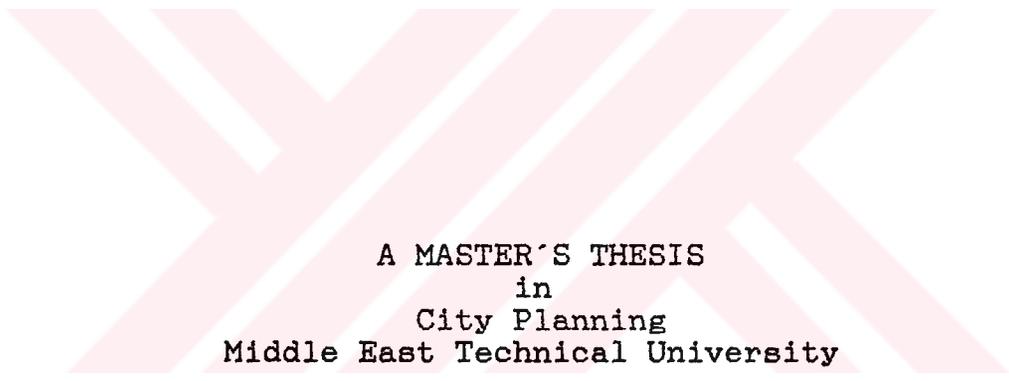


EVOLUTION OF BAYRAMOGLU SUBURBAN
SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE CONTEXT
OF DEVELOPMENT OF METROPOLITAN
ISTANBUL: 1955-1985



A MASTER'S THESIS
in
City Planning
Middle East Technical University

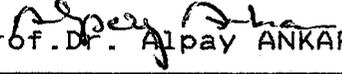
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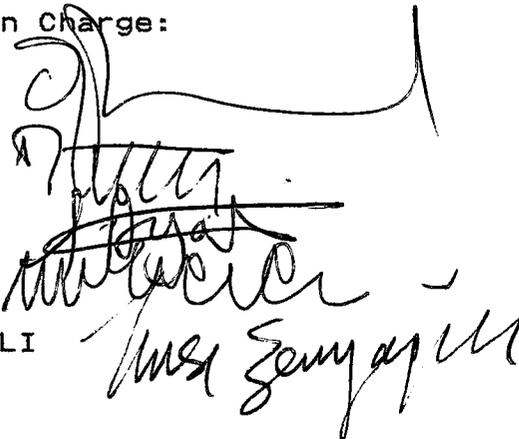
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A B S T R A C T

Residential decentralization under the general heading of urban growth is a fact that has been arisen of the industrial development process in all developed countries, specifically in the United States. This, together with the effects of urban-push and suburban-pull factors, shows itself as 'suburbs' that are outside the limits of metropolitan area but linked to it by a strong transportation network.

However when residential decentralization in developing countries, for instance in Istanbul is reviewed it is seen that a very different structure with also the effects of some other inputs such as economical fluctuations, adjoining the process, has been observed. In this respect, formation of suburbs in Istanbul has not reached beyond the search of elite society for a spatial identity who meet turbulances in itself in compliance with the social, economic and industrial developments. It has been noticed that middle-class of Istanbul have spread out to peripheral areas within a period giving the urban qualification to suburbs but making them to lose all their suburban characteristics.

Within this general framework, Bayramoğlu developed as a seasonal suburb of Istanbul in accordance with the seek of newly emerging elit managerial class for a space to reflect their social status on in 1955-1960 and lived a rapid deterioration based on the differentiated decentralization policies following 1970s.

Key Words: Urban Growth, Decentralization, Urban-pull Factors, Suburban-push Factors, Suburbanization, American Cities, Istanbul, Decentralization Process in Istanbul, Summer Vacation Homes, Second-Home, Bayramoğlu.

Science Code: 601.05.01

ISTANBUL METROPOLİTEN KENT GELİŞİMİ
GENEL ÇERÇEVESİNDE BAYRAMOĞLU BANLİYÖ
YERLEŞMESİNİN GELİŞİMİ: 1955-1985

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Ö Z E T

Kentsel büyüme genel başlığı altında konut desantralizasyonu, başta Amerika olmak üzere tüm gelişmiş ülkelerde endüstriyel gelişme sürecinin doğurduğu bir olgudur. Bu, kent-itici ve banliyo-çekici faktörlerin de etkileşimiyle metropoliten kent sınırları dışında ama bu kente güçlü bir ulaşım ağı ile bağlı banliyöler şeklinde kendini göstermektedir.

Oysa gelişmekte olan ülkelerdeki banliyöleşme olgusuna bakıldığında, örneğin İstanbul'da ekonomik iniş çıkışlar gibi birtakım farklı girdilerin de sürece katılımıyla konut desantralizasyonunun çok değişik bir gelişim gösterdiği gözlenmektedir. Bu kapsamda İstanbul'da banliyö oluşumu, sosyal, ekonomik ve endüstriyel gelişmelere paralel olarak kendi içinde de dalgalanmalar yaşayan İstanbul elit zümresinin mekansal kimlik arayışından öteye gidememiştir. Zamanla orta tabaka bu alanlara yayılmaya başladığında ise, bu yerleşmeler banliyö niteliklerini tümüyle kaybederek kentsel nitelikler kazanmaya başlamışlardır.

Bu genel çerçeve içinde Bayramoğlu 1955-1960 yılları arasında yeni gelişmeye başlayan elit-yönetici zümrenin toplumdaki yerini mekana yansıtma arayışı sonucu İstanbul'a yazlık banliyö olarak gelişmiş ve 1970'leri izleyen farklı desantralizasyon politikaları ile hızlı bir çöküş yaşamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Büyüme, Desantralizasyon, Kent-itici Faktörler, Banliyö-çekici Faktörler, Banliyöleşme, Amerikan Kentleri, İstanbul, İstanbul'da Desantralizasyon Süreci, Yazlık Yerleşmeler, ikinci Konut, Bayramoğlu.

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I am especially grateful to my little nephew, Feride who left us untimely when she was only seven without understanding why her aunt was always reading and writing instead of playing with her. Anyhow, I never felt the stress of whole day studies with the help of her as she was the only person who was able to make me happy even when I was really tired and boured.

I want to dedicate this thesis to the greatest memory of Feride for her considerate attempts to make my long study period a very enjoyable and productive one.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This study originated from two bases. One is the growing need for a written spatial history for Turkish cities. Since systematic and detailed written and visual archives have not been set up for Turkish cities, the existing oral information is eroding as their possessors are passing away and as no serious and comprehensive effort is being spent to collect the few and scattered data. The other base was the interest of the writer in urban peripheral spatial development and its change in time. The peripheral land under private or public ownership, in Turkish cities which were mono-nuclear and compact before the fifties, was loosely controlled. They became subject to two types of development; squatter housing which grew on peripheral thresholds and upper middle and high income residential settlements which took the form of suburbia on favorably located spots in Istanbul -a city unique in morphological inputs- of these socially conflicting developments, the latter has been chosen as the subject of analysis in this study.

Bayramoğlu, an exclusive suburb built in a then remote peninsula on the Anatolian section of the city by the newly rising and power gaining managerial and bureaucratic groups of the fifties carried spatial and

social characteristics of a typical summer resort. It was built in human scale after the pattern of the late Ottoman elite suburbs modified according to the contemporary lines of architecture and mode of life limited by the financial resources of the owners. This kind of suburban development is quite different from developments in the industrialized western metropolises where such areas served as dormitory settlements for especially high class white collar workers and administrators and reflected their level of affluence both in their spatial arrangement and in the modes of transport linking them to the work areas in the CBD (high speed, comfortable commuter trains and speedways). In a Third World economic space and in a city like Istanbul with its area divided into 3 sections by the sea, even the upper class white collar workers had to stay as close as possible to the CBD, to avoid the time costs which could be very high in the fifties.

So Bayramoğlu developed as a summer resort stamping in space the affluence and power of the newly rising upper managerial, administrative and cultural groups.

In time within the industrialization process of Turkey and of Istanbul decentralization began. Those industries which achieved capital deepening moved away

from urban congestion and controls as now they could afford to move away from the existing labor pool in the city center. These industries following the main inter-city transport lines emerging from the city, settled on the western axis close by to E-5 and the European railway and those industries whose main market was Anatolia moved eastward along the Anatolian section of E-5 and the railway. The existence of waterway provided further facilities. Thus the Kadıköy-Gemlik axis opened to a different kind of development in the sixties.

Within this general framework, this study discusses the formation and drastic change in Bayramoğlu.

2. DEFINITIONS OF SUBURBIA

Suburbs which were the patterns of urban decentralization half a century ago, are one of the features of metropolitan areas today. Hence, with the increased popularity of suburbia in industrialized world, more than one definition are formed.

'Suburban' is a composite word of the words 'sub' and 'urban'. 'Sub' is defined in the New Grolier Webster International Dictionary of the English Language, vol.2, page 974 as 'secondary in rank or importance; used in combination' and 'urban' in page 1089 as 'belonging to or included in a town or city; characteristic of cities; citified'.

In page 978 of the some dictionary, 'suburb' is defined as 'a district lying immediately outside of a city or town, especially a residential section outside of the city boundaries but adjoining them; an outlying part.'

In short, the word 'suburban' means 'beneath-urban' or 'less-than-urban', that is a civic environment which is less highly organized, less developed than that of either a city or a town. Thus suburbia is at once defined not in positive but in negative terms.

Along with these literal definitions, some observers define suburbia as an area inhabited by suburbanites and define suburbanites as those who earn their lives by working in the metropolis or as local service people catering to such commuters, so people who depend upon a neighboring city for their sources of income.

Commuting to work is a direct outgrowth of the ecological position. Suburbs are a belt of near-by but less crowded communities which have close connections with the city, made possible by physical arrangements for the rapid transfer of people and goods between the two. It is the area within which many people go to the city to work and come back at night within which numerous shoppers run to city stores to make daily deliveries of purchases.

The question 'what is the definition of suburbia?' is more broadly answered by considering it as a subsystem of the metropolitan area. In physical terms a metropolitan area consists of three zones. (Figure 2.1).

1- Built-up central city:

The urban zone, that is to say, the city itself or the closely related cluster of cities.

2- The suburban zone:

Belt of suburban towns and villages lying relatively close to each other, less dense population than the central city, more dense than the outlying fringe area.

3- The rural zone:

Within which the countryside is modified by urban contacts and which is suburban in a secondary sense; the undeveloped space into which a town or city expands by circumferential or radial growth.

In this sense suburban communities are parts of a larger functional entity, the metropolitan community. However the three zones are not accurately defined by political lines, suburbs are distinct political entities.

Robert C. Wood called 'Miniature Republics', separate communities which tried to make themselves independent and safe from other communities, especially the central city¹.

The above definitions take the word 'suburb' in relation with another word 'city'. But this relation can be specified more precisely, such as, out toward the fringes and limits of cities there comes a region where they begin to be less cityfied than they are at the center, a place where the city looks countryward and the

adjacent country also begins to look cityward but there is not any sharp boundary line defining it.

Some observers claim that, ...the suburb is neither the town spread thin nor the country built close but a quite different type of development with its own inimitable characteristics ².

A community in which the social consequences of separations, in practical relations and in thought and feeling accompanying every successive degree of departure from the city in distance and in difference of physical character, from the city have become clear and demonstrable ³.

These definitions from a more extended and detailed one;

Suburbs are far more than a certain physical dispersion of population in areas relatively near to city centers. It is a community which develops according to a social pattern. Distance and spaciousness in contrast with nearness and congestion are only the conditions of suburbanization. The important fact is the increasing social separateness and the consciousness of independence. Within this trend a suburb can be defined as a community in which the consequences of these separations and independence from the city have become clear and demonstrable.

A synthesis of all the definitions of suburbia leads to a one which is commonly accepted in urbanization literature. And this definition will be considered as a starting point of this study.

An urban place (usually an incorporated place) outside the corporate limits of a large city, but either adjacent thereto or near enough to be closely integrated into the economic life of the central city and within commuting distance of it ⁴.

3. BASIC ASPECTS OF SUBURBIA

There are four basic aspects of suburbia:

- 1- Separation
- 2- Selection
- 3- Dependence

3.1. SEPARATION

Separation is partly physical. The suburb is less densely populated than the city because in the city land is used economically whereas in the rural suburbs it is used extensively. Suburban use of land falls between the two such as;

Compared with the city's, the divided plots are large; compared with the country's they are small. The value of land both in suburbs and rural suburbs is based upon the more intensive use of land as the city grows.

Scharer..., recognized an area as suburban only if open spaces completely surround the cluster of houses. In his view suburbs are areas of relatively low housing density; many were formerly parts of rural areas engulfed by residential expansive⁵.

A certain minimum size, however is a useful criterion for the discussion of separation. This minimum size was firstly considered by an observer named Waugh, as 6000. According to him this 6000 is the minimum size needed for a settlement to be considered as a suburb since at that size there will be sufficient local services to justify this settlement as a separate entity. The suburb is seen therefore as a particular kind of central place.

Measure of separation can be described in contrast with the degree of congestion of the central city as the magnitude of suburbanization is generally proportionate to the congestion of the city center. The suburbs in the desire to be uncrowded, make large demands upon land. (Table-1)

Suburbia is not, as the literal meaning of the word suggests, solely a geographical term. It is a term for the environment created by and for one class of people to suit their special needs. One class of people because in suburbs there is class homogeneity, in other

words consistency in life styles. So because suburbs are largely composed of like-minded people cooperation becomes a natural aspect of their social attitudes.

Suburb gives to its inhabitants some of the things that they demand from their environment, in particular 2 things;

1. a sense of belonging to a fairly sympathetic world,
2. an opportunity of making out of that world something personal to themselves-in fact an outlet for their idealistic and creative desires.

3.2. SELECTION

A suburb is a part of urban civilization. It states on the arbitrary line between the urban and rural spheres but in reality it is the push of the city outward.

What makes the big city bad is the omnibus character of its contents. It is a crude and unsorted aggregation of all sorts of men and processes gathered into a collection, it is a jumble and a confusion, incoherent and therefore inefficient.

The suburb is a natural process of the more or less efficient disposal of the specific elements of urban site in separate places. It can be said that they contain only the part of the elements found in the city.

They represent selection. It is a set of specializations with a geographical basis. Their materials are urban fragments rather than urban wholes so they remain dependent upon the central city for what they have not.

Thus, suburbs are simpler, more homogeneous, more rational and consequently more manageable. Pulling a larger fraction of the city out into them is equivalent to divide a mass of complications and services, to divide urban social difficulties up into masses of such proportion that mankind can perhaps handle them.

On the other hand, life and landscape are in much closer adjustment in the suburbs, the various forms of urban development being built on 'green-field' sites are likely to give a direct expression of the behaviour of contemporary urban society. Furthermore it is narrower than the city and hence more plastic and more likely to be tractable.

3.3. DEPENDENCE

Selection brings dependence into consideration. Dependence is less obviously spatial. Residential suburbs don't have major sources of employment; indeed, their social status may be a measure of their lack of local employment. They are therefore dependent on the central city for this and also for certain services, especially transport and public utilities, shopping,

entertainment and some administration. Thus a high outgoing journey to work is the percentage of the workforce travelling to it.

A second measure of dependence is distance to city. The more distant from the city, a suburb is less closely related and its community life is more dependent. The reverse is also true.

This can be proved by a research on long Island suburbs of New York City. These are relatively homogeneous residential communities, manufacturing having developed in other directions. A comparison of 62 of these suburbs, located beyond the area of active streetcar commutation and dependent upon a single railway, reveals that the proportion of commuters to total population averages about 20 % at 15 miles, 15 % at 20 miles, and 10 % at 25 miles. In other words every additional 5 miles decreases the economic dependence of the suburb upon the city at a geometrical rate.

Equal distance does not always mean equal urban dependence. There are 5 exceptions for this;

1- Communities devoted to agriculture. Few of the trains will stop there and few its people commute because the direct economic relations of most of them are with the soil rather than with the city.

- 2- Old and self-contained communities, with historic traditions and exceptions wealth are not attached to the city as closely as others at the same distance. The former know the city when it was young. They see the city as their old home town. They maintain their old traditions while newer suburbs are more dependent creations of the city with no separate history or strong self consciousness.
- 3- A political capital. These have fewer commuters than neighboring towns of similar size and with the same train service. Here is the seat of many county-institutions and of the administration of special agencies. This gives it a life of its own and makes it less suburban than its neighbors.
- 4- Suburban communities chiefly populated by mechanics rather than by business people, and generally on a lower economic level, have relatively fewer commuters. Unlike the clerk's or business man's place of work, the mechanic's is not fixed. Accordingly, his dependence upon the city for work is fluctuating.
- 5- The relation of the summer-resort suburbs to the city is not so clear. Their permanent residents are not largely commuting. Their seasonal population also does not change with proportionate frequency because it is on vacation. There are vast numbers of summer commuters; but their roots are not permanently fixed

in the resort suburb and they don't link it to the city by regular ties. Thus such suburbs are not as closely related to the city as their distance would suggest.

With these exceptions the tendency which makes closeness of relation to the city proportionate to the distance of the suburbs works out for almost all metropolitan areas.

4. REASONS OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA

The rise of the metropolis has diminished the residential role of the central city and has spread vast populations beyond the city limits.

The mass movement to suburbia was largely the result of some "pull" factors. Certain amount of "push" was involved as the problems and pressures of city life but the more was made especially because of many attractions that were seen on suburbia.

4.1. PUSH FACTORS

4.1.1. Physical Congestion in the Center:

Suburbs grow, because cities grow and because cities grow more crowded. Both industries and homes are increasingly crowded out leading to pressures and as a net result 'going out' is roughly proportionate to 'going up'.

An urban area generally has suburbs in about the proportion that it has an overcrowded center. Population is pressed out into the suburbs by the struggle for space within the city.

Physical congestion in the center has been frequently advanced as one of the causes of decentralization. As congestion increases beyond the average, the suburban movement is accelerated but with little delay. And so the exhaustion of space for residential development in the central city leads to high rates of construction in the periphery together with the high cost of land in the central city.

4.1.2. Traffic Congestion:

With traffic congestion, center loses its traditionally favored position as the point of maximum accessibility to the entire metropolitan area.

4.1.3. Land Price Increase:

There are big differences of effects of land price increase on urban growth in developed and developing countries.

In developed countries, the dominant share of metropolitan population growth takes place elsewhere in the city region than its center and so land prices are high in these newly urbanizing outlying regions of the city;

As study of Copenhagen region show that rates of land price increase between 1956-69 were 11.4 % yearly in Copenhagen, 19.8 % in the Copenhagen region and 26-33 % in some capidly growing communities in the region .

This high rate of price increase is a direct result of the economic cost of newly developed urban land, made up of the cost of development works and the rawland (the cost of the rawland previously in agricultural use) and accessibility of the parcel to urban activities and services. Accessibility is achieved either by incressed growth of urban centers or by reduced travel time because of transportation facility improvements. In developed countries suburban areas are highly accessible and so the population growth and the industrial development occurs in the metropolitan area outside the city.

However in developing countries, the case is just the reverse. Since 1920, the developing countries have had a rate of urban population growth considerably

exceeding that of developed countries. Moreover, while economic development rates have increased, income per capita has not increased in accordance.

Manufacturing floor space in the central city is highly more expensive in small quantities and a great deal more expensive in large quantities especially in developing countries. Also taxes are somewhat higher and as the city ages and becomes more densely populated, central-city land becomes more expensive; restricted land supply pushes land prices up. Furthermore, transportation facilities are not developed and costs of transportation are very high, in other words accessibility is low in developing countries. This, together with the incoming migration and so increasing population density in the center, lead to high land prices in the center.

In developed countries CBD is decaying, becoming more and more congested and as usual, land and housing in the center becomes more and more cheap. However in developing countries land in the center is very precious. But in the periphery there are vast amounts of appropriate and cheap land. This cheap land is utilized by the poor by squatter housing in developing countries and the rich still wants to live in the center, only the very rich and high privileged people leave the center. Meanwhile, in developed countries both the rich and the

middle man leave the center for suburban areas, only the poor, the lower-class men live in the CBD just because they cannot afford to pay the cost of suburban housing.

4.2. PULL FACTORS

4.2.1. Technological Innovations:

Suburban existence requires large amounts of money and time to be devoted to the physical movement of persons and commodities. Because of the suburb's dependence upon jobs, supplies and services outside of its own immediate area, the role of transport is of extreme importance.

Under the impetus of technological advances in transportation and communication, the compact city is a thing of the past. Successive advances in public and private transportation which have permitted a separation between place of work and place of residence, increased the flexibility of movement within the total community and this made possible the increase of territorial differentiation. Urban functions and urban populations expand decade after decade along radiating lines originally dictated by topography. They press out along the major axes of the city structure, aided by cheap and convenient facilities for carrying goods and people. Large areas between these radii often remained rural as their access was limited.

In long-range terms, decentralization can be conceived as a shift toward a new equilibrium that was initiated by the development of new facilities for the movement of persons, commodities and information.

4.2.2. A Model For a Good Life:

In the second half of the 19th century, suburbia became a model of the good life for the average household as an alternative to the bad conditioned industrial city. The emerging middle-classes of industrial countries were full of desire to find their own healthful and peaceful environments in the hinterland.

The growth of a dispersed urban residential fringe has reached its most extreme development with the expansion of vacation home ownership in the most distant environs of large cities. The people housed in new residential developments at the outer edge of urban expansion were belonging to the more affluent sections of society that were seeking more space for living and could afford the social and economic costs of the journey to work.

5. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

5.1. ANCIENT SUBURBS

Suburbia is not a latercomer in world history; Mr. Stow was writing at the beginning of the 17th century for London. For suburbia is no modern phenomenon: it is as old as the very idea of a city, which is to say, as old as civilization itself ⁷.

Archaeological research has uncovered, for example, a 'Greater Ur' of suburban villas and streets that had been settled four miles from the walls of that Biblical city. Between 2300 B.C. and 2180 B.C., it experienced great prosperity, and its population of 100 000 spilled beyond the city's gates into what, Sir Leonard Woolley has written, "might be called a suburb of Ur." Similarly Egyptian funerary models and paintings often contain suburban homes with spacious gardens. Greek cities such as Athen, and sports, were all surrounded by developed space-buildings, gymnasiums and villas, and gardens which can only be described as suburban. The suburbs of ancient Rome have left traces still visible today.

According to Lewis Mumford -as it is written in 'The Future of the American Suburbs' by Dennis P. Sobin, p.16- not only did the Aesclopium at Cos lie outside the city but the gymnasium and even the academy were located in the suburbs of the Hellenic City.

Those who owned or rented land outside the city's walls valued their place in the country, they used it to desire agricultural income. A cabin, a cottage, or a vineshaded shelter was built and early city dwellers did not wait for rapid transportation to take advantage of a rural setting.

5.2. MEDIEVAL SUBURBS

In the middle ages, before the industrial town had appeared, the idea of leaving behind the complexities of society had become attractive to the European mind. Also, country life was thought to be best and the farther one went from the city the more it seemed one gained in health, freedom and independence.

Of course, for centuries this escape into fantasy was reserved only for the suburban rich. It was only they who could afford to build suburban houses in the first place, who could afford to maintain the coach and horses necessary for daily commuting to work.

The term suburb (or burgus, or suburbs) is of more recent vintage. John Wycliffe used the word suburbia in 1380, and Geoffrey Chaucer introduced the term in a dialogue in the Canterbury Tales a few years later. By 1500 Fleet Street and the extramural parishes were

designated as London suburbs, and by the seventeenth century the adjective suburban was being used in England to mean both the place and the resident.

According to John Hall's London: Metropolis and Region, as early as 1574 the city was beginning to expand beyond its Roman walls to the west along the Thames .
8

At the start, the merchants were driven to settle outside 'the burgs' because there was no other place for them. They built beside the burgs and 'outside burg' - that is to say a 'faubourg' (forisburgus, suburbium). This suburb was all the 'new burg' (novus burgus), in contrast to the feudal burg or 'old burg' (vetus burgus) to which it was joined.

They were, therefore, landing places where as accumulated in the natural course of trading operations merchandise destined to be shipped further.

European suburbs, called 'le faubourg' by the French and 'die Vorstadt' by the Germans, have a similar lineage. In his study of medieval Toulouse, John Mundy reports that country life offered a welcome solitude, and across Europe the privileged classes periodically vacationed in agricultural areas.

As it is mentioned above until 16th century, as in ancient Greece, the villas and cottages of medieval merchants and master craftsmen were summer retreats, but by the 16th century, with public order more or less guaranteed by national armies and administrations, they were no longer secondary vacation structures, but the principal homes of their occupations.

In every case, the suburban pattern was typically an open one: gardens and orchards and shaded walks accompanied sprawling buildings. This was emphasized by Robert Wood -as it is written in "The Future of the American Suburbs" by Dennis P.Sobin, p.16- such things as gardening and forming, recreation and games, health and sanitation were seen as belonging to the surrounding countryside even though the functions that these activities seemed more directly attributable to the city's needs and deficiencies.

5.2.1. Types of Medieval Suburbs

5.2.1.1. The Portal Suburb

Locations outside the town gates were the most characteristic of suburban situations. The gate was the point where traffic was delayed on entering the city.... Where roads met at these points inns were established and markets developed. These were often no more than

extents of the main roads leading to the town gate. Also outside the town were located the less pleasant and the more dangerous trades. In this way thriving suburbs came into being ⁹.

The collection of such miscellaneous activities led to the suburb becoming one of the less desirable areas.

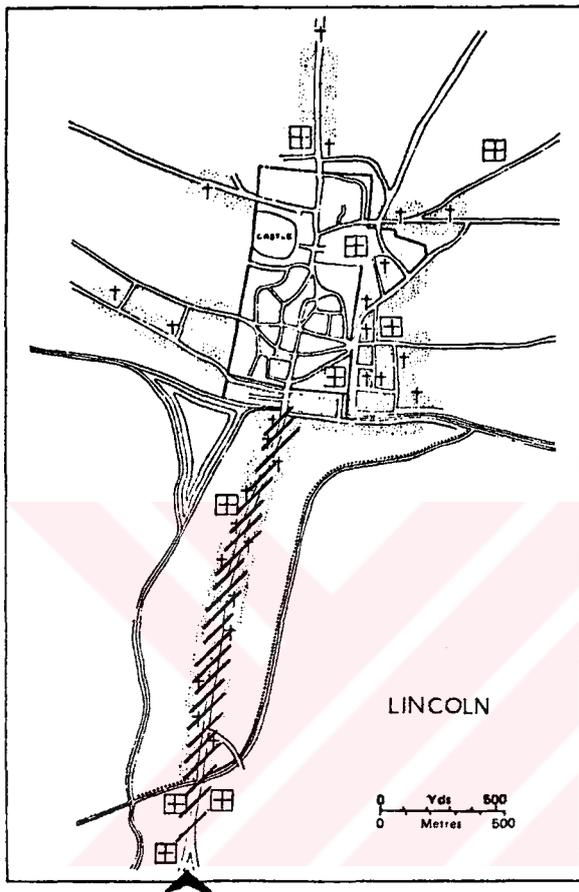
5.2.1.2. The Ribbon Suburb

This was usually a special case of the portal suburb where one major and predominant route characterized entrance to the city, and where trade was particularly active. In consequence the suburb extended in ribbon-like fashion. A prime example was Lincoln. (Figure 5.1).

5.2.1.3. Churches and Religious Foundations

The main creator of the nucleated extra-mural suburb was a church or religious foundation. It has already been indicated that burials were not permitted within walled areas and hence the graves of martyrs and those who had served the faith lay without the cities. In addition religious houses required a good deal of land which was not always available without disturbing existing buildings within the city, and land was most

FIGURE 5.1: A RIBBON SUBURB



 the route characterizing entrance
to the city.

SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical
Geography, p. 131.

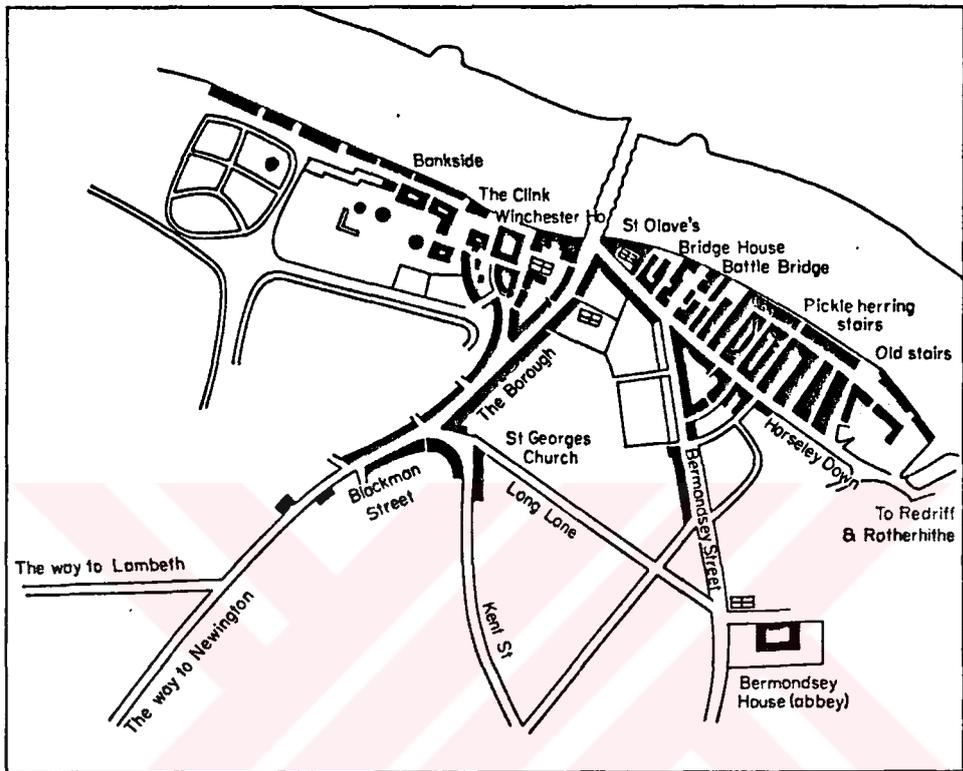
easily available at the margins. As well as being the direct aim of pilgrimage, these establishments were also 'hospites' where the traveller could rest. Secular buildings grew about them and it was greatly in the interests of the clerics to obtain the right to hold a market and fair. Once this was gained the suburb became a significant nucleus of semi-independent growth.

5.2.1.4. The Bridge Head Suburb

In many ways this is a special case of the portal suburb since most points of access into a town across bridges were barred by gates. Where such situations occurred bridgehead suburbs were virtually universal... In many cases, therefore, both the jurisdiction and the physical defences of the town were extended across the bridgehead to the far riverbank and these became the first suburbs to be taken into the town .

Southwark on the south bank of the Thames, and linked to London by the only bridge across the river until the eighteenth century, was a typical bridgehead suburb. Being removed from London it also became the centre for amusement. (Figure 5.2)

FIGURE 5.2. A BRIDGEHEAD SUBURB OF LONDON IN 1600



Note: Outside the walls of London, in the 15th century, people were laying out little gardens and building summer houses. These were the property of gentlemen and noblemen, healthy places and due to their distance from city, subjected to less noise. Thus, at first it was the title aristocracy who established suburban houses in the open land just beyond the old city walls.

SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, p. 132.

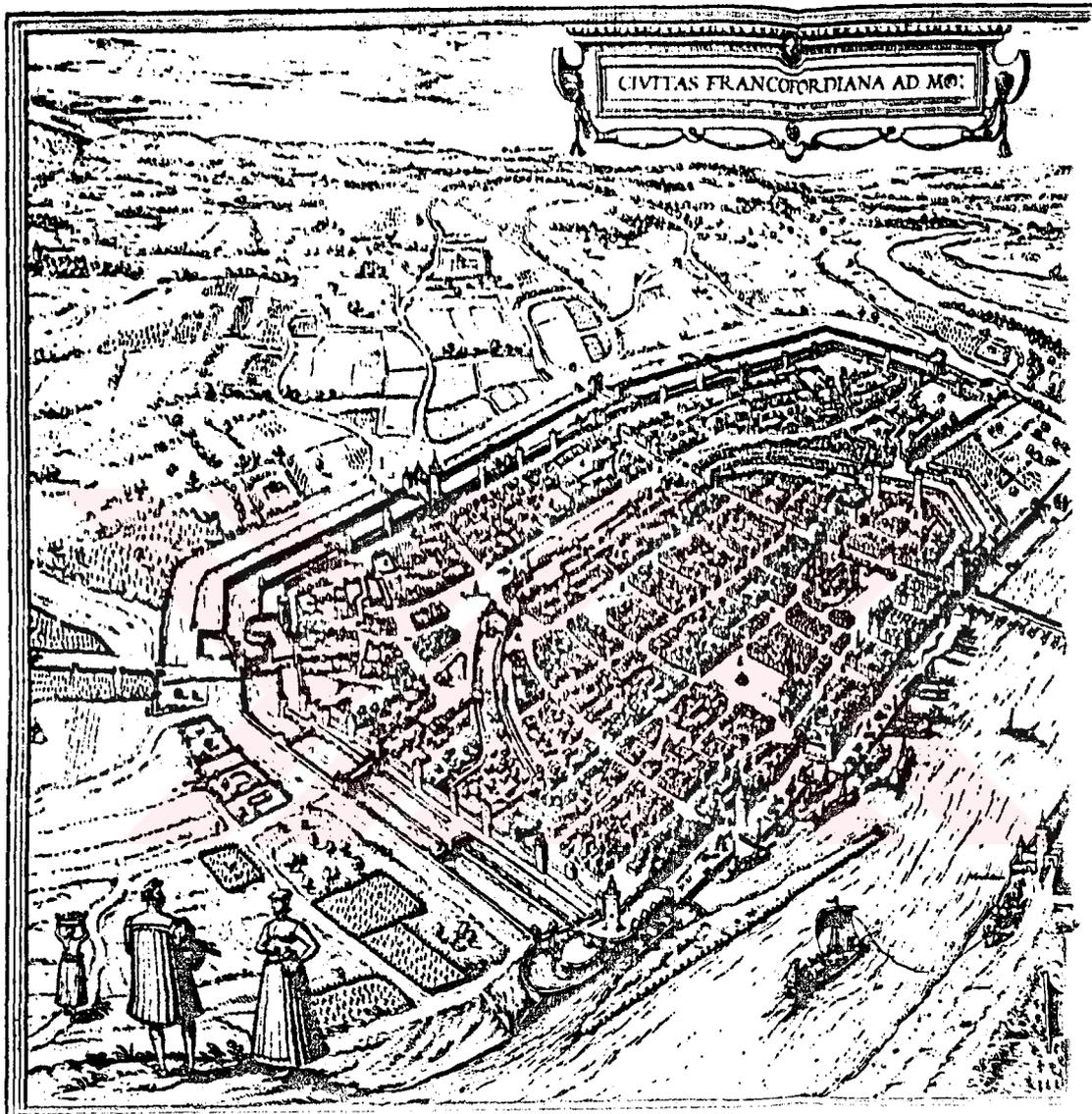
5.2.1.5. The Marginal Suburb

Although it has been stressed that growth was rarely annular or ring-like, nevertheless one of the typical modes of extra-mural suburban extension was along the streets which followed the town walls. (Figure 5.3). These were later to become the boulevards. The compression into such a form was particularly strong when the city grew by a series of walled enclosures. Figure 5.4 shows Frankfurt-on-Main in 1552. Two suburban elements are plainly visible. The first is the walled and protected bridgehead suburb of Sachsenhausen, notably by name the settlement of the Saxons.

The second is the division of the city itself into two, the altstadt within the earliest fortifications, and the neustadt or new town which had been walled in 1333. This protective surround had not only enclosed the earliest suburbs which had grown about the religious foundations, but also encouraged development within it producing a surrounding zone of extension.

It is clear from the brief view of Frankfurt that in most cases no one type of suburb occurred, but rather a complex mix of all the types.

FIGURE 5.4. FRANKFURT - ON - MAIN IN 1552



SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, p.133.

Troyes, the Roman Augustobona, had grown on dry ground above the marshes of the Sein Valley (Figure 5.5). After the twelfth century, however the Counts of Troyes began to develop commercial interests based on what were to become the fairs of Champagne, that at complete topographic transformation, for a new town grew about the fair location, forming the commercial and industrial, and hence the growing core. The whole was fortified in the 1230s. ... which by origin had only been a small episcopal centre, transformed into a relatively large town with new quarters to the south, to the east and especially to the west.

This example of Troyes demonstrates the great variety of suburban conditions. Classifications can attempt to put suburbs into categories, the new town at Troyes was initially a portal suburb grown beneath the castle of the counts, but in reality situations were greatly varied as growth pushed beyond bounding walls and the first stages in the disappearance of the free-¹² standing, discrete urban settlement began .

5.3. REASONS OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA IN MEDIEVAL AND ANCIENT TIMES

5.3.1. Push Factors

5.3.1.1. The Fear of Disease

The physicians of the ancient world were advising people to seek the fresh air and healthy atmosphere of the countryside both to avoid infections and as a sovereign cure for almost all malady.

From the 13th century fear of bubonic plague caused periodic mass migrations from cities.

The characters in Boccaccio's Decameron were wealthy refugees from an epidemic plague that was sweeping their native city, Florence. They escaped to nearby Fiesole, which was already a well developed suburb. Likewise, wealthy Parisians fled to the 'Left Bank', and wealthy Londoners to the open suburban landscape between the City and the city of Westminster when plague descended .

5.3.2. Pull Factors

5.3.2.1. A Model For A Good Life

Although the older, historic cores of such cities as London, Paris, Barcelona and Florence may have seemed graceful, beautiful and humane to their medieval inhabitants, the human eye and mind was in a demand of

variety. The more closely packed the streets, houses and plazas of an old city, the greater was the visual relief of the open suburban landscape.

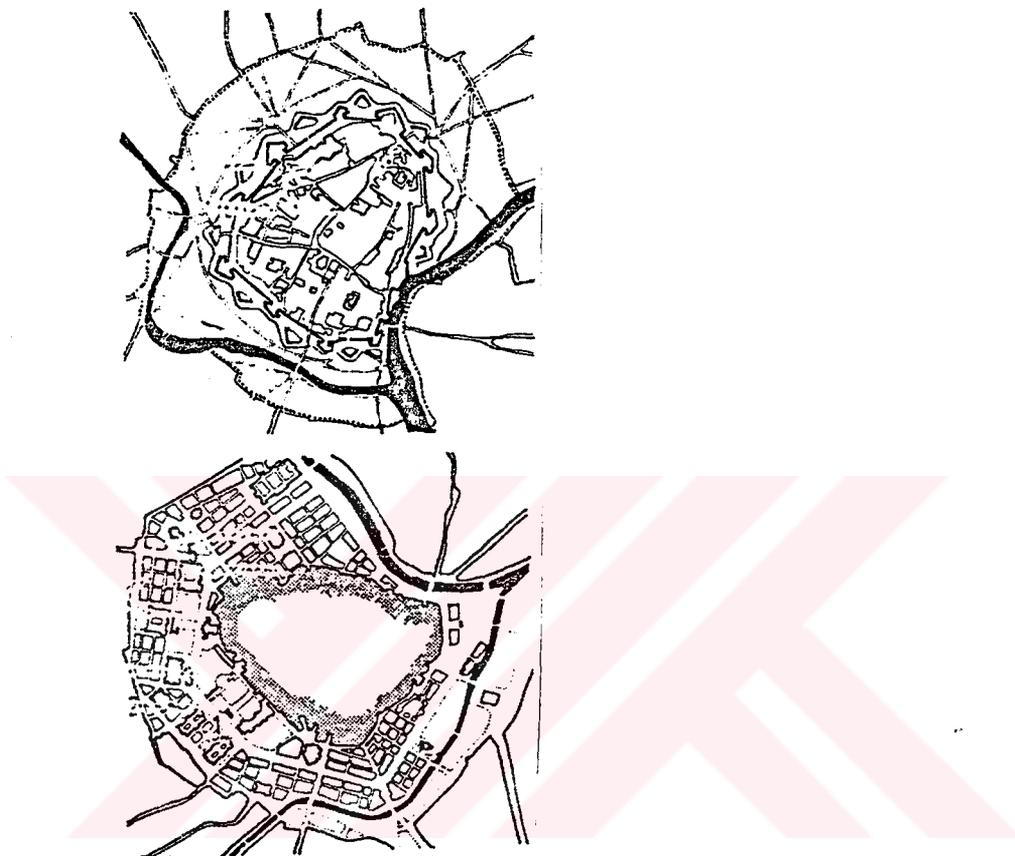
Alberti converted on the suburban residence:

The great beauties of such of retreat are being near the city, upon an open airy road, and on a pleasant spot of ground.... Nor should there be any want of pleasant landscapes, flowery meads, shady groves or limpid brooks or streams and lakes for swimming, with all other delights of the same sort. Lastly... I would have the front and whole body of the house perfectly well lighted, and that it be open to receive a great deal of light and sun and a sufficient quantity of wholesome air¹⁴ .

On the psychological level, the early suburb offered opportunities for personal expression. Beyond the search for beauty, sunshine and open air, the decision to leave the city indicated an attempt to achieve liberation from conventional compulsions of society. (Figure 5.6) (Figure 5.7).

According to Robert Wood, the original purpose of the suburb was man's attempt to be his own unique self; to build his own unique house mid a unique landscape and, in short, to withdraw like a monk and live like a prince¹⁵ .

FIGURE 5.6. VIENNA IN 1857



Note: Top - Vienna in 1857 before the commencement of work on the Ringstrasse scheme. The defensive system around the Inner Altstadt was demolished in 1809 but remained in ruins and the fire-zone between it and the suburbs (outside the heavy dotted line) was used as an informally established park. Key: A, the Hofburg Palace; B, the Rathaus (Town Hall).

Above - The Ringstrasse Plan. The Altstadt is shown in outline only. Key: 1. Museum; 2. Palace of Justice; 3. Parliament House; 4. New Town Hall; 5. University; 6. Bourse.

SOURCE: CRAIG, L., Suburbs, Design Quarterly, no.132.

FIGURE 5.7. VIENNA IN 1850s



Note:

1. Vienna in the early 1850s showing the extent of the suburbs, beyond the open space zone, enclosed within the Linienwall of 1704. The Danube canal passes across the northern side of the Altstadt; the main stream of the Danube is further to the north.
2. From the beginnings of European history the site of Vienna has been an important meeting place of trading routes.

An outer ring of suburbs grew up during the 16th and 17th centuries to provide for the 'overspill' population from the congested Altstadt and for houses with gardens for wealthier citizens. These suburbs, which were developed from the earlier village settlements around Vienna, were largely destroyed during the sieges, with their inhabitants sheltering within the Altstadt, but they were subsequently renewed.

After the 1683 siege the rebuilt suburbs represented sufficient capital investment to justify their own subsidiary outer defensive system. The legal boundary of the city was extended to include the suburbs.

