

UNDERSTANDING THE DRIVING FORCES IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION
ACTIVITIES IN SURİÇİ

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DİLAN EYYÜPOĞLU

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Balaban
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz
Co-Supervisor

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Balaban
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Neriman Şahin Güçhan	(METU, ARCH)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Balaban	(METU, CRP)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz	(METU, ARCH)	_____
Prof. Dr. Anlı Ataöv Demirkan	(METU, CRP)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çolpan Kavuncu	(AYBU, PSPA)	_____

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 : Dilan Eyyüpoğlu

Signature :

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING THE DRIVING FORCES IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION ACTIVITIES IN SURİÇİ

Eyyüpođlu, Dilan

M.S., Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Balaban

Co-Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz

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The thesis has two main aims; the first aim is to show that there has been an increase in activities for cultural heritage conservation in Diyarbakır Suriçi District since 2000 and the second aim is to understand the major reasons of the situation; namely, the underlying dynamics on it. The decisions taken by the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board between 2000 and 2016 have been examined in detail to express these aims. In addition, all cultural heritage projects that were developed or implemented during that time have been examined and discussed. The dynamics or factors of the increased conservation activity in Suriçi were examined in three different levels such as global, national and local levels. Council of Europe, European Union, and UNESCO are the global (f)actors that made significant impacts on the general conservation agenda of Turkey. The establishment of the Union of Historical Towns, the revised legislation on cultural heritage conservation as well as central and local elections are specified and examined as the national-level dynamics that shaped the increased conservation activity in Suriçi. Among the most important local (f)actors, there is the Kurdish

political movement which came into power in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality between 1999 and 2016. To verify the hypotheses of the research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 people, who played active roles in heritage conservation activities in Diyarbakır in the last decades. The interviews helped to understand which of the above-mentioned factors have been influential as well as their level of influence over the occurrence and development of the conservation activities in Suriçi. The results indicate that all the factors or dynamics specified at the outset of the study, one way or another influenced the cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi. However, the most crucial and the unpredicted dynamic is the political competition and conflict between the central government and the local government, namely the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality.

Keywords: Suriçi, Cultural Heritage, Conservation Activity, Local Government, Diyarbakır

ÖZ

SURİÇİ'NDEKİ KÜLTÜREL MİRAS HAREKETLİLİĞİNİN DİNAMİKLERİNİ ANLAMA

Eyyüpoğlu, Dilan

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi : Doç.Dr. Osman Balaban

Ortak Tez Yöneticisi : Doç.Dr. Güliz Bilgin Altınöz

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Bu çalışma, 2000'li yıllardan itibaren Diyarbakır Suriçi'nde kültürel mirası koruma konusunda bir hareketliliğin olduğu iddiasını ispatlamayı ve bu hareketliliğin nedenlerini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, Diyarbakır Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu'nun 2000-2016 yılları arasında almış olduğu kararlar incelenmiştir. Ayrıca alanda belirtilen tarihlerde yapılan tüm projeler paydaşları ve finansörleri belirtilerek anlatılmıştır. Kültürel miras hareketliliğine neden olan etmenler ise; küresel, ulusal ve yerel olmak üzere üç seviyede incelenmiştir. Avrupa Konseyi, Avrupa Birliği ve UNESCO gibi aktörler Türkiye'deki koruma gündemini belirleyen etmenler olarak ele alınırken; Tarihi Kentler Birliği'nin kurulması, kültürel miras ile ilişkili yasalar ve genel ve yerel seçimler ise Suriçi'nde koruma hareketliliğine neden olan ulusal düzeydeki etmenler olarak incelenmiştir. Yerel ölçekte ise 1999-2016 yılları arasında Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde iktidar olan Kürt siyasal hareketi bir yerel aktör olarak ele alınmıştır.

Yukarıda bahsedilen faktörlerden hangilerinin koruma hareketliliğinin oluşmasında ne derece etkili olduğunu anlamak için 10 kişi ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme yapılmıştır. Tüm bunların sonucunda, bahsedilen tüm aktörlerin Suriçi'nde kültür

mirasının korunması konusundaki hareketliliğe Őu ya da bu Őekilde katkı yaptıkları sonucuna ulařılmıştır. Ancak, Suriçi'ndeki koruma hareketliliğinin en önemli ve bu çalışmanın hipotezleri arasında öngörülememiş olan nedeni; merkezi hükümet ve yerel yönetim (Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi) arasındaki rekabet ve çekişme olarak tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriçi, Kùltür Mirası, Koruma Hareketliliği, Yerel Yönetimler, Diyarbakır

**To those who have created
the cultural heritage in Suriçi**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BDP	Peace and Democracy Party
DEHAP	Democratic People's Party
DKTVKK	Diyarbakır Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu
DMM	Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality
DTP	Democratic Society Party
EU	European Union
HADEP	People's Democracy Party
HDA	Housing Development Administration
HDP	People's Democratic Party
JDP	Justice and Development Party
KAİP	Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı
KUDEB	Koruma Uygulama ve Denetim Bürosu
TMMOB İKK	Türk Mühendis Mimar Odaları Birliği İl Koordinasyon Kurulu
UHT	Union of Historical Towns
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Diyarbakir is among the most ancient fortress cities in the world where life flows uninterruptedly for 7 thousand years. It has been the host to many civilizations; such as; Roman Empire, Artuquids and Ottoman Empire. Diyarbakır City Walls which is the second most extended one after the Great Wall of China in the World has taken its current shape in the Roman Period. Due to the "beautiful city" concept brought by the Republic, some parts of the city walls of Diyarbakır were destroyed. However, the Fortress has reached today by keeping its integrity. Suriçi was declared as Urban Heritage Site in 1988 with the Board's decision. In Suriçi Urban Heritage Site, there are 605 registered buildings; 155 of them are monumental structures which are called as 1st group and 450 of them are civil architecture buildings which are called as the 2nd group. These features of Suriçi has led it to be defined as an outdoor museum. Nevertheless, the intense migration occurred in the 1980s, and the 1990s damaged most of the structures in the district.

By the 2000s, there have been some changes in the conservation agenda of Turkey by the amendments in the laws about cultural heritage and prominence of non-governmental organizations. Within this context, the number of decisions taken by the Diyarbakır Natural and Cultural Conservation Board and the number of projects made and implemented in Suriçi has increased. Also, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization declared that some areas of the district have become the urban renewal area. Subsequently, the Conservation Oriented Plan was updated. Parallel with the plan, the Board updated registration list of Suriçi, and it registered lots of the civil and monumental buildings in the same period. In addition, planning offices have prepared the Master Plan of Suriçi District and Site Management Plan of Diyarbakır City Wall and Hevsel Garden.

As a result, it can be said that cultural heritage conservation practices have accelerated in the 2000s at Suriçi as in other medium-sized cities of Turkey. Many

restoration projects have been practiced in the district such as; the project for removing and landscaping Diyarbakır City Wall and the restoration project of Surp Giragos Armenian Church which has been awarded. Also, it was entitled to enter the UNESCO World Heritage List as Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens in 2015. For these reasons mentioned above, cultural heritage conservation activities occurred in Suriçi District has been the main topic of this thesis.

1.1. Scope and Purpose of the Research

In this study, Suriçi was examined in the scope of cultural heritage conservation in the between 1999 and 2016. The reasons why these years are chosen is that conservation activities were started by the Union of Historical Town in Diyarbakır Suriçi as in all country in 2000 and the representative of Kurdish political movement, People's Democracy Party (HADEP) gained the municipal election at the same period. In addition, the number of projects related to cultural heritage has increased between the years 1999-2016, when the Kurdish Political Movement has been in power. Therefore, one of the main arguments of this thesis is that whether Kurdish political movement has an impact on the conservation activity in Suriçi or not. However, all projects stopped due to the armed conflict and tension in the region, and the curfew was declared in lots of neighborhoods of Suriçi in 2016. On top of these, the central government appointed the trustee to Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality in the same year. Therefore, the Kurdish political movement has lost their power in the municipality.

For these reasons, this study has discussed whether there has been a conservation activity for the cultural heritage in Suriçi District for sixteen years or not. Because the study has proved that there have been conservation activities in the district, it has tried to find reasons for cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi. At first, it has examined Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board's Decisions and cultural heritage projects practiced in there to demonstrate the cultural heritage conservation activities. After the evaluation of the board's decisions and projects which were done, it has discussed the reasons for this conservation activities in the area.

In other words, this thesis focuses on the driving forces of cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi. As mentioned above, the number of plans, projects, and decisions taken for the cultural assets located on Suriçi have been increased in the last sixteen years and it has been especially done in cultural heritage district. The main aim in this study is to emphasize the existing activities and to find the causes of these activities.

This main aim has been examined in five hypotheses to find the reasons for the conservation activities in Suriçi. These hypotheses are as in below:

- 1.** Cultural heritage conservation has gained importance in the recent decades in Turkey and the increase in conservation activities in some particular local contexts might be the outcome of the national agenda.
- 2.** The EU Accession Process has made a positive impact both on the agenda of and financial resources for conservation of cultural assets.
- 3.** Significant changes have been made by the national government in cultural heritage conservation legislation after the 2000s.
- 4.** Central and local election results as well as the election campaigning promises have stimulated the cultural heritage activities.
- 5.** Kurdish political movement has gained strength politically in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality after the 2000s.

The first assumption has been made by considering the increase in the number of the board's decisions. In this context, it can be said that the general conservation agenda in Turkey might be a cause of this increase in the number of the Board's decisions. Moreover, amendments in conservation legislation might be a reason for accelerating the number of projects and the Board's decisions in Suriçi and this can be the second main reason for increasing conservation activities.

The third hypothesis has been suggested by examining the cultural heritage projects and it can be assumed that EU Grand Scheme financed some of the cultural heritage projects in Suriçi. Therefore, it can be claimed that EU has an impact on

the general protection agenda in Turkey, and economic resources for conservation of cultural heritage has increased in this context.

Some cultural heritage projects have been practiced in Suriçi in the scope of Attraction Center Support Program by using the national resources since 2008. One year before the local election held in 2009, Diyarbakır has been selected as a pilot area to practice these projects. Hence, it has been claimed that the reason for this change can be the central and local elections' results and promises, which supports the fourth hypothesis of the thesis.

The last hypothesis emphasized that Kurdish political movement which was in power from 1999 to 2016 in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality has played a role in cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi.

To understand whether these hypotheses are valid or not, it is asked some questions within the scope of this thesis. The main questions in this context are as in below:

- What kind of reasons have created this activity?
- How did the terms and discourses about conservation change in Turkey?
- How did these changes affect the conservation policies of Turkey?

Moreover, these questions about Suriçi are tried to be answered in this study:

- For what reasons conservation became an important issue and why has it take place in the urban agenda after the 2000s?
- Which institutions and organizations have the most effect on this activity?

1.2. The methodology of the Research

In this study, research questions and hypotheses are tried to be discussed within a methodology. By collecting comprehensive data from academic publications, online sources, institutional reports, and personal interviews, the main topics of the thesis are tried to be examined within the scope of this research.

The Board's Decisions and reports of Karacadağ Development Agency about cultural heritage projects were examined from 2000 to 2016 by analyzing and interpreting the data from various sources and this information has been used to determine the partners and financiers of these projects. The reports of EU Harmonization Process were also evaluated to detect impacts of EU on cultural heritage; newspapers were viewed to gain elections results and promises; videos and documentary about local government experiences of Kurdish Political Movement were watched.

Lastly, interviews were made with ten people who have involved in or witnessed the cultural heritage activity in Suriçi to have information that cannot be gained from written and visual sources. These people work in the areas below;

- I.1: Local Politician/Public Sector
- I.2: Professional Consultant/Private Sector
- I.3: Professional Consultant/Private Sector
- I.4: Local Official/Public Sector
- I.5: Local Official/Public Sector
- I.6: Local Official/Public Sector
- I.7: NGO's Representative
- I.8: Local Politician/Public Sector
- I.9: NGO's Representative
- I.10: Local Official/Public Sector

In this context, some questions about cultural heritage have been asked and tried to reach information that cannot be gained from written sources. In other words, the questions below were asked to the experts who involved in the cultural heritage conservation process;

- Which state institutions have the most effect on this cultural heritage projects in Suriçi?
- How do they communicate with each other about cultural heritage implementation?
- How do these dialogues affect the process of conservation of cultural heritage?

- How the conservation policies of Turkey reflect on Suriçi by the way of its local government?

1.3. The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. Introduction chapter, namely Chapter I, includes the main aim and arguments of the thesis and it is separated into three sub-title which describes the scope and purposes of the research, methodology of it and the structure of the thesis in detail.

In Chapter II, conservation activities have been briefly described. Then, factors which have an impact on conservation activities have been discussed in three level; global, national and local. In the sub-title of Global Actors, some NGO's have been defined. Moreover, in this chapter, European Harmonization Process and its reports have been analyzed. In the second sub-title, named National Actors, the establishment and mission of Union of Historical Towns, its effect on the laws about cultural heritage and central and local elections' results and promises on cultural heritage conservation activities in Turkey have been examined. In the last sub-title, named local actors, the possible effects of the Kurdish political movement on Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and conservation activities in Suriçi have been discussed. To find its impacts, in this chapter, parties' constitutions, speeches, and practices which represented the Kurdish Political Movements have been analyzed.

In Chapter III, the case study of this thesis has been examined. This chapter has divided into three parts; the historical development of Suriçi, the spatial development of Suriçi and Cultural heritage practices at Suriçi in the last sixteen years. In first sub-title, the settlement history of the district has been discussed from the beginning to present. Then, spatial development of the area has been discussed considering cultural heritages of Suriçi in the second sub-title. The third sub-title of this chapter divided into two sub-headings; these are about Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board's decisions about Suriçi and cultural heritage practices on Suriçi in the last sixteen years. In the last two sub-headings, the

Board's decisions and the reports of Karacadağ Development Agency have been examined to emphasize the conservation activities in Suriçi.

In chapter IV, it has been emphasized how the actors mentioned in chapter II create conservation activities in Suriçi, and how they affect each other to create these activities. In parallel with hypotheses of this study, these actors are examined separately under five sub-headings in detail. While evaluating these factors, interviews made by the author, newspapers reports and videos related to the topic have been used.

In chapter V, namely the conclusion chapter, the summary of what has been discussed throughout the thesis was explained by different examples and claims. Finally, it ended with the further discussions about future researches.

CHAPTER 2

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN TURKEY

In this thesis, conservation activities have been used as a term to describe increase in the decisions and implementations of projects on the cultural heritage in the area. In this context, cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi District have been explained. At this point, factors which increase the conservation activities in Suriçi were discussed with three levels in this chapter. These factors can be explained as global, national and local actors. In fact, global and national actors determined the general conservation agenda of Turkey and have affected other cities or regions of the state. However, local factors which have been examined in this study, have only affected Suriçi District in terms of cultural heritage conservation.

UNESCO and European Union (EU) can be considered as global actors; central government, ministries and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) can be considered as national actors; governorship, municipality, development agency, provincial directorate of culture and tourism and cultural and natural heritage conservation board can be considered as local actors which affect conservation activities.

Policies which are produced by these actors have impacts on cultural heritage conservation activities. Some of these impacts can be pointed out as international sanctions of UNESCO and EU, the economic resource of EU, legal regulations of Turkish Republic, central and local elections' results and promises and discourses of Kurdish Political Movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. They have affected the terms and definitions of conservation and planning area and it has

caused some changes in cultural heritage sites. Therefore, these policies will be examined in detail in this study.

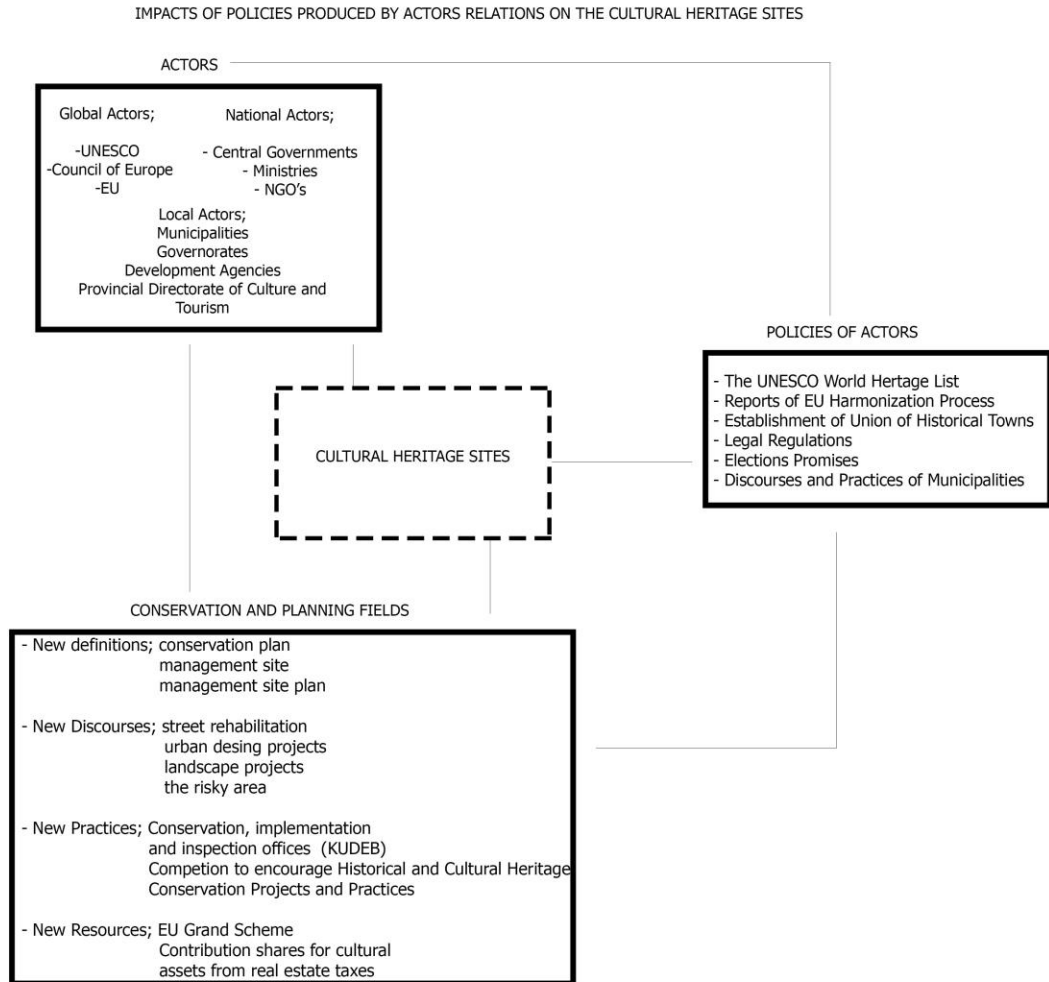


Figure 2.1: Impacts of Policies Produced by Actors Relations on the Cultural Heritage Sites (Source: Prepared by the author)

2.1. Global Actors of Conservation Activity in Turkey

In this chapter, the global actors which are important in cultural heritage conservation activities have been examined. These actors can be defined as the institutions such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Council of Europe, European Union (EU).

UNESCO is an intergovernmental organization formed by 37 countries including Turkey; it was established after World War II in 1945 to prevent new wars; to provide intellectual and moral unity and solidarity of human beings; to contribute world peace and security by increasing cooperation between countries through education, science and culture (Altınöz, 2012).

Council of Europe is also an international organization, which has been established by 47 European countries, including Turkey. The main aim of it is to support the development of cultural identity and diversity in Europe and to promote awareness about them. Accordingly, Council of Europe has held international meetings about cultural heritage and conservation of it. Consequently, it has played a significant role to create documents and main principles about the conservation of cultural heritage (Altınöz, 2012).

European Union is another international organization which was established after World War II, in 1951. The criteria which were determined in the Copenhagen Summit in 1993 set out precisely the conditions for the membership. The efforts of candidate countries to fulfill their membership requirements have been both examined and monitored regularly by the way of the Accession Partnership Document and the Progress Report (Avrupa Birliğinin Genişlemesi, 2017).

Therefore, it can be said that all organizations and institutions mentioned above have different impacts on cultural heritage conservation in the world. Some of them have provided economic resources for cultural heritage and the others have led to establish non-governmental organizations for cultural heritage conservation. They have held several meetings about cultural heritage in the world and the end of these meetings, decisions have been taken to conserve cultural heritage and to create conscious about them.

In the next chapters, it will be discussed effects of European Union and the Union of Historical Towns which has decided to be established at the cultural heritage meeting of the Council of Europe.

2.1.1. The Impacts of European Union Harmonization Process on Cultural Heritage

The relationship between the European Union and the Republic of Turkey has effects on cultural heritage conservation activities in Turkey. It is a candidate country for the European Union and this has led the start of the EU harmonization process as well as the establishment of the Union of Historical Town. Therefore, in this chapter, the reports of the EU Harmonization Process will be discussed.

From the 1990s, political parties, peoples, the regional association of municipalities and in the hope of acquisition of EU candidate status have created pressure on Ministry of Interior to establish more liberal local government system (Toksöz, n.d.). However, this liberalization in the system has been started to be applied after the announcement of Turkey's EU candidacy officially in 2002. Hence, it can be said that one of the reasons of this localization attempts can be EU harmonization process.

There have been some discourses and politics for the Southeastern Anatolia Region in EU harmonization process. The process reports include critical articles about Kurdish issue and the Southeastern Region of Anatolia. One of them is that "Develop a comprehensive approach to reduce regional disparities, and in particular to improve the situation in the south-east, with a view to enhancing economic, social and cultural opportunities for all citizens" (Turkey Accession Partnership, 2001). Moreover, the other report published in 2003 includes that

Some studies will be implemented to develop a comprehensive approach for reducing regional disparities, and in particular to improve the situation in the south-east, to enhance economic, social and cultural opportunities for all citizens. In this context, the return of internally displaced persons to their original settlements should be supported and accelerated.

As in the above, it can be seen that there have been proposals for the normalization of conditions in the region. In addition to these, southeastern of the Anatolia has wide coverage and people live in the region has been described as the word of Kurdish origin for the first time in the reports of Turkey Accession Partnership in 2006 and 2008. This situation can be interpreted that it makes the denial of Kurdish

identity and culture difficult, creating cultural activities in Suriçi because the first step of the conservation activity in Suriçi is to accept the existing cultural assets and identities creating these heritages.

As a result of all these developments supporting each other, the region has achieved considerable gains in the matter of preservation. In conclusion, increasing conservation policies, which have started with the local election won by HADEP in Diyarbakır, have taken different dimension with the EU Harmonization Process and the Justice and Development Party (JDP) who has come to power in 2002.

2.2. National Actors about Cultural Heritage Conservation

Except global actors, there are also some national and local actors to create conservation activities in Turkey. Establishment of Unions of Historical Towns, the laws about cultural heritage, central and local elections can be among the national actors.

2.2.1. Impacts of Union of Historical Towns on Cultural Heritage

After II. World War, UNESCO was established in 1945 to serve the purpose of the world peace by the way of culture and education and the Council of Europe was built in 1949 to bring Europe close together, which the war damaged, in accordance with universal Europe and heritage principles (Altınöz, 2012). In the beginning of 2000, the Council of Europe started a campaign named Europe a common heritage, which has triggered an effort to protect and preserve the historical site.

One of the projects of this campaign was the establishment of a union between the historic cities for the development of cooperation in the field of cultural heritage. Turkey was also invited to the foundation meeting of the European Association of Historic Towns and Regions in October 1999 due to being candidate country to European Union. Bursa Metropolitan Municipality participated as an observer member in the meeting and it started to the establishment of the Union of Historical Towns in Turkey and became the coordinator in 2000, the Union of Historical Towns was built with 52 municipalities accepting its standing rules in Bursa. It also became

the 12th member of the European Association of Historic Towns and Regions (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi Nasıl Kuruldu?, n.d.).

The Union of Historical Towns was established to bring together historical cities and to protect and maintain the urban, cultural and natural heritage of these cities through a common heritage understanding. Also, UHT as a non-governmental organization, provided co-operation and experience exchange between member municipalities for the preservation of historic urban fabric and urban-cultural heritage (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi Tüzüđü, n.d.). Besides, it played an active role in the legislative acts that took place after 2000 and was effective in obtaining positive results in Turkey. It took the lead in the major achievements for the establishment of the KUDEBs, the plan and project boards needed by local governments and fundraising for the restoration of historical and cultural assets (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi Nasıl Kuruldu?, n.d.).

It can be said that cultural heritage conservation activities in Turkey after 2000 has been related to the Establishment of UHT. Some other tasks of the Union are to raise awareness of the cultural environment, to establish a network of interest among the members of the Union of Historical Towns. In parallel with its aims and tasks, UHT guided Removing and Landscape Projects of Diyarbakır Fortress's Surrounding, which has been evaluated as the turning point of cultural heritage conservation practices in Suriçi.

Legal regulations and amendments of the Republic of Turkey is another factor affecting conservation activities. In this context, the laws related to cultural heritage and conservation practices have been discussed in the next chapter.

2.2.2. The Laws for Cultural Heritage

In the Ottoman Period, some measures have been taken to preserve historic structures; therefore, the first law named Ancient Monument Regulations (AMR, Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi) about cultural heritage was entered into force in 1869. It has remained in force until 1973 even though it has been changed three times during eighty-nine years in force (Mumcu, 1969; Gerçek, 1999; Özkasım & Ögel,

2005). In 1973, the new law numbered 1710 and named 'Eski Eserler Kanunu' was issued. According to the decision of the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board (2000), with the Act no. 1710, monumental and civil buildings in Suriçi was preserved by registration with the decision of The High Council for the Historical Real Estate and Monuments in 1980. After ten years later, the law numbered 2863 issued in 1983 was the last law about conservation of cultural heritage.

From past to present, especially in the last fifty years, several laws have been issued about the preservation of historical and cultural heritage in Turkey. The significant protector of cultural heritage has the law numbered 2863. The other laws have changed this law in the course of time. The most prominent amendments were made on the law numbered 2863 by the law numbered 5226 in 2004, the law numbered 5835 in 2009, the delegated legislation numbered 648 in 2011, and the last amendments in 2016 coming with the law numbered 6745. In addition to the law numbered 2863 and its amendments, other two laws numbered 5366, and 6306 also have effects on the preservation of cultural heritage in specific areas.

2.2.2.1. The Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (2863)

After 2000, the first amendments were made in the law numbered 2863 with the law numbered 5226 in 2004. With the amendments, conservation development plan and its process were defined for the first time in the law as that:

Conservation plan shall mean the plan of a conservation site as defined by the law, of the scale prescribed for a master and implementation development plan comprising the entirety of objectives, tools, strategies, planning decisions, positions, planning notes, explanation reports, drafted in a way to entail strategies on job creation and value addition, principles of conservation, terms and conditions of use, settlement limitations, rehabilitation, areas and projects of renewal, implementation phases and programs, open space systems, pedestrian walkways, vehicle transport, design principles of infrastructure facilities, densities and parcels of land designs, local ownership, participatory area management models on the basis of financial principles of implementation, improving the social and economic structure of households and offices situated in the conservation site on existing maps on the basis of field studies providing archaeological, historical, natural, architectural, demographic, cultural, socio-economic, ownership and settlement data taking into account surrounding

interactive areas with the view of protecting cultural and natural property in line with the sustainability principle.

In the same article, descriptions of the management site and management plan were also added. Furthermore, in the plan preparation process, the participation of the public residing in the plan area, municipalities, governorates, provincial organizations, non-governmental organizations and professional chambers has become a necessity, that is to say, participation has come into prominence. Moreover, the authority of local governments such as municipalities, metropolitan municipalities, and governorates has been expanded in respect of conservation of cultural heritage by the additional paragraph with the 5226 article 4:

Conservation, implementation and inspection offices composed of experts on art history, architecture, city planning, engineering, archaeology professions shall be established in metropolitan municipalities, governorships, municipalities authorized by the Ministry to process and implement various aspects of the cultural property. Moreover, project offices shall be established in special provincial administrations to prepare and implement surveys, restitution, restoration projects with the aim of conserving cultural property and training units to provide certified training to construction masters.

It means that the conservation, implementation and inspection offices (KUDEB) has been established in the metropolitan municipality, municipality or governorates to supervise practices regarding cultural assets. These amendments in 2004 also affected some bodies such as; public institutions and organizations, municipalities, special provincial institutions and unions of local administrations with the authorization power to expropriate immovable cultural properties. Lastly, the amount of the allowance for the preparation of conservation development plans has been increased to transfer municipalities from the budget of Provincial Bank. In brief, with the 2004 amendments localization, participation and increased budget for conservation ensued as prominent themes of the law.

The amendments in 2009 include article an article such that:

A Contribution Share for Preservation of the Immovable Cultural Assets at a rate of 10 % of the real estate tax accruing on the taxpayers as per Articles 8 and 18 of Law No 1319 of 29/7/1970 on the Real Estate Tax is accrued and collected by the relevant municipalities along with the real estate tax for use for preserving and exploiting the cultural assets falling in the task areas of the municipalities and provincial special administrations.

In other words, with the law numbered 5835, the contribution from 10 % of real estate taxes was allocated for the conservation practices of cultural assets locating in the municipalities or provincial governments area of responsibility. However, that contribution which can only be used for expropriation, project, and practices of cultural assets has been collected together in the account of the Provincial Special Administration and can only be used by the permission of the Governors.

The amendments of 2011 with the statutory decree numbered 648 shifted the law numbered 2863 in the opposite direction of 2004 amendments. Savaş (2017) claimed that the body of current law revised in the context of the conservation cultural heritages. With these amendments, the law numbered 2863 gave the authority about cultural heritage to the central government. For instance, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has become the only authority on selecting the natural and cultural heritage boards' members.

In addition to that, some notions such as street rehabilitation, urban design projects, and landscape projects were defined. Therefore, these projects not only have been the main practices about conservation of cultural heritage but also have substituted the conservation development plans. Savaş (2017) explained such situation like that authorized bodies have shown a tendency to carry on the projects about cultural heritage not to abide by the decisions of the revised conservation development plan. On the contrary, they practiced the projects according to the transition period settlements conditions.

The amendments which made in the law numbered 2863 with the law numbered 6745 in 2016 have been the last alterations. With the amendments of 2016, the

law numbered 2863 have increasingly become more centric. With the 5th article, authorities, and duties of the conservation, implementation and inspection offices were transferred to the Conservation Regional Directorate. Moreover, site management process was shifted. Site management plans have been made or awarded a contract by the ministry with the additional 2nd article.

By the same article, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has been authorized to appoint heads of the site management. Also, according to the provisional 11th article, head of the department, members of the advisory committee and members of coordination and supervision council were discharged, and the Ministry has been granted authorization to appoint a new head of the site management departments and members of the council. According to the additional 6th article of the amendments in 2016, simple repairing, restoration projects and practices of cultural assets locating on the conflict or natural disaster areas have been freely carried out by the ministry without taking permission from their ownership.

2.2.2.2. The Law on Conservation by Renovation and Use by Revitalization of the Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Property (5366)

The law numbered 5366 entered into force in 2005. The aim of it is to conserve and to use deteriorated cultural assets locating on the urban heritage site in the jurisdiction of the metropolitan municipalities, municipalities or provincial special administration with renewal or revitalization. By doing that, in the urban heritage site or their conservation belt new residential, commercial, cultural, touristic and social areas were aimed to be restored and built. While conserving cultural properties was the duty an authority of the municipalities according to the law numbered 2863, with the law 5366 this duty and authority was transferred to the central government. Consequently, the complexity of authority occurred between local and central governments.

2.2.2.3. The Law on Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk (6306)

The law numbered 6306 entered into force in 2012. Purpose of this Law is to determine the principles and procedures for improvement, liquidation, and renewal

to constitute healthy and safe living environments following science and art norms and standards in areas where there are risky structures outside these areas with areas under disaster risk. With the law, the notions of risky structure, risky area, and reserve area were defined, and instruments for practical and rapid intervention were prescribed in such that areas and structures.

