stood for this image and identity.²³⁶



Figure 3.4. Ankara 1926-1927, Ministry of Health, Theodor Jost. Resource: Metin Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984), 202.

²³⁵ Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati*, 73.

²³⁶ Kıvanç Kılıç, “Öncü Halk Sağlığı Projelerinin Kamusal Mekânı Olarak Sıhhiye,” in *Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 123.

The Ministry of Health building was designed by Theodor Jost, making him the first foreign architect to design a building in Ankara.²³⁷ It was also Turkey's first example of the International Style and modernist architecture.²³⁸ Aslanoğlu describes its architectural features as follows:

The 3-storey building on the basement has a symmetrical plan schema, which is a common feature of most of the public buildings of the 1930s. (...) It has a monumental entrance with columns and stairs on the ground floor. (...) The facades were originally covered with gray plaster. In the front facade, Ankara stone was used, which covers the ground floor up to the upper level (Figure 3.5).²³⁹

Shortly after the Ministry of Health building was completed, and in accordance with the Lörcher Plan, two further early Republican modernist buildings were constructed in the same area: Refik Saydam Hıfzısıhha Institute (Refik Saydam Hygiene Institute and School, 1928-32, architect: Theodor Jost) and Ankara Numune Hospital İsmet Paşa Pavilion (1933, architect: Robert Oerley).²⁴⁰

²³⁷ İnci Aslanoğlu, "Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period." *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 17.

²³⁸ İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 122.

²³⁹ (Author's translation) İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 122-123.

²⁴⁰ Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati*, 73-81.

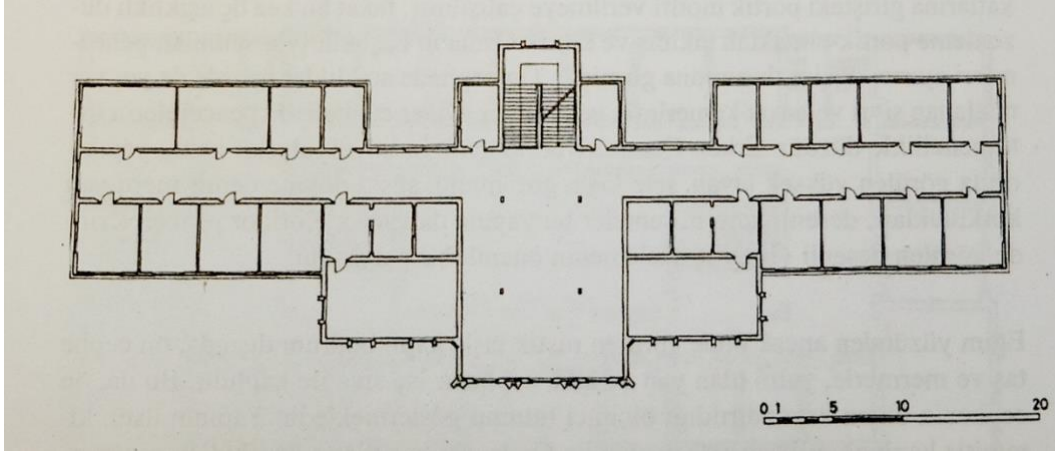


Figure 3.5. Ankara, Ministry of Health, Theodor Jost. Resource: İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 123.

The area was connected with the Ministry of Health for 95 years before the Ministry of Health building was reassigned to the Governorship of Ankara.²⁴¹ Unfortunately, therefore, it lost its original function, which conflicts with the socio-spatial character of Sıhhiye and the building itself, which for decades represented contemporary healthcare breakthroughs.²⁴²

²⁴¹ “Ankara Valiliği Taşınıyor,” Türkiye Haberleri, NTV, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/ankara-valiligi-tasiniyor,OWQDCqvE3kGUaVlQqGwdLw>

²⁴² Büşra Gürdağ and Duygu Koca, “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Sağlık Bakanlığı Binası Üzerine Bir İnceleme,” *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 29, no.2 (November 2020): 420.

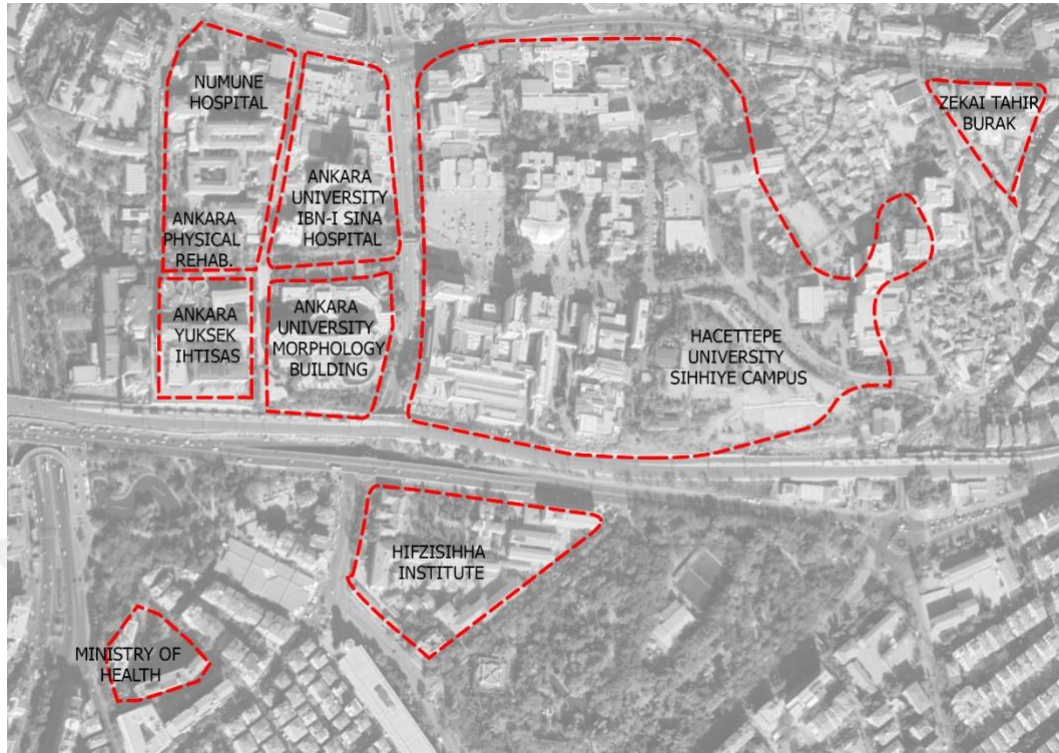


Figure 3.6. Healthcare Sites in Sihhiye-Altındağ, Ankara (Made by I. Şenses by adapting a Google Earth image)

From building scale to urban scale, the relationship between urban artifacts and the city diversifies and gains altered meanings. Rossi argues that collective urban memory is maintained through urban artifacts. The *locus* emphasizes the social and cultural conditions of an urban space, which gives meaning to urban artifacts.²⁴³ Place become a mnemonic phenomenon when inhabitants establish a meaning to it. This explains how Casey's "place-oriented memory" functions²⁴⁴. It is the urban space which is the container of social interactions and events. When a social practice takes place in an architectural space it is likely to citizens remember that social

²⁴³ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 103.

²⁴⁴ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 213.

experience through that space.²⁴⁵ The object of architecture becomes a locus or a medium of collective memory which generates associations with a social group through the social practices in it. In the case of Sıhhiye's hospital buildings, for example, this part of the city clearly defines a locus (Figure 3.7). It can also be argued that the gradual construction of healthcare environments may have defined Sıhhiye Square as a locus. The majority of Ankara's citizens consider Sıhhiye as an urban space where they can find well-established healthcare facilities.

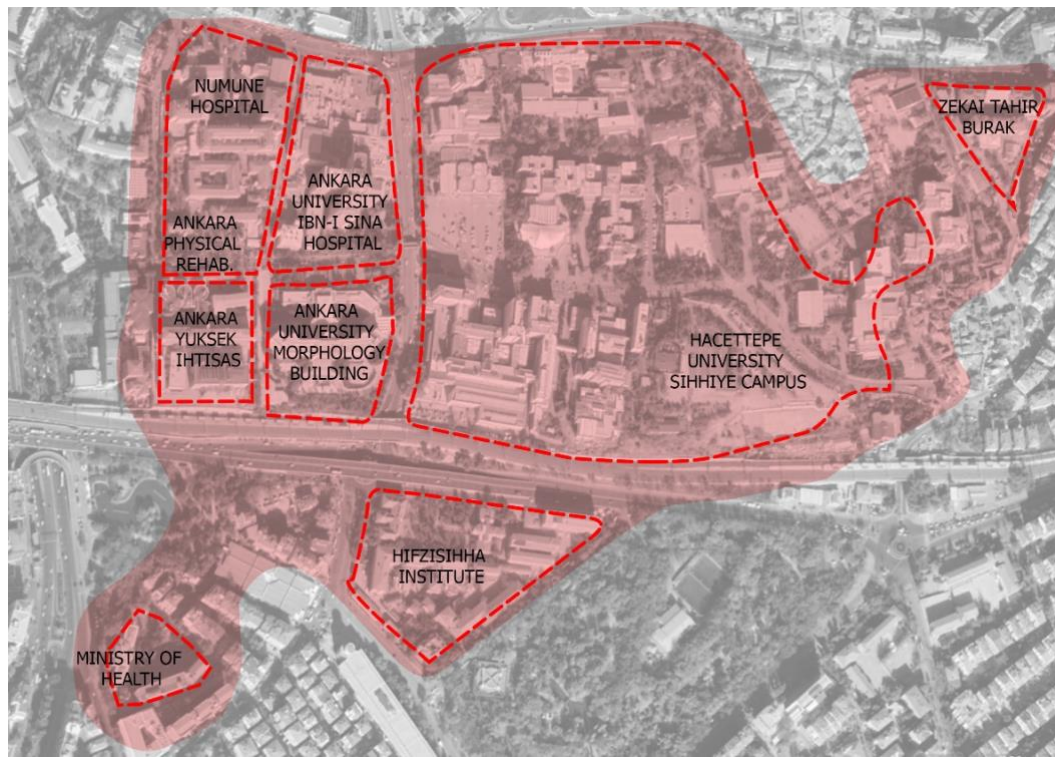


Figure 3.7. Locus in Sıhhiye identified by the healthcare sites (Illustrated by I. Şenses by adopting a Google Earth image)

²⁴⁵ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A phenomenological Study* (Indiana University Press, 2009), 214.

3.2.1.2 Numune Education and Research Hospital

In the first years of the Republic of Turkey, a crucial problem alongside ongoing epidemics was the lack of trained healthcare professionals and appropriate healthcare buildings. The government therefore decided to build new, exemplary structures for public healthcare services. Subsequently, in 1924, Numune hospitals were opened in several cities.²⁴⁶ In Ankara, long before it has become the archetypal healthcare facility of the new capital, Numune Hospital was known as *Gureba Hospital* (In English, Gureba means poor members of the society), which was originally built in the Ottoman Era to serve the disadvantaged.²⁴⁷ During the nineteenth-century, the Ottomans built Gureba Hospitals throughout the country. These later eased the burden of constructing and increasing healthcare facilities in Republican Turkey.²⁴⁸ For instance, Ankara Gureba Hospital was renovated by the state to make it suitably for modern patient treatments. Their names were changed to Numune Hospitals and they were institutionally structured.²⁴⁹ Thus, Ankara gained a new, modernized public health facility in 1924. When it opened, the hospital consisted of three

²⁴⁶Gamze Nesipoğlu, “Olgusal Bir Yapı Olarak Sağlık Politikaları: 1920-1960 Yılları Arası Cumhuriyet Döneminin Tarihsel İzleği,” *Hacettepe Sağlık İdaresi Dergisi* 21, no.1 (2018): 171.

²⁴⁷ The exact foundation date of Ankara Gureba Hospital is unknown. The date 1881, written on the stone building, which is thought to be the first built structure, has been accepted as the year of its establishment. See Sadet Altay, “Atatürk Dönemi Sağlık Politikalarının Halka Yansımada Öncü Kurumlar: Numune Hastaneleri (1924-1938)” (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2015), 113.

²⁴⁸ Sadet Altay, “Atatürk Dönemi Sağlık Politikalarının Halka Yansımada Öncü Kurumlar: Numune Hastaneleri (1924-1938)” (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2015), 113-117.

²⁴⁹ Sadet Altay, “Atatürk Dönemi Sağlık Politikalarının Halka Yansımada Öncü Kurumlar: Numune Hastaneleri (1924-1938)” (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2015), 100.

renovated structures that were later demolished.²⁵⁰ In 1927, in response to the city's increasing population and overload of patients, the government increased the complex's bed capacity of by constructing the Refik Bey Building. However, the Refik Bey Annex rapidly became overfilled, so the Ministry of Health added another building to the complex.²⁵¹ This time the architect Robert Oerley was asked to design a 200-hundred-bed structure within the Numune Hospital site to be named the *İsmet Paşa Building* (Figure 3.8).²⁵²



²⁵⁰ Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekân ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Mimarlar Derneği, 2002), 77.

²⁵¹ Altay, “Atatürk Dönemi Sağlık”, 145.

²⁵² Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekân ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Mimarlar Derneği, 2002), 85.



Figure 3.8. Robert Oerley, *İsmet Paşa Pavilion of Numune Hospital*, 1928-1933, Koç University Digital Collections-Photograph, Postcard and Engravings, <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/FKA/id/2403/rec/143>

According to İnci Aslanoğlu, by the end of the 1920s, Ankara had started to reflect “Western architectural styles” in the works of foreign architects.²⁵³ The capital was being created by the work of invited foreign architects and urban planners.²⁵⁴ The new regime welcomed numerous significant foreign architects at that time and later on. One was the Austrian architect Robert Oerley, who was invited by the Turkish

²⁵³ İnci Aslanoğlu, “Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period.” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 17.

²⁵⁴ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si'nde Mimari Kültür* (Metis, 2008), 85.