SOURCE: CRAIG, L., Suburbs, Design Quarterly, no. 132.

There, beyond the restrictions of civic architectural codes, individuals could build whatever struck their fancy. Later during the 19th century suburban houses were similar to chinese pagodas, Arabian mosques, railroad stations, Greek temples, any kind of structure at all.

All the qualities of the suburb tended to be sharpened by the contrasts of the city: openness versus enclosure, freedom versus constriction, easy movement versus congested traffic, and spaciousness versus overcrowding.

5.4. INDUSTRIAL SUBURBS

Despite the above evidences, suburbia's existence is explained by the Industrial Revolution which drove people who were lucky and rich enough to escape out at the city and into the surrounding countryside. This was the essential factor in the creation of modern suburbs.

Under this title first a study on the factors controlling the growth of a town and second, the other developments which affected suburban growth will be emphasized. This study is about the social areas in nineteenth-century cities.

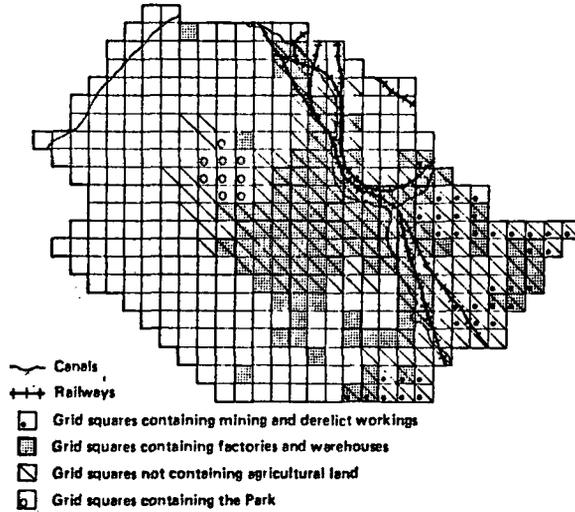
5.4.1. Social Areas in 19th-Century Cities

A study by M. Shaw on Wolverhampton had as its basis an attempt to demonstrate the association of a whole range of factors controlling the town's growth and making an impact on this process of detachment of the high-status group. This is outlined in Figure 5.8.

The soil on the west and north of the town is rich and fertile; but on the south and east there is a continued extent of coal and iron mines. Those in social classes 1 and 2 (the professional and managerial and associated occupations) are mapped in Figure 5.9. and its evident that those who could escape the environmental deterioration of the eastern parts had moved the westward to the rural suburbs, leaving a relict element still at the center and consigning the east to the working class. Here is an absolutely classic picture of the emergence of a high-quality residential sector repelled by industry and attracted towards a park and to open land.

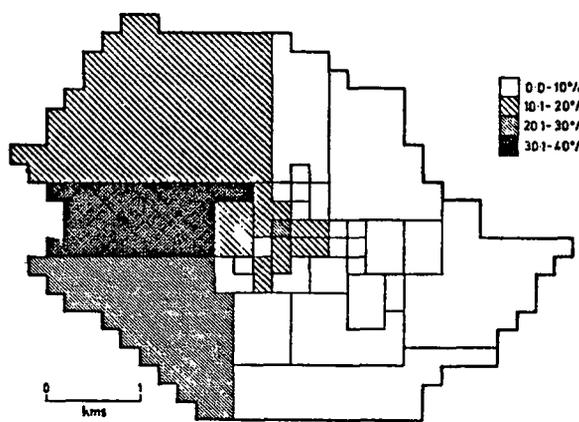
Moving on from such an initial statement it is appropriate to consider what is the most detailed study of an English city, that of Liverpool by Lawton and Pooley (1976). (Table 5.1.)

FIGURE 5.8. WOLVERHAMPTON, LANDUSES IN 1871



SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, p. 190.

FIGURE 5.9. WOLVERHAMPTON, PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN SOCIAL CLASSES I AND II IN 1871.



SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, p. 191.

TABLE 5.1. LIVERPOOL 1871, LOADINGS ON THE FIRST THREE COMPONENTS

	Component 1	Component 2	Component 3
Percentage of variation accounted for	24.6	13.6	9.3
Cumulative percentage	24.6	38.2	47.5
Loadings of variables			
Positive	Population density 78	Sociecon.gp 4&5 95	Age 15-64 89
	Housing density 75	Sociecon.gp.5 74	Lodgers 51
	Residential land 70	Sociecon.gp.4 53	Servant index 38
	Resident in courts 68	Resident in courts43	Servants 33
	Multiple occupance 64	Irish 41	Women in work- fonce 33
	Irish 64	Houseful size 37	Widowed heads 31
	Houseful size 46		
	Sociecon.gp.4 43		
	Sociecon.gp.5 43		
	Lodgers 33		
Negative	Distance from centre 78	Sociecon.gp.3 92	Age 0-14 92
	English migrants 74	Residential land 39	Age 0-14 76
	Socio-econ.gp. 1&2 49	Welsh migrants 37	Nuclear family 69
	Servants 49	Scots migrants 36	
	Servant index 47		
	Houseful size 33		

Note: Figures are percentages except for distance and densities. The servant index is servant/nuclear + extended family x 100. Decimal points have been omitted.

SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, P.191.

The first component contrasts a high-density characteristic and associated multiple occupancy and court housing and Irish immigrant proportions low in social status, with high-status, servant-employing households largely English in origin.

The second component is much more clearly identifiable for it contrasts working-class areas lowest in status and with a considerable Irish in-migrant element, with those of the skilled working class with distinctive Welsh and Scots in-migrants.

The third component is also manifestly a life-cycle or family-status dimension is distinguishing between mature, economically active families where there are also lodgers with younger nuclear families in separate households.

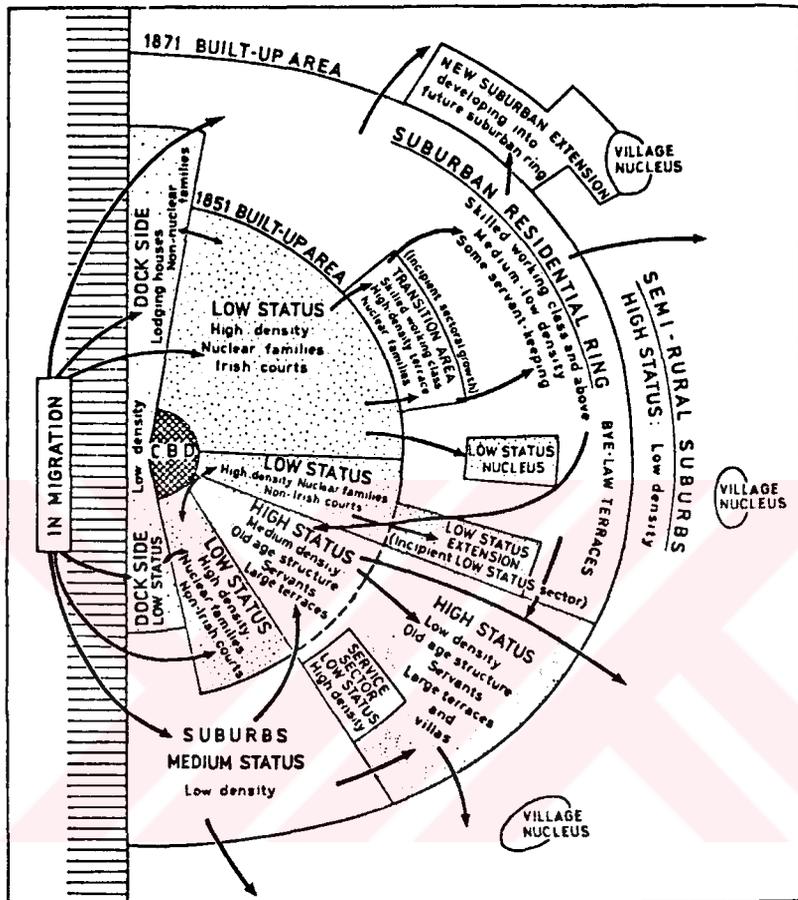
The first component suggests a centre-periphery, that is a zonal pattern. A low-density dockside area where there were extensive non-residential tracts of land was succeeded by a high-density inner area where there were still high-status sections, but it gave way to a low density, emergent suburban fringe. The second component identified the lowest social category and Irish in-migrants and appeared as a series of inner sectors in the classic patterning. The third, life-cycle, component was again sectoral. The three can be

combined to provide a schematic representation of Liverpool's structure in the early 1970s (Figure 5.10 - Figure 5.11).

From his work on Liverpool, Pooley has constructed an interpretive diagram which is reproduced as Figure 5.12. Factors affecting individual residential mobility are divided into those relating to the person and those to the destination. These, in turn, produce mobility characteristics which relate to the three aspects of movement, its distance, its direction and its frequency.

Long-term stability characterized the newly formed high-status areas where steady but low in flows of population occurred. Short-term stability was associated with lower-status areas where there were frequent moves but over short distance. Disintegration could occur under the impact of central-area extension, especially into high-status areas. Finally, community formation was characteristic of the periphery as in-flows of population created new residential areas which also received flows from the center.

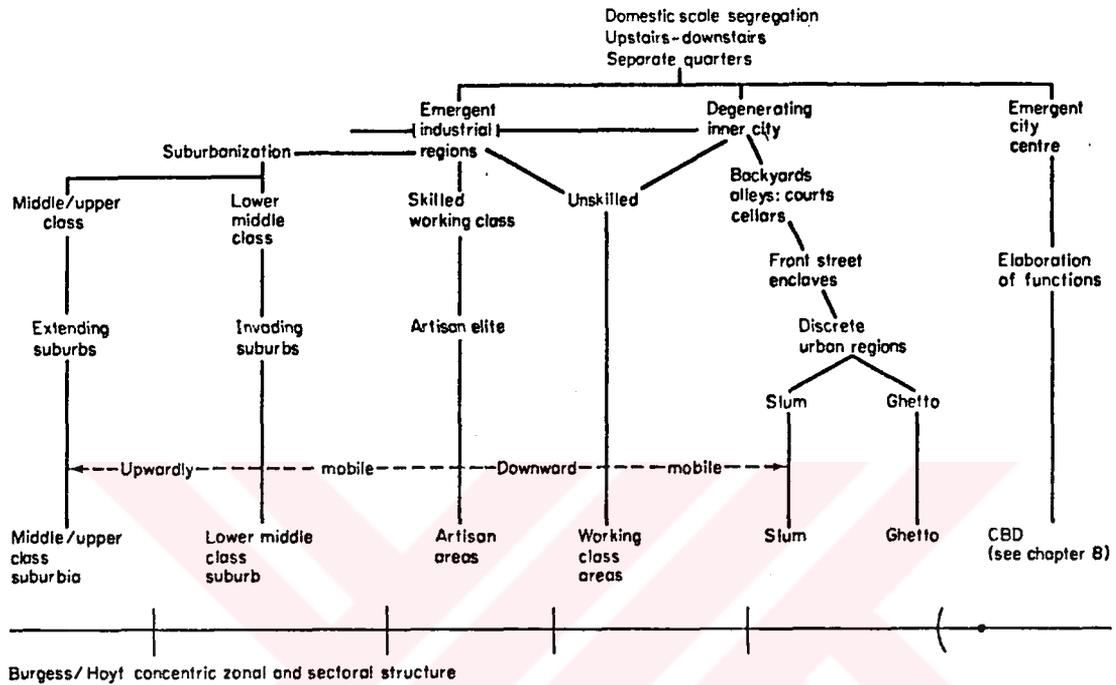
FIGURE 5.10. THE STRUCTURE OF LIVERPOOL IN 1871.



Note: This schematic diagram, which is not to scale, attempts to summarize the main residential and social areas in Liverpool in 1871 and the associated processes of migration to the city and residential mobility within it. The high-status sector south east of the Central Business District should be noted and the contrasting working-class residential areas of the dock-side and the North End. Stages of growth may be seen in the sequence of suburban zones around the historic core.

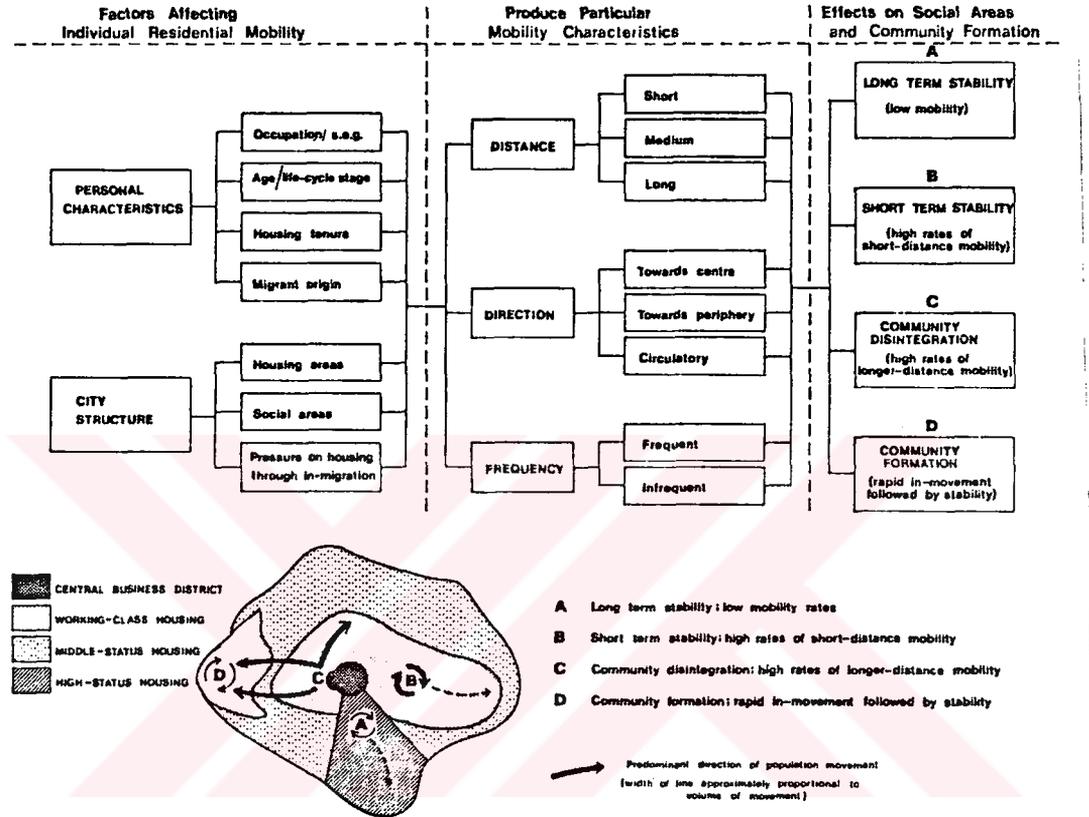
SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geograpy, p.193.

FIGURE 5.11. THE SEGREGATION OF RESIDENCE IN THE NINETEENTH - CENTURY



SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, p.202.

FIGURE 5.12. THE RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PROCESS AND ITS EFFECT ON NINETEENTH - CENTURY URBAN STRUCTURE



SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, p.203.

5.5. REASONS OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD

5.5.1. Pull Factors

3 more pull factors were added to the reasons in the ancient and medieval times, in the industrial world.

5.5.1.1. Technological Innovations

5.5.1.1.1. Railroads

The modern concept of suburb as a place of residence goes back to the point when railroad made a journey between house and office so suburbs started with developments along existing railroad trunk lines.

During the early years of the century most urban places were not beyond 10 or 15 miles from the center, as time passed people working in the city found it possible to live outside its formal boundaries. These early suburbanites lived in new residential developments that appeared within walking distance of the railway commuter stations.

Railways spread out from the largest cities in radial strings and along them began to appear clusters of dwellings or can be called subcenters—small villages at intersections of rural roads and near the railway lines.

The establishment of commuter trains and streetcar lines opened many new sites for development beyond the city limits. The street-car suburb could be completely detached from its parent city; contiguity was no longer a necessary condition.

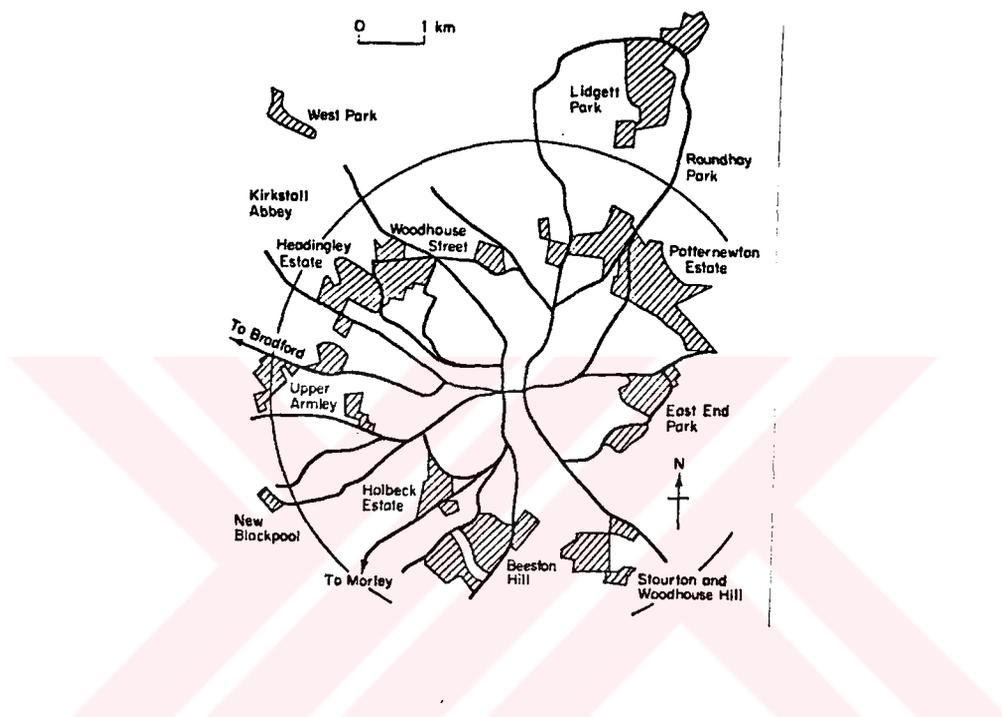
The streetcar suburb became a feature of the extension of Leeds and Figure 5.13 demonstrates the close relationship between local transport and building development which characterized the years between 1890 and 1919.

The conversion of this system to cables and then electricity between 1880 and 1900 provided the means for the completion of the invasion of the highlands. Population growth, the increasing importance of industry in the city economy, a successful annexation policy, but, most of all, technological innovations in the means of intra-city transportation, constituted the dynamics behind this urban explosion. (Table 5.2)

With the electrification the railway itself began encouraging development. It encouraged settlement not only by frequent services and low fares but also by advertising and by land-building speculation.

This introduces another consequence, social or class segregation. Segregation has always been a part of city residential structure but with the growth of rapid-

FIGURE 5.13. LEEDS: STREETCAR SUBURBS, LOCAL TRANSPORT AND BUILDING DEVELOPMENT IN LEEDS, 1890-1919



Note: Circle is 2.5 miles or 4 km from the city center.

SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geograpy, p.145.

TABLE 5.2. THE EXPANSION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT FACILITIES
IN LEEDS AND BOSTON, 1870 - 1920

	Boston Passengers*	Track+	Leeds Passengers*	Track+
1871	34			
1881	68			
1887	92	212	1894	27.5
1895	155	275		
1899	191	338		
1904	242	445	1902	48
1909	281	484		71
1914	343	515	1916	94
1919	325	535		114

* in millions

+ in miles

SOURCE: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical
Geography, p. 145.

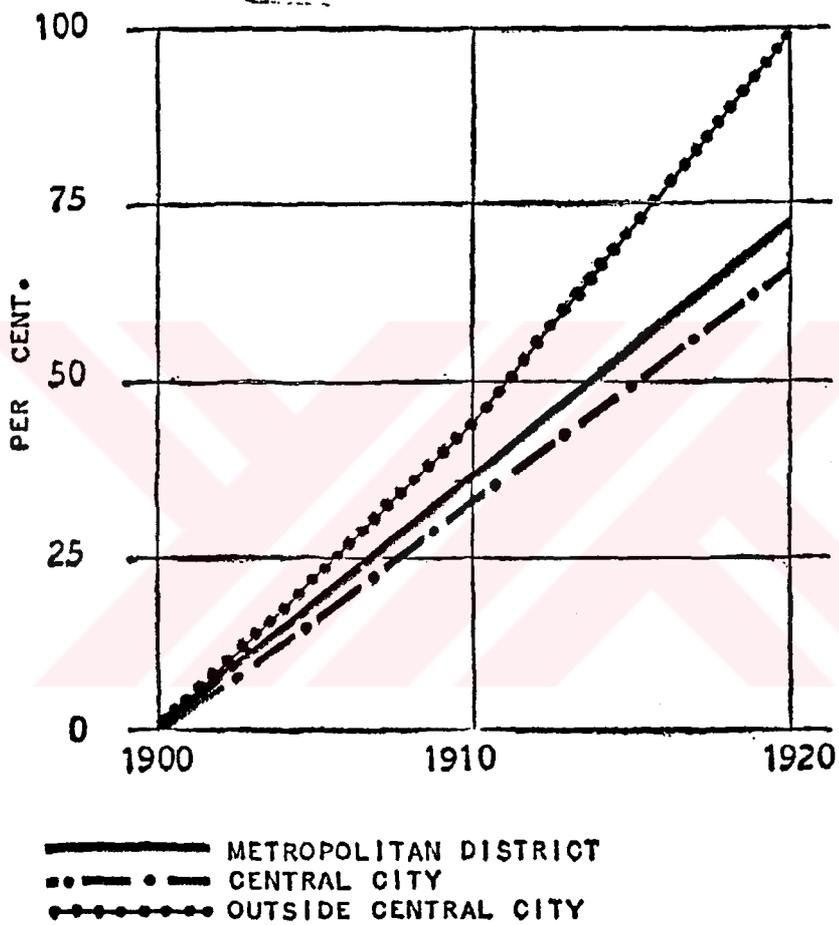
transit systems those who could afford to do so were the first to remove themselves from the increasingly noisy, dirty and violent city and distance themselves from environmental decay. (Figure 5.14)

5.5.1.1.2. Advent of the Automobile

The outward movement of the central city population to the suburbs in the most industrialized countries was further reinforced with the advent of automobile usage during the 1920s and 1930s which opened up larger areas for suburban development for middle income families. Meanwhile, attention was being paid to bettering roads leading out of the city so that the suburbs were among the first to benefit from the good roads movement prevailing at the time. Thus, the increasing mobility of auto, bus and truck made it possible to urbanize large tracts of rural land between the transport routes by rail. The core of the city remained and so did an increasing demand for transport between the central city and suburban areas.

The advent of the automobile did seem to provide a solution to the problem of urban congestion. The automobile offered urban dwellers a new mobility, freeing them from the streetcar lines and allowing them to travel more quickly from the urban core to the suburban fringe.

FIGURE 5.14. PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF CITY AND SUBURBAN POPULATION, 1900+1920, COMPARED WITH INCREASE OF POPULATION OF TOTAL METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS FOR 28 CITIES OF 200 000 POPULATION AND OVER IN 1910.



SOURCE: DOUGLASS, H., The Suburban Trend, p. 41.

With an automobile urbanites could travel wherever the avenues and boulevards led and could even escape to the mountains or seashore on weekends. This new mode of transport seemed to promise a more open, expansive city, a city of greater mobility and individual autonomy .

5.5.1.2. Land-Building Speculation

During the last decade of the 19th and the first few decades of the 20th centuries, land speculators and real-estate men bought land on the outskirts of a large city, hired architects and planners and created a new community of homes. Meanwhile, the garden suburbs, (such as Riverside near Chicago, Roland Park outside Baltimore, Llewellyn Park in New Jersey) derived from the concept of a country house set in a garden park.

5.6. SUBURBAN GROWTH SINCE 1945

While suburbanization developed around the major cities of industrial countries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its most vigorous expression was seen after the end of world war II when economic, technological and social forces enabled suburbia to become a major mode of middle-class life. In most

industrialized countries, the increased demand for housing during the depression and war years, the natural tendency of cities to grow beyond their political boundaries, the baby boom, government programs that encouraged suburban home-building (such as subsidies for mortgages or rents and major highway or rail projects), the desire of the younger middle-class to escape the central city and the factors of rising real incomes, industrial decentralization, and the widespread use of the automobile all accelerated the outward push of metropolitan development.

After the second world war, it became increasingly difficult for the central cities to accomodate the growing number of urban residents generated by the high rates of natural increase in many urban areas. In addition, migration from less developed rural areas and flow of labor from Mediterranean Europe and North Africa to Northern and Western Europe further increased demographic pressure on central cities.

By 1975, Western European suburban population accounted for nearly 60 % of the metropolitan residents and nearly half of the total population (Table 5.3).

TABLE 5.3. METROPOLITAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN CHANGES
IN WESTERN EUROPE 1950-75

Population data for 1950, 1960 and 1975									
Areal unit	1950		1960		1970		1975		
	Total (thousands)	% of total	Total (thousands)	% of total	Total (thousands)	% of total	Total (thousands)	% of total	
Core	75 314	38.20	85 261	40.17	94 479	40.86	95 190	40.18	
Raing	88 441	44.85	93 351	43.98	103 368	44.71	109 093	46.06	
Non-Metropolitan	33 426	16.95	33 635	15.85	33 345	14.42	32 582	13.76	
Total	197 181	100.00	212 248	100.00	231 192	100.00	236 865	100.00	

Population change 1950-60 and 1970-75a										
Areal unit	1950-1960			1960-1970			1970-1975			
	Absolute change (thousands)	% change	% of total	Absolute change (thousands)	% change	% of total	Absolute change (thousands)	% change	% of total	
Core	9 947	13.21	66.02	9 218	10.81	48.66	711	0.75	12.53	
Raing	4 910	5.55	32.59	10 017	10.73	52.88	5 725	5.54	100.92	
Non-Metropolitan	209	0.63	1.39	-290	-0.87	-1.53	-763	-2.28	-13.44	
Total	15 067	7.64	100.00	18 944	8.93	100.00	5 673	2.45	100.00	

Note: a. Nine country region: Britain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, The Netherlands, Spain Italy. (Seperate core and ring figures not available for German Federal Republic).

SOURCE: ROTHBLATT, N., GARR, Danniell J., Suburbia, An
International Assessment, p.5.

5.7. AN EXAMPLE FROM A DEVELOPED COUNTRY: THE HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF SUBURBANIZATION IN USA

Although the aspiration for suburban living appeared in the British Isles, and perhaps in many other places as well, the realization of the aspiration came first in the American Republic.

Suburbanization process gained speedity with coming of the 19th-century and became widespread after the second world war, especially as a result of increased rate of car ownership. The 19th century suburbs were mostly called railroad suburbs just because they were dependent on railroad and 20th-century suburbs were called automobile suburbs as they were dependent on the automobile and highways. However, at this point post world war II suburbs should be discussed separately.

5.7.1. Reasons of Movement to Suburbia in USA

The reasons of movement to suburbia in US can be better explained in a diagram as follows; (Appendix A).

19TH - CENTURY RAILROAD SUBURBS

Push Factors

- . The anti-urban tradition in American thought:
Suburbia offered the prospect that disorder, prostitution, and mayhem could be kept at distance,

- . The fear of disease: In the US, periodic outbreaks of smallpox, yellow fever, and cholera took a heavy toll in every community

- . The changing ethnic composition of the urban population: As the acreage of cities doubled, part of the population and certain kinds of economic activities concentrated near the centers, while other people and businesses scattered toward the periphery and this changing ethnic composition increased middle-class antipathy to the older neighborhoods.

19TH - CENTURY RAILROAD SUBURBS

Pull Factors

1. Transportation revolutions: More rapid modes of moving large numbers of people provided city dwellers with a new range of physical movement.
 - 1.1. Ferry service
 - 1.2. Steam railroads
 - 1.3. The horse railway
 - 1.4. The electrified tracks

2. Other revolutionary changes:
 - 2.1. The balloon-frame house: Because the balloon frame reduced construction to a few basic hand and tool techniques, the new structure could be erected more quickly.

 - 2.2. Cheap land/high wages: The wages of the working man were very high and geographically, the amount of space available to each citizen was also staggering in the US and most of it was habitable by human beings.

3. A model for a good life: The emerging values of domesticity, privacy, and isolation reached fullest development in the US. On the simplest level the notion of life in a private house represented stability, a kind of anchor in the heavy seas of urban life.
 - 3.1. Family and home
 - 3.2. Real estate
 - 3.3. The yard
 - 3.4. The winding lane

20TH - CENTURY AUTOBODILE SUBURBS

Pull Factor

- 1.5. The new age of automobility: By 1918 there was one motor vehicle to every eight people.
- 1.6. The road building revolution: The idea of an expressway was first systematically applied in the US.

POST WORLD WAR II SUBURBS

Push Factors

4. Population redistribution: After the second world war, millions of soldiers were returning homes in the decade beginning with 1948, both the marriage and birth rates increased. In brief, the demand for housing was unprecedented.

5. The loss of community: In our own time, most observers have noted that alination and anomie are more characteristic of urban life than sence of participation and belonging.

6. The polarization of the metropolis: The core has become identified on the popular mind with poor people, crime minorities, deterioration, older dwellings, and abandoned buildings.

6.1. Economic polarization

6.2. Racial polarization

Note: In every century, the push and pull factors of ar also included, the new factors are added to.

POST WORLD WAR II SUBURBS

Pull Factors

1.7. Highways: Flexibility of transportation between city edge and city center encouraged wild expansion of the main urban areas.

1.8. The drive-in culture: The automobile and the suburb have combined to create a drive-in culture that is part of the daily experisence of most Americans.

4. The new laws that made incorporation easy and annexation unworkable.

4.1. Support to home ownership: After the second world war, mass building of suburban housing was undertaken by the private home building industry, with the assistance of financial subsidies from the federal government.

4.2. The breakdown of annexation: In actuality, what was called urban growth was the building up and annexation of new residential communities on the edges.

5.7.2. The Historical Evaluation

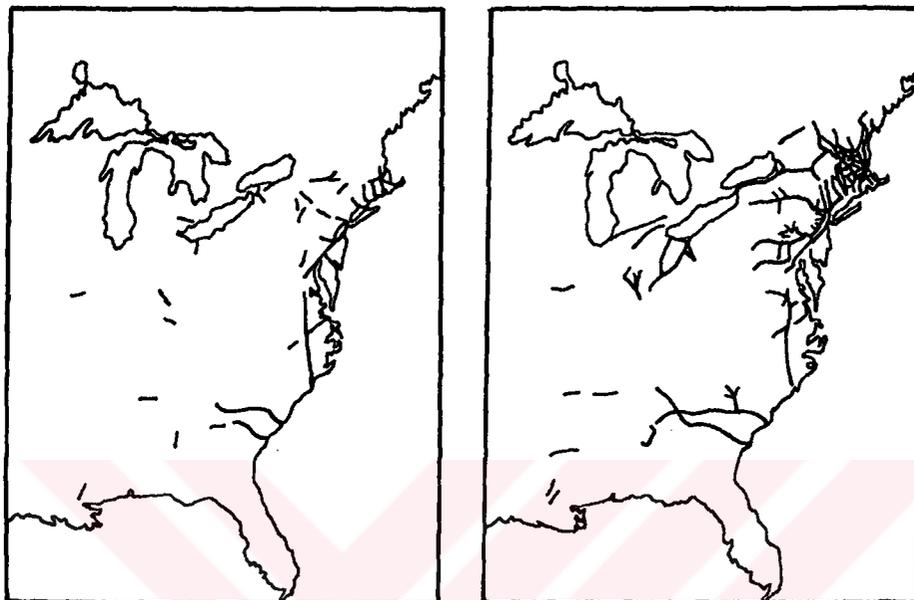
5.7.2.1. Railroad Suburbs of 19th-Century

The mid-nineteenth century deserves recognition the area of the first and perhaps the most severe urban explosion in American history, for in these years the United States urbanized at a rate never before or since matched.

In the second quarter of the 19th century, cities east of the Mississippi took the lead in constructing long-run lines to tie them more closely to the cities of the interior and to the entrepots of the deep South, Southwest and the West Coast, and cities around the edge of the continent and urban places in the interior soon joined the push. (Figures 5.15 and 5.16). This is why 19th century suburbs are called railroad suburbs.

Because of this sequence, noted one contemporary observer, 'the city stamps the country'... (Figures 5.17 and 5.18).

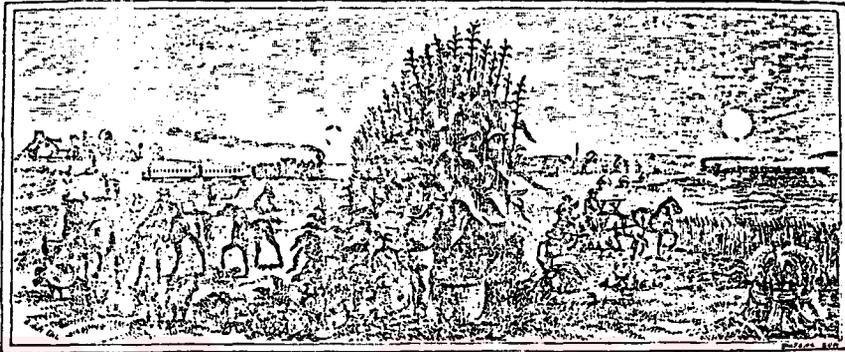
FIGURE 5.15. GROWTH OF RAILROAD LINES IN THE MID-
NINETEENTH CENTURY



Note: At left, their extent in 1840, and, at right, ten
years later in 1850.

SOURCE: MILLER, Z.L., *The Urbanization of Modern America*,
p.27.

FIGURE 5.16. PART OF AN OFFERING FOR SALE OF LANDS ALONG
THE CENTRAL'S RIGHT-OF-WAY.



ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY

OFFER FOR SALE

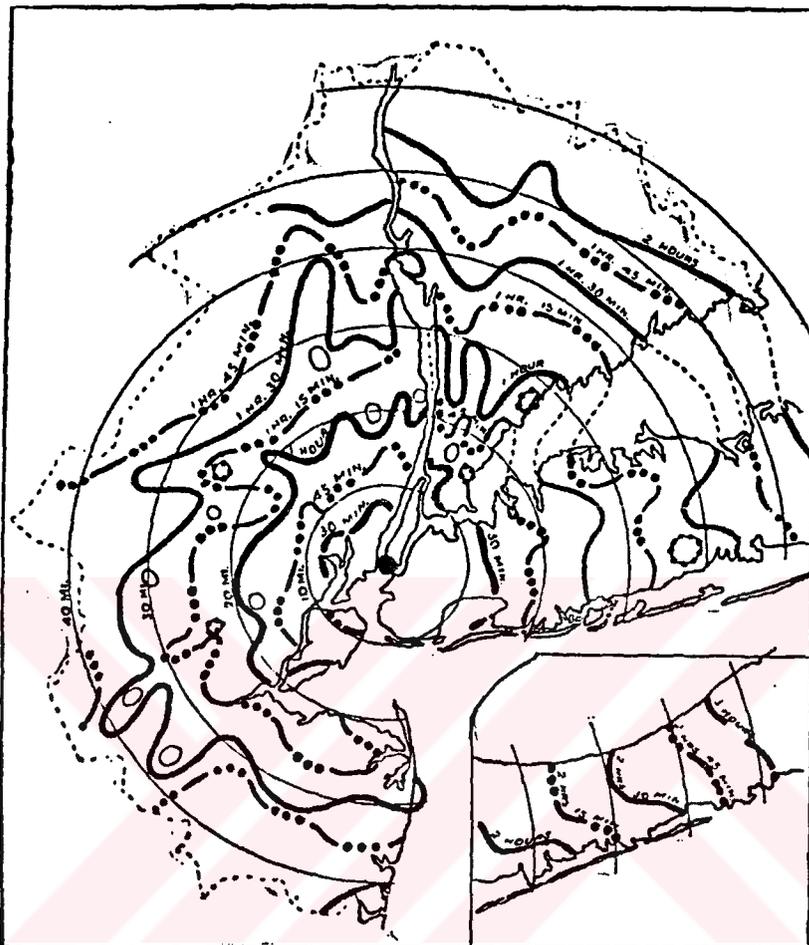
**ONE MILLION ACRES OF SUPERIOR FARMING LANDS,
IN FARMS OF
40, 80 & 160 acres and upwards at from \$8 to \$12 per acre.**

**THESE LANDS ARE
NOT SURPASSED BY ANY IN THE WORLD.**

**THEY LIE ALONG
THE WHOLE LINE OF THE CENTRAL ILLINOIS RAILROAD,
For Sale on LONG CREDIT, SHORT CREDIT and for CASH, they are situated near TOWNS,
VILLAGES, SCHOOLS and CHURCHES.**

SOURCE: MILLER, Z.L., The Urbanization of Modern America
p.28.

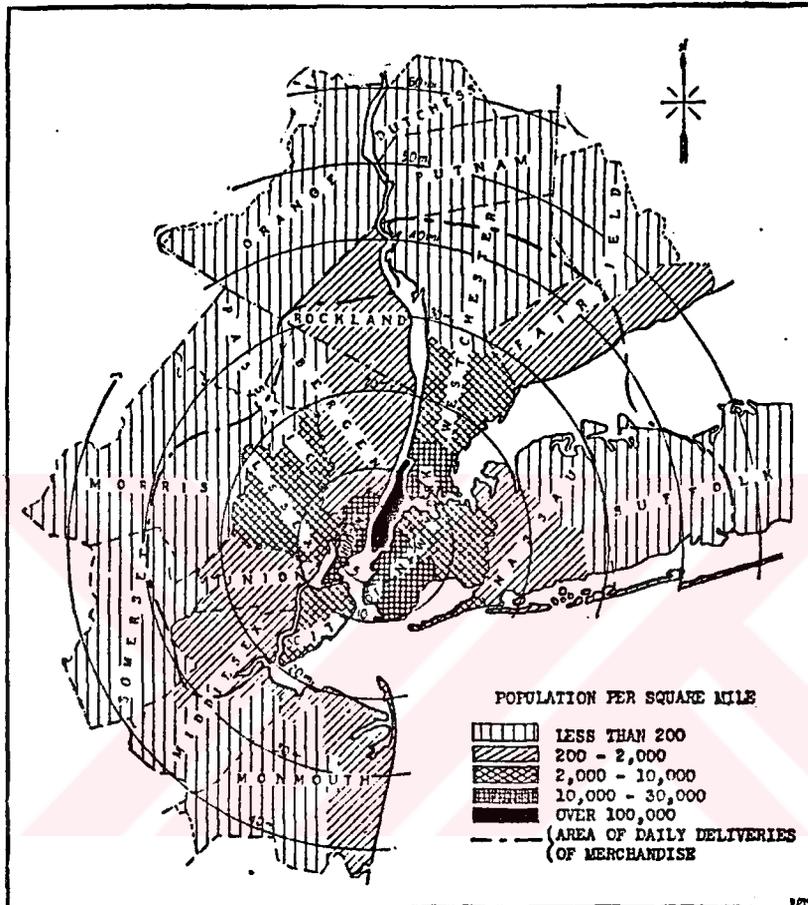
FIGURE 5.17. RAILROAD COMMUTING TIME, NEW YORK AND ENVIRONS



Note: Shown by 15-minute intervals from city terminals.

SOURCE: DOUGLASS, H.P., The Suburban Trend, p.13.

FIGURE 5.18. RELATIVE DENSITY OF POPULATION, NEW YORK AND ENVIRONS



Note: Also area of daily delivery of merchandise by a representative department-store.

SOURCE: DOUGLASS, H.P., The Suburban Trend, p.11.

5.7.2.1.1. Socio-Economic Composition of ----- Railroad Suburbs -----

Unlike postworld war II suburbs, which are relatively homogeneous socio-economically, those of the tracked city were not restricted to a single economic class.

In most railroad suburbs about 30 percent to 50 percent of the heads of households in the late 19th-century were affluent businessmen who traveled at least 5 miles to work and whose families were devoted to the pursuit of culture and recreation in the company of social equals.

The cost of commuting to such outlying communities was always high and always beyond the reach of the average working man and also relative to other forms of travel in the late 19th-century, railroad commuting was time consuming.

5.7.2.1.2. The Pattern of Railroad Suburbs -----

Railroad suburbs were usually discontinuous and separated by at least a mile or two of open space or greenbelt from each other. The typical pattern was; the towns themselves were connected by the railroad line but were not initially contiguous either to each other or to the central city. Within the suburb itself, the natural

limit to the spread of houses was walking distance to the railroad station. Only the very wealthy, who could afford a horse and driver, penetrated into open country.

The 19th-century was the century of steam, when the commuting railroads created suburbs of a new type in North America distant from the city, distinguished by an elite dominant class, semirural in orientation, and mixed socioeconomically. In other words, in the 19th-Century, the image of suburbia as an affluent community of railroad commuters was set, and the image remained until the interstate suburbs developed in the 1960s.

5.7.2.2. Automobile Suburbs of 20th Century

In this period, different tendencies in suburbanization was observed. First, there appeared a boom period of suburbanization in 1920s and after a few years, the great depression of 1930s directly affected this process. Another important phenomenon of this period was the first appearance of industrial suburbs in United States.

Prior to 1920, when there was only one trolly for every 10 000 Americans, factories clustered toward the centers and the rail junctions of large cities.

Industry, which had not historically been associated with cities in the age of wind and rail, began moving from urban cores even at the height of the age of steam power. The high price and scarcity of land in central areas, coupled with municipal regulations and taxes were important encouragements to disperse.

In 1914 the National Electric Lamp Association abandoned its buildings in downtown Cleveland for forty acres of wooded, hilly and 12 miles east of the city center. The setting was so much like a campus that it was known as a 'university of industry'. In 1915 Graham R. Taylor wrote the first book about industrial suburbs and he discussed the 'shifting of factories, one by one, to the edge of the city'.

Between 1915 and 1930, when the number of American trucks jumped from 158 000 to 3.5 million and the proportion of trucks to private automobiles doubled, industrial deconcentration began to alter the basic spatial pattern of metropolitan areas. (Table 5.4)

Warehousing and distribution activities followed the factories to the urban edges, where almost all new industrial construction took place after 1925.

TABLE 5.4. AUTOMOBILE AND TRUCK REGISTRATIONS IN THE
 UNITED STATES AT FIVE YEAR INTERVALS,
 1905-1975

Year	Automobiles	Trucks	Ratio/Trucks to Cars
1905	8.000	1.400	I to 55
1915	2.332.426	158.506	I to 15
1925	17.481.001	2.569.734	I to 7
1935	22.567.827	3.919.305	I to 6
1945	25.793.493	5.079.802	I to 5
1955	52.135.583	10.302.987	I to 5
1975	106.713.000	25.755.700	I to 4

SOURCE: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.162.