In the next chapter, elections’ results and promises have been examined as a national and local level actors which have effects on conservation practices.

2.2.3. Effects of Central and Local Elections’ Results and Promises on Cultural Heritage Conservation

In this section, vote rate of JDP which has been ruling party for sixteen years in Turkey and HDP which was the government party in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality from 1999 to 2016 has been comparatively analyzed. The aim of this analyze to understand cultural heritage projects and implementations whether have been differentiated or not from the one election period to the other in last 20 years.

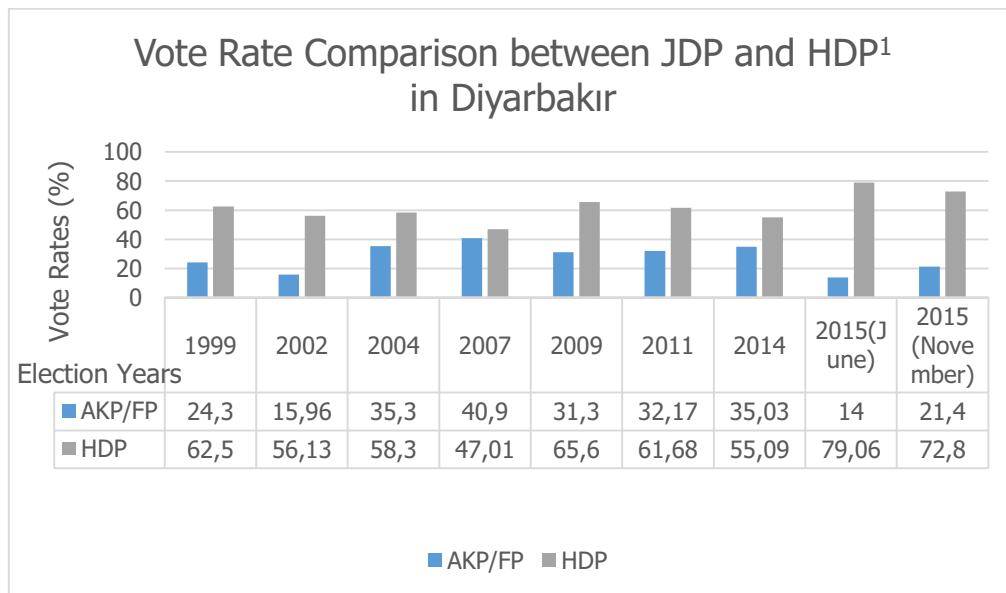


Figure 2.2: Vote Rate Comparison between JDP and HDP in Diyarbakır (Source: The Supreme Electoral Council (YSK), 2017)

In the 2007 general election, JDP gained the 40.9 % of the total vote in Diyarbakır. After this high voting rate, it can be claimed that JDP started at Diyarbakır to win the local election to be held in 2009 just because the investment of it increased in the Suriçi Urban Heritage Site. For instance, the Ministry of Development has provided the fund to Karacadağ Development Agency for tourism development in the context of Attraction Center Development Program in 2008.

In this context, a group of cultural inheritances has been projected, and their projects have been practices to ensure the resource for the using of designing of cultural heritage (Karacadağ Development Agency, 2012). The projects done between the date 2008 and 2012 were mentioned in chapter 3.3.

When the voting rate is examined, it can be easily seen that receiving the vote of JDP (40.9%) almost caught the taking vote of HDP (47.01%) in 2007. After the 2007 general election result, JDP has tried to close the gap by raising the investments especially on cultural heritage in Diyarbakır. For this reason, the Ministry of Development has provided the fund to Karacadağ Development Agency for tourism development in the context of Attraction Center Development Program in 2008 (Karacadağ Development Agency, 2012).

With this program, Diyarbakır was chosen as a pilot area, and several cultural heritage projects have been implemented (Toy & Gündüz, 2016). Moreover, it has proposed Alipaşa-Lalebey Urban Regeneration Project for the agenda at the same time. According to I.9 (2018), the aim of this project is to create a new commercial space in Suriçi via (HDA) and to take public' attention there. Therefore, these attempts can be evaluated as the tool for election work of AK Party not an aim of them. Their priorities have not been conserved the cultural heritage contrary to their priorities have gained the election. At this point, it can be said that they were not interested in the qualification of the projects only interested in the time of completion of the projects due to the annual budget and 2009 local elections (I.7, 2018).

These assertions can be proved by the quotation of Erdogan which is "JDP should gain Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality." (Güvendik, 2007). However, despite all efforts and performances of ruling party in Diyarbakır, voting rates of JDP has fallen

from 40.9 % to 31% in Diyarbakır in the 2009 local elections (Figure 2.2). However, its vote rate has slightly increased in 2011 general elections and 2014 local elections.

From 2002 to 2015, vote rate of JDP in Turkey was more than vote rate of it in Diyarbakır (Figure 2.3). Also, the ruling party (AK party) has not caught its voting rate in the 2007 general elections again. Thereupon, receiving vote rate of AK Party has dramatically decreased from %35.03 to %14 due to the general politic atmosphere. To illustrate, Kobane incident and finalizing of the “peace process” can be the reasons for this decline. However, these topics are not arguments of the thesis, so they are not detailed in here.

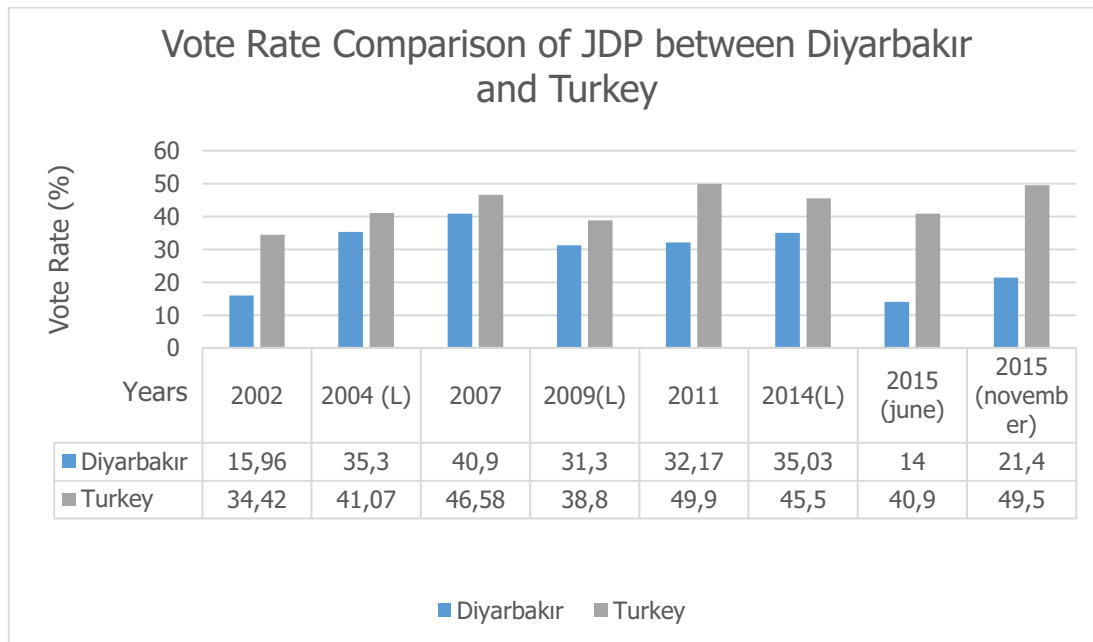


Figure 2.3: Vote Rate Comparison of JDP between Diyarbakır and Turkey (Source: The Supreme Electoral Council (YSK), 2017)

The vote rates of the JDP started with 35.3 % in the 2004 local elections and reached the peak with 40.7% in the 2007 general elections; therefore, JDP tried to win 2009 local elections in the city of Diyarbakır. However, this rhetoric is mostly related to the overall political discourse in Turkey such as peace, the unity of the people and sister/brotherhood.

The Kurdish political movement took the local elections in 2009 with a big difference, vote rate of it was 65.6%. Even though the former deputies of JDP was nominated, it was not got the votes which are desired rate in Diyarbakır, and vote rate of JDP was 31.3%. In the 2011 general elections, the central government's rhetoric on conservation policies has been more centralized and pragmatist. The crazy projects can be shown as one of the best examples of these discourses in that period; because, during the general elections the central government's election promise was conducted through a local such as Istanbul (Savaş, 2017). Election propaganda was made on the projects to be made in the big cities. In other words, decisions were made by producing projects related to the locality from the center.

However, when it comes to the year 2014, it has been brought many projects and election promises related to cultural heritage on Suriçi by JDP. In 2014 local election, Galip Ensarioğlu, JDP's mayor candidate, mentioned the investments to be made to Diyarbakır. His discourses have been reflected in the cultural heritage practices of the previous administration on Suriçi and in parallel with the cultural heritage projects to which they belong. Ensarioğlu (2014) said that we will confront the past by changing the Diyarbakır prison to the city museum. However, the demand of the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality was to be made the prison a shame museum.

Also, he presented their project about Suriçi and stated (2014) that

We commit to the house within five years according to the conservation-oriented plan 2012, 5000 buildings are threatening historical texture. All these buildings will be subjected to urban transformation, and instead of these, structures called old Diyarbakır houses will be built and functioned.

He put other projects in the following order; the second part of Dicle Valley Project, recreation project of Kırklardağı. It is not surprising that most of these projects are in the Suriçi Region.

It can be observed that these acquisitions related to cultural heritage studies have been gained since the Kurdish Political Movement became ruling in the

municipalities. Because the deputy mayor of Sur Municipality stated (2018) that the representatives of HADEP, who was in power in the 1999 local elections, have worked to realize and survive the existence of the cultural heritage from the first day they came. He proved that he would do what he said with practices on cultural heritage projects from 2000 to 2016.

In the next chapter, Kurdish Political Movement which came to power in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality has been discussed.

2.3. Local Actors about Cultural Heritage Conservation

Provincial Organizations such as provincial culture and tourism directorate, the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board (the Board), local non-governmental organizations, and professional chambers have also impact on conservation activities in Suriçi. However, the authority of municipalities has increased with the amendments. For Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, the impacts of these authority increase have reflected on cultural heritage projects in Suriçi (for detail, see chapter 3.3.2.). Moreover, the period, when cultural heritage mobility has begun to increase, has been the period that Kurdish Political Movement comes to power in the municipality. Therefore, it has claimed that the political strengthening of the Kurdish Political Movement may have an impact on the cultural heritage activity.

2.3.1. Kurdish Political Movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality

In addition to central and local election results, administration trace of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality will be explained briefly to understand the activity on the conservation of cultural heritage. DMM was administrated by parties which are representatives of Kurdish Political Movement from 1999 to 2016.

HADEP represented the first period of Kurdish Political Movement in the local government in 1999-2004. The period was also called by the name of Mayor, Feridun Çelik Period. The motto of it has been "we will govern our city and

ourselves.” Çelik expressed that the general problems of the region such as ignorance of the demand of Kurdish people, security problem and defunding of the municipalities in that period would be solved (Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi 1, 2017).

In parallel with Çelik’s statements, the period was described as the people working in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality were afraid of taking the responsibilities such as being the director of the departments because of the fact that they would be taken into custody (I.5, 2018).

Despite all difficulties, spring festivals were organized. Moreover, Çelik told that it was demanded that the diminished resources of the Kurdish municipalities were brought back to the same level by meeting with the president Süleyman Demirel. Hence, there has been a detente of the bureaucracy through dialogue and the prejudice against the Kurdish municipalities has been broken at least (Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi 1, 2017).

At this point, it can be said that gaining the municipality does not only mean doing municipal services but also it means representing the Kurdish identity and solving its problems in that period. When the party constitution is examined, it can be seen that the constitution of HADEP includes article related to nature conservation and environmental pollution prevention. There is no any statement about cultural heritages and their conservation (HADEP Pamphlet, 1994).

Kurdish Political Movement is institutionalized in municipalities with (Democratic People’s Party) DEHAP and municipalities started to work on disadvantaged groups such as women and disabled people. Not only infrastructure projects but also social and cultural studies have become more visible in the second period of Kurdish Political Movement in municipalities. In addition to these, multi-lingual life in 3 municipalities including Sur Municipality was started (Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi 2, 2018).

When the Constitution of DEHAP has been analyzed, it can be seen that statements have been related to conservation of cultural heritage under the titles of both tourism and social policies as the Preservation of Natural Wealth and Common Cultural Heritage (DEHAP Pamphlet, 2003).

The period was described by I.1 as to be honest, the most urgent and current needs of Diyarbakir and the priorities of the missions we have given to Diyarbakir in our vision were different (2018). Moreover, continued as follows;

The preservation of cultural heritage, or more precisely, the opening up of it, then the restoration and the opening of the use of it was a need. However, it seemed that there was a need for drinking water, infrastructure and social facilities in the city.

When it has been examined the third period of the Municipality between the years 2009 and 2014, it can be seen that the motto of the period has been "with free citizens to free cities." The municipality was represented by the Democratic Society Party (DTP) then the political party was closed, and instead of it, the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) started to represent Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality in 2010 (Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi 3, 2018). It included some articles about cultural heritage. These were determined such that BDP encouraged the organization of the cultural, belief and ethnic structures of professional associations in a democratic way.

Besides, BDP has considered local governments as a subject and a force for change in the protection and development of social, economic, historical, cultural assets. On this basis, the people have favored the preservation of historical heritage and active political developments (BDP Pamphlet, 2008).

Lastly, it can be deduced from these party constitutions that the Kurdish political movement has been late to put the issue of cultural heritage conservation on the agenda. Moreover, these constitutions have been affected by global and national actors mentioned above that is to say, by the general agenda of the World and Turkey about the conservation of cultural heritage have impacted them.

In the above, the reasons for conservation activities were explained. These actors have impacts on each other. In addition, their relationship with each other lead to produce some policies to create conservation activities in global, national and local levels. One of the districts which they caused to conservation activities began has been Suriçi Urban Heritage Site. Therefore, in the next chapter, the brief history of

the area was discussed to prove the claim of this thesis which is that there are conservation activities in Suriçi between the year 2000 and 2016.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY: DİYARBAKIR-SURİÇİ

In this chapter, development history of Diyarbakır-Suriçi, changes in the spatial development of the district, and the decisions of the board and cultural heritage projects about cultural heritages in Suriçi that caused these spatial changes in the last 16 years has been discussed.



Figure 3.1: The Aerial Photo of Suriçi (1939) Source: Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi (2016)

3.1. Settlement History of Suriçi through the Cultural Heritage

With no certain information, the history of Diyarbakır is claimed to date back to 3000 BC. The impacts on the formation of the settlement have been proximity to the water source, land productivity, the presence of the caravan route which has been used since ancient time and having defense conditions (Yurt Ansiklopedisi, 1982; Arslan, 1999).

The first settlement core of Diyarbakır is in the mound which is located inner part of the Fortress today (Konyar, 1936; Arslan, 1999). The settlement safety was provided by surrounding fortification wall (Kejanlı, 2004). In the Subaru (Etiler) Period, defense and protection needs occurred due to the geopolitical and socio-economic importance. The urban organization was started with the palace, temple and storehouse construction. Ruling class lived in palace and castle development was also observed in this period (Beysanoğlu, 1999).

In the Hittite Period, the settling was located on existing transportation network, leading to becoming an important center on its region and forming more regular settlement model. In this period, another fortification wall surrounded castle wall in line with the feature of citadel and baileys occurred in Anatolia (Beysanoğlu, 2003).

In the Hellenistic Period, the boundary of the castle did not change but the second wall (outer wall) is passed, in this way outer neighborhoods have consisted. In these neighborhoods, settlements have been divided into four parts by vertical streets as castrum plan system, and waterway and sewage system were constructed along these streets (Beysanoğlu, 1986; Kejanlı, 2004)

In the Roman Period, the city expanded due to the big migration; agricultural areas were divided into plots; construction of streets was considered necessary (Kejanlı, 2004). The city became the center of the canton and served as the base for garrison mission. Therefore, the citadel was equipped with the administrative function. Monastery, church, seminary, and library were started to be constructed in the settlements and another circuit of wall surrounded the city. The city wall took its current form in that period (Arslan, 1999). A religious structure which is now called

Ulu Mosque has been center of the city. It was also used as the church called Mar Toma (Altuntaş, 2011).

The city has been divided into districts causing the emergence of commercial neighborhoods. Bathhouses have been commonly constructed (Kejanlı, 2004). Moreover, it is estimated that one amphitheater has also been built in the citadel in the Roman Period (Gabriel, 1940; Arslan, 1999). In this period, zoning new areas for housing and construction of water and sewerage systems caused to create the Roman-Byzantine City, besides the city was a religious center.

Justinianus reinforced the wall surrounding the city in VI. Century. However, the city which had been formed by monumental structures entered into a process of losing its impressive features in the same period. Henceforth, the spontaneous development which was a typical character of the medieval city accelerated (Arslan, 1999). Structures remaining from the Byzantine Period are very few. These are the Church of Saint George located in the north-eastern part of the citadel, Church of Mar Thoma transformed to Ulu Mosque along with Islam, the Church of Mor Pityon and the Church of Virgin Mary (Kejanlı, 2004).

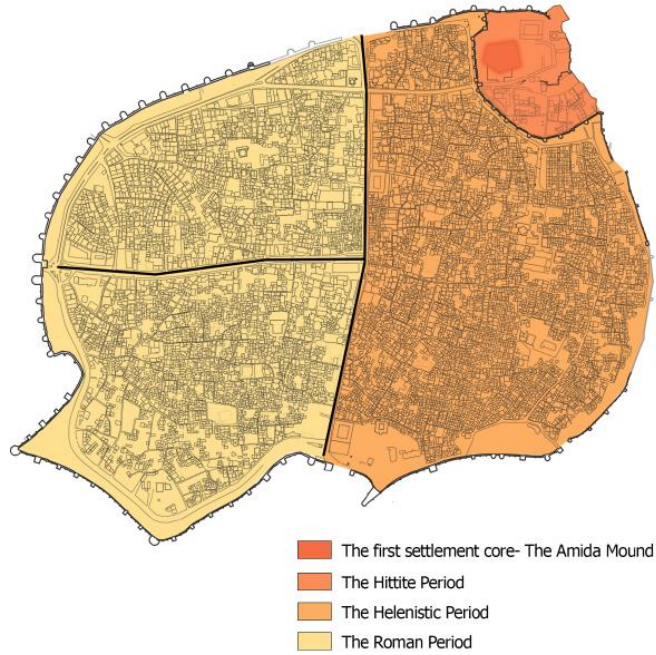


Figure 3.2: The settlement Periods (Source: Kejanlı, 2004)

With the domination of such Islamic states as Artuquids and Aqqoyunlus, the characteristic of the city changed. For example, with the start of Artuquids in 1183, Zinciriye and Mesudiye madrasahs and Kara and Hacı Ahmet Mosques were built. In addition to these, Evlibeden and Yedikardeşler bastions added to the city walls, the citadel was rehabilitated and the palace was constructed within it (Arslan, 1999). The city as the capital of the Aqqoyunlus entered the development period again. The wall between Harput Gate (Dağ Kapı) and Urfa Gate was repaired, and most of the monumental structures were built. Buildings have remained from Aqqoyunlus are Nebi, Şeyh Safa, Lale Bey and Şeyh Matar Mosques and Four-Legged Minaret (Kejanlı, 2004).

Diyarbakır entered into the domination of Ottoman Empire in 1515. In that time, working areas, the center of the city, also were the residential areas for the ruling class and traders. Families who live in the city center and control the agricultural surplus value contributed to the spatial development of the city apart from their great housing and hideaways by way of non-profit organizations (Arslan, 1999).

Besides residential areas which formed the city center, squares, trust institutions, bazaars and other public institutions started to be located in the center. Although Suriçi accommodated armed society, its physical pattern was not formed as a military structure (Kejanlı, 2004). Madrasah, prayer room, public bath, fountain and the large commercial building named inn are the primary structures which formed Suriçi (Arslan, 1999)

The walls surrounding the citadel were reviewed and surrounded by a second fortification wall. Between 1524 and 1526 the citadel was enlarged by the second wall and entrance and exit were provided with four doors, two of which were the outer door of the citadel named Oğrun and Fetih, and the other two were interior doors named Saray and Kùpeli (Diyarbakır İl Yıllığı, 1967; Kejanlı, 2004). Between 1645 and 1655 the citadel was again repaired and restructured, the palace belonging to the governor was also built (Arslan, 1999).

Between 1780 and 1840, the number of neighborhoods increased outside the castle whereas the citadel remained as the area constituted by administration buildings. Although the citadel had some neighborhoods, most of them located in the exterior castle. In addition to them, the external castle also embodied religious and social buildings, bazaar, marketplaces and the most of other buildings (Yılmazçelik, 1995).

There are lots of inns and caravansaries in the city fabric because Suriçi was located on the transit trade route. Moreover, lots of bazaars and covered Turkish bazaars called "bedesten" were built due to the same reason. They formed the city center which protected its first position because of locating in the ancient and enormous City Wall (Kejanlı, 2004). However, the covered Turkish bazaar, a structure type emerged during the Ottoman rule in the city cannot reach today because of two fires occurred in 1894 and 1914 (Cezar, 1983). The only exception could be the jewelry bazaar "kuyumcular çarşısı" next to Hasan Paşa Inn (Kejanlı, 2004).

At the Beginning of the XVII. century, the traditional trade route lost its importance due to the worsening economy of the Ottomans. Therefore, the physical pattern of the city was also affected by the economic situation. The function of inns which had been used for trade, production and sheltering was changed and started to be used for military aim, or they were left dysfunctional and dilapidated (Arslan, 1999).

According to the yearbook of Diyarbakır Province dated 1873, there were 4164 houses, 14 inns and 1868 shops in the city center. Moreover, in the period of Governor Dervish Pasha, some gates of the city wall were repaired. Most of the mosques, tombs, and Hamravat waterway were also repaired. Three years after, according to the yearbook of Diyarbakır Province dated 1876, the number of housing decreased to 4119, and the number of shops increased to 2111. In the yearbook of Diyarbakır Province dated 1885, the number of shops was 3916, and the number of houses again was 4164 (Kejanlı, 2004). Therefore, it can be said that housings, shops and other buildings previously formed the city center previously, but now shops started to dominate the form of the city center.

In Classical Period (XVI-XVIII centuries) some of the main reasons for conservation and repairing of the structures were trust institutions, usage and economic value of constructions, conventionality, moral value judgments (Madran, 1996). Hence, Suriçi protected its closed medieval city feature until XIX. Century. After that time, defense-oriented use of the fortification wall came to an end (Kejanlı, 2004). Therefore, the city divided into two parts: the first one is that the area located inner of the City Wall is called Suriçi and the second one is called the new city.

In the Ottoman Period, monumental structures, especially those built in XVI. Century, with the former period's monuments, spread into the city and became integrated into the domestic architecture which formed the character of the settlement pattern of Diyarbakır at the district scale (Kejanlı, 2004). In the same period, the first urban planning implementation was experienced in İstanbul between 1836 and 1837. Then, as from 1850, urban planning practices was started to be implemented in the other cities of the Empire (Tekeli, 2011).

Diyarbakır was the center of the foreign market which created a pressure on the housing area of the city center leading to some transformation actions. That's why, the first zoning implementation was put into practice by blazing a trail between today's name Dörtüol to Saray Gate in 1916 (Beysanoğlu, 1962; Kejanlı 2004). The aim of the second implementation was creating a large area to connect Suriçi, the old city, to the new development areas through demolishing entrance gate of Suriçi, Dağ Kapı, and some part of the city wall (Kejanlı, 2004).

In Suriçi, the first public works occurred between 1868 and 1875 under the governance of Kurt İsmail Pasha in the Tanzimat Reform Era. During his period, the hospital, the military post, and the mosque were built on "Seyrantepe" (Arslan, 1999). In other words, public buildings got started to be built out of the city wall for the first time. In addition to these, art school was also constructed on "Fis Kayası" (Tekin, 1997; Kejanlı, 2004).

Ottoman Society established institutions similar to the institutional structures in European countries in accordance with modernity perspective to encourage the transformation which occurred in its urban patterns (Tekeli, 1998, p.109). In the Tanzimat Period, five schools, the prison, the courthouse, the military command and the government building were added in the citadel. Besides, opportunities provided by the foreign mission due to increasing Armenian population were used for the building of the Protestant Episcopal Church and repairing of other churches formerly built (Ağaryılmaz vd., 1991; Kejanlı, 2004). Although conservation awareness occurred in the Tanzimat Era, it was only about movable properties (Tekeli, 2011).

The new institutions and new lifestyle affected the urban pattern came into the city in the second half of the XVIII. Century (Tekeli, 1998). Therefore, the urban fabric formed by monumental and civil architectural structures entered into the process of deterioration (Çeçener, 1995; Kejanlı, Akin, & Yılmaz, 2007). Once for all, modern urban planning studies in Europe reflected on Ottoman cities as preventing fire, expanding roads and building new residential areas in the cities. It also formed a basis for conservation notion in the Republic Period (Dinçer & Akin, 1994; Kejanlı, Akin, & Yılmaz, 2007).

According to Tekeli (1998, p.110) this modernist development trajectory which was experienced in Ottoman Period transformed municipality in its way if even its effects were weak. Consequently, this transformation caused alterations in urban planning practices in the critical cities even if it was in the level of the partial plan.

For the first thirty years of the Republic, cities should be planned as the place of the modernity (Tekeli, 1998). The State gave an important to create spatial development strategies while realizing the nation-building and raising national

consciousness (Şengül, 2012). The core aim of the new state called the Republic of Turkey was creating modern cities with the motto 'City Beautiful', which do not pay attention to the historic urban fabric. In consideration of this aim, new legal regulations were practiced in 1930 (Tekeli, 1998). Hence, it was not made legislative regulations directly related to conservation in the first thirty years of the Republic (Madran, 1996).

In this period, it was seen that legal regulations mostly about institutionalization within the context of the Ministry of Education and General Directorate of Foundations were restructured. However, cultural assets were managed by different institutions and organizations, which led to adverse results such as diminishing existing fund and decreasing effects of institutions on cultural heritage, separating technical experts from each other (Madran, 1996). When it is examined the planning approach of the period, it is seen that the plans mostly included the building of a boulevard and a big square. Especially, after the 1930s, the desire was to modernize important settlements of Anatolia by the developing model in Ankara (Tekeli, 1998, p.112).

Therefore, most of the historical sites and structures were not taken into account in the cause of creating modern cities. One of them was Diyarbakır Suriçi when the historical city center was analyzed, it was claimed that Diyarbakır City Wall was evaluated as an obstacle preventing the development of the city, so the destruction of some part of the wall became the main topic in 1931 (Özsezgin,1993; Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011). Thus, in 1932 west part of the north gate (Dağkapı) of the wall, some part of bastion and gap of bastion have been demolished which provided the exit of the city with fifty-meter space to be used to create the city square.

It was also mentioned that two more implementations linked the inside and outside of the wall with the street by demolishing two bastions located on the right side of the south gate (Mardin Gate) of the wall and by placing two more gates near the west gate (Urfa Gate) (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011). Parallel with these changes, state offices were established in the city center. Hence, they became more comprehensive, their functions were diversified, and their modern and traditional parts were differentiated (Tekeli, 1998).

However, as Madran (1996) indicated, in this period, conservation was considered as a high-level bureaucratic tool which was not embraced by the public since the central state did not have programs which transferred the conservation consciousness to the public and the governor of local states. In addition to that, programs and actions of the conservation of the cultural assets were taken in hand as museology by the state (Madran, 2002).

After the World War II, Turkey adopted new institutions of the world while it also transferred to the multi-party system. With this transition, the modernity project was started to be implemented (Tekeli, 1998, p.116). In 1951, the law numbered 5805 can be considered as the first law related to the notion of conservation. The law described the task of the Supreme Council of Real Estate of Antiquities and Monuments and included articles only regarding the conservation of monumental structures (Kamacı, 2014). In other words, the law did not contain any article which is related to protection of civil architecture.

As in other cities in Turkey, in Suriçi it was started to be enrolled the monumental structures, but most of the civil architecture samples were lost, and conservation was confined at single structure scale (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011). The demolishing-building process damaged the historical and cultural heritage of cities (Tekeli, 1998). For example, in 1954 the law numbered 6217 was prepared by which common hold was authorized, so the regulation enables to demolish historic civil architectural structure to build high rise apartments (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011).

In 1956, Master Plan of Suriçi Region was prepared at 1/5000 scale and then in 1965 zoning plan was made at 1/1000 scale. Both of them were based on the law that is mentioned above and included some decisions including enlarging the streets, changing the layout of traditional structures and increasing the storey heights (Kejanlı, 2004). Although in 1957, the council had an authority related to the environmental scale and the notion of the conservation site in general, the concept of urban conservation site emerged, these notions had not included in legislation concerning construction (Madran, 2012).

Therefore, the situation resulted in losing most of the historic buildings because of the intense migration from rural to urban areas, as in many cities in the country,

caused an increase in the housing need as well (Tekeli, 1998, p.129). Even though there were some crucial laws especially the ones made in 1972 and regulations related to conservation, the first critical step was taken with the law numbered 1710 in 1973. It resulted in the popularization of documentation, determination, and registration at the national scale (Kejanlı et al., 2007).

With the effects of the law numbered 1605 in 1972, 115 monumental structures with their surrounding areas were registered. In addition to these, the concept of urban conservation planning occurred as a new area of expertise in the context of the physical planning. (Tekeli, 1998, p.126). However, development of Suriçi was managed with a zoning plan prepared between the years 1965 and 1967. Also, conservation of the area was limited due to the non-existence of the decision of urban conservation area declaration. Later in 1978, urban conservation sites were declared in about thirty cities (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011). Notwithstanding, Suriçi was not one of them, it was declared as the urban conservation site after ten years in 1988. Also, conservation development plans were started to be made in other cities of Turkey (Tekeli, 1998).

Nevertheless, for Suriçi district the only thing which was done was the preparation of the registration list until 1980. According to the new registration list, the number of monumental structures was decreased from 115 to 84 while 102 historical civil buildings were registered for the first time. (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011). For this period, conservation still was an issue which was dealt with by high-level bureaucrats and the primary concern of the state was not conservation but to meet housing need (Madran, 2012).

The rational comprehensive planning based on a multidisciplinary approach and versatile research became prominent instead of physical planning which was prominent in the previous period (Tekeli, 1998, p.120). In that period, the urban built environment was stayed out of the attention of large-scale capital due to lack of capital accumulation. However, outward-oriented growth has radically changed this situation after the 1980s (Şengül, 2012).

This period was described as urbanization of capital by Şengül (2012). According to him, the period was also the new stage for urban development dynamics since

Turkey adopted outward-oriented growth strategies (Şengül, 2012, p.432). Therefore, there was an important change in the re-distribution of population and capital, inherently affecting the transformation of place organization (Tekeli, 1998, pg. 128).

The military intervention occurred in September 1980 paved the way for capital and also for these developments (Şengül, 2012). Moreover, after the military intervention, the 1982 Constitution Act was made, and so lots of legal regulations were made. One of them has been the law numbered 2863 and named "Code of Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties." In 1983, it was legislated away the law numbered 1710 due to the inefficiency on urban conservation, and it was enacted the law numbered 2863 (Madran, 2012).

With the enactment of the law, although new conservation perception has emerged, conservation development plan of the sites which were declared as protected areas took a long time. The declaration of Suriçi as an urban conservation area was also delayed, and instead of the preparation of the conservation-oriented plan, the master plan of the area was prepared in 1984. With that plan, lots of streets and intersections were built, and some streets were widened. Even though monumental and civil architectural structures were protected in the plan due to the lack of housing perception, building decisions were taken based on the plan which was prepared in 1965 (Kejanlı & Dinçer, 2011, p. 104).