Republic in April 1928. The first three structures of the complex described above were demolished in 1929 to expand the complex and build the İsmet Paşa Building (Figure 3.10).²⁵⁵ Oerley's pavilion²⁵⁶ has significant modernist characteristics:

The longitudinal mass of the İsmet Paşa Pavilion, which was the largest hospital structure in Turkey at the time, was placed on high land in an east-west direction. It was one of the few large-scale buildings in Ankara in its relatively empty environment in the 1930s. Rooms of different sizes are lined up along both sides of the long corridor which follows the U form of the building. The entrance of the pavilion was designed to extend to the outside (Figure 3.9).²⁵⁷

According to Cengizkan, an internal circulation corridor allows visitors to socialize within the building. Furthermore, by including collective common spaces in the building, Oerley tried to reconcile the hierarchical patient-doctor relationship with enriching hospital functions. The addition of several units and alterations within the complex gradually changed the initial appearance of the facility. However, Oerley's İsmet Paşa Pavilion (currently known as Building B) remains acknowledged as the complex's main structure.

²⁵⁵ İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 211.

²⁵⁶ Each of the structures of an institution within the garden was called a *pavilion* at that time. The purpose of applying the pavilion system to hospitals was to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. See Sadet Altay, "Atatürk Dönemi Sağlık Politikalarının Halka Yansımasında Öncü Kurumlar: Numune Hastaneleri (1924-1938)" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2015), 113.

²⁵⁷ (Author's translation) İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 211

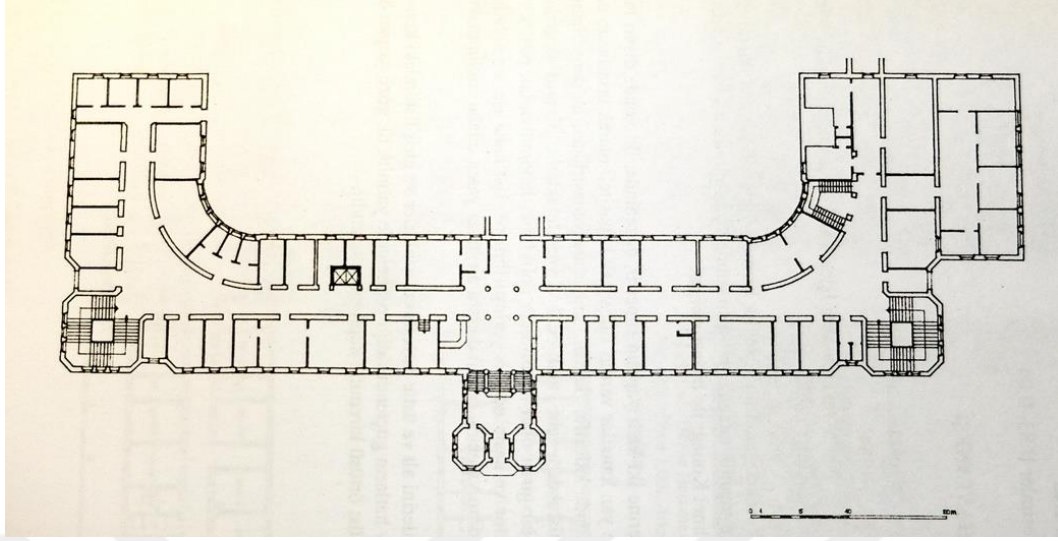


Figure 3.9. Plan of Ankara Numune Hospital İsmet Paşa Pavilion, Robert Oerley. Resource: İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), 213.

Numune Hospital and the Ministry of Health buildings served the city for over ninety years as representatives of their period, witnessing the early twentieth-century social life of modernized Turkey. They are the “memory traces of earlier architectural forms” with which we are still in dialogue in our daily routines.²⁵⁸ These forms of the past are still operative in our daily life, which is why they are the constituents of collective urban memory. These artifacts have become the enduring elements (permanences)²⁵⁹ of the city, as Rossi defines them:

²⁵⁸ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 31.

²⁵⁹ Rossi emphasizes the concept of urban memory by referencing Marcel Poëte. Rossi asserts that urban memory is formed by the physical continuities or ‘permanences’ that manage to resist time in the urban pattern. See Bilsel, Fatma Cânâ. 2015. “Kent Tarihi Araştırmalarında Mekânbilimsel Bir Yaklaşım Olarak Kentsel Morfoloji.” In 59. Mersin, Türkiye: Türkiye Kentsel Morfoloji Sempozyumu: Temel Yaklaşımlar ve Teknikler (2015). <https://hdl.handle.net/11511/83994>.

Permanences (...) can show what a city once was by indicating the way its past differs from its present. Thus, permanences may appear with respect to the city as isolated and aberrant artifacts that characterize a system only as of the form of a past that we are still experiencing.²⁶⁰



Figure 3.10. İsmet Paşa Pavilion of Numune Hospital, Ankara (photograph by I. Şenses, February 2021)

²⁶⁰ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 59.

3.2.2 Constructions in 1950-1980

3.2.2.1 Zekai Tahir Burak Education and Research Hospital (Ankara Maternity Hospital)

Zekai Tahir Burak Women's Health Education and Research Hospital was first opened in Hamamönü, Cebeci as Turkey's first maternity hospital in 1924, when it was called Ankara Maternity Hospital.²⁶¹ To answer the needs of Ankara's increasing population and birth rates, the Ministry of Health decided to construct a bigger complex on Talat Paşa Boulevard with a 300-bed capacity for the *Maternity Hospital*. The new building of Ankara Maternity Hospital opened in 1949, located on a triangular site in Hamamönü enclosed by Karacabey Street, Erzurum Street, and Talat Paşa Boulevard (Figure 3.11).²⁶²

²⁶¹ “Kurumsal: Tarihçemiz,” SBÜ. Ankara Dr. Zekai Tahir Burak Kadın Sağlığı Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi, accessed May, 2019, <https://zekaitahir.saglik.gov.tr/TR,2317/tarihcemiz.html>

²⁶² “Kurumsal: Tarihçemiz,” SBÜ. Ankara Dr. Zekai Tahir Burak Kadın Sağlığı Eğitim ve Araştırma Hastanesi, accessed May, 2019, <https://zekaitahir.saglik.gov.tr/TR,2317/tarihcemiz.html>



Figure 3.11. Ankara Maternity Hospital, 1949, Zekai Tahir Burak Education and Research Hospital website, accessed on May 25, 2019, <https://zekaitahir.saglik.gov.tr/TR,2317/tarihcemiz.html>

Based on the dates seen in the application project while doing archival research in Altındağ Municipality, the design dates back to 1937. The delay to its construction could be because of political chaos during the Second World War. At that time, many construction activities were postponed in Turkey.²⁶³

Ankara Maternity Hospital strongly represents the architectural design principles of its period. It consists of three blocks: a 6-storey block in the south, and two 4-story blocks in the east and west. The building has an orthogonal U plan with three separate entrances on the northern façade, each of which is reached by monumental stairs. The first floors of the east and west blocks are raised on columns. Although the

²⁶³ “Kurumsal: Hakkımızda: Tarihçe”, Ankara University School of Medicine, accessed May 25, 2019, <http://www.medicine.ankara.edu.tr/tarihce/>

architectural drawings of 1937 are signed, the signature is unfortunately illegible. In the database of the Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Civil Engineers, various surname and name possibilities were scanned. Nevertheless, the architect of the initial and main block remains unknown.

Over time, many different annexes were added to meet the hospital's needs. The first annex, *Sağlık Koleji (Health College)* block, was designed by the architect Şaban Ormanlar in 1963.²⁶⁴ While another annex, called B Block, was designed by Erkut Şahinbaş in 1971.²⁶⁵ Finally, the Surgery Unit was added sometime between 1975 and 1980. Its architectural application project was designed by Aynur Omurtag, Alpay Aşkun, and P. İlgi Yüce. The Surgery Unit was positioned between the existing east and west blocks. Inevitably, this intervention permanently changed the building's northern façade. It is noteworthy that the Surgery Unit still expresses a modernist look despite its date.²⁶⁶ All the annexes constructed between 1957 and 1980 is consistent with the first building of 1949. They all reflect the same modernist design principles and architectural language (Figure 3.12).

²⁶⁴ Şaban Ormanlar was born in 1927 in Skopje and came to Turkey when he was 10. He graduated as an architect from *Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi (DGSA)* before working as an assistant for Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Between 1972 and 1975, he was chairman of the Chamber of Architects. See Oral Çalışlar, "Şaban Ormanlar'ı Yolcu Ederken," accessed May 25, 2019, <https://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/99488-saban-ormanlari-yolcu-ederken>

²⁶⁵ The architect graduated in 1961 from the Middle East Technical University before establishing his private office in 1968 and has been practicing architecture since then. See "About: Erkut Şahinbaş," Erkut Şahinbaş Mimarlık, accessed February 25, 2021, <https://www.erkutsahinbasmimarlik.com/about>

²⁶⁶ It has a horizontal window layout on the north façade raised on ground-floor pillars. Unfortunately, this area has been closed with aluminum frames to create extra space for certain units.



Figure 3.12. Zekai Tahir Burak Education and Research Hospital, Altındağ-Ankara (photograph by I. Şenses, March 2019)

Ankara Maternity Hospital has remained in Hamamönü, Altındağ since the first building of 1925. It became surrounded by maternity clothing shops for women giving birth and cafes for the patient's relatives to wait in. Understandably, close environments have always adapted themselves to the needs of people and their spatial practices, as is the case with these healthcare buildings. Thus, they are mostly defined as well-established, socio-spatially conditioned and appropriated by the public's activities. While physical adaptations like these may not satisfy all citizens visually in terms of aesthetic concerns. However, they are still necessary and important for the sake of urban continuity. City spaces need such ordinary structures, including old settlements and buildings, while low-value structures also “make fine

ingredients” for urban cultural and social sustainability.²⁶⁷ The low-value and ordinary surroundings of these healthcare structures critical for public memory since they have as much power to “evoke collective memory” as much as monumental or museum-piece architecture.²⁶⁸

3.2.2.2 Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital

After the 1950s, Sıhhiye became popular with major, mostly teaching hospitals erected to provide the indispensable health facilities of modern urban life.²⁶⁹ Among them, Yüksek İhtisas, known as the *Blue Hospital* due to the color of its façade (Figure 3.13), was established as a specialty hospital. In particular, it contributed significantly to the development of cardiology in Turkey.²⁷⁰ The hospital accepted its first patients in 1964, with İsmet İnönü, the prime minister of the time, participating in the opening ceremony.²⁷¹ It served Ankara’s citizens from its original building in Sıhhiye opposite Numune Hospital until the opening of Ankara City Hospital (Figure 3.14).

²⁶⁷ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 200.

²⁶⁸ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 9.

²⁶⁹ Sinem Türkoğlu Önge, “Spatial Representation of Power: Making the Urban Space of Ankara in The Early Republican Period,” *Politica* 306 (2007): 83.

²⁷⁰ Siber, Göksel, “Türkiye Yüksek İhtisas Hastanesi’nde Kardiyolojinin Gelişiminde Ankara Tıp Fakültesi ve Sonrası...,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası* 61, no.2 (May 2008): 109-135.

²⁷¹ Göksel, “Türkiye Yüksek İhtisas,” 110.



Figure 3.13. Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital, Ankara (photograph by I. Şenses, February 2021)

In line with the 1950s' preference for T or L-shaped hospitals,²⁷² architect Neriman Birce designed the building with an L-shaped plan in 1953.²⁷³ The design exemplifies the 1950s' rationalist-international style with its modular system and openings,²⁷⁴ and vaulted roof.

²⁷² Aslı Altan, "Hastane Yapıları" (PhD diss., Balıkesir University, 2003), 29.

²⁷³ Found through archival research in primary sources in Ankara Municipality.

²⁷⁴ *Ankara/ Altındağ Tarihi Kent Merkezi Mimarlık Rehberi*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi (2011), 51.



Figure 3.14. Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital, Ankara (photograph by I. Şenses, February 2021)

3.2.2.3 Dışkapı Children (Education and Research) Hospital

Another well-established hospital that was moved to Ankara City Hospital is Ankara Dışkapı Children Hospital (Figure 3.15). The evacuated building is located on the same site as Dışkapı Yıldırım Beyazıt Education and Research Hospital, which currently uses the Children Hospital's emptied areas. According to the website of the Ministry of Health, Dışkapı Yıldırım Beyazıt Education and Research Hospital will be moved to Etlik City Hospital.²⁷⁵ Therefore, it is relevant to discuss both structures here regarding their socio-spatial features and architectural characteristics.

²⁷⁵ Ankara Etlik Şehir Hastanesi,” T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://khgmsehirhastaneleridb.saglik.gov.tr/TR-48164/ankara-etlik-sehir-hastanesi.html>



Figure 3.15. Dışkapı Children Education and Research Hospital, Ankara (photograph by I. Şenses, February 2021)

According to architectural plans obtained through archival study in Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, Dışkapı Yıldırım Beyazıt Education and Research Hospital was designed by the architect Cevdet Beşe.²⁷⁶ Construction started in 1957 and the hospital opened in 1964. It was built as a Social Insurance Institution Worker's Hospital with a 305-bed capacity (Figure 3.16). The Children Hospital,

²⁷⁶ Cevdet Beşe graduated from DGSA in 1946. He attended several national architectural competitions with his colleagues, including Reha Ortaçlı, Fethi Turgan, and Adnan Onaran. See Umur Şumnu and Selim Sertel Öztürk, "Mimarlık Ortamının 'Sessiz' Aktörlerinden Reha Ortaçlı ve Ankara'daki Bilinmeyen Apartman Yapıları: Nihat Erim Apartmanı ve Ortaçlı Apartman (lar)I," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6, no.1 (2018): 39-56.

on the other hand, was not included in Cevdet Beşe's original plans but appeared on the 1968 site plans of the healthcare settlement



Figure 3.16. Dışkapı Education and Research Hospital, Ankara, Dışkapı Education and Research Hospital website, accessed on December, 2020, <https://diskapieah.saglik.gov.tr/TR,325423/diskapi-hastanesi-tanitim.html>

This indicates that the Children's Hospital was built between 1968 and 1975.²⁷⁷ According to data gathered by archive research in Metropolitan Municipality, the design of the Social Insurance Institution Worker's Hospital (Dışkapı Yıldırım Beyazıt Education and Research Hospital) dates back to the mid-1950s.²⁷⁸ The

²⁷⁷ It was built as an annex, next to Beşe's original building. However, the architect of the Children's Hospital could not be identified from the plans investigated in the municipality.