5.7.2.2.1. Pattern of Automobile Suburbs

Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier embraced the automobile as a revolutionary liberating force, while Henry Ford himself predicted, 'The City is doomed', and 'We shall solve the city problem by leaving the city' ¹⁸.

Motor vehicle registration statistics in the United States have consistently indicated that car owners are concentrated not in the city but in the area immediately surrounding it.

Whether in New York, Kansas City, or Los Angeles, the automobile suburbs that appeared in the 1920s differed in 4 major respects from their mass transit related predecessors;

1. the overall pattern of settlement,
2. the length and especially the direction of the journey-to-work,
3. the deconcentration of employment, and
4. new forms of low-density, residential architecture

The pattern of settlement in the streetcar metropolis had been essentially finger-shaped. New homes were constructed and sold only within walking distance of the rail transportation. However, the real significance of the motor vehicle lay in its ability to move laterally or perpendicular to the fixed tracks, and thus open up land for settlement previously regarded as

too remote. This meant that vacant land between the transportation corridors could be platted and sold for home sites. In almost all cities, the interstitial land was developed between existing fingers of settlement, and the built-up area assumed a more symmetrical shape.

Not only did it increase their journey-to-work, but more importantly, it enabled wage-earners to work in peripheral areas outside their own neighborhood without penetrating the center or even the city at all.

The most important characteristic of the suburb was its lower density and larger average lot size as compared with anything ever previously experienced in an urban world. Because the motor vehicle opened up much more land than was possible with public transportation, the price of a square foot of real estate was lower in areas accessible only to cars than in neighborhoods served by good streetcar systems. With more developable land available at cheaper prices, the average size of a building lot rose from about three thousand square feet in streetcar suburbs to about five thousand square feet in automobile suburbs. Residential densities moved in the opposite direction from about twenty thousand per square mile in trolley-based areas to about half that in areas based solely on the motor car. In fact, the residential density of a neighborhood today is largely a function of the type of transportation system that

accompanied its early development. In older section, as streets were widened, as houses and businesses gave way to parking lots and service stations and as upwardly mobile families moved up to newer structures, population density fell.

5.7.2.2.2. The Suburban Design

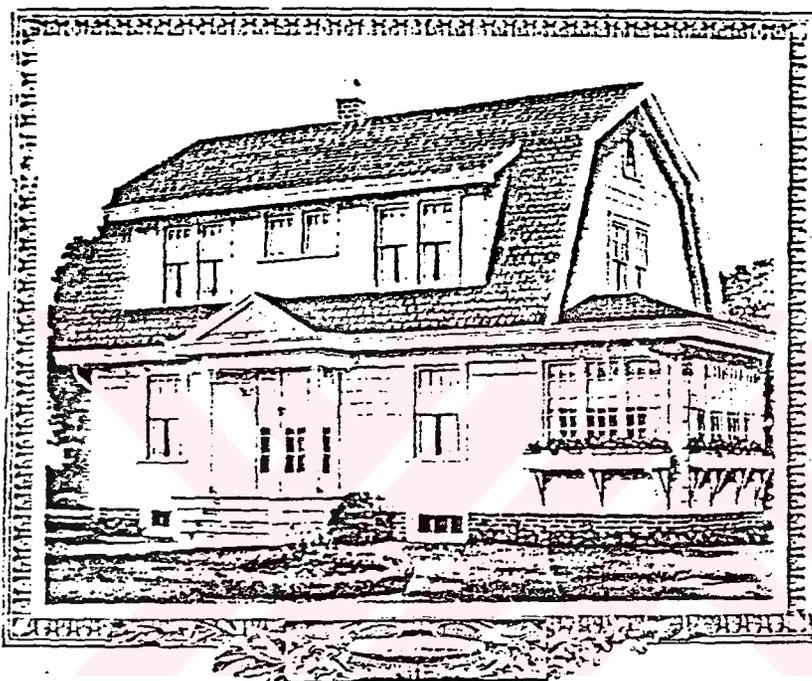
One line of these villages comes down from American interpretations of the English rural park set with singular homes. Another comes from turn-of-the-century European town planning aesthetics and garden-city principles. Here designers put needed economies to use to reinforce communal activities visually and socially.

Forest Hills Gardens is an early American mix of Ebenezer Howard's garden-city concept and Camillo Sitte's street pictures. Such European village forms found their first laboratory in the US in the federal government's workers' housing program of World War I.

Remarkable American publications show the influence of European visions on suburban design. The authors preferred the European method, employing compact groups formally planned to the older American ideal for suburban extensions, the imitation of the rural park. (Figures 5.19 and 5.20)

FIGURE 5.19. AN EXAMPLE OF PATTERN BOOKS

Practical Homes Moderate Price



WAKEFIELD LUMBER CO.

"First Choice of Best Builders"

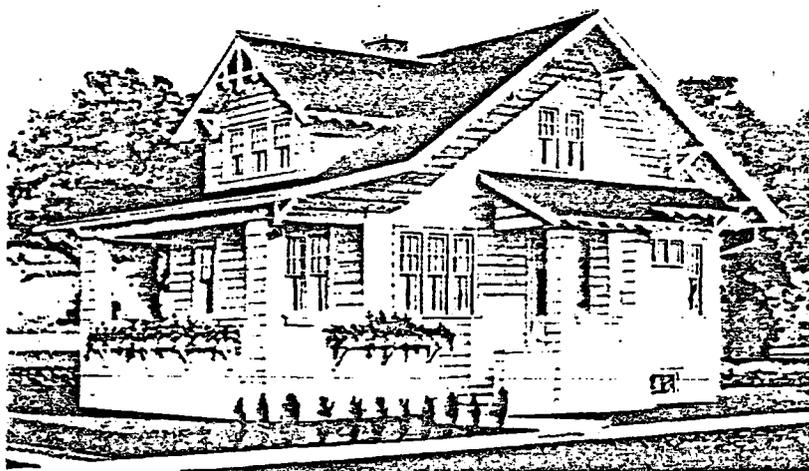
EVERYTHING FOR BUILDING

WAKEFIELD, R. I.

Note: Pattern books offered American families an inexpensive way to build an architect-designed home without the expense and uncertainty that accompanied one-of-a-kind-construction. Typical of such books was this selection from a Rhode Island lumber company of 'practical homes of moderate price' Courtesy of Carol Willis.

SOURCE: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier.

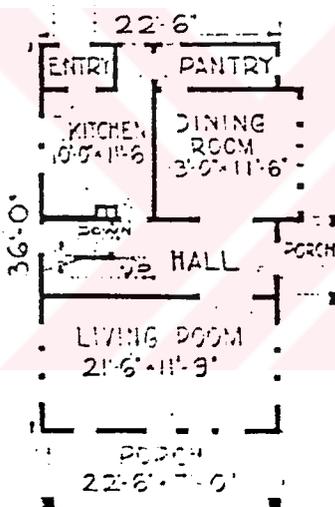
FIGURE 5.20. A SUBURBAN HOUSE DESIGN FROM A PATTERN BOOK



36'-0" 22'-6"

Design 12681-B

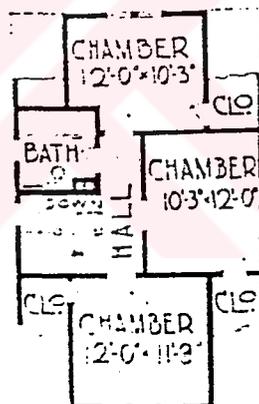
6 Rooms and Bath



A SELECT, roomy, semi-bungalow designed in strictly modern lines. The exclusive front porch and comfortable, large rooms are notable features. Friends and neighbors will enjoy the hospitality offered by such a home. Moving into the new bungalow must indeed be a great event in the life of a happy family.

DIMENSIONS

Width over all.....22 ft.
 Depth over all.....31 ft.
 Ceiling height, 1st floor.....9 ft.
 Ceiling height, 2nd floor.....8 ft.
 Height of basement 7 ft.

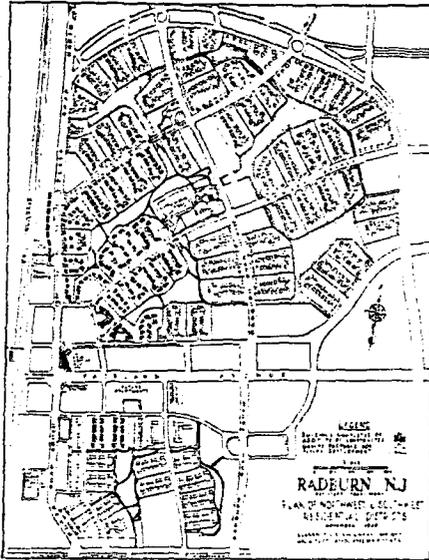


For every man and woman comes the natural desire to own a home.

Note: This American pattern book of the early twentieth century offered its purchasers a selection of houses of varying price. With each pattern went a picture of the finished structure and a room-by-room diagram complete with exterior and interior dimensions. Interested families could then purchase finished architectural plans for a home from the publisher or the architect for as little as five dollars. Photograph by Carol Willis.

SOURCE: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier.

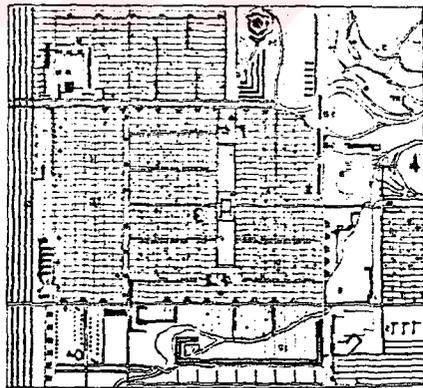
FIGURE 5.21. RADBURN PLAN



Note: The lot lines and streets of the American grid are abolished in the 1928 Radburn plan by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. Houses are grouped and turned to face away from traffic and toward large communal parks.

SOURCE: CRAIG, L., Suburbs, Design Quarterly, no.132, p.25.

FIGURE 5.22. SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM FOR BROADACRE CITY PROJECT, BEGUN IN 1934.



Note: Frank Lloyd Wright's theoretical proposal exploits the capacity of the American grid to accept extendable, repeatable systems of community building. Wright's community module is four square miles of countryside developed on the acre as a unit and accommodating 1,400 families.

SOURCE: CRAIG, L., Suburbs, Design, Quarterly, no.132, p.30.

The American emblem of garden-city planning remains Radburn (1928, New Jersey), which was planned to accommodate the motor age. Radburn is also an exemplar of an American focus on play and recreation as an essential part not only of good personal life but also of good community life. (Figure 5.21)

Only one American designer imagined this event and gave it imaginary form. Paradoxically, the 1935 public exhibition of Frank Lloyd Wright's model for Broadacre City took place in the New York City's Rockefeller Center. Broadacre City was planned upon the basis of general decentralization as an applied principle. Wright reflected that architecture is landscape and landscape takes as the character of architecture by way of the simple process of cultivation. Factory fabricated houses were to range from 'one car' to 'five car' models. (Figure 5.22)

5.7.2.3. Post World War II Suburbs

On August 14, 1945, Japan surrendered and World War II came to an end. Everything, shortages, depression, was over and Americans were ready to renovate and rebuild their cities with the return of peace and prosperity.

During the next two decades, American city entered into a transformation period. Automobile became the most important device of the Americans and metropolises had to adapt to the automobile. (Table 5.5) (Table 5.6) Moreover, construction boomed, population soared, and decentralization of residences and businesses became the policy of US. By the early 1960s the American city was something quite different from what it had been in 1945. Suburbia was becoming the predominant element of metropolitan America, and the central city was declining. (Table 5.7)

By the last quarter of the 19th-century suburbs in the United States had completed nearly a generation of rapid growth on the periphery of that nation's largest cities. American metropolitan decentralization was initially facilitated by major cooperation of myriad small builders, subdividers, municipal officials and financial middle-men, by the demographic pressures of central city population growth, and by the values of a rapidly emerging middle class anchored to the arcadian hearth as a safe harbor amidst the uncertainties of competitive capitalism . (Tables 5.8 and 5.9), (Figure 5.23).

TABLE 5.5. NUMBER OF INHABITANTS PER REGISTERED PASSENGER VEHICLE IN MAJOR WESTERN NATIONS, 1905-1970

Year	U.States	U.Kingdom	Germany	France	Sweden	Italy
1905	1.078	2.312	983	1.850	NA	NA
1920	13	228	1.017	24 7	277	1.206
1930	5	42	135	37	59	225
1940	5	32	54	22	NA	163
1950	4	22	116	24	28	139
1960	3	9	15	8	6	25
1970	2	5	4	4	4	5

SOURCE: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.163.

TABLE 5.6. REGISTERED AUTOMOBILES PER ONE THOUSAND RESIDENTS, TEN MOST POPULOUS STATES, 1980.

1. Illinois	659
2. Florida	651
3. New Jersey	586
4. Ohio	579
5. Massachusetts	579
6. Michigan	566
7. California	541
8. Texas	516
9. Pennsylvania	489
10. New York	408
United States Average	544

SOURCE: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.298.

TABLE 5.7. DIFFERENCES OF POPULATION AND ACREAGE BETWEEN
CITIES AND THEIR SUBURBAN TERRITORIES IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1970s

	Included in Metropolitan District Population	Acres
Within 68 cities of USA	27.429.326	2.038.020
In adjacent suburban territory	9.457.635	21.428.598

SOURCE: DOUGLASS, H.P., The Suburban Trend, p.18.

TABLE 5.8. CENTRAL CITY AND SUBURBAN POPULATION CHANGES
 IN METROPOLITAN AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES,
 1900-80.

Time Periods	Percent Change in Metropolitan Population a.		
	Central Cities	Suburban Rings Outside Central Cities	Total
1900-10	35.3	27.6	32.6
1910-20	26.7	22.4	25.2
1920-30	23.3	34.2	27.0
1930-40	5.1	13.8	8.3
1940-50	13.9	34.7	21.8
1950-60	10.7	48.6	26.4
1960-70	6.4	26.8	16.6
1970-80	0.6	17.4	9.4

Note: a. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMA's)
 as defined at the dates indicated.

SOURCE: ROTHBLATT D.N., GARR D.J., Suburbia, An
 International Assesment, p.4.

TABLE 5.9. PERCENTAGE SHARES OF TOTAL US POPULATION
GROWTH BY GEOGRAPHIC AREAS, 1900-70

Decade	All Metropolitan Areas	All Central Cities	All Suburbs	All-Non-Metropolitan Areas
1900-10	63.7	45.9	17.8	36.3
1910-20	76.4	54.7	21.7	23.6
1920-30	83.2	49.4	33.8	16.8
1930-40	65.9	27.0	38.9	34.1
1940-50	86.1	35.0	51.1	13.9
1950-60	84.4	20.1	64.3	15.6
1960-70	83.9	13.4	70.5	16.1

SOURCE: MILLER, Z.L., The Urbanization of Modern America.

FIGURE 5.23. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL US POPULATION CHANGE



NOTE: Data derived from table A.1 in Appendix; source same as for that table.

Data for 1960-70 based on figures for 230 areas classified as metropolitan in 1970; all other decades based on figures for 212 areas classified as metropolitan in 1960.

SOURCE: MILLER, Z.L., The Urbanization of Modern America.

5.7.2.3.1. Socio - Economic Composition of Postwar

Suburbs

5.7.2.3.1.1. Its Availability and Thus its Reduced
Suggestion of Wealth:

Upper-income suburbs and developments sprouted across the land and some set high standards of style and design. Typically, they offered expansive lots, spacious and individualized designs, and affluent neighbors. But the most important income development of the period was the lowering of the threshold of purchase. After World War II, however, because of mass-production techniques government financing, high wages, and low interest rates, it was quite simply cheaper to buy new housing in the suburbs than it was to reinvest in central city properties or to rent at the market price.

5.7.2.3.1.2. Economic and Racial Homogeneity

The sorting out of families by income and color began even before the civil war and was stimulated by the growth of the factory system.

What was unusual in the new circumstances was not the presence of discrimination -Jews and Catholics as well as blacks had been excluded from certain neighborhoods for generations- but the thoroughness of the physical separation which it entailed.

The economic and age homogeneity of large subdivisions sometimes entire suburbs was almost as the racial distinction. Suburban populations are younger, more likely to be married, with higher incomes and white-collar occupations. Although this tendency had been present even in the 19th century, the introduction of zoning—beginning with a New York City ordinance in 1916—served the general purpose of preserving residential class segregation and property values.

5.7.2.3.1.3. Changing Nature of Entertainment

Cities, by their very nature, ought to encourage the elevation of the human spirit. Anyone who has ever visited the Piazza San Marco in Venice, shared the happy conviviality of Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen, witnessed the temptations of the Reeperbahn in Hamburg, strolled at midnight along the Ramblas in Barcelona, or bicycled on Sunday in New York's Central Park knows something of the potentialities and varieties of urban experience. They remind one of Samuel Johnson's telling phrase: When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life ²⁰ .

But in the United States what is most significant is not the influence of urban culture but the general suburban resistance to it. The real shift is the way in which lives are now centered inside the house, rather than on the neighborhood or the community. There are few

places as desolate and lonely as a suburban street on a hot afternoon.

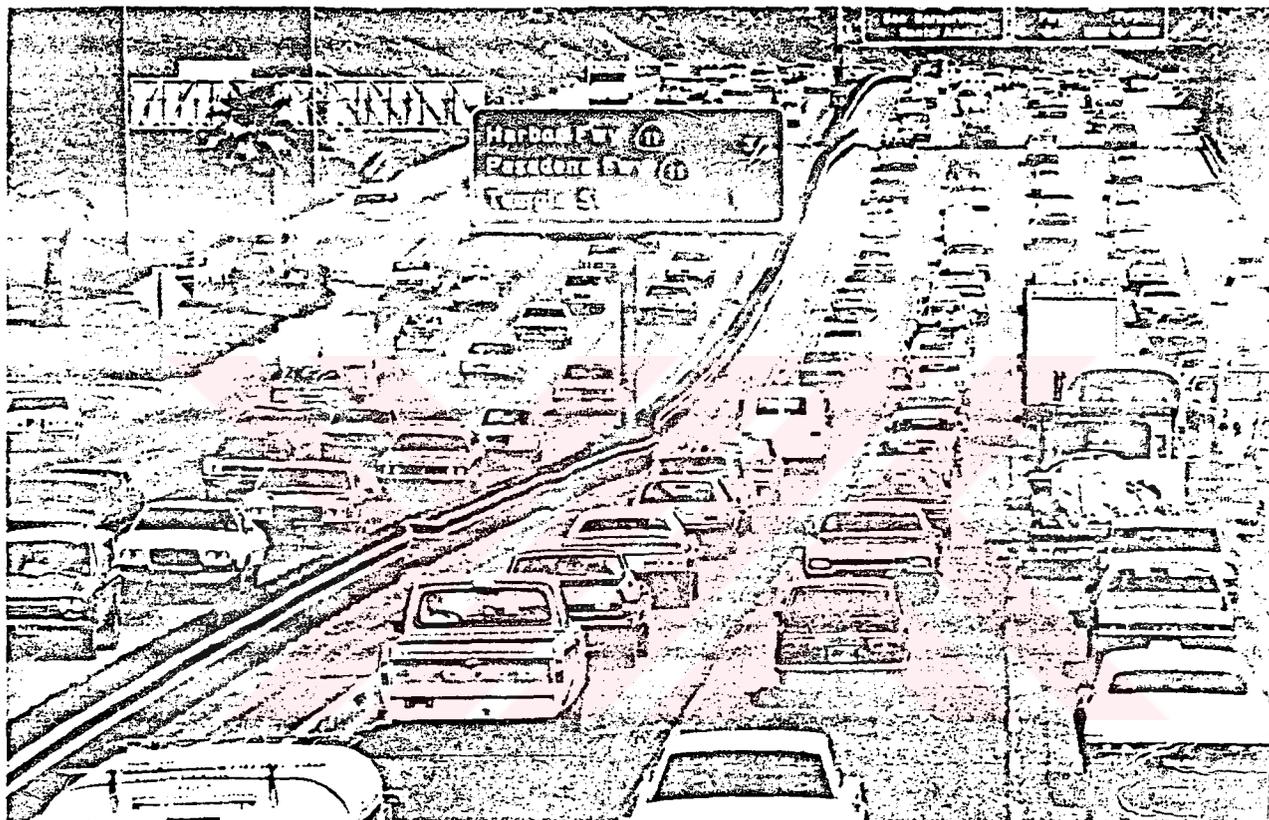
A century and more ago a house was to get out of during free hours. To be within the house was to be away from the action. However now, streets are no longer places to promenade and to meet, but passage ways for high-powered machines. In fact, more and more people now regard it as a waste of time to go out to a game or a movie.

5.7.2.3.2. Pattern of Postwar Suburbs

Suburbs are more likely to be dormitories. They're quite far away from the workplaces in the central city. (Figure 5.24) (Figure 5.25) (Figure 5.26). This pattern has 2 characteristics;

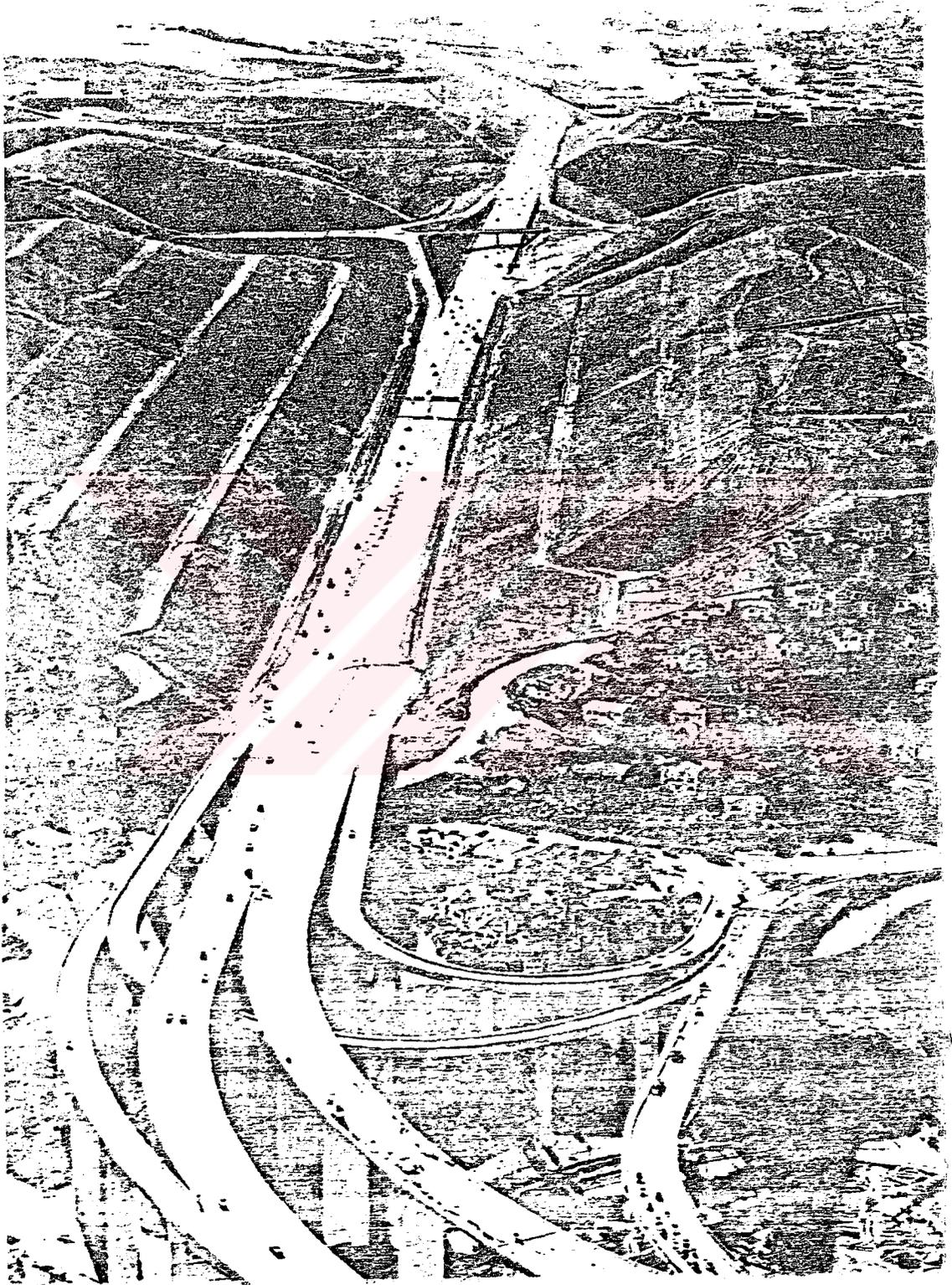
They consist of single-family rather than multi-family structures. Between 1946 and 1956, about 97 percent of all new single-family dwellings. Were completely detached, surrounded on every side by their own plots. Moreover, over the history of American suburb a larger trace of its design is the balance between private and public life. This balance, the 'villageness' can be endorsed in the pattern of the plan, in the reservations for park and roads, schools and shopping. In contrast private property may be treated as visual common space.

FIGURE 5.24. COMMUTING TO THE CITY BY AUTO IS A WAY OF LIFE FOR MANY WORKERS LIVING IN THE SUBURBS



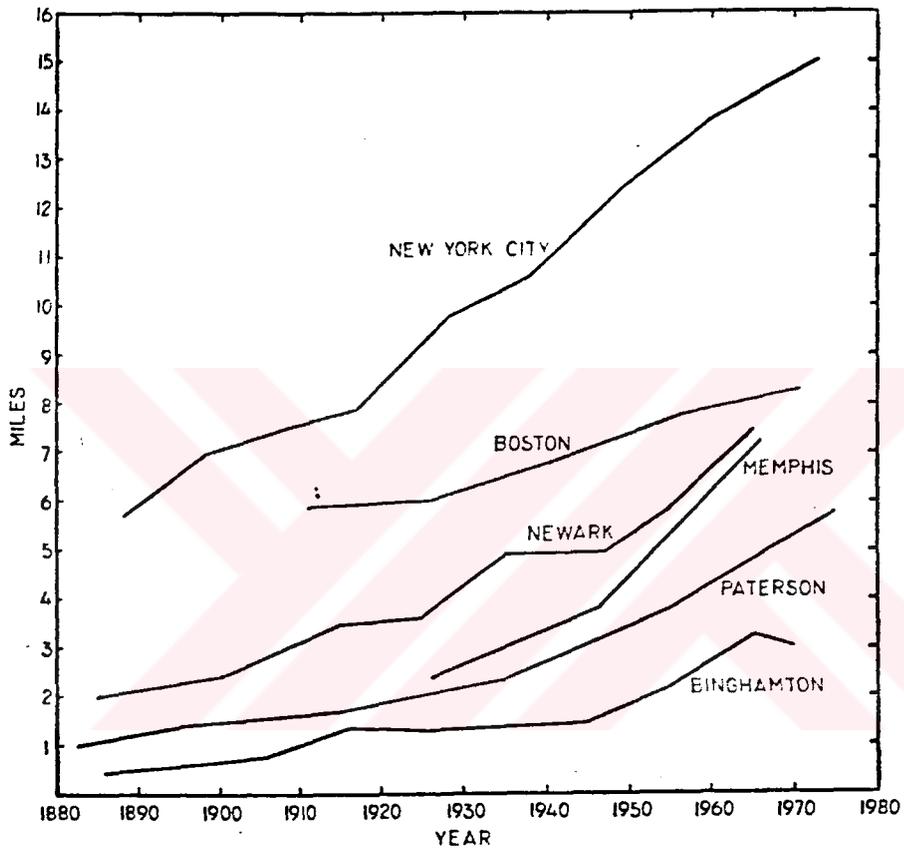
SOURCE: Cities:Where People live and why, Prepared by Sociological Resources for the Social Studies p.5.

FIGURE 5.25. HIGHWAYS IN THE US



SOURCE: CRAIG, L., Suburbs, Design Quarterly, no.132.

FIGURE 5.26. DISTANCE OF JOURNEY-TO-WORK, IN MILES, OF ATTORNEYS WITH OFFICES IN SELECTED CITIES, 1880-1980



SOURCE: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p. 315.

Within the plan of curving streets and paths, the native can more easily discover a destination than a stranger. It is also true that curved patterns are found overlaid on grids in the meanest subdivisions. Levittown, Long Island, for example, was settled at a density of 10 500 per square mile, which was about average for postwar suburbs but less than half as dense as the streetcar suburbs of a half-century earlier.

5.7.2.3.3. The Suburban Design

Suburban homes are newer and more modern than the central city and designed for the car rather than the pedestrian. A few custom homes were built for the rich and mobile homes gained popularity with the poor and the transient, but for most American families in search of a new place to live, some form of tract house was the most likely option.

Most of the larger developers offered no more than a half-dozen basic house plans, and some offered half that number. The result was a monotony and repetition that was especially stark in the early years of the subdivision, before the individual owners had transformed their homes and yards according to personal taste.

In the early years after world war II a young photographer did a flyover for some pictures of the mushrooming Los Angeles suburb of Lakewood. Those four pictures have become something of an icon, still featured as a stand-in for the suburb in America. Similar use is made of a Life magazine picture of new houses climbing a hill in Daly City south of San Francisco. Those houses entered our visual and verbal lexicon as the 'little boxes made of ticky tacky' in the song Pete Seeger made famous ²¹. (Figures 5.27 and 5.28)

Lakewood might have become the slum of the future. But, fortunately for a useful point, Lakewood today is a community of modest but maintained houses.

In the 1950's alot of commentators had their say about the perceived loss of quality control. Lewis Mumford, long a champion of planned garden suburbs, declared most darkly the row widespread reading of Lakewood flyover;

In the mass movement into suburban areas a new kind of community was produced, which caricatured both the historic city and the archetypal suburban refuge: a multitude of uniform, unidentifiable houses, lined up inflexibly, at uniform distances, on uniform roads, in steeless communal waste, inhabited by people of the same

class, the same income, the same age group, witnessing the same television performances, eating the same tasteless prefabricated foods, from the same freezers, conforming in every respect to a common mold, manufactured in the central metropolis. Thus the ultimate effect of the suburban escape in our time is, ironically a low-grade uniform environment from which escape is impossible .

A new resort, a suburban exclave, features professional design in plan, in elevation, and in occupancy, and, within the parameters of Victorian ambience, requires fences, bans metal trim, and discourages grass in favor of natural landscape materials. The desire for space, on the curve or on the straight, does not disappear. Grass is still planted and watered. No one, as someone has remarked, goes to the suburbs because of an interest in botany.

FIGURE 5.27. THE SUBURBAN DESIGN



Note:

By the 1950s designers and social commentators recoiled from such images of suburban tract development as the construction photographs of Lakewood. Four photographs in this series were used by Peter Blake as evidence in his vituperative attack on the American landscape, *God's Own Junkyard*.

SOURCE: CRAIG, L., *Suburbs*, *Design Quarterly*, no.132.

FIGURE 5.28 THE SUBURBAN DESIGN



Note:

By contrast, artists like Andy Warhol in the early 1960s began through formal means to speak to the issues and feelings of the postwar era with such imagery as his 32 Soup Cans, 1961-1962. For them, the everyday object and the mass-produced object offered fresh areas of style and subject matter. In architecture, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, with their students, sought to learn from Las Vegas and Levittown. Their artistic co-opting of ordinary elements expanded the architect's tool kit, but not for tackling design issues of the suburbs.

SOURCE: CRAIG, L., Suburbs, Design Quarterly, no.132.

6. TYPES OF SUBURBS

6.1. ACCORDING TO THE SPECIALIZATION OF FUNCTIONS

1. Residential Suburbs
2. Industrial Suburbs
3. Mixed Suburbs

6.1.1. Residential Suburbs

In residential suburbs it is primarily the home which has separated itself from the city and which has settled in specialized areas in which business and industry have little part. These suburbs have 2 factors;

The residential suburb distincts from the other types by cutting its daily life into two halves, one of which it spends the city and the other at home.

The people of residential suburbs live where they do by reason of natural selection based on a peculiar psychology motivation. Many professional workers place a high value on a rural setting for their homes. This is decentralization of people and besides there is decentralization of consumption.

The basic distinction of economic science is between production and consumption, that is to say between the creation of wealth and its expenditure. The residential suburb represents the decentralization of consumption. Man creates wealth in the central city and

spends it in the suburbs. He earns his living in the city but lives at home in a contrasting environment. He leaves his work in the city but lives in the country with his wife and children, going back and forth daily in order to keep both aspects of life going. Of course some work is done in the residential suburb but it is primarily in the service of rest, recreation, and refreshment for others.

In the largest sense it is the mark of the residential suburb to leave productive work in the city and to solve the problem of the worker by a daily movement from home in the morning to the shop, factory, or office and back again at night.

Suburbia is not area characterized only by the home or by any other single feature. It consists, rather, of separate communities, each containing its individual characteristics. Some are middle-class suburbs, some poor and some others rich. They are quite separate communities, differing from each other economically, socially, and in physical appearance.

6.1.1.1. Upper-class Suburb -----

These wealthy communities which is most benefitted economically by suburban living, that are dominant by the professional and managerial classes and the unoccupied rich are often incorporated villages. Homes

have to be set on multiple acre lots instead of the half-acre or quarter-acre required in most of middle-class suburbs of America.

Wealthy American families have wished their homes to reflect and reinforce the status image projecting of themselves and home builders have helped the trend by emphasizing status appeals.

William Molster, director of merchandising activities for the National Association of Home Builders, confirms this trend in home selling. Researchers for the Chicago Tribune, explaining the attitudes of people in elite suburbs they studied, summed up, the prevailing attitudes toward homes in this way: 'You have to look successful. A house is a very tangible symbol of success'... The residents regard it
23
as a goal and a symbol as well as something to live in .

The people residing in the wealthy communities of suburbia differ from other suburbanites not only in their physical surroundings, but also in their life styles and social relations. Marriage between social equals is desired, divorce is condemned since it results in the division of family fortune. Children are desired, but only one or two.

Accumulated wealth and large annual incomes provide these families with the highest economic standing in suburbia. Often they are the owners of the banks, large industries, newspapers and office buildings.

Although the rich have the highest standard of living their level of consumption does not exhaust their incomes; a sizable proportion is saved. All houses are owned, many have been inherited, every family owns at least 2 or 3 cars. Wealth invested in lands, securities, and business assures the family a secure income with a minimum effort.

6.1.1.2. Middle-Class Suburb

Most suburbs are inhabited by people of the middle-class on the economic sense. This is because there are relatively few rich people and because, the suburb is not generally available for the very poor.

Middle-class people, living in suburbs do have a superiority over the city dwellers and generalizes their feelings as such;

I'm a city man and then something more. All of the essential advantages of the city over the country I have its vastness, its interest, its opportunity. But I also command rural advantage. I have my own house and yard, my garden and trees, my air and sunshine, my neighbors

when I want them, and my convenient and interesting daily change of environment. To be sure, I must make certain compromises from both sides, but I keep the best of both. Only the very rich who exchange city and country seasonally instead of daily are more fortunate than I²⁴.

6.1.1.3. Poor-Class Suburb (Suburban Slum) -----

Suburban slum is characterized by delapidated, overcrowded housing, badly maintained streets, and low quality public services and facilities.

One description of the suburban slum has been given as follows;

... the ghettos or slum areas in suburbia today were often marginal locations during residential development. Often they were cut off by railroad tracks, swamps, or highways. In one case, a two block long stone wall was built, reputedly to mark 'the line'. The boundaries of these segregated residential areas of Negroes often run along the edges of political boundaries, sometimes on both sides in a relatively narrow strip. They are permitted locations for a negatively valued population²⁵.

The individuals who live in the suburban slum are irregular in their employment and often totally isolated from organized community activities. Their

social life consists of visits between neighbors, gossips, going to town, drinking in the home or local bar and varried illegal activities such as betting. The family is so loosely organized that members usually go their own way in search of amusement and satisfaction.

Privacy in box-like homes is almost non-existent; parents, children and the remains of broken families may live in 2 or 3 rooms. Wells, springs or creeks are used for a water supply.

The suburban slum begins when the middle-class moves out of the city and into the suburbs. Business and light industry move out to cater to their needs and to take advantage of the new markets and extra space that the suburbs offer. The poor then move out to fill the jobs in the industries and businesses.

6.1.2. Industrial Suburbs

The urban fringe has been broadened further by the dispersal of factories as well as of homes. As a first step much manufacturing industry was dispersed from locations in the city center to more scattered sites on the fringe of cities largely as a result of changing methods of production devoted to large space requirements. Consequently it has little room for people. It is a place for work in contrast with play or even with rest.

Industrial suburb is also dependent upon the city as a central labor market and recruitment of labor is not a problem with the increased level of personal mobility.

6.1.3. Mixed Suburbs

Mixed suburbs show two streams of suburban tendency flowing side by side toward a common result. ... generally in effect merely other cities within the metropolitan zone; or else they are communities in transition which must ultimately find equilibrium either by one method or the other.

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6.2. ACCORDING TO THEIR HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL VARIATIONS

1. Suburbs with and without previous community tradition
2. Successful and unsuccessful suburbs
3. Suburbs planned and unplanned
4. Suburbs with and without internal centralization.

6.2.1. Suburbs With and Without Previous Community Tradition

Many suburbs are the mere overflow of cities upon what was previously farmland or open country. Others are built upon foundations occupied by old towns or

villages. The influence of previous community tradition is a very powerful differentiating factor.

6.2.2. Successful and Unsuccessful Suburbs

The city is not always successful in the effort to create suburbs. The city's expansion has been largely accidental. Somebody cut up a farm and offered people lots for sale. Often this was purely a speculative venture, sometimes resulted in a suburb sometimes not, there was no control to guarantee results. Consequently there has been a very high percentage of suburban failure or partial failure. Sometimes it built houses on narrow lots forming solid rows of city structures. Realty values have not maintained themselves; promised public utilities have not come. Life remains hard and inconvenient.

There are also suburbs which are succeeding better than the expectations. Such suburbs ultimately reach equilibrium on some level or other, getting transit facilities as their size and demands justify.

6.2.3. Suburbs Planned and Unplanned

Although few suburbs are the results of definite physical planning or of social design, a small but rapidly increasing number of planned suburbs are to be recognized.

Planned suburbs fall into 2 groups;

1. Those planned primarily to secure better living-conditions for industrial workers;
2. Intelligent real-estate developments undertaken primarily for the sake of profits.

The first group of suburbs in America were created by the manufacturing corporations and very high grade suburbs of planned areas are now common features of about most American cities under strictly, commercial impulse. Also the local government is required to enforce the restrictions fixed by the first planners and founders.

6.2.4. Suburbs With and Without Internal Centralization

Another variation in the social structure of suburbs is based upon their physical structures. Some are physically unified by the presence of a single center which is the focus of movement, as well as the site of most of the internal business. Other suburbs are series of detached neighborhoods strung along the line of transportation and tributary only to their railroad stations.

6.3. ACCORDING TO SUBURBANITES' LIFE-TIME SPENT IN SUBURBIA

1. Year-round suburbs
2. Seasonal suburbs (Second-home ownership)

6.3.1. Year-round Suburbs

All the suburban types mentioned above are year-round suburbs. People live year-round in suburbia, go to work in the mornings and come back at nights.

6.3.2. Seasonal Suburbs

Seasonal suburbanization has first developed as an additional form of accommodation for urbanites in the last few decades, involving the part-time occupancy of other than primary places of residence.

The popularization of second homes is essentially a post-1945 phenomenon, resulting from;

1. Sufficient income for non-essential items,
2. Sufficient time away from work to allow this income to be spent on leisure-time activities.
3. Capital accumulation,
4. Fashion following,
5. Status attainment,
6. The desire to engage in non-urban recreation, and
7. Improvements in public and private transportation.

Nevertheless, small numbers of second homes existed in around Europe and North American cities at much earlier dates but their occupation was reserved for a small and affluent section of society.

Members of the Swedish nobility started to establish summer residences around Stockholm in the early 17th century and their example was emulated by middle-class businessmen during the 19th century. Daniel Defoe, travelling through the English counties of Surrey and Essex close to London in the 1720s, found '... handsom large houses ... being chiefly for the habitation of the richest citizens, such as... are able to keep two houses, one in the country and one in the city'. The town of Epsom in Surrey functioned as a seasonal suburb for the affluent. 'In the winter this is no place for pleasure indeed; as it is full of mirth and gaiety in the summer, so the prospect of the winter presents you with little but good houses shut up, and windows fasten'd; the families remov'd... the people out of the town.' 'Later in the 18th century, Arthur Young recorded many examples of luxurious second homes around the provincial cities of France. He noted in his journal that the merchant classes of Rouen '... are right to have country villas, to get out of this great, ugly, strinking, close and ill-built town which is full of nothing but development and industry.' Paris was ringed

with second homes on an even graded scale. In 1840 the settlement of Auteul, now part of inner Paris, was described in the following terms ... 'For 6 months of the year the streets are empty, the doors closed and the houses silent. The inhabitants are in Paris where they spend the winter' .²⁷

Second-home occupation is a temporary but a recognizable form of suburbanization. Urbanization permitted a spatial separation between place of work and place of residence within the built-up city. Second-home occupation has introduced a new dimension to this process allowing the urbanite to change his environment completely rather than simply moving from one part of the city to another.

Especially the whole family stays in its second home during the father's official paid holiday, and mother and children remain there throughout the whole period when schools are closed, father joining them on weekends.

6.3.2.1. Patterns of Second-Home Location

6.3.2.1.1. Concentric Rings of Growth

Limited opportunities for personal mobility prior to the automobile age restricted the establishment of second homes to areas which were only a few kilometres beyond the edge of the built-up city.