Moreover, an intense migration from rural to urban, especially to the Suriçi Region was seen in that period due to the aggressive governmental policies implemented in the rural areas (Tekeli, 1998; Şengül, 2012). Therefore, other civil architectural buildings which were remained nondestructive, have been transformed into multi-story structures to provide accommodation for those who migrated.

Meanwhile, conservation-oriented planning was prepared in 1990 to prevent building illegal housing and to direct migrants to the outside of Suriçi; however, it cannot be implemented successfully due to the rapid increase in the population in the district (Kejanlı, 2009). According to interviews made with some local bureaucrats (2017), the region has received great migration until the end of the 1990s with the result of the construction of a large number of illegal houses below

the city wall. They damaged the city wall because the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality could not prevent these illegal settlements due to the condition of the time (I.5, 2018).

In this period, cultural heritage conservation has been a secondary issue for Suriçi due to the military coup in 1980, conflicts and migrations in the 1990s. In addition, Suriçi District was declared as the urban heritage site in 1988, that is, its declaration was late comparing to the other cities. These reasons have damaged the urban fabric of Suriçi. It can be considered that such an active period of cultural heritage conservation after 2000 experienced due to the adverse events experienced during the last 20 years before 2000.

Coming to the 2000s, when the number of the projects, plans, the law amendments and the new law were evaluated it can be deducted that significant conservation consciousness emerged at both local and national levels. In this period, lots of rehabilitation and restoration projects were done in Diyarbakır Suriçi. One of them was Removing and Landscape Projects of Fortress's Surrounding; described as a revolutionary attempt (I.4, 2018).

Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality decided to clean up around the city wall from illegal structures and create a green belt along them. Before the project was practiced, there were mostly unlicensed commercial structures in the area. People protected their historical and cultural environment and helped the officials by pulling down their buildings while the project was applied (I.5, 2018).

The project was approved on July 2002 with the decision numbered 2895 of the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board. The aim of the project was managing and sustaining green belt for conservation and recreation. Also, with the green belt, it was aimed at making accessibility of the city wall easier and increasing the ratio of green areas (Sinemillioğlu, Akın, & Karaçay, 2010). In Suriçi, there were not enough parks and green areas due to the illegal housing. Hence, with the implementation of the project, cultural heritage conservation awareness has been increased especially of people living in the Suriçi Region because people realized the value of the historical and cultural heritage around them (I.1, 2018).

In addition, these illegal structures damaged the city wall; therefore, the structure of the city wall have been protected by removing them. Therefore, it can be said that the creation of green areas around the city wall have made people more conscious about conservation because the area have become the main part of their daily routine, especially for women and children due to the easy access.

Moreover, with the green belt, people who lived not only in Suriçi but also in different parts of the Diyarbakır have come across the city wall without any problems. One of the interviewees also said that "I have been impressed a lot from the view of the city wall for the first time in my life. As an archeologist until that time I did not become aware of the magnificent view of it." (I.4, 2018). The project has been seen as the turning point for the cultural heritage of Suriçi Region because after implementation of the projects lots of restoration and rehabilitation projects were started to be done. (I.5, 2018; I.4, 2018).



Figure 3.3: The Aerial Photo of Suriçi (2013) (Source: Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016)

From 2000 to 2015, the City Wall and Hevsel Garden Cultural Landscape was in the temporary list, lots of restoration, rehabilitation and revitalization projects were practiced and some of them rewarded. One of the rewarded projects was Surp Giragos Armenian Church and it took a reward in the conservation category from European Union Cultural Heritage Award/ Europa Nostra (Bayhan, 2015).

In addition, when the decisions of Diyarbakır Natural and Cultural Heritage Board have been analyzed, it can be seen that the number of the Board decisions has increased over the years (Figure 3.9). Moreover, in the parallel with the board decisions taken, the number of the structures which were registered (Figure 3.11) and the number of the restoration projects (Figure 3.10) intended to be conducted in Suriçi have been increased.

Nevertheless, some unfavorable implementations were also wanted to be done. For example, Alipaşa-Lalebey neighborhoods were declared as the urban transformation areas in 2008. After the declaration, Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and HDA tried to negotiate with each other about the urban renewal area. Within this period, DMM laid making the conservation-oriented plan down as a condition, and it was qualified that the urban renewal project of the Alipaşa-Lalebey should be made under the conservation-oriented plan to be produced. These conditions were accepted, and Suriçi Conservation Oriented Plan was started to be prepared in 2008 and finalized in 2012 (I.5, 2018). Thus, the Board (DKTVKK) announced the conservation principles of the transition period until the conservation plan was finalized in 2012.

One year later, Diyarbakır Suriçi Region was declared as the risky area, and master plan of the district was prepared in 2013. In addition to this plan, the Site Management Plan of the City Wall and Hevsel Garden was prepared in 2014 due to the unique features of both. They were offered as a cultural landscape to UNESCO in February 2014 for the permanent list. The application was evaluated and approved in the 39th meeting of The World Heritage Committee of UNESCO in July 2015. It was selected based on the criteria four which is to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared (UNESCO Selection Criteria).

In conclusion, existing cultural heritages such as monumental buildings and architectural structures were protected with the addition of new parts and by changing their uses until the end of the Ottoman Period in respect to conservation history of Suriçi. However, in the Republican Period, the fortification wall was firstly damaged by the state, and most of the other structures were destroyed because of increasing number of the population and the new perspectives which were developed in the urban planning area. It was mentioned in the history of Suriçi in the last sixteen years.

3.2. The Spatial Development of Suriçi through the Plans Related to Cultural Heritage

In this chapter, the plans made for Suriçi District have been discussed. The Conservation Oriented Plan of Suriçi (1990), the Conservation Oriented Plan Revision (2012), Master Plan of Suriçi District (2013), Site Management Plan of Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens (2014) and the Conservation Oriented Plan Alteration (2017) have been examined respectively.

Until the Conservation Oriented Plan, Suriçi District was managed by the obligatory development plans. With the decisions of these plans, the historic fabric of Suriçi was damaged. To prevent this deterioration, Suriçi Region was declared as an Urban Heritage Site in 1988. Then, due to the law 2863 which bringing the notion of planned preservation, the Conservation Oriented Plan of Suriçi District was prepared by the group from Yıldız Technical University. It has included some critical decisions. One of them has been that the district was divided into four sub-commercial parts and it is given way to build multi-story structures, increasing the density of the area.

In addition, 4 story-buildings have been built according to the plan, which also created density and caused lots of losses in the historic fabric in the residential areas. Nevertheless, the plan included some crucial decisions about Suriçi Region. For example, removing and landscape project the city wall has been the decision of the plan, which have been evaluated the beginning point of the cultural heritage

projects by most of the interviewees. Diyarbakır Natural and Cultural Heritage Board approved this decision of the plan with the decision number 2895 in 2002. Besides, after 2002, the project was started to be partially implemented. Moreover, it was aimed that in the monumental structures located on the Citadel were brought out view and the citadel became the cultural center of Diyarbakır; therefore, the area was declared as a special planning zone.

Parallel with the decision, illegal houses located around the citadel were aimed to be cleaned, and it was aimed to rehabilitate the area in general. The board also supported this idea and decided to demolish these illegal buildings in 1999. Similarly, the core of the traditional bazaar was also declared as the special planning zone. At this point it can be said that some of these aims and decisions were implemented in the district in the following years, and some others were included conservation oriented plan revision to be applied.

According to Kejanlı (2004), decisions of the plan lead to increase density in the commercial area and the housing zones. Also, decisions cannot prevent population increase in Suriçi District. However, in the period, Suriçi was the settlement center for migrants, so the plan was not only a tool to control the population and the other developments. There were some external factors such as the armed conflict and tension in the rural parts of Diyarbakır.

In addition, it was stated that fieldwork was not efficiently done due to the safety problem in the area. It was not entered several streets of the planning area so the situation of them could not be determined, which reflected on the plan decisions (I.5, 2018). In conclusion, with the law 2863, making a conservation-oriented plan became the necessity for the urban heritage site during that period (Kejanlı, 2004). It can be said that the Conservation Oriented Plan 1990 was made due to the legal obligation. Therefore, it contained lots of deficiencies despite taking some crucial decisions mentioned above. Suriçi Region was managed with this plan for 18 years.

In 2008, Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality took the municipal council decision, and the conservation-oriented plan revision was put out to tender by the municipality to the planning office named Ege Plan. The main reason for the revision has been that after approving the conservation-oriented plan, lots of

cultural heritages were registered, but they could not be attached to the plan, which made the cultural heritages preservation difficult. In this respect, the registration decisions, especially plan decisions about transportation and the decisions that aimed to widen the roads were not used.

Therefore, the location of these cultural assets registered makes the revision of the plan obligatory in time. The second revision reason has been that the plan proposed multi-story and attached buildings, which has damaged the historic urban fabric. Moreover, the third reason has been that with the establishment of the Union of Historical Towns, there has been a significant change in the approach of the conservation decisions practices in municipalities. In short, the change in conservation approach, the increasing importance of cultural tourism, the continuation of illegal construction, obsolescence and concentration and change in registration decisions have been the main reasons for the plan revision.

The preparation of the conservation-oriented plan revision lasted for four years. In these four years, the board designated structuring conditions of the temporary period. The plan was finished in 2012. The planning process was managed by the participation of all local and central actors.

Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and Sur Municipality took the responsibilities about the general control of the Plan while it was given responsibilities about conservation activities to some other institutions. These were Dicle University, civil society organizations, local community, Bureau of Conservation, Implementation and Inspection (KUDEB), Diyarbakır Cultural Heritage Preservation Board, Diyarbakır Museum Directorate, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Diyarbakır Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism, Karacadağ Development Agency and Diyarbakır Provincial Special Administration. Bureau of Conservation, Implementation, and Inspection (KUDEB) has been determined as the actor to provide coordination between these institutions. It was also responsible for organization and control of the works at the local level. Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, Sur Municipality, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Karacadağ Development Agency and Diyarbakır Provincial Special Administration, sponsors, tourism encouragement, revenues from visitors and foreign income were

determined as financial resources for the realization of the activities determined by the Plan (KAİP, 2012).

The plan has been prepared on two different scales, 1/5000 and 1/1000. While the former also involved the border of Sur preservation band, the former only included Suriçi Urban Heritage Site Boundary (KAİP, 2012). According to I.2 (2018), the period in which the plan was started to be prepared has also been the period of reconciliation between the institutions like Diyarbakır Governorship, HDA, and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. For instance, representatives of both the municipality and HDA were in the board meetings in which the conservation-oriented plan revision was discussed to present their opinions. Moreover, there have been serious discussions on cultural heritage in the meetings which were held in the process of making the new conservation-oriented plan, and it was very difficult to reach consensus about some topics (I.4, 2018).

In the revision plan, it was decided that all civil architectures and monumental structures would be protected with their surroundings in their original location. In addition, it included arrangements aiming that illegal structures will be renewed in time by the historic urban fabric. Materials used in facades are determined to protect the view of Diyarbakır City Wall in the plan decisions. In the revision plan, monumental structures have functioned parallel to their original uses. The measures to protect the City Wall and its bastions were converted into the revision plan. The revision plan decisions supported the pedestrianization decision in the traditional city center and the commercial areas. The street extension was restricted, and street pavement and the wall of yards were protected to preserve the historic urban fabric.

The plan decisions were divided into two for the residential areas; one is the courtyard construction area, the other was attached buildings area. In the former, the decisions were taken based on the original cadastral plan made in 1951-1954 as well as the aerial photo of Suriçi District taken in 1939 and 1953. According to the revision plan decisions about new constructions, it was obligatory that the courtyards be built in the possible parcels. The most crucial decision of the plan was to reduce the height of the constructions. The population of Suriçi District

would slightly decrease due to the revision plan decisions about lowering the heights of the structures not to obstruct the view of the City Walls (KAİP, 2012).

Due to the previous plan decision, buildings with 5 or 6 floors could be made up to 3 floors in the case of rebuilding. Moreover, the floor height for new buildings to be built in other areas would be limited to 2 floors. The members of the City Council mostly have criticized these decisions. It can be claimed that the population would remarkably decrease; therefore, the significant part of the people living in Suriçi will be forced to leave by the revision plan decisions (I.9, 2018).

However, I.2, responsible for the conservation-oriented plan revision stated (2018) that the population was calculated based on the acceptance that in each house accommodates only one family. However, more than one family would live in a house in the Suriçi District. Therefore, it looked as if the population decreases. In fact, there would not be such a severe decline in population. Despite the plan decision, two or more households could still live together in a house.

After the approval of the conservation-oriented plan revision 2012, Suriçi Urban Heritage Site was declared as a risky area following the law numbered 6306. Immediately afterward, Suriçi Master Plan was decided to be prepared. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism offered to make the master plan for the planning office which also prepared the conservation-oriented plan revision. The planning office accepted the proposal with the approval of the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality (I.2, 2018). The reason for preparing the master plan was that Suriçi District has become one of the risky areas of Diyarbakır due to the intensive migration creating illegal settlements.



Figure 3.4: 1/1000 Conservation Oriented Plan Revision 2012 (Source: Ege Plan, 2012)

The Vision of Suriçi Master Plan was to preserve and bring to future historical and cultural values of the region, to transform it into a clean and reliable settlement far from disaster risks and to implement regeneration decisions based on the conservation-oriented plan revision to increase tourism effectiveness in Suriçi Region. The main principle of the master plan was that Suriçi District, the first settlement area of Diyarbakır city, was enclosed with city walls defining the district as a whole. This integrity should have been maintained in all decisions and practices to be developed. It can be observed from these principles, priorities, strategic goals and decisions that the conservation-oriented plan revision was taken into consideration (Master Plan, 2013).

In fact, the master plan was described as implementation guidance of the conservation-oriented plan revision. Moreover, it was claimed that the master plan was prepared to determine when the decisions would be implemented and how

they would be financed (I.2, 2018). Despite all, Suriçi was the urban heritage site; therefore, the announcement of the region as the risky area could not be well-intentioned. In this context, with the master plan decisions of the conservation-oriented plan revision could be practiced swiftly not considering the demands of residents. Fortunately, the planning team was aware of the potential of Suriçi regarding cultural heritage because the master plan was put out to tender to same planning office as the conservation-oriented plan revision.

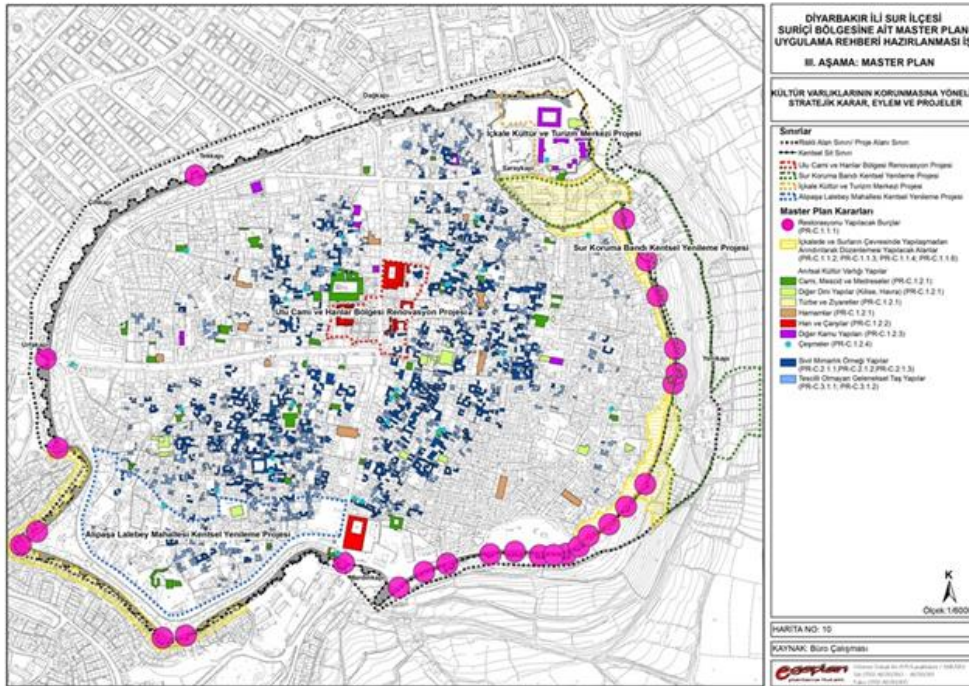


Figure 3.5: Master Plan of Suriçi 2013 (Source: Ege Plan, 2013)

In addition, the other important side of the plan was that it included the cultural heritage projects and specified area projects prepared before the master plan. In the same time, the studies about the nomination of the UNESCO World Heritage have begun to be carried out under the leadership of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism with the coordination of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipalities and all the other institutions and organizations, related non-governmental organizations, the professional chamber in 2012. For that matter, the symposium about Diyarbakır City Wall was held in April 2013 to take the opinion and suggestion of scholars. Most of experts and scholars from the countries being the member of ICOMOS/ICOFORT made a significant contribution. At the end of the meeting, it

has been decided to apply for the UNESCO as Diyarbakır City Wall and Hevsel Garden. The preparation of the Site Management Plan and the UNESCO nomination file are simultaneously prepared (I.4, 2018).

The boundary of the Site Management Plan was determined by Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and the Site Management Department. Workshops, focus group discussions, field researches and conferences were made to develop common sense with the participation of all shareholders of the site management area. Diyarbakır Site Management Plan have covered 1942,66 ha. area. Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Garden Cultural Landscape Area which described World Heritage Site was 520,76 ha. Diyarbakır Suriçi Region was kept inside Diyarbakır Fortress, and the area is 132,20 ha.

The area which enclosed the World Heritage Site was 1289,69 ha. The plan have covered Suriçi District as the buffer zone, the City Wall, Hevsel Gardens and the second buffer zone surrounding them. Suriçi Region locating in the World Heritage Site was determined as the buffer zone divided into three parts; Suriçi front-view area, the area to adapt to the traditional fabric and Suriçi historical and cultural heritage area (Site Management Plan, 2014).

For the first area, it was decided that regional architecture elements such as courtyards, gardens, and streets be tried to be reflected on the area to protect them. In addition, the streets tending towards Diyarbakır City Wall were decided to be paved with different flooring material to be perceived as a whole.

In the second area, the conservation-oriented plan was based on the decisions taken. In the third area, it was aimed that cultural heritages were transferred with their authenticities to the next generations. Tangible and intangible cultural properties were preserved as a whole. The studies were done to increase the awareness of the people living in Suriçi about the importance of cultural heritage. Moreover, the project named the function detection of Diyarbakır City Wall and its bastions was carried out in 2013.

In the scope of this project, the series of analysis was done by taking into account the cultural heritage features of the structures and their potential to be re-

functioned. In these analyzes, forms of utilization, protection condition and physical structures of the city wall and its bastions were determined (Site Management Plan, 2014).

In short, the site management plan specified its objectives about Suriçi Region and the City Wall following the conservation-oriented plan revision. The Department of Site Management was formed by the head of Site Management, advisory board, coordination and supervision board, monitoring and auditing board, education committee, science committee; therefore, it can be said that almost all actors also participated in the decision making the process of the Site Management Plan (I.4, 2018).

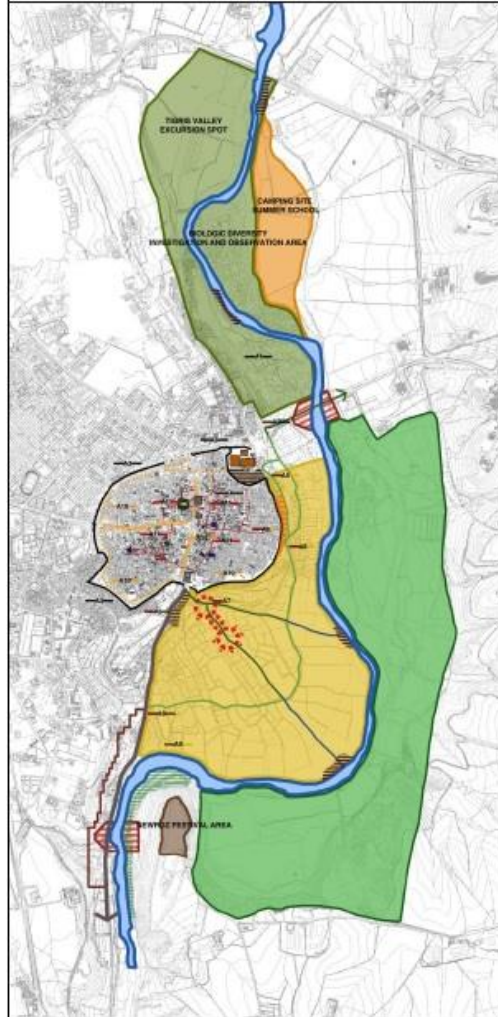


Figure 3.6: Site Management Plan 2014 (Source: İkarya Danışmanlık, 2014)

In this context, the site management plan was approved in 2014 by the coordination and supervision board. One year later, Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape were declared as the UNESCO World Heritage Site. Right after, curfew was ordered and imposed due to the conflict occurred in the area. After the conflict was over, the conservation-oriented plan revision was regarded necessary to change due to the security problems.

It can also be stated that this alteration was made for security consideration in the report of the conservation-oriented plan alteration. Therefore, the conservation-oriented plan alteration has been prepared at 1/5000 and 1/1000 scales. It is claimed that the plan included some destructive decisions such as widening streets and building six police stations in five neighborhoods of Suriçi Region (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects Diyarbakır İKK, 2017).

The reason for road extension was to link these six police offices with each other, which damaged the historic urban fabric. Moreover, the decisions of the plan alteration did not take the registered structures into consideration, regarded the historic urban texture as entirely unimportant, and removed the urban equipment areas which have existed in the previous plan (TMMOB Diyarbakır İKK, 2017).

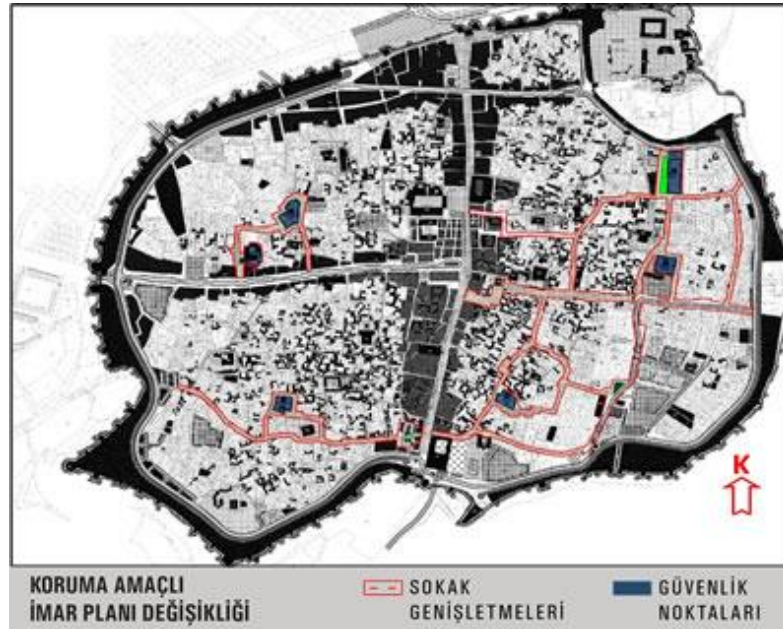


Figure 3.7: Conservation Oriented Plan Alteration 2017 (Source: Diyarbakır TMMOB İKK, 2017)

In Suriçi Urban Heritage Site there were two critical values. The first one has been the yard-type house, and the other has been cadastral fabric. However, with the plan decisions, courtyard system has been removed, even though Diyarbakır house has meant yard-type house. By this way, the cadastral fabric of Suriçi Urban Heritage Site was also damaged (I.2, 2018).

In conclusion, it can be said that the decisions taken from all these plans apart from the last plan alteration in 2017, included preservation concerns about cultural heritage. All actors have been tried to participate in the decision-making process of the plans. On the contrary, I.7 has claimed that the members of the professional chamber have prevented from attending the meeting about the last plan of Suriçi in Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board (2018). In addition, the only authority to prepare the plan for Suriçi and to take decisions on the district was declared as the ministry of environment and urbanization by the state. Therefore, nobody has known what is happening in Suriçi regarding cultural heritage since 2017.

3.3. Findings about Cultural Heritage Practices in Suriçi for the Last Sixteen Years

The Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board's (the Board) decisions and the cultural heritage projects have been examined to prove the claim of this thesis which states that there are cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi for sixteen years. For that purposes, decisions and projects about cultural heritage have been discussed in detail in this chapter.

3.3.1. Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board's Decisions

In this chapter, the decisions taken by the Board have been tried to be examined. The aim of the evaluation is to answer some questions about study to demonstrate conservation activities in Suriçi Region such as what kind of development practices Suriçi is experienced in cultural heritage conservation process? How many and what

kind of decisions have been taken? Diyarbakır Suriçi was declared as Urban Heritage Site in 1988 with the board decision numbered 38.



Figure 3.8: Boundaries on Suriçi Urban Heritage Site (Source: Prepared by the author)

When the decisions of the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board are examined, it can be seen from Chart 3.9 that after 2000, the number of decisions which is related to the cultural heritages in Suriçi has been increased. The board's decisions have been per annum examined below.

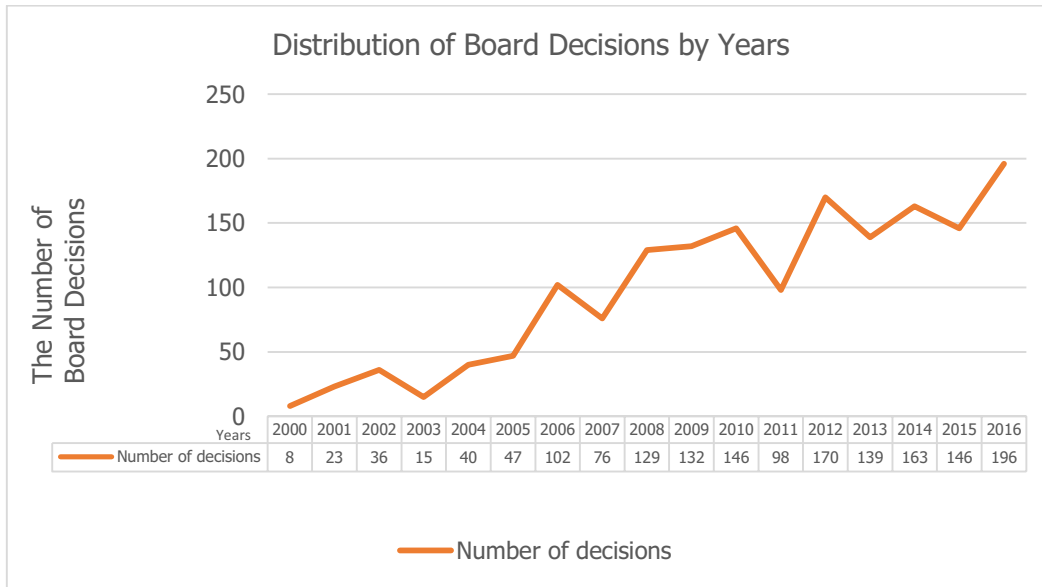


Figure 3.9: The Board Decisions' Distribution by years (Source: Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board, 2017)

When decisions, taken regarding cultural heritage located in Suriçi, are analyzed, it can be seen that eight decisions were made. These decisions have been related to unauthorized practices on the monumental building called Deliller Inn, Sarı Saltuk Tomb and Ulu Mosque, enlarged Saray Gate which is the part of Diyarbakır Fortress. In addition, the decision about conservation project of Diyarbakır Fortress was taken in 1998, and in 2000, architectural surveying of the 1/1000, 1/2000 and 1/500 scale conservation projects prepared on was approved by the Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board. At this point it can be said that decisions taken have been mostly related to monumental structures. Moreover, the architectural and restoration projects of two civil buildings have been approved (see Appendix A).

In 2001, one request about a registered building was to be withdrawn from the registered list. However, the board declined the offer and made a decision about continuation of its registrations. Additionally, the protection belt of Diyarbakır Fortress was extended. For some buildings in the citadel, the architectural surveying and restoration projects were appropriately prepared but the board did not approve them. The reason of this rejection was that the area of the citadel was

proposed special planning area for culture and tourism in the conservation development plan prepared in 1990 so it has been stated that the citadel should be considered as a whole. Projects of monumental buildings such as the pieces of the Fortress and bathhouse were offered to the board. Some religious structures like Meryem Ana Church and Mesudiye Madrasah were undergone to simple repair in the same year (see Appendix A).

In 2002, the Board requisitioned the architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the civil buildings have undergone simple repairs. Decisions were taken about registration of fountain and architectural surveying of religious buildings such as Surp Giragos Armenian Church and Kurşunlu mosque. The demands of registration withdrawal application for three civil buildings were refused. Civil architecture demands were more than monumental buildings in the year (see Appendix A).

In the year 2003, it can be said that the most of mosques were undergone simple repairs based on Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board's resolution numbered 660 by personnel of general directorate for foundations. The restitution and restoration projects of Çifte (Borsa) Inn and Surp Giragos Armenian Church were also offered to the board. The demands of registration withdrawal application of two civil buildings were refused (see Appendix A).

In 2004, Sur Municipality demanded to refuction of Pasha Bathroom as a restaurant-cafe-bar. In addition, Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality demanded easement of Behram Pasha Palace to use it as a culture and environment house. The board approved these demands; however, it was stated that the authorized body about the demands was the Ministry of Culture and Tourism; therefore, the ministry made the last decision. The landscaping project of Conservation Area of Historical Diyarbakır Fortress at 1/2000 scale, removing tea house, was approved. Gazi Street Urban Design Project including the area between Dağkapı-Dört Yol and Balıkçılarbaşı was found appropriate in principle; however, it was stated the new project should be made considering the revisions on the previous project.

The project was carried out via Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality with the scope of developing the cultural heritage program of Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP).

The project was approved in 2005. The new offer of the project included removal of the mulberry trees and caused to change of the conservation development plan. In the conservation area of the Church of the Virgin Mary, the development plan change was wanted to be applied to the plot of nonregistered property, which was found appropriate by the board. Yeni Kapı Street Urban Design Project was found appropriate to practice.

The new offer of the project caused to change of the conservation development plan in 2005. The board stated that by taking into account the readjustment on the project, it could be practiced. In short, that year, the number of street rehabilitation projects increased and demands were mostly related to monumental structures. (see Appendix A).

In 2005, the bastion 2 was wanted to be rented for using it as a cafeteria by the special provincial directorate of administration, the board approved the demand; however, the ministry has had an authority of the sanction according to article 14 of the act number 2863. In addition to bastion 2, the research excavation was done in the area between bastions 74 and 75. Also, in that year tram line was mentioned and there was Suriçi Tramway system project in the agenda. Many mosques were undergone to simple repair and the restoration projects of some were offered to the board. Twenty-eight fountains and two civil architecture were registered. In addition, the restoration projects of five civil buildings were prepared (see Appendix A).

In 2006, the board wanted the re-functioning project of Sülüklü Inn to take a decision. Landscaping and detail project which was related upper side of the project of Vedat Dalokay underground bazaar were approved. Moreover, they employed the museum personnel to clean the area where was registered ruins of the synagogue were located. In that year, the law 2863 was modified by the law 5226 and also the law 3386. The projects of the registered building were UCTEA approved in 2005. However, in 2006 the board did not find these projects and the new detailed project about its roof covering appropriate and stated the decisions of 2005 to be applied. Furthermore, eight civil buildings were registered, the

restoration, restitution and architectural surveying projects of some were done (see Appendix A).