²⁷⁸ Accordingly, its plan scheme reflects the typology of hospital buildings at that time. In the 1950s, the T and L--shaped plan systems were adopted for healthcare structures. The organization of the façade elements and openings are also significant features of that period. The International Modernist Style, which was the dominant tendency in architectural design in that period, is reflected in the building façades by the use of vertical and horizontal grids, and the organization of the

hospital complex has since become a locus for local residents while the hospital's accessibility and social and economic contribution are very important given the sociological and demographic structure of Dışkapı, which is home to socio-economically less advantaged groups. A well-established hospital provides both cheap and easy access to healthcare for disadvantaged groups while nearby commerce and recreational spaces help the neighborhood's socio-economic development.



Figure 3.17. Dışkapı Education and Research Hospital, Ankara, Dışkapı Education and Research Hospital website, accessed on December, 2020, <https://diskapieah.saglik.gov.tr/TR,325423/diskapi-hastanesi-tanitim.html>

openings (Figure 3.17) and ribbon windows. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the Children's Hospital was designed during the 1960s, which differed noticeably from 1950s' design parameters in terms of plan schemes, in particular being more compact. See Aslı Altan, "Hastane Yapıları" (PhD diss., Balıkesir University, 2003).

3.2.2.4 Ankara (Altındağ) Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Education and Research Hospital

Ankara Physical Rehabilitation Hospital is located on the same site as Ankara Numune Hospital (Figure 3.18). According to archival research, the building appears on the Numune Hospital complex's site plans of 1973 and 1983, but not on the 1966 plans.



Figure 3.18. Ankara (Altındağ) Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Education and Research Hospital, Ankara (photograph by I. Şenses, February 2021)

No plan schema or drawing was found to describe its spatial quality or architectural features. However, according to the data from Ankara Municipality archives, the demolition of the current building is constitutional. The official correspondence on 9 December 2020 states that Ankara's Regional Board for the Protection of Cultural Property decided that the hospital structure does not have the feature of immovable cultural property that needs to be protected for architectural history and aesthetics. Thus, it has not been registered as a cultural asset. The demolition of the building has therefore been left to the decision of the relevant administration. However, as it already discussed in this section using the constructive arguments of Jacobs and

Hayden, buildings like the Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Education and Research Hospital do not need to be cultural assets to provide urban sustainability and enough socio-spatiality to create collective urban memory. Given its recognizability due to its accessibility and use value, it is already a valuable and substantial presence in the daily life of Ankara's citizens.

It is of great importance that events, people, images, places, sounds and all kinds of items accumulated in the collective memory are recorded and transferred to the future. In each period discussed here, individuals who experience the city contribute to generating a locus through their own spatial experiences to concretize and objectify collective memory within the space. Thus, the physical environment formed by the shaping of urban space is closely related to the practices of everyday life.²⁷⁹ To conclude, Rossi epitomizes these aspects of urban artifacts in both the building and urban scales:

Artifacts either enable us to understand the city in its totality, or they appear as a series of isolated elements that we can link only tenuously to an urban system (...) I remarked on its permanent character before, but now by permanence I mean not only that one can still experience the form of the past in this monument but that the physical form of the past has assumed different functions and has continued to function, conditioning the urban area in which it stands and continues to constitute an important urban focus. This proves its vitality.²⁸⁰

If the necessary conditions of being an urban artifact can be summarized as being historical, related to the city, and reflecting the multiple experiences of the citizens, then all the healthcare sites above fulfill these criteria. They play a considerable role in the everyday life of Ankara's citizens. This is because they are deeply rooted in both the city's memory and its urban infrastructure. Given that they have served the

²⁷⁹ Tülin Selvi Ünlü, "Kent Kimliğinin Oluşumunda Kentsel Bellek ve Kentsel Mekan İlişkisi: Mersin Örneği," *Planlama* 27.1 (2017), 77.

²⁸⁰ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 59.

city for many decades, they possess a substantial load of collective spatial experiences. Donlyn Lyndon delineates such structures as endurances. To describe the endurance of the city, he highlights its form in urban services, such as streets, buildings, squares, or property lines. According to Lyndon, structures tend to characterize a city by possessing and manifesting collective spatial practices. In other words, they become reference points that one can retrieve while experiencing the city. Such an image of the city becomes deeply rooted into the consciousness of the citizens because our urban experience of the present-day is significantly affected by comprehension of the past and the structures of past periods.²⁸¹ Hence, they are connected to a superior order that is fundamental for establishing a culture for a city.²⁸² Citizens expect and seek out urban spaces with identity in order not to become alienated from the city.²⁸³ As endurances or permanences, urban artifacts provide a persistent coherence within the city space.²⁸⁴ Besides, as Bilsel argues, permanences do not prevent the construction of innovative solutions for new urban spaces. On the contrary, she claims that the dialogue between old and the new brings wealth to the city's cultural and architectural identity.²⁸⁵ Accordingly, I argue that the healthcare settlements in question are significant in terms of sustaining collective memory while they become endurances of the city over time. This makes them integral to the urban memory in which they form its dynamics.

²⁸¹ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2.

²⁸² Donlyn Lyndon, "Endurance: The Architecture of Continuous Change," accessed February 8, 2021, <http://arccadigest.org/endurance-architecture-continuous-change>

²⁸³ Fatma Candaş Bilsel, "Ankara'da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar," *Dosya* (2009): 34.

²⁸⁴ Lyndon, "Endurance: The Architecture of Continuous Change."

²⁸⁵ Bilsel, "Ankara'da Kentsel Başkalaşım," 35.

3.3 The Covid-19 Pandemic Period in Ankara

Humanity has always struggled with unfortunate pandemics that force societies to transform and adapt their social and physical environment in accord with current circumstances. Architecture and urban sciences have dealt with various pandemics that have challenged to re-adapt urban services. Since December 2019, majority of the world population have been dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic.²⁸⁶ The World Health Organization has recommended various essential measures to reduce the risk of infection, particularly social distancing and reducing crowding. Countries have struggled to deal with the increasing number of Covid-19 patients while also finding solutions to sustain daily life consistent with the necessary measures.

Nevertheless, according to Richard Sennett, the outbreak may change the basic rationale for global cities: namely, concentrating activities to stimulate the economy.²⁸⁷ He asserts that pandemic forces urbanists to rethink the architecture of density and to find new physical forms. The spatial impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on cities have become increasingly apparent with the need to reduce human density in urban space. The need to reduce the number of working hours people spend in closed and crowded spaces may lead many buildings to become vacant. In contrast, there is an inevitable need for greater hospital capacity. For instance, prefabricated healthcare structures have been rapidly built as pandemic

²⁸⁶ "Covid-19: Milestones of the global pandemic," World News, BBC, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-54337098>

²⁸⁷ Richard Sennett, "How Should We Live? Density in Post-pandemic Cities," accessed February 8, 2021, https://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2020/05/09/how-should-we-live-density-in-post-pandemic-cities.html?mc_cid=e85ce608c7&mc_eid=4c913b0900&utm_medium=website&utm_source=archdaily.com

hospitals worldwide. Increasing the physical and technical capacity of healthcare is now a major focus of humanity for combating the Covid-19.

The ongoing pandemic showed that Turkey, like all other countries, was unprepared for such a crisis. Most countries experienced the collapse of their existing healthcare systems. Turkey, unfortunately, was caught by the pandemic just after its old public hospitals in city centers had been closed and replaced by new City Hospitals. In the case of Ankara, in March 2020, when the Ministry of Health announced the first death from Covid-19 in Turkey, five of Ankara's public hospitals had been evacuated. Ankara City Hospital therefore became the city's main pandemic hospital, although healthcare professionals underlined that its intensive care unit capacity was not sufficient for the outbreak.²⁸⁸ Eventually, the need for extra beds due to the rising number of cases forced the authorities to reopen and repurpose parts of the evacuated state hospitals. For example, Zekai Tahir Burak Education and Research Hospital, closed in 2019, was reopened as Ankara's first pandemic hospital.²⁸⁹ It was repurposed during the first months of the coronavirus struggle in Ankara.²⁹⁰ By early September of 2020, after a sudden increase in the number of patients, Ankara had most Covid-19 cases of all Turkey's cities.²⁹¹ Subsequently, Dışkapı Children Education and Research Hospital and one block of Numune Education and Research

²⁸⁸ "4 Soruda Hastanelerin Yatak Kapasitesi Gerçeği: 5 Yataktan Biri Özel Hastanelerde," Birgün, Accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/4-soruda-hastanelerin-yatak-kapasitesi-gercegi-5-yataktan-biri-ozel-hastanelerde-292197>

²⁸⁹ "Türkiye'nin İlk Corona Virüs Karantina Hastanesi," T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı, Accessed February 8, 2021, <https://ankaraeah.saglik.gov.tr/TR,453442/turkiyenin-ilk-corona-virus-karantina-hastanesi.html>

²⁹⁰ "Kapatılan Hastaneler Covid-19 Klinikleri Olacak," Birgün, Accessed September 1, 2020, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/kapatilan-hastaneler-covid-19-klinikleri-olacak-313927>

²⁹¹ "Koca: Ankara'da vaka artışı çok yüksek," Türkiye, DW Haber, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/tr/koca-ankarada-vaka-artisi-cok-yuksek/a-54796921>

Hospital were reserved for intubated patients.²⁹² Meanwhile, other parts of Numune with Yüksek İhtisas are still being used by *Ankara İl Sağlık Müdürlüğü Halk Sağlığı Hizmetleri Başkanlığı* (Ankara Provincial Health Directorate).²⁹³

The ongoing pandemic has shown that Ankara City Hospital's bed capacity is less than the total capacity at the hospitals closed in the center. Besides, the new facility concentrates vital public healthcare services are gathered in one place that is quite far from inner-city areas.²⁹⁴ Both healthcare professionals and urban planners have severely criticized the concentration of all healthcare services into one location. These new spatial enlargements within the urban configuration inevitably transfer large numbers of people from one place to another. Thus, it is neither functional nor healthy.²⁹⁵ For example, according to public health experts, it is unsafe for people to spend a long time on public transport as it increases the risk of infection. The rationale of public transport, namely "efficiently massing numbers of people" together, has

²⁹² "Kapatılan Hastaneler Covid-19 Klinikleri Olacak," Güncel, Birgün, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/kapatilan-hastaneleri-birer-birer-aciyorlar-328057>.

²⁹³ "Tarihi Numune binası yine sağlığa hizmet edecek," Sağlık, Anadolu Ajansı, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/saglik/tarihi-numune-binasi-yine-sagliga-hizmet-edecek/1631607>

²⁹⁴ Furthermore, healthcare professionals have strongly complained on several occasions that City Hospitals are unsatisfactory and inadequate. For instance, the large size of Ankara City Hospital occurs is a disadvantage for dealing with a pandemic. Small or medium-scale hospital buildings are better organized than the bigger structures like City Hospitals for crisis management, such as during outbreaks. In particular, smaller designs increase the time available for doctor visits times, reduce walking distances between departments, and allow rapid and effective surface cleaning during the pandemic.

²⁹⁵ Bülent Batuman, Erhan Öncü, and H. Tarık Şengül, 'Şehir Hastanelerinin Kent Planlamasındaki Yeri ve Mekansallığı' (City Hospitals Symposium, Ankara 11 March 2017), 69-96.

become an unhealthy form of densification.²⁹⁶ In the case of Ankara, the closed public hospitals used to provide efficient and easy-access healthcare services to everyone, including disadvantaged groups. In particular, the closure of these hospitals restricts access to emergency healthcare. The closures, which are concentrated in various parts of Ankara, threaten the public's rapid and cheap access to healthcare. Moreover, gathering all public health services in two single spots in the city means additional transportation loads and transportation costs. The pandemic should have led the government to ensure easy access to emergency healthcare and exercise of the rights that every city resident should have, regardless of background.

Ankara's unfortunate situation due to the Covid-19 pandemic suggests that suddenly closing numerous inner-city public hospitals may not have been a wise decision. The issue of re-opening them is thus very important. In response, a platform called HAP (Hastanelerimizi Açın Platformu; Open Our Hospitals in English) has been created with the support of many professional organizations and political parties. HAP has campaigned since the beginning of the pandemic to allow closed hospitals to continue providing services in their old locations. Since April 2020, the platform has argued that at least intensive care units should be re-established in the evacuated structures.²⁹⁷ Had the pandemic never happened, they would probably have remained standing as vacant structures, as they were in 2019. However, the pandemic has

²⁹⁶ Richard Sennett, "How Should We Live? Density in Post-pandemic Cities," accessed February 8, 2021, https://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2020/05/09/how-should-we-live-density-in-post-pandemic-cities.html?mc_cid=e85ce608c7&mc_eid=4c913b0900&utm_medium=website&utm_source=archdaily.com

²⁹⁷ "Hastanemi Açın Platformu: Kapatılan hastanelere yoğun bakım üniteleri kurulabilir," *Gündem*, Gazete Duvar, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2020/04/09/hastanemi-acin-platformu-kapatilan-hastanelere-yogun-bakim-uniteleri-kurulabilir>

proved that they still have a vital role in Ankara's healthcare provision. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether these twentieth-century hospital structures, which many of which are still not registered as a cultural asset, will be preserved once the pandemic ends.