At a very broad level of generalization, a concentric ring pattern of second-homes, composed of primary residences, to a weekend dormitory zone and then, at a greater distance, to a summer dormitory zone. (Figure 6.1)

Differences in the diameters of these rings depend on a variety of factors, including the stage of transport development, the value of demand for second homes, national variations in the perception of distance and a number of local features. (Figure 6.2)

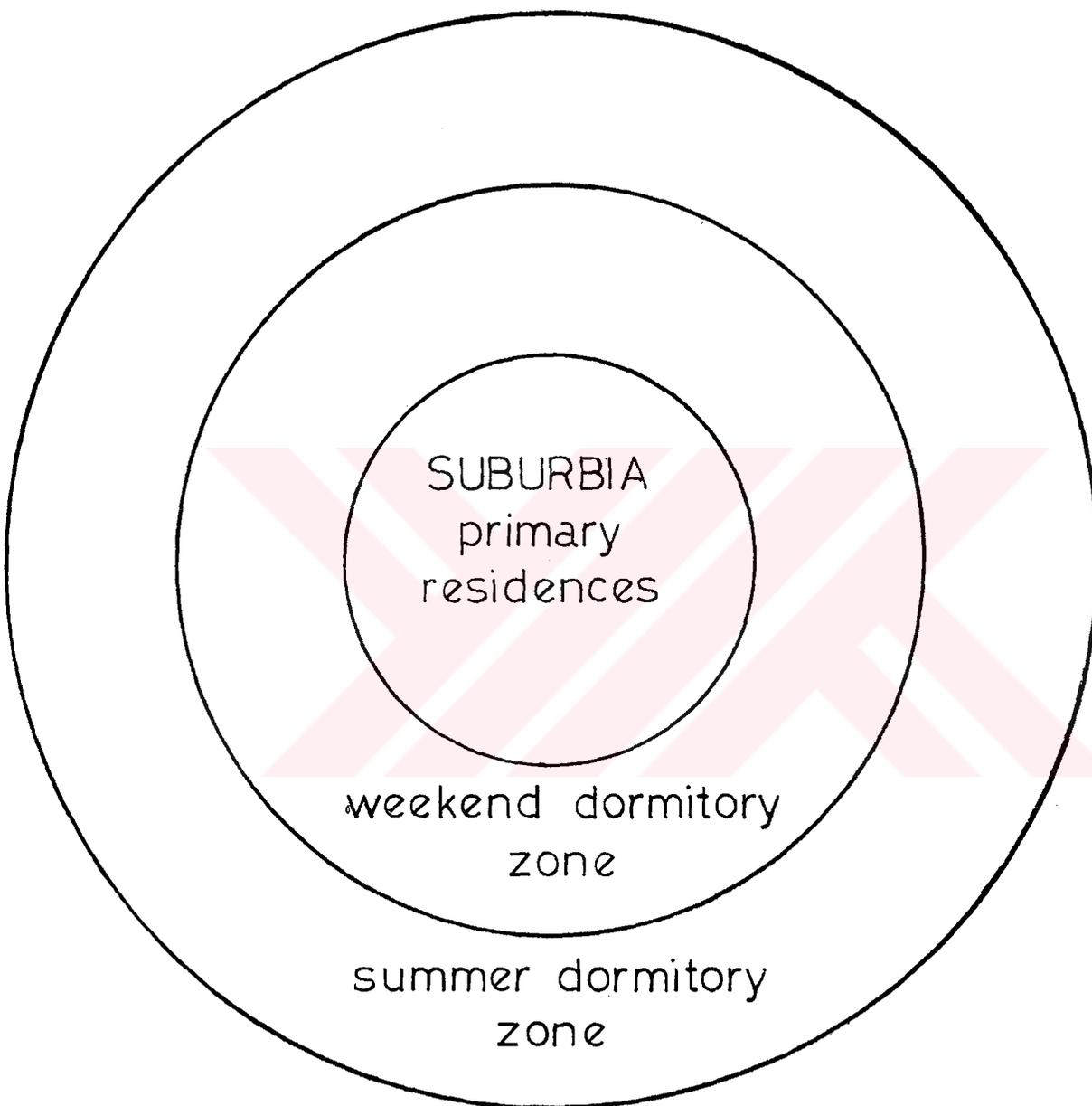
Europeans generally travel shorter distances to reach their second homes than North Americans or Australians. Large demands for second homes push weekend suburbs far out into their zones of influence as proximal areas become saturated. (Figure 6.3) (Table 6.1)

6.3.2.1.2. Sectoral and Nuclear Growth

With increasing distance from central cities, second homes are used for long vacations, rather than for weekends.

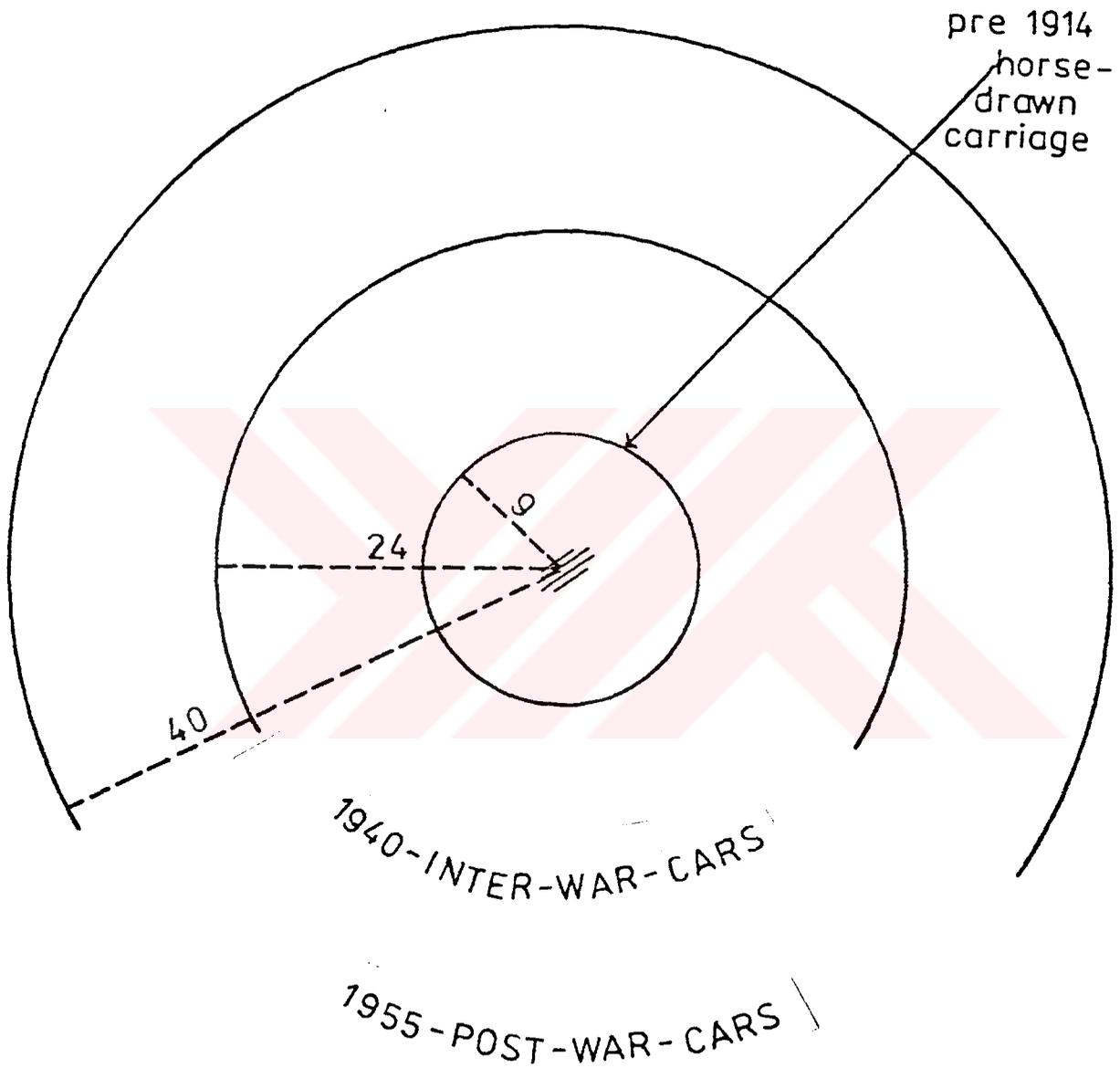
The location of railways and highways away from an urban demand center tends to distort the pattern of second homes into a series of sectors and also extends radii of development further away from the central city.

FIGURE 6.1. CONCENTRIC RING PATTERN OF SECOND-HOMES



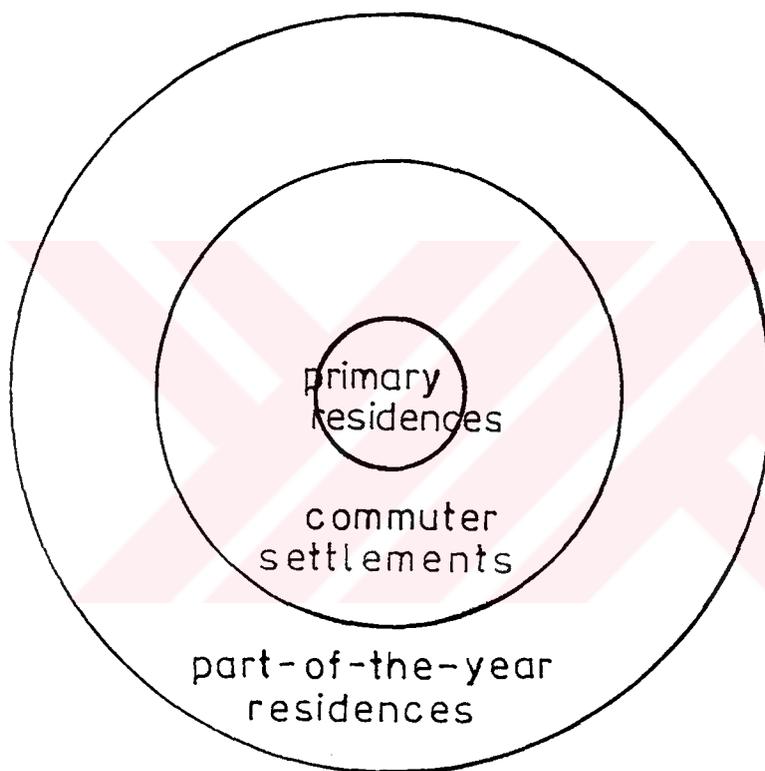
SOURCE: JOHNSN, J.H., (Edited), Suburban Growth, p.99.

FIGURE 6.2. CONCENTRIC-RING PATTERN OF SECOND-HOME DEVELOPMENT AROUND LYONS. 1900 - 1960



Note: Radius is shown in miles.
SOURCE: JOHNSON, J.H., (Edited), Suburban Growth, p.110.

FIGURE 6.3. EARLY 20TH-CENTURY WEEK-END SUBURBS BECOMING
PRIMARY RESIDENCES, LYONS BY THE 1950s



SOURCE: JOHNSON, J.H., (Edited), Suburban Growth p.111.

TABLE 6.1. DISTANCE BETWEEN SECOND-HOMES AND PRIMARY
RESIDENCES OF HOUSEHOLDS, MICHIGAN

KILOMETRES	PERCENTAGES
less than 40	9
50-79	13
80-159	12
160-319	30
320-479	21
480-639	6
640 and over	9

SOURCE: JOHNSON, J.H. (Edited), Suburban Growth, p.111.

The existence of particular site conditions are important in distribution of second homes. Water is a multi-functioned condition.

As Tombaugh showed, 89 % of Michigan's second homes²⁸ were located within 5 minutes walk from water surfaces .

Other important factors include the existing settlement pattern, such as the location of houses, and farm buildings which might fall vacant and become available for conversion, and the location of sites where planning permission has been granted for developing estates.

Growing demands for leisure-time homes require effective management programs to provide necessary services and utilities such as roads, electricity, piped water and mains drainage.

7. ISTANBUL

In the following pages, the main topic will be on finding an answer to the question as "Was-Is and Will-Istanbul in a tend to develop in suburbs or not?" To find the answer of this question, first the reasons of movement to suburbia in Europe and United States will be examined within the perspective of Istanbul's urbanization history and secondly, developments in Istanbul's urban form will be studied.

7.1. REASON OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA IN ISTANBUL

7.1.1. Push Factors

7.1.1.1. Physical Congestion in the Center

There was not seen important changes in Istanbul's physical structure until the Ottoman period. Physical congestion in the center is a phenomenon of migrations to the city and mostly of from rural to urban migrations of 1945s postworldwar II.

First flow of immigrants came to istanbul after termination of the Ottoman-Russian war and they created serious problems. Upto this date population was showing natural increases without creating important problems. (Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3)

TABLE 7.1: POPULATION CHANGES (Byzantine period-1900)

Years	Total Population of istanbul	Population of Kadıköy
Byzantine period	40- 50.000	
15th cent.	100-200.000	
16th cent.	400.000	
17th cent.	700.000-800.000	100-200 (mostly of Greek fishermen)
1882	870.000	
1897	1.052.000	
1901		

TABLE 7.2: PERCENTAGE OF MOSLEM POPULATION IN ISTANBUL
(1956-1985)

Years	Urban Population	Moslem Population (%)	Area ha	Density/ ha
1856	450.000			
1878	546.437	37		
1885	873.565	44		
1897	1.013.466	51		
1906-7	792.227			
1927		64		
1935	769.271		25300	29
⋮				
1985	5.842.985		5712km2	1023 people/km2

TABLE 7.3: POPULATION CHANGES IN MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES
(1927-1945)

Years	Annual increase in population of the city within municipal boundaries
1927-35	7.000
1935-40	10.000
1940-45	12.000

TABLE 7.4: INCREASE IN APARTMENT CONSTRUCTION IN
ISTANBUL (1927-1940)

Years	Number of houses	Number of apartment houses
1927	86.792	1441
1935	96.502	3090
1940	91.760	3382

The most prominent changes took place in the city center in the 19th century. CBD started to be specialized by attracting financial institutions, new banks. The merchant chose location for his office in the commercial inns now being built near the new bank. A transformation was being experienced in the CBD. Thus the CBD displayed differentiation while extending into new areas.

Besides the ethnic differentiation of the urban space, the existing social stratification was also undergoing change. While the historical peninsula and shores of Haliç were losing prestige, Nişantaşı, Pera

and settlements along the railway from Kadıköy to Bostancı became prime residential quarters along with Makriköy and Yeşilköy. The shores of the Golden Horn suffered greatest loss of prestige. On the Anatolian side, Uskûdar played a similar role accomodating the bachelors, the unemployed and the unskilled laborers.

After the first world war and civilwar, Ankara became the headquarter of Anatolian resistance and most of Istanbul's functions were reduced and so these were reflected in decrease of urban population (Table 7.2) and in the increase of share of the Turkish population. So the city was reduced in size while it became more homogeneous in demographic composition.

The most dramatic reduction was observed in Greek population as a result of the exchange with Greece after the war of independence.

During the Republican period -1930-1945- the new immigrants from Selanik who came during the Meşrutiyet and who could not be integrated with the city, were distributed to several different neighborhoods thus. The city of Istanbul the population of which had not even reached 800.000 extended over an unproportionally large area from Beykoz to Yeşilköy and to Suadiye. Thus there cannot be told about a physical congestion. In 1935 population density per hectar was 29-0.03 people per m².

On the other hand, number of houses and number of apartment houses went on increasing until 1940 (Table 7.4). But after 1940 number of houses started to decrease. The impact of the decrease in the stock, fall in the number of new constructions along with increase in population reached critical dimensions in 1941. It is observed that this crisis fostered the type of development called "gecekondu" (squatter housing). This situation was also the beginning of physical congestion in the center.

Congestion gained impetus after 1950 with an increasing speed as from 1950 to 1980 urban population has increased 277 %.

During 1950-1980 period, it is estimated that 350.000 people have migrated to the cities. In 30 years at least 10 million rural immigrants have come to urban centers .

After 1950 there started a concentration of manufacturing activities in the city center. This situation discouraged low income workers from settling in the fringes of the city and caused concentration of them in the city center (Table 7.5).

TABLE 7.5: DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN EUROPEAN AND
ASIAN SIDES

Years	Population in metropolitan area	Population of European side	Population of Asian side
1950	983.041	790.703	192.338
1960	1.459.513	1.152.625	306.888
1965	2.141.000	1.789.801	351.199
1970	2.853.000		
1980	4.351.000		
1985	5.842.985		

Bedrettin Dalan explains the planning activities of Istanbul in a magazine as follows;

Especially in the last 30 years, ... the population rose from 1.5 million to 6 million, parallel to this, city planning was almost not considered. Meanwhile, infrastructure, because of the unplanned city, never thought. Transportation lagged and a terrible erosion was seen in the cultural life of Istanbul... Istanbul became a big village. In other words there is no other village or town which is worse than Istanbul in Turkey .

From 1970 to 1980 Istanbul's population has almost doubled itself and this created a higher level of physical congestion in the city. Thus Istanbul's central parts have become unsuitable for settlement.

Physical congestion in the center has become a reason -although not so powerful as in the United States case- of movement from the city center after 1945s (Figure 7.1).

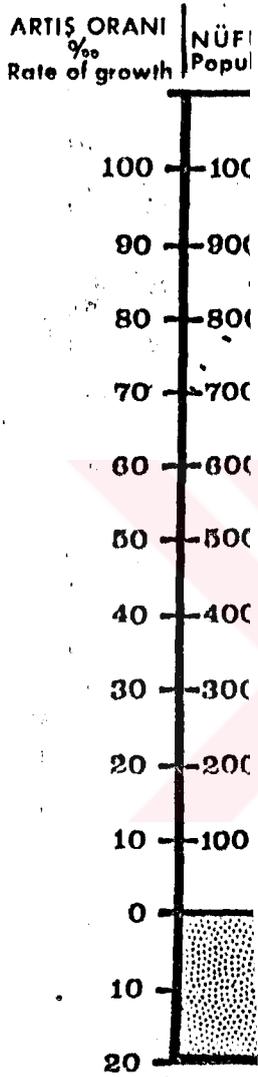
7.1.1.2. Traffic Congestion in the Center

Traffic congestion is also a post worldwar II phenomenon. In the 17th century, there was no wheeled transportation in Istanbul. So the roads were narrow and not straight. In 1840s, the roads were opened after the horse carriages came into wide use but these were not a part of a general plan considering the whole of the city, but as results of local rearrangements after the frequently occuring great fires.

In 1860s, operations related to the reconstruction of roads in the city center of Istanbul were creating a tendency which run counter to the development of a concentration around the central business district. The circulation network has been converted so as to accomodate carriage and tramcar traffic and thus innercity integration has been achieved to a certain extend. The external communication system was based on steamships and the rail network (Table 7.6).

Until 1945, however number of automobiles were very few, road constructions were based on the idea of concentration in the city center.

FIGURE 7.1: POPULATION BY CENSUS YEAR ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH



SOURCE: Genel Nüfus Sayımı, İstanbul

TABLE 7.6: NUMBER OF COMMUTERS (Annual), Million person)

	1897	1912	1914
Railway	5.6	5.95	8.67
Tramway	6.2	8.99	24.7
Bus	.6	.8	1.4
Tunnel	2.8	7.53	9.0
Navigation	9.0	14.8	16.5
Şirketi Hayriye	9.0	16.64	15.90
Steamships on Golden Horn	8.8	9.24	10.5
	42.0	66.95	86.04

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma, p.30.

An important characteristic of the 1945-65 period was the comparative increase of number and share of motor vehicles like cars and dolmushes in urban traffic in which frequent congestions started to appear and infrastructure of the existing road system remained insufficient (Tables 7.7 and 7.8).

Between 1950 and 1980 the old wooden housing structure has been demolished and instead high concrete apartment buildings have been erected. But these 5-6 storied new apartments were built just on the places of the small wood structures, they were not pulled away from the existing roads. As a result of this wrong implementation policy, the narrow roads could have not go on being alternatives to the main streets and so all traffic has been gathered on the main arteries. And so these all became congested...³¹

Today, 250-300 new cars are entering to the daily traffic and this makes the situation, explained above, a bigger and bigger problem. People are highly bothered of traffic in istanbul (Table 7.9). (Figures 7.2 and 7.3).

7.1.1.3. Land Price Increase

Just like in other developing countries, the central city is densely populated with high taxes, and housing and land supply is not equal to the demand in Istanbul. Parallel to these, transportation facilities

TABLE 7.7: MODAL DISTRIBUTION OF TRIPS IN A NORMAL DAY

Year	Trips
1927	67,500
1935	80,500
1940	77,700
1945	122,600
1950	151,000
1955	200,900
1960	212,500
1965	214,900
1970	225,100
1975	213,200
1980	314,800
1985	302,600

* yearly pass

SOURCE: TEKELI, Ilhan, Development of Intra City Transportation in Istanbul (1927-1985), p.141.

TABLE 7.8: PERCENTAGE WISE MODAL DISTRIBUTION OF
VEHICULAR TRIPS IN A NORMAL DAY

YEARS	FERRY
1927	23,61
1935	17,31
1940	15,11
1945	18,82
1950	17,95
1955	16,96
1960	13,45
1965	8,67
1970	8,31
1975	6,39
1980	4,99
1985	3,61

SOURCE: TEKELI, İlhan, Development of Intra City
Transportation in Istanbul (1927-1985), p.143.

TABLE 7.9. DISTRIBUTION OF VEHICULAR TRIPS BY MODES OF OPERATION IN A NORMAL DAY

YEAR	
1927	1
1935	1
1940	1
1945	1
1950	2
1955	4
1960	12
1965	17
1970	34
1975	70
1980	1.45
1985	2.00

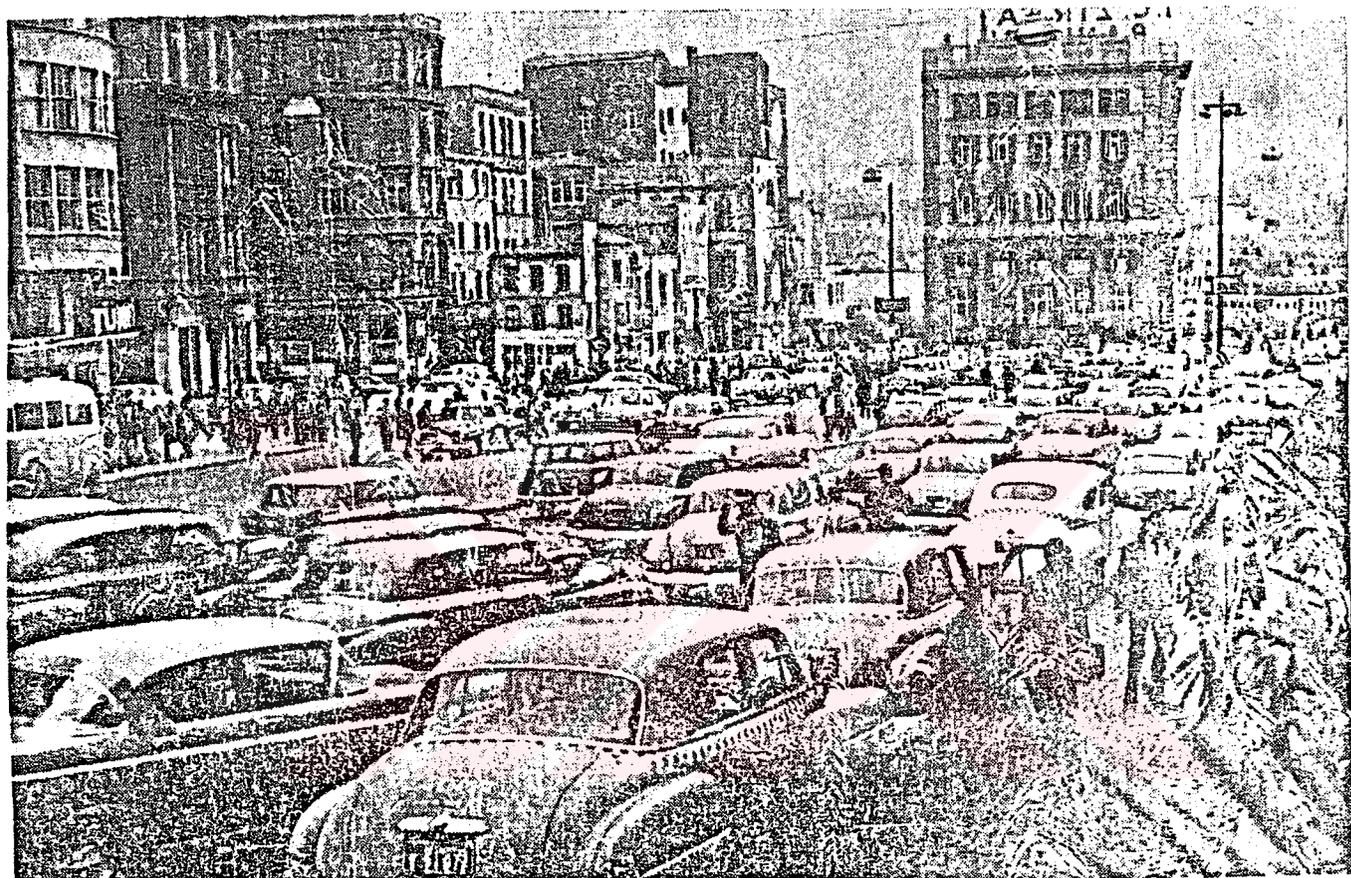
SOURCE: TEKELI, Ilhan, Development of Intra City Transportation in Istanbul, (1927-1985), p. 142.

FIGURE 7.2: TRAFFIC CONGESTION IN ISTANBUL



SOURCE: KESKIN, Ahmet, Istanbul Şehri Metro İhtiyacı, p.85.

FIGURE 7.3: TRAFFIC CONGESTION IN ISTANBUL



SOURCE: KESKIN, Ahmet, Istanbul Şehri Metro İhtiyacı, p.86.

are not developed - although car ownership increases with high rates, roads are not sufficient for so much cars and travel times are increasing instead of decreasing- so people are losing more and more time to go to their works in the mornings and coming back homes in the evenings on the roads. These restrictions push people to settle close to their workplaces. This leads to an increasing demand for housing near CBD. There is also a high rate of incoming migration to Istanbul, they also want to live in the CBD so prices go up.

There is another alternative for the incomers, as settling on the peiphery, in squatters. Land is free and so housing is cheap.

Prof.Dr.Vedia Dökmeci and Doç.Dr.Hale Çıracı have described the case in their book, "Tarihsel Gelişim Sürecinde Beyoğlu", as follows;

... there are a lot of vacant building in Beyoğlu... These buildings can be restored by using the housing fund, and they can be used by the middle-men ... they can be more sufficient than the peripheral new settlement projects... First, Beyoğlu already has an infrastructure system but this is a big problem in the peripheral settlements. Second, as Beyoğlu's housing areas are close to CBD, people will be able to go to their workplaces without pushing the transportation system too hard .

Today rent of an apartment dwelling unit - first floor, in the entrance, a room and a saloon, the room doesn't have a window - is 750.000 TL on the European side. But on the Anatolian side, rents and also prices are cheaper for better and bigger houses. The reason of this is the low demand, because of transportation difficulties. People don't want to spend their time on the congested roads, and especially on the bridge as crossing the bridge on peak hours takes approximately 45 minutes or even 1 hour.

7.1.2. Pull Factors

7.1.2.1. Technological Innovations

7.1.2.1.1. Transportation Revolutions

Until the second half of the 19th century travelling within the city of Istanbul was done to a large extent on foot and by rowboats (caique). Rowboats were carrying passengers on the basis of a regular ferry service of "dolmuş" caiques operating between Istanbul and Üsküdar. This was the first public transportation system in Istanbul. Also in the time of Süleyman, Üstükar developed because of the highway to Baghdad spreading toward the interior. Approximately 1/10 of the urban population was living there. There was no development of this sort at Kadıköy.

In the 17th century there was no wheeled transportation in Istanbul. So the roads were narrow and not straight.

7.1.2.1.1.1. Sea Transportation

7.1.2.1.1.1.1. Ferry - Boats

Development of ferry-boat transportation took place after the upper class bureaucrats moved out to Bosphorus. These waterside residences were accessible by rowboats. The number of rowboats tied to piers in Istanbul had gone from 3996 in 1802 to 19.000 in 1844.

The turning point for the ferry-boat administration was the foundation of the Şirket-i Hayriye in 1851. Following this, in 1858, the first car ferry services began between Usküdar and Kabataş and three years later there were four ferries.

In the second half of 19th century, there were three undertakings carrying passengers on sea in the city of Istanbul, as Şirket-i Hayriye, Fevaid-i Osmaniye and the Golden Horn Steamer Company.

After 1927, despite the growth of city population the number of passengers carried by ferry boats had shown a decline. Essentially this fall is caused by the economic crisis.

From 1st of July 33 on, the boats began to be operated by the municipality and after this year, the ferry lines of Istanbul have been under a single management.

After 1945, the rising importance of bus and automobile transportation increased the demand on car-ferries, thus new car-ferry lines were opened. In 1950 on the average 960 vehicles were crossing Bosphorus on the ferry ³³ .

Car-ferries began operating between Sirkeci-Kadıköy in 1959. And the number of vehicles carried by them increased to 4.800 perday. In 1965, this number increased to 88.000.

The Bosphorus bridge and the newly opened beltway required a reorganization of the sea transportation after 1973. In 1985, the share of sea transportation, within total trips was declining.

However, it still was holding a 40% of the passenger traffic and 3% of the vehicle traffic on the Bosphorus crossing ³⁴ .

7.1.2.1.1.1.2. Motorboat-Dolmushes

During 1950-55 period, the increase of dolmushes was not only realized by automobiles, but also by motorboat-dolmushes. It is estimated that, these

motorboats, operating between the Galata Bridge and Kadıköy, Galata Bridge-Üsküdar, Galata Bridge-Bostancı, Bostancı-Prince Islands, Beşiktaş-Üsküdar, Beykoz-Yeniköy, Kasımpaşa-Eminönü carried on the average 15.000 passengers per day.

The number of passenger carried increased to 20.000 in 1955-60 period and to 25.000 in 1965. In 1970, they transported roughly 30.000 passengers per day and 32.000 in 1982.

7.1.2.1.2. Rail Transportation

7.1.2.1.1.2.1. Tramway

Intracity steam lines, founded by large scale organizations facilitated the intracity transportation; yet, they encouraged the expansion of the city along the coasts. A more compact and national urban form was requiring the development of a transport system on land. This development occurred towards the end of 1860s, by the horse-drawn streetcar (tramway). In 1869, the company 'Dersaadet Tramway Company' was opened. The length of the network was soon increased to 33 km.

In 1914 the horsedrawn tramway replaced by the electric trams completely. In 1913 electric tramways were also considered on the Asian side of the city.

An important development of the tramway was the completion of the undertaking on the Anatolian side. The joint stock of Company of Üsküdar, Kısıklı and Alemdağ'ı founded in 1928.

In 1935, Istanbul Tramway Company was carrying 177.200 passengers per day and the Anatolian Company was carrying 17.800 passengers per day.

Istanbul tramways and the underground rail transportation systems of the city were merged with the Electricity Administration, forming IETT, and this taken over by the Municipality. During this period, the number of passengers carried on tramways showed a considerable increase, reaching 241.000 per day on the average. The Tramway Company of Üsküdar-Kadıköy and its Vicinity was carrying 25.500 passengers per day, on the average, in 1940.

During 1945-50, neither Istanbul tramways nor tramways of the Üsküdar-Kadıköy and its vicinity have shown any significant development. In 1954 the tramway company of Kadıköy-Üsküdar and vicinity was dissolved and incorporated into IETT.

During 1955-60, tramway network began to decline. On the Asian side the network retained its size. Buses were put to service on lines where the tramways had been removed. In 1961 on the European side, the tramways had been removed completely. On the Asian side, some of the

tracks had been removed in 1965. The trams were replaced with another electric motorized vehicle, the trolleybuses in 1961.

In 1966, the removal of the tramway tracks from the railed system was, also, completed on the Asian side. Trolleybus tracks instead of the tram tracks were not laid down, on the Asian side.

7.1.2.1.1.2.2. The Tunnel (The Galata Subway)

The second rail-based mass transportation system in Istanbul was the underground (tunnel). The tunnel between Galata and Pera (Beyoğlu) began its operation in June 1875 (Galata subway is the third oldest subway in the world coming after of London in 1863 and New York in 1869).

After 1930, the tunnel started to lose its passengers and in 1943 its belt broke. Later although it was repaired it had been serving without any significant change until 1955 and lost an important amount of passengers as well during 1955-60 period.

The tunnel was out of operation in 1970. The system has been electrified and began operation in 1971. The tunnel was transporting 19.000 passengers perday in 1980 (it was carrying 16.700 passengers per day in 1935).

7.1.2.1.1.2.3. Railroad (Suburban Trains)

Suburban trains, which were to operate on rails were to have an important influence on shaping the form of the city and start the suburban development in the 19th century.

In 1869, the 'Rumeli Railway Company' was founded. Suburban trains were in operation right from the beginning. In 1875, the trains that started from Sirkeci were having stops in Kumkapı, Yedikule, Bakırköy, Yeşilköy and Küçükçekmece.

The railroad system on the Asian side was materialized directly by the Government. Between 1871 and 1873, the 91 km long Haydarpaşa-Izmit track was constructed. The Haydarpaşa-Pendik line opened in September 22, 1872, and the Pendik-Gebze line in January 1st 1873. In 1890 the train that took off from Haydarpaşa was stopping over in Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy, Bostancı, Maltepe, Kartal, Pendik, Tuzla, Gebze, Diliskelesi, Tavşancı, Hereke and Yarımca. This railroad track between Haydarpaşa and Gebze was shifting to a double track in 1905 .

Concomitant to start suburban train service on the eastern and western sections of the city, suburban neighborhoods most of which consisted of wooden villas

were opened to development along the railway tracks. Eventually these settlements turned into permanent year-round residences. Yeşilköy and Bakırköy on the western sections, Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy and Bostancı on the eastern sections were examples to such developments.

In 1927, the suburban trains were still carrying, on an average 9300 persons per day. The connection of this line to workplaces in Istanbul and Galata on the other hand, was carried out by a not very comfortable ferry transfer at Haydarpaşa. The trips took time and were expensive. Therefore, the Anatolian suburbs of the city were becoming residential areas of the upper income groups.

After the Anatolian Suburban train was taken over by the TCDD (Turkish State Railway), the European suburban train also became TCDD's property. Thereafter, the suburban trains had a discount on their tickets (fares) lowering the price as much as 90 percent. This change created a two and a half time increase in the number of passengers.

The important change occurred after 1960 was the addition of a second track to the Pendik-Tuzla line, which entered service on July 1, 1961 and another, to the Tuzla-Gebze line on July 20, 1963.

The changes in terms of the suburban trains, after 1965, has been the electrification of the Haydarpaşa-Gebze line in 1969. Thereby the time between Haydarpaşa-Gemlik was reduced from 60 minutes to 38 minutes and between Haydarpaşa-Gebze from 125 minutes to 61 minutes. As a result of this development, 42.300 passengers per day were transported on the Anatolian suburban train in 1970. Although additional changes did not occur in the European suburban trains, the number of passengers showed a significant increase, reaching 132.500 perday.³⁶

A significant change in the operations of suburban trains did not occur after 1970. In 1975, in comparison to the previous period, the number of passengers transported on a normal day on the Anatolian suburban train had shown an important increase reaching 80.000, whereas increase of passengers of the European suburban train had remained relatively small, at 14.200.³⁷

7.1.2.1.1.3 Land Transportation

7.1.2.1.1.3.1. The Automobile

Horse coaches were not in wide use and riding a horse coach (Fiacre) has the sole privilege of the Emperor up to 1825. The coach which had entered the city as a part of the Empire's Westernization process, began being manufactured in Istanbul after 1860s.

In the beginning of 20th century while the horse carriages, which could have created opposing tendencies in the development of the city in bands were losing their importance and disappearing, the motorcars were just beginning to appear. The first motorcar entered Istanbul after the 1908 Reformatations.

The real increase in the number of motorcars in Istanbul happened after the First World War. In 1927, their number had reached over a thousand. In that year, the number of passengers carried by horse carriages and motorcars is estimated to 53, 600 per day.

In 1928, an automobile assembly factory was founded as a result of an agreement signed with the Ford Company. The world economic crisis present during this period however, prevented the development of this undertaking and its influence on the increasing number of automobiles in Istanbul remained limited.

The relatively high number of passengers carried by car, as opposed to the limited increase in their number is due to the appearance, for the first time, of taxi-dolmushes (shared taxis) in Istanbul. The appearance of dolmushes in Istanbul during the period of economic crisis was caused by the high taxi fares in an attempt to lower them by sharing the cost .

In the year 1935 the total number of registered cars in Istanbul, with private, public and business plates was only 1815 and between 1935-40 they did not increase in number. Under the effects of the second World War a slight decrease in the number of automobiles, falling to 1742, is observed. Due to the war, horsedrawn coaches had regained importance and there were 434 registered coaches during these years.

Period between 1950 and 55 has been a period where the motor vehicles increased and the weight of the intracity transportation was transferred from rail to motor vehicles.

In general, the years after the war is the time during which the stock of vehicles have been renewed. Import possibilities created an increase in the number of automobiles following 1948.

During 1945-50 period, the greatest increase has been in the number of automobiles. In 1950 there were 5782 automobiles in private, official and commercial uses. It is estimated that the private and public cars transported 21.600 passengers perday, the taxis 56.500 passengers and the dolmush-taxis 81.000 passengers per day. This increased automobile traffic began causing important problems in the city. (Figures 7.4 and 7.5).

FIGURE 7.4: TRAFFIC BEGAN CAUSING PROBLEMS



SOURCE: KESKIN, Ahmet, Istanbul Şehri Metro İhtiyacı,
p.84.

FIGURE 7.5: TRAFFIC PROBLEMS



SOURCE: KESKIN, Ahmet, Istanbul Şehri Metro İhtiyacı,
p.83.

In 1966, for the first time in Turkey, automobiles of the brand "Anadol" were manufactured and sold. The size of production was limited and the number of automobiles in the city did not increase significantly during this period. This was later followed by the production of Renault and Fiat cars in Turkey in 1975s. (Table 7.10).

TABLE 7.10: INCREASE IN CAR OWNERSHIP (1927-1985)

Years	Number of Automobiles
1927	< 1000
1935	1815
1935-40	1742
1945	1801 (and 434 registered coaches)
1950	10483
1960	17916
1965	32760
1970	55392
1975	101803
1980	211382
1985	286.000

7.1.2.1.1.3.2. Bus System

Buses began operating in the city in 1921 but bus transportation had not become widespread. The buses reentered the system after the War of Independence.

From 1928 on peoples buses increased and the number has reached to 97 in 1935.

After 1950, IETT attempted to create a fleet of buses, despite the war conditions. In 1945, iETT was giving a service with 25 buses. Similarly, the Üsküdar-Kadıköy and vicinity tramway company had also started service with 5 buses in 1943; however, it did not continue in later years.

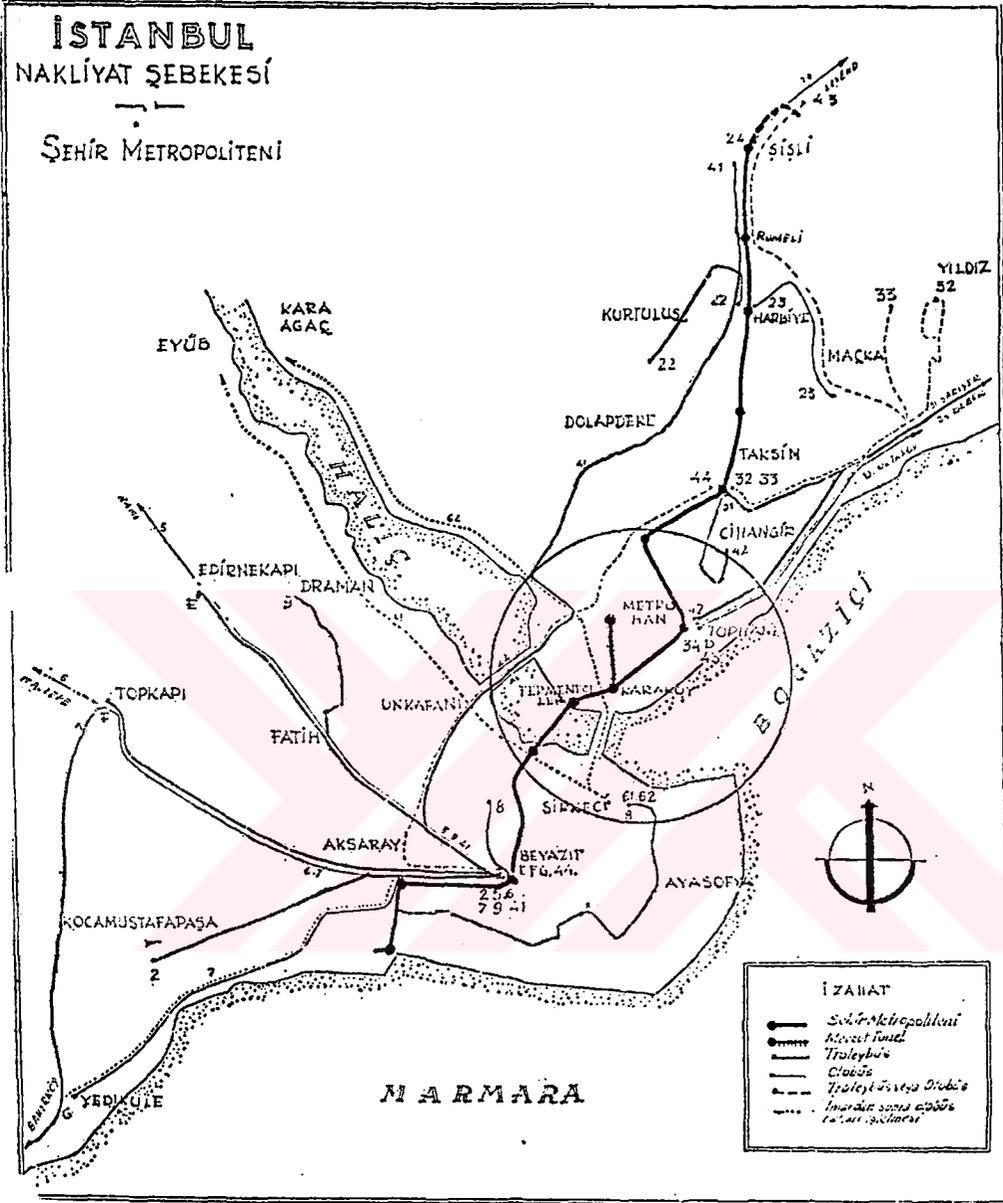
A major development in bus transportation was observed during 1945-50 period. The IETT bought 52 buses and expanded as well as renewed its fleet. The IETT continued purchasing buses after 1950. In 1965 the number of buses had decreased as a result of increasing number of passengers transported with minibuses and service buses.

The bus fleet of IETT reached a rather larger size 738 buses in 1970 (Figure 7.6). In 1970, the IETT administration was divided into Istanbul, Beyoğlu and Anatolia subdivisions. However after 1970 neither the trolleybus nor bus directorate of IETT showed an inmpovement. At the end of 1985, the bus fleet constituted of 1564 buses.

7.1.2.1.1.3.3. Minibuses

In 1960, a new vehicle, the minibuses were introduced as small entrepreneurial transportation. In this year 50.000 passengers perday were carried by 200 minibuses.

FIGURE 7.6: ISTANBUL TRANSPORTATION NETWORK, 1970s



- Metropolitan City
- Tunnel
- Trolleybuses
- Buses
- - - Trolleybus or bus
- Bus routes after the improvements

SOURCE: Mimarlık 72/2, p.109.