In the year 2007, Gazi Street Project and Yeni Kapı Street Project were carried on by Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality within the scope of Cultural Heritage Development Program in the GAP Region. Within the scope of Yeni Kapı Street Rehabilitation project, the historical buildings were undergone some simple repairs. Furthermore, the board approved the change of the conservation development plan at 1/1000 scale to expropriate illegal and irregular housing which have located on the periphery of the citadel. In addition to these projects, in that year, most of lightning and installment projects were done.

Within the scope of the Gazi Street Project, frontages of Hasan Pasha Inn and Jewelry Bazaar were restructured. Besides, the board decided that recreation and landscape project of the area between Saray Gate and Mardin Gate was approvable; however, the implementation projects taking into consideration the structure of the Fortress were offered. The conservation group of Zinciriye and Mesudiye Madrasahs and Kurşunlu Mosque were determined as the first group. Moreover, while five civil buildings were withdrawn from the registration list, two of them were registered. The projects of Çardaklı Bathhouse were approved in 1993; however, they were not implemented. Now, they were wanted to be implemented. However, the board stated that the bathhouse was undergone the change in time for the new projects would be done (see Appendix A)

In 2008, the conservation group of the monumental and civil structures continued to be identified, for instance, the conservation group of Salos Mosque was determined as the first group due to its monumental structure. The General Directorate of Foundation has had the authority of expropriation of Çifte Inn in the scope of the article 10 and 15 of the law 2863 changing with the laws 3386 and 5226. Moreover, the registered property could be sold or rented according to the article 13 and 14 of the law 2863 in the condition that the original architecture was not changed. Furthermore, the conservation area of Ulu Mosque was tried to be defined by Diyarbakır General Directorate of Foundation.

For Sultan Sasa, it was demanded to do a new excavating; however, the board denied the demand and stated that the structure was located on the Special Planning Area; therefore, they stated that an area plan should be made. In addition, the board found the concept projects of the area between Fiskaya-University Road, Dicle River and the citadel acceptable and demanded the plan at 1/5000, 1/1000 and 1/500 scales and also implementation project at 1/50 scale. These projects which were made as a part of the project of reclamation of Dicle Valley included an amphitheater, Olympic pool, restaurant, coffee shop and Fiskaya Waterfall projects.

The board approved the project of reclamation of Dicle Valley with the editing on the project at 1/5000 scale. For the first stage of Reclamation of Dicle Valley Project, specific projects were made at 1/1000, 1/500, 1/50 and 1/20 scales. They were found approvable by the board. The urban terrace project at 1/200 scale was also approved within the scope of Dicle Valley project. In 2008, the board approved lots of lighting and installation projects of the monumental buildings as in 2007.

For the area between Saray Gate and Bastion 63 landscape plan was made, specific projects of the landscape plan were approved. In the scope of 2nd part of the rehabilitation project, landscape project was found approvable so the detail projects of it were demanded and they were also approved. Within the scope of Yenikapı Street Project, the architectural project of the unregistered building was made, but the board did not find approvable. In this context, the new architectural project which has included the street silhouette of where the building located was demanded.

For the decisions of this year, it can be said that most of the implementation about the restoration projects were denied in 2008 because these projects were approved in 2001; nevertheless, they were not implemented within the years up to now. Therefore, the board predicted that for the implementation of these projects, all of them should be re-prepared. Additionally, the board evaluated the demand of amendment of the conservation development plan and wanted the new conservation development plan since the existing plan did not meet the demands of current situation; therefore, the new one was made at 1/1000 and 1/5000 scales

by the municipality. Moreover, the Board was the only authority to evaluate all implementation on Suriçi until the plan completed (see Appendix A).

In 2009, the board determined the conservation group of the Iskender Pasha Palace as the first group. For one of the registered buildings, the board demanded surveying, restoration and restitution projects in 1991. However, they were not made; therefore, the board demanded the projects again in 2001. In 2009, the building was wanted to use as a tea shop; however, it did not have surveying, restitution and restoration projects still; therefore, the board demanded them after eight years. The restoration project of Sultan Sasa, which had been approved in 2008 was not applied; therefore, damages occurred on the structure.

In 2009, simple repairs were undergone by the agency of municipalities named the Bureau of Conservation, Implementation, and Inspection (KUDEB). The board approved the surveying, restitution and restoration projects for the registered civil building in 2005; nevertheless, the projects were not practiced. Therefore, the building destruction has continued to increase. In other words, registered civil structures were not taken into consideration to conserving in these years.

The study of culture inventory was done, and with the research tool in the urban heritage site and out of it, it was decided that 47 properties have become cultural assets which were needed to be protected. With the scope of the article 7 of the law 2863, these cultural assets had to be registered, and their conservation group was determined as the second group. The second study of culture inventory was done, 146 properties were registered inside and outside of the urban heritage site in 2009. The projects of civil buildings were carried out with the scope of grant program of the ministry of culture.

The conservation and landscape project of Mardin Gate Park was not approved. Depending on the Çifte Inn Street Recovery Project, surveying projects were approved. The board wanted to be prepared the Çifte Inn Street Recovery Project to decide whether approve or not. The Landscape Plan prepared for the Citadel was approved by the board providing that improvements on the project be taken into consideration. The demand offered the board was closing the car traffic of the

street which Four-leg Minaret located. Therefore, the board wanted to express opinions of the commission of province traffic to make a decision.

In 2009, it can be said that the most crucial decision which was about urban regeneration project to be implemented in two neighborhoods of Suriçi District was taken. The project was done with the corporation of Diyarbakır Governorate, and Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDA) involved Lalebey and AliPaşa neighborhoods. The board state that any application which was about the urban regeneration project was not transmitted to it but in any case, the board made its decisions in accordance with the new Conservation Development Plan. Thus, it is waited to be offered the new Conservation Development Plan. The board was informed by the report of Secretary of Diyarbakır Local Agenda 21.

In 2010, great numbers of buildings located in Alipaşa and Cami Kebir neighborhoods were wanted to be sold. However, the board took the decision that sending of the buildings was principally approvable but primarily the conservation development plan should be finalized. Urban regeneration projects can be the reason for an increase in building sales. On January, twenty-four buildings were desired to be sold. For the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of civil buildings, it could be applied supporting the project of Ministry of Culture and Tourism within the scope of contribution fund of the repairing of cultural property which was included the article 12 of the law 2863. The board demanded that restoration projects of the bastions 49 and 50 be updated. Moreover, Çifte Inn Street Recovery Project was found approvable by the board, and revised restoration project and functional change of Iskender Pasha Palace were approved.

Most of the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of civil buildings, were not implemented after their approval. Therefore, after years, the projects were wanted to be implemented, but the board rejected the demand and desired new projects. The demand for Cemil Pasha Palace was wanted to be used as a city museum, which was approved. The project of Sultan Sasa was not found approvable because the structure had significance regarding urban archeology but the project of it did not have harmony with the urban fabric and was not approvable concerning conservation approach.

The Artukluođulları Palace situated on Amida Mound in the Citadel was registered in 1980. The Board stated that the mound is cultural property to be protected, it was registered as a grade 1 archeological site. In the context of street rehabilitation from İzzetpaşa Street to Saray Gate, the surveying project was approved. When the report of the rehabilitation project was offered, the board re-evaluated it. For the year 2010, it can be said that the number of conservation practices on Diyarbakır Fortress increased and the architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the monumental buildings especially mosques and civil structures were approved. Registration of the civil buildings was also enhanced.

In 2011, the registered building which belongs to the State Treasury was wanted to be transformed Ahmed Arif Literature Museum Library. Following this purpose, the building was undergone simple repair. The Bureau of Conservation, Implementation, and Inspection (KUDEB) approved the simple repairs of the building. Furthermore, the buildings which are located in Lalebey and Alipaşa neighborhoods were destructed illegally in the context of the urban regeneration project.

The board decided that after finalizing of the conservation development plan, the issue would be interpreted again. Also, it evaluated the reports offered by the different public bodies and concluded that in the area, the implementation of urban regeneration, urban renewal, and development plans was out of the question due to the preparation of the conservation development plan. In the year, destruction of the buildings was waiting until the conservation development plan was finalized. Moreover, the board stated that the analyses of Conservation Development Plan at 1/5000 and its obligatory development plan at 1/1000 was enough to approve. Now, it evaluated the conservation development plan at 1/5000 scale which formed the basis of the obligatory development plan by examining on the side. Thus, the board demanded to edit on the project at 1/5000 after editing they evaluated the project.

In 2012, destruction of buildings located on Lalebey and Alipaşa Neighborhood was demanded in the context of the Urban Renewal Projects. The board approved the demand and gave Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality authorization to control

implementations. The board approved the Conservation Development Plan at 1/5000 scale. Likewise, one of the building, the private property was wanted to be expropriated for using for cultural purposes in Ziya Gökalp Neighborhood, which was approved. Some part of Ulu mosque (part of Hanafis) was restored by the decision of Committee of Science Board. Also, the most of the projects which were approved in 2000 years were wanted to be revised ten years later because they were not implemented in time.

Architectural project of the tomb which was built on the remains of Sultan Sasa was approved. The board approved disclosure report and implementation provisions of the conservation development plan and they demanded the decision of the municipal council. In the Urban Heritage Site, the demand was that Sur municipality wanted to demolish the property to build culture and education home, so the board stated that after the conservation development plan at 1/1000 scale was finalized, the demand was evaluated. Defining the border for the rehabilitation of the street and urban fabric need to be protected was approved.

In the same year, the Conservation Development Plan was also approved in June 2012 with the decision numbered 565. The selling of the three properties was not found suitable because they located on the square which was proposed in the Conservation Development Plan in Camikebir neighborhood. Ziya Gökalp Street was closed to the traffic because the passage of vehicles damages the historical buildings. The reason for the buildings withdrawal from registration was losing the feature of cultural assets, and according to the conservation development plan, the proposed road crosses over the property.

In 2013, architectural surveying, restitution, and restoration of the private property were done by the maintenance, repair and aid fund of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and local resources. The demand was renting of the bastion 31, and the board stated that the decision should be taken by the head of the Site Management which was a unit of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. Simple repairs were done on private properties under the control of personnel of KUDEB while the monumental buildings' simple repairs were done under the control of Diyarbakır Directorate of Surveying and Monuments.

Expropriation of Süleyman Nazif Home which would be used as a boutique hotel was approved; however, the projects of it were not found suitable. Renting of the Bastion 1 and 2 (Harput Gate) for the re-functioning them as traditional and local crafts shop was approved. The Sur Surrounding Protection and Landscape Project of the Mardin Kapı Park and Anzele Park and Landscape projects were approved. In the year, two green area/park projects were also approved.

Besides, the board decided that to evaluate the demand which was the withdrawal of registered properties from the registration list, these properties were determined according to the fact that whether they are the authentic part of the Chaldean Church or not by surveying and restoration projects and their reports. Also, some simple repair decisions about Hasan Pasha Inn, Jewelry Bazaar a citadel's building was taken.

Different from those, in Sur district, expropriation of the 167-hectare area in the context of the law 6306 and the function change of the plots were approved. In the context of Urban Design Project of Abdipaşa Street, the surveying project of it was approved, but the recovery projects of it were not approved. Also, the board offered that buildings were projected to demolish by taking into account the Conservation Development Plan.

The board rejected the registration demand of the buildings especially in Cevatpaşa neighborhood since there was an Urban Regeneration Project in the neighborhood. Conservation Implementation Plan was demanded to change, but the board decided primarily to change conservation development plan at 1/5000 scale.

In this context, Conservation development plan at 1/5000 and 1/1000 scales were wanted to be changed on specific plots which have belonged to TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) and the other people, which was approved by the board. The project of the multi-story car park was prepared. The board demanded that the project point out the relation between the structure and the city wall to approve. The project was found approvable. Expropriation of the 187-hectare area in the context of the law 6306 was found suitable. However, the board did not allow destruction on specific plots since registered cultural assets have been located on them.

In 2014, the restitution and design projects were approved within the scope of the Urban Design Project of Abdipaşa Street. However, the project was restricted by the law 6306 regarding non-registered and illegal structures. So, to imply the project, permission from the provincial directorate of environment and urbanization was required. In addition, in the same year, Küpeli Gate was closed to the car and pedestrian traffic.

Within the scope of Improvement Project of Cemil Paşa Palace Street, surveying project was not approved while the surveying projects which were related with Ziyagökalp-Artuklar and Ziyagökalp-Akıncılar Streets were approved and the Board demanded the urban design projects of the streets. Similarly, the board found the idea project of Sur Landscape and Hz. Süleyman Mosque with Archaeopark Landscape approvable and demanded implementation project of it. At this point, the board found the offered project approvable.

Architectural surveying and restoration projects of Cemil Paşa Street Project presented the second time to the board and surveying project of the Urban Design Project of Four-Legged Minaret, and Yenikapı Street was approved. Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape Plan were approved. The surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the building which belonged to Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality were approved.

In 2015, the decisions taken in 2012 determined that bastions and their surrounding could be re-functioned within the scope of the report of Function Detection of Diyarbakır Bastions with their Surrounding Project. In the report, it was offered that bastions can be re-functioned for cultural tourism or commercial activities. Therefore, in 2015, the decisions taken about the bastions were approved according to the decision taken in 2012.

Moreover, the surveying and restitution projects of Ulu Mosque and Inns Region Renovation Project were approved. Moreover, in Cevatpaşa neighborhood, most of the plots wanted to be demolished, the board decided that if the plot includes registered buildings or structures having an environmental value, this plot must not be demolished. Lastly, the most crucial events took place in the year 2015 is that

Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens entered to the World Heritage List as a Cultural Landscape.

In 2016, the property of many plots was transferred to Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI) in Alipaşa and Lalebey neighborhoods. The restitution and restoration projects of Ziyagökalp-Akıncılar and Ziyagökalp-Artuklar Streets were found approvable. The restoration of the Ulu Mosque was approved. However, implementation permits should be got from Provincial Directorate of Environment and Urbanization since the project area was declared as a disaster risk area. The demand to demolish Süleyman Nazif Elementary School which was located on the plot 20 and 21 was partially approved. The demolishing of its part located on the plot 21 was approved while the other part was decided to be conserved.

Furthermore, for the rallying of the Mill, the surveying, restitution and restoration projects were demanded. Conflicts damaged the Armenian Catholic Church. Thus, the hanger project of it was approved. Besides, the demand to deploy Keçi, Yedikardeş, and Evli Beden bastions were not approved since these bastions are parts of the Fortress which is in the UNESCO World Heritage List. However, in the same year, many security points were built in Suriçi district due to security purposes. Also, the number of decisions taken were increased, but their content was about demolishing of structures or reconstruction projects.

In this context it can be said that while the number of decisions increased, the qualifications of them decreased. Decisions taken by the board were mainly related to reconstruction or reorganization of the area. For instance, most demands to remove the explanation that cultural asset to be protected were approved since the board stated that most of the structures demanded to remove the explanation were non-registered. The demand for the partial change of Conservation Development Plan and the Road Formation Project which was prepared for the eastern side of the Fortress was also approved.

In conclusion, the number and content of the Board decisions also differ by years. For instance, with the beginning of the UNESCO Process, the number of decisions related to the Fortress have increased from the year 2011 to 2014. Also, it can be seen that decisions about monumental buildings are few in 2016, but serious decisions have been made about examples of civil architecture in the same year. Above, the Board decisions have been evaluated according to years. Now, essential areas and structures in Suriçi will be explained in detail in the light of the information obtained as a result of the examination of the board decisions.

The Diyarbakir City Walls have been discussed in detail in this chapter because it has unique features and it is on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The High Council of Ancient Arts and Monuments registered it in 1972. As in the below, table 1 includes general decisions about the Fortress. Then decisions taken were detailed regarding their locations or time to implement.

Table 3.1: Decisions taken about Diyarbakir Fortress

Years	Decisions taken about Diyarbakir Fortress
1998	Restoration project decisions were taken
2000	Restoration project decisions were taken
2001	Restoration projects were approved and they came into effect
2002	The landscape project at 1/5000, 1/1000 and 1/500 scale were requested
2004	Simple repairs in needed parts of the fortress were done
2007	Simple repairs in needed parts of the fortress were done
2010	The wall of the citadel and its environment was repaired.
2012	The bastions of the fortress were cleaned and the door lock was made.
2013	The fortress was prepared for UNESCO World Heritage List
2015	A way for cleaning of scribble and graffiti was found
2016	Gap, passing and breach of the Fortress were closed by concrete blocks to provide the security.

The decision taken to repair Keçi Bastion with little interventions represented a model for other monumental structures in 2001. Therefore, Landscape projects were approved in 2002. In addition, in 2004, the board approved the landscape

plan of the bastion. In 2005, it was demanded to rent Keçi bastion, which was applicable for the Board; however, the ministry has authority for renting. In 2008, within the scope of the law 5225, Keçi Bastion was wanted to be used for cultural purposes. The decision about it would be approvable on condition that confirmed landscape project of the bastion would remain valid. In 2008, the board approved the landscape project of the outer side of the bastion. In 2009, the re-functioning project of Keçi Bastion was found approvable.

In 2008, the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of Yedi Kardeşler Bastion approved in 2001 were wanted to be implemented. However, the board denied the demand since deterioration has occurred on the bastion in the course of time. In 2013, it was demanded to detailed and complete projects of the bastion because the Fortress has become the candidate for the UNESCO World Heritage List. In 2015, the bastion was wanted to be used as a cafeteria, but the Board rejected the demand because the cafeteria was not chosen as a function in the report including the suggestions about re-functioning of the bastions.

In 2008, the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of Ulu Beden (Ben u Sen) Bastion approved in 2001 were wanted to be implemented. However, the board denied the demand since deterioration has occurred on the bastion in the course of time. In 2009, the demand for renting Tek Beden Bastion was applicable for the board, but the ministry has authority for renting in the scope of the law 2863 changing with the laws 3386 and 5226.

Iron doors have been installed the bastions for the security of them. For the Bastion 47 the board wanted architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects to be done in 2004. The surveying, restitution and restoration projects aiming to use the bastion 9 for touristic purposes were made, but the boards wanted them to be revised on the project to approve. Then, in December 2004, the board found surveying project acceptable and demanded the new restitution and restoration projects for the bastion number 9.

The board wanted projects of the bastion 10 to be done in 2006. In 2007, from bastion 55 to bastion 69, all bastions were cleaned and undergone simple repair.

The wall in the south of Saray Gate in Citadel was undergone simple repair. The wall between Urfa Gate and Çift Gate was also undergone simple repair.

In 2008, architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of Urfa Gate Bastions numbered 21-22 approved in 2001 were wanted to be implemented. However, the board denied the demand since deterioration has occurred on the bastion in the course of time.

Similarly, the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of Ulu Beden (Ben u Sen) and Yedi Kardeşler Bastions approved in 2001 were wanted to be implemented, the board rejected the demand due to the same reason and demanded new surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the bastion. The demand for a functional change of the bastion 9 was approved. In 2010, surveying project of the bastion 26 was approved, restitution and restoration projects of it were demanded. Also, surveying project of the bastion 62 was approved, restitution and restoration projects of it were demanded. The bastion 62 had severe structural problems so its cleaning should not be done.

In addition, cleaning of bastions 10, 26, Evli Beden and Yedi Kardeşler were done while their projects were continued to be made. In 2010, bastions 21-22 which were linked to Urfa Gate were undergone simple repair. Therefore, it was decided to pedestrianize Urfa Gate until the full repairs of the bastions finalized. In 2011, the board demanded comprehensive repair projects of the bastions 74-75 which are located in the citadel and the wall between bastions 73, 74 and 75. The restoration and reinforcement projects of bastions 73 and 74 and the wall between bastions 73-74-75 which are part of the citadel were approved.

The barred door closed the gap between bastions 78-79. In 2012, bastions 7 to 50 including 7 and 50 bastions were repaired. Projects of the bastions which do not have their repair projects should be prepared. Bastions 10 and 26 were started to be repaired following their approved projects. In 2013, the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the wall between bastions from 53 to 62 were demanded.

Moreover, the projects of the wall between bastions from 63 to 72 were also demanded. In 2014, the city wall between bastions 51-52 and 52-53 was wanted to be repaired. In 2014, the surveying projects of bastions 55,56,57,58 and 59 and the wall between them was approved.

The surveying projects of bastions 63 and 64 and the wall between 63 and 65 were approved. In addition, the restitution projects of bastions 32-33 and the wall between them were approved. In 2015, bastion 5 was needed to undergo simple repair, but the board decided that according to the report of Area Management Plan which was prepared for repairing and re-functioning of Diyarbakır Fortress and Bastions, bastion 5 should be primarily re-functioned.

The demand to rent bastions 26 and 51 were decided to be re-evaluated after completion of the master plan of the fortress. For approving the surveying projects of the bastions from 53 to 62, the board stated that firstly, Science Board of Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape should analyze the surveying projects and then it should offer their report to the Conservation Board whether the projects are suitable or not. The surveying projects of bastions from 64 to 72 were approved. The restitution projects of bastions from 53-62 were approvable, but the board demanded revised restitution projects of them in the light of decisions of the master plan.

Functional change of the Harput Gate was not approved. The projects which aimed to be used for cultural purposes were approved. One year later, in 2002, the board requested at new functional change project to be offered them. In 2012, the projects of Urfa Gate called bastion 21-22 was urgently demanded. These projects were finalized in 2001, but the implementation of them was not done in time, in 2008, the projects were wanted to be implemented, but the surveying project was not current. Therefore, the board demanded new projects of the gate, but from 2008 to 2012 the projects were not prepared. K peli Gate was closed to car and pedestrian traffic until its simple repair was finalized.

The Board demanded the lighting project of Ulu Mosque and some implementations were done like removal of wall in 2002. The decision of simple repair was approved in 2003. The board disapproved the surveying, restitution and restoration projects

of the mosque and demanded new projects in 2007. In the same year, the conservation group of the mosque was determined as the first group. It means that the structures which constitute a tangible history of the society are compulsorily protected due to their historical, iconic and aesthetic features. Moreover, the board approved the restitution and restoration projects of them.

Now, the decisions which were taken about important monumental structures have been discussed.

Kurşunlu Mosque was undergone simple repairs in 2002. Hz. Süleyman Mosque was undergone simple repair in 2003. In 2010, surveying project of Hz. Süleyman Mosque was approved, new restitution and restoration projects of it were demanded, and the new projects of it were also approved.

The survey project of Surp Giragos Armenian Church was approved, and the restoration project with the restitution stages was expected to be prepared in 2002. In 2009, for the restoration and reinforcement of St. Giragos Armenian Church, the first thing to be done was making a land survey so drilling and excavation work must be done. In 2009, the conservation group of Church of the Virgin Mary was determined as the first group. Also, the board demanded surveying, restitution and restoration projects of it because a new door was wanted to be opened like a gate facing the street.

The revised restitution and restoration projects of the Protestant Episcopal Church have not been approved again because deficiencies were not removed, which the board remarked in 2009. The revised restitution and restoration projects of the church were approved, and the conservation group of the Protestant Episcopal Church was determined as the first group. In 2011, the restoration project of Church of the Virgin Mary to build the gate was approved.

1/50 scale surveying plan and 1/200 scale restoration plan which are related with buildings in the citadel were prepared following their techniques. However, the citadel was approved as a Special Planning Area for Culture and Tourism, so the area should have been approached as a whole in June 2001. Restitution and restoration projects of the buildings were confirmed in December 2001. For the

sake of changing of the building function in the citadel, the board has taken some decisions that;

- The project of the building called Prison approved as a cultural center would be continued as it is.
- The project of the provincial traffic gendarmerie command building approved as the provincial directorate of culture would be continued.
- The project of the Church of S.T. George which was approved as a multipurpose hall was shifted from as an Art Gallery.
- The function of the building named Old Army Corps command was changed and it transformed into Archeological Museum from Ethnography Museum.
- The function of the Courtyard was changed and a block from the guesthouse was moved into Archeological Museum.
- The function of the Courtyard was changed and another block was moved into Archeological Museum from Handicrafts Workshops.
- The function of the building that has been called Arsenal was changed and it was moved into the Administration Building of The Museum from Diyarbakır Publication Bookstore.
- The function of the building that has been called Atatürk Museum was changed and it was moved into Ethnography Museum from Atatürk Museum.

In 2006, the static project of the Courtyard A block and the Arsenal, was not approvable within the scope of consolidation project of the Old Army Corps; therefore, the new surveying, restitution, and restoration projects were demanded by the board. After cleaning of the buildings;

The restitution project of the prison was approved; however, the new restoration project was demanded. Moreover, after the excavation work, the new surveying, restitution and restoration project was demanded for the ST. George Church. The restitution project of the Courtyard A Block was approved; however, the new

restoration project was demanded. The restitution and restoration projects of the Courtyard B Block was approved.

The restitution and restoration projects of the Arsenal was approved. The restitution and restoration projects of the Atatürk Museum was approved. The restitution project of the Gendarmerie Intelligence Bureau was approved, but the new restoration project was demanded. The restitution and restoration projects of the ST George Church was approved.

The restoration projects of the prison, the courtyard A block and the Gendarmerie Intelligence Bureau were approved. Restoration and restitution projects of Old Army Corps were approved. In 2008, the Old Army Corps' revised project was not approved since its detail drawings were not appropriate. Also, the revision projects of Atatürk Museum, the Arsenal, and the Courtyard B block were approved but the Courtyard A block was not approved due to its detail drawings. The revised project of provincial gendarmerie command building, Old Army Corps Command, and the Courtyard A block were approved in the same year.

In 2009, the board stated that the proposed restoration project of the old Army Corps Command was not appropriate; therefore, it was decided that restoration projects needed to be revised. In the same year, the board approved the revised project. In 2011, revised restoration projects of the Courtyard A and B block were approved. In 2012, the citadel buildings' project of electricity and sanitation system. Also, revised projects, such as restoration, electricity, of the citadel buildings were approved. In 2013, the landscape project of the citadel building was approved.

In 2014, revised restoration projects of bastions and wall of the citadel were approved. In 2015, the wall of arsenal building was demolished, so the board demanded surveying, restitution and restoration projects of it. Within the scope of landscape project of the Citadel Museum Complex, entrance turnstile and information signboard were placed in the citadel. The art gallery was undergone a simple repair. In 2016, Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI) prepared The Citadel Urban Design and Landscape Project.

At this point, the board decided that the project needed to be prepared by taking into consideration that the citadel has had an archeological potential. Therefore, it was decided that there was no need to restructuring and also, it was decided to be protected as an open citadel and a green area to provide an opportunity for doing scientific excavations and researches.

In 2004, the board approved the surveying project of Hasan Pasha Inn and demanded restitution, restoration, lighting, heating and installation projects of it. In the same year, the board evaluated the restitution, restoration, lighting and heating projects and found them practicable. In 2007, the surveying project was edited by considering the drawing techniques, restitution and restoration projects were renewed as to the surveying project. In 2008, the board demanded revised surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the Inn. In 2009, the board demanded revised projects of the Inn since during the restoration the basement was found. By seeing in situ, employees of the museum directorate observed that the Inn had some issues such as moistening. At this point, it was decided that these implementations damage the historicity and visuality of the Inn, they should be urgently prohibited.

Before the decision was taken to use Sülüklü Inn as a coffee house; the board wanted the restitution and restoration projects approved in 1995 and came to the new re-functioning project owner to evaluate the project. The board disapproved the project of the Inn in the next meeting. In September 1995, the board again disapproved the projects and demanded a new one. In November, the board took same decisions about Inn. In 2007, the board again disapproved the projects and demanded a new one. In the March, the board approved the projects of the Inn, providing editions on the projects were taken into consideration. In 2008, the demand for removing smithies was evaluated by the board. However, in the same year, the board stated that the decision should be reevaluated in the new conservation plan. In this way, for the first time, the new conservation plan was mentioned in the board decisions. Structural damage occurred in the registered building by reason of vibration which smithies induced, and the surface

contamination has resulted from smithies so the decision that the smithies remove the urban heritage area was taken.

The board demanded projects for the deterioration on Four-Legged Minaret in 2004. In 2010, Department of Civil Engineering of Dicle University offered the report about the minaret including the proposal that Yenikapı Street in which the minaret located should be closed to traffic. Also, digging and multi-story buildings were blocked in the street. The report included long-term proposals; accordingly, the board demanded the repair and reinforcement projects for the minaret. Ten-Eyed Bridge was registered in 2004. Then, it was undergone simple repair and pedestrianized in 2007.

In the light of this information, the board decisions have been evaluated, and some outcomes have been obtained. When we analyze the results, it can be said that charts which are related to registration of civil and monumental buildings, structures restoration have been created.

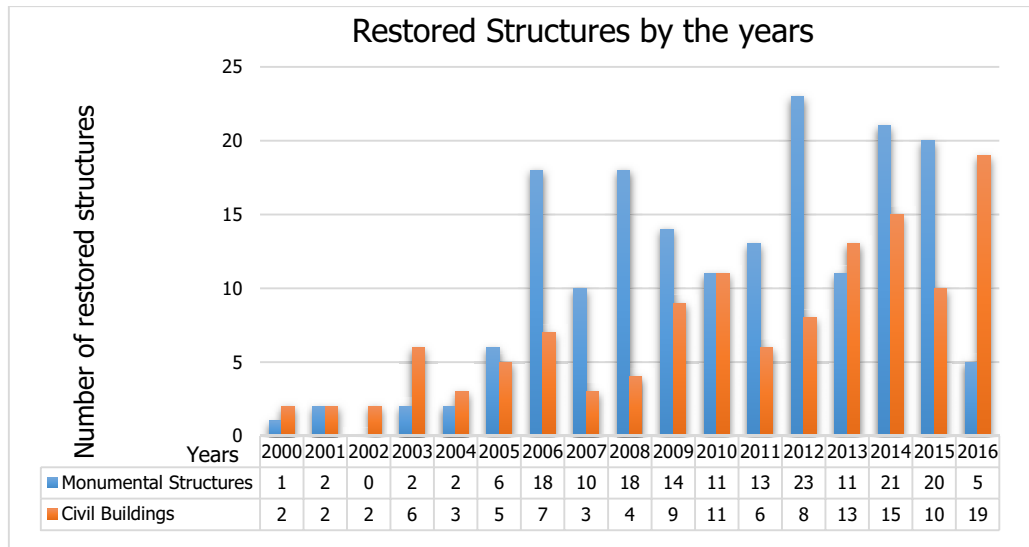


Figure 3.10: The number of restored structures (Source: Prepared by the author)

When the Figure 3.10 has been analyzed, it can be seen that the number of restored civil buildings are maximum in 2016. Moreover, the decisions taken by the board are also high (Figure 3.9) in the same year. However, the number of decisions

cannot point out the conservation approach of the period because at that time the armed conflict in Suriçi reached its peak.

Implementation of the projects stopped since a curfew was declared in the region. Moreover, it can be seen that the number of restoration projects both in civil and monumental structures are not regularly increasing. Nevertheless, the number of monumental structures restored is the highest in 2012 whereas the number of civil structures restored is in the highest level in 2016. The reason for this discrepancy can be the conflict.

It can also be claimed that people living in Suriçi consulted the board to be registered their housing after the conflict. By doing that, it was considered that their houses can be protected from destruction. (I.10, 2018). Finally, it can be said that registration of the civil and monumental buildings changed from 2004 as the first or second group; moreover, after 2010 the number of demands about revision projects of monumental buildings was increased by analyzing the board decisions. Furthermore, the number of individual demands and the projects about monumental buildings have also risen in the same period.