CHAPTER 4

THE LOSS OF THE HEALTHCARE SITES AND THE RUPTURE IN URBAN MEMORY

“Architecture gives concrete form to society and is intimately connected with it.”²⁹⁸

Given the theoretical framework of the study, the importance of urban space and related spatial experiences cannot be ignored when considering how to sustain collective urban memory. Previous chapter has shown that architectural space can easily become a medium in which collective memory find meaningful associations for establishing social frameworks. Moreover, social frameworks provide tremendous information about the architectural object thus, collective urban memory encompasses great amount of experience belongs to that place which is also meaningful for the society. This chapter focuses on how the urban artifacts investigated in the third chapter are being lost one by one, and discuss how their loss will affect the citizens’ urban perception.

²⁹⁸ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 21.

4.1 Ankara Loses its Urban Artifacts

As a transition to the subject of this section, we can consider the following question: How and why did the center of the city of Ankara lose its significant urban artifacts, which are crucial structures for their socio-spatial qualities? Undoubtedly, many other disciplines besides architecture can offer different but cogent answers to this question from their own perspectives. As Edward Soja claims, “understanding the *postmetropolis* requires a creative recombination of micro and macro perspectives, views from above and from below.”²⁹⁹

4.1.1 Spirit of the Time

Contemporary city space is defined as “physically versatile”, meaning that, in most cases, it offers short-lived spaces in which individual perceptions and collective experiences may become irrelevant.³⁰⁰ Furthermore, considering the “problematic image” of the postmodern urban space, one can identify the “dramatic ruptures or condensations in the contemporary practices.”³⁰¹ This situation of contemporary cities correlate with urban space production processes, which depend on current urban politics. Here, Basa’s statements are highly relevant for understanding the motive behind current urban space production processes:

Rapid urban transformations point out a forward horizon, regardless of what they leave behind (...) The continuity of space’s memory is eroded by the

²⁹⁹ Edward W. Soja “Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis,” in *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs, Memory*, ed. Sallie Westwood and John Williams (Routledge, 2005), 9.

³⁰⁰ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 49.

³⁰¹ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 51.

pressure of the new construction (which is often concerned about rent) that rapidly invades it.³⁰²

Cities certainly possess a pattern for change that fulfills varying human needs for urban services while coping with the current economic system. Given that change is inevitable in cities, changes to a city's social structure, economy, and cultural practices will eventually significantly transform its identity, which can be regarded as a physical entity comprising the places of that city.³⁰³ However, she continues:

The fact is that this transformation happens as a metamorphosis which results in the eradication of the existing identity of the city and taking its place by a completely different one. It can be thought that transformation and metamorphosis are in the nature of things; on the other hand, with a phenomenological existential approach, in their relatively short life, people seek a certain continuity in their environment in order to settle in the world. Having to live in an ever-changing environment brings an existential problem, alienation and unhappiness.³⁰⁴

The contemporary culture of urban politics is to a great extent represented by this change. It is “unavoidable and its dominance in the contemporary urban space brings along the value of exchange and the capital.”³⁰⁵ David Harvey, argues that the “capitalist mode of production” attributes a particular meaning to the contemporary urban space.³⁰⁶ The urban physical space has been the focus of speculative

³⁰² (Author's translation) İnci, Basa, “Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi,” *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi* 1, no.15 (2015): 30.

³⁰³ Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, “Ankara'da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar,” *Dosya* (2009): 34.

³⁰⁴ (Author's Translation) Bilsel, “Ankara'da Kentsel Başkalaşım,” 34.

³⁰⁵ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 52.

³⁰⁶ David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 5.

investments and expectations.³⁰⁷ Harvey articulates a theory that current urban processes generate new urban spaces and regulate them under capitalist forms.³⁰⁸ The generation of new settlements in the city space can be illustrated as follows: capital is deposited into the city space to a certain degree before becoming fixed.³⁰⁹ According to his theory, it is necessary to generate a fixed space for capital to function at a certain point, but then it also has to destroy that space later to create new spatial fixations.³¹⁰ In other words, “capitalists seek ways to reinvest their accumulated capital and the solution to that problem is to invest the surplus capital in the construction sector.”³¹¹ In the case of Turkey’s economy and related urban policies, under the influence of a very specific capitalist structure, urban space production processes have been mainly determined and realized within the free market economy since the 1980s. Since 1980, urban space has become a commodity that is completely open to consumption by these capitalist urban policies. To summarize developments in Turkey since the 1980s, the country started to develop under neoliberal policies after the 1980s’ economic reforms. These reforms, which are also known as the *24 January decisions*, aimed to integrate Turkey’s economy

³⁰⁷ Tarık Şengül, “Türkiye'nin Kentleşme Deneyiminin Dönemlenmesi,” in *Türkiye’de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, ed. F. Alpkaya and B. Duru (İstanbul: Phoenix, 2014), 439.

³⁰⁸ David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, 1-31.

³⁰⁹ Tarık Şengül, “Radikal Kent Kuramları Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme: Alternatif Bir Yaklaşım Doğru,” in *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi* (İmge, 2009), 10.

³¹⁰ Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, 1-31.

³¹¹ Ibid.

into the global capitalist system.³¹² Neoliberal restructuring has intensified since then, with a strong bond between Turkey's economic growth and its construction sector.³¹³ Osman Balaban argues that since the neoliberal transformation of capitalism in Turkey during the 1980s, political actors have always focused on construction activities as the means of achieving economic objectives.³¹⁴ Particularly since the 2000s, the state has seen the construction sector as the locomotive of economic growth and implemented many construction enterprises in the urban space through administrative regulations.³¹⁵ Thus, the construction sector's current unrestrained growth is due to state support and its tremendous contributions to the private sector who have led the way in producing the built environment.³¹⁶ The private sector's interventions are directly associated with the economic priorities of the state or the government: "The existence of a state willing to finance and guarantee large-scale projects within a functioning capital market dominates the contemporary urban processes."³¹⁷

³¹² Osman Balaban, "İnşaat Sektörü Neyin Lokomotifİ," in İnşaat Ya Resulullah, ed. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: Birikim Kitapları, 2016), 22.

³¹³ Balaban, "İnşaat Sektörü," 31.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 19.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 7.

In Turkey's case, the state is at the center of urban processes.³¹⁸ Tarık Şengül elaborates on this issue:

The modern city is one of the most important areas of conflicting interests (...) While the urban space becomes both the scene and subject of these struggles, the social actors (who have the power) involved in these conflicts and struggles, consciously or unconsciously, reproduce and transform the urban space.³¹⁹



Figure 4.1. Ankara City Hospital, CCN Sağlık website, accessed on May, 2021, <https://www.ccnsglik.com>

For instance, City Hospitals are the outcome of current urban policy-making processes that, in Ankara's case, have eliminated some of its most significant

³¹⁸ Tarık Şengül, "Radikal Kent Kuramları Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme: Alternatif Bir Yaklaşımına Doğru," in *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi* (İmge, 2009), 10.

³¹⁹ Şengül, "Radikal Kent Kuramları," 9.

twentieth-century urban artifacts. The economic model adopted by the Turkish Government, which determines the state's approach to building City Hospital Projects, can be reviewed in this context. Decision-makers mainly prefer this approach, called Public-Private Partnership (hereafter PPP), because it can overcome the state's budget limitations on public services through private financing.³²⁰ This allows huge public investments like Ankara City Hospital (Figure 4.1) to be completed relatively quickly. However, private actors must be either guaranteed high profits or well subsidized by other actors, such as the state.³²¹ The profit-seeking motive behind the contemporary understanding of urban processes has transformed today's cities and everyday life to serve the private sector's needs. According to Douglas Spencer, a free-market economy and privatization of services encompass all categories of life, which can be summarized as the function of neoliberal capitalism in cities.³²² The prioritization of the exchange values of urban space rather than their use-values is a burden on today's cities. As a result, urban space is losing both its public features and significant urban artifacts, which provide citizens with cultural and social stimulation. I therefore claim that City Hospitals impose a totalizing and destructive transformation pattern in contemporary urban space production. This commodification of urban physical space endangers Ankara physically, socially and of course spatially. To the extent that "urban space is treated

³²⁰ Koray Karasu, 'Sağlık Hizmetlerinin Örgütlenmesinde Kamu-Özel Ortaklığı.' Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi 66.03 (2011): 217-262.

³²¹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death, and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 200.

³²² Ayax Abreu Garcia, 'The Architecture of Neoliberalism,' review of *The Architecture of Neoliberalism*, by Douglas Spencer, *Review Architecture*, February 1, 2018, see; Douglas Spencer, *The Architecture of Neoliberalism: How Contemporary Architecture Became an Instrument of Control and Compliance* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).

as a commodity”, it is seen as something to be consumed as soon as possible.³²³ Ankara City Hospital is an example of an extremely large-scale project that intervenes in and transforms several parts of the city space. It has become the symbol of Ankara’s socio-economic and spatial transformations. It has altered urban daily practices and interrupted the dynamics of urban memory:

In the broadest sense, oscillation of urban collective memory is related to temporal and spatial, and also to social discontinuities (...) Dramatic fragmentations or condensations in the public space and its practices cause ruptures in the spatial, temporal and social continuity of urban everyday life. This is the primary cause of disturbances in urban collective memory.³²⁴

This pattern of rapid construction that gradually generates cities’ urban public spaces is morally and socially problematic. This is because new constructions and the economic method they follow “mostly underestimate the importance of spatial, temporal, and social continuity in the urban space.”³²⁵ Cities easily become self-alienated as their knowledge of the past is destroyed. That is, if cities are subjected to transformations that eradicate collective social practices, the continuity of urban space will inevitably be disrupted. As shown in this study, current urban space production initiatives force the city to damage itself, whereby it loses its older, but still-functioning public healthcare structures. It is a huge intervention that destructively alters not just one particular space but the whole city space, mostly because of a sudden loss of the city’s significant urban artifacts and related spatial

³²³ Tarık Şengül, “Türkiye'nin Kentleşme Deneyiminin Dönemlenmesi,” in *Türkiye’de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, ed. F. Alpkaya and B. Duru (İstanbul: Phoenix, 2014), 440.

³²⁴ Segah Sak, “Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory” (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 49-51.

³²⁵ Sak, “Cyberspace,” 53.

practices. Eventually and inevitably, these artifacts and knowledge about their history will disappear.³²⁶

4.1.2 Politics of the Time

The loss of Turkey's twentieth-century urban artifacts has mostly happened under the guise of urban transformation practices. Rather than preserving them, decision-makers prefer to transform or eradicate these architectural structures.³²⁷ The extent and the intent of these spatial interventions often result in defunctionalization, evacuation, or unfortunately destruction.³²⁸ Given the neoliberal capitalist structure of urban politics, this pattern appears as praise for the new, which often ignores the significance of the old for the city. In Turkey's case, current urban space construction attempts tend to make the old forgotten.³²⁹ In other words, new structures are established by ignoring and erasing former ones, rather than adding or articulating to them. Elvan Altan claims that the reason behind the lack of preservation of twentieth-century architecture is that it is not widely acknowledged as a history worth protecting. Instead, it can be easily ignored in favor of decision-makers'

³²⁶ Sak, "Cyberspace as a Locus," 53.

³²⁷ Elvan Altan Ergut "Modern Mimarlık Mirası Korunmalı Mı?" Görüş, Yazı, XXI, accessed February 8, 2021, <https://xxi.com.tr/i/modern-mimarlik-mirasi-korunmali-mi>

³²⁸ Büşra Gürdağ and Duygu Koca, "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Sağlık Bakanlığı Binası Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 29, no.2 (November 2020): 399-423.

³²⁹ Zeynep Uludağ and Hilal Aycı, "Modernin Güçlü Sahnesi Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sında Kolektif Belleğin İnşası ve Toplumsal Unutma Süreci," *İDEALKENT* 7, no. 20 (2016): 751.

political and economic interests.³³⁰ To sustain the memories related to a particular space, it is essential to be conscious about that physical environment. Here, being conscious means acknowledging the urban spaces examined in this thesis as vital urban services or important edifices that provide and sustain an identity for the city. Consequently, one must be willing to own that space in terms of its material and immaterial benefits for the city.

Owning a city space also necessitates a political consciousness, given that urban space production practices are not only physical but also political.³³¹ Legal frameworks fail to preserve these urban artifacts as modern architectural heritage. Therefore, the preservation of modern architectural heritage is not a technical issue but a process that is explicitly influenced by urban political struggles.³³² He claims that the struggle over space has become an important political axis since 2000, because the extent to which urban space is subjected to the social sensitivity has become much more critical. Given the absence of a democratic and participatory urban management, urban memory and the quality of urban life can only be preserved through social struggles.³³³ However, this struggle over urban space production can only be partially effective because it does not receive the support of every segment of society. The sense of urban ownership in a society develops gradually with the infusion of urban consciousness. Individual contributions to urban structuring and the responsibility manifested by citizens through owning the values

³³⁰ Elvan Altan Ergut, “Yirminci Yüzyıl Modern Mimarlık Mirası Korunmalıdır! DOCOMOMO_Türkiye: 10 Yılın Ardından...”, accessed February 8, 2021, <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=385&RecID=3160>

³³¹ Bülent Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri: Mekan ve Görsel Politika* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 175.

³³² Batuman, *Kentin Suretleri*, 198.

³³³ Bülent Batuman, “Saraçoğlu 2013: Kentsel Bellekte ve Kent Mücadelesinde bir Mevzi,” *Mimarlık*, January-February 375, 2014, <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=389&RecID=3297>.

of the city, which is urban consciousness.³³⁴ It is a virtue of a society developed over time.³³⁵ Unless this ownership includes all social segments and comprehends the spatiality of these segments, inhabitants tend to develop the reflex of transferring the right to have a say on the city they live in without any questioning.³³⁶ If an urban space, which is one of the most important aspects of social sustainability, is transformed, produced, or destroyed according to rent-oriented enterprises or the arbitrary decisions of the administrative power, the citizens neither develop a sense of urban ownership nor an awareness of protecting cultural heritage.³³⁷ Regarding the architectural structures discussed here, this social attitude has facilitated the losses in the center of the capital. The ongoing evacuations and demolitions of modern buildings has neither caught society's attention nor provoked any resistance.