After Otosan began the assembling of Ford minibuses in 1961, minibuses increased rapidly and began taking an important role in the inner-city transportation. The number of minibuses that linked especially the central business district of the city with the squatter housing areas and the distant periphery reached 1.700 in 1965 and is assumed to have transported 425.000 passengers perday.

On the Anatolian side 588 minibuses were operating on 7 lines in 1971. Three lines were connecting Kadıköy to Kartal, Pendik and Yakacık Another Üsküdar based line was going to Ümraniye.

7.1.2.1.1.3.4. Midibuses

A new type of vehicle, that had entered intra-city transportation after 1970s, was the midibus which carried 14 passengers. There were 168 midibuses in 1975.

7.1.2.1.1.3.5. Highways

The development in automobile and bus transportation created new demands for inner and outer city roads during the first half of 20th century. Especially the 1911-1912 conventions had required widening of the streets.

The main development after 1925, was the beginning of road constructions, required by the newly initiated bus services, connecting the city to its vicinity and to the nearby towns.

The years of the Republican period -after 1930s- were the years, when Istanbul's road system expanded, even though the number of vehicles entering the city traffic remained the same.

1945-65 period was completely a period of extensive road constructions. Roads were opened in the historical peninsula and on the Anatolian side during this period as a result of Adnan Menderes's operations. After 1955 Adnan Menderes started a great reconstruction operation in Istanbul. In the operation of this period the concerns of the view of Turkish Republic General Directorate of Highways (TCK)-the standards of National Highways should be applied in inner-city roads, in other words, the roads should be built according to the needs of the moterized vehicles-have been dominant.

The major roads that were opened on the Anatolian side of the city and their impact on the future urban form of the city were the following;

1. The Haydarpaşa-Pendik Road. This 23.5 km long and 34m wide state road linked the port of Haydarpaşa, which was enlarged during this period, with its hinterland;
2. Baghdad Road, running parallel to the Haydarpaşa-Pendik Road and extending from Kurbağalidere to Bostancı .

Road construction activities after 1965 may be considered an extension of the activities of the previous period.

7.1.2.1.1.3.6. Bridges of istanbul

7.1.2.1.1.2...1. Over Golden Horn

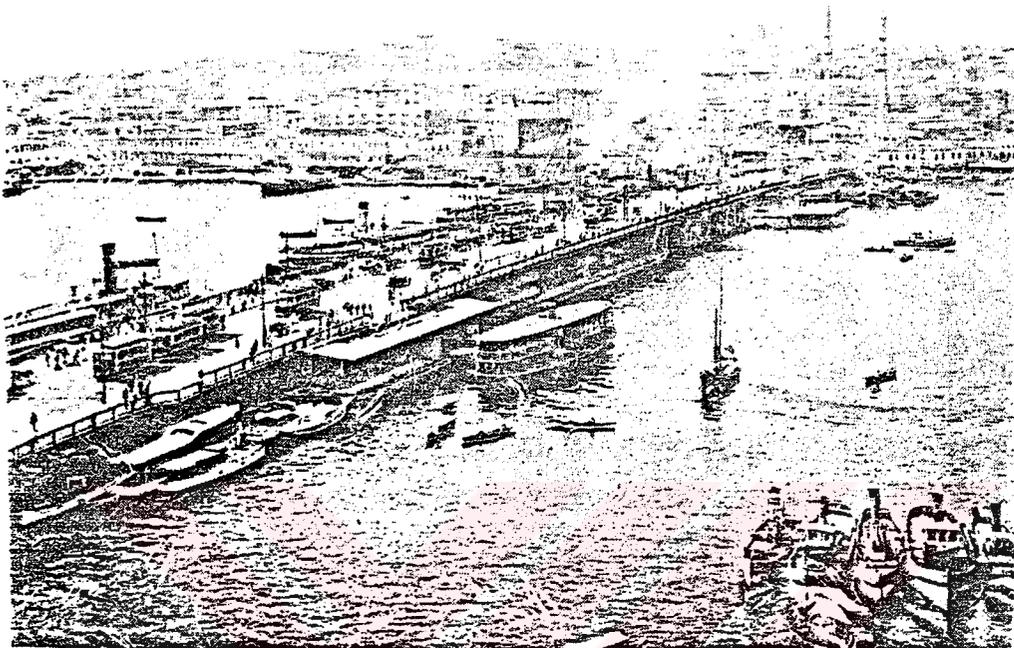
The first bridge over the Golden Horn, known as the 'Hayratiye Bridge' was a wooden bridge for pedestrians- built in the place of today's Atatürk Bridge in 1836. This became the reason of city growth on western direction.

Construction of Galata bridge in 1863 suitable for carriage traffic, connected and integrated business centers in Galata and on the historical peninsula both of which had not yet been opened to wheeled vehicular traffic. In 1869, an English firm proposed a 18 m. wide iron bridge, instead of the Galata Bridge. In 1878 another iron bridge for Galata, 14 m. wide was opened to use. Connecting Istanbul and Beyoğlu (Pera) at these 2 points have to a large extent determined the development of roads on both sides of the city in later years (Figure 7.7.).

7.1.2.1.1.2.6.2. First Bosphorus Bridge

For the first time, in 1858 the construction of bridge over Bosphorus was being debated and large investments into road construction were undertaken.

FIGURE 7.7: BRIDGE OVER GOLDEN HORN, 19125



On the 29th of October, 1973 the Bosphorus Bridge and the beltways were officially opened. Thereby Istanbul, Beyoğlu and the Anatolian sides of the city were connected by a thoroughfare system and the time distance between different points of the metropolitan area redefined. The redefinition of time distances devoted new tendencies for the growth of the city and its spatial formation.

The Bosphorus Bridge with its beltways on the periphery is a 22 km. long, controlled speedway, which begins from the London Asphalt that forms the end of the E-5 European Highway, and connects to the other end of it on the Asian side, the Ankara Asphalt. This highway, which is 34 m. wide, has 6 lanes and... connected to the major arteries of the city through 13 bridged crossing... The 2 crossings, on each side of the Bosphorus connect to the roads along the coasts of Bosphorus. The crossing at Altunizade, connects Bağlarbaşı, Üsküdar and the Şile road to the Beltway at the periphery. Further out, the Beltway reaches (over the Uzunçayır crossing) the Ankara State Highway and extends to Baghdad and Kurbağalı roads with a crossing near the Fenerbahçe Stadium. This connection facilitates an easy access to the beltway from the districts of Kadıköy, Moda and Kızıltoprak.

The Bosphorus Bridge altered the relationship pattern between the Asian and the European banks considerably. In 1972, while the number of vehicles crossing Bosphorus was 16.000 per day, in 1975, it amounted to 56.200, out of which, 51.500 were using the bridge and 3.700 were taking the ferry across. The major increase was due to the crossing of automobiles.

7.1.2.1.1.3.6.3. Second Bosphorus Bridge (Fatih Bridge)

Among the projects implemented during 1980-85 period, the new thrace Autoroute and the second Bosphorus Bridge and the Beltway started from Mahmut Bey on the Thrace Autoroute were the most important ones.

The number of vehicles passing over the first bridge was rapidly increasing and reaching its maximum capacity of 130.000 vehicles perday. In order to increase the bridge's capacity first a tool only in the direction of Asia-Europe was put instead of on both entries; than a fourth lane was introduced during the rush hour traffic. Last, the construction of a second bridge came into consideration.

This bridge is open to use now however it is not widely used because of its beltways being too long.

7.1.2.2. Developments in Planning Activities

First planning development, which has affected urban form, was Ebniye Kanunu (Building Code) of 1882. This brought decisions related to reconstruction order in the new areas opened to settlement. Owners of vacant land, vegetable gardens and vineyards who wanted to subdivide and sell their land for formation of residential neighborhoods, would have to set aside land for public buildings like police station, schools and had to install the sewage system.

The second important development was brought by the Republic in the first half of the 1930s. A new period called 'Müşterek idare' (Joint Administration) started in Istanbul. This law abolished the Şehremaneti and the local administration was hereforth called 'municipality'.

With the Republican policy of nationalization of foreign companies, the ownership of public work companies of Istanbul was transferred over either to the municipality itself or to its joint companies. Terkos Company of the water work companies was bought by the municipal administration in 1932, Water Company of Usküdar and Kadıköy in 1938, Istanbul Gas and Electric Company in 1945, Istanbul Electric Company in 1938 and Istanbul Tramway and Istanbul Tunnel Companies in

1939. To operate them, Istanbul Water Works Department was established in 1939 by Law numbered 2226, IETT (Istanbul Electric Tramway and Tunnel Administration) in 1939 by Law numbered 3645 and thus municipalization of urban infrastructure of the city was completed ⁴¹ .

The start of planning activities affecting urban form in the Republican period, was Henry Prost's proposals in 1936-37. Both the Prost plan and the 10 year program aimed at packing up the city scattered along tramways, railways, and maritime service lines and at achieving an inner integrity. This aim was consistent with the objective to adapt inner city traffic system to motor vehicles.

To achieve reconstruction and to provide municipal services in a city so expanded and scattered was very expensive. The achievement of a compact form for the city was not only economically feasible but it also seemed to be an aesthetic necessity. This packing up also involved clearing and renovation of the unsanitary and desolate sections of the city. Thus the first effect on decentralization of the city was rejected because of economic reasons. However some were implemented and among the implementations, one was ver important because as a result suburban neighborhoods became year-round settlements and thereafter lost their suburban characteristics.

Circulation system of suburban neighborhoods between Kadıköy and Pendik; like Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy, Bostancı, Maltepe, Kartal and Pendik was completed. This development was to lead to year-round use of these settlements. This circulation system consisted of all the streets in Bostancı, Maltepe and Suadiye; part of Samandıra İzmit highway in provincial boundary of Istanbul, several roads in Caddebostan-Çiftehavuzlar, Göztepe-Kayışdağ, Erenköy; roads in Pendik-Kurttköyü, Merdivenköy, several roads in Pendik-Kartal, Çiftehavuzlar-Kalamış and Göztepe, Kızıltoprak-Bağdat street, Kızıltoprak-Kurbağalıdere and Kartal-Yakacık roads .
42

In 1955 decentralization of industry was firstly thought and a plan for industrial regions was decided to be removed from innercity to new areas.

In 1956, Adnan Menderes had his own image of a contemporary city.

Menderes has explained the elements of his program in his press conference as, ... traffic congestion... squares will be renovated and reorganized... The city is going to be joined from suburb to suburb by avenues of equal perfection .
43

Another planner who was invited to Istanbul in 1960 and who was thinking for decentralization of the city, was Luigi Piccinato. His plan was called Master Plan for the Transition Stage covering an area of 30.000 hectares. The Piccinato plan was differing from the previous ones 2 aspects;

1. search for solution for urban problems not within the confines of the city but in a new spatial organization at regional level,
2. although all planning studies prepared after 1930 aimed at for packing up of the city already sprawled out along rail and maritime service axes, into a radio-concentric form, this plan refused to adopt this approach. Its preference was for a decentralized, open and linear system .

Piccinato recommended that by a national level policy decision Istanbul be converted into a commercial, consumption, cultural and administrative center instead of a manufacturing center and that industry be decentralized.

Regarding the residential areas, on the Anatolian side, the strip between the shoreline extending to Izmit Bay and the Old Ankara Highway was a small region with limited settlements on the shores served by the highway and the railway; where there productive agricultural

areas which lies on thoroughfares leading to the metropolis and which possess ideal climatic conditions protected from cold winds by small hills and the scenery is beautiful. Therefore this area deserves further study as part of the metropolitan region and it is very convenient for development of settlements.

Piccinato required that all these decentralized settlements be connected by a road system which would also constitute the backbone of the city. A linear development was to form around this axis. This backbone was to start from London Highway which provided the European connection and would be connected to the Ankara Highway on the Anatolian side. State highway to Ankara would also be tied to Haydarpaşa from which ferryboats⁴⁵ would provide the link with the European shores across .

Each settlement connected to this backbone would have a self-sufficient service center. Thus Piccinato wanted to solve urban mass transportation by installation of a main thoroughfare.

Under the influence of the Piccinato study, "mücavir alan" (adjacent areas for planning controls) of the city was determined in June 15, 1959. The area was in an imaginary line between Küçük Çekmece and Büyük Çekmece passing through Harami Dere (Brook) joins the Black Sea and another one which reaches Şişli from the⁴⁶ environs of Tuzla was declared to the 'mücavir alan'.

However this was the only implementation of his proposals.

A later development through decentralization was the construction of the Bosphorus bridge and its beltways as these created new structures in the urban space. Increasing car ownership and increasing use of private bus services by different workplaces and propensity of building big complexes stimulated decentralization. Other factors were, tendency to adapt mass housing systems; building of organized industrial estates and industrial sites, mass movement of transport companies, ironmongers, warehouses and terminals from the CBD to areas opened to settlement by paving of new roads; movement of public organizations not in direct contact with the public to the peripheral areas in form of campuses⁴⁷.

After 1965, Piccinato was secondly invited to Istanbul and again he emphasized decentralization of all the activities in the city. His aim was to create a system of satellite towns in the context of a region. Piccinato proposed a new regional system of speedways to achieve this aim. The axis defined by highways coming from Bulgaria and Thrace, joining and passing through the Thracian peninsula, crossing over the Bosphorus via the Bosphorus bridge, following the old Ankara highway, reaching Adapazarı beyond Izmit and extending to Ankara

was going to be the backbone of this system. He also drew attention to the fact that it was wrong for the municipality to make decisions which would increase building density in the existing settlement pattern in view of existence of such a decentralized model.

Following Piccinato's aims, an area of 6.400 km² including Istanbul province and Gebze district was designated as metropolitan area to lay the basis for master plan studies. An open, linear and flexible pattern was adopted for the city based on the Bosphorus bridge and its beltways. These roads were to create a second axis inland and thus reduce the pressure on dense urban areas and along the coast line. This second inland axis was to diverge from the coast line axis in Silivri in the west and join it again east of Gebze in the east.

It was planned to build a center in the east which would be in relation with the beltways, Ankara highway, innertransport axis, Haydarpaşa railway terminal, bus terminals and which would unite the dispersed central activities.

With the 1/50.000 Istanbul metropolitan Area Master Plan, approved in July, 1980... 2 first degree centers were assumed to develop within the residential areas of Bakırköy and Kadıköy. Secondary centers were to be located between Büyükçekmece and Küçük Çekmece,

further west in Ortaköy north of Selimpaşa and in Gebze and Kartal-Soğanlık in the eastern side. Industrial areas were in Dudullu, Kurtköy, Gebze-Balıkçıköy and Dil İskelesi in the east. Residential areas followed distribution of employment areas... In the east, Ümraniye, Dudullu and Soğanlık and Kartal were opened to dense settlement. Pendik-Kurtköy-Tuzla and Gebze-Darıca-Eskihisar were designated as potential development areas⁴⁸ and Gebze (Merkepli) as a mass housing area .

Recreation areas of the metropolis were located further out. Along the shores of Marmara, Selimpaşa, Kumburgaz, Büyük Çekmece, Ataköy, Fenerbahçe, Adalar,⁴⁹ Dragos, Tuzla, Bayramoğlu, Darıca, Eskihisar .

Thus, decentralization was started to be thought, as an alternative, in 1936 by Prost and was started to be put into action in 1955 with decentralization of industry. However it has reached its full impact after 1970s.

7.1.2.3. Thoughts of People on Urbanization

Turkish people are completely urbanized just from the beginning, they like to live in apartment houses, they feel safe in these buildings.

There is a tendency to leave the unprestigious areas and to settle on the periphery, but not in suburban but urban environments again.

Apartment housing was started to be widespread after 1925s. In addition to this another change in the life style in Istanbul in 1920s was transition from Ottoman 'sea baths' to beaches. Beaches were set in Moda and Suadiye shoreline in 1920s thus attributing an attractiveness to the Asiatic shore over the Bosphorus as a summer resort area. So a sort of seasonal suburbanization began to appear in 1920s with coming of the beaches on the Asian side. This seasonal flow continued after 1930s in the Republican period too, people liked to spend the summers near the sea.

Meanwhile, importance of apartment building intensified in the period 1950-65 and mass housing projects created a constant pressure to increase building density. Following this, high income groups settled on the shores of and slopes overlooking the Bosphorus. North of Bosphorus, on slopes, beyond the shoreline residences, high income settlements grew which established relation with the city center.

In 1982s new developments took place in supply of housing in the authorized residential section of the city. "Yapsat" type of housing supply continued during this period as well as supply through housing cooperatives. Thereafter, apartment construction entered

to the sphere of second homes, namely summer resort housing. Such development was observed in Kumburgaz-Silivri in the west, in Kilyos in the north and along the coastline between Dragos-Bayramoğlu in the east.

Therefore, it can easily be said that Turkish people did not and do not have a suburban image, they don't like to be away from the city itself.

7.2. SUBURBAN GROWTH IN ISTANBUL

7.2.1. Developments in Urban Form

7.2.1.1. Before 19th Century

The appearance of population outside the walls and of urban settlements in Bosphorus began in 16th century. (Figure 7.8). Summer palaces were built on the Bosphorus at Çenkelköy, Kandilli, Çubuklu, and Beykoz. In the reign of Mehmet IV the summer houses of the aristocracy, extending in a line along the shores of the Bosphorus, and known as yalıs, were greatly increased in number.

According to Evliya Çelebi, Usküdar was a city consisting of 9000 gardened, waterside residences... There were a lot of mansions and gardens along the shore leading to Salacak .

Kadıköy, which became the biggest suburb of Istanbul with the development of steam ferry services, did not develop until 19th century. During 17th and 18th centuries, the population of Kadıköy was 100-120 composed of mostly Grecek fishermen.

The urban activities of feudal Istanbul can be classified into four; (Figure 7.9)

- 1) Urban administrative and central activities and the central place densely populated with these activities.
- 2) The business center populated with artists, craftsmen and harbor functions if there exists. Especially the harbor is a central place which fixes the location of other business activities and administrative activities.
- 3) Residential area
- 4) Periphery populated with minority groups, illegal groups out of the system and some economic activities (Figure 7.10).

FIGURE 7.8. (a) : BYZANTIUM IN ANTIQUITIES

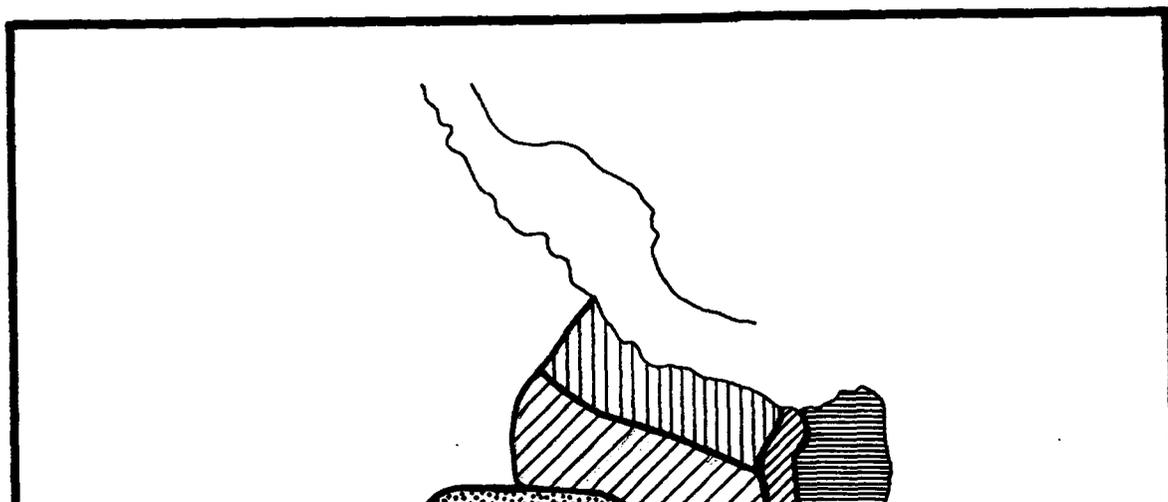


FIGURE 7.8. (b) : KONSTANTINOPOLIS 6-15th CENTURIES

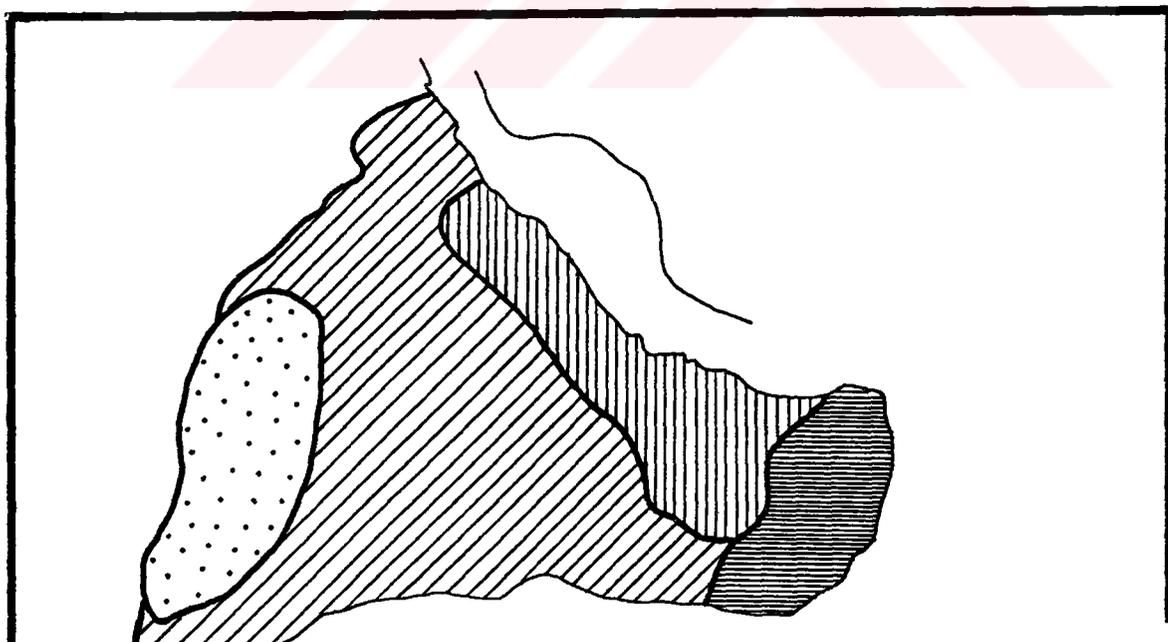
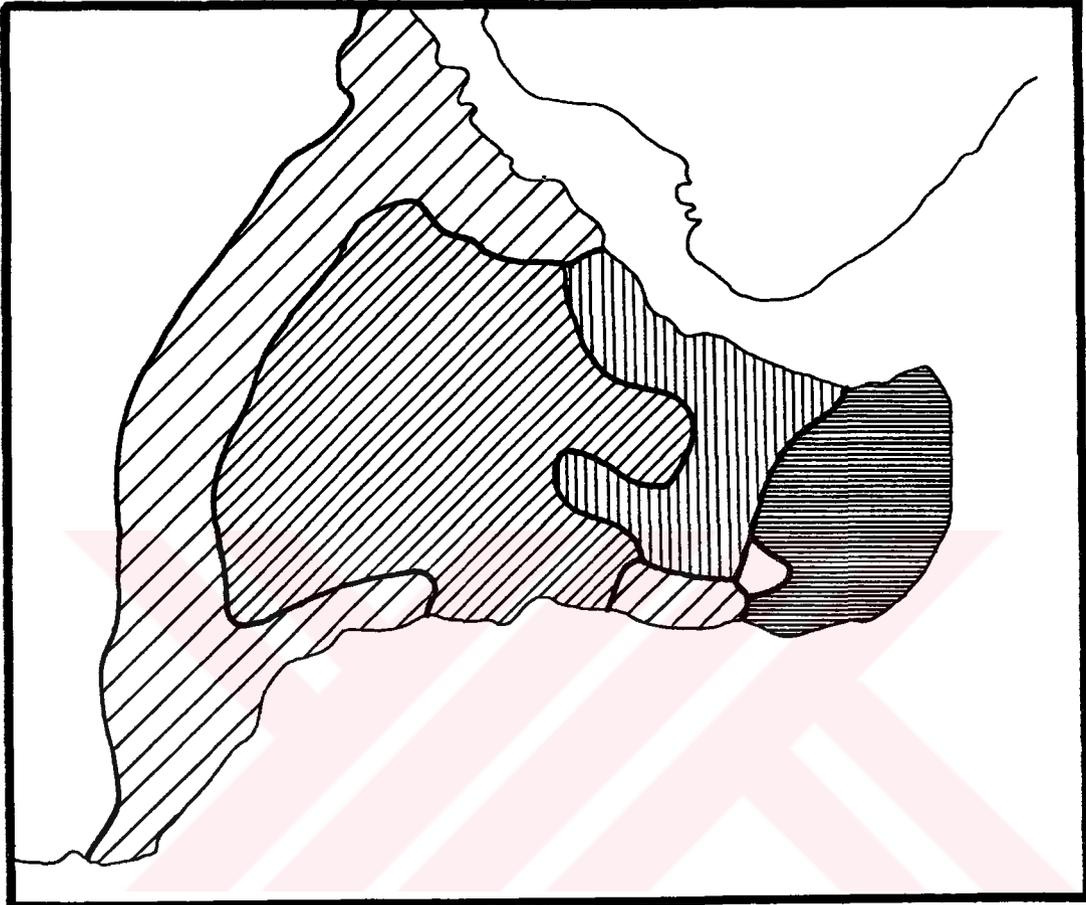
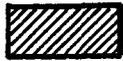
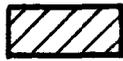
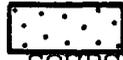


FIGURE 7.8.(c) : ISTANBUL, 15-18th CENTURIES



-  Central Place
-  Transportation and Business District
-  High-Income Residential Area
-  Residential Area
-  Periphery
-  Animal Bazaar
-  Military Zone

SOURCE: ORTAYLI, İlber, İstanbul'un Mekansal Yapısının Tarihsel Evrimine Bir Bakış. pp. 79, 80, 82.

FIGURE 7.9: URBAN ACTIVITIES OF FEUDAL ISTANBUL

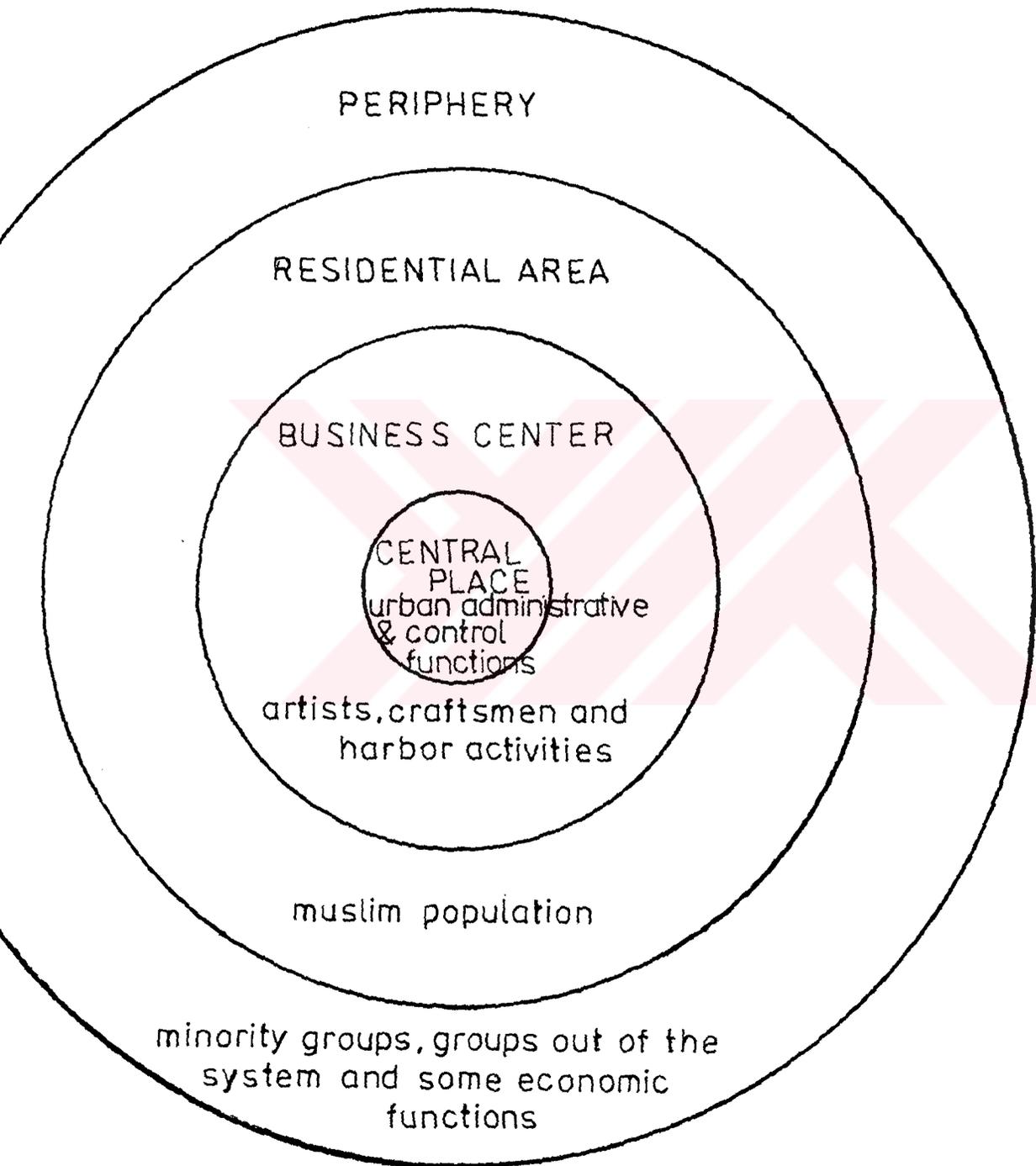
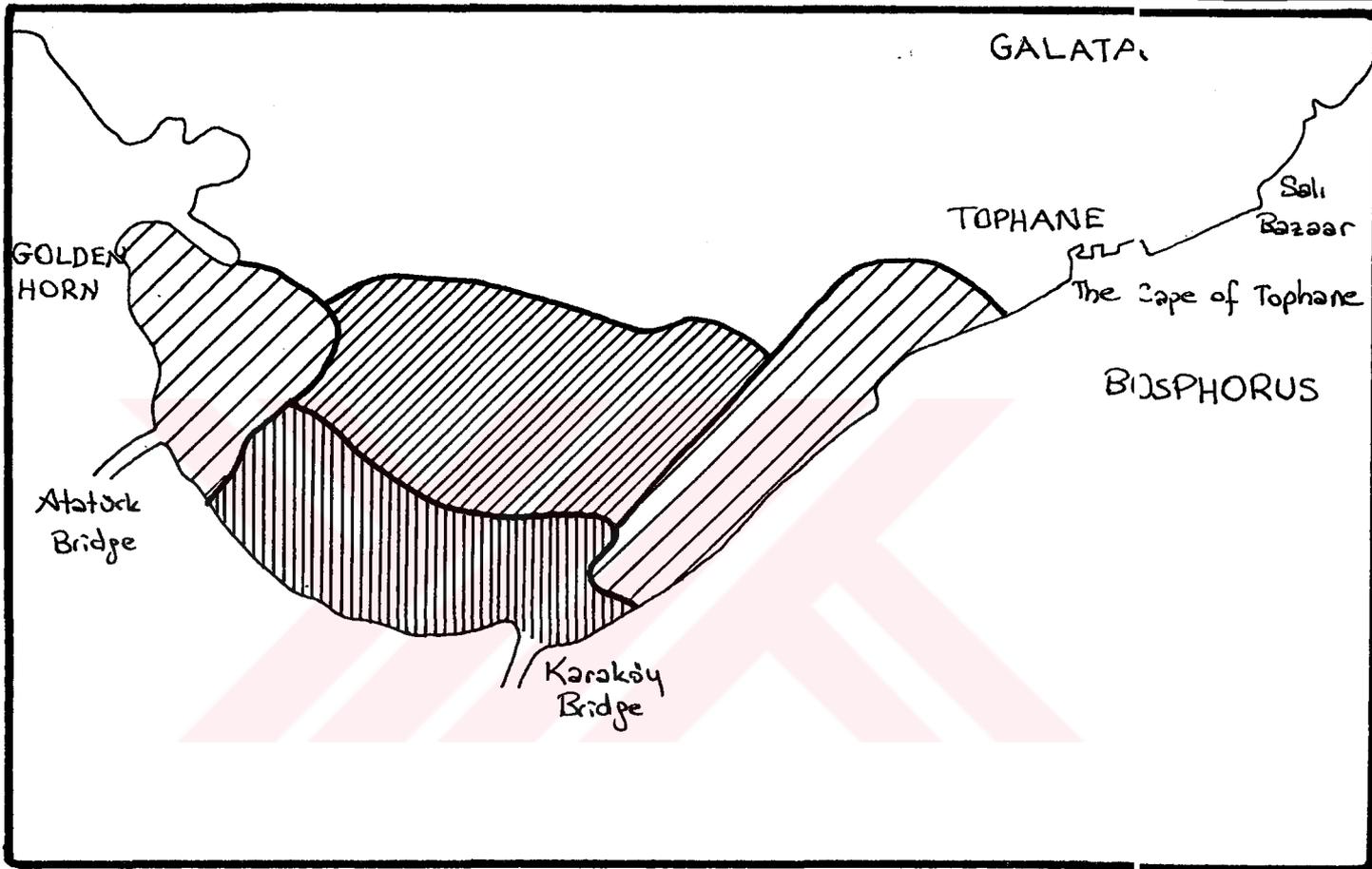


FIGURE 7.10 : PERIPHERY



Note: For the legend, see Figure 7.8.(c)

SOURCE: ORTAYLI, Ilber, Istanbul'un Mekansal Yapısının Tarihsel Evrimine Bir Bakış. p. 87.

In feudal cities, neighborhoods located outside the city walls were settlements which were open to development in time and which had different characteristics than modern suburbs in their relations with the city. The reasons for the first appearance of these settlements were basically dependent on 2 factors; they appeared because of;

- 1) the functions that were dangerous for health and also of the people working in these sectors (pot, leather, glass, and also gunpowder manufacturing, slaughterhouses, and the like)-Kazlıçeşme, Hendek in Golden Horn.
- 2) the groups which did not have close relations because of the daily social and economic city life. A low income group of people should be added to this category-Eyüp, Bakırköy, Kasımpaşa, Üsküdar. These were different than the suburbs of modern metropolitan cities because low income people were living there.

In the 18th century, however not in areal terms, a kind of country life appeared in Istanbul. The old vegetable gardens of Kağıthane were started to be filled with summer palaces and recreative kiosks. Waterside residences, kiosks and gardens were being built additively in the old solitary villages of Bosphorus. Yeniköy and Tarabya which were poor fishermen villages were all covered with waterside residences of the rich

Greek shipowners (Yeniköy and Tarabya would be real suburbs in the 19th century).

Kuzguncuk, Beylerbeyi, Ortaköy and Kandilli in Bosphorus became the centers of the waterside residences. So the ethnic compositions of these settlements changed too. In other words, although it cannot be said that there were suburbs in real terms in Istanbul in the 18th century, there were seasonal recreative and country units in this era.

All these changes caused a kind of pseudo suburbanization in the spatial structure of the city.

Population increases in Golden Horn, Usküdar and especially in Bosphorus in the 18th century, in addition to Istanbul and Galata, were because of;

- 1) people's preferences of suburban settlements to escape from big fires.
- 2) making people who were migrating from Anatolia and Rumelia, to settle there.
- 3) Changing life styles of Sultan, state personelle and people following them, from an introvert to an extrovert life style, more dependent on nature; and also constructions of kiosks, mansions and gardens in Golden Horn and in Bosphorus.

7.2.1.2. 19th - Century

Istanbul, because of its location and physical structure, developed as a city of two parts. Until the last periods of Ottomans, the western or European part developed as the main city and the eastern or Anatolian as a summer resort city or a country. Only the middle and lower income groups were settling year-round on the Anatolian side and for all functions this side remained its dependence on the European side.

Development on the Anatolian side expanded towards 3 different directions;

- 1) development along the axis extending from the shores of Usküdar to Kuzguncuk, consisting of neighborhoods of Bağlarbaşı and Icadiye.
- 2) filling in of the vacant area between Usküdar and Kadıköy by settlements of Haydarpaşa and Yeldeğirmeni,
- 3) emergence of suburban districts along the railway tracks like Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy, and Bostancı, Fenerbahçe developed after 1985 as a Levantian suburb. Settlements on the prince isles also displayed growth (Figure 7.11).

Here Göztepe is a special case, as follows;

Part of the immigrants, over 200.000, who came to Istanbul after the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878,

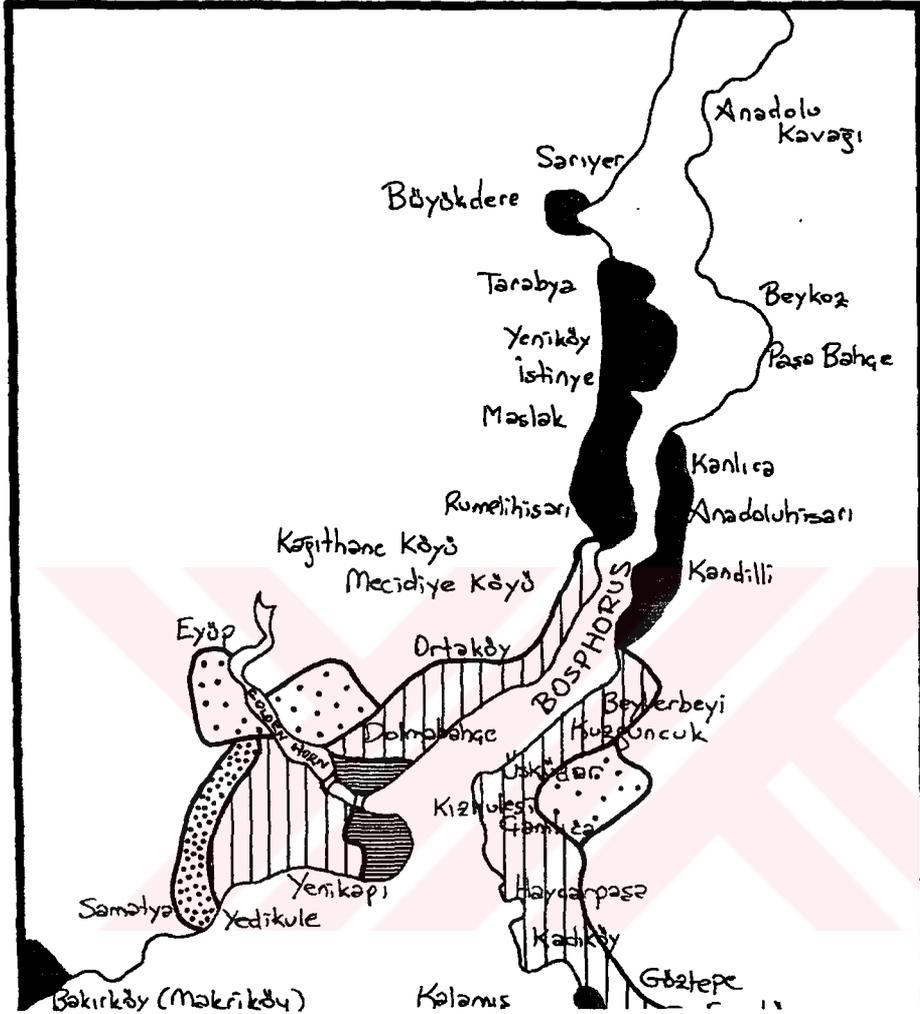
were settled in the periphery of the city. One such neighborhood consisted of 150-200 houses built north of the railway which would be the nucleus of the future Göztepe suburb. Another one was in Kandilli and there also was Yenimahalle, south of Göksu on the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus. All these neighborhoods had been planned according to the Regulation.⁵¹

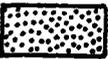
In this context, one of the recent migrants, Tütüncü Mehmet Efendi has bought land of 1.000 dönüms in Göztepe where the immigrants of 1877-78 had been settled. He has subdivided this site into parcels of 10-25 dönüms for villa construction and has sold them. This areas thus became a neighborhood for residences of high level moslem Ottoman bureaucrats and Pashas.⁵²

7.2.1.3. 1930s - 1945 -----

During this period some large scale industry was forced to choose location outside the city center. Of course this was followed by squatter housing "gecekondus" in the periphery. While gecekondu expansion continued, land speculation which had started during the war years, flourished.

FIGURE 7.11: ISTANBUL, 1840-1920



-  Central Business District
-  Residential Areas
-  Squatter Housing Areas
-  Slum Areas
-  Suburbs

SOURCE: ORTAYLI, İlber, İstanbul'un Mekansal Yapısının Tarihsel Evrimine Bir Bakış, p.93

Hüseyin Avni Şands explains commencement of this phenomenon as "during the recent years shores of the suburban neighborhoods became very popular.., because people like to spend the summers near the sea, the shore from Moda to Pendik is now the most popular summer resort... this seasonal flow enlarges boundaries of suburban areas on the Anatolian shores of the city, Eg. in a few years Küçükalyalı has developed into a new suburban area. A group from Ankara organized in a building cooperative is planning to buy a vacant site between Kartal and Maltepe and establish a neighborhood there... There fore a plot which was sold for 300 TL per dönüm now (in 1942) costs 10.000 TL. A plot which could be bought for 4.000 TL in 1935 in Caddebostan is now on sale for 90.000 TL. These soaring values have also been affected by installation of tramway service on the Anatolian side and improvement of the roadway system... Şandsa continues by asserting that in the Prost plans vacant areas in the fringes of the city are shown as fruit and vegetable gardens. Yet land speculators have bought such areas, subdivided and sold them to middle income families and therefore small houses and neighborhoods of such houses now appear on them... While the city thus expands un occupied former fire areas in the city are terrible looking sights... While elegant housing areas with gardens are emerging on the fringes when these ruined fire areas be reconstructed? On the

other hand, while land speculation was changing structure and look of the housing areas on the Anatolian side, a process of transfer of ownership of villas from the Levantians to the hands of the Turkish businessmen was going on concomitant to the development in economic policy after the second half of 1930s .