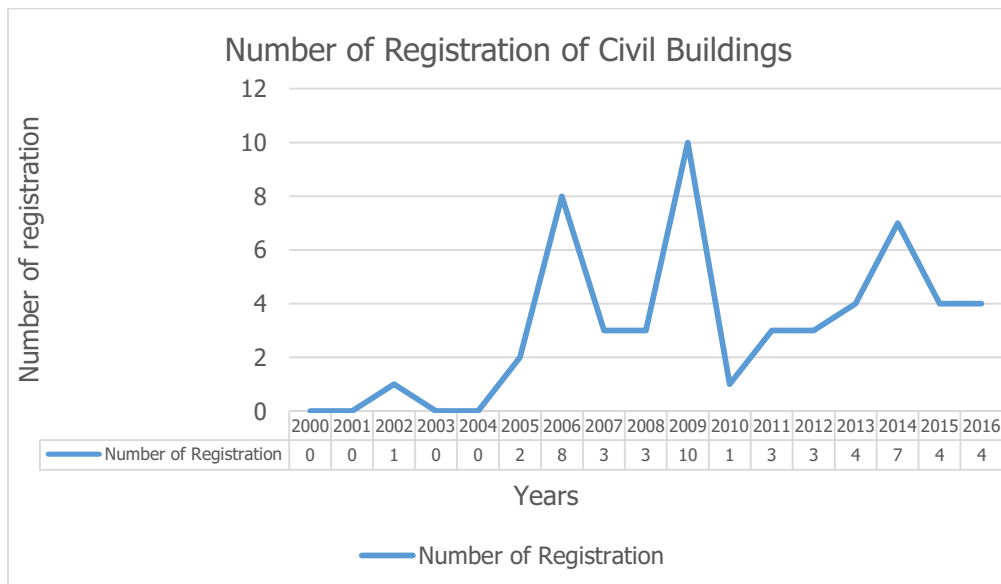


Figure 3.11: Number of Registration of Civil Buildings (Source: Prepared by the author)

The number of registration of civil buildings, refusing of registration application of some of them and refusing of registration withdrawal application for them were fluctuant by the years. The registration lists have been updated in parallel with the revision studies for the Conservation Development Plan because it has claimed that there are many unregistered structures worthy of registration in Suriçi, which is the reason of the significant increase in the number of registered buildings in 2009. Therefore, the number of registered civil architecture have increased by the decision of the board. In other words, there was not a steady increase or decrease between the years 2000 and 2016.

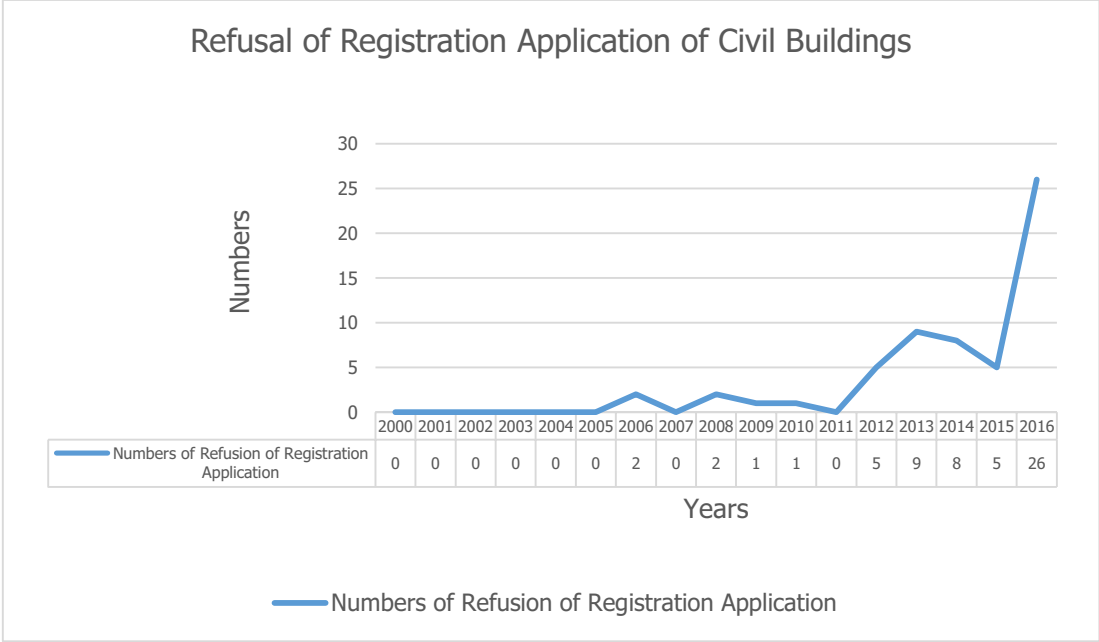


Figure 3.12: Refusing of Registration Application of Civil Buildings (Source: Prepared by the author)

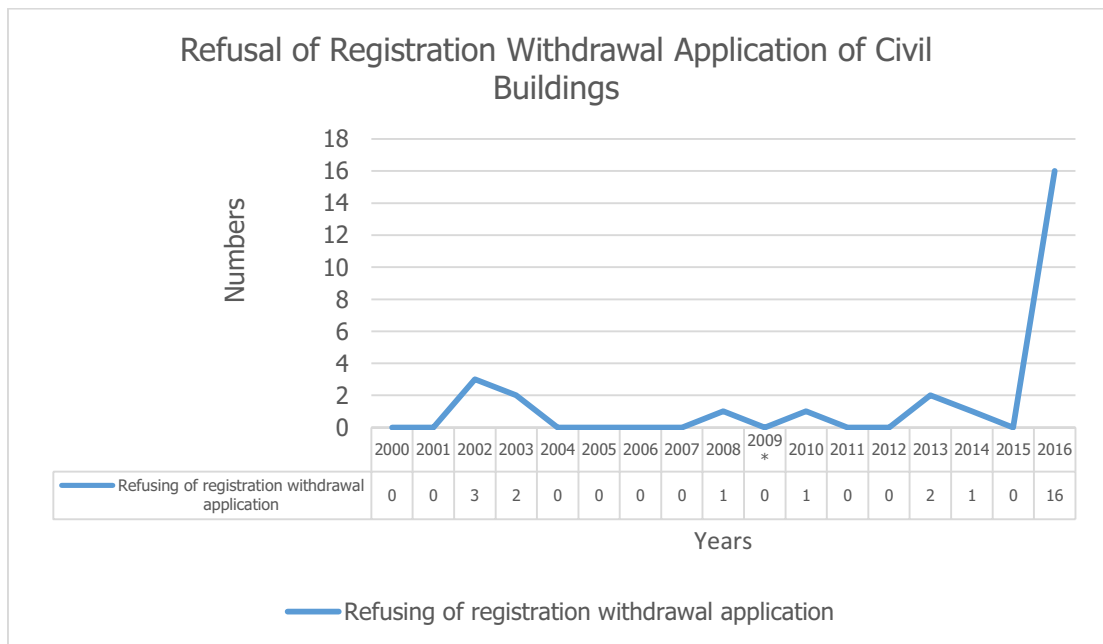


Figure 3.13: Refusing of Registration Withdrawal Application of Civil Buildings (Source: Prepared by the author)

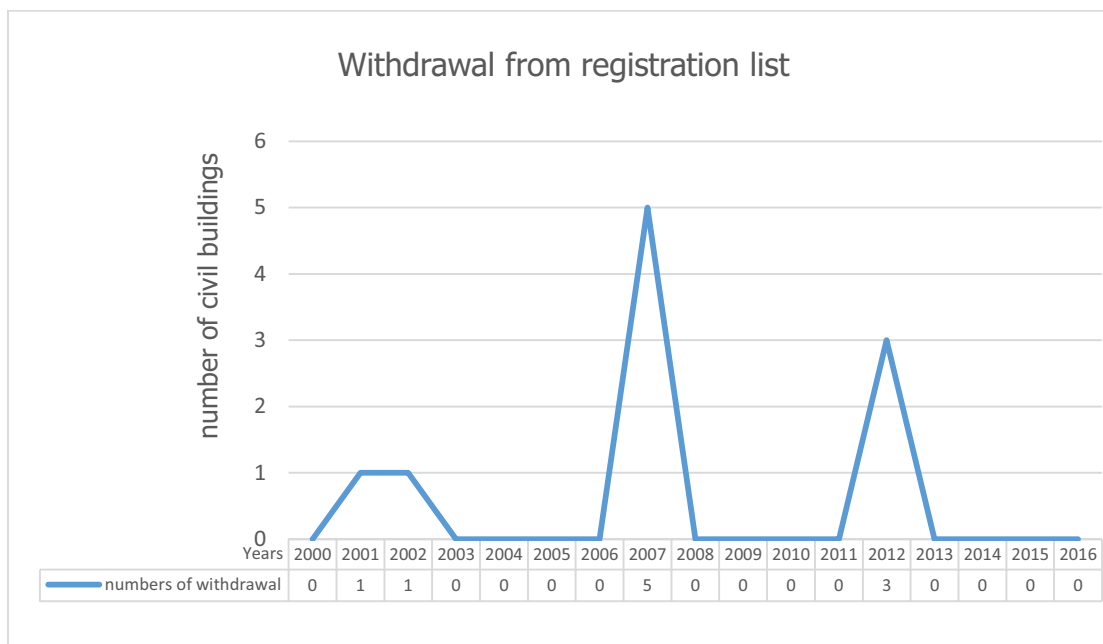


Figure 3.14: Withdrawal of Registered Civil Buildings from the Registration List (Source: Prepared by the author)

The main reason for the variability can be the amendments of the Law No 2863, and the Law No 5366 and the Law No 6306 which were new statutes at large. The Law No 2863 was changed in 2004, 2009 and 2011. In addition to these, in 2005 the Law no 5366 and in 2012 the Law No 6306 were enacted. Therefore, these new laws and amendments of the law no 2863 brought new practices and dimensions to the cultural heritage area.

For instance, Diyarbakır Suriçi was declared Urban Heritage Site in 1988 in the scope of the law no 2863, and then in 2005, some neighborhoods of Suriçi were declared as a renewal area according to the law no 5366. Furthermore, Urban Heritage Site was also promulgated as the Risk Area with the scope of the law no 6306. These announcements and enactments also affected Diyarbakır Natural and Cultural Heritage Board's decisions.

In the next chapter, the cultural heritage projects about Suriçi Region have been discussed as the last stage of this chapter.

3.3.2. Cultural Heritage Projects

The cultural heritage projects of Suriçi Region were examined in this chapter to answer the question which institutions are incorporated into the process. When the projects done at the local level are examined, it can be said that while some institutions took responsibility for the conservation of cultural heritage, some other institutions were financial providers of the projects. These are Governorship of Diyarbakır, Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, Diyarbakır Museum Directorate and Provincial Culture Directorate of Diyarbakır as a project coordinator and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the European Union and Karacadağ Development Agency as financiers. These different actors were thrown together to solve socio-economic problems by collaborating.

In 2008, the first financial support program was implemented; it was called Attraction Center Support Program. Within the scope of this program which was prepared in the 9th Development Plan Period, each city has had a budget of approximately 100 Million Turkish Lira financed by the central administration

budget. The only aim of the program was to practice the projects were selected from the city center. Since 2010, the program has been practiced by the collaboration of local actors and coordination of development agencies (Toy & Gündüz, 2016). The information in below was mostly compiled from Diyarbakır Culture and Tourism Projects Report of Karacadağ Development Agency (2012).

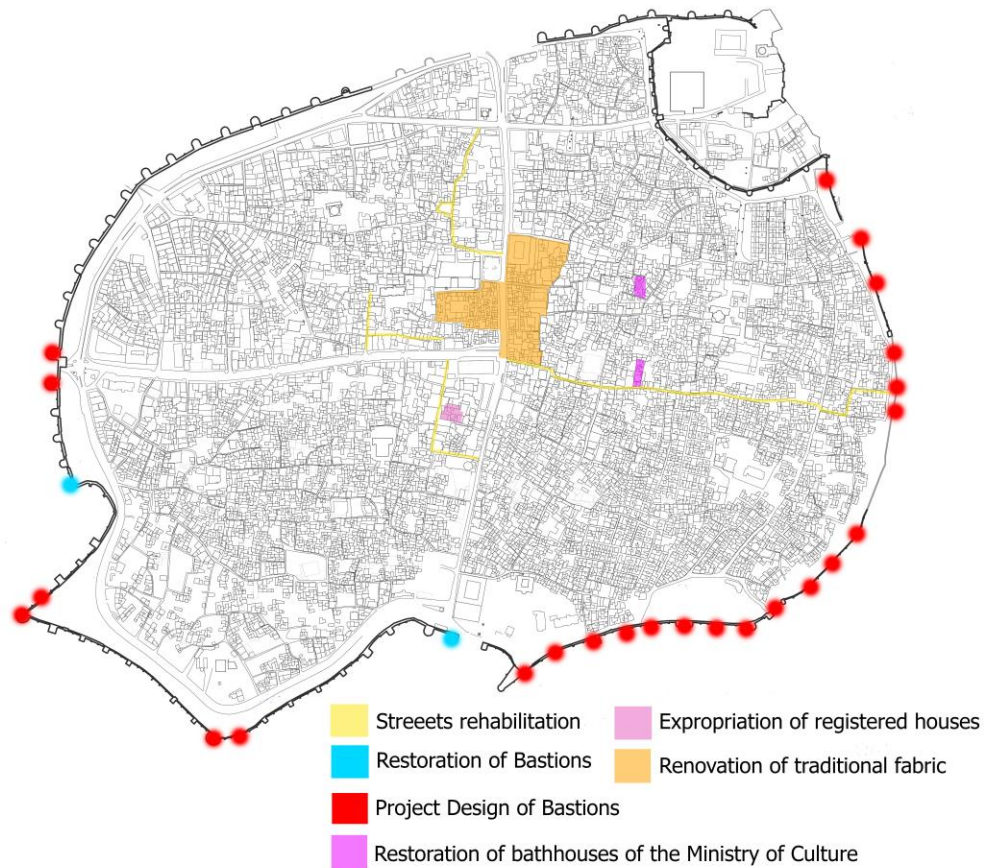


Figure 3.15: Projects of Attraction Center Support Program (Source: Diyarbakır Culture and Tourism Projects Report of Karacadağ Development Agency, 2012)

According to the Karacadağ Development Agency, the Governorship of Diyarbakır carried out some projects about the cultural heritage of the city. The first project of Governorship of Diyarbakır was Diyarbakır Tourism Strategies and Action Plan. Karacadağ Development Agency provided the financial resource of the project. The budget of the project is 52.25000£, and the Development Agency subsidized entire

of it. The project has some aims; one of them is raising awareness and forming a basis for surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the cultural heritage.

The second aim was that the long-term course of action of Diyarbakır was tried to determine by making the SWOT analysis of the city. The project was finalized in time (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012). The Second project was the re-functioning project of Dağkapı (Harput) Bastion. The budget for it was 773.200,00 £, and the Development Agency gives 502.580,00 £ of the budget as financial support from its 2010 budget. The aim of the project was transforming the bastion to production and selling center of the handicrafts. There is no information about the project whether it was finalized or not (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).

The third project of the Governorship of Diyarbakır was the surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the Four-Legged Minaret. The Development Agency financed the budget of the project as 45.000,00 £ and whole cost was not changed in 2011 budget. The projects that were approved could be pointed out as the Diyarbakır Natural, and Cultural Heritage Conservation Board and the 40% of the projects were completed in 2012 (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).

Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality also conducted some projects about Cultural Heritage of Diyarbakır. The first project was Diyarbakır Fortress Landscape Project. It was started in 2002 and finished in 2003. The budget was 12,268,000.00 £. The project included six gates and took 123.570 square meter area. Within the scope of the project, abandoned structures located on the area between Fiskaya and Mardin Gate and also on the conservation belt of Diyarbakır Fortress were pulled down. Moreover, the landscape project of the area was prepared and put it into practice. In the area of the project, there were 500 illegal workplaces such as restaurants, car parks, buffets and ten house, and they were all demolished following the project (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012). As the continuation of the project, there was also Removing and Landscape Projects of Fortress' Surrounding including four different proposals. Two of them were in two other areas. First of them was in between Mardin Gate and Saray Gate and the second one was in Dağkapı Square and Fiskaya Region. In these areas, expropriation and destruction of the structures continued.



Figure 3.16: The Areas of Urban Transformation Projects (Source: Master Plan of Suriçi, 2013)

The third one where was in Cevatpaşa and Fatihpaşa Neighborhoods and it was conducted with the cooperation of TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey), The Governorship of Diyarbakır, The Metropolitan Municipality of Diyarbakır and Sur Municipality. In this project, 392 houses would be destructed to re-function the area on which they were located as an Archeopark. Moreover, in the last one where was in Alipaşa and Lalebey Neighborhoods, 850 structures with 510 right holders were planned to be demolished, but only ten houses have been destructed until 2012 (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012). The projects have still been continued today.

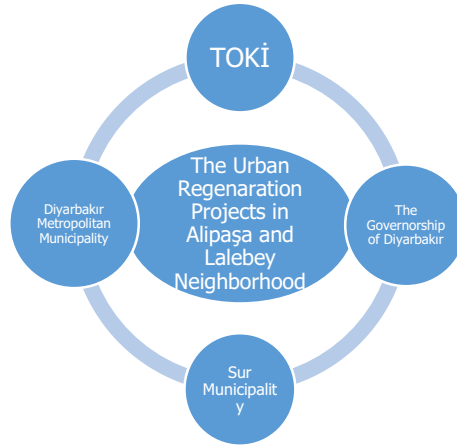


Figure 3.17: Collaboration for the Urban Regeneration Projects (Source: Prepared by the author)

In 2008, the conservation development plan which had been approved in 1990 was put aside with the decision of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipal Council and the approval of the Natural and Cultural Heritage Conservation Board of Diyarbakır. At this point, the revision of Conservation Development Plan of Diyarbakır was started with the financial support of the Diyarbakır Provincial Special Administration in 2008 to meet new needs of the area. It was finalized, and the board approved the project in 2012 (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).

In addition, Sit Management Plan of Diyarbakır Fortress was started to be made in these years. It was finalized, and the board approved the plan in 2014. The process of being a member of the World Walled Towns was started with the decision taken by the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipal Council and the approval of the Ministry of Interior (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).

Today, Diyarbakır is the member of the World Walled Towns. Furthermore, Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens are on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Arrangement Plan of Dağkapı Square is the second project of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. It was started in 2006 and finalized in 2007, and its budget is 915.94,00 £. The project aims to design the Square which is the transition point between the old and new city following its original text and to increase the usage of the square. Within the scope of the Arrangement Plan of Dağkapı Square,

the square, its surrounding and the refuge are in re-arrangement process. Lighting facilities and tourist information office are built on the square (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).

The third project of the Municipality was Gazi and Yenikapı Streets Rehabilitation Projects. Sur Municipality and Diyarbakır Union of Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen were the partners of the projects. European Union Grant Scheme partially finances them. The total budget of Gazi Street was 1.005.299 € and its 650.000 € was received from the external sources provided by Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. Yenikapı Street has had 359.000 € budget, and 212.000 € of its budget has been financed by the European Union Grant Scheme. Projects were started in 2006 and they were finalized in 2008. Gazi Street Rehabilitation Project took 1 square kilometer area. A lot of registered structures were located in the project area which has had one of the densest pedestrian traffic. Within the scope of the projects, facades of all registered and non-registered structures were renewed to integrate old and new buildings. Moreover, all unauthorized implementations were removed to eradicate the buildings and open the view of the structures. The aim of the projects was the revival of the historical and cultural fabric to boost the tourism (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).



Figure 3.18: Collaborating Scheme for Yenikapı and Gazi Streets Rehabilitation Projects
(Source: Prepared by the author)

Melik Ahmed Street Rehabilitation Project was the fourth project of the Metropolitan Municipality. Its budget was 278.768 £. The project lasted two years and was finalized in 2008. The aim of the project has been to protect the basalt paves which are in the streets and their historic fabric (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012). The fifth project of the Municipality restoration project of Surp Giragos Armenian Church was prepared by the cooperation of Diyarbakır Surp Giragos Armenian Church

Foundation and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. The church was built in 1515; however, it was used as headquarters of German Military Officers in World War 1. Then it was used as a cloth warehouse of Sümer Bank and for other similar uses until 1960. In 1980 the church was doomed. In 2009, the restoration project of the Church was started and finalized in 2013. It had 4.500.000,00 £ budget. The project aimed to restore the largest Orthodox Armenian Church in the Middle East. In addition to the Church, there were also a parsonage, chapel, meeting room, school and cafeteria in the Church Area. Within the scope of the project, first the church was restored, and after the restoration of other structures was started and finalized (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).



Figure 3.19: Collaborating for Restoration of Surp Giragos Armenian Church (Source: Prepared by the author)

The sixth one was Mardin Gate Rehabilitation Project which was conducted by the Metropolitan Municipality of Diyarbakır. The budget of the project was 1.694.248,17 £, and it was started in 2011 and finalized in 2012. Within the scope of the project, unlawful practices destroying the historical structures and preventing their perceptibility were abolished. The lighting project was practiced following historic fabric (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012). Cemil Paşa Palace Rehabilitation and Re-functioning (işlevlendirme) Project was the seventh project of the Metropolitan Municipality of Diyarbakır and Diyarbakır Provincial Special Administration. Its budget was 3.200.000,00 £. The Palace has been one of the most significant

examples of civil architecture. It was planned that the structure was restored and re-functioned as a City Museum (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).

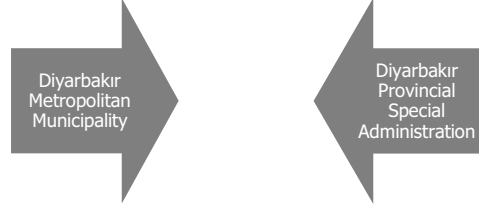


Figure 3.20: Collaboration for Rehabilitation and Refunctioning Project of Cemil Paşa Palace (Source: Prepared by the author)

The rehabilitation projects of İzzetpaşa and Çiftehan Streets was the eighth project of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. Its budget was 1.303.037, 33 £, Karacadağ Development Agency financed 661.760,54 £ of it. The project started in May 2012. The purposes of the project has been to rehabilitate the facade of structures and shops to landscape the streets (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).



Figure 3.21: Collaboration for Rehabilitation Project of İzzetpaşa and Çiftehan Streets (Source: Prepared by the author)

Merchandising Projects of Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ziya Gökalp Museums were the first project of Diyarbakır Museum. The budget of the project was 344.700,00 £, and the Karacadağ Development Agency financed 224.055,00 £ of it. The project aimed to re-organize the museums following the contemporary norm of museology (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).



Figure 3.22: Collaboration for Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ziya Gökalp Museums Projects
(Source: Prepared by the author)

The Citadel Project was in the responsibility of Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism and Diyarbakır Museum Directorate. However, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Diyarbakır Governorship have financed it. It was started in 2004 and finalized in 2013 (Tanrıku & Aksoy, 2012). Within the scope of, Attraction Center Support Program, restoration projects of 20 bastions and four gates were started to carry out in the custody of science board which was constituted by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The project budget was 7,195,636.76 € (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011).

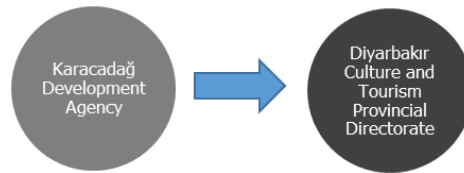


Figure 3.23: Collaboration for the Citadel Projects (Source: Prepared by the author)

Within the scope of the Attraction Centers Support Program which was applied by the ministry, different dynamics and potentials of Diyarbakır were wanted to reveal. Therefore, six different culture and tourism projects were prepared by the governorship of Diyarbakır to make Diyarbakır attraction center as a pilot area (Toy & Gündüz, 2016). All of these projects were started to be conducted in 2011. These projects were so important for the tourism sector because it has had lots of potentials and diversities to create an attraction center. Improvement of tourism infrastructure, conservation, and publicity of cultural heritage provided gain for the socio-economic development of the city. The project aimed to accelerate economic

development based on tourism of Diyarbakır. These projects brought culture and belief tourism of the city to the forefront and offered considerable contributions to UNESCO Cultural Heritage Nomination of Diyarbakır Fortress.

Within the scope of 2011 Attraction Centers Support Program, 16,722,780.35 £ budget was allocated for these six projects mentioned in below (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011). The first project was named Designing Cultural Heritage of Diyarbakır, lasted 18 months under the coordinators of Diyarbakır Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism. The architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the cultural heritage were done within the scope of the project, and these projects whose drawings completed also were implemented. These cultural heritages projects were implemented in Çardaklı and Paşa Bathrooms, some parts of Diyarbakır Fortress; bastions 21-22 (Urfa Gate), bastions 32-33 (Selçuklu-Evli Beden Bastions), bastions 41-42 bastions (Yedikardeş-Nur Bastions), bastions from 53 to 62 and bastions and the walls between the bastions from 63 to 72 bastions; and, in total twenty-five bastions' projects were conducted.

The street rehabilitation projects also were within the scope of the projects. These were Four-Legged Minaret Street and Yenikapı-Özdemir Streets, Ziya Gökalp-Akıncılar Streets, Gökalp-Artuklar Streets and Ocak- Abdi Paşa Streets (Diyarbakır Governorship, 2011). Therefore, the drawing part of the restoration projects of bathhouses and streets has been completed. The budget of the project was 3,413,429.40 £ which were financed by the Ministry of Development in the year between 2011 and 2015. The drawing part of the surveying, restitution, and restoration projects were completed with the 194,000.00 £ budget in the previous period. Within the scope of these prepared projects, implementation projects of Bastions 41 and 42 (Yedi Kardeş-Nur Bastions) have been carried out with the 2,848,000.00 £ budget in the period between 2015 and 2017 (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2015).

The second project was Diyarbakır Fortress Tourism Project, lasted 18 months and the budget for it was 7,117,951.42 £. Bastions 10, 26, 50 and 62 of Diyarbakır Fortress whose all projects were approved by Diyarbakır Cultural and Natural Heritage Board were restored in the scope of the project. By doing that, UNESCO

Cultural Heritage nomination of the Diyarbakır Fortress was contributed (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011). 3,632,439.51 £ was spent on the projects, the rest of the amount, 3,485,211.91 £, was returned (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2015).

The other project was Diyarbakır Fortress Projects in the period between 2015 and 2017. In this the project, the architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of 41 bastions and the walls between them which did not include a restoration project were done. The budget for the project was 3,854,000.00 £ (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2015). The third one was that Diyarbakır' Housing Tourism Project has 2,118,400.00 £ budget, lasted 18 months. Süleyman Nazif's Home was expropriated, and the restoration project of the structure was done and practiced. These implementations aimed to make the structure sustainable. Restored structure was appropriately functioned considering its purposes.

Within the scope of the projects, three parcels of the Palace (parcels number 9, 22 and 23) were expropriated, and its surveying, restitution, and restoration projects were done (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011). The fourth project was named the Restoration Project of Four-Legged Minaret. It lasted 18 months, and the project had 566,867.55 £ budget. The Four-Legged Minaret was wanted to be rehabilitated and restored. The structure was restored, and 221,958.72 £ was spent on its restoration (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011).

The Renovation Project of Inns' Region and its surrounding was the fifth project, lasted 18 months. It had 694,131.98 £ budget. The drawing parts of surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the structures were conducted. It was started to implement the projects tendered by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. In this way, it was tried to increase the income of shopkeepers by making the area taking 9,792.63 square meters apparent (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011). The sixth and the last project was Publicity of Cultural Heritage of Diyarbakır, which lasted 24 months and it had 2,812,000.00 £ budget. The aim of the project was National and International symposium was to be held (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2011).

Diyarbakır Governorship had the project of Şehzadeler Palace having 301,624.00 £ budgets. The architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the Palace constructed in 16 century and being the sample of civil architecture of early

the Ottoman Period was drawn with the 148,785.87 £ budgets (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2015).

In the Citadel Courtyard B Block Restoration and Refunctioning Project were conducted by Diyarbakır Culture and Tourism Provincial Directorate. The Restoration Project budget was 975,880.00 £, and the development agency financed 634,322.00 £ of it. The budget of the re-functioning project was 566.950,00 £, and some amount of the budget, 368,517.30 £ was financed by Karacadağ Development Agency. The structure was redesign as an Archeological Museum (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).

The aim of Diyarbakır Sur District Governorship's project was that restored bastion 82 is used as a traditional handicrafts shop to open to tourism. Moreover, the top view of the Suriçi was prepared as a model, and it put on public display via interactive kiosk. The budget for it was 338,900.00£, and 220,285.00£ of it was financed by the development agency (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).

The Board put Keçi Bastion out to tender for using cultural purposes, and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Diyarbakır was taken the using right of it. The projects of Diyarbakır Chamber of Commerce and Industry are Keçi Bastion Four Seasons Project and Refunctioning Project of Keçi Bastion. The budget of the first project was 200,000.00£, and aim of it was that landscaping and the re-functioning of the bastion, so the projects were prepared, and the board approved them. The budget for the second project was 319.474,58 £, and Karacadağ Development Agency financed 207,645.84£ of it. The project aimed to re-function Keçi bastion as a culture and art center. Besides, the particular aim of the second project was that Keçi Bastion was restored to be opened to tourism and to be an example for other bastions (Tanrikulu & Aksoy, 2012).

The first responsibility of General Directorate for Foundations of Diyarbakır was Ulu Mosque' Structures and Mesudiye Madrasah Repairing Project. The budget for it is 6.269.592, 00 £. It was started in 2010 and finished in 2012. The project aimed to transform the Ulu Mosque into a center of attraction in the context of culture and religious tourism. In this context, parts of the mosque such as Hanafi and Shafi, east and west "maksure" were repaired. The second one was the restoration project

of Zinciriye Madrasah, which has 748.827,00 £ budget. It was started in 2010 and finalized in 2012. The aim of the project was that the structure should be used for culture and education purposes following its madrasah function.

Hz. Süleyman Mosque Restoration Project was the third responsibility of the General Directorate for Foundations of Diyarbakır. The project was started in 2010 and finalized in 2011, which has 1,124,505.00 £ budget. The fourth project of the institution was Iskender Pasha Restoration Project, which had 979,620.48 £ budget. It was started in 2009 and finalized in 2011. The structure was re-functioned as the Foundation Museum. The last project of it was Arap Şeyh Camii Restoration Project having 23,897.19 £ budget. It was started in 2009 and finalized in 2011 (Tanrıkulu & Aksoy, 2012).