Urban structuring should consider the city's long-standing settlements more deeply since they constitute the dynamics of urban memory, replete with cultural and architectural values. Uludağ and Aycı argue that as the sharing of the knowledge of the past decreases, the common values that hold the society together also weaken. Preserving sites of memory and preventing social forgetting is only seen in societies with urban consciousness. One way to develop this awareness in Turkey is to

³³⁴ Mehtap Sağocak, Tülin Vural Arslan, and Enes Battal Keskin, "Urban Consciousness among Inhabitants of a City in Turkey: Bursa as a case," *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 202 (2015): 514-521.

³³⁵ Dilek Beyazlı and Şinasi Aydemir, "Does Urban Consciousness Help Understand the Citizens' Role in Planning," *European Planning Studies* 19:5 (2011): 839-860, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2011.561040>)

³³⁶ İnci, Basa, "Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi," *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi* 1, no.15 (2015): 33.

³³⁷ Basa, "Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği," 33.

preserve historical urban spaces and related memories.³³⁸ Turkey must learn to preserve not just its twentieth-century modern urban artifacts but also other architectural objects from different periods:

Saving a public past for any city or town is a political as well as historical and cultural process. Decisions about what to remember and protect involve the grounding of historical scholarship as well as the possibilities of public history, architectural preservation (...) It engages social, historical, and aesthetic imagination to locate where narratives of cultural identity, embedded in the historic urban landscape, can be interpreted to project their largest and most enduring meanings for the city as a whole.³³⁹

The city's identity depends on the juxtaposition of multiple architectural layers from its different periods. Architecture provides the material traces from which cities gain memory. These memory traces show themselves to inhabitants through the collective interactions that make them visible.³⁴⁰ Thus, the healthcare structures discussed here provide substantial knowledge of spatial and societal history. Inhabitants are always in an indirect relationship with their past by encountering these references. However, it is not important to signify how remarkable the architectural features of buildings in an urban space may be in the presence of its citizens since the meanings and feelings attached by people to those buildings will not be preserved if they cannot be possessed.³⁴¹ Urban preservation can only play a vital role in outlining a city's

³³⁸ Zeynep Uludağ and Hilal Aycı, "Modernin Güçlü Sahnesi Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sında Kolektif Belleğin İnşası ve Toplumsal Unutma Süreci," *İDEALKENT* 7, no. 20 (2016): 765.

³³⁹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 13.

³⁴⁰ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 31.

³⁴¹ Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 54.

identity if they are accompanied by a strong community appreciation of the urban space that reinforces the collective memory.³⁴²

4.1.3 Eliminating the Ordinary

The extent of the physical intervention in urban space is directly proportional to the impact that citizens experience. Moreover, the more intricate the social, economic, and cultural relationship of the architectural object with the city, the more meaningful it is for it. The mutual and reciprocal relationship between the place and its historical, economic, and social changes also exists between place and memory.³⁴³ As discussed in Chapter Two, the dynamics of urban memory mainly depend on urban artifacts and urban experience. Urban artifacts trigger social memory through the way they are set up in the urban pattern; their connotations appear in the minds of the citizens through spatial experiences.³⁴⁴ The loss of urban artifacts means the loss of spatial practices. According to Basa, the act of remembering is simultaneous with spatial practices.³⁴⁵ The issue that should be underlined here is the importance of urban spatial practices in the daily life. Urban identity is a phenomenon determined “not only by the physical elements of the city but also by the social

³⁴² Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 76.

³⁴³ Tülin Selvi Ünlü, “Kent Kimliğinin Oluşumunda Kentsel Bellek ve Kentsel Mekan İlişkisi: Mersin Örneği,” *Planlama* 27.1 (2017), 75.

³⁴⁴ İnci Yalım, “Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası,” in *Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler: Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Güven Arif Sargın (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 159-160.

³⁴⁵ İnci, Basa, “Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi,” *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi* 1, no.15 (2015): 29.

lifestyle” in that city.³⁴⁶ The urban experience is related to how people involve, use, or perceive public space in everyday social life. Therefore, spatial practices can be regarded as independent from the architectural quality of a structure. As Uludağ and Aycı state, if everyday life can manage to contain the cultural values despite its ordinary nature, then it can preserve urban memory and pass it on to future generations.³⁴⁷

Ankara lost its hospital structures because neither decision-makers nor society praised them as popular buildings with strong image. Basa therefore argues that buildings or urban spaces that do not have such distinguished meanings for society are seen as non-privileged areas of the city. Accordingly, she argues that these city spaces are easily subjected to evacuations that weaken urban memory. Failure to embrace the everyday ordinariness of these urban spaces, which lack “strong images”, is to ignore the fragmented, contradictory, and multi-layered nature of the city.³⁴⁸ As Basa notes,

Urban memory, on the other hand, preserves its continuity when it can find its concrete counterpart in everyday intersections. The relationship that we call urban memory is the core of urbanism and an abstract wholeness, which sustains it with multi fragmented perceptions. There is no doubt that public spaces, especially those who have historical witnessing, are places where collective urban memory is more intensified, depending on the power and fluidity of their transmission.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ (Author’s translation) Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, “Ankara’da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar,” *Dosya* (2009): 36.

³⁴⁷ Zeynep Uludağ and Hilal Aycı, “Modernin Güçlü Sahnesi Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara’sında Kolektif Belleğin İnşası ve Toplumsal Unutma Süreci,” *İDEALKENT* 7, no. 20 (2016): 763-765.

³⁴⁸ İnci, Basa, “Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği: Bir Mimarlık Stüdyosu Deneyimi,” *Sanat ve Tasarım Dergisi* 1, no.15 (2015): 30.

³⁴⁹ (Author’s translation) Basa, “Kentsel Hafızanın Sürdürülebilirliği,” 30.

Segah Sak offers a different perspective:

That is to say, the quality of the shared experience within a specific urban location may not even match the structural or architectural quality of that space, yet attaches meaning to that entity and it gives that urban space the quality of being a *place* making it an important *locus* for both collective memory and urban history.³⁵⁰

Urban artifacts, no matter how old or historical, and regardless of their function within the urban daily life, can play a significant role in the inhabitants' mental world. Urban artifacts generate an integrated environment that is sufficient and efficient enough at stimulating mental images. However, in terms of their physical condition, they can appear in different architectural qualities. Nevertheless, a city that has lost the particular spatial practices that belong to a place, regardless of its architectural features, is vulnerable to losing its memory. These hospital structures have endured for decades, establishing social, historical, and spatial bonds with the citizens. As Boyer claims, cities reflect "grand discourses on history", which are constantly being exposed to our ongoing daily life by the architectural forms of the past.³⁵¹ Therefore, their endurance is what makes a city a "city of collective memory":

We find that different layers of historical time superimposed on each other or different architectural strata no longer generate a structural form to the city but merely culminate in an experience of diversity. (...) These architectural residues from earlier times have become important sites of pleasures.³⁵²

³⁵⁰ Segah Sak, "Cyberspace as a Locus for Urban Collective Memory" (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2013), 46.

³⁵¹ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996), 31.

³⁵² Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 19.

Every space must have a context depending on the physical space in which it is produced, and every new spatial formation must generate new contexts³⁵³ because the context is what defines the conditions that give anything its meaning. Therefore, it is not only the architectural qualities of the buildings that constitute the city's architecture but a dynamic process in which the context controls life around and within the buildings.³⁵⁴ In this regard, hospital structures should be regarded as significant urban artifacts with strong contextual attributes. While this context defines the architectural appearance of them it also gives new meanings to the city in question.



³⁵³ Baykan Günay, “Planlama ve Kentin Kurgusu”, in *Kentsel Planlama Kuramları*, ed. Melih Ersoy (İmge: 2012), 359.

³⁵⁴ Günay, “Planlama ve Kentin Kurgusu”, 359.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the role of urban artifacts in sustaining urban memory. Most broadly, it concentrated on how collective memory gains spatiality through the places of a city. When inhabitants spend time in an urban space, it accumulates experiences that gradually turn it into a piece of knowledge. This knowledge defines the social, cultural, and physical character and appearance of the city – that is, its identity. This thesis traced this knowledge, which can also be defined as the memory of the city, specifically how it is formed and how the city and its inhabitants are affected when there is a risk of losing it.

Due to the construction of Ankara City Hospital, the capital has lost well-distributed public hospitals in its inner-city areas. Following their evacuations and closures, numerous neighborhoods in Ankara have lost a vital function established over many years through the inhabitants' socio-spatial practices. Thus, the spatial balance of Ankara's health service provision has been disturbed while it has experienced a setback that damages its memory. This thesis examined possible negative effects on urban memory due to urban transformation by drawing on theories of collective memory, urban memory, and relevant urban studies. Within its limits, this thesis also questioned why Ankara's numerous healthcare environments were so rapidly and recklessly eliminated.

The city space contains mnemonic structures triggered by the inhabitants through their spatial bodily experiences as they wander around. These everyday spatial practices are what create and sustain collective urban memories. Therefore, urban artifacts serve urban memory by becoming a medium for it. As Halbwachs argues, "every (collective) memory unfolds within" the space. The built environment contains various marks generated by different agents or subjects in society.

Moreover, as Rossi notes, urban artifacts form close relationships with their locations. This relationship mostly strengthens the city's identity because societal interactions and spatial activities occur within this relationship, based on *loci* and related socio-spatial activities. The dynamics of urban memory are defined together with traces of both past and current experiences of exposure to the city. In other words, by the act of collective remembering, spatial experiences not only belong to the near present but also to the past and the future; this is how urban memory creates itself and becomes visible in the space. Because city space consists of gradually stored different forms that belong to multiple periods, cities bear knowledge that belongs to both past and future. Although knowledge is the product of the particular periods when structures were designed and built, over time they develop a collective character. This collective expression derives from the spatial experiences or practices that link them to multiple eras:

We see the importance of the parameter of time in the study of urban artifacts; to think of a persistent urban artifact as something tied to a single period of history constitutes one of the greatest fallacies of urban science. A monument's persistence or permanence is a result of its capacity to constitute the city, its history, and art, its being, and memory (...) The form of the city is always the form of a particular time of the city; but there are many times in the formation of the city, and a city may change its face even in the course of one man's life, its original references ceasing to exist.³⁵⁵

Therefore, any urban space which has meaningful attributes for its inhabitants must be regarded as containing significant urban artifacts that deserve protection and care. Accordingly, despite their humble appearance, each of Ankara's twentieth-century hospital structures is valuable for sustaining both urban memory and the city's architectural heritage of public buildings. Most are regarded as modern structures of the Early Republican Period (e.g., Robert Oerley's İsmet Paşa Pavilion in Numune Education and Research Hospital complex and Theodor Jost's building of Ministry

³⁵⁵ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 60-61.

of Health in Sıhhiye); others were constructed after 1950, when Turkish architecture was finally influenced by modernism (e.g., Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital, Dışkapı Children Education and Research Hospital, Zekai Tahir Burak Education and Research Hospital).³⁵⁶ Architectural design criteria also provide information about Turkey's twentieth-century societal life. In its investigation of these structures, this thesis focused on their abstract and tangible signs in the collective memory to argue that they are all significant architectural objects as urban artifacts that create and sustain collective urban memory. Accordingly, the historical identity of Ankara should also be preserved.

Inhabitants invest city space with social and cultural meanings,³⁵⁷ which are crucial for sustaining urban continuity by constructing a memory for the city. In other words, urban continuity depends on the preservation of urban memory. The city needs and seeks a bond with its urban services to ensure its continuity. When such a bond is broken by spatial policies that ignore this, the inhabitants become alienated from their city. Contemporary urban transformation projects, such as Bilkent City Hospital Project, put cities at the risk of losing their identity, thereby increasing this risk of alienation. When decision-makers prioritize feasibility and applicability in response to economic and political demands rather than urban sustainability, this can destroy the urban spatial quality. For instance, in order for the sake of new investments based on neoliberal urban policies, the authorities closed still-functioning city-center hospitals, making their vicinity irreversibly functionless. Many people from different socioeconomic levels used old public hospitals in the

³⁵⁶ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür* (Metis Yayınları, 2008), 323.

³⁵⁷ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (MIT Press, 1997), 13.

city center because of their easy access³⁵⁸ (i.e., Sıhhiye, and Ulus). Moreover, citizens from other regions in Anatolia could easily visit these hospitals via the mainline and suburban trains, metro, and buses.³⁵⁹ Based on a strictly functional zoning approach, the authorities relocated all Ankara's healthcare services relatively far from the city center while abandoning older structures associated with the urban context. Moreover, public resources have been spent to build a City Hospital with economic and accessibility issues, rather than solving current urban problems (e.g., through traffic improvements, building rehabilitation, aesthetic and physical landscaping) and increasing the efficiency of center's existing public hospitals.³⁶⁰ If these public buildings were preserved in their original location and their functions improved, they could revive the city center and make it attractive again for Ankara's inhabitants. Such a cultural policy would enable Ankara to reclaim its center, its public spaces, and urban artifacts that have now lost their quality and function.³⁶¹ However, for this policy to work, cultural unconsciousness must be overcome and urban consciousness should be made widespread within society. To develop a sense of urban ownership, society must equally value all the architectural forms that make up a city. In today's rapidly changing cities, urban artifacts represent the fixed references of the recent or distant past. Without adopting a conservative tone, this study simply highlighted their functional aspects, such as how urban artifacts can guide both citizens and decision-makers while adapting to the city's future

³⁵⁸ Beyazıt İlhan, "Ankara' da Şehir Hastaneleri: Sağlık Çalışanlarını ve Hastaları Neler Bekliyor," in *Türkiye'de Sağlıkta Kamu-özel Ortaklığı: Şehir Hastaneleri*, ed. Kayıhan Pala (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 310.