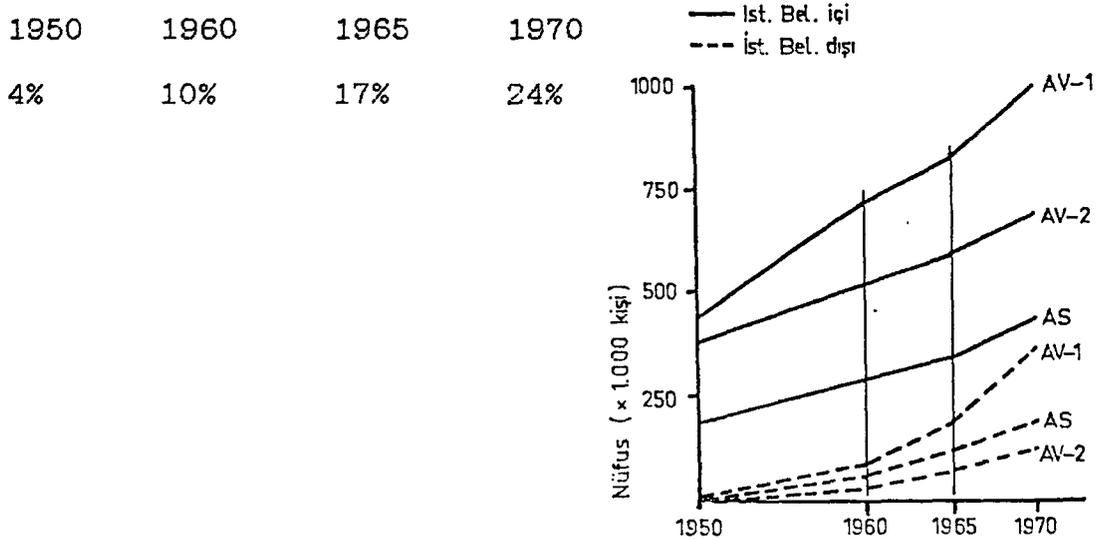
7.2.1.4. 1945-1965 -----

An important characteristic of this period is rapid subdivision of land outside the municipal boundaries and residential areas. (Figure 7.12) (Table 7.11).

Zeki Sayar wrote in the 'Architect'; Land speculators are subdividing all the agricultural areas from Haydarpaşa to Izmit, from Sirkeci to Silivri whether these are on Ankara-Istanbul or Istanbul-London highway, into plots of different sizes. They then sell these to people through attractive advertisements offering facility in payment... Neither the municipalities nor codes of buildings and roads bring definite and clear provisions related to development peripheries of the cities .

Rakım Ziyaoğlu says, Istanbul lived a period of changes which started after the 2.worldwar and accelerated in 1950s and this changing phase didn't lose

FIGURE 7.12: POPULATION CHANGES OUTSIDE THE MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH URBAN POPULATION;



SOURCE: Mimarlık, Sayı 7, 1972, p.75.

TABLE 7.11: PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGES OF EUROPEAN AND ASIAN SIDES

Years	Europe-1	Europe-2	Asia
1950	43 %	36 %	21 %
1960	47 %	32 %	21 %
1965	48 %	31 %	21 %
1970	49 %	29 %	22 %

Source: Mimarlık, sayı 7, 1972, p.75

its speedity in the following years... In 1950 there were no settlements outside the walls except some little villages independent of the city. The city was coming to an end with the walls... The daily life was very regular... There were regular entertainment areas in the

city... Foreign theatres, ballet, opera and operetta groups were visiting Istanbul... In addition to these there were excursion spots as well... .

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It is estimated that 150.000 parcels were obtained this way around the city in 1953. In 1961 this estimation rose to 700.000 - 1.000.000 level.

A third characteristic is acceleration of industrialization and the concomitant demand for industrial sites.

Sectors where small scale work places were dominant concentrated around the CBD and in older industrial districts of the city. The larger ones displayed a tendency to move out of the city and settle in new industrial areas

Besides cheap land there were other determinants guiding location in peripheral areas. So a decentralization process of industry started to take place in Istanbul.

On the shoreline upper middle income groups resided. Development of residences in Küçükçekmece expands towards the slopes and consists of I or 2 story houses in limited green areas... Along the water channel which connects Çekmece to the Marmara sea there exists a harming residential group enclosed in greenery. Yet the residential groups that have grown on the peninsula

are completely devoid of greenery and they expand randomly. There is a settlement of modern villas in Soğuksu expanding from Küçükçekmece to Halkalı. Greenery of house gardens in this area which has the most monotonous landscape of the whole suburb is the only green area in the vicinity. The uniform settlement pattern of workers houses built by DDY on the steep slope on the upper section of the Halkalı train terminal increases monotony of the landscape.... While low income groups settled on slopes of Mecidiyeköy and Levent overlooking the Golden Horn, high income groups settled on slopes overlooking the Bosphorus. North of Bosphorus, on slopes beyond the shoreline residences, high income settlements grew which established relation with the city center via the high cornice road mentioned before .

7.2.1.5. 1965 - 1985

Prof.Dr. Erol Tümertekin explains the developments in this period as follows; Istanbul is a city having a rapid population increase with respect to other cities... the real increase is inside the municipal boundaries and in neighboring municipalities and villages... The population of CBD is decreasing parallel to the development of business activities... The population of the neighborhoods like Eminönü and Beyoğlu are decreasing. Meanwhile the population of surrounding

neighborhoods are increasing... The population increase in the region between Kadıköy and İzmit respects to the other newly dense regions. In this region, there are settlements along the railway network. Later the population increased on the vacant lots between these settlements especially squatter houses covered the whole land.

The removal of the people living in the city is expected. These removals will be in such a way; movement of low income people now living in the squatter areas of the periphery to the inner zones and movement of middle and higher income groups now living in the inner zones to the peripheral areas. This movement out to the periphery can be considered as suburbanization. However the phenomenon of suburbanization is completely different in Istanbul, as people coming from different places of Turkey are moving to these areas instead of people living in Istanbul. Thus, suburbanization as in the literature of urbanism, can be considered as a very limited area in Turkey in some places... For instance, Mecidiyeköy which was a village became first a neighborhood composed of villas in gardens, second a squatter area, and lastly a dense residential area of apartment blocks and is now becoming a typical central business district with the development of central business activities... .

Aside from the CBD which thus extended along the major roads, lower rank business centers were formed in the settlements around the metropolitan core, as in Büyük Çekmece, Küçük Çekmece, Bakırköy, Maltepe and Gebze. Under these centers there existed a network of neighborhood centers which provided goods and services to their immediate vicinities. (Table 7.12).

Kadıköy was one of the districts that displayed rapid development. Its population which was 164.000 in 1965 rose to 578.000 in 1985 with a constant rate of increase.

Gebze on the eastern edge of the metropolis displayed rapid development in 1965-1985. Its population which was 9.200 to begin with in 1965 reached 95.200 at the end of the period.

One development that was different from that in Gebze was observed in Bayramoğlu and its vicinity. During this period this area along with Tuzla was invaded by summer cottages of high income groups and Bayramoğlu's garden villas started to be converted into apartment houses. Kastel Construction Firm was engaged in intensive building activity near Bayramoğlu and built 32 villas in Balyanoz Bay in 1978 and 24 villas in 1981 and 34 villas in Members of the Press Estate.

TABLE 7.12 : TRAVELS (00)

Bölgeden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Toplam	
Eminönü	1	29/4	4/1	4/-	4/-	1/-	1/-	3/1	5/1	15/2	1/-	5/1	1/-	1/-	2/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	78/10	
Fatih -1	2	145/8	14/2	11/1	15/2	5/1	5/1	14/2	25/5	32/2	4/1	8/1	1/1	2/-	5/1	1/-	1/-	2/-	-/-	1/-	292/28	
Fatih -2	3	144/9	11/3	20/2	25/3	12/2	3/1	8/2	14/3	51/4	12/2	12/2	2/1	4/-	6/2	1/1	-/-	1/-	2/-	-/-	330/37	
Rami	4	43/1	10/-	8/-	30/1	12/-	3/1	6/-	39/2	8/-	5/-	3/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	171/5	
Eyüp	5	41/-	9/-	7/-	37/1	29/-	2/-	8/-	24/1	12/-	14/-	10/-	1/-	2/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	197/2	
Bakırköy-1	6	58/1	12/1	4/-	8/-	1/-	16/4	45/2	33/2	11/1	2/-	3/-	-/-	1/-	2/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	198/11	
Bakırköy-2	7	53/13	8/2	5/1	6/2	2/1	6/3	24/8	21/5	19/6	2/-	5/1	1/-	1/1	3/1	-/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	159/44	
Zeytinbur.	8	46/-	8/-	3/-	4/-	1/-	3/-	24/2	13/1	6/-	2/-	2/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	115/3	
Beyoğlu-1	9	25/3	2/1	2/-	1/1	1/-	-/-	2/1	2/1	17/4	3/-	10/1	1/-	2/1	3/1	1/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	75/14	
Beyoğlu-2	10	22/1	2/-	5/-	4/1	5/-	1/-	1/-	3/-	23/1	10/1	13/-	2/-	3/-	3/-	1/-	-/-	6/-	1/-	-/-	105/4	
Şişli-1	11	66/12	2/2	4/1	3/1	2/1	1/-	3/1	4/2	64/12	5/1	19/5	3/1	9/1	6/1	1/-	-/-	2/-	1/-	1/-	197/42	
Şişli-2	12	13/-	1/-	2/-	1/-	4/-	1/-	1/-	2/-	21/1	5/-	26/1	6/-	7/-	5/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	96/2	
Şişli-3	13	17/1	2/-	2/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	2/-	22/2	3/-	25/2	4/1	21/1	12/1	2/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	118/8	
Beşiktaş	14	43/8	3/1	3/1	2/1	2/1	1/1	4/1	3/1	57/4	4/1	25/6	2/1	14/3	20/4	4/1	1/-	2/-	3/-	-/-	194/46	
Sarıyer	15	7/1	-/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	9/2	1/-	4/1	-/-	4/1	4/-	14/1	1/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	48/6	
Beykoz	16	10/-	1/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	8/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	1/-	2/-	6/-	13/1	4/-	1/-	-/-	52/1	
Üsküdar	17	54/1	2/-	4/-	2/-	2/-	1/-	3/-	3/-	46/1	6/-	8/-	-/-	3/-	9/-	2/-	5/-	46/3	28/2	-/-	230/8	
Kadıköy	18	81/5	4/1	7/-	3/1	2/-	1/-	5/1	5/1	83/5	7/-	13/1	1/-	4/1	8/-	2/-	2/1	22/3	96/10	1/-	378/34	
Adalar	19	2/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	2/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	-/-	4/-	
Kartal	20	7/1	1/-	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	1/-	10/1	1/-	1/-	-/-	-/-	1/-	-/-	1/-	3/-	21/1	1/-	97/3	
Toplam		906/69	96/14	94/6	149/14	82/6	46/11	155/21	199/25	516/58	88/6	193/22	26/5	81/9	93/11	36/3	24/2	92/6	163/13	5/1	141/10	3185/311

Note: aa/home-to-work travels with public transportation
bb/home-to-work travels with private car

SOURCE: Mimarlık, 72/7, p.51.

With the housing supply activity between 1965-1978, metropolitan population development spilled over municipal boundaries of the city. While percentage of residents in peripheral municipalities in the metropolitan area was 23.90 % in 1965, it rose to 25.66 % in 1970, to 35.10 in 1975 and finally to 40.98 % in 1980.

Distribution of population between eastern and western sides of the metropolis changed slightly in favor of the eastern side. In 1965 77.45 % of the population resided in the west and 22.55 % in the east, whereas in 1985, 66.81 % resided in the west and 33.19 % in the east.

The boundaries of the metropolis which covered an area with a radius of 50 km in 1970-75, extended further to cover an area with a radius of 60 km in 1980-85. (Table 7.13)

TABLE 7.13: POPULATION INCREASE IN DIFFERENT URBAN RINGS (1965-85)

<u>Years</u>	<u>ring (km)</u>	<u>population increase (%)</u>
1965-70	10-20	30-100
	20-30	over 100
1970-75	5-10	60-100
	10-20	over 100
	20-30	60-100
	30-40	over 100
	40-50	60-100
1980-85	5-10	below 30
	15-20	60-100 (and over 100)
	20-40	30-60 (and 10-30 in older settlements)
	40-50	60-100

Table 7.12 shows that population increase accelerates especially in 40-50 ring and population decreases in 5-10 km ring. This tendency shows that istanbul will go on growing in the same manner in the following years as well. Sadık Özben in a magazine says "I'm in a bus... and I don't recognize these new neighborhoods. We're going with little stops, by the Etiler-Izmit bus of IETT, the man sitting beside me grumbles, "If they build the fourth bridge everything will be more easy". We passed near two 'sky scrapers' and 4 "gündüz de koruz" (we build in the morning too) just after coming to the Anatolian side (all are prefabricated) .

7.2.2. Changes in the Social Structure of
Population (People's Preferences of
Settlements According to Their Social
Structures)

7.2.2.1. 19th Century

In the classical Ottoman order, social structure was differentiated according to religious communities and classes were patterned after social division of labor.

The start of factory production and provision of intra-city and inter city transportation service by large organizations created a group which was hitherto nonexistent in the previous social stratification; wage labor.

Rich and poor lived side by side in the 19th century. But also a tendency towards suburbanization was seen in this period.

Moslem elite settled in the recently developing suburban neighborhoods on the Anatolian side like Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy and Bostancı. While non-moslem population was greater on the Prince Isles the situation was reverse in Kartal and especially in Gebze.

7.2.2.2. 1945 - 1965

The social structure of population has entered into a period of entire changes after 1945 (Tables 7.14 -

7.15 - 7.16 and 7.17). This period is the one in which a lot of people have migrated from rural areas to urban settlements and especially to Istanbul. This also created a new emerging class, the marginal class, in society and these people looked for jobs in the center and for a house in the periphery. This was the start of squatter housing.

As a result the rich and the middle men left their previous settlements, leaving these areas to the newcomers.

TABLE 7.14 : SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE EMPLOYEES IN 1950

	%
Wage earners	60
Private entrepreneurs	20
Employers	5
Unpaids	2
Unknowns	13
TOTAL	100

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma, p.54.

TABLE 7.15 : DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO PROFESSION

Profession	%
Technical personnel and independent business owners	6.5
Entrepreneurs, managers, office workers	21.5
Salesmen and jobs related to selling	6.8
Farmers, foresters, fishermen, hunters	8.5
Miners	0.1
Drivers of means of transport	6.1
Craftsmen, manufacturers and the like	38.6
Service works	11.5
TOTAL	100.0

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma p.54, 55.

TABLE 7.16 : STATUS OF THE EMPLOYEES CHANGED EXTREMELY IN 1960 WITH RESPECT TO 1950

	%
Wage earners	65
Private entrepreneurs	19
Employers	1
Unpaids	4
Unknowns	11
TOTAL	100

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma, p.64.

TABLE 7.17 : DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO PROFESSION

Profession	%
Technical personnel and professionals	6.5
Entrepreneurs, managers, office workers	14.3
Salesmen and jobs related to selling	10.0
Farmers, foresters, fishermen, hunters	3.6
Miners	0.1
Drivers of means of transport	7.0
Graftsmen, manufacturers and repair activities	26.6
Unskilled laborers	10.3
Service works	11.5
TOTAL	100.0

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma p.64

7.2.2.3. 1965-1985

After 1970s, social status of the employees differentiated deeply. (Table 7.18)

TABLE 7.18 : SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE EMPLOYEES
IN 1970s

	%
Wage earners	72
Private entrepreneurs	4
Employers	17
Unpays	1
Unknowns	6
TOTAL	100

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma, p.78.

With respect to rapid percentage increase of the employees, the percentage of the employers and private entrepreneurs decreased. (Table 7.19)

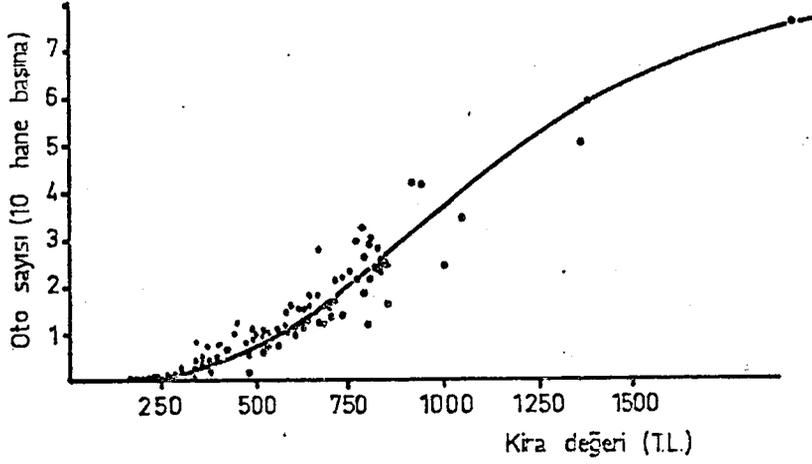
TABLE 7.19 : DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO PROFESSION

Profession	%
Technical personnel and independent business owners	10.1
Entrepreneurs, managers, and directors	1.5
Bureau personnel and other office workers	8.2
Trading and selling personnel	11.3
Private service workers	10.2
Farmers, fishermen, hunters	4.9
Craftsmen, laborers, drivers	47.5
Unskilled laborers and unknowns	6.3
TOTAL	100.0

SOURCE: ERGÜDEN, Selman, İstanbul'un Gelişimi, Geçirdiği İmar ve Planlama Aşamaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma p.78

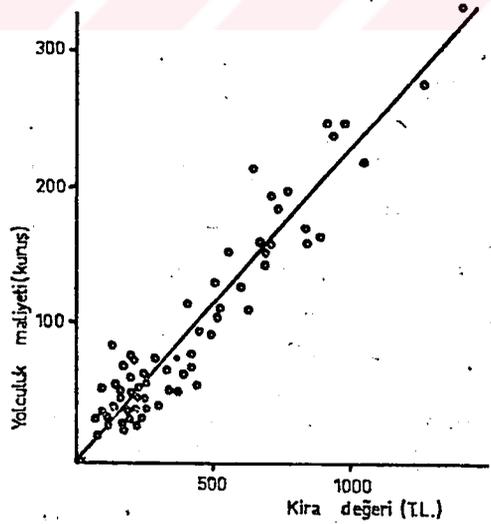
This differentiation of the social structure of employees led to a change first in the life styles of the population (Figures 7.13 and 7.14) and second in the location of prestige areas in the city. (Figures 7.15 and 7.16).

FIGURE 7.13: RENT DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO CAR OWNERSHIP



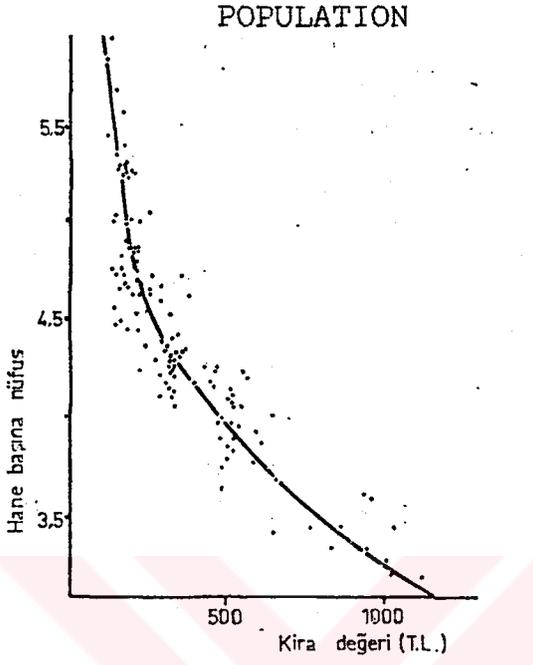
SOURCE: Mimarlık 72/7, p.49.

FIGURE 7.14: RENT DISTRIBUTION WITH RESPECT TO TRANSPORTATION COST



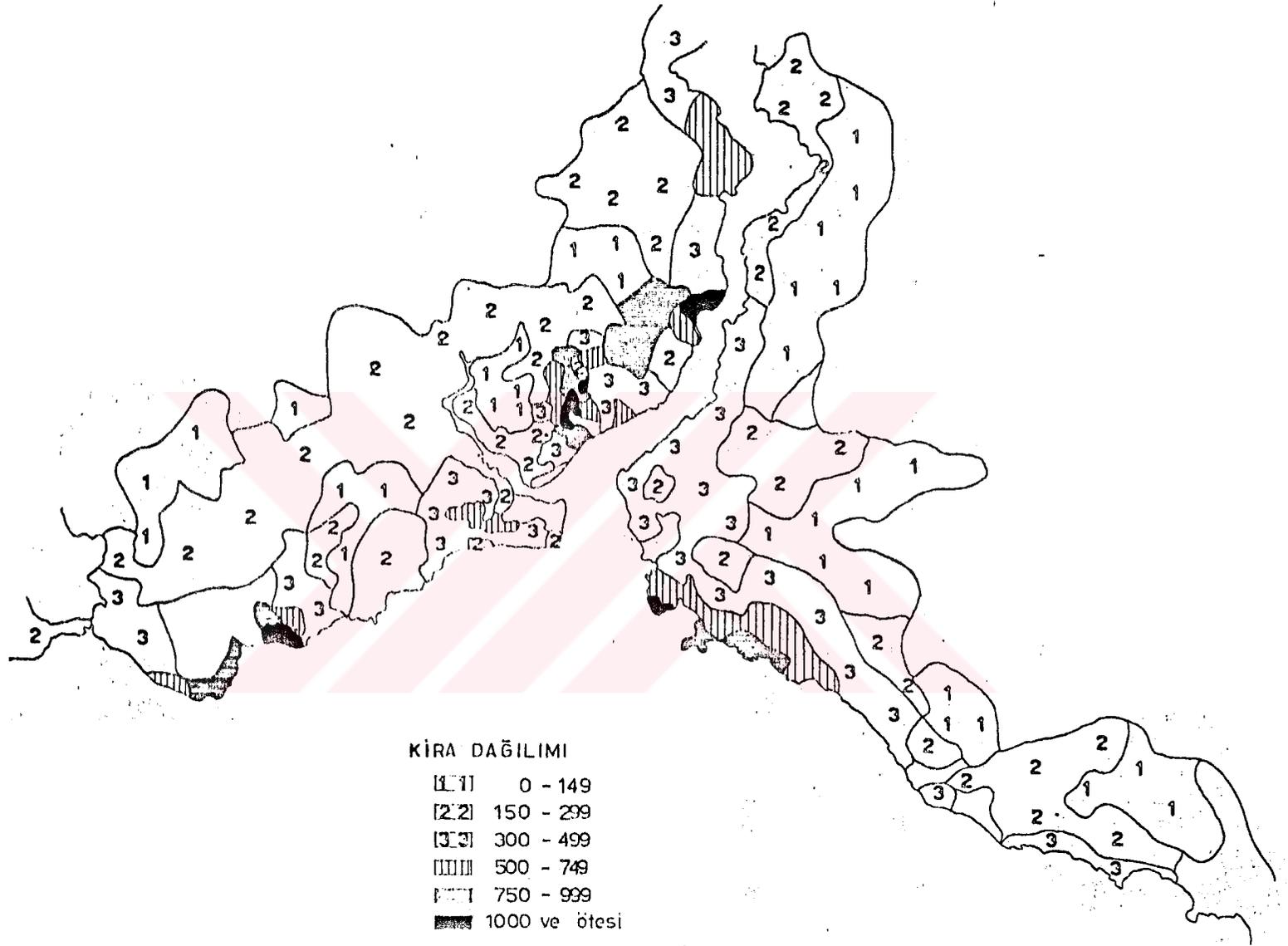
SOURCE: Mimarlık 72/7, p.49.

FIGURE 7.15: RENT DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO HOUSE



SOURCE: Mimarlık 72/7, p.49.

FIGURE 7.16: RENT DISTRIBUTION



SOURCE: Mimarlık 72/7, p.50.

8. BAYRAMOĞLU SUBURBAN SETTLEMENT

8.1. THE LOCATION OF BAYRAMOĞLU IN MARMARA REGION

One of the most important development axes of metropolitan Istanbul is E-5 state highway which connects the city to Ankara. Along this highway one can see industrial areas, squatter housing areas and new constructions but especially after Küçükyalı connection, industrial areas are increasing in number also forming a band between the highway and very dense residential areas behind. Although this scene is cut by some different uses such as Tuzla Dockyard, cemeteries, Tuzla Foot Soldier School and medium - density residential areas, there is a special feature that old, medium-quality and very-dense type of a building structure is located on the left-hand-side and a new building structure is located on the right-hand-side of the highway.

Darica, which is connected to the highway with a triple junction (E-5-Darica-Bayramoğlu), is a municipality that is on the very end point of Istanbul metropolitan area, within the province area of Kocaeli and dependent on Gebze district.

Darica which is 45 km distant from Istanbul 45 km by car and 50 km by train, is located on 48 km east of Izmir and 9 km it southwest of Gebze and furthermore it

is 28 m high from sea level. In addition to E-5 state highway and railway, Darıca is connected to the region with ferry boats carrying people between Darıca and Yalova.

Except its steep coastline and narrow beach Darıca is a high plateau which is suitable both for agriculture and for settling down however because of its geological structure, fault which passes across leads to a need of preventions to be taken. (Figure 8.1.)

With industrial developments in Gebze and İzmit, Darıca has become a dormitory town for the industrial laborers and its environs were assigned as industrial zone in metropolitan area plan. Furthermore with this plan, the coastline was given recreative functions, and the innerzones were residential areas also having recreational features. In addition to these plan decisions, Darıca comprises the most important part of Istanbul Metropolitan Area touristic activities by containing camps and second homes within its limits.

The last section of data on Darıca is about its population increases with respect to years and to sector. (Tables 8.1 and 8.2).

TABLE 8.1: DARICA POPULATION INCREASES 1955-1985

Years	Population (total)	Male	Female	Rate of Increase (%)
1955	3813	2347	1466	
1960	4713	2927	1786	19.10
1965	4952	2882	2070	4.83
1970	6560	3675	2885	24.51
1975	10602	6189	4413	38.12
1980	23905	12486	11419	55.65
1985	33551	-	-	28.75

SOURCE: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, Şehircilik Bölümü, Öğrenci Çalışması.

TABLE 8.2: SECTORAL POPULATION CHANGES
(According to 1979 questionnaire results)

Sectors	Year-round population	%	Seasonal population	%
Agriculture	10	1.91	-	-
Manufacturing	268	51.24	2	1.00
Electricity-Gas-Water	-	-	-	-
Construction	30	5.74	7	6.62
Trade	47	8.99	36	34.29
Transportation	1	0.19	-	-
Financial Associations	26	4.97	27	25.71
Service Activities	97	18.55	17	16.19
Undefined	44	8.41	16	15.24
TOTAL	523	100.00	105	100.00

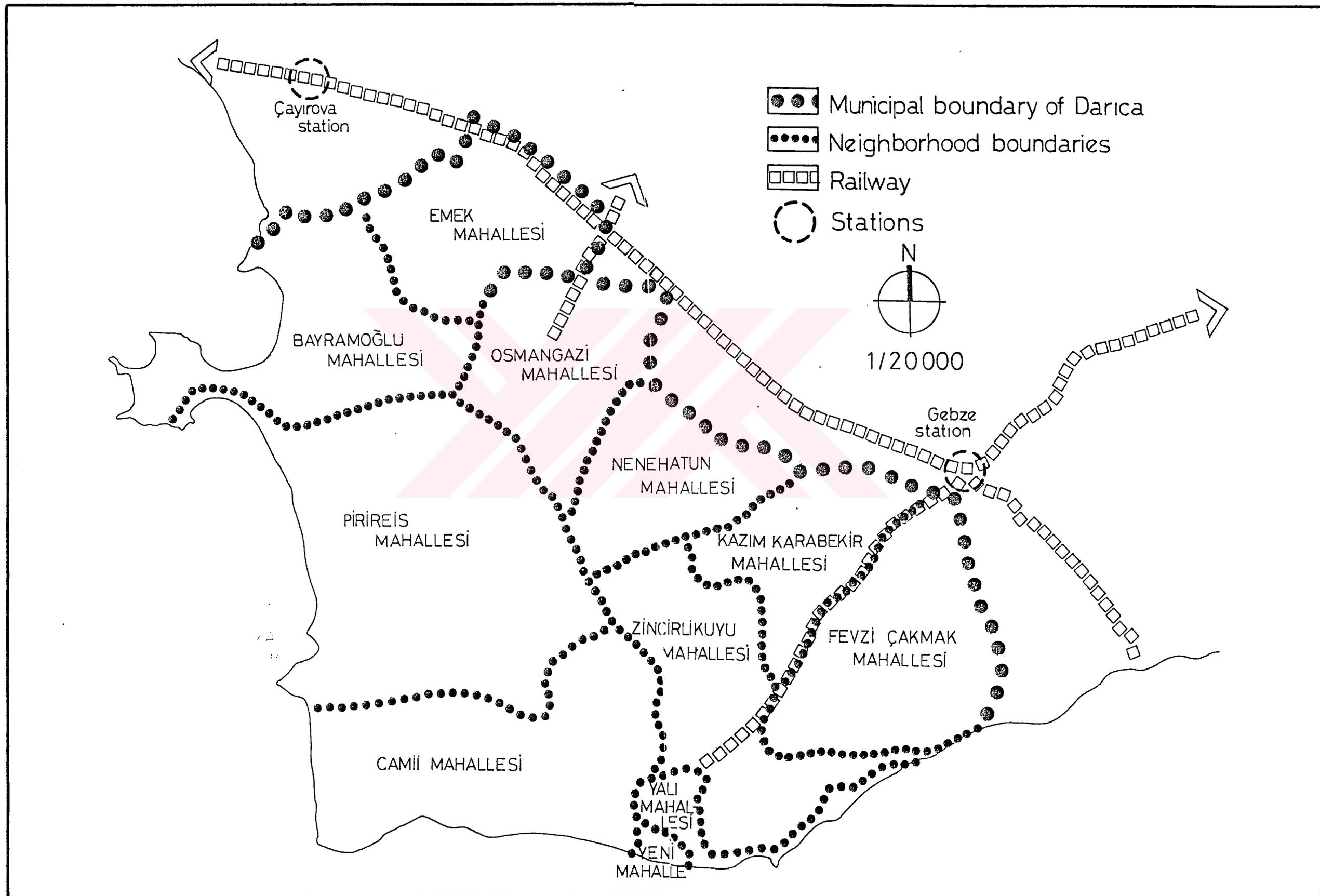
SOURCE: Darıca 1/5000 Ölçekli Ana İmar Planı Raporu, p.5.

As it can be seen in Table 8.2. 56.98 percent of year-round population is working in second sector and 97.43 percent of seasonal population in the sector.

There are 11 neighborhoods on 2200 hectares within the boundary of Darıca municipality. These neighborhoods are Fevzi Çakmak, Nene Hatun, Kazım Karabekir, Zincirlikuyu, Yalı, Yeni Mahalle, Osman Gazi, Emek, Cami, Piri Reis and Bayramoğlu. (Figure 8.2.)



FIGURE 8.2: NEIGHBORHOODS OF DARICA MUNICIPALITY



8.2. GENERAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE FORMATION OF BAYRAMOĞLU

A study on the evolution of Bayramoğlu settlement leads to a research of a large period beginning with the end of first world war in 1918.

After the first world war, two rival allied powers put an agreement for the exchange of Turks living in Greece and Greeks living in Anatolia. Within this agreement, there has been a point that to each Greek person owning a property in Anatolia, there will be given same amount of property in Greece and vice versa for the Turks coming to Anatolia from Greece.

History of Bayramoğlu settlement begins with the coming of a post world war I migrant-named ismail Efendi- from Selanik to Istanbul as a result of the agreement of exchanges. Bounded to this agreement, olive-groves in Darıca and a peninsula in Marmara Region called 'Üç Burunlar' -this name is because of its shape as Bayramoğlu is a peninsula which connects to the mainland with a very thin strait and is reaching the sea with 3 firger like extensions- are given him by the Ottoman Empire as agreed upon the immigrancy terms.

Necmi Şahin -one of the share holders of Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi imar idare ve Bakım işleri Anonim Şirketi- describes the land as rocky and inconvenient for

agriculture. "That's why" "he continues", everybody thought that ismail Efendi had owned almost nothing in Selanik, so he decided to sell the land for a very small amount of money, 75 000TL, but nobody wanted to buy it."

The land reaches its last name, Bayramoğlu in 3 steps. First as it has been mentioned above, it is called 'Üç Burunlar' which is a geographical term. Secondly, ismail Efendi owns the land and in 1/25 000 scales, military plans it is named 'ismail Efendi Farm'. By the way, in 1299 dated land registers ismail Efendi is called Bayramzade ismail Efendi. Later with the law of surnames, he gets the surname Bayramoğlu, and thus thirdly this peninsula is begun to be called 'Bayramoğlu'.

Later ismail Bayramoğlu Becomes a very important person in Darıca as the owner of alot of land and for a long period of time he works as the mayor of Darıca.

Until 1950s, apart from its use as farmland and pasture with a return of 300-500 TL, ismail Bayramoğlu gains almost nothing from the land.

In 1950-55 tramway tickets were 5 kuruş in first class and 3 kuruş in second class, lunch in a university campus was 1 TL, a pair of shoes was 20 TL, and one could live with 100 TL mothly salary. Thus ismail Bayramoğlu was earning an annual amount which was lower that the annual income of a middle-income person.

After death of ismail Bayramoğlu, the olive groves in Darıca and Bayramoğlu is owned by ismail Bayramoğlu's sons Necmettin Bayramoğlu and Mustafa Bayramoğlu by heritage. There is no information about Mustafa Bayramoğlu, Necmettin Bayramoğlu said that his brother preferred the olive groves so Bayramoğlu peninsula remained to himself.

Meanwhile, Necmettin Bayramoğlu is appointed from Erzurum to Tuzla, Istanbul as an artirary officer in 1951 and he sees the construction studies of E-5 and the finished excavations up to Gebze. These developments make him to think if there can be created a seasonal suburb in Bayramoğlu as its road connection with Istanbul will be completed soon. So it can be said -in connection with the above statements- that the evolution of Bayramoğlu Neighborhood was the thought of a young ordinary man or may be a conscious merchant who was looking for the ways of making his land valuable or in his own words;

"Creating a beatiful site close to Istanbul as there was not such a place in the Anatolian side for people to spend their weekends far away from city life and also seeing his name on the maps."

With these thoughts, Necmettin Bayramoğlu talks first with a lot of people who say that this is a dream which can never be turned into a reality as the land is too far away from Istanbul and it is reached by transporting on a very bad conditioned road. Then he applies to the Municipality of Darıca but he again gets the same answers.

Why everybody was against his proposals, can be understood by considering the economic and social conditions of the time being;

- There was no electricity neither in Tuzla and Gebze nor in other surrounding settlements.
- There were no factories and squatters in Tuzla, Gebze, and Çayırova. The factories were started to be built after the transformer center that was built in Çayırova by the Electricity Association of Etibank. And after the factories, lands were all covered with squatters one by one after 1960.
- In those years private enterprises were not dealing with infrastructure because there was a general thought that infrastructure was the work of state.
- The main arterial was connected to the railroad and in order to reach Bayramoğlu one should first pass a railroad crossing that was called Aşıroğlu site, so reach E-5, and then travel 6 kms more.

During these years, Necmettin Bayramođlu becomes captain and despite the difficulties, listed above, he never changes his mind and this time talks to his friends in military service, Haydar Saltık and Necdet Öztörün who are the first two persons encouraging him. Heartened by these encouragements, Necmettin Bayramođlu begins to search for the ways of making a plan done but he learns that the cost of making improvement plans 15 000 TL -so much for him- so he applies to state banks however they give him the same negative answer.

Up to this point it is seen that the state never wants to join this project. This attitude of the state do not change in the following years and Bayramođlu is developed without any state aid and furthermore they try to stop the project as it will be specified in the coming pages.

Soon afterwards another friend of Necmettin Bayramođlu, Ekrem Sarper advices him to talk with Iron and Land Company however they do nothing except telling him that they will search on it. So he despraires of this company and makes a contact with IBA -Istanbul Bayındırlık ve Malzeme işleri İBA Limited Şirketi- in 1957 and asks for the ways of evaluating his land. İBA was one of the construction firms of Yapı Kredi Bank which was working with private capital and directed by the heads of Yapı Kredi Bank, especially by Kazım

Taşkent, the head of the board of directors. IBA is wellknown in Turkey during those years because of their big projects, Levent Neighborhood and IBA blocks near Barbaros Boulevard in Istanbul.

The above statement about Necmettin Bayramoğlu's contact with IBA belongs to Nected Aslan -he was one of the engineers working in IBA, today he owns a bureau-. However Necmettin Bayramoğlu has told that when he was in Tuzla Anti-aircraft school, retired commissaire Naci said him that he had been sent by Kazım Taşkent who had been wanting to see him. Then Nizamettin Tezcan -the director of İmar Bankası (Improvement Bank)- comes, sees the land and gives him a randevou in Malta Kiosk and Necmettin Bayramoğlu ends the meeting with the following sentence; 'Don't stall of me, Kazım Taşkent is the only person who sould talk with me.'

Necmettin Bayramoğlu has given a reason to their invitation to Malta Köşk as their choice of place of meeting was preplanned just to affect him.

On the other day Kazım Taşkent gives Necmettin Bayramoğlu a randevou in his office. When Necmettin Bayramoğlu enteres the office, he is invited to the council management room in which he waits for 10 minutes. Waiting for 10 minutes makes Necmettin Bayramoğlu very angry and he wants to leave the room but

Kazım Taşkent's secretary stops him when Kazım Taşkent is seen at the corner walking with running steps and asking for an excuse.

Necmettin Bayramoğlu has explained his attitude as such;

"This was a 'particularly made' trick. They wanted to make me feel as an unimportant person and to show that they don't much interested in my project. When I was waiting in the room, Kazım Taşkent's secretary was watching me".

The negotiation starts with Kazım Taşkent's following words;

"As we have the capital you will do what we want".
Necmettin Bayramoğlu rejects;

"I will accept the cooperation if you do what I want."

But Kazım Taşkent who is aware of his power in those years is so wise and also frank, he replies;

"No, I know 'amal-i erba'(the four arithmetical operations) and to be patient very well. Now I make the cooperation as the way you want, but then I find a way to fleece you."

This kind of a talk makes Necmettin Bayramođlu to leave the room and he does no further applications until Nizamettin Tezcan -an employee of IBA together with architect Bedri Ucar and engineer Necdet Aslan- and his wife visits him to say;

"Forget about Kazım Tařkent, let's work together. Sell half of the land at a price of 2TL/m². We will put this as capital".

Nizamettin Tezcan was working in iBA but the real shareholders were Kazım Tařkent, Haydar Salih who was the owner of biggest share in Yapı Kredi Bank, and Kemal Türkömer who was the general director of Yapı Kredi Bank.

As it has been elucidated by Necdet Aslan, he and Bedri Ucar and some others from iBA go to Bayramođlu to see the land. Necdet Aslan described their observations as follows;

"Bayramođlu was a bare open land with only 2 fig trees. The only transportation connection with Istanbul was an old road and we travelled in difficulty on a jeep. There was only a factory in Pendik".

By seeing the peninsula, they think that it can be converted into a residential suburb for weekends. So they are agreed on a share of investment as Necmettin Bayramođlu will put the land and iBA the capital. At this

point Necmettin Bayramođlu adds that because he has no technical knowledge, he will not interfere in anything.

Hence in 1958 half of the land is bought by iBA at a price of approximately 350 000 TL and this becomes the capital, and iBA and Necmettin Bayramođlu become fifty-fifty partners. According to the agreement which is made by the partners, consignment and management belongs to Necmettin Bayramođlu, everything will be done with mutual coincidence and Yapı Kredi Bank will be the financing body.

During the same year when Necmettin Bayramođlu is 35, he resigns from military service in which he spent 15 years. The reason of his resignation -as it has been told by Necmettin Bayramođlu- is his appointment to a place far away from Istanbul which will prevent him to deal with his project. Despite his saying, in an encyclopedia in which a special section is separated for him and the neighborhood, the reason is appointed as follows;

... when he was a captain in the military forces he resigned in 1955 to improve the heavenlike coastal line between Tuzla and Gebze which was owned by heritage and to establish civilized buildings which was worthy of this
59
and hi immediately attempted to this work .

8.3. FORMATION OF BAYRAMOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD AS A PLANNED SUBURBAN SETTLEMENT

A planning group is constituted within İBA for this project,

- Bedri Ucar - Architect
- Necdet Aslan - Engineer
- Haldun Gulaman - He was previously working in the Improvement Directorate of Istanbul Municipality.
- Osman Kahraman Kaptan

8.3.1. Infrastructure

Planning group gives the first importance to infrastructure and infrastructure studies are started first with the construction of roads in 1957.

8.3.1.1. Road Construction

As it has been mentioned before, because the main road was connected to a railway pass, a person who wanted to go to Bayramoğlu, should have first passed from Aşıroğlu settlement and then travelled 6 km after leaving E-5. So construction was a real big problem there.

During those years a glass factory is started to be constructed in Çayirova and Necmettin Bayramoğlu talks with the general director of the factory, Şahap Karatopçu to construct the road together up to the junction of factory. Likewise railway pass was constructed by

cooperation with the General Directorate of Railways in accordance with the plan they prepared.

Thought out road construction studies they face with a lot of problems originating both from public and from the state.

The original road should be widened through the field lying across but, this widening operation leads to a problem. For example if a field is 10.000 m², they need only 100 m² of it for the road but the landowners want to sell all the 10.000 m² land.

Necmettin Bayramoğlu first gets the expropriation plans but then decides to talk to the owners of the fields and tells them that if the expropriation plans are applied, they will be given only a very small amount of money but he can give them more if they accept to sell their fields to him. At this stage a barrier is put before him by the state.

At this period, the heads of districts and subdistricts are very powerful. Head of the province belonging to Demokrat Political Party says Necmettin Bayramoğlu. "Welcome to our Party" but Necmettin Bayramoğlu's rejection to join their political party breaks their relations and they tell the peasants to want a lot of money from Necmettin Bayramoğlu because he has no chance other than paying the amount they want.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Necmettin Bayramoğlu buys the fields -he had seen those lands as troublesome in that year but today he says that they became good investments- the road is marked, they bring machines from the Russian pavillion of izmir Fair, and excavations are started.

In addition to the above mentioned state originated difficulty, land owners also lead to troubles in road constructions. An example to these difficulties has been given by Necmettin Bayramoğlu as follows;

"During the excavations, one of the landowners who was called Peltek Ahmet, sit in the middle of his field with a gun in his hand. By seeing him the Armanian engineer Nurhan came to my tent -because of the hot I was sitting in a tent- and told me that that man would kill him. I went to talk to Peltek Ahmet and made him to leave the field. So excavations could be continued."

The road built by İBA and the glass factory is the same of today's, up to Darıca junction, then at Karatoprak settlement the road was passing from the railway overpass but later this road was changed.

8.3.1.2. Energy-Electricity-Telephone -----

In 1958 electricity was brought through quotas and Merkez Bank was working with quotas. So there is made a

contact with Merkez Bank for a transformer but electricity can not be brought through this channel. Thereafter electricity is brought from the transformer station which is built by Etibank in Çayırova. This transformer was 120 Kwa as Necmi Şahin said.

All the equipments are brought by guotas as there was no industry of it in Turkey.