Table 3.2: Cultural Heritage Projects of Suriçi

Financier Institutions	Responsible Institutions	Project Partnerships	Projects
Karacadağ Development Agency	Governorship of Diyarbakır		<p>Diyarbakır Tourism Strategies and Action Plan. The budget: 52.25000£</p> <p>Re-functioning Project of Dağkapı Bastion The budget: 773.200,00 £</p> <p>The architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects of the Four-Legged Minaret. The budget: 45.000,00 £</p> <p>The architectural surveying, restitution and restoration projects</p>

Financier Institutions	Responsible Institutions	Project Partnerships	Projects
			of Şehzadeler Palace
	Diyarbakır Museum Directorate		Merchandising (teşhir-tanzim) Projects of Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ziya Gökalp Museums
	Diyarbakır Culture and Tourism Provincial Directorate		Designing Cultural Heritage of Diyarbakır Diyarbakır Fortress Tourism Project (Diyarbakır Surlarının turizme kazandırılması Projesi) Diyarbakır Fortress Projects Diyarbakır' Housing Tourism Project The Restoration Project of Four-Legged Minaret The Renovation Project of Inns' Region and its surrounding Publicity of Cultural Heritage of Diyarbakır the Citadel Courtyard B Block Restoration and Refunctioning Project

Financier Institutions	Responsible Institutions	Project Partnerships	Projects
	Diyarbakır Sur District Governorship		The restoration project of bastion numbered 82
	Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality		<p>Diyarbakır Fortress Landscape Project The budget: 12,268,000.00 £</p> <p>Removing and Landscape Projects of Fortress' Surrounding; The project between Mardin Gate and Saray gate Dağkapı Square and Fiskaya Region. Cevatpaşa and Fatihpaşa Neighborhood Re-functioning Project Alipaşa-Lalebey Neighborhoods Urban Regeneration Project The rehabilitation projects of İzzetpaşa and Çiftahan Streets The budget: 1.303.037, 33 £</p>
Diyarbakır Provincial Special Administration	Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality		<p>The Conservation Oriented Plan Revision</p> <p>Cemil Paşa Palace Rehabilitation and Refunctioning (işlevlendirme) Project The budget: 3.200.000,00 £.</p>

Financier Institutions	Responsible Institutions	Project Partnerships	Projects
Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and European Union Grant Scheme	Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality	Sur Municipality and Diyarbakır Union of Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen	Gazi and Yenikapı Streets Rehabilitation Projects The budget of Gazi Street: 1.005.299 € The Budget of Yenikapı Street: 359.000 €
Diyarbakır Surp Giragos Armenian Church Foundation and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality	Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality	Diyarbakır Surp Giragos Armenian Church Foundation	Restoration Project of Surp Giragos Armenian Church The budget: 4.500.000,00 £
Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality	Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality		Arrangement Plan of Dağkapı Square The budget: 915.94,00 £. Melik Ahmed Street Rehabilitation Project The budget: 278.768 £ Mardin Gate Rehabilitation Project 1.694.248,17 £ Site Management Plan of Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens
The Ministry of Culture and Tourism and	Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism and		The Citadel Project The budget: 7,195,636.76 £

Financier Institutions	Responsible Institutions	Project Partnerships	Projects
Diyarbakır Governorship	Diyarbakır Museum Directorate.		
The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Diyarbakır Karacadağ Development Agency	The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Diyarbakır		Keçi Bastion Four Seasons Project and Refunctioning Project of Keçi Bastion
General Directorate for Foundations of Diyarbakır	General Directorate for Foundations of Diyarbakır		Ulu Mosque' Structures and Mesudiye Madrasah Repairing Project. The Restoration project of Zinciriye Madrasah Hz. Süleyman Mosque Restoration Project Iskender Pasha Palace Restoration Project Arap Şeyh Camii Restoration Project

It can be said that these collaborations and projects were mainly done by being mediated through Attraction Center Support Program. The primary object of the program has been that strategic supports were provided for city centers which have the rendering of services and growth potential with their sphere in the underdevelopment region. Also, the economic development of foresaid city centers was wanted to be accelerated to keep internal migration in its territory. Following these purposes, in the projects which were planned to implement; development with the local potentials, rehabilitation of physical and social infrastructure and boosting collaborations between local actors were focused issues. Besides, the program based on the coordination of central and local power. Moreover, its main

feature was that the predetermined projects were tried to finance by using limited sources efficiently (Toy & Gündüz, 2016).

In the scope of this study, it is focused on the cooperation between the local institutions and central government while observing the projects made in Suriçi Region. When table 2 was analyzed in detail, it can be deduced that the number of projects which were carried out by the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality was more than the other local institutions do. Moreover, the development agency has financed its projects. Even so, the external financial resources have an impact on a few projects on it.

The projects of Diyarbakır Governorship were also dominantly financed by Karacadağ Development Agency while the projects of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality were sometimes financed external sources such as European Union Grand Scheme, Diyarbakır Surp Giragos Armenian Church Foundation. Karacadağ Development Agency was the primary financial resource of the projects according to the report. It collaborated with most of the local institutions to finance their projects.

In addition, the Metropolitan Municipality of Diyarbakır collaborated with other local institutions and the Ministry of Culture And Tourism on the cultural heritage projects. The development agency also financed the projects of Diyarbakır Museum Directorate. Diyarbakır Governorship and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism financed the Citadel Project of Diyarbakır Culture and Tourism Provincial Directorate. Karacadağ Development Agency also financed the only project of Sur District Governorship. It also financed the project of non-governmental organizations, Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Diyarbakır.

The General Directorate for Foundation of Diyarbakır has financed its projects itself. When the institution which conducted the cultural heritage preservation projects were taken into account, it can be said that these projects were not carried out by oneself instead the collaboration of the institutions in all level was a necessity. Therefore, the institutions made common cause with each other on the cultural heritage conservation projects mentioned above. The projects were implemented

in the pilot area of Diyarbakır in the period 2008-2010 with the 51,000,000.00 £ budget (Toy & Gündüz, 2016).

However, the cultural heritage projects of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality were started to conduct in 1998 with the project of Removing and Landscape Projects of Fortress's Surrounding. They became intense after the 2000s, especially between years 2004-2011 while the other local institutions' projects were started to be prepared and implemented after 2010.

In this chapter, the board' decisions, projects and plans on cultural heritage conservation in Suriçi District are examined and discussed in detail. Some assumptions are made with the corporate affairs, financiers from EU fund to national resources, the breaking points and shifts in the board's decisions to determine reasons of cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi. These are determined as general conservation agenda in Turkey, EU harmonization process, legal regulations about cultural heritage site, central and local elections' results and promises and Kurdish political movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. These are also main supposals of this thesis.

In the next section, these hypotheses will be evaluated by considering all this information about the Board's decisions and cultural heritage projects.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS: DRIVING FORCES OF CONSERVATION ACTIVITIES IN SURİÇİ

In this chapter, the dynamics or factors of the activities in cultural heritage conservation in Suriçi District have been examined and discussed in detail. These effects are determined as general conservation agenda in Turkey, EU harmonization process, legal regulations about cultural heritage site, central and local elections' results and promises and Kurdish political movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. These are also the main arguments of this thesis.

To demonstrate whether there are impacts of the above mentioned factors on conservation activities in Suriçi or not, reports of EU harmonization process, legal legislation, newspapers about election's promises and constitutions of political parties which are in power central government and the municipality have been examined; documentaries and videos about the history of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality have been watched to evaluate the hypotheses.

4.1. Turkey's Agenda on Cultural Heritage Conservation

The first argument about cultural heritage conservation activities in Suriçi is related to general conservation agenda in Turkey. In this context, the Union of Historic Town (UHT) has come to the forefront. Therefore, the conservation agenda of Turkey has been examined by looking at the establishment and practices of UHT.

Union of Historical Town has initiated a study on cultural heritage throughout the country, which has also been a great opportunity for Suriçi. A new era has been started to cultural heritage in the district by cleaning the surroundings of the Diyarbakır Fortress. It can be said that the cultural heritage projects carried out after the first project have been the consequences of consciousness and labor of

the municipal bureaucrats. However, the projects were prepared and presented to the Mayor. After the presentation, the mayor did not believe that this project can be carried out and said that those presenting the project to him are crazy (I.5, 2018).

Similarly, UHT made the protocol to be signed by the governorship of Diyarbakır and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality to apply the project. However, the governorate did not accept to sign the protocol because the same protocol was offered the Municipality which was administrated Kurdish Political Movement. Therefore, UHT prepared two different protocols to be signed separately by the governor and the municipality to coordinate the project. It can be said that UHT has contributed not only to the cultural heritage projects but also to the practice of local institutions to work together.

Within the scope of the Contest to Encourage Historical and Cultural Heritage Conservation Projects and Applications of UHT in 2002, success award was given to Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and project's coordinator due to Historical Diyarbakır Fortress Project. In this project, it was aimed to integrate the fortress of Diyarbakır more strongly with urban life and landscape. (Tarihi ve Kültürel Mirası Koruma Proje ve Uygulamalarını Özendirme Yarışması, 2003).

In conclusion, it can be said that UHT has been one of the major factors to set the cultural heritage conservation agenda of Turkey. Moreover, as in mentioned above, it has become a pioneering force for cultural heritage conservation in Suriçi. The other dynamics to create conservation activity is European Union Harmonization Process. When cultural heritage projects on Suriçi have been examined in chapter 3.2.2., it can be seen that the EU Grant Scheme has been the financier of some projects practiced in Suriçi. Therefore, the possible effects of the European Union on cultural heritage have been tried to be evaluated in the next chapter.

4.2. Impact of EU Harmonization Process on Conservation Activity in Suriçi

When we take into account that JDP government has been in power since 2002, it can be said that there have been some changes in discourses and politics for the Southeastern Anatolia Region in parallel with the EU harmonization process. Turkey's European Union candidacy has an also effect on the establishment of the Union of Historical Towns. Besides, some cultural heritage projects which were practiced on Suriçi were financed by European Union Grand Scheme until 2008.

In this context, it can be easily seen that the number of articles about Southeastern Anatolia Region of Turkey, regional inequality, identity, and culture has been ever increasing in the reports of the Harmonization Process. In other words, the harmonization process has helped the condition of the region by preventing ignorance of cultural heritage potentials of it. Moreover, approach to the cultural heritage has been positively changed by way of funding to the most of projects practiced in Suriçi Urban Heritage Site by EU Grand Scheme and by accepting the cultures and identities existing there (for detail 3.3.2).

Furthermore, the emergency rule was abolished in 2002, which has increased the effects of municipalities in which the Kurdish Political Movement has gained the institutional power (Gambetti, 2015). It can be said that the reason for the abolishment of the emergency rule can be the EU Harmonization Process. Besides, JDP Government claims that it has wanted to show the soft face of the state to people, not the hard repressive face of it to break the perception of traditional militaristic state in the region (Genç, 2014).

However, according to I.5 (2018), the State changed the law about funds which municipalities directly utilized to stop funds for cultural heritage projects of Suriçi. In addition, the attraction center support program has been started, and Diyarbakır was selected as a pilot city to provide national funding to the area in 2008. It can be said that Kurdish Political Movement has gained public's appreciation with cultural heritage projects practiced in Suriçi by the Metropolitan Municipality. Therefore, the central government has seen the positive results of these

investments and has tried to prove its existence in the field by investing with national resources.

This attitude of the JDP, the EU harmonization process and conservation projects initiated by the Union of Historical Towns all over the country in 1999 have become a turning point for Suriçi Region.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that the European Union Harmonization Process also has impacts on Turkey and Suriçi Urban Heritage Site.

4.3. Impacts of the Recent Laws on Heritage Conservation in Suriçi

To evaluate the effects of the laws on the cultural heritage, urban heritage sites and practices about it in Suriçi, firstly law numbered 2863 and its amendments, then the laws 5366 and 6306 have been tried to be examined. In addition, influences of these amendments and the new law on the practices of conservation of cultural heritage in the light of Diyarbakır Natural and Cultural Heritage Board's decisions and interviews made with the experts have been evaluated.

Localization, participation and increased budget for conservation have been prominent themes of the law with the 2004 amendments. With the amendment made in 2004, economic resources for the conservation of the cultural heritage areas increased; therefore, the most of the conservation development plans were revised (Savaş, 2017). Updating of the conservation plan of Suriçi Urban Heritage Site has also come to the fore in that time; however, it has been started to renew in 2008 (I.9, 2018).

In 2009, the law was amended with the law numbered 5835. With this amendment, for the conservation practices of cultural assets locating in the responsible area of the municipality or provincial governments, it has been allocated contribution from 10 % of the real estate tax. However, this contribution which can only be used for expropriation, project, and practices of cultural assets has been collected account of the Provincial Special Administration and only has been used with the permission of the Governors. These implementations have led to some problems such as many

municipalities cannot disburse the contribution in accordance with their purposes (I.5, 2018). For example, the I.6 claimed that for Cemil Pasha Palace, it was requested to use the generated budget but the Governor of the Period, Mustafa Toprak, was not persuaded easily.

In 2011, the law numbered 2863 was shifted in the opposite direction of 2004 amendments with the statutory decree numbered 648. As mentioned in chapter 2, the central government has been gained the authority about cultural heritage with the amendment of the law numbered 2863. Also, street rehabilitation, urban design projects, and landscape projects were defined to practice in the urban heritage site. Therefore, these projects not only have been the main practices about conservation of cultural heritage but also have substituted the conservation development plans. Furthermore, they practiced the projects according to the transition period settlements conditions. It can be determined that these notions have been legally defined to accelerate the implementation of the projects.

When Suriçi is examined, it can be said that almost all practices about cultural heritage were carried out by the projects mainly in the period between 2008 and 2012, until the revised conservation development plan was prepared. In addition, these projects prepared before the plan were also registered in the revised conservation development plan. Therefore, it can be said that practices were fragmentally applied in Suriçi by the projects, not the plan decisions.

The last alterations converted into the law more centric than the laws amended in 2011 by the law numbered 6745 in 2016. The decisions of this amendment have related to site management process. Depending on this legal change, the trustee extinguished Department of Site Management in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality (I.4, 2018). In addition, she also claimed that the regulation was made only for us that is to say Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality because all heads of site management continued their duties except me in other words head of Diyarbakır Site Management (2018).

Moreover, it can be said that the change has been brought authority to the ministry and made it easier to practice in the field with the additional 6th article of the amendments in 2016. Parallel with this article, when the board decisions have been

examined, it can be seen that the number of application for registration has been highest from the other years in 2016. The board accepted the four registration application out of thirty in the year 2016 (Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.12).

The additional 6th article can be the reason for the demands, and people appealed to the board for registration of their building to utilize free repairing. In this context, it can be said that the I.10 stated that residents in Suriçi made an application to be registered as their home in the attempt to prevent the collapse of them (2018). At this point it can be claimed that the law numbered 2863 was amended in 2016 due to the conflict occurred in Suriçi District between the date 2015 and 2016 to maintain order. On the contrary, it is seen that the rejection of demands have increased in the chart by refusing of registration withdrawal application of civil buildings.

It can be said for these decisions of the board, the certain part of residents in Suriçi have wanted to make their buildings unregistered because they cannot demolish and rebuild their registered houses. Lastly, it can be concluded that people has acted according to their own interest, not taking into consideration the law amendment in 2016. When the requests to the board have been examined, it is possible to deduce that while some residents have thought that it can protect the house by registering it, while the others have wanted to build a new structure by withdrawing it from the register list.

The other law which had the impact on Suriçi was the law numbered 5366 in 2005. While conserving cultural properties was the duty and authority of the municipalities according to the law numbered 2863, with the law 5366 this duty and authority were transferred to the central government and consequently complexity of authority occurred between local and central governments. Two years after the law numbered 5366 entered into force between the Mass Housing Administration and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality; they signed term sheet on the Renewal Project of Diyarbakır Fortress Conservation Belt in 2007.

In addition, Alipaşa-Lalebey Neighborhoods took the law numbered 5366's share; therefore, they were declared as Urban Renewal Area by the contracting between the Housing Development Administration (HDA) and the Diyarbakır Governorate in

2008 (TBMM report, 2009). In October 2009, the new protocol was signed between Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, Sur Municipality, Diyarbakır Governorate and HDA to practice both two project (I.5, 2018) concertedly. These four institutions built consensus to practice the project after approving of the conservation-oriented plan revision (I.9, 2018). In conclusion, Alipaşa and Lalebey Neighborhoods which have took part in the Urban Heritage Site were defined as the Urban Renewal Area with the law number 5366.

The last one was the law numbered 6306 in 2012. Suriçi being the study area of this thesis was declared as risky area according to the 2nd article of the law in 2012. In other words, Suriçi district, which was declared as the urban heritage site in 1988, was also announced as the risky area in 2012. The revised conservation development plan was finalized in 2012, and then the area was described as a risky area. Thus, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization went out to tender for Master Plan of Suriçi, and the plan was approved in 2013. The conservation development plan and master plan of Suriçi were made by the same planning office (for detail chapter 3).

In conclusion, there has been an increase in projects for cultural heritage in Diyarbakır Suriçi with the amendments made in 2004. The projects that started to increase in number after 2006 have been interrupted due to the conflicts in 2016. In the last fifteen years, amendments in 2863 and the new laws about cultural heritage have had considerable impacts on the Urban Heritage Site, also on Suriçi. In addition, there have been also some other tools which affected the practices on cultural assets.

In this chapter, the effects of laws and amendments; namely, the impact of the central government, on Suriçi have been discussed. However, legal changes have not the only cause of the increasing number of cultural heritage projects and practices in Suriçi. It can be claimed that central and local elections results and promises have had effect on the conservation activities in Suriçi, which have been examined in the next chapter.

4.4. Impacts of the Central and Local Elections on Conservation Activity in Suriçi

When cultural heritage projects practiced in Suriçi have been examined, it has been noticed that the economic resources which were provided for the project have shifted from global resources to the national one. Moreover, within the scope of Attraction Center Support Program Diyarbakır was selected as a pilot area to implement this program in 2008.

It has been thought that this program can be an election investment due to the selection of Diyarbakır as a pilot city and the implementation time of the program, which was a year before the 2009 local elections. For this reason, it has been considered that elections' results and promises have impacts on cultural heritage conservation activity in Suriçi. Therefore, the elections results and promises have been discussed in this section.

It has been started to examine elections results by asking the question why the program starts by declaring the pilot region in Diyarbakır in 2008. As a result of the examination, it was seen that JDP received 40% of Diyarbakır's vote in 2007 general elections (Figure 1). It has been claimed that investment about cultural heritage projects have been made by JDP Government to win the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality in the 2009 elections, relying on the votes JDP won in the 2007 elections. Therefore, 2009 local election promises have been searched, and some sayings of JDP representatives have been reached.

For instance, JDP Deputy General Director Abdülkadir Aksu claimed (2009) that:

The problems experienced in Diyarbakır for the last 15 years have damaged the image of Diyarbakır and added that those who discriminate among people as to identity politics and strive to solve the problems violently had disrupted the air of unity, tolerance, of this beautiful city. Now we will build this environment in these elections.

The minister Eker also stated in the same meeting that:

This means that the problems of this country are solved in democracy, tolerance and the demilitarization conditions. TRT 6 has started broadcasting, in April, Radio 6 will also start broadcasting. These steps

are taken, the expectations of the people are being met and struggling with many gangs and mafias (Diyarbakır'ın Sesi, 2009).

In addition, in the same period Erdogan the prime minister stated that I want to take over Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, leading to Diyarbakır became prominent in local elections. In response to this, the mayor of Diyarbakır Municipality, Baydemir, said that Diyarbakır is the castle, we will not drop. (Korkmaz, 2009).

In the light of this information, it can be said that the JDP's local electoral rhetoric has been shaped by Kurdish identity, rather than promising a local action. It has not produced spatial policies in Suriçi, the urban heritage site except the Urban Regeneration Project of Alipaşa-Lalebey Neighborhood. Discourse has been developed in the region because investments that could not have been done before the JDP and the injustices experienced by the Kurdish people have suffered. Likewise, election discourses and studies of HDP were carried out through Kurdish identity.

However, the project of the creating green belt along the city wall, the restoration project of Surp Giragos Armenian Church and the street rehabilitation projects of Gazi and Yenikapı Streets were found successful and appreciated. The fact that these projects were carried out through external sources such as EU grant scheme and Armenian diaspora also put the central government in motion.

It was said by I.5 (2018) about this issue that:

When the government realized we were working well with the EU funds, we could provide direct funding to our projects at that time from EU funds, it immediately prevented these grant scheme which was directly received by the municipalities with a legal order. Afterward, the central government already has provided national resources for projects in Diyarbakır; but it has set the conditions for the realization of projects parallel to their defined identity.

Therefore, it can be claimed that Diyarbakır was declared as the pilot region by the central government in the scope of Attraction Center Support Program in 2008. After that period, especially since 2010, most of the projects have been made and implemented by collaborating of the local governments and actors, financed by the

central government. However, this situation was not enough to make JDP ruling party in the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality.

The decline in voting rates of JDP in 2009 continued in also in 2011 (Figure 1). Despite the diminishing vote rates from 40.9 % to %32.17 in the 2011 central elections, taking into account the 2014 local elections, serious investments were made in Suriçi, and national resources were transferred for it with the cooperation of the local actors, governments, and municipalities. Thus, the rate of local elections in 2014 has increased slightly to 35.03%, but in 2015 the central election the voting rate of JDP sharply decreased by 14%.

It can be said that this declining in the voting rate of it has dramatically altered and centralized the attitude of the central government to the Suriçi. However, since the peace process is continuing, the central government has become accustomed to working with the Kurdish municipalities, and the atmosphere created by the UNESCO process, the government has collaborated with Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality for a while.

According to some interviewees, despite this politic atmosphere have partly affected negatively on the cultural heritage projects in Suriçi, the central government and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality have continued to work together during the UNESCO process (I.4 & I.5, 2018). After UNESCO nominations were completed in 2015, unfortunately the armed conflict resumed in the area which was declared as a buffer zone by UNESCO. Therefore, the State declared the curfew in some neighborhoods of the district.

In the first quarter of 2016, the conflict was ended, but according to I.7 (2018), only heavy construction equipment can be entered the conflict area so it can be said that there is a curfew still today in the neighborhoods. As soon as the conflict ends, the Central Government took the decision about urgent expropriations on 6292 pieces of 7714 plots with the cabinet decree numbered 2016/8659 within the scope of the law numbered 2942 (Resmi Gazete, 2016). Also, the risky area declaration of Suriçi was indicated as a reference for the expropriation in the report of the board decisions.

As soon as Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Garden has entered the list of UNESCO World Heritage List, cooperation between the JDP government and the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality has been finalized (I.4, 2018). Lastly, it can be deduced from I.4's saying that the government of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and the central government called JDP government have been free from prejudices related with each other and they have conducted projects together. In this chapter, it has been mentioned to the legal regulations which were made by the central government and brief history of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality' governments with the local and central election results.

In addition to the politics of the central government, the rhetoric and practices of the local government have also been among the essential factors that caused the conservation activities in Suriçi. For this reason, in the next chapter, it have been examined the JDP politics for Diyarbakır, especially Suriçi, and the discourses and practices of the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality during the period represented by Kurdish political movement, beginning with HADEP in 1999 and ending in the war in 2016 with HDP.

4.5. Kurdish Political Movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality

Periods of Kurdish Political Movement cannot be considered apart from the political conjuncture because attitudes of the State have varied by the state of emergency and conflicts in Southeastern Anatolia Region.

For the first period of Kurdish Political Movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, Çelik has said that our only aim is also not to be taken into custody while doing our public works because in the period we were confronted with arbitrary treatment due to the state of emergency (Demokratik Bölgeler Partisi 1, 2017).

Moreover, it can be said that the second period of the Kurdish political movement in between the year 2004 and 2009 in DMM was easier than the previous one due to the general politic atmosphere in Turkey, which was affected by EU Harmonization Process and JDP government. In other words, the politic atmosphere

has been more relaxed than the previous term because the conditions of the state of emergency have been abolished.

According to discourses of Kurdish Political Movement mentioned in chapter 2.3.1., it can be said that the municipality's priority was the city's basic needs because there is a severe increase in the population of Diyarbakır at that time due to the migration from the villages to the city center. In parallel with this, the needs of the city and the service responsibility of the municipality are increasing. In other words, practices on cultural heritage have not been realized at the desired level. However, the projects of Surp Giragos Armenian Church were offered the board to be approved, and its project was started to be implemented in the same period.

I.1 (2018) stated that, in the project of Surp Giragos Armenian Church, to apply the project it was interviewed with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the ministry said that if we give a source, the Armenian Church will be used as a museum instead of a church. In other words, the Minister wanted that the church has not been used for its own use, but officials of DMM insisted on being restored as an original usage. For the period, it was also added that the approach of the government to us was that the source could be given you in the condition that you break from your essence and identity. (I.1, 2018).

Eventually, it can be said that discourses on the cultural heritage of Kurdish Political Movement are gaining importance in the recent years. In the previous periods, the struggle and focus are to win more municipalities, to organize the people, to provide essential services and to put right the wreckage municipalities they take over. However, for the third period, it was also claimed that Baydemir who did not attend any commemorations and activities such as 29 October, 10 November sent bureaucrats of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality to these ceremonies organized by the governorship. Thus, unprejudiced communication with other provincial organizations can be interrupted, which also can be obstructed doing conservation project by cooperating with each other.

I.6 (2018) stated that for the restoration project of Cemil Pasha Palace, the governor of the period communicated with municipal officials. The 800 billion Turkish lira, cut off from the real estate tax on the special budget of the Provincial

Special Administration, were required to be donated for the restoration of the Mansion but the Governor refused the demand and said that you do not work, do you want money for what? To persuade the Governor to give the financial support, he was invited to the Mansion to view it. Then, the governor transferred the money because he appreciated both Cemil Pasha Palace and work done. Also, the palace was expropriated to build a city museum.

While the governor visited the palace with the bureaucrats of the municipality, the minister of culture and tourism Günay came to the Diyarbakır from Urfa for the Citadel Projects in an unplanned way. However, Baydemir as the mayor of the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality did not come to meet the Ministry even though his bureaucrats informed him about the Minister's visit.

In this context it can be said that the state did not invest in the region in accordance with Kurdish Political Movement's ideology and denied it in that period; moreover, the representative of it in the municipality did not establish a dialog with the government and the provincial organizations of it by not attending to their common events. It can be said that the local government has made it difficult to implement some projects in the local level by having a political attitude by the general political discourse of the Kurdish political movement. On the other hand, JDP government also has the agenda about Diyarbakır, especially cultural heritage on Suriçi. However, Suriçi has been defined as Islamic City in the agenda of central government while Kurdish Political Movement has identified Suriçi with Kurdish identity (Genç, 2014).

In fact, the municipality has not been the only institution which affected this issue. On the contrary, the topic of cultural heritage has entered constitution of parties representing Kurdish Political Movement quite late. Moreover, the municipality officials have been interested more than the mayors with cultural heritage projects. However, mayors have never prevented their employees from including and applying cultural heritage projects.

Cultural heritage activity has occurred in parallel with changing approaches in the World and Turkey regardless of the Kurdish Political Movement (KPM). One of the significant effects of KPM has been to create contention which has created

competition between the State and DMM in Diyarbakır due to its opposition of the central government. In addition, national laws determined the authority of the municipality in the cultural heritage conservation area. Therefore, projects about cultural heritage could not be implemented by municipalities without considering the laws.

The other causes are examined, it can be said that while the restoration projects of structures have been done, Diyarbakır Municipality has had an attitude to restore buildings by protecting their authenticity as in the case of Surp Giragos Armenian Church. Although Kurdish Political Movement has defined Diyarbakır as Kurdish City, it has been aware of the fact that Suriçi is a multi-cultural, multi-identity district, and it has acted in accordance with this awareness.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary and Findings of the Research

In this study, the plans, projects, and practices on cultural heritages done in the 2000s in Suriçi have been evaluated. The findings of the research have been emphasized to discuss the actors leading to conservation activities in Suriçi, especially in the conclusion chapter. These actors have been the global conservation agenda of Turkey, EU Harmonization Process, the acts about cultural heritage, election results and promises and Kurdish Political Movement in Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality.

The decisions of the Board were examined, and the number of decisions taken regarding the district was shown on the graphs to prove the existence of cultural heritage activity in Suriçi. The information reached has been summarized that there has been a steady increase within 16 years, though not a regular increase from 2000 to 2016 (Figure 3.9). While the number of the Board decisions in 2000 was 8; this number reached 40 in 2004 and 102 in 2006. Similarly, the number of projects prepared and implemented in Suriçi District during the mentioned period has been quite high. Notably, the projects the central government has made by allocating national resources has increased since 2010.

The first supposal has been related to that conservation issues especially since the late 1990s has become an important domestic agenda for middle- scale cities in Turkey. Many cities have developed and implemented conservation plans and projects, and in this way, they have made an effort to protect their local cultural heritage. This process became even more widespread since the effects of conservation on tourism were also observed. Global actors like EU and Council of Europe have had an impact of the enhancement of this process in Turkey. Also,

they have been instrumental in the establishment of the Union of Historical Towns (UHT), and the establishment of the UHT has further developed this agenda.

As the second argument, it can be said that the financial resources for cultural heritage conservation has increased at the same time. The EU process has been some effects on this conservation activity in Suriçi regarding financial support for cultural heritage projects and accepting different identities and cultures in the district.

To discuss the third argument, the legal regulations which have been about cultural heritage conservation have been examined. These amendments on the acts have brought new notions, decisions, and practices about cultural heritage and its sites. These alterations have increased the economic resources of the cultural heritage, establishment of new units to localize the conservation of cultural heritage, giving new responsibilities to the institutions to encourage participation on the cultural heritage meetings.

The central and local elections results and promises have impacts on conservation activity in Suriçi. In fact, while analyzing their results and promises, it has been concluded that elections have led to competition between the JDP and Kurdish Political Movement. This competition has reflected on cultural heritage projects in Suriçi and has caused to increase the number of the cultural heritage projects.

Kurdish Political Movement which came power in the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality has also effect on this conservation activity. Its speeches and practices were forced on the central government to do cultural heritage projects in Suriçi to gain public's appreciation and votes. It can be evaluated that the Municipality pioneered the practice of cultural heritage projects in parallel with the identity and culture of the city.

On the other hand, the lack of professionalism of the mayor's attitudes and the attitude of being influenced by the general political atmosphere adversely affected relations with the central government (I.6, 2018). It has also impeded the progress of some projects in Diyarbakır. The central government and the municipality have been in debate since 1999 when the Kurdish political movement came to power,

and the presence of mutual prejudices have diminished the possibility of doing projects together. However, I. 8 (2018) claimed that their efforts to do something about the cultural heritage and their success influenced the State towards initiating projects on cultural heritage.

In addition, this attitude change of the central governments should not be considered separately from the EU harmonization process because the EU Grand Scheme financed most of the cultural heritage projects. From the beginning of the 2000s until 2007, the municipality was supported with EU funds and implemented the projects with it. When it comes to 2008, it has been transferred resources in the serious amount to Diyarbakır through Karacadağ Development Agency within the scope of Support Program for Attraction Centers especially to the cultural projects of Suriçi. At the same time, the municipalities were prevented from taking direct funding from the EU through legal regulation (I.5, 2018). Therefore, projects planned to be implemented in Suriçi were financed with national resources, which created cooperation between central government and municipality compulsory. However, it has also been the indication of the contention between the municipality the representative of the Kurdish Political Movement and JDP Governments.

This competition has also been also related to the establishment of the JDP government in 2002. Genç (2014) pointed out that in the JDP period, cultural bonds between the state and Kurds were redefined through the statement of religious fellowship. Furthermore, JDP Constitution has included such an article that the approaches which recognized cultural problems in the context of the democratic rule of the law principle should be influential on all of the issues that cannot be solved only by economic development policies in the region (JDP Pamphlet, 2017).

Parallel to this movement, when the last plans and legal regulations have been examined, it is seen that the area has been affected by these arrangements. For example, the update of the conservation development plan made in 1990 has been started to be discussed with the 2004 amendment of the law No. 2863. However, the plan amendment was taken into consideration after the declaration of Alipaşa and Lalebey neighborhoods as an urban transformation area because of the law No. 5366 in 2007. (I.9, 2018). With the amendment of Law No. 2863 in 2009, local

governments have had a particular budget to prepare the cultural heritage projects and put them into practice. Under the influence of this law, Cemil Paşa Palace, a civil architecture example, was restored and converted into a city museum by Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. With the law 6306 enacted in 2012, Suriçi was declared as a risky area, and its master plan was prepared.

Along with the UNESCO nomination process which started in 2011, the Site Management Plan process was initiated, and the plan was approved in 2014. According to the Site Management plan owner, all parts of the society have participated in the decision-making processes of the plan and without having any difficulties about the number of participants (I.3, 2017). However, I.2 (2018) stated that in the meeting for the conservation development plan there have been many discussions and it has been difficult to agree on plan decisions.