³⁵⁹ "Sıhhiye'nin Tarihi Kimliği Korunmalıdır," TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi, accessed April 15, 2021, <http://spoankara.org/haber/sihhiyenin-tarihi-kimligi-korunmalidir/>

³⁶⁰ "Sıhhiye'nin Tarihi Kimliği Korunmalıdır."

³⁶¹ Fatma Cânâ Bilsel, "Ankara'da Kentsel Başkalaşım Karşısında Kentsel Kimlik Sorunu: Kent Merkezleri ve Kamusal Mekanlar," *Dosya* (2009): 45.

development. Urban planning decisions that adapt to an ever-changing city and respond to its social, cultural, and aesthetic needs must inevitably study the urban artifacts of different eras and acknowledge their importance for the city. It is important for the sake of urban continuity that buildings with cultural and social value continue to serve the city while witnessing and guiding the city's development. This will simultaneously enable creative and solution-oriented urbanization while preserving urban consciousness.

Urban spaces should have been generated, re-created, or sustained to be compatible with the culture and behaviors of a particular society for the maximum possible. An urban intervention that radically changes every day spatial practices not only damages the urban tissue but also alienates citizens from the city. In order for to talk about social sustainability in the center of Ankara, healthcare sites should be preserved as it is. Healthcare structures should continue to serve the city as hospital buildings. In the view of this study, their power to sustain and develop the inner-city areas of Ankara does not come from their potential to be re-organized or adapted for new functions. For instance, it is debatable how well the city and the citizens benefit from their adaptive reuse as healthcare museums. Both their social history and architectural efficiency have a potential that contributes to the economic, social, and cultural development of the neighborhoods where they are located. As long as the hospitals continue to serve in the area where they are initially located, the neighborhoods will not lose their economic vitality and these regions will continue to define important and vivid sub-centers in the city.

It is also seen that those well-distributed and well-established hospital structures have been partly re-opened during the Covid-19 pandemic. They met the demand for the intensive care units for Covid-19 patients in Ankara. This shows that hospitals can cope with conditions that force health service conditions such as pandemics. Even a structure built with a high-tech infrastructure such as Ankara City Hospital was insufficient in terms of bed capacity when it came to extraordinary situations

such as pandemics. To be prepared for such situations in the future, these hospitals should continue to serve where they are.

Furthermore, due to its location, transporting to Ankara City Hospital is not equally affordable for all the citizens in Ankara. Most of the citizens have to deal with high transportation costs and spend long hours in traffic to get health services. Therefore, this is another reason why we should consider to re-open these hospitals in the center. They should be kept in service so that they can continue to serve the population of lower-income groups.

Against a criticism of the physical and infrastructural deficiencies of these healthcare sites, the following can be said: These hospitals can be easily made compatible with new technology and modern equipment without sacrificing them completely. Numerous scientific articles examine how to adapt old healthcare sites to the current technological conditions.³⁶² Many methods make it possible to gradually renovate a hospital. Therefore, with the application of these methods, the city can regain its hospitals with improved physical and technological infrastructure.

³⁶² Please see; Elrod, James K. and John L. Fortenberry Jr, “Adaptive Reuse in the Healthcare Industry: Repurposing Abandoned Buildings to Serve Medical Missions,” *BMC Health Serv Res* 17, 451 (2017): 5-14, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-017-2339-4> and Elrod, James K. and John L. Fortenberry Jr, “Advancing Indigent Healthcare Services Through Adaptive Reuse: Repurposing Abandoned Buildings as Medical Clinics for Disadvantaged Populations,” *BMC Health Serv Res* 17, 805 (2017): 5-14, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-017-2752-8>. See also; Pat Burke, “Resuscitating Buildings for Healthcare with Adaptive Reuse,” *Medical Construction & Design*, October 15, 2018, <https://mcdmag.com/2018/10/resuscitating-buildings-for-healthcare-with-adaptive-reuse/#.YP8tCo4zaUk>. HBRE, “The Benefits of Adaptive Reuse,” February 1, 2021, accessed July 21, 2021, <https://hbre.us/the-benefits-of-adaptive-reuse/>, Carter, Cheryl D., and Brenda A. Barr, “Infection Control Issues in Construction and Renovation,” *Infection Control & Hospital Epidemiology* 18.8 (1997): 587-596.

Besides, these structures have eventually witnessed a certain period of the country. The memory and historical value of the buildings have become the story of the country. For example, structures such as Numune, Ministry of Health, and Ankara Maternity Hospital symbolize the breakthroughs, initiatives, and achievements of the first generations of the Republic. Therefore, they are a part of the social history of this country. Accordingly, their conservation is directly linked with our cultural history. Preservation of such places in the city could help society to understand the importance of spatial history as well.

This thesis examined one city that is gradually losing its memory by abandoning its vital urban services. The closed hospital structures are precious for their architectural, social, and spatial historicity. Despite their relatively mundane and modest nature, they harbor rich societal knowledge and experience. Regarding their place in urban memory, these buildings should be properly preserved. By problematizing those closures, this thesis emphasized not only the form of an architectural object but also its complex and intertwined relationship with the city; its vital place in our daily life, habits, and memory.

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APPENDICES

A. Archive Documents of Ministry of Health Building in Sıhhiye

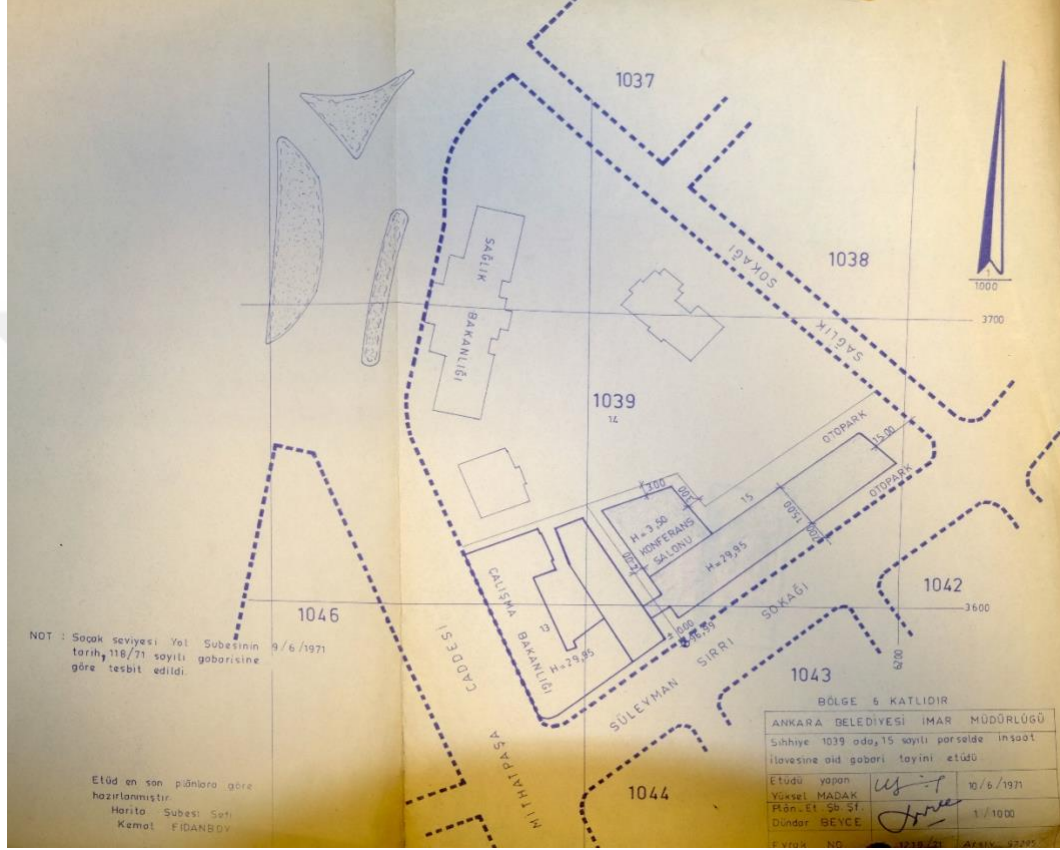


Figure A.1. 1971 Site Plan of Ministry of Health Building in Sıhhiye. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

B. Archive Documents of Numune Hospital (Numune Education and Research Hospital)

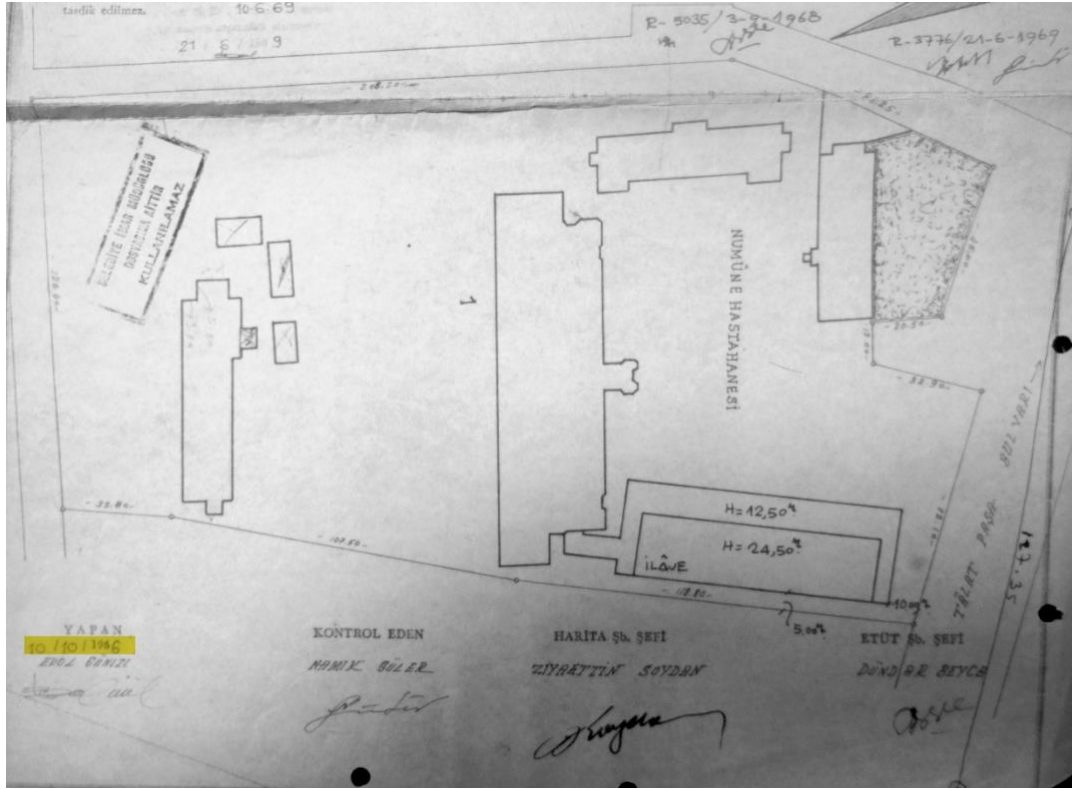


Figure A.2. Plan sketch of 1966, Numune Hospital. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

**C. Archive Documents Zekai Tahir Burak Education and Research Hospital
(Ankara Maternity Hospital)**

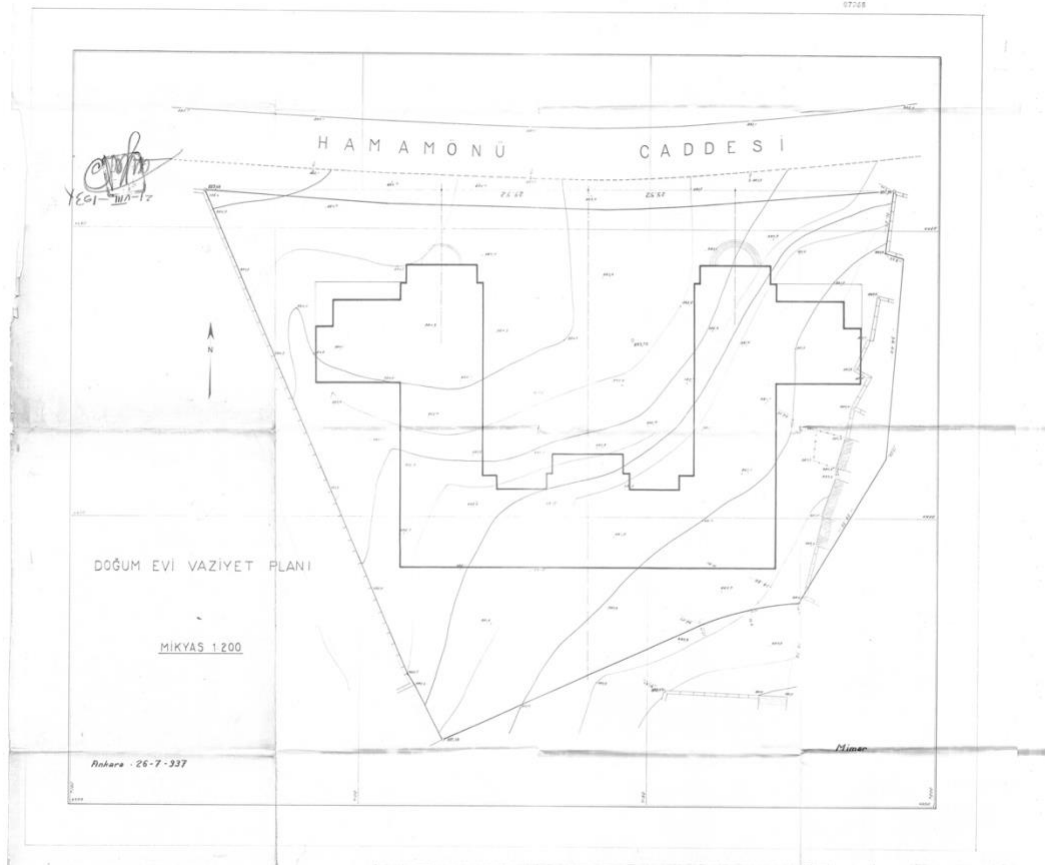


Figure A.4. Ankara Maternity Hospital, Site Plan of 1937. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