These studies are troublesome too, especially when the poles of high voltage are built all people think that this is impossible. (See Appendix.B).

8.3.1.3. Water Supply -----

For water supply a 8-10 m deep well which has also a wide radius is excavvved and water brought to the neighborhood by this well up to 50 altitute. But these studies are also troublesome as there can not be found pipes. First they want the pipes from the Ministry of Industry, from the Minister Samet Ağaoğlu, still he gives them the answer that they can give nothing to private sector. At the end they can only find black pipes and water is brought by galvanized 3-finger-pipes.

Necmi Şahin has explained how water was supplied as follows;

"3 wells were opened on a swamp and a 180 m3 water tank was built. But later this swamp was dried and water

was started to be brought from Ömerli Dam." This point will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

All infrastructure is completed togetherly in 1958 and a bus of the company starts to carry people from Kadıköy to Bayramoğlu, and vice versa, 3 times a day.

8.3.2. The Planning Activity

In 1957 improvement plans were not started to be drawn in Turkey and also there was not a Ministry for planning.

Bedri Ucar and Necdet Aslan draw a local plan for Bayramoğlu. Later in 1958 with the foundation of İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı (Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement) first land surveys are made and topographic plans are drawn, Bayramoğlu is connected to the triangulation of the country and the pre-made local plan is improved. However this improvement was on paper there was nothing changed. In accordance with these developments Bedri Ucar goes to Ankara for the approval of the plan by the Ministry as in 1958 plans were being approved by the Ministry not by the municipalities. (Figure 8.3.)

Bayramoğlu plan was offered to the Ministry with an explanation report instead of a leagende. (See Appendix B).

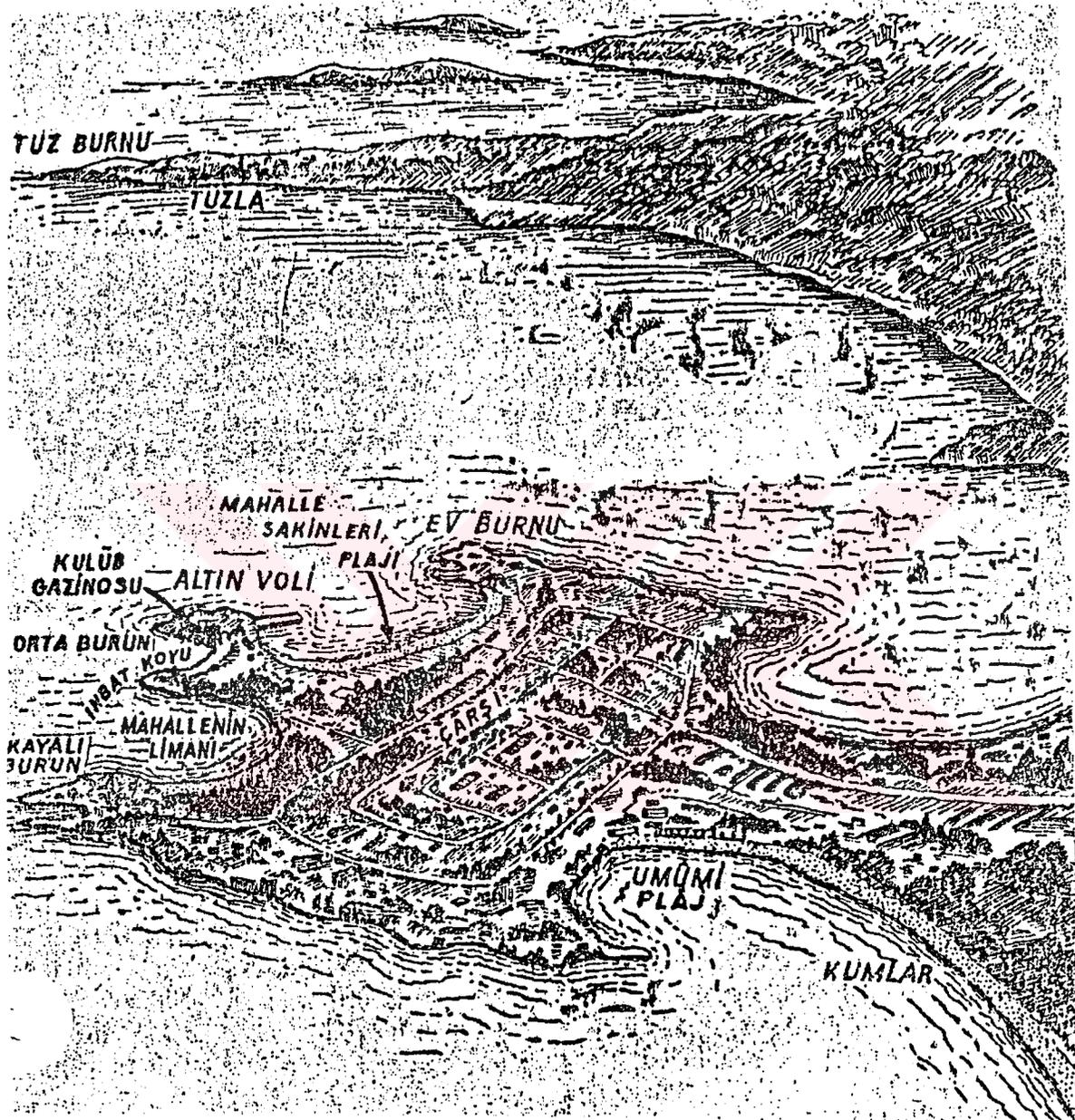
The 650 parcels were two of a kind inland parcels and coastline parcels. All the inland parcels were approximately the same in size, 350-450 m² except the coastline parcels which were bigger in size from 450-600 m² to 1200 m². The parcels were formed in such a way that each had 15 m front, 30 m depth and 25% usage right was given. About the height of the houses, there was a strict regulation that no more than 2 stories could be built.

8.3.3. Housing and Other Social Activity Areas

In 1959, after completion of the plan and infrastructure, Bedri Ucar decides to give some examples for the housing structure and 6 houses -one storied differentiating in size from 45m² to 65m²- are built. Then Bedri Ucar and Necdet Aslan move to these houses. Nevertheless as Necmi Şahin has said these houses could have not been a datum for housing and there had not been put a detailed housing regulation either.

The shape of Bayramoğlu peninsula, its 3 extensions through sea, has been mentioned above. Between these 3 extensions land was suitable for beaches but from these 2 natural beaches only one could be conserved, the other two are all covered with buildings. On the place of today's beach first a recreation center and then a beach was opened. (Figure 8.4.).

FIGURE 8.4: BAYRAMOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD



SOURCE: Istanbul Ansiklopedisi, vol.4., p.2301.

Along the coast some of the land are reserved for touristic establishments and later Necmettin Bayramoğlu builds a hotel on this land.

In the original plan there were school and mosque places, sporting areas, 2 beaches, a place for the rowboats and a market place but only one of the beaches were built in 1959. The beach was registered on Necmettin Bayramoğlu together with the land and he promised to the newcomers that they could use the beach but when people started to come to the beach for swimming, a lot of man began to come from surrounding settlements by trucks to watch the people swimming. These have been the words of Necmettin Bayramoğlu and he has gone on as follows;

"As we saw that people began to be uncomfortable to be watched, I decided to put a barrier around the beach and a watchman in front of the door."

Later this barrier is talked a lot because with the law Ek 7-8, there had been put a point that nobody could own a beach, coastlines were owned by public.

In the following years sporting areas, a place for the rowboats and the administration building on the market place are built.

They don't think that a parking place is necessary because each parcel has 15 m front which is suitable for parking. This wa parking place is necessary because each

parcel has 15 m front which is suitable for parking. This was the result of a decision-making without foreseeing as they never thought that each household would own more than 1 car, but today each has 2 or more.

As it can be seen from the plan, Bayramoğlu has a very interesting road system. Interesting because on such a peninsula a road system which is perpendicular to the coastline is expected instead of a parallel and compact one. Necdet Aslan has explained why they decided on such a road system as follows;

"We decided on the road system by considering the contours and the land was ascending from 0 to 25 codes. So in order to make each house a front looking the sea, we decided to plan this type of a road system."

Then the director of iBA, Nizamettin Tezcan puts the names of the streets which are chosen from nature, birds, and flowers.

It can easily be understood from the explanations above that the Municipality of Darıca did nothing neither for the plan nor for the infrastructure, all were done by iBA.

In 1959, infrastructure and plan are completed, and the parcels are started to be sold through radio and newspaper announcements and the directors of Yapı Kredi Branches in big cities. In addition to these Necdet

Aslan, Bedri Ucar and the others in İBA tell their friends working in the Directorate of Improvements of Istanbul that they have begun to sell the parcels. Price of the inland parcels are 12 000-18 000 TL and of the coastline parcels are 35 000 - 60 000 TL. Half of the price are paid in advance and the other half is paid by 2 years due. So as one inland parcel was 450 m2, the price of the land became

$12\ 000\ \text{TL}/450\ \text{m}^2 = 27\ \text{TL}$ for the inland parcels.

however land prices in the surrounding settlements were 2-3 TL/m2. For instance, and prices on Bebek were 70.000 TL in the one period.

Kelepir Satılık Arsa

Bebek sırtında denize fevkalade şahane manzaralı 1500 metre arsa en yeni imar durumu alınmış 3 kata müsaadeli olup 70 bin lira Lütfi Kurt - Karaköy Bankalar Han No.60 Telefon: 448369 .

Directors of Yapı Kredi Branches are also entrusted with the task. This can be explained by an example sale that was made to Necmi Şahin;

One day Necmi Şahin goes to Yapı Kredi Bank in Ankara and visits the director. After 10-15 minutes, notary clerk Naci the director the room and the director tells him that he is appointing Necmi Şahin as his representative to buy land on behalf of himself. By

signing a proxy, Necmi Şahin signs a 75 000 TL valued bill and buys 2 title-deeds on another day. After 2 weeks, he signs an additional 65000 TL valued bill and so he owns 3 parcels in Bayramoğlu.

Later Necmi Şahin joined these parcels and built a waterside residence formed of 15 rooms and an artificial harbor in front.

In 1959 all the capital was spent for the improvement plan and infrastructure especially for the road construction which was connected to E-5, so other improvements are carried out with the money gained from the sale of parcels. And up to year 1960, the company spend a total of 5 million TL.

During 1960 revolution- a period of denunciation glut- a man who was chased from the Technical Services of Darıca Municipality, makes some denunciations on the improvement plan, possession states of the road and also the buying process of assignment equipments. Necmettin Bayramoğlu has explained this man's attitude in the following statement "may be he thought that he was driven away because of me." So 2 investigation commissions are formed, one of civil service inspectors and board of directors of the province with presidency of the governor, and the other of the board 8. investigation council judges. These 2 investigation commissions make

long-term investigations during the period which Yassıada courts are being carried on and at the end decide that the denunciations are baseless.

In 1960, when September 7th agreements were put on, an increase in the value of dolar in TL terms from 280 krş to 10.5 TL and later 1960 revolution, affects all Turkish economy and so Bayramođlu developments. Sale of the parcels stops, the capital invested and the money gained from the sale of parcels become insufficient for the improvements . Throughout the same period Yapı Kredi shareholders change, and the newcomers are thinking only their trading profits, and so these greatly affects iBA. Because of these developments Necdet Aslan and Bedri Ucar who never want to forget their first target as everybody trust them because of their preworks in Levent and iba blocks near Barbaros Baulevard, transfer their shares in iBA and give their resignations in 1961.

Before the stop of the sale of parcels in the end of August 1960, out of 650 parcels 346 had been sold and out of these 346 parcels on 41 of them the owners had completed construction of their houses. During this month 250-300 people spend their summer vacations in their houses. Necdet Aslan has said that 2-3 years had passed between the sale of parcels and constructions.

As it has been mentioned above in the beginning there were 9-10 houses which were not accepted as examples and people built their houses by their own means. Some took Necdet Aslan's and Bedri Ucar's ideas and they drew plans for them but this doesn't mean that a group of people joined for the construction process as nobody thought of joining and forming cooperatives. All the houses were built one by one by their owners.

First buyers were the elites of Istanbul and Ankara, especially architects, engineers, doctors, lawyers, bureaucrats and density of the neighborhood was approximately 50-100 person/m². Today this elite character of the neighborhood has completely changed with the newcomers; merchants, contractors, industrialists, and people working in foreign countries and coming to Turkey in summers.

In the real agreement there is a statement that as soon as the constructions are completed, service of the neighborhood will be transferred to the Municipality of Darıca. Necmettin Bayramoğlu reminds this statement to the other founders of the neighborhood but they don't want to apply it. They say that the pre-founded 'Beautify Society' can be continued on working. Later they change their mind, there is made a meeting composed of the Mayor, the Governor Turhan Kapanlı, Şeref Kayalar and the founders of Bayramoğlu tell them that they want to

transfer administration of the neighborhood to the Municipality. However the Mayor don't accept this by saying "first finish everything then we will accept your proposal". By hearing this answer in 1967 the founders establish Bayramoğlu sahil Mahallesi İmar Idare ve Bakım İşleri Anonim Şirketi (Bayramoğlu Neighborhood Improvement, Administration and Maintenance Share Company).

Necmi Şahin has explained this occasion in another way as the founders transferred the neighborhood to the new company at a loss. Again as elucidated by Necmi Şahin, Kazım Taşkent told him establish found a company, not a cooperative because foundation of a cooperative needed difficult long-term studies.

According to Necmettin Bayramoğlu, he wanted to transfer the neighborhood to the Municipality of Darıca but a group within the founders did not want this because they wanted to create a hegemony.

Despite these facts the new company is established with the shareholders as it is listed in Table 8.3.

TABLE 8.3: FOUNDERS AND THEIR SHARES

Name	Occupation	Number of the shares	Value of the shares (TL)
1. Istanbul Bayındırlık ve Malzeme İşleri IBA Ltd.Şti.	-	124	248.000
2. Arif Kazım Taşkent	The head of Yapı Kredi Council of Managers	10	20.000
3. Muhlis Efe	Minister of Commerce (retined)	10	20.000
4. Necmettin Bayramoğlu	Quit from Military Service (owner of the land)	196	392.000
5. Necmi Şahin	Building Contractor	60	120.000
6. Ali Rıza Çarmıklı	Building Contractor	60	120.000
7. Rauf Kandemir	Retired from Military service and old CHP deputy	4	8.000
8. Hüsnü Üçüncü		30	60.000
9. Uğurlu Tunalı	One of the owners Kavaklıdere wine factory	3	6.000
10. Hulki Dönmezer		3	6.000
TOTAL		500	1.000.000

SOURCE: Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi'nin Hizmetleri Hakkında Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi imar idare ve Bakım işleri Anonim Şirketi Tarafından Hazırlanmış Bilgiler ve Tatbikata ait Sözleşme, p.37.

First Necmettin Bayramoğlu and later with his resignation in 1972, Necmi Şahin become the head of the company.

In 1973 water and electricity establishments and their administration rights, some properties including the beach which were owned by the founders until that year are transferred to the company and the shares of İBA and Necmettin Bayramoğlu to the people living in the neighborhood.

Today the company which is not working for profit making, as one of the employees said, brings electricity from TEK and water from İSKİ and also gives some services such as collecting the garbage, medication and the like. In order to benefit from these services each household pays 2000 TL and each year 50 000 TL administration expenses for the inland parcels and 400 000 TL for the coastline parcels. The mass houses and summer sites which are not partners of the company bring their water and electricity by their own means.

With the passing years and increasing population the already established 350 kva transformer becomes insufficient and 3 more added increasing the power to 1100 kva. Also as 3 wells were inside a swamp, this swamp is dried, wells are closed and water is started to be brought from Ömerli Dam.

Today the company owns properties on 14 parcels. One is the beach of 2500-3000 m2, in order to use the beach one should take an identity card from the company because only the partners can make use of the beach. The other properties of the company are sporting fields on 2 parcels, a transformer building on 1 parcel, a place for the rowboats, administration buildings on 5 parcels in the market place, a water tank of 1000 tons on 1 parcel and wells on 2 parcels. Secondary to these as there is not a sewage system in Bayramoğlu, septic tanks are being discharged by a firm which the company has made an agreement with and the price is being given by the company itself.

The administration building was constructed in 1985, tennis court in the season of 1983-84, sport fields in the season of 1988-89.

This company was criticized many times and Bayramoğlu neighborhood was resembled to Texas in 2 articles. One of them is of, Yalçın Pekşen in January 27th 1978 dated Cumhuriyet. This article includes the Mayor of Darıca, Hasan Ciddi's thoughts on the company as he resembles it to a state in the state. The other article is completely about the company. (See Appendix.B)

8.4. GROWTH PATTERNS OF BAYRAMOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD

8.4.1. Some Problems Faced Throughout Time

8.4.1.1. Dockyard Occasion

However the documents on this occasion are added in appendix B, Necmettin Bayramoğlu's own words are more explanatory and make it possible to understand the occasion more deeply.

In 1967s a plywood factory, dockyards and some other establishment related to industry are started to be built on the surrounding areas. An within these developments Murtazaoglu Firm decides to build a dockyard in the Balyanoz Bay, in the place of today's Gazeteciler Sitesi (Journalists Site). Necmettin Bayramoğlu has explained his thoughts on this issue as he got very angry because sea would be contaminated and the dockyard would be full of ships in which a lot of rats were living, so these rats would come on the land and spread out the neighborhood. So in order to stop the construction of dockyard Necmettin Bayramoğlu gets a plan signed by Turgut Tuncay from the City Planning Department and Zühtü (Figure 8.5.)

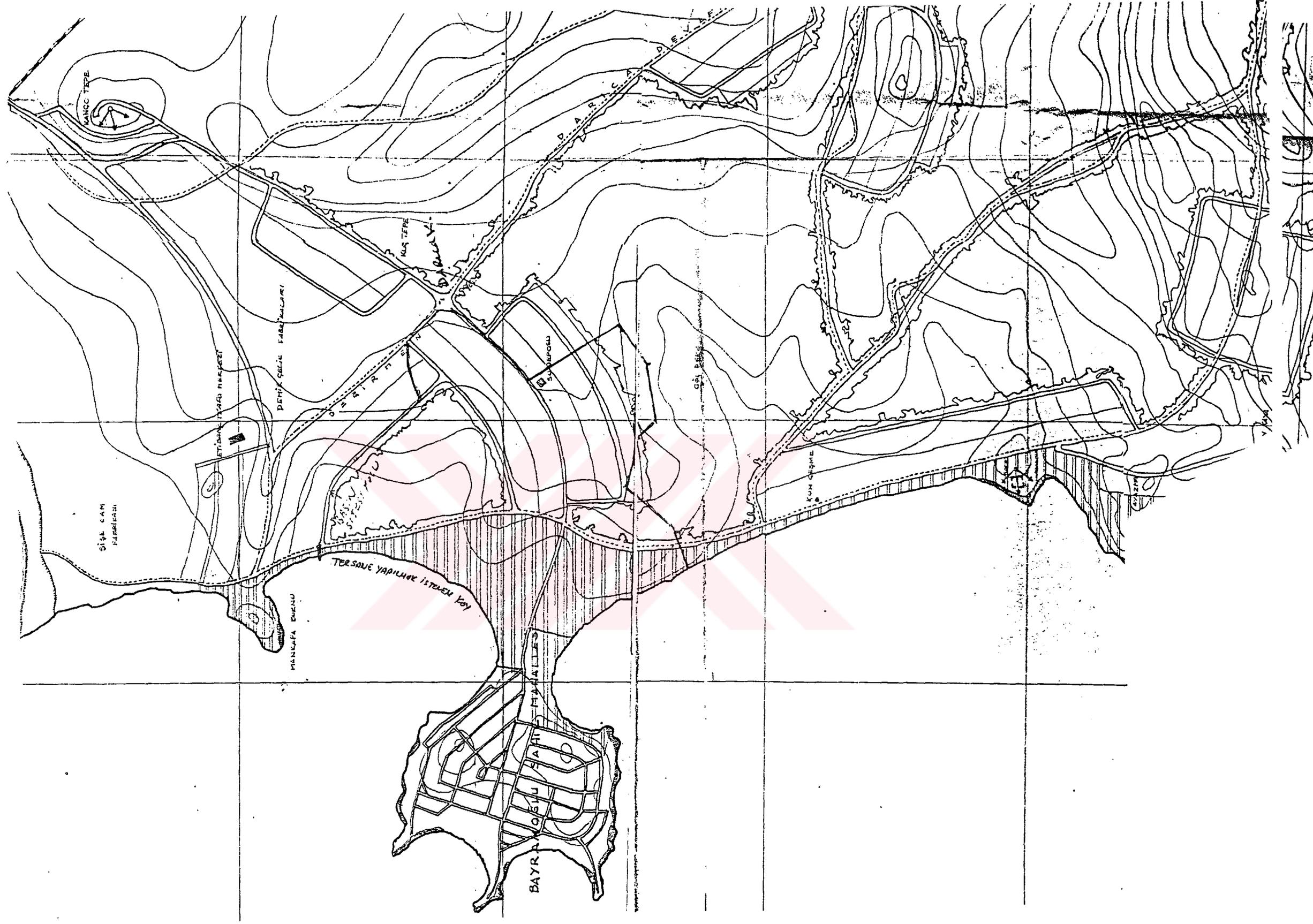
In 1967 Necmettin Bayramoğlu has an accident and spends there months in bed when the hotel is started to be built. In those days one of the members of Committee of Darıca Municipality, Zeki visits him and tells

that Mayor signed a report that Balyanoz Bay was a suitable place for a dockyard. By hearing this, Necmettin Bayramoğlu immediately leaves the bed and goes to Ankara to talk with Süleyman Demirel, the newly elected president. In Süleyman Demirel's house Süleyman Demirel, Faruk Sükan, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Necmettin Bayramoğlu talk about the plan which Necmettin Bayramoğlu brought. Necmettin Bayramoğlu tells them that they are building a dockyard in a place which should be a touristic area. Demirel replies him that there should not be such a case and later on Necmettin Bayramoğlu gets a letter from him to see the Counsellor of the Presidency Savni Berger. In the end of a discussion between Savni Berger and Necmettin Bayramoğlu, Savni Berger decides to collect the commission for this occasion. The Commission of Eastern Marmara Region gathers and they sign a report in which they write that this place is suitable for a dockyard. But later with the disagreeing attitudes of Necmettin Bayramoğlu, they let him to show another place for the dockyard. Necmettin Bayramoğlu tells them that a dockyard can be built in Pendik -today's Pendik dockyard- or in a place in Derice, but not in Balyanoz Bay. Then Turgut Tuncay replies him that he is against this idea himself but the Director of the Department is insisting on the place of the dockyard, and he advises him to take that subject to the National Safety Council. By following this advice, Necmettin Bayramoğlu goes to the General

Staff and talks with a staff captain who is his friend, and he says Necmettin Bayramoğlu to transfer the phenomenon to them because in this period there is a similar occasion as a factory was started to be built near the house of the Commander of Naval Forces and the Council stopped the construction. So they decide to use the same method.

First Necmettin Bayramoğlu makes a petition with the advice of Bekir Suphi Aktan by putting a reasonable statement "This area has already become sensitive to plane attacks, with the dockyard this situation will be worse". Secondly Governor collect the Commission, the occasion investigated and a report is sent to Ankara. Thirdly, Necmettin Bayramoğlu goes to the General Staff and makes his friends to write a report. Later this report is corrected by Refik Tulga and sent to General Atif Erçikan. Fourthly, National Safety Council is gathered with the direction of Ürgenalp Pasha. And fifthly, a period of waiting begins. Everybody is objected to the dockyard but the group of Savni Berger puts a commentary. So the Council is gathered again on another day and it is understood that there is an illegal situation of bribe. So by understanding the case, they sign that there can not be built a dockyard in Balyanoz Bay and later Journalist Site is built instead. (See Appendix. B).

FIGURE 8.5. DOCKYARD SITE PLAN



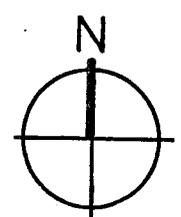
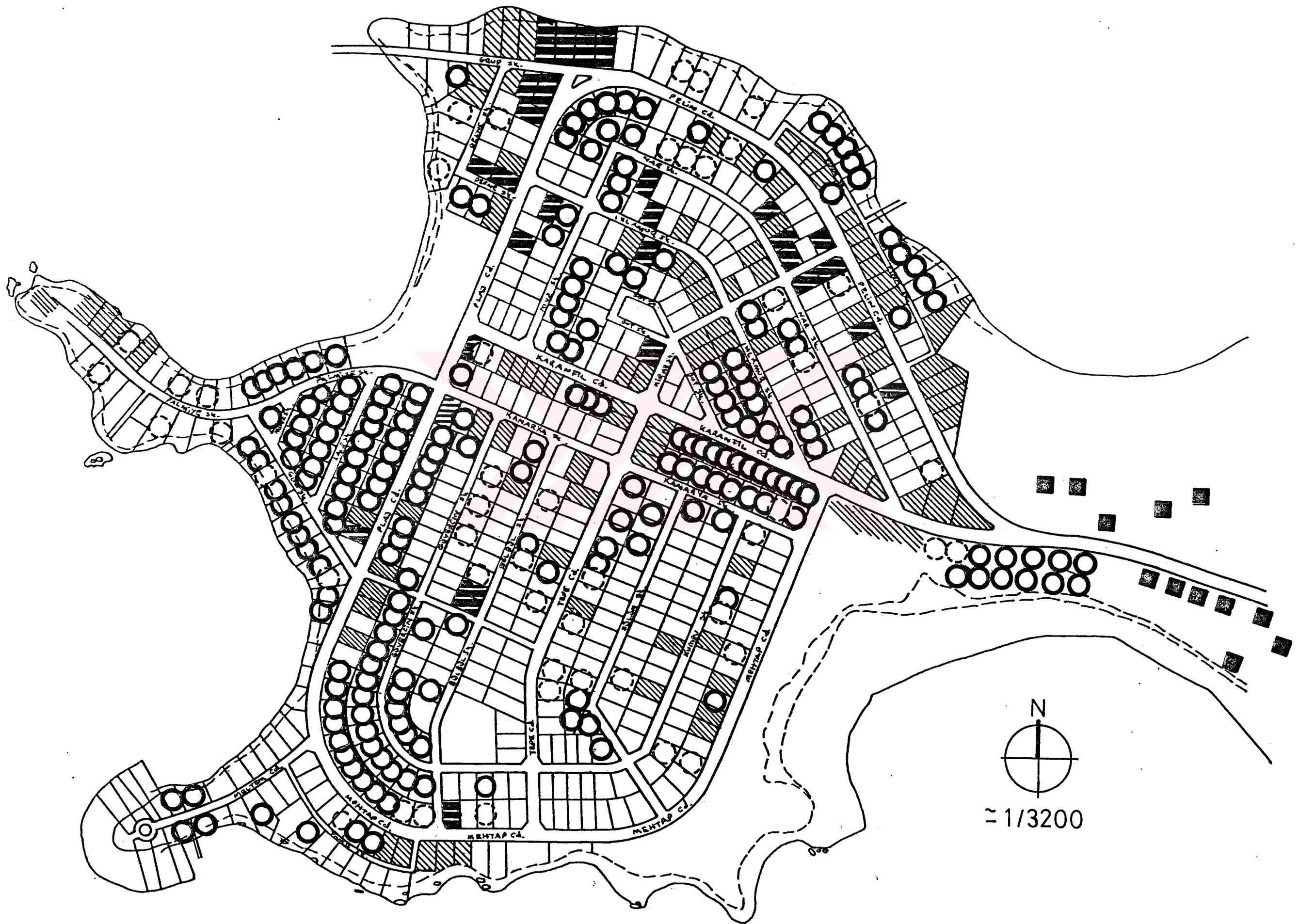
8.4.1.2. Darıca Improvement Plan

Up to year 1972, all the houses were at most 2 storied, the garden walls were up to 80 cm, the number of houses were 551 but after 1970s everything starts to change. (Figures 8.6. and 8.7). One of the reasons of the negative developments is Darıca Improvement Plan as told by Necmettin Bayramođlu.

In 1980 topographic plans of Bayramođlu is reprepared by İller Bank and an improvement plan is drawn on this topographic plan to be sent to Municipality for approval. But with a complaint, Municipality of Darıca wants to make the plan by itself and applies to the State Council. Although there were cases for the Ministries to make plans by themselves, none of them was applicable to this area. However they decide to cancel the plan because of the state road and railroad overpass in the area though the nearest distance of the Bayramođlu improvement plan limits to the road is 4 km and to the railroad 3.5 km.

BAYRAMOĞLU NEIGHBORHOOD

	Hectar
Residential	126
Commercial	1
Public area	-
Religious place	-
Education	-
Tourism	7.5
Industry	3.5
Health	-
Depots	-
Vacant land	90.0
Agricultural land	2.75
Olive grove	-
Chicken farm	-
Pasture	-
Green Areas	6.5
Sports	0.50
Military Areas	-
Transportation	7.0
TOTAL	245 ha

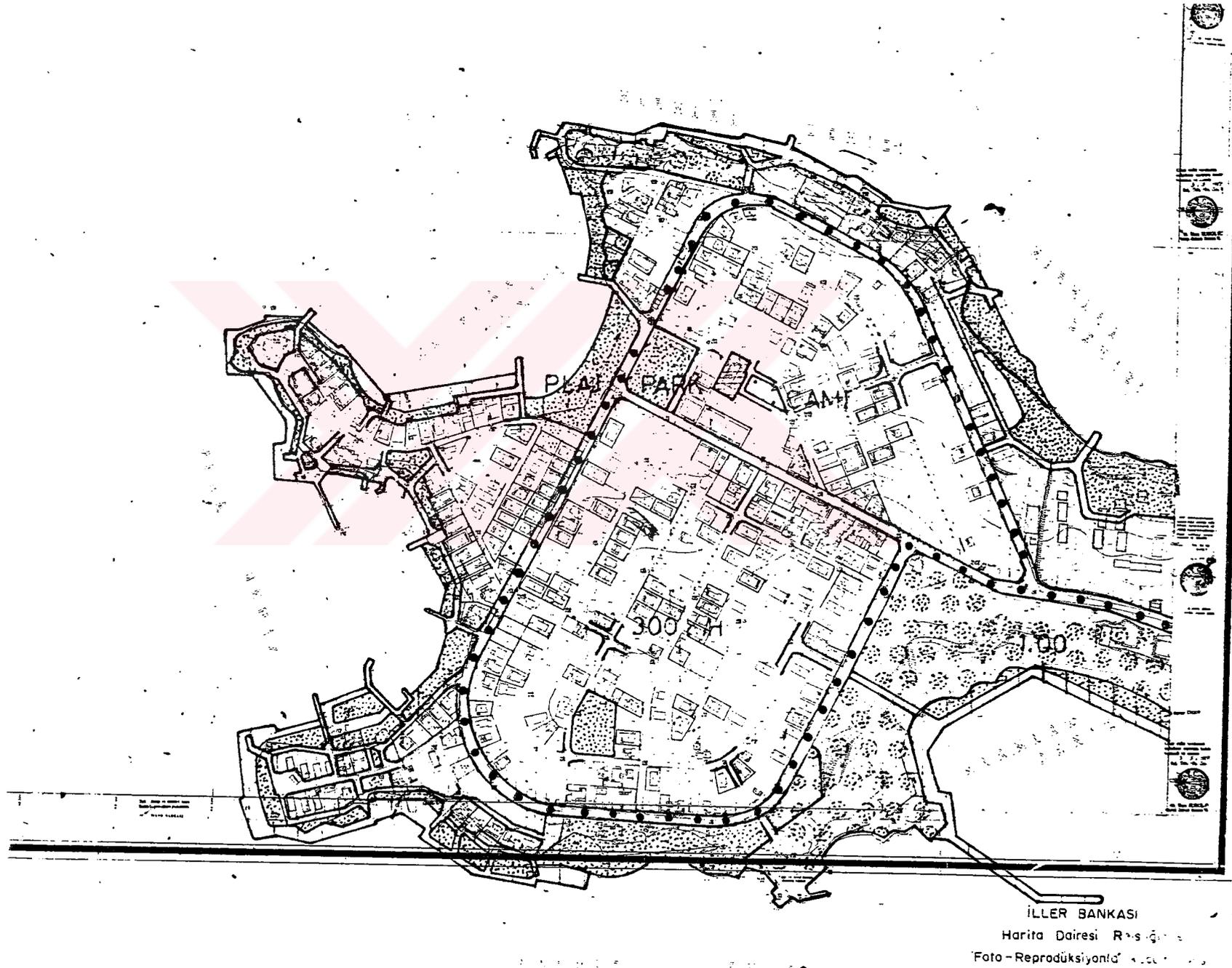


≈ 1/3200

In addition to this, one of the technical officers in Darıca Municipality removes the original plan of Bayramođlu and Bayramođlu is included in the neighborhoods of Darıca and considered in Darıca plan which is prepared in 1983 by a planning group from Yıldız University, İstanbul with the directorate of Yalçın Ünal. (Figure 8.8.)

Following these developments Necmettin Bayramođlu informs the company but connections were broken up years ago so they do not listen to him. Then Necmettin Bayramođlu wants the original plan report from the Municipality by saying that the neighborhood is getting bad. Mayor makes the report written again as it was and sign 'Same as the original'. (See Appendix. B)

FIGURE 8.8: DARICA IMPROVEMENT PLAN



DARICA ANA İMAR PLANI

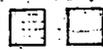
ÖLÇEK 1/5000

YILDIZ ÜNİVERSİTESİ Y.B.S.E. ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ TARAFINDAN HAZIRLANMIŞTIR.

KONUT ALANLARI

MEVCUT ÖNERİ

800 K/H



400 K/H
KAKS 090

300 K/H
KAKS 060

200 K/H
KAKS 040

125 K/H
KAKS 025

EĞİTİM TESİSLERİ

MEVCUT ÖNERİ



İLKÖĞÜL

ORTAÖĞÜL

LİSE

SANAT OKULU

DONATIM ALANLARI

MEVCUT ÖNERİ



SPOR TESİSLERİ

ÇOCUK OYUN ALANLARI

PARK

CAMI ALANLARI

••••• BELEDİYE SINIRI

••••• PLANLAMA SINIRI

••••• ÖZEL PLANLAMA ALANI SINIRI

J
JEOLOJİK YAPISI KESİN OLARAK SAP. TANMADAN UYGULAMA YAPILAMIYACAĞI KAYMA KUŞAĞI.

ÇALIŞMA ALANLARI

MEVCUT ÖNERİ



TİCARET KONUT

AÇIK PAZAR

SANAYİ

K. SANAYİ
K. SANATLAR

SAĞLIK TESİSLERİ

MEVCUT ÖNERİ



DISPANSER ALANLARI

HASTANE ALANLARI

KAMU HİZMETLERİ



TURİSTİK TESİS ALANLARI

AĞAÇLANDIRILACAK ALAN

REKREASYON ALANI

ÖZEL MAHSUL ALANI

GÜNBÜRLİK REKREASYON TESİSLERİ

FAY HATTI

TASDİK-DİŞİ BIRAKILAN BAYRAMOĞLU KİYİ SERİDİ

DANKARA

Afterwards Necmettin Bayramoğlu writes to the Municipality that they are not applying the plan. The General Director and the Head of Municipalities Technical Services, Talat Öztürk send this written material to the Head Office of Kocaeli Province Governorship. (See Appendix. B)

But these attempts can not solve the problem and Darıca Improvement Plan statements are applied in Bayramoğlu.

TABLE 8.4. DENSITY OF BAYRAMOĞLU SETTLEMENT (1983)

Unite no.	Density Stage	Center	istasyon	Aşıroğlu	Total	Bayramoğlu
	0					
	1					
	2					
	3					
	TOTAL					

BAYRAMOĞLU

Density Stage	Area	Density person/ha	Population
0	-		-
1	31.50	300	9450
2	126.75	125	15843
3	16.78	200	3356
TOTAL	175.03	-	28649

SOURCE: 83 Improvement Plan Report, p.6

As it can be seen in table 8.4. in the 1/5000 scale Darıca Improvement Plan report Bayramođlu was taken into consideration separately and it was decided that it would be planned in accordance with the basic principles which was put on for oasts in the preceding sections of the report.

... the areas which has fullfilled, in accordance with the improvement plan, are turned into open spaces for public and a recreational zone is created along the coastline. In the area of summer resort housing beyond the coastline, 0,25 gross coefficient is decided on and building, tructure is developed with this coefficient. In addition to opening up the coastline to public a wide area which has a connection to the coastline is planned especially around the lake that was filled up .

The lake that is mentioned above is the previously talked about swamp as Necmi Şahin has said that they never filled up a lake, it was jut a swamp which became dangerous for health, so they dried it.

Before the application of the plan, there was lived an interesting development as people in Darıca objected to the plan;

... we want the aforementioned sketch plan to be out of consideration and another planning group to make a new plan for the profit of public .

In addition to this petition, later in a symposium, Yalçın Ünal -head of the planning group- makes a speech on this plan. In this speech Yalçın Ünal especially emphasizes that Darıca and Tuzla settlements have to be given recreational functions in the 1/50 000 scale metropolitan plans, and in giving plan decisions for these two settlements growth models of the metropolis and Gebze settlement have to be considered.

Yalçın Ünal's own ideas on Bayramoğlu and Yelkenkaya are as follows;

- Proposing Bayramoğlu -Yelkenkaya summer-housing development areas in a form of a band in a certain distance from the coastline by considering the areas' preferences on the location of pre-determined functions,

- Taking pains on drawing up the coasts open to public in Yelkenkaya and Bayramolu peninsula .

Lateron Municipal Assembly rejects the plan and it remains in suspense but with the change of Mayor and the Council, the new Mayor makes the plan being started again also with the efforts of Ahmet Menderes, the Head of Iller Bank Improvement Planning Department.

Then the plan is approved by the Municipality but with removal of the Mayor who approved the plan, plan developments are stopped without any juridical decision, only by the decision of Ministry, till the Municipal elections and the plan is put aside by the Governorship

until its application in 1983.

8.5. THE CHANGING SCENE OF BAYRAMOĞLU

In the first local plan, Bayramoğlu neighborhood would be formed of 550 dublex houses except the Mehtap Bay. But today instead of these dublex houses, 5-6 storied buildings that are composed of 12-18 housing units covers all the land. These developments are the results of Darıca Improvement Plan (1983) and transfer of improvement studies to the Municipalities as Darıca Municipality was encouraging construction. So this summer-housing area which was first composed of at most 2-storied villas and waterside residences, now has begun to expand outside the limits of the first plan.

Parallel to these negative developments, changing coastlines with senseless fillings and building artificial harbors in front of each waterside residence are considered as normal attempts. So as there is only one beach-lying on a very narrow band-in Bayramoğlu, because of the owners' of waterside residences attitudes-seeing the coast in front of them as their own properties and building high walls around their houses by also closing entrance to the coastline- people in Bayramoğlu are in trouble in making use of sea. And attitude of the Municipality to these crooked developments was only to collect money in return for the built up artificial harbors.

It has been elucidated that coastlines were changed with fillings. This point was emphasized in a newspaper in 1978 by Yalçın Pekşen;

... by filling the sea 2 times, 250 000 m² land was
64
opened to construction .

But Necmettin Bayramoğlu, Necdet Aslan and the company all reject this and they got a report entrusting this. (See Appendix.B)

When it has been returned to the only beach of the neighborhood, it can be seen that this beach was talked a lot because it could not be decided whether it belonged to the neighborhood or to the state. However in law of coastlines , Ek 7-8, there is a statement that all the coastlines should be opened to public use, it could not be reached to a solution.

In January 1978 dated speech of the Mayor of Darıca, Hasan Ciddi with Yalçın Pekşen, Hasan Ciddi told that he was very serious in searching for a solution to this problem;

... Hasan Ciddi ... will first take the parcel which is the only property of Darıca Municipality in
65
Bayramoğlu and make his people to go sea-bathing there .

The obvious examples to these developments are 14-storied Kastelli buildings going up in the sky in the very entrance of Bayramoğlu (Figure 8.9) 6 storied buildings across the sea in Balyanoz Bay (Figure 8.10), site constructions lying on and on additively towards istanbul (Figures 8.11 and 8.12) sea which became only a water for watching because of dirtiness (Figure 8.13). But within these examples there is a very important one; Sheik Zaed's land surrounded with a kind of city wall (Figure 8.14). This land was sold to an Arabic sheik, Sheik Zaed by Necmettin Bayramoğlu and there is a point that makes this sale interesting as this sale was finished before the publication of the law on the sale of land to foreigners, in the Legal Newspaper.

It can be seen from this example that although Necmettin Bayramoğlu has said that he was very sensitive on Bayramoğlu and he did not want to let anyone to spoil the neighborhood, perhaps he, sometimes, can't use his sensitivity because of his merchant-like thinking.

FIGURE 8.9: KASTELLI BUILDINGS



FIGURE 8.10: 6-STORIED BUILDINGS IN BALYANOZ BAY

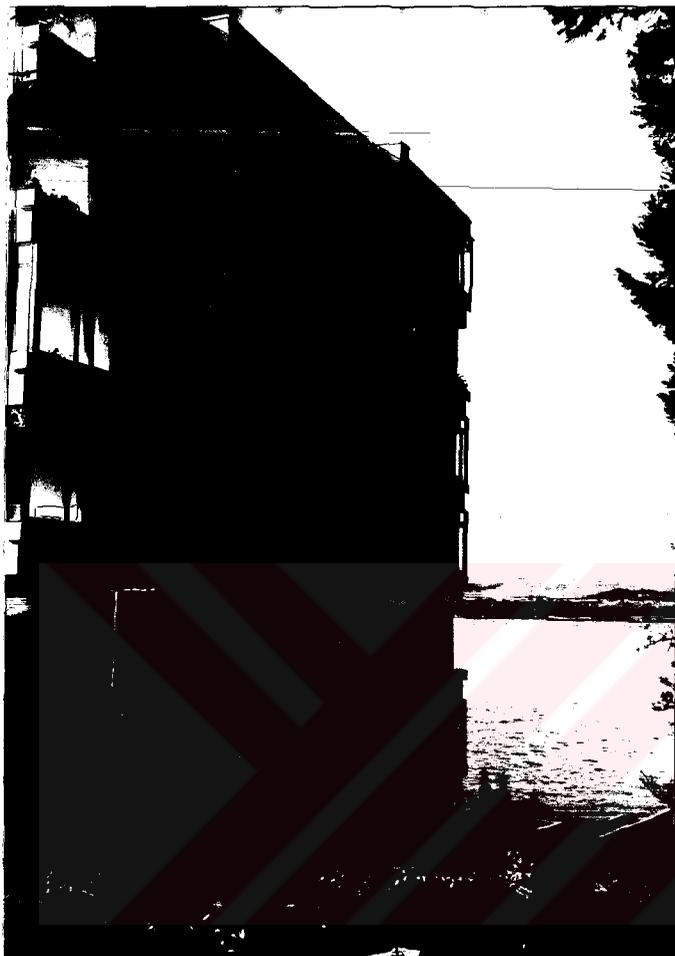


FIGURE 8.11. NEW SITES



FIGURE 8.12: NEW CONSTRUCTIONS



FIGURE 8.13: SMOKE OF BURNED GARBAGE RISING THROUGH SKY FROM THE BEACH



FIGURE 8.14: SHEIK ZAED'S LAND



Another example -6 storied iba blocks- can be given for this statement as follows;

Necmettin Bayramoğlu and Necdet Aslan cooperates in another construction study in 1971s. After Necdet Aslan's separation from iBA, they go on being friends and when Necmettin Bayramoğlu decides to build a site on the coastline, Bayramoğlu Sahil Sitesi, and makes a plan being drawn composed of 6 blocks -iBA Blocks- in the entrance of Bayramoğlu, he tells Necdet Aslan that he can not go on this work and wants his help.