This situation can be explained that people have been freed from prejudices with dialogue in time and that all groups in society have gained insight into the perspectives of each other by participating in the decision-making process of plans. As mentioned above, the dialogue between the JDP government and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality was established through this collaboration on the projects. For instance, in 2011 the mayor of Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality, Osman Baydemir, has interviewed with the President of the Republic, Abdullah Gül about Diyarbakır Fortress. After this contact, the UNESCO process was officially started by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (I.4, 2018).

Thus, the Site Management Plan of Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Garden Cultural Landscape Area was approved in 2014 by the Board. As a result of these studies, the candidate heritage was entered to the UNESCO World Heritage List as the cultural landscape in July 2015. Suriçi District, the subject of this study, has also been defined as the buffer zone of this world heritage site.

With all these factors, from 2004 until 2015, Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and the central government have undertaken many projects. Genç (2014) claimed that there existed a hegemony competition between the JDP government and the Kurdish political movement in Diyarbakır. While the former has defined Diyarbakır

as an Islamic city, the latter has identified it through Kurdish identity, and also it has wanted to give the city a multicultural life practice.

For this reason, there were some projects that the central government did not want to allocate resources. Therefore, the central government began to debate with local bureaucrats, while trying to practice the definition of the Islamic city. For instance, I.4 (2018) said that when we excavated Sultan Sasa, the archaeological structure, we found evidence of the outbuilding of it had been used as a church. When we documented this, we got such a serious reaction from the central government.

I.5 also added that we prevent their demand to convert to the mill which is located on the Citadel to the mosque, then I was exiled as the director of Diyarbakır Museum to Kars Museum Directorate. A similar situation can be shown in the restoration project of the Armenian Church as mentioned in the previous section.

Although the two groups differ in their definition of the city of Diyarbakır, they have been coordinated on specific issues such as the revitalization of the urban economy. Hence, it can be said that this approach has led to the establishment of a partnership through cultural tourism in Diyarbakır, in other words, it has created to conservation activity in Suriçi Urban Heritage Site.

This hegemony competition between the central government and the Kurdish political movement which led to the cultural heritage conservation activity has not been predicted in this the study. Genç (2014) has interpreted as the efforts of both sides to feel their presence in the city by practicing cultural heritage projects in the district (Genç, 2014). For example, both sides became the partners in the urban transformation projects of Alipaşa-Lalebey Neighborhoods. However, two years later the municipality has stepped back from the project. Besides, the issue for TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) has transferred to provide prestige not to rent in these neighborhoods (I.5 & I.9, 2018). It has deduced from this attitude changing that both the JDP Governments and Kurdish Political Movement approached the cultural heritage projects as the strategic moves. The project they are involved in would affect their presence in a negative way, in that case, they changed their attitude toward the projects.

Likewise, during the UNESCO nomination process, the partnership of the JDP Government and the municipality to enter the Diyarbakır Castle and Hevsel Gardens to the list of the UNESCO World Heritage List have been regarded as an effort to make their presence felt on the field.

It has also been stated that the contention between the DMM in which the Kurdish political movement was in power from 1999 to 2016 and the central government has changed with the JDP government. In the period of JDP, there has been no denial of the identity and culture of the region, but on the contrary, there has been the redefinition of cities through the identity of Islam. The part which was ignored previously was redefined as an Islamic city with the JDP government in power.

However, the Kurdish political movement did not respect this attitude nor did they embrace the city as such. This dichotomy has turned into a hegemonic contention between the Kurdish political movement and the JDP government, as Genç has stated (2014). It can be deduced from this study that the competition between the central government and the municipality can be considered as one of the reasons for the conservation activity in Suriçi, which is not foreseen at the beginning of the thesis. I.1 (2018), has illustrated the competition between the municipality and the Diyarbakır Governorateship such that after the municipality planted 100 trees in an area, the provincial governor immediately planted 300 trees in another area. After all, Diyarbakır got the better of this competition, and this was going to be our pleasure.

By looking at this 16-year process, Global and national NGOs' approaches to cultural heritage in a specified period, the performance of the necessities of EU harmonization process, efforts to revitalize urban economy through tourism and contention between the central government and the city municipality can be shown among these causes of this activity occurred in Suriçi.

However, this thesis indicates that the reason for the conservation activity in Suriçi can be the political dispute between the central government and Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and their desire to be the dominant force in Diyarbakır. Despite all of its deficiencies, one of the most critical factors is the struggle of the

Kurdish political movement to prove the existence of identities and cultures in Turkey. One of the interviewees stated that

Due to the Kurdish identity denied for many years, many values in the cities Kurds live intensively were disregarded and ignored. By winning the local elections, we had the chance to talk about ourselves, our existence, then our values, our culture and our identity as a Kurds (I.8, 2018).

It can be said that the general political conjuncture greatly influenced the conservation projects of cultural heritage in Suriçi. In the beginning, there was a governorship that does not accept the Kurdish Municipalities and the governor did not want to cooperate with the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality. This problem is solved by the awareness of NGOs to carry out their projects objectively and technically. Then, the elected members of the Kurdish political movement do not go to any official invitation of the state, causing the ways of dialogue to be closed and mutual trust cannot be established. However, efforts to develop softening and interactive dialogue, initiated by the "solution process," have enabled the UNESCO process to be overcome comfortably.

As a result of all these investments and efforts, the central government has gotten rejected in Diyarbakır in both the 2014 local elections and the 2015 general election despite the wish to be dominant in the city. In other words, it is reached that the investments made strengthen the Kurdish political movement in the municipalities and cause it to be accepted by the people. Thus, these views have directed the district towards a very different dimension, causing conservation activity occurred in Suriçi to disappear. Although at the beginning of the thesis, it is predicted that they are in the constant debate with each other, but it cannot be foreseen that this competition could evolve into such a spot and that this contention could provide such a benefit in the conservation of Suriçi's cultural heritage.

In fact, when the results are examined, it can be said that not only one actor influences these activities. Along with being more or less an effect of all of the actors mentioned above, it is not wrong to say that NGOs have been at the forefront about conservation of cultural heritage. Moreover, it can be said that the

competition between the central government and the municipality to dominate the city has been among the most significant causes of these activities.

5.2. Further Remarks for Future Research

In 2016, the conservation activities in the area were ended by using the militarist power of the State as a part of the conflict in Suriçi. The destiny of Suriçi Urban Heritage Site has been left to the hands of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism. In this study, the period from 1999, when the Kurdish political movement came to power in Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality, until 2016, when the municipality was appointed as a trustee was taken into consideration. In other words, the post-conflict period has been out of the topic of this study. Therefore, in the following studies, it can be analyzed these;

- What are the possible effects of the last developments (conflict, curfew, re-built process) on conservation activities in Suriçi?
- What will be the potential consequences of the decision-making authority on Suriçi given to the ministry of environment and urbanization in the next years?
- Is there any similar conservation activities in cities at the same scale in Turkey?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ANALYZES OF THE BOARD DECISIONS

Table 1: Decision in 2000

2000	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair		
Architectural Surveying	Diyarbakır Fortress	2
Restitution	Diyarbakır Fortress	1
Restoration	Diyarbakır Fortress	2
Registration		
Withdrawal from registration		
Unauthorized practices	Deliller Inn, Sarı Saltuk Tomb, Ulu Mosque,	
Other interventions	Enlarged Saray Gate	

Table 2: Decisions in 2001

2001	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Between the gates (Saray-Yeni-Urfa-Mardin), Meryem Ana Church, Mesudiye Madrasah	
Architectural Surveying	Melikahmet bathhouse, Ulu Beden and Yedi Kardeşler Bastion, Tek Beden Bastion (5), Mardin Gate (49-50), Urfa Gate (21-22), Harput Gate (1-2)	2
Restitution	Melikahmet bathhouse, Keçi Bastion, Ulu Beden and Yedi Kardeşler Bastion, Tek Beden Bastion (5), Mardin Gate (49-50), Urfa Gate (21-22), Harput Gate (1-2)	2

Restoration	Melikahmet bathhouse, Keçi Bastion, Tek Beden Bastion (5), Mardin Gate (49-50), Urfa Gate (21-22), Harput Gate (1-2)	2
Registration		1
Withdrawal from registration		1
Unauthorized practices	Keçi Bastion	
Other interventions	Mesudiye Madrasah	

Table 3: Decisions in 2002

2002	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Kurşunlu Mosque,	6 (one of them is the board building)
Architectural Surveying	Surp Giragos Armenian Church, Kurşunlu Mosque (repairs of minaret),	2
Restitution	Kurşunlu Mosque (repairs of minaret),	2
Restoration		2
Registration	Fountain (alipaşa neighborhood)	1
Withdrawal from registration		1
Refusing registration withdrawal application of		3
Unauthorized practices	Nebi Peygamber Mosque	2
Other interventions	Surp Giragos Armenian Church (debris removal), Ulu mosque, Chaldean Church	Changing the conservation development Plan on the parcel of sur municipality

Table 4: Decisions in 2003

2003	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Nebi Mosque, İskender Pasha Mosque, Ali Pasha Mosque, Hz. Süleyman Mosque, Behram Pasha Mosque	3
Architectural Surveying	Çifte (Borsa) Inn	Muş Hotel, 5
Restitution	Çifte (Borsa) Inn, Surp Giragos Armenian Church	Muş Hotel, 5
Restoration	Çifte (Borsa) Inn, Surp Giragos Armenian Church	Muş Hotel, 5
Registration		
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		2
Unauthorized practices	Hanzade Mosque	Muş Hotel
Other interventions		

Table 5: Decisions in 2004

2004	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Nasuh Pasha Mosque, Lale Bey Mosque, Fatih Pasha Mosque, Church of the Virgin Mary, Ziya Gökalp Elementary School, Behram Pasha Palace, the city walls, Ziya Gökalp Museum	2
Architectural Surveying	Hasan Pasha Inn, the gendarmerie intelligence bureau in the citadel	3
Restitution	Hasan Pasha Inn,	3

Restoration	Hasan Pasha Inn, the gendarmerie intelligence bureau in the citadel	3
Registration	Ten-eyed Bridge	
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Unauthorized practices		
Other interventions	Hasan Pasha Inn, Landscape plan of Keçi Bastions, function changing in citadel's buildings, lighting and installment project of the gendarmerie intelligence bureau	Expropriation of the some registered buildings

Table 6: Decisions in 2005

2005	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Building
Simple Repair	Four-legged minaret, Hacı Büzül, Hacı İbrahim Bey, Kadı, Safa and Hüsrev Pasha Mosques, Hasırlı Masjid, PTT, Hz. Süleyman Tomb, Salos Mosque, Hz. Ömer Mosque, Nebi Mosque	2
Architectural Surveying	47. bastion ✓ Erdebil Pavilion ✓ Behram Pasha Palace Safa Mosque	4
Restitution	47. bastion ✓ Erdebil Pavilion ✓ the gendarmerie intelligence bureau ✓ Behram Pasha Palace Safa Mosque	4
Restoration	47. bastion ✓ Erdebil Pavilion ✓ the gendarmerie intelligence bureau ✓ 9. Bastion for touristic aim, Behram Pasha Palace, Safa Mosque	5

Registration	28 fountains	2 (as the 2. Group)
Withdrawal from Registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Refusing of registration application		
Unauthorized practices		
Other interventions	Renting the 2. Bastion, building transformer in Church of the Virgin Mary, the saint george church, Gazi Street and Yenikapı Street infrastructure projects,Ulu Mosque and Behram Pasha Palace electricity projects, renting of the keçi bastion,	

Table 7: Decisions in 2006

2006	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Ali Pasha Madrasah, Jewellery Bazaar, 27 fountains, Cahaloğlu Prayer room	2
Architectural Surveying	Çifte (Borsa) Inn, Bastion 10, the buildings in the citadel ✓, Bastion 47, Kadi ✓ and Cimsit Bey (Cingili) Bathhouse X, Sefa Medresah ✓, Keldani Catholic Church, Vahapağa Bathhouse, Fetih Gate, Protestant Episcopal and Armenian Catholic Church, Melikahmet Mosque	7, Süleyman Nazif's Home, (reconstruction of the building)
Restitution	Çifte (Borsa) Inn, Bastion 10, the buildings in the citadel, Bastion 47, Kadi ✓ and Cimsit Bey Bathhouse X, Sefa Medresah ✓, Keldani Catholic Church, Fetih Gate, Protestant Episcopal and Armenian	6, Süleyman Nazif's Home

	Catholic Church, Melikahmet Mosque	
Restoration	Çifte (Borsa) Inn, Bastion 10, the buildings in the citadel, Bastion 47, Kadı ✓ and Cimsit Bey Bathhouse X, Sefa Medresah ✓, Keldani Catholic Church, Vahapağa Bathhouse, Fetih Gate, Protestant Episcopal and Armenian Catholic Church, Melikahmet Mosque	6, Süleyman Nazif's Home
Registration		8 (as the 2.group)
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Refusing of registration application		2
Unauthorized practices		
Other interventions		Cleaning of 227 registered and non-registered property, selling of the registered property, illegal digging

Table 7: Decisions in 2007

2007	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Bastion 74 and 75, Ten-eyed Bridge	6, (the board service building)
Architectural Surveying	Melik Ahmet Mosque ✓, DSTO ✓, Fatih paşa (kurşunlu) Mosque ✓, Çardaklı Bathhouse*, Melikahmet Pasha	6

	Bathroom, Ali Pasha Mosque, Hüsrev Pasha Mosque ✓,	
Restitution	Melik Ahmet Mosque ✓, DSTO ✓, Fatih paşa (kurşunlu) Mosque ✓, Çardaklı Bathroom*, Melikahmet Pasha Bathroom, Ali Pasha Mosque, Hüsrev Pasha Mosque ✓,	2, Süleyman Nazif's House ✓
Restoration	Melik Ahmet Mosque ✓, DSTO, Fatih Pasha (kurşunlu) Mosque ✓, Ulu Mosque, Çardaklı Bathroom*, Melikahmet Pasha Bathroom, Ali Pasha Mosque, Hüsrev Pasha Mosque ✓, Zinciriye and Mesudiye Madrasah ✓	2, Süleyman Nazif's House ✓
Registration		2, Süleyman Nazif's House ✓ (as the second group)
Withdrawal from registration		5
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Refusing of registration application		
Unauthorized practices		3
Other interventions	lightening projects; Protestant Episcopal Church, Kadı Bathroom, Melik Ahmet Mosque, pedestrianizing ten-eyed bridge	

Table 8: Decisions in 2008

2008	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Balıkçılarbaşı PTT, PTT office of the general director, Harput Gate (bastion 1)	
Comprehensive Repair		1
Architectural Surveying	Salos Mosque ✓, Sultan Sasa ✓, Sarı Saltuk Tomb ✓, Behram Pasha Mosque ✓, Ten-eyed Bridge ✓, Arapşeyh Mosque ✓, the Fountain ✓, Nebi Mosque ✓,	4

	Şeyh Yusuf Mosque√, bastion 26 and 27√, Rağibiye and Lalebey Mosques √, Hz. Ömer Mosque √, Iskender Pasha Palace, Protestant Episcopal Church √, Hasan Pasha Inn	
Restitution	Salos √ and Arapşeyh Mosques, Sarı Saltuk Tomb, Behram Pasha Mosque √, Ten-eyed Bridge √, Arapşeyh Mosque √, Nebi Mosque √, Şeyh Yusuf Mosque, bastion 26 and 27√, Sultan Sasa √, Rağibiye Mosque, Hz. Ömer Mosque, Iskender Pasha Palace, Ibrahim Bey Mosque, Hasan Pasha Inn	4
Restoration	Salos √ and Arapşeyh Mosques, Sultan Sasa √, Sarı Saltuk Tomb, Behram Pasha Mosque √, Ten-eyed Bridge √, Arapşeyh Mosque √, the Fountain √, Nebi Mosque √, Şeyh Yusuf Mosque, bastion 26 and 27√, Rağibiye Mosque, Lalebey Mosque, Hz. Ömer Mosque, Iskender Pasha Palace, Ibrahim Bey Mosque, Hasan Pasha Inn	4
Registration		3
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application	Şeyh Yusuf Mosque as the first group	1
Refusing of registration application		2
Unauthorized practices		Development plan amendment
Other interventions	Expropriating of Çifte Inn, the base of Melik Ahmet Mosque reinforcement	The new conservation plan was mentioned, expropriating

Table 9: Decisions in 2009

2009	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	2 Fountains, gate btw bastions 26-27	1

Architectural Surveying	Church of the virgin mary, Şeyh Yusuf Mosque ✓, Iskender Pasha Palace ✓, Sultan Şuca Tomb ✓, Bastion 33 (Evli Beden), Nasuh Pasha Mosque ✓, Safa Mosque ✓, Hasırlı Masjid ✓, the wall btw bastion 42-43, Hacı Büzürk Mosque ✓	9 (one of them belong to Armenian Catholic Foundation)
Restitution	Church of the virgin mary, Şeyh Yusuf Mosque ✓, Lalebey Mosque ✓, Sultan Şuca Tomb ✓, Bastion 33 (Evli Beden), İbrahim Bey Mosque ✓, İbrahim Bey Mosque, Iskender Pasha Palace ✓, Nasuh Pasha Mosque ✓, Hasırlı Masjid ✓, the wall btw bastion 42-43, Rağibiye and Hacı Büzürk Mosques ✓,	9 (one of them belong to Armenian Catholic Foundation)
Restoration	Church of the virgin mary, Şeyh Yusuf Mosque ✓, Lalebey Mosque ✓, Sultan Şuca Tomb ✓, Bastion 33 (Evli Beden), Bastion 41 (Yedi Kardeşler), İbrahim Bey Mosque ✓, Iskender Pasha Palace ✓, Nasuh Pasha Mosque ✓, Hasırlı Masjid ✓, the wall btw bastion 42-43, Hacı Büzürk and Rağibiye Mosques ✓,	9 (one of them belong to Armenian Catholic Foundation)
Registration	The central bank building as the first group	10, as the second group (one of them belong to Armenian Catholic Foundation), 1.culture Inventory 47 properties, 2. culture Inventory 146 properties, 3. Culture inventory 10 properties
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application	Sultan Şuca Tomb and Rağibiye, Lalebey, Hz. Ömer, İbrahim Bey Mosques, the one registered building as the first group	3. culture inventory 163 properties
Refusing of registration application		1

Unauthorized practices		
Other interventions	Renting of Tek Beden Bastion	

Table 10: Decisions in 2010

2010	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Ziya Gökalp Museum, the board service building, the wall of the citadel and near the citadel, Chaldean Catholic Church, Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı Museum	2
Architectural Surveying	Bastion 26 and 62 ✓, Hz. Süleyman Mosque ✓, bastion 10 ✓, Chaldean Catholic Church, bastion 47, Pasha Bathhouse, Arapşeyh Mosque ✓, (revision), Ayni Minare (Hoca Ahmet) Mosque, Cemil Pasha Palace, Çifte (Borsa) Inn, Jewellery Bazaar ✓	11
Restitution	Bastion 26 and 62 ✓, Hz. Süleyman Mosque ✓, bastion 10, Chaldean Catholic Church, bastion 47, Pasha Bathhouse, Arapşeyh Mosque ✓, (revision), Ayni Minare (Hoca Ahmet) Mosque, , Cemil Pasha Palace, Çifte (Borsa) Inn	11
Restoration	Bastion 26 and 62 ✓, Hz. Süleyman Mosque ✓, bastion 10, Chaldean Catholic Church, bastion 47, Pasha Bathhouse, Arapşeyh Mosque ✓, (revision), Ayni Minare (Hoca Ahmet) Mosque, , Cemil Pasha Palace, Çifte (Borsa) Inn	11
Registration	Amida Mound as grade 1 archeological site	1 (mother child education foundation) 4. culture inventory 3 properties, 5.culture inventory 1 properties, 6. Culture inventory 19 properties
Withdrawal from registration		

Refusing registration withdrawal application	of	PTT service building as the first conservation group	1 4. culture inventory 71 properties, 5. Culture inventory 102 properties, 6. Culture inventory 91 properties
Refusing registration application	of	Anzele water source	1 4. culture inventory 6 properties
Unauthorized practices			
Other interventions		Scavenging of the bastions 11,27,28,33,41,50,55,59,60, 61,63,64,66,67,74,75,76,78. Scavenging and repairing of Broken doors of the bastion 7,8,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19, 20,21,22,23,24,25,29, 30,31, 32,34, 35,36, 37,39,40,42, 43, 44,45,46,48,49,51, 54,57,58,70,71,77,79,81	

Table 11: Decisions in 2011

2011	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Ahmed Arif Literature Museum Library, the board service building, Kavas-ı Sağır Mosque	
Architectural Surveying	Vahapağa Bathhouse ✓, bastions 73-74 and the wall btw bastions 73-74-75, the church of virgin mary ✓, Four-legged minaret, bastion 1 and 2, Cemil Pasha Palace ✓, Hatun Kastal Fountain ✓, bastion 50 ✓,	6
Restitution	Vahapağa Bathhouse, bastions 73-74 and the wall btw bastions 73-74-75, Jewellery Bazaar, Four-legged minaret ✓, bastion 10, bastion 1 and 2, Cemil Pasha Palace, Hatun Kastal Fountain, bastion 50	6
Restoration	Vahapağa Bathhouse, bastions 73-74 and the wall btw bastions 73-74-75, Jewellery Bazaar, the church of virgin mary, Four-legged minaret, bastion 10, bastion 1 and 2, Cemil Pasha Palace, Hatun Kastal Fountain, bastion 50	6

Registration	Cistern located on Kırklar Mountain as the 1. Group, ruin of synagogue (1. Group)	3, 7. culture inventory 8 properties
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Refusing of registration application		
Unauthorized practices	Hasan Pasha Inn, Removing tandoori bastion 41-42, 32-33 and under the bastion 42 and 33 tandoori	İllegal destructions
Other interventions	Detail implementations of Mesudiye Medresah, Ulu Mosque and Armenian Catholic Church, excavation btw the area Hz. Süleyman Mosque and tomb	

Table 12: Decisions in 2012

2012	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Central Bank, bastion 1 and 2 called Harput Gate, service building of the board, Küpeli Gate	1
Surveying	Bastions 73-72-71-70-67-66-65-64 and 63, the citadel bastions and the wall ✓, bastion 82 ✓, Bastion 10 and 50 ✓, Vahapağa bathhouse ✓, Surp Giragos Church (revision) ✓, bastion 21-22, the citadel wall	8
Restitution	Bastions 73-72-71-70-67-66-65-64 and 63, the citadel bastions and the walls ✓, bastion 82 ✓, Cemil Pasha Palace ✓, Zinciriye Medresah (revision) ✓, Vahapağa bathhouse ✓, Surp Giragos Church (revision) ✓, bastion 21-22, the citadel wall	8
Restoration	Bastions 73-72-71-70-67-66-65-64 and 63, the citadel bastions and the walls ✓, bastion 82 ✓, Bastion 10 and 50 ✓, Zinciriye Medresah (revision) ✓, Cemil Pasha Palace ✓, Four-legged Minaret ✓, Behram Pasha Palace (revision) ✓, Vahapağa bathhouse ✓, Surp Giragos Church (revision) ✓, bastion 21-22, the citadel wall, Sülüklü Inn (revision),	8

Registration	Cemil Pasha Palace	3
Withdrawal registration from		3*
Refusing registration withdrawal application of	Ten-eyes bridge as the first group	
Refusing registration application of	1	5
Unauthorized practices		1
Other interventions	Landscape plan of the citadel ✓, merchandising projects of Atatürk Museum, Old Army Corps, and Gendermerie Intelligence Bureau Building, merchandising project of Cemil Pasha Palace, selling of properties (15 in Alipaşa), selling of properties (5 in camiikebir), type classificaton of the board service building ✓	Expropriation for aim of cultural using

Table 13: Decisions in 2013

2013	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Bastion 9 and 5	3
Architectural Surveying	Pasha and Çardaklı Bathhouse ✓, bastion 73-74-75 (revision), bastion 21-22 (Urfa Gate), bastion 32-33, Yedikardeşler Bastion (41) , Nur Bastion (42) , Melikahmet Pasha Bathhouse,	13
Restitution	Pasha and Çardaklı Bathhouse ✓, Bastion 50 (revision), Yedikardeşler Bastion (41), Nur Bastion (42),	13
Restoration	Pasha and Çardaklı Bathhouse ✓, Lale Bey ✓ , Rağibiye ✓, Nasuh Pasha ✓ and Parlı Safa Mosques (revision) ✓, St. George Church, Bastion 50 (revision), Şeyh Yusuf	13

	Mosque ✓, Yedikardeşler Bastion (41), Nur Bastion (42),	
Registration	2 (derelict structure)	4
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		2
Refusing of registration application		9
Unauthorized practices	Deliller Inn,	
Other interventions	Renting of the bastion 31,	expropriation

Table 14: Decisions in 2014

2014	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı and Ziya Gökalp Museums	
Architectural Surveying	Yedikardeşler Bastion (41) ✓, Nur Bastion (42) ✓, the city wall btw bastions 51-52, the city wall btw bastions 52-53, Küpeli Gate, bastion 21-22 (Urfa Gate) ✓, four-legged minaret (revision) ✓, Borsa Inn, the wall btw 53-54 ✓, Chaldean Church ✓, bastions 60-61 and walls btw them ✓, PTT service building central directorate	14
Restitution	the city wall btw bastions 51-52, the city wall btw bastions 52-53, Küpeli Gate, Yedikardeşler Bastion (41) ✓, Nur Bastion (42) ✓, Borsa Inn, Chaldean Church ✓, PTT service building central directorate	14
Restoration	Bastion 10 and 50 (revision) ✓, the city wall btw bastions 51-52, the city wall btw bastions 52-53, Küpeli Gate, four-legged minaret (revision) ✓, Yedikardeşler Bastion (41) ✓, Nur Bastion (42) ✓, Şeyh Yusuf Mosque (revision) ✓, Zinciriye Medresah (revision), Vahapağa Bathhouse (revision) ✓, bastion 50 (revision) ✓, Borsa Inn, Chaldean Church ✓, bastion 26 (revision) ✓, İskender Pasha Palace (revision) ✓, PTT service building central directorate	15
Registration		7
Withdrawal from registration		

Refusing of registration withdrawal application		1
Refusing of registration application		8
Unauthorized practices	Keçi Bastion, İskender Pasha Palace	
Other interventions	Right of easement bastion 82, renting of bastions 10,47, 50 and 62, refunctioning of Çardaklı Bathhouse	Renting of the registered building

Table 15: Decisions in 2015

2015	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair	Bastion 5, Mervani Masjid btw bastion 1 and 2 (harput gate), 4 fountains, St. George Church (art galery), Ziya Gökalp and Süleyman Nazif elementary schools, Citadel Museum Complex	
Architectural Surveying	Ziya Gökalp Museum ✓, Cahit Sitki Tarancı Museum, Dabakhane, water pool ✓, bastions 18-19 and the wall btw them, Arsenal Building, 4 Fountains, Hasan Pasha Inn, Zinciriye Medresah (partial) ✓, Melikahmet Pasha Bathhouse, Deliller Inn ✓, Minaret of Ulu Mosque (revision) ✓	10
Restitution	Ziya Gökalp Museum ✓, Cahit Sitki Tarancı Museum, bastions 18-19 and the wall btw them, Arsenal Building, 4 Fountains, Hasan Pasha Inn, Melikahmet Pasha Bathhouse, Deliller Inn, Minaret of Ulu Mosque (revision) ✓	10
Restoration	İbrahim Bey Mosque (revision) ✓ Ziya Gökalp Museum ✓, Cahit Sitki Tarancı Museum, Hz. Ömer Mosque (revision) ✓, Dabakhane, water pool ✓, bastions 18-19 and the wall btw them, Arsenal Building, 4 Fountains, Parlı Safa Mosque (revision) ✓, Hasan Pasha Inn, Zinciriye Medresah (partial) ✓, Melikahmet Pasha Bathhouse, Deliller Inn, Minaret of Ulu Mosque (revision) ✓	10
Registration	Dabakhane, Water Pool, Fountain, Shadow Clock	4
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Refusing of registration application		5
Unauthorized practices	Occupation of the bastion 10 and the citadel bastions	
Other interventions	Refunctioning of bastion 62,47,	

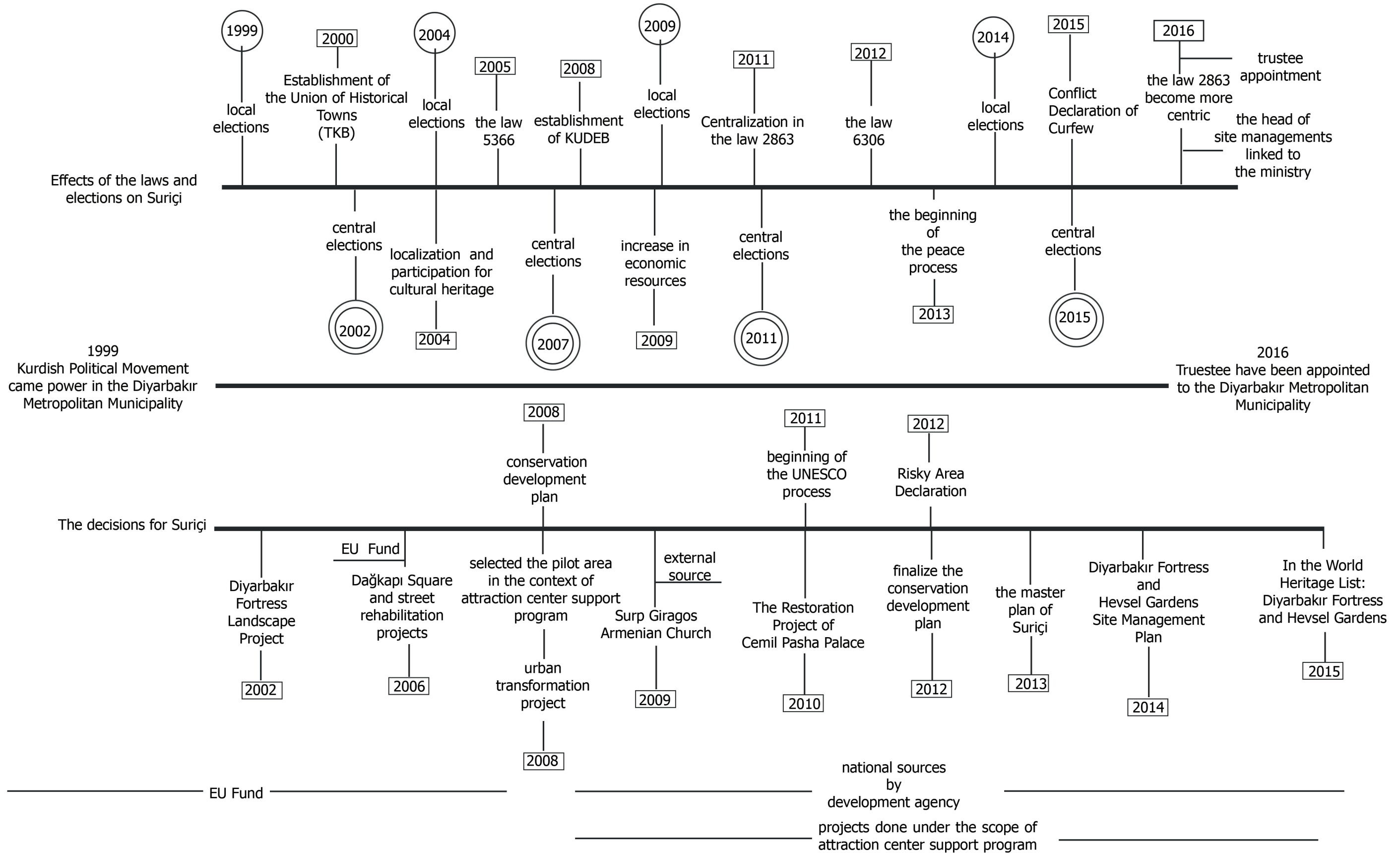
Table 16: Decisions in 2016

2016	Monumental Buildings	Number of Civil Buildings
Simple Repair		
Architectural Surveying	Fatih Pasha (Kurşunlu) Mosque	19
Restitution	Deliller Inn (Kervansaray), Fatih Pasha (Kurşunlu) Mosque	19
Restoration	Deliller Inn (Kervansaray), Fatih Pasha (Kurşunlu) Mosque, Protestant Episcopal Church, Arap Şeyh Mosque, Parlı (Safa) Mosque ✓	19
Registration	Mill	4
Withdrawal from registration		
Refusing of registration withdrawal application		
Refusing of registration application		26
Unauthorized practices		
Other interventions	Conservation and consolidation projects of Bastion 22 (Urfa Gate), Assessing the extent of the damage of Urfa Gate and its bastions, Çifte Inn, Deve Bathhouse, Church of the Virgin Mary, Surp Giragos Church, Sait Pasha Palace, rallying (recovering) of Hasırlı Masjid	Reconstruction of three structures

Table 17: The number of restored civil architecture by neighborhood

NHBD/ 2000s	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total/ NHBD	
Ziyagökalp		2		1		2				1	1		4	2	1	3	1	18	
Camikebir			1	2		1					1			1	4	1	2	13	
Özdemir			1		1	1			2	1	1	1	2	1			2	13	
Hasırlı									1		1			1			1	4	
Alipaşa										1	2	2			1		1	7	
Dabanoğlu			1	1						1	2	2		1	1		7	16	
İskenderpaşa															1			1	
Abdaldede																1		1	
Fatihpaşa											2			2			4	8	
Cevatpaşa					1		1			1	1		1	4	2			11	
Cemalyılmaz							1			1		1						3	
İnönü								1		1								2	
Süleyman nazif			2	1														3	
Lalebey						2					1				1			4	
Savaş			1	1														2	
Total/years	0	2	6	6	2	6	2	1	3	7	12	6	7	12	13	9	20	114	106

APPENDIX B: MILESTONES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION ACTIVITIES IN SURİÇİ



APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Dünya üzerindeki sayılı kale kentlerden biri olan Diyarbakır'ın ilk yerleşim nüvesinin bugün İçkale olarak adlandırılan kale içinde bulunan Amida Höyük olduğu düşünülmektedir. M.Ö. 3000 bin yılına dayanan bir yerleşim geçmişi olduğu söylenen kent; Etiler, Hititler, Roma İmparatorluğu, Artuklular, Akkoyunlular ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu gibi birçok uygarlığın hakimiyetinde kalmıştır. Diyarbakır, 1923 yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulmasıyla birlikte cumhuriyet kentlerinden biri olmuştur.