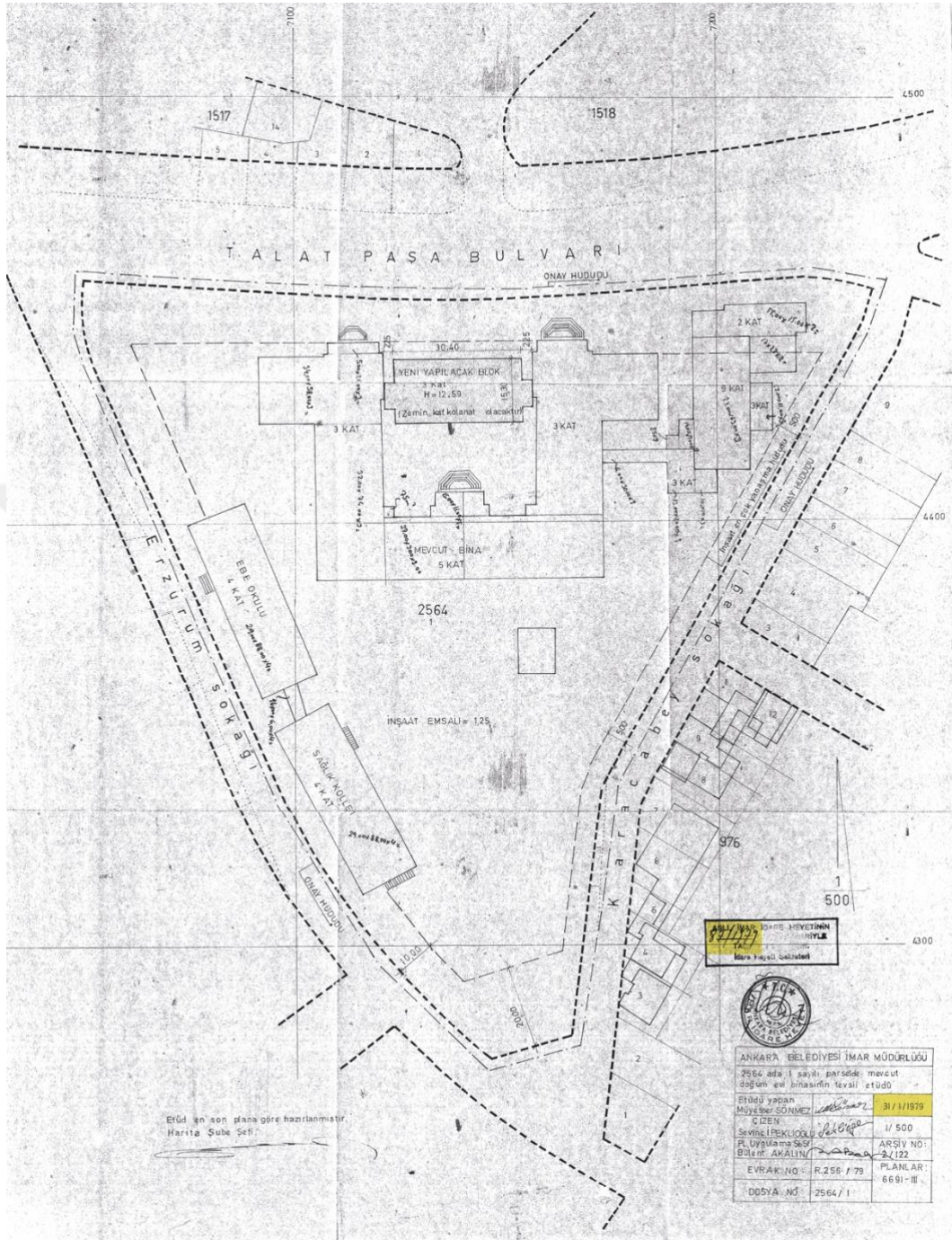


Figure A.5. Ankara Maternity Hospital and its annexes, Site Plan of 1979. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive.

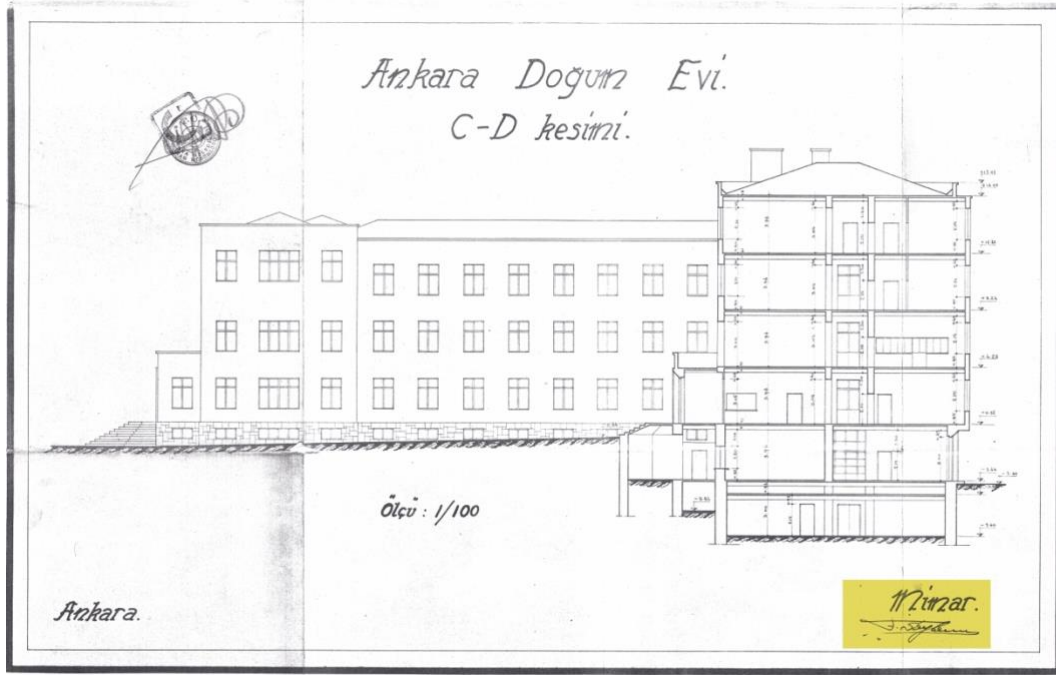


Figure A.6. Section drawing of Ankara Maternity Hospital, 1937. The drawing was signed by the architect; however, the name of the architect is not legible. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive.

D. Archive Documents of Yüksek İhtisas Education and Research Hospital

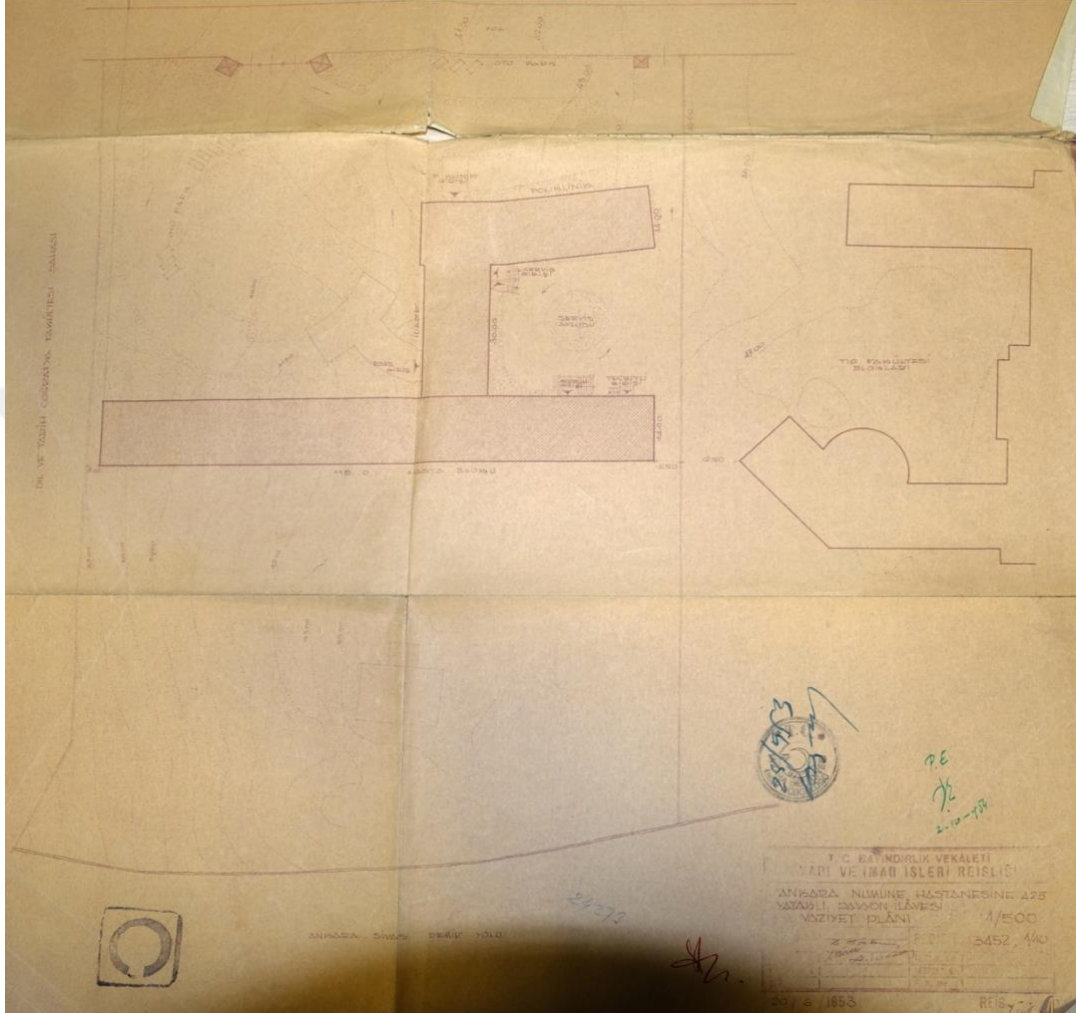


Figure A.7. The Site Plan of Yüksek İhtisas Hospital, 1953. The drawing was signed by the architect Neriman Birce. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

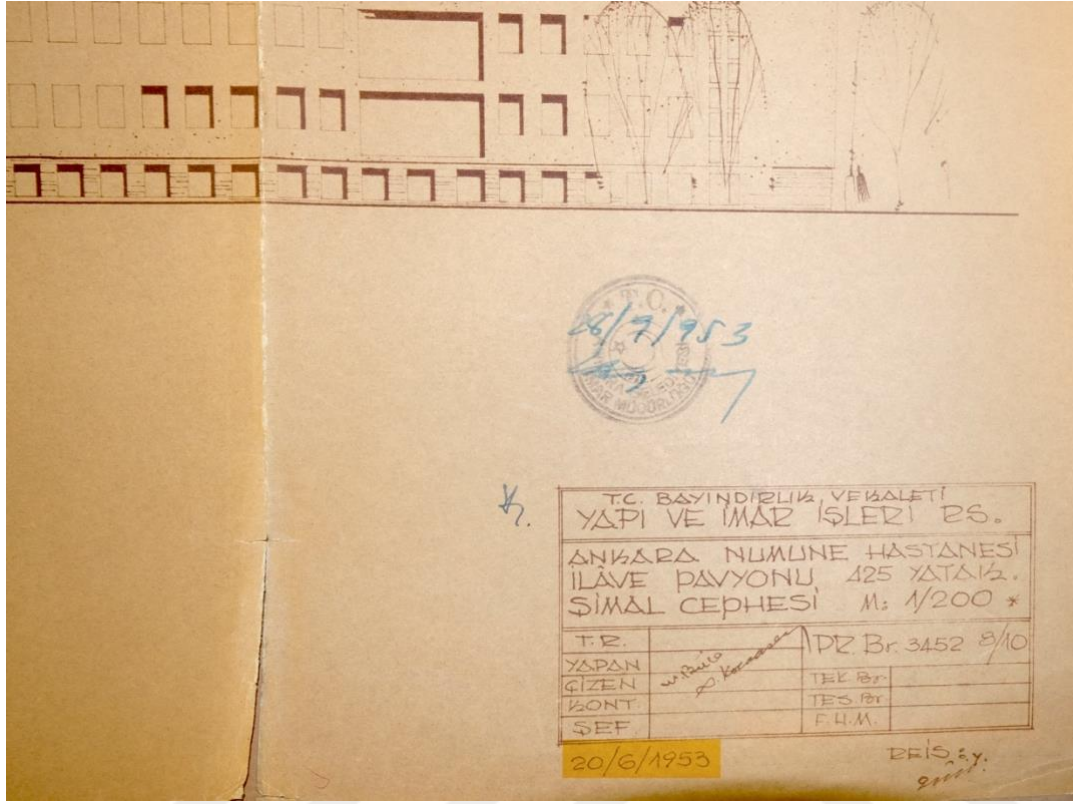


Figure A.8. Facade drawing of Yüksek İhtisas Hospital, 1953. The drawing was signed by the architect Neriman Birce. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

E. Archive Documents of Dışkapı Children Hospital

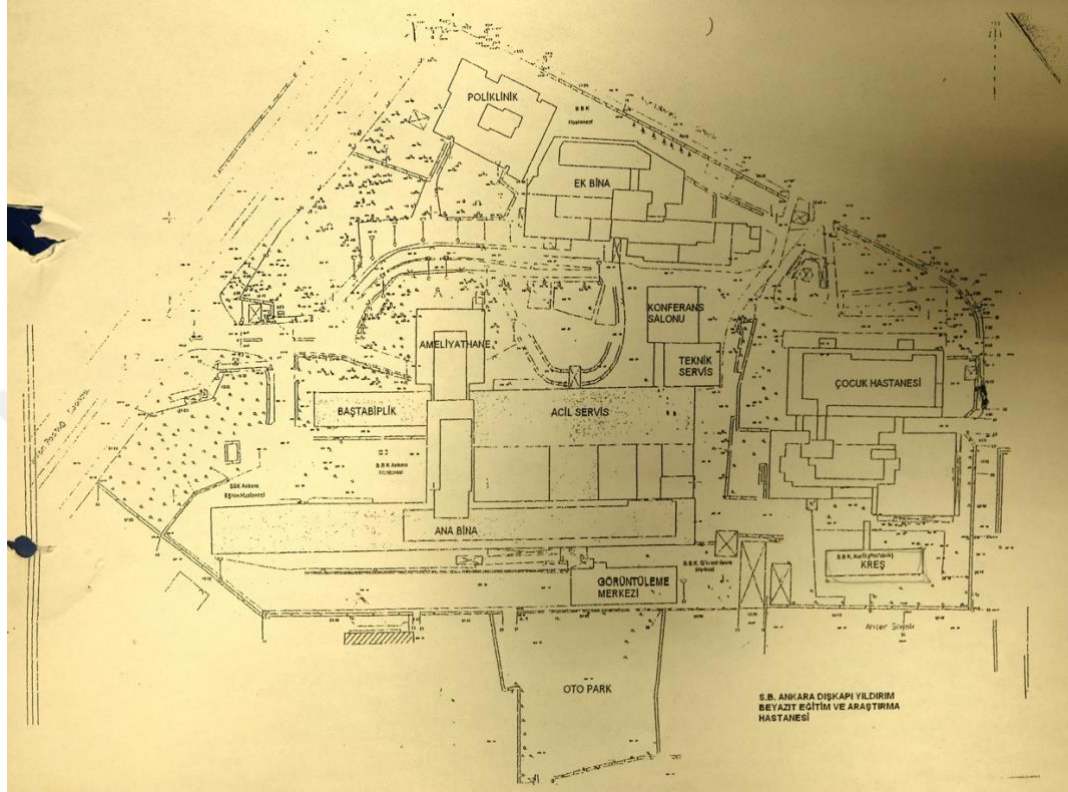
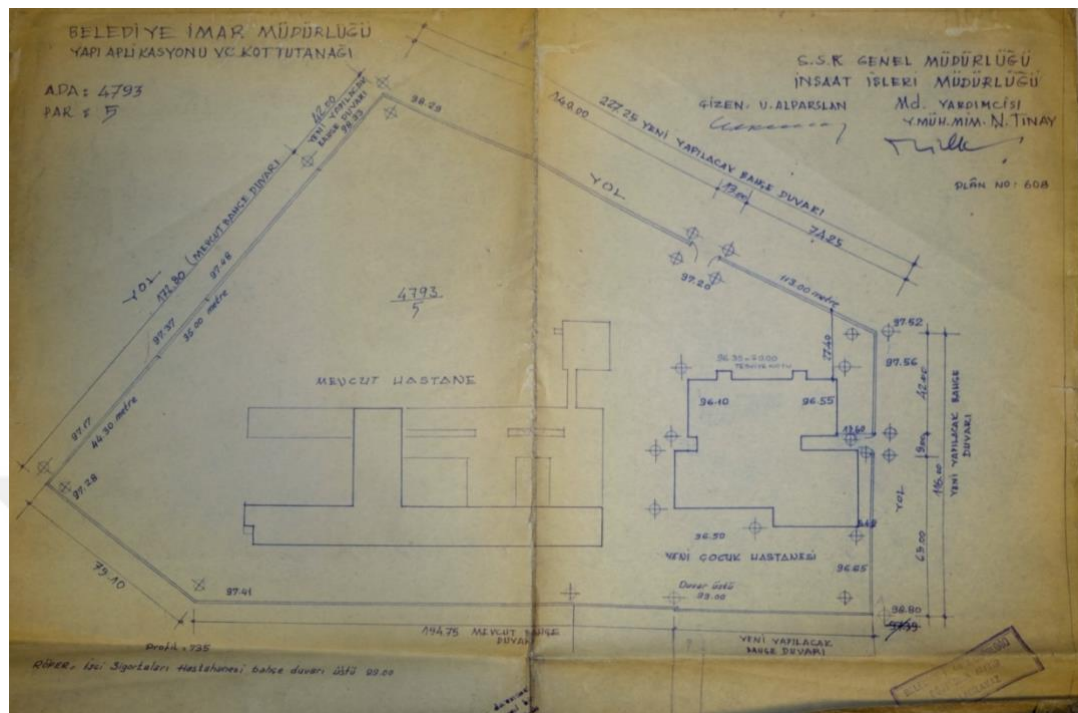


Figure A.9. Site Plan of Dışkapı Education and Research Hospital. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).



F. Archive Documents of Ankara Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Education and Research Hospital

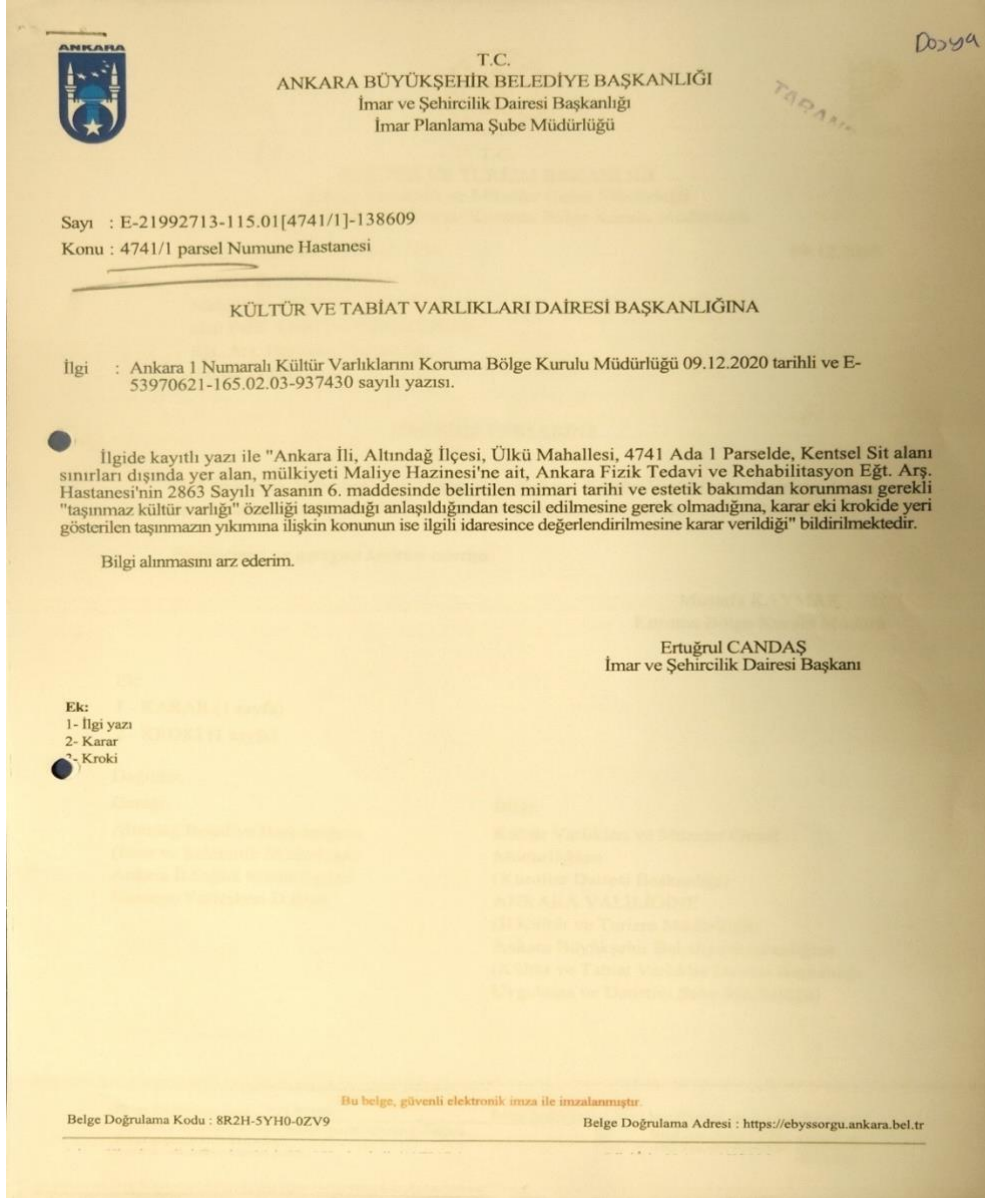


Figure A.12. The official correspondences (see, Figure A.13 and Figure A.14) between Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and relevant institutions. Briefly, the documents state that the hospital structure in question does not have the feature of immovable cultural property that needs to be protected for architectural history and aesthetics. The demolition of the building has left to the decision of the relevant administration. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).



T.C.
KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü
Ankara Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürlüğü

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alan Fizik Tedavi ve Rehabilitasyon
Eğt. Arş. Hastanesi Binası Hk.
(06.00.1950)

DAĞITIM YERLERİNE

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Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini arz/rica ederim.

Mustafa KAYMAK
Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürü

Ek:

1 - KARAR (1 sayfa)

2 - KROKİ (1 sayfa)

Dağıtım:

Gereği:

Altındağ Belediye Başkanlığına
(İmar ve Şehircilik Müdürlüğü)
Ankara İl Sağlık Müdürlüğüne
Numune Yerleşkesi D Blok

Bilgi:

Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel
Müdürlüğüne
(Kurullar Dairesi Başkanlığı)
ANKARA VALİLİĞİNE
(İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü)
Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığına
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Belgegeçer:(0312) 310 43 41

e-nosta: ankarakurul@kth.gov.tr

Bilgi için: Serap ÖZEN

Diğ. Tek. Hiz. Personeli



Figure A.13. The official correspondences between Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and relevant institutions. Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

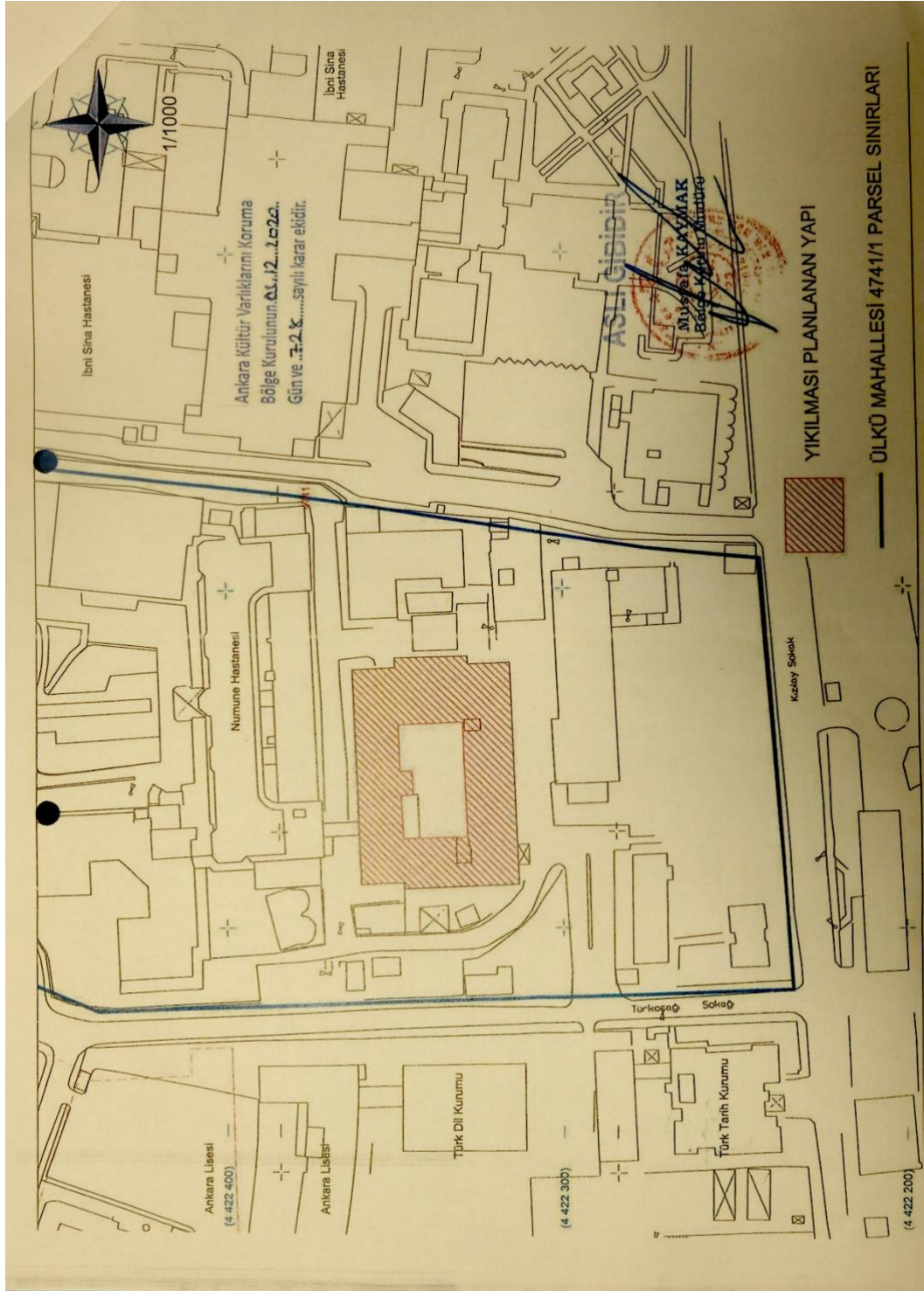


Figure A.14. The official correspondences between Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and relevant institutions (Attachment page of the correspondences). Source: Ankara Municipality Public Works Archive (The document photographed by the author).

G. Newspaper (Hakimiyeti Milliye) headlines of the Early Republican Period



Figure A.15. Hakimiyeti Milliye, 1933 (İkinci Teşrin). Newspaper article about the opening of İsmet Paşa Pavilion. Source: National Library of Turkey, Digital Archive of Periodical Publications.