Kent Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin güzel kent (city beautiful) anlayışıyla sur dışında tasarlanmaya başlanmıştır. Bu sebeple, Diyarbakır Surları'nın kuzeye bakan bölümü yıkılmış ve yıkılan bölümde bir kent meydanı ve yol yapılarak yeni kent (Yenişehir) eski kente (Suriçi) bağlanmıştır. 1950' lili yıllarda ise Suriçi'ndeki yol genişletme çalışmaları sebebiyle birçok anıt eser zarar görmüş bir kısmı yok olmuştur. Suriçi'ndeki uygulamalar 1956 yılında 1/5000 ölçekte yapılan ilk imar planıyla birlikte 1990 yılına kadar imar planları ile sürdürülmüştür. Alan 1988 yılında kentsel sit alanı ilan edildikten sonra, 1990 yılında Suriçi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı hazırlanmıştır. Ancak bu planın hazırlandığı ve uygulanmak istendiği dönemde Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'nde yaşanan silahlı çatışma ortamı Suriçi'ni de etkilemiştir. Plan çalışmaları sırasında güvenlik önlemleri nedeniyle alanın bazı sokak ve mahallelerine girilememiştir (I.5, 2018). Bölge kırsalında yaşanan çatışmalar nedeniyle boşaltılan köylerde yaşayanların bir kısmı ise Diyarbakır kent merkezine göç ederek Suriçi'ne yerleşmişlerdir. Alanda nüfusun artması, geleneksel Diyarbakır Evleri'nin avlularında ve sur diplerinde kaçak yapılaşmaya neden olmuştur. Plan, hem hazırlık aşamasındaki eksiklikler nedeniyle hem de sonrasında hızlı nüfus artışı sebebiyle uygulanamadığı için Suriçi'ndeki kültürel miras koruma amaçlı imar planı olduğu halde korunamamıştır.

2000li yıllara gelindiğinde, Türkiye'de Tarihi Kentler Birliği'nin (TKB) öncülüğünde birçok kentte restorasyon çalışmaları başlatılmıştır. Bunlardan bir tanesi de Sur Çevresi'nin Temizlenmesi ve Düzenlenmesi Projesi'dir. Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Diyarbakır Valiliği'nin de dahil edildiği proje görüşmeciler tarafından

Suriçi için bir dönüm noktası olarak tanımlanmıştır (I.4, I.5, 2018). Proje sonrasında alandaki kültürel mirasa yönelik hazırlanan restorasyon projelerinde, tescillenen sivil mimari yapılarında artış yaşanmıştır. 2008 yılında Suriçi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Plan'ı revize çalışmaları başlamış ve plan 2012 yılında onaylanmıştır. Aynı yıl Suriçi 6306 sayılı yasa kapsamında riskli alan ilan edildiği için Suriçi Master Plan'ı hazırlanarak 2013 yılında imzalanmıştır. Son olarak 2011 yılında Diyarbakır Kalesi ve Hevsel Bahçeleri'nin UNESCO Dünya Miras'ı olabilmesi için çalışmalar başlatılmıştır. Bu kapsamda hazırlanan Alan Yönetim Planı ise 2014 yılında onaylanmıştır.

Son dönemde kültürel miras konusunda yaşanan hareketlilik ve nedenleri bu tez çalışması kapsamında incelenecektir. Öncelikle Diyarbakır Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu'nun 2000-2016 yılları arasında Diyarbakır Suriçi için almış olduğu kararlar incelenmiştir. Ardından, alanda yapılan restorasyon projeleri değerlendirilerek, kurul karar ve proje sayılarının belirtilen dönemlerde arttığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, son dönem Suriçi'nde uygulanan projelere dahil olan kişilerle görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmeler, sürece doğrudan dahil olan uzmanlarla birlikte, yönetici ve seçilmişlerden oluşan 10 kişiyle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu görüşmelerin amacı literatür taraması, incelenen kurul kararları ve projelerle ulaşılması mümkün olmayan bilgilere de ulaşabilmektir. Bu kapsamda, görüşmecilerin hemen hepsine projeleri yürütmekte olan kurumlar arasındaki diyolaga dair sorular sorulmuştur. Böylece, Suriçi'nde 2000-2016 yılları arasında kültürel miras konusunda bir koruma hareketliliği olduğu ileri sürülmüştür.

Kurul kararları ve projeler incelenirken koruma hareketliliğinin nedenlerinin şunlar olabileceği varsayımında bulunulmuştur:

- 1.** Türkiye'nin koruma konusundaki gündeminin değişmesi,
- 2.** Avrupa Birliği Uyum sürecinin yansımaları,
- 3.** Türkiye'de değişen dönüşen kültür mirasıyla ilgili yasalar,
- 4.** Genel ve yerel seçim sonuç ve vaatlerinin etkileri,
- 5.** Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde yönetimde olması.

Yukarıda sayılan etmen ya da etmenlerin ne derece etkili olduğunu ortaya koyabilmek için bu etmenler küresel, ulusal ve yerel ölçekli aktörler olarak 3 başlık altında tartışılmıştır. Küresel ölçekte; Avrupa Konseyi, Avrupa Birliği (AB) ve UNESCO gibi yapılar Türkiye’de kültürel miras konusunda değişiklikler yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. Avrupa Konseyi toplantısına Avrupa Birliği aday ülkesi diye çağrılan Türkiye için toplantı sonunda alınan kararlardan biri Tarihi Kentler Birliği’nin (TKB) kurulması olmuştur. Ayrıca, AB Hibe Programı kapsamında Suriçi’nde birçok proje finanse edilmiştir. Avrupa Birliği uyum sürecinde ise uyum süreci raporları yayınlanmış ve Türkiye’nin bu raporlara uygun olarak birtakım düzenlemeler yapması beklenmiştir. Küresel ölçekteki bu kurumlar, ulusal ölçekte TKB gibi sivil toplum kuruluşlarının kurulmasında ve kültür mirası konusunda düzenlemeler yapılmasında etkili olmuştur.

Ulusal ölçekte, 2863 sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu kültür mirasıyla ilgili temel yasadır. Bu yasada 2004, 2009, 2011 ve 2016 yılı değişiklikleri yapılarak kültür mirası ve sit alanlarıyla ilgili kararlar alınmıştır. 2004 yılı değişikliğiyle, yasaya yerelleşme, katılım ve kültür mirasına ayrılan katkı paylarının iyileştirilmesi gibi konular girmiştir. Bu kapsamda belediyeler kültürel miras konusunda yetkilendirilmiş ve kültür mirasına dair alınacak kararlar için yapılacak toplantılarda tüm yerel aktörlerin katılımının sağlanması amaçlanmıştır. Bu değişiklikle Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi bünyesinde Koruma, Uygulama ve Denetim Bürosu (KUDEB) kurulmuştur. 2009 yılı değişikliğiyle, emlak vergilerinden %10 kesinti yapılarak kültür mirası projelerinde kullanılmak üzere İl Özel İdaresi’nin bütçesinde toplanılmasına ve Vali izniyle kullanılması kararı getirilmiştir. Bu kapsamda Suriçi’nde bulunan Cemil Paşa Konağı restore edilerek kent müzesine dönüştürülmüştür.

2011 yılı değişiklikleriyle yasa 2004 yılının aksine koruma konusunu merkezileştirmiştir. Kurul üyelerini seçme yetkisini sadece Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı’na veren bu yasayla sokak sağlıklılaştırma, kentsel tasarım ve peyzaj projeleri gibi kavramlar tanımlanmıştır. 2016 yılı değişikliğiyle KUDEB’in yetkileri koruma bölge müdürlüklerine devredilmiştir. Alan yönetim süreci de değiştirilmiştir. Alan yönetim başkanını atama yetkisi Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı’na verilirken

varolan alan yönetim başkanlıkları ve danışma kurulları da feshedilmiştir. Yani, 2016 yılı değişiklikleriyle yasa daha da merkezi bir hal almıştır. 2016 yılında yapılan bu değişiklikler için bir görüşmeci Diyarbakır Alan Yönetim Başkanlığı'nı hedef alan bir değişiklik olduğunu söylemiş ve iddiasını şu sözlerle ortaya koymuştur: "Çünkü o dönem Suriçi'nde yaşanan çatışmaların yarattığı tahribatı Alan Yönetimi olarak doğrudan UNESCO'ya iletiyorduk ve Bakanlık zor durumda kalıyordu" (I.4, 2018).

Bir diğer yasal değişiklik ise 2005 yılındaki 5366 sayılı Yıpranan Tarihi Ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması Ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanundur. Bu yasa yürürlüğe girdikten iki yıl sonra Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ), Sur Belediyesi, Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi (DBB) ve Diyarbakır Valiliği'nin ortaklaşmasıyla Suriçi'nde bulunan Alipaşa ve Lalebey Mahalleleri kentsel dönüşüm alanı ilan edilmiştir. Bu sürece dahil olan Yerel Gündem 21 Diyarbakır Kent Konseyi'nin önerisiyle önce Suriçi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı'nın (KAİP) revize edilmesi istenmiştir. Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin de talebiyle 2008 yılında revize KAİP çalışmaları başlamış ve 2012 yılında plan onaylanmıştır.

2012 yılında yürürlüğe giren 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Kanunu ile Suriçi riski alan ilan edilmiş ve 2013 yılında Suriçi Master Planı hazırlanmıştır. 2014 yılında Diyarbakır Kalesi ve Hevsel Bahçeleri Alan Yönetim Planı onaylanmıştır. Riskli alan ilan edilen Suriçi Kentsel Sit Alanı ise bu planda, sit alanının tampon bölgesi olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Ulusal ölçekteki bir diğer etmen ise genel ve yerel seçim sonuç ve söylemleri olmuştur. Suriçi'nde uygulanan kültürel miras projeleri incelenirken, projelerin 2010 yılından sonra ulusal kaynak aktararak yapıldığı görülmüştür. Suriçi'ndeki kültür mirası projelerine bu kaynağın aktarılması 2008 yılında Cazibe Merkezlerini Destekleme Programı kapsamında Diyarbakır'ın pilot bölge seçilmesiyle başlamıştır. Bu zamana kadar daha çok AB hibe programlarıyla desteklenen projelerin ulusal kaynaklarla desteklenmesinin sebebi seçimler yani Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ni kazanma amacı taşıyor olabileceği varsayımıyla seçim sonuçlarına bakılmıştır.

2004 yerel seçimlerinde %35.3 oy alan AK Parti, 2007 seçimlerinde %40.7 gibi yüksek bir oy oranıyla Diyarbakır genelinde ikinci parti olmuştur. 2009 yılında yerel

seçimlerin yapılacak olması ulusal kaynak aktarımının bir seçim yatırımı olabileceği iddiasını güçlendirmiştir. Bu sebeple, 2009 yerel seçimleri için söylenen seçim vaatlerine ve demeçlerine bakılmıştır. Bu seçimler için, Başbakan Erdoğan'ın "Diyarbakır ve İzmir'i istiyorum" söylemi basında geniş yer bulmuştur. Erdoğan'ın bu çıkışına dönemin Belediye Başkanı Baydemir "Diyarbakır kaledir, düşürmeyiz" diyerek karşılık vermiştir (Korkmaz, 2009).

Bu söylemlerden anlaşılabilen gibi, seçimler iktidar olabilmek için alana dair farklı söylem ve pratiklerin gelişebileceğini göstermiştir. Örneğin, Alipaşa-Lalebey Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi'nin başlatılması; fakat daha sonra projenin içeriğinin bir türlü netleşmemesi durumu yaşanmıştır. Belediye ve TOKİ proje üzerinde önce uzlaşmış daha sonra Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi projeden ayrılmıştır. Ayrıca, TOKİ'nin bu mahallelerde uygulanması düşünülen projelerdeki amacı ise prestij sağlamak, zedelenen imajını bu projelerin doğru uygulanmasıyla kurtarmak olduğu iddia edilmiştir. Bu proje kapsamında düzenlenen birçok toplantıya sivil toplum kuruluşları, meslek odaları, belediyeler ve taşra teşkilatları katıldığı halde ortak bir sonuca varılmamıştır (I,2, 2018).

Aynı dönemde Diyarbakırlı birçok Bakan ve Diyarbakır Milletvekilleri de sürekli toplantılar düzenleyerek halkla buluşmuşlardır. Ancak Bakanların bu toplantılardaki konuşmaları Suriçi'ne ya da Diyarbakır'a dair projelerden, mekan pratiklerinden çok Kürt Kimliği ve Kürt Sorununa dair konuları içermektedir. Kısaca seçim vaat ve sonuçları alana dair politikaları etkilemiştir. Fakat bu etkiler mekanı değiştirip dönüştürecek etkide değildir. Söylemler hem Kürt Siyasal Hareketi hem de AK Parti için daha çok Kürt Kimliği ve sorunları üzerinden şekillenmiştir.

Bu bilgiler ışığında, Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin kesintisiz bir şekilde 4 dönem Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde iktidarda olmasının Suriçi'nde kültür mirası konusunda bir koruma hareketliliğine neden olup olmadığı da tartışılmıştır. Bu sebeple dört dönem boyunca KSH'ni temsil eden partilerin tüzükleri incelenmiştir. İlk dönemin temsilcisi olan HADEP'in parti tüzüğünde kültür mirası koruma konusuna hiç değinilmemiştir. Ancak pratikte öncü olarak değerlendirilen Diyarbakır Surlarının Temizlenmesi ve Restorasyonu Projesi HADEP döneminde uygulanmıştır. 1999 yılında Kürt Siyasal Hareketinin temsilcisi olarak Diyarbakır Büyükşehir

Belediyesi'ni kazanan HADEP "kentimizi de kendimizi de biz yöneteceğiz" sloganıyla seçimlerin kazananı olmuştur. O dönem için belediyeleri kazanmak demek sadece belediye hizmetlerini yerine getirmek demek değildir. Dönem aynı zamanda belediyelerde Kürt Kimliği'nin de temsiliyet kazandığı bir dönemdir. Merkezi hükümet ile kürt belediyeleri arasında sorunların yaşandığı ve olağanüstü hal koşullarının devam ettiği bir dönemde kürt siyasal hareketi temsilcilerinin öncelikleri temel belediye hizmetlerinin sunulması ve keyfi gözaltıların önüne geçmek olmuştur. İkinci dönemi temsil eden DEHAP'ın ise parti tüzüğünde, turizm ve sosyal politikalar başlığı altında kültür mirasına değinildiği görülmüştür. AB Hibe Programıyla çok sayıda sokak sağlıklılaştırma ve restorasyon projelerinin olduğu bir dönemdir.

Üçüncü dönemin temsilcisi olan BDP'nin tüzüğünde ise belediyeler kültürel miras konusunun temel öznesi ve değiştirici gücü olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, tarihi ve kültürel mirasın korunması ve bu konuda aktif politikaların geliştirilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu dönemde ise UNESCO hazırlık çalışmaları başlatılmıştır. Bu çalışmalar kapsamında, DBB öncülüğünde kültür mirası konusunda konferans ve sempozyumlar düzenlenmiştir. HDP dönemi ise kayyum atanmasıyla kesintiye uğrayan dördüncü dönemdir. Diyarbakır Kalesi ve Hevsel Bahçeleri yürütülen tüm çalışmaların ve başarılı uygulamaların karşılığını alarak 2015 yılında UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne girmiştir.

2004 yılı, Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin yerel seçimleri yeniden kazanmasıyla Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde kurumsallaştığı bir dönem olmuştur. Bu dönem aynı zamanda AB müzakerelerinin yeniden başlaması sebebiyle uyum süreci raporlarının etkili olduğu bir dönemdir. Bölgede varolan OHAL kaldırılmış ve köye dönüş projeleriyle şehre göç eden insanların köyelerine dönüşleri sağlanmıştır. Yani çatışma koşulları normale dönmeye başlamıştır. AK Parti'nin 2002 yılında iktidara gelmesi de bu dönemdeki koşulların normalleşmesinin bir diğer nedeni olarak gösterilebilir. AK Parti Tüzüğü'nde Doğu ve Güneydoğu başlığı altında geçen OHAL'ın kaldırılması, bölgedeki sorunların sadece ekonomik kalkınma politikaları ile tam bir çözüme kavuşturulamayacağı ve kültürel farklılıkları demokratik hukuk devleti ilkesi

çerçevesinde tanıyan yaklaşımların etkili olması gerektiği gibi maddelerden de anlaşılmaktadır.

Ancak Genç'in de (2014) belirttiği gibi AK Parti Hükümetleri'nin Diyarbakır'a özellikle Suriçi'ne yaklaşımı İslam Kenti üzerinden olmuştur. Bu tanımın aksine Kürt Siyasal Hareketi ise Diyarbakır'ı Kürt Kimliği üzerinden tanımlamakta ve Suriçi'nde çok kültürlü çok dilli bir yaşamın pratiğe geçmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Bu durum Suriçi'nde yürütülen restorasyon çalışmalarına da yansımıştır. Kenti İslam Kimliği üzerinden tanımlayan AK Parti Hükümeti, Surp Giragos Ermeni Kilisesi'nin restorasyon projesi için kaynak aktarmayı ancak kilise'nin müze olarak kullanılması şartıyla kabul edebileceğini söylemiştir (I.1, 2018). Yine aynı şekilde İçkale'de bulunan değirmenin Cami'ye dönüştürülerek restore edilmesi istenmiş ancak Diyarbakır Müze Müdürlüğü'nce gerekli açıklamalar yapılarak bu projenin uygulanması da engellenmiştir.

Bu çalışmadaki varsayımların dışında öngörülemeyen bir başka durum merkezi hükümet yerel yönetimler yani belediyeler arasındaki çekişmedir. Cazibe Merkezlerini Destekleme Programı'nın (CMDP) amacı aslında Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesi'ndeki göçü, potansiyeli olan hizmet sektörlerinden birindeki istihdam olanaklarını arttırarak kendi içinde tutmak olsa da Diyarbakır'ın 2008 yılında pilot bölge ilan edilmesi önemli bir göstergedir. Belediye eliyle dış kaynaklar yaratılarak yapılan birçok proje CMDP kapsamında ulusal kaynak aktararak yapılmaya başlanmıştır. Aynı dönemde birtakım yasal düzenlemelerle de belediyelerin doğrudan yabancı fon bulmalarının önüne geçilmiştir (I.5, 2018). Bu aslında AK Parti Hükümeti'nin Diyarbakır'da özellikle Suriçi'nde uygulanan restorasyon projelerinde ulusal kaynağı arttırarak kendi varlığını ortaya koyma çabası olarak görülebilir.

Bu çekişmeler yaşanırken, merkezi hükümet ve belediye Suriçi'ndeki kültürel mirasa dair hazırlanan ya da uygulanan birçok restorasyon projesinde de birlikte iş yapabilme pratiği kazanmıştır. 1999 yılında Sur Diplerinin Temizlenmesi ve Restorasyonu Projesi kapsamında Diyarbakır Valiliği Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile aynı protokole imza atmak istememiştir. Bu kriz, Tarihi Kentler Birliği'nin iki ayrı protokol hazırlayıp sunmasıyla aşılmıştır (I.4, 2018). Zaman

içerisinde özellikle Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin kurumsallaşması olarak tanımlanan 2004 yılından sonra birlikte iş yapabilme pratiği gelişmiştir. Ancak o dönemde karşılıklı önyargıların devam ettiği I.6'nın (2018) şu söyleminden anlaşılmaktadır: "Osman Baydemir hiçbir resmi törene katılmazdı. Hep bürokratlarını yollardı. Yani Valilik ile kurulan ilişkilerde profesyonellik değil duygusallık ön plana çıkmaktaydı. Bu da çoğu zaman Valilikle birlikte yürütmemiz gereken işlerimizi zorlaştırmaktaydı". Yine aynı görüşmeci Cemil Paşa Konağı'nın restorasyonu sırasında bu tür iletişimsizlikler yüzünden Belediye'nin Vali'nin izniyle kullanma hakkı olduğu emlak vergilerinden kesinti yapılarak oluşturulan bütçeden çok zor faydalandıklarını iddia etmiştir. Ve bu tür durumların yaşanmasının sebebi olarak da profesyonel düzeyde kurulamayan ilişkiler olduğunu ifade etmiştir (2018).

I.1 ile yapılan görüşme sırasında valilik ve belediye arasında yaşanan çekişmelere yönelik yöneltilen soruyu I.1 (2018) " evet, bir çekişme her zaman vardı. Mesela biz Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi olarak 100 ağaçlık bir alanı ağaçlandırıyorduk. Aradan bir hafta geçmeden Diyarbakır Valiliği 300 ağaçlık başka bir alanı ağaçlandırıyordu. Açıkcası bu durum benim hoşuma gidiyordu. Çünkü kazanan bu durumdan fayda sağlayan Diyarbakır oluyordu" şeklinde yanıtlayarak var olduğu iddia edilen çekişmeye somut bir örnek vermiştir.

Bu bilgiler ışığında yukarıda bahsedilen tüm etmenler Suriçi'nde koruma hareketliliğinin oluşmasında rol oynamışlardır. İlk varsayım Türkiye'deki kültür mirası koruma gündemindeki değişikliklerdir. Bu değişiklikler, küresel ölçekte Türkiye'nin taraf olduğu sözleşmeler ve üyesi ya da aday üyesi olan yapıların etkileriyle gerçekleşmiştir. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi küresel aktörlerin katkısıyla Türkiye'de kurulan Tarihi Kentler Birliği, ülke çapında kültür mirası projelerinin hazırlanmasına ve uygulanmasına öncülük etmiştir. 90lı yılların sonlarına doğru Türkiye'deki orta ölçekli birçok kentte kültür mirası konusu kentlerin yerel gündemlerinde yer edinmeye başlamıştır. Birçok kentte koruma planları ve projeleri hazırlanmış ve uygulanmıştır.

Avrupa Birliği ise kültürel mirasın korunmasında hareketliliğe neden olan ikinci dinamik olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Suriçi özelinde incelenen projelere bakıldığında, Avrupa Birliği hibe programı kapsamında birçok proje finanse

edilmiştir. Ayrıca yine Avrupa Birliği uyum süreci kapsamında uyum süreci raporları yayınlanmıştır. Raporlarda bölgesel eşitlik, kültürel haklar gibi konulara değinilmiştir. Bu durum hem bölgeye yatırımların yapılmasına hem de bölgedeki farklı kimlik ve kültürlerin ön plana çıkmasına neden olmuştur.

Türkiye'deki kültür mirası politikalarına dair de birtakım değişiklikler yapılmıştır. 2863, 5366 ve 6306 sayılı kanunlarda yapılan değişikliklerden Suriçi de etkilenmiştir. Bu değişikliklerle, Alipaşa-Lalebey Mahalleleri kentsel dönüşüm alanı ilan edilmiştir. Suriçi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Revizyonu başlatılmıştır. Aynı zamanda, alandaki Cemil Paşa Konağı restorasyon projesine yasa değişikliğiyle emlak vergilerinden kesilerek oluşturulan bütçeden Vali izniyle kaynak aktarılmıştır. Ardından, birçok restorasyon projesi Karacadağ Kalkınma Ajansı tarafından finanse edilerek uygulanmıştır. Suriçi Kentsel Sit Alanı, 2012 yılında çıkarılan 6306 sayılı yasa kapsamında riskli alan ilan edilerek Suriçi Master Plan'ı hazırlanmıştır. UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne girebilmek için 2014 yılında hazırlanan Diyarbakır Kalesi ve Hevsel Bahçeleri Alan Yönetim Planı'nda ise Suriçi tampon bölge olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada, genel ve yerel seçimlerde kültürel miras alanını etkileyen dinamiklerden biri olarak tanımlanmıştır. 2008 yılında Diyarbakır Cazibe Merkezlerini Destekleme Programı kapsamında pilot bölge ilan edilmiştir. Suriçi'nde kültür mirasına yönelik hazırlanan ve uygulanan projeler incelendiğinde birçoğunun 2008 yılından sonra Karacadağ Kalkınma Ajansı tarafından finanse edildiği görülmüştür. Bir başka deyişle, projeler AB hibe programlarından sonra ulusal kaynaklarla finanse edilmeye başlanmıştır. Bunun nedenlerinden biri AK Parti Hükümeti'nin 2009 yerel seçimlerinde Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde iktidar olmak istemesidir. 2007 genel seçimlerinde AK Parti'nin Diyarbakır'da aldığı oy oranı yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi %40.9'dur. Diyarbakır'da böyle yüksek bir oy oranını yakalayan iktidar partisi yerel seçimlerde Diyarbakır Belediyesi'nde de iktidar olmak için kente yönelik söylemlerini arttırmıştır. Ancak bu söylemler, mekana dair uygulamalardan çok Kürt kimliği üzerinden şekillenmiştir. 2014 yılı yerel seçimlerinde ise başta Suriçi olmak üzere kültür mirasına yönelik birçok proje gündeme gelmiştir. Bu durum 2014'e kadar Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin Diyarbakır Belediyesi'nde iktidar olması ve kültürel

mirasa dair projeleri uygulamaya geçirmesinin etkisi olduğu söylenebilir. Çünkü, 2014 yılına gelinceye kadar Suriçi'nde çok sayıda anıtsal ve sivil mimarlık örnekleri restore edilerek, kullanıma açılmıştır. Bu da yerel seçimlerde Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'ni kazanmak için Kürt Kimliği üzerinden vaadlerden çok mekanda uygulanan projelerin daha etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Böylece siyasi partilerin 2014 yılındaki seçim söylem ve vaadleri mekana dair birçok örnek projeden oluşmuştur.

Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde iktidar olduğu döneme bakıldığında ise, Kürt siyasal hareketinin de kentte yürüttüğü siyaset genellikle kürt kimliği üzerinden gelişmiştir. 2009 yılından sonra kentte çok dilli, çok kültürlü yaşam pratikleri geliştirilmiştir. Bu kapsamda Surp Giragos Ermeni Kilise'si restore edilerek kullanıma açılmıştır. Yine aynı dönemlerde, Belediye'nin kent müzesi, dengbej evi projeleri uygulanmıştır. 2015 yılında ise Diyarbakır Kalesi ve Hevsel Bahçeleri UNESCO Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne girmiştir. Yani Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin yönetiminde olan Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi ile AK Parti'nin iktidar olduğu merkezi hükümet Suriçi'nde birçok proje yürütmüştür.

Ancak, yukarıda bahsi geçen dinamikler haricinde, en çok öne çıkan ve öngörülemediği olan etmen: Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin yerelde iktidar olmasından kaynaklı merkezi hükümetle yaşadığı çekişmedir. Bu çekişmeyi Genç (2014) hegemoni yarışı olarak tanımlamış ve eklemiştir "AK Parti kenti, İslam Kimliği üzerinden tanımlarken, Kürt Siyasal Hareketi Kürt Kenti olarak tanımlamaktadır" (Genç, 2014). Bu hegemoni yarışı Suriçi'ndeki kültürel mirasa yönelik hazırlanan projelerde de görülmektedir. İki taraf da kendi varlıklarını kentte hissettirme çabasında oldukları için aralarında bir rekabet başlamıştır.

Özetle, tez kapsamında ele alınan Diyarbakır Suriçi'nde, 2000 yılından itibaren kültürel miras konusunda koruma hareketliliğinin başladığını söylemek mümkündür. Diyarbakır Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Koruma Kurulu'nun 2000-2016 yılları arasında Suriçi'ne dair aldığı tüm kurul kararları ve Suriçi'nde uygulanan, uygulanması düşünülen tüm projeler incelenerek koruma hareketliliği ortaya konmuştur. Daha sonra bu hareketliliğe neden olan etmenler beş başlık altında incelenmiştir. Kültürel mirası korunma konusunun Türkiye'nin gündeminde daha fazla yer alması

Diyarbakır Suriçi'ndeki çalışmaların da sayıca artmasında etkili olmuştur. Bu gündeme ek olarak Avrupa Birliği uyum süreci ve koruma yasaları da alandaki koruma hareketliliğini etkileyen diğer etmenlerdendir. Hem AB uyum süreci hem de yasal değişiklikler kültürel mirasa dair projelere kaynak aktarımının önünü açmıştır. Suriçi özelinde yapılan görüşmelerden ve incelenen projelerden sonra ortaya atılan bir diğer hipotez ise seçim sonuç ve vaatlerinin alana etkisi olmuştur. Kültürel mirasa ayrılan ulusal kaynaklar arttırılmıştır. Ayrıca, seçim söylemlerinde değişiklikler görülmeye başlanmış, kürt kimliğine ve kültürüne vurgu yapmaktan çok alana dair öneri projeler üzerinden yerel seçim çalışmaları yürütülmüştür. Bu projelerde de öncelik kültürel miras projelerini barındıran Suriçi olmuştur. Son olarak, 1999-2016 yılları arasında Kürt Siyasal Hareketi'nin Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde iktidar olması da Suriçi'nde varolan kültür varlığının sahiplenilmesi, ortaya çıkarılması ve korunması açısından etkili olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, öngörülemeyen ancak sonuçları açısından Suriçi'nde bugün geline noktada en önemli etkiye sahip olan etmenin belediye-merkezi hükümet arasındaki siyasi çekişme olduğu söylenebilir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : Understanding the Driving Forces in Heritage Conservation Activities in Suriçi

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master

Doktora / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.

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