Around 1971s Necdet Aslan was asked, from Töbank, to organize a construction company within Töbank Öbitaş AŞ, and he replied them that if he could find a work, he would ask them to invest on. So he talks to them about Necmettin Bayramoğlu's project and gets a positive answer as investing 4-5 million TL credit on this project. Also with the acceptance of Necmettin Bayramoğlu, they decide first to build 6 bloks of approximately 360-400 housing units on 16 000 m2 land and then to continue if it is held on, as the whole project is composed of 18 bloks on 40 000 - 45 000 m2 land.

As soon as they start to work all the people living in the blocks in Etiler come as they are trusting Necdet Aslan a lot.

The cost is fixed, without an interest, so they organize themselves, start with a margin of 10% and complete the 6 blocks in 1972-73. During the following days Necmettin Bayramođlu changes his mind and says Necdet Aslan;

"Problems started to appear and I don't know what will be the thoughts of Darica Municipality be on the remaining land, so if you want, I can sell the land to Öbitaş AŞ."

Öbitaş AŞ can not buy the land and the studies stop. Later the project is continued, 4-5 storied buildings are built but none can be sold for 8-10 years.

During the studies of Öbitaş, Necdet Aslan goes to İller Bank in order to talk about a solution for septic tanks as there is a problem that septic tanks can not be deep but can only be wide and enlarged because the houses are across the sea. He wants to use the system that was used in Tuzla so he wants the project of septic tank system of Tuzla which is a system of 2-3 stages in which the liquid part which is remained by breakthrough is connected to a decharging system in sea in a distance of 300-400 m. This was the best system for Bayramođlu because it was not leading to reproduction of microbes. As also there was no alternative way for Bayramođlu, the system is used and the liquid part is given to open sea -

the back of today's Yapı Kredi Residences. During these studies Mayor tells them to do whatever they want but when the system starts to work, they spoil the connection with sea. Necdet Aslan has explained that as such;

"Their aim was not to find a solution but to gain something."

Öbitaş do not let them to behave like that anymore and the system is started to work.

The buildings of Kastelli has been mentioned in the above paragraphs. In time Kastelli becomes very effective in Bayramoğlu, builds a lot of apartments and sells them with very attractive announcements. (See Appendix. B)

Dünya Newspaper publicated an article about the construction of Kastel Construction Company and mentioned that in 1981 this company built houses on 115 000 m2 total land. Of this 115 000 m2, 93 waterside residence housing units in Yelkenkaya, 24 waterside residence housing units in Balyanoz Bay, 34 villas and 309 housing units in 3 blocks, each of 13 storied in Basın Site and Marmados Vacation Village composed of 36 dublex villas.

In addition to these, new luxurious villas are going on to be constructed and with these constructions the number of housing units increased from 330 in 1977 to

2055 in 1989.

In 1978 Yalçın Pekşen publicated an article on January 27th 1978 dated Cumhuriyet Newspaper and he sensitively emphasized the changing features of Bayramoğlu Suburban Settlement. (See Appendix. B).

8.6. BAYRAMOĞLU TODAY

In the original plan all the houses were 2-storied but after 1983 the number of stories increased to 3-4 and even to 12-13. For this situation Necmettin Bayramoğlu blames Darıca Municipality and adds that water system and septic tanks were built in accordance with the neighborhood's first existence however today they have all become insufficient. Also today the parcels are being connected as Necdet Aslan says, because Darıca Municipality gives interesting licenses with great commissions (Table 8.5).

TABLE 8.5: LICENSES GIVEN BY DARICA MUNICIPALITY
(1982-1987)

Housing Units According to the license inquiry, Y:New Building
Name of the Municipality O:Restoration
Darıca Municipality T:Modification

1982			1983			1984			1985			1986			1987		
Y	O	T	Y	O	T	Y	O	T	Y	O	T	Y	O	T	Y	O	T
8	-	3	8	1	3	4	2	1	6	1	2	2	-	-	10	3	3

Density was 50-100 person/ha but today it reaches to 6000-7000 person/ha in summer (Table 8.6). The number of parcels is the same but the number of housing units increased to approximately 1700. Price of the inland parcels increased from 25000-50000TL in 1959 to 400 000 TL/m2 - 150 million TL. Every year prices are rising 25-30%.

TABLE 8.6. POPULATION INCREASE IN BAYRAMOĞLU

<u>Years</u>	<u>Population</u>
1981	1100
1986	6520
1987	6675
1988	7100
1989	- 7450

People are coming to their houses in Bayramoğlu in summers just after the close of schools. Transportation problems were solved after the construction of E-5. The primary residences of the population are collected in 2 areas. These areas are Erenköy, Caddebostan, Göztepe and the environs on the Asian side and Şişli, Taksim, Etiler on the European side. Their workplaces are collected in 4

areas two on each side such as Kadıköy and Erenköy-Bostancı on the Anatolian side, and Eminönü and Şişli-Taksim on the European side. The households are travelling 20 minutes- 1.15 hours to come to Bayramoğlu and this makes 21-50 km long. Also 10% of the households are living in Bayramoğlu year-round.

Improvement rights changed with Darıca plan and number of stories were increased to 4-5, so Bayramoğlu developed casually and in a distorted way (Figure 8.15).

After 1970s because of economic reasons people begin to sell their houses. A person who bought a parcel at 25000 TL now can sell it at 150 Million TL. But this situation affected the character of the neighborhood much because previously settled doctors, lawyers, university educated people left their places to merchants, and the like. Also 15% of people are letting their houses.

FIGURE 8.15: 4-5 STORIED BUILDINGS IN TODAY'S BAYRAMOĞLU



The original buyers sold their houses mostly to building contractors and they devolished 1-2 storied garden villas in order to build high-rise apartments instead. Thus high-rise buildings have started to cover all the settlement. The new apartment houses are 55-75 m2. Enough only to live in. However the worse thing is the gardens which have been demolished. Most of the gardens have now become the floor areas of apartments.

Today 70% of the owners are living in Istanbul, 25% in Ankara and 5% in other cities (working in Turkey and in other countries).

There are 634 parcels in the neighborhood of 400 m2. $634 \text{ parcels} \times 400 \text{ m}^2 = 253\,600 \text{ m}^2$.

In each house 4 persons are living and there are 1875 housing units. $4 \times 1875 = 7\,500$ persons.

As it can be seen in (Table 8.7) after 1987 number of constructions increased and Bayramoğlu became more dense by losing its green areas (Figure 8.16).

FIGURE 8.16: A VIEW FROM THE ENTRANCE.



TABLE 8.7: HOUSING TYPES (1986-1989)

YEAR	Dwelling Unit		Villa		Waterside Residence		Waterside Residence Unit		Land	Const- ruction	Working Place
		+ Vac		+ Vac		+ Vac		+ Vac			
1986	1384	-	142	-	71	-	146	-	131	18	23
	+ Land for social establishment, hotel, Yapı Kredi Residences										
1987	1447	-	143	-	69	-	146	-	89	24	24
1988	1436	159	135	7	68	-	139	-	62	28	34
1989	1498	179	137	-	67	22	144	-	55	24	24
1989	1506	177	138	-	151	15	68	-	57	24	40

Note: Vac=Vacant

In accordance with these developments, when Bayramoğlu is considered as a total, across the coastline there are waterside residences, after 1 grade, parallel to the coastline garden villas, and after this grade summer sites and mass housing areas. But this site-seeing changes in time.

Today Bayramoğlu lives with a lot of problems such as electricity, water supply road system septic tanks and absence of a parking lot.

Necdet Aslan had described these problem one by one;

1. Raising stories
2. Inexistence of a parking lot. They did not plan a parking lot because they thought that for each parcel there would be only one housing unit, so a car, but now with the raising stories the number of cars increased to 2-5.

3. The cars parked on the roads as width of the roads are only 6-9.5 m. (Figure 8.17).
4. There is not a sewage system, but septic tanks. As time passed this problem became very important as these septic tanks were for 600 houses, today there are 1500-2000 houses, so absorption of the liquid part is impossible which creates overflows.

Despite these problems, Necmettin Bayramoğlu has explained the positive points, how the neighborhood affected the region;

1. The fields turned into building plots. The sale price of the fields which were 30-40 TL/919 m² (dönüm) increased to 40 000-150 000 TL/m².
2. The number of artisans in Darıca and their incomes rised. A lot of women are working in cleaning works and a lot of men in the gardens in today's Bayramoğlu houses.
3. Not only the luxury but social standpoints and thoughts of the people of Darıca rose.
4. The people living in the apartments in Istanbul who are bored of so much noise are living in peace inspite of Bayramoğlu's building manner contrary to the improvement plan.

These might be true long ago but today people have started to leave Bayramoğlu, the newly constructed buildings are almost all vacant and people sell or let their houses as a result of the negatively changing landscape of Bayramoğlu which was oncelly described in an encyclopedia as follows;

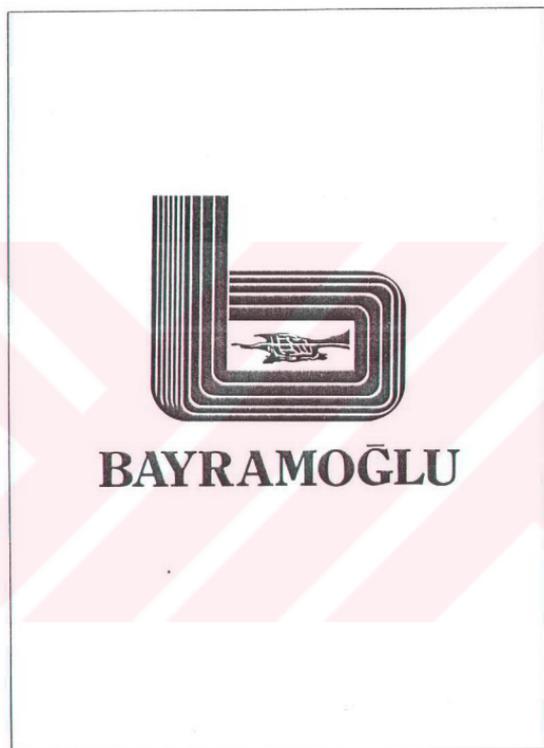
The speciality of this peninsula, which can be considered as a favor, is its sea which is a bed for most liked fishes; red mullet, horse mackerel, and especially big corals...
66

It can lastly be said that Necmettin Bayramoğlu has reached to his aims as his name was put on the maps and a special section of an encyclopedia was devoted to his name and the neighborhood he created . (See Appendix B.) Today Necmettin Bayramoğlu produces marbles and sells them and the construction studies of his marble factory is going on. He is also working as a contractor. (Figure 8.18).

FIGURE 8.17: PARKED CARS ON THE STREETS



FIGURE 8.18: BAYRAMOĞLU CARDS.



8.7. FINDINGS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

On 19th-22ths of July, 1990 a questionnaire has been given to the people of Bayramoğlu (See Appendix.C). As there are approximately 1800 housing units in Bayramoğlu settlement with a 1% evolution 25-30 questionnaires were decided to be given and I could give 27. (Figure 8.19) Each questionnaire took 15-20 minutes and almost everyone accepted to answer my questions. 5 or 6 people rejected and one chased me. When he came home, his wife was answering my questions 6-7 suddenly he came and told me that they would go to somewhere so I should have leave the house. But there is an interesting point that together with me a friend of his wife was chased too.

During the first years of Bayramoğlu, the population was composed of prestiged families in Bayramoğlu. The above mentioned man sells wheels and acumulators for automobiles. The house was not like a garden villa first of all there was no garden there were yellow weeds, fodders instead. The house was 2 storied but first story was like a veranda and "we enclosed it to use as a saloon" his wife said.

In complete contrast to this approach I talked with people of different income groups and with different jobs and all tried to help me.

There are six headings in the questionnaire and some headings have also subheadings as follows;

1. Household characteristics

2. Transportation facilities
3. Spatial data
 - a) Purchase
 - b) Construction
 - c) Housing characteristics
4. Satisfaction
 - a) Adequacy
 - b) Satisfaction
5. Environmental characteristics
 - a) Pollution
 - b) Noise and overpopulation
6. Descriptive questions



8.7.1. Household Characteristics

Under this heading 8 questions are asked for each person of the family. These questions are;

1. Closeness to the household
2. Age
3. Birthplace
4. Education (the last school he or she was graduated from)
5. Marital status
6. Profession
7. Job
8. Status

The answers given to these questions are summed up in a table below;

TABLE 8.8. HOUSEHOLD FORMATION

<u>Number of people living in the house</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
1	3
2	5
3	7
4	7
5	3
6	1
7	1

As it can be seen in the above table 14 families out of 27 are composed of 3-4 persons. This constitutes 51% of the families who were questionnaires.

A second table is on age composition of the families;

TABLE 8.9. AGE DISTRIBUTION

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
0-10	9
11-20	17
21-30	12
31-40	7
41-50	17
51-60	15
61-70	9
71-82	3

In Bayramoğlu generally 41-50 years old parents and their 11-20 years old children are living. These compositions make families of 3-4 persons. The other group coming after is of 51-60 years old 89 people is counted in 27 families and 38% of them are in the age groups 11-20 and 41-50.

Out of this 89 people 38 were born in Istanbul, this makes 43 % (Table 8.10).

TABLE 8.10. BIRTHPLACES

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Number of persons</u>
Istanbul	38
Ankara	14
Kayseri	3
Isparta	3
Izmir	3
Other cities	28 (1 in each city)

Generally the households were born in other cities than Istanbul and their children were born in Istanbul.

The most differentiating phenomenon is education.

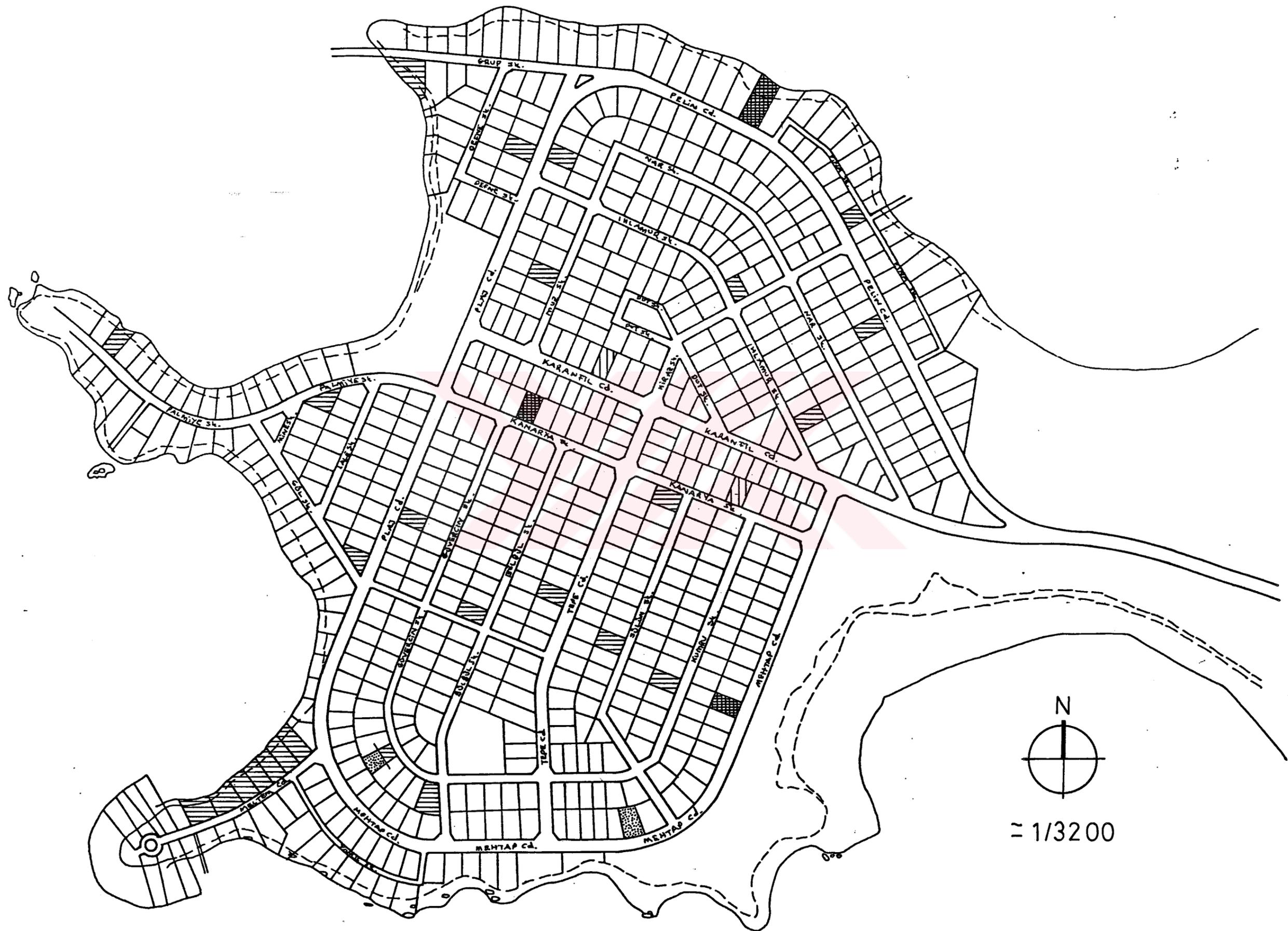


TABLE 8.11. EDUCATION LEVEL

<u>Education</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>
(last school)	
University	26
High school	29
Secondary school	2
Primary school	4
Studies in a school now	22

61 persons were educated from a school and out of this 42.6% were educated from a university, 47.5% from high-school. (Figure 8.20).

Bayramoğlu's population is composed of married couples with 2 or more children 3 women were widowed and 1 man was divorced out of 27. These 3 women are living alone and they say that their married children are coming to visit them with their grandchildren and they're living with her for 1 or 2 weeks in Bayramoğlu.

TABLE 8.12. PROFESSIONAL STATUS

<u>Profession</u>	<u>Number of persons</u>
Engineerr	5
Administration-Economic	3
Mechanical Engineer	3
Law	1
Teacher	2
Textile Engineer	1
Electrical Engineer	1
Psychologist	1
Pharmacist	1
Housewife	24

Out of 61, 24 are housewives and this makes 39%, second engineer, and mechanical engineers come after totaling 8 person.

Out of these professioned or an professioned people 20 have their independent businesses.

TABLE 8.13: JOB CAHARACTERISTICS

<u>Job-status</u>	<u>Number of persons</u>
Working in a firm and doing his own profession	16
Independent business	20
Contractor	3
Insurer	1
Wheel and acumulator seller	2
Trader	4
Retired	11

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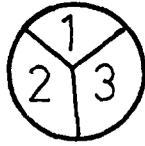
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Trader	4
Retired	11

In this case, most are working in their independent businesses, as traders and constructors. Out of 26 university educated people, 16 are doing their own professions. The remaining 10 are working in different jobs and mostly in their independent businesses, as a contractor and trader. So out of 27 people working in these jobs, only 10 are university educated and other 17 which makes 63% are high-school and also primary school educated people. May be their proverty level is the same as the first comers of Bayramoğlu, but there is a clear difference of culture and popularity. (Figure 8.21).



- 1 Education level
- 2 Profession
- 3 Occupation

- U University
- 1 H High school
- S Secondary school
- P Primary school

2

Engineer

Administration

Law

Pharmacist

No Profession

Firm

3

Independent business

Contractor

Insurer

Seller

Trader

Retired

8.7.2. Transportation Facilities

TABLE 8.14: CAR OWNERSHIP

Number of cars owned	Number of households
1	15
2	6
3	1
5	1
Company cars	2
No Car	2

Out of 27, 20 families are coming to Bayramoğlu from their houses in Istanbul or in Ankara by their own cars and 2 are by bus (Figure 8.22). 17 families are living in Ankara and 20 are in Istanbul and out of 27, 13 are on the Asian side and 7 on the European sides (Figures 8.23 and 8.24). Here transportation times should be considered too.

TABLE 8.15: COMMUTING TIME (Bayramoğlu-year-round house)

Time of transportation from the year-round house to the house in Bayramoğlu	Number of households
35-45 minutes	11
45 min - 1 hour	3
1 - 1.5 hour	10

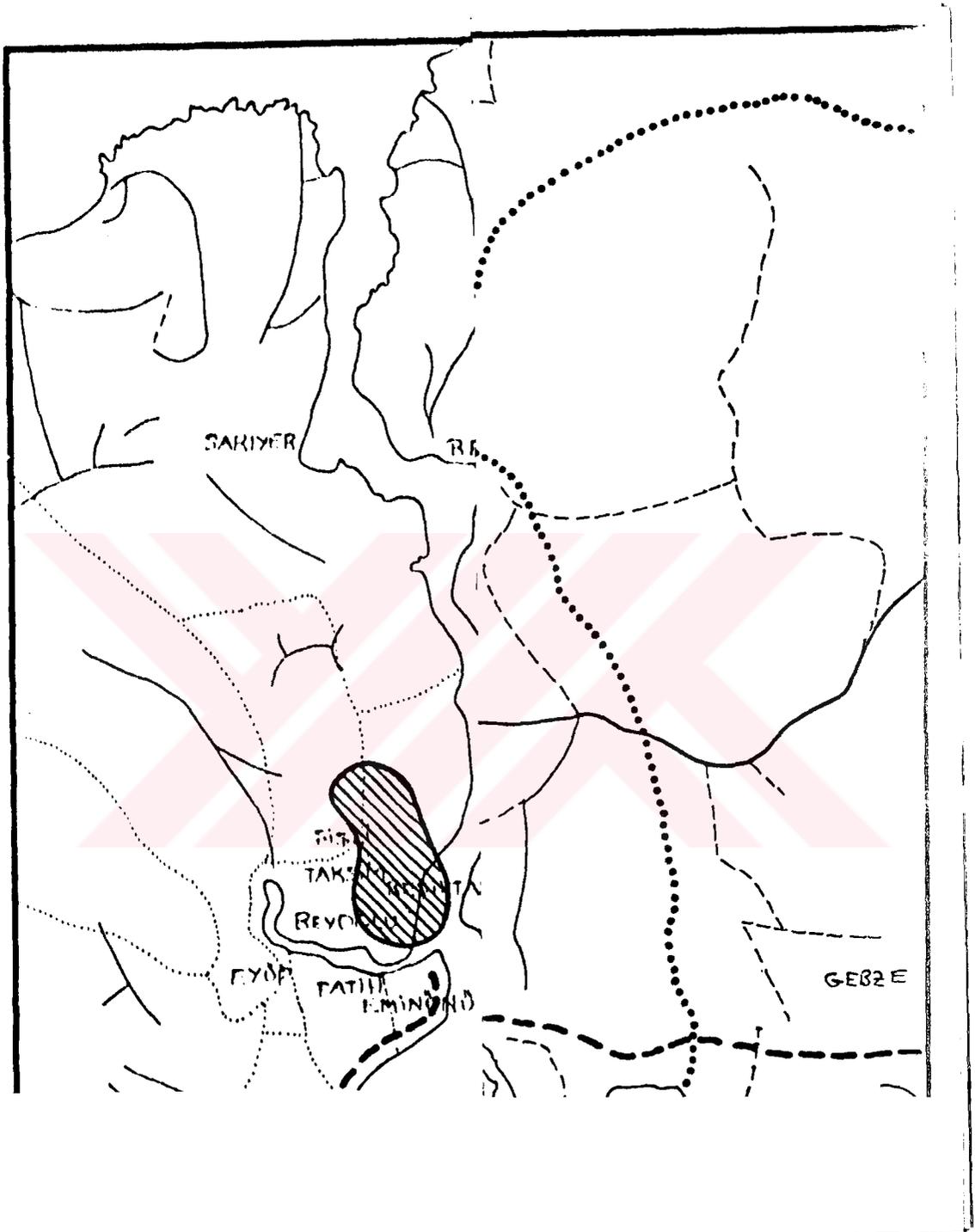
These 11 families coming in 35-45 minutes are for sure living on the Anatolian side. The time increasing factor is Bosphorus bridge. Passing the bridge sometimes takes 30-40 minutes in peak hours especially because people haven't used to use the second bridge yet. (Figures 8.26 and 8.27).

Workplaces are distributed as 9 are on the European side and 8 are on the Anatolian side. In addition to these, 6 are in Ankara, 1 in Darıca and 1 in Bursa. (Figures 8.23, 8.25, 8.26 and 8.27).

TABLE 8.16: COMMUTING TIME (Bayramođlu-workplace)

<u>Time of transportation from workplace to Bayramođlu</u>	<u>Number of household</u>
10-20 minutes	3
40-45 minutes	3
1 hour	5
1 - 1.5 hours	3
1.5 - 2 hours	1

FIGURE 8.24. YEAR-ROUND HOUSE LOCATIONS

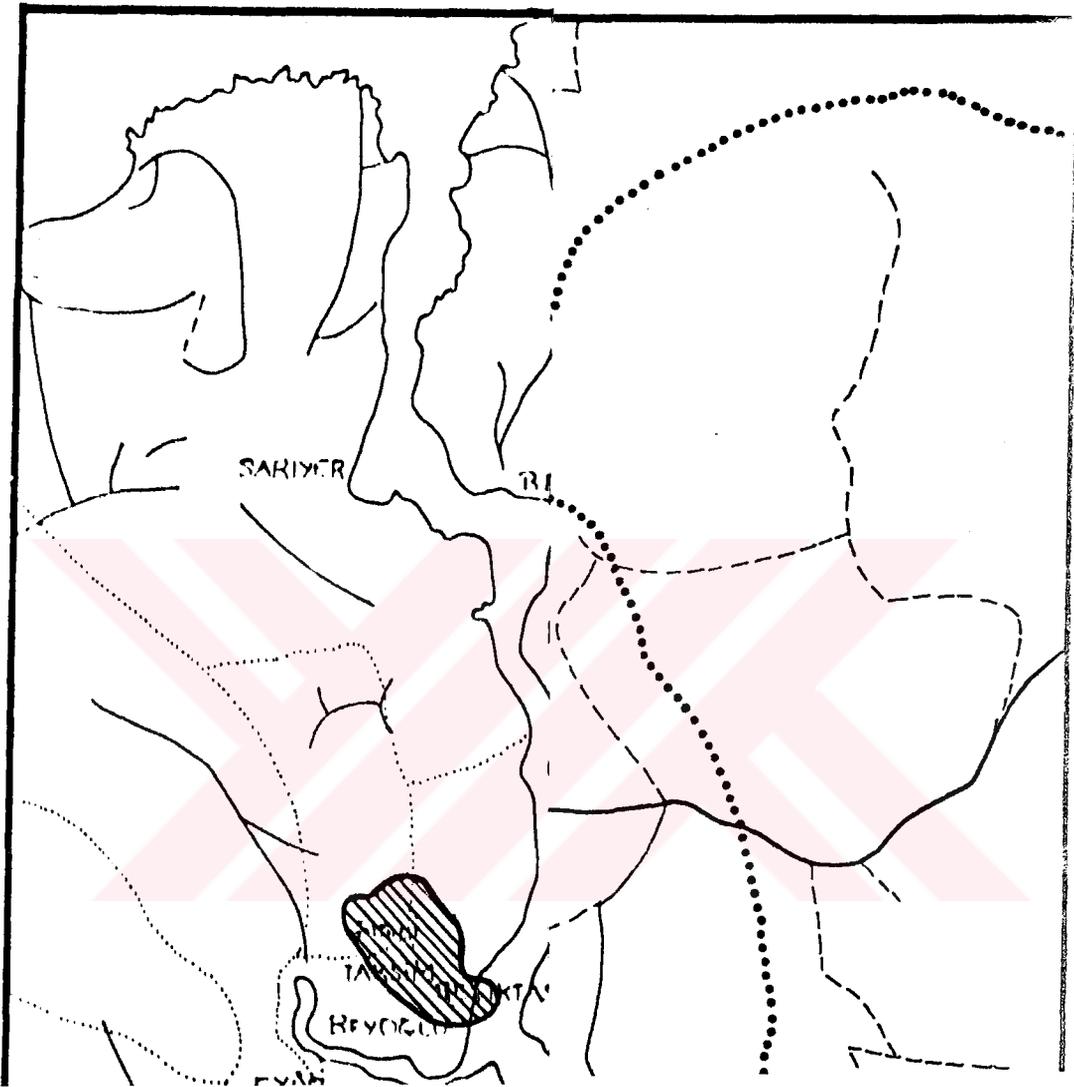


Year-round residences

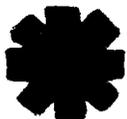


Bayramoğlu

FIGURE 8.25: WORKPLACES

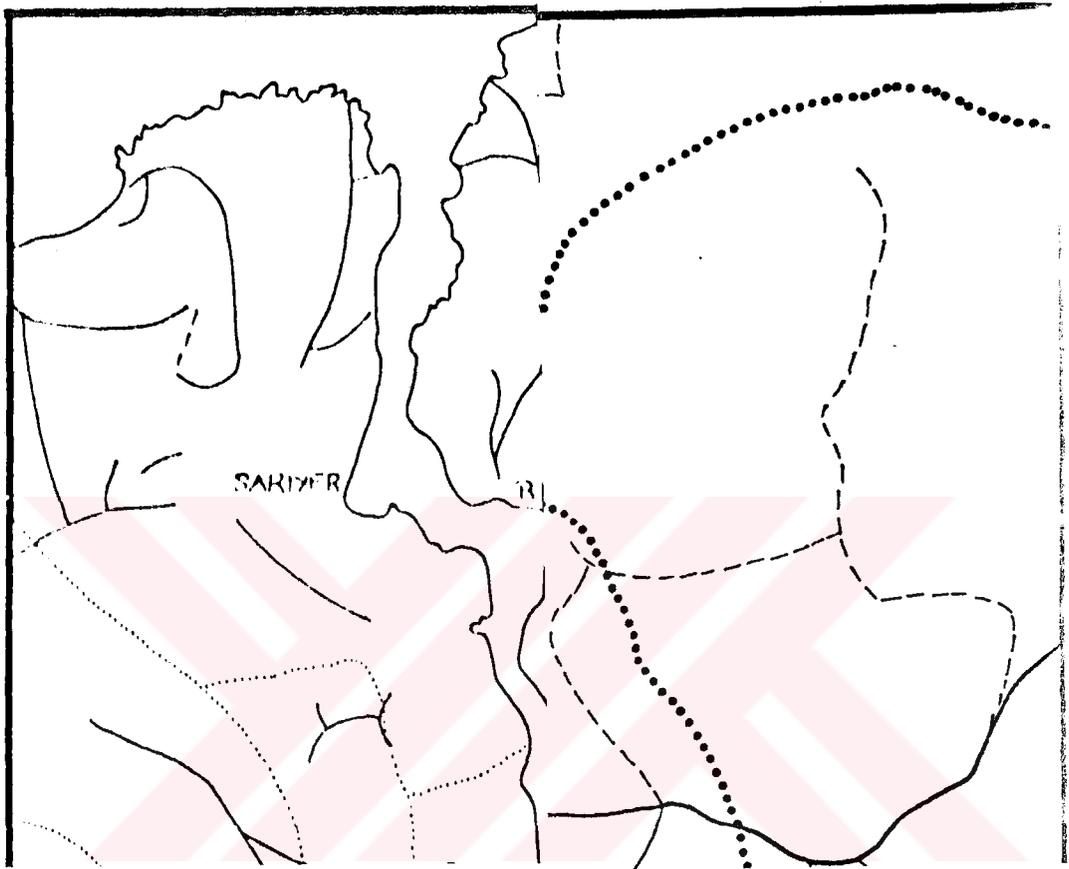


Workplace



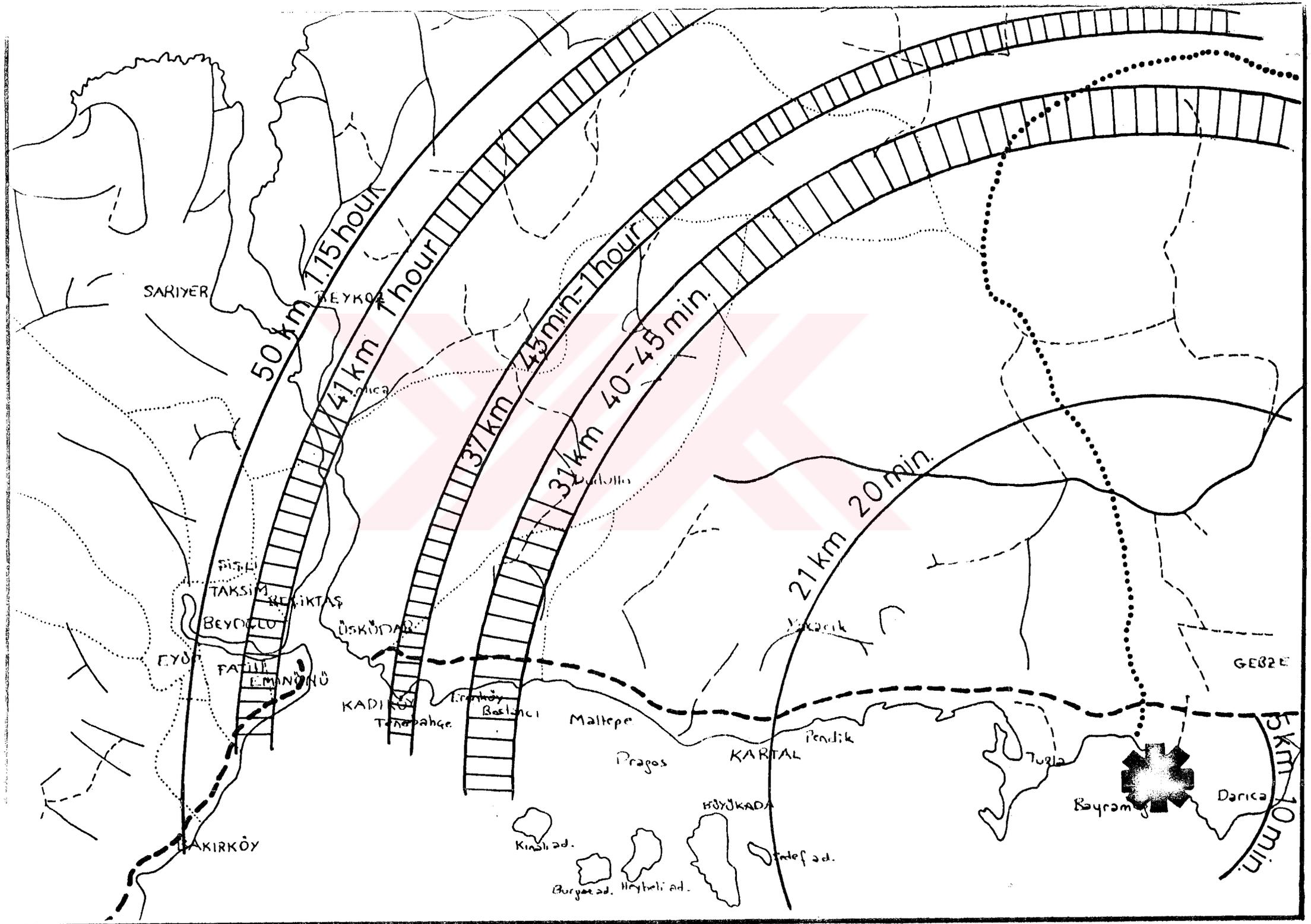
Bayramoğlu

FIGURE 8.26: LOCATION OF WORKPLACES AND YEAR-ROUND RESIDENCES WITH REFERENCE TO BAYRAMOĞLU



- Year-round residences
- Workplaces
- ✻ Bayramoğlu

FIGURE 8.27: COMMUTING TIME AND KM RINGS



Note: Width of the rings show density.

Another factor in addition to the bridge is E-5 state road. When transportation from workplace to Bayramoğlu is considered people going to their workplaces in the mornings and returning to Bayramoğlu in the afternoons, face with a very crowded traffic on E-5. This is because E-5 not only a road connecting the centers of Istanbul to peripheral settlements but a highway connecting Istanbul to other cities and especially to Ankara as well. Moreover factories that are lined up along the highway leads to a high level of truck and service bus traffic.

When we come to the social life of the people in Bayramoğlu an interesting result has been reached. Out of 27 families 26 are going nowhere for entertainment, only visit their neighbors. There are no places for entertainment, recreation and social activities in Bayramoğlu.

22 families are using the markets in Bayramoğlu for their daily shopping whereas 5 are bringing from Istanbul and out of this 5, 4 from the European and 1 from the Asian sides, of course from near their houses in Istanbul.

18 families are making wholesale shopping and 6 from Bayramoğlu, 7 from the European and 5 from the Asian sides. People living in Ankara are bring with themselves

from Ankara too. Nobody buys clothing and other big shopping from Bayramoğlu and their shopping places depend upon their life places in Istanbul and in Ankara, 9 from the Anatolian side, 5 from the European side and 6 from Ankara.

Car ownership is one of the determining factors of life in Bayramoğlu. Almost everybody uses their automobiles as a mode of transportation. Secondary mode is buses and third is the suburban train. There are only 2 families who don't own an automobile and one of them is a widowed woman.

It also seems that shopping facilities in Bayramoğlu are efficient both in quantity and quality. There are also so many markets that every year some are closed. These are open only summers as no more than 10-15 families are living there year-round. Moreover, bringing from Istanbul and Ankara becomes more sufficient as it becomes cheaper. Thus families are bringing some of their big needs with themselves.

8.7.3. Spatial Data

8.7.3.1. Purchase -----

First households were asked if they first bought as a parcel or as a housing unit. 17 bought as a housing unit and 10 as a parcel (Figure 8.28). This is an

interesting result as this leads to a conclusion that out of 27 houses only 10 are the original ones. Others are disposed of. Another data supports this finding too as follows;

TABLE 8.17: YEAR OF PURCHASE

<u>Purchasing year</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
1957-58	2
1960-69	4
1970-75	6
1976-80	6
1981-85	4
1986-90	4

TOTAL =20

Parcels of Bayramoğlu were started to be sold after 1960s. If we consider this purchasing time in accordance with Table 8.18 it can be seen that only 6 parcels coincides to these years. The other 20 belongs to a period beginning with 1970. Therefore out of 27 only 6 parcels are the originally sold parcels. (Figure 8.29).

Then another important question comes to be asked from whom did you buy and what was his or her job?

TABLE 8.18: SELLER

<u>Seller</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
IBA	6
Proprietor	12
Contractor	7

The tables 8.19 and 8.20 are coinciding as people bought from IBA are amounting 6 and also people bought between the years 1957-69 are also amounting 6. (Figure 8.27).

TABLE 8.19 : JOB OF THE SELLER

<u>Job of the seller</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
Housewife	2
Contractor	8
Engineer	1
Journalist	1
Manufacturer	1
Retired	1

TABLE 8.20: REASON OF SELL

<u>Reason of sell</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
Commercial thinking	5
Necessity	3
To buy a new house	5

This table shows that commercial thinking and to buy a new house are the preliminary factors for selling. The reasons of these are of course the changing and demolishing scene of Bayramođlu which so becomes unattractive for some people.

TABLE 8.21: WAYS OF PURCHASE

<u>How they learned that the houses were on sale</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
From their friends	3
From the proprietor	2
From Yapı Kredi Bank	3
From an announcement	2
From a commission agent	3
They saw the house	7
Looked for a house to buy	1
From the neighbors	1

Only 3 learned from the Yapı Kredi Bank so these 3 are the original buyers as it has been in the previous section. Yapı Kredi announced its customers about the Bayramođlu project.

TABLE 8.22: REASON OF CHOICE OF BAYRAMOĞLU

<u>The reason of their choices of Bayramoğlu</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
Close to Istanbul	12
Close to Ankara	4
It was on unurbanized and beautiful site	9
Liked the house	2
Saw the house just by coincidence	2
Liked the environment	1
Liked the neighbors	1
To sell later on	1

In other words the site's closeness to Istanbul made transportation easier and some important pre-characteristics like its beauty and unurbanized environment affected people of Istanbul and Ankara deeply.

8.7.3.2. Construction

Almost everybody finished the construction work in 1 year and they have moved to their new houses in the years;

TABLE 8.23: YEAR OF MOVEMENT

<u>Year of movement</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
1966-69	2
1970-76	3
1980-85	5

8 out of 10 moved to their houses after 1970.

TABLE 8.24: RANKS OF CONSTRUCTION

<u>Architect of the house</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
A friend	2
Himself	1
Found an architect	4
A relative	1
Used the plan prepared by Iba	1

Builder of the house

A relative	1
Himself	4
Master builders working in Bayramoğlu	2
Iba	1
A contractor found by the owner himself	1

Nobody were united for neither the plan preparation nor the construction. Everybody owned a house by their own means. After finishing to subdivide the land into parcels, Iba built some exemplary housing units. These were 1 storied barrack-like little houses and some families used these houses with some little or big modifications. This was a complete dependence upon the originality of the settlement.

8.7.3.3. Housing Characteristics

TABLE 8.25: SIZE OF THE HOUSES (m2)

M2	Number of houses
55-75	8
90-106	6
130-150	5
200-250	2
300	2
900	1

TABLE 8.26: SIZE OF THE HOUSES (Number of rooms)

Number of rooms	Number of houses
3	12
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	2

Number of rooms
used for sleeping

1	1
2	12
3	9
4	4
6	5

Out of these houses 16 don't have a garage, 7 have open garages and 4 have garages. The ones who don't have a garage are parking their cars on the streets in front of their houses.

The houses are generally 90-150 m² with 2 rooms and a saloon (Figure 8.30). Nearly no house has a garage just because in the original plan this was not considered and so the cars are waiting in front of the houses making the narrow streets narrower.



Here another group of questions which we put on the first page of the questionnaire should be pointed out and this can be gathered in Table 8.28.

TABLE 8.27: OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSES

<u>Number of stories</u>	<u>Number of houses</u>
1	3
2	12
3	6
4	6
<u>Independent housing units</u>	
1	11
2	2
4	5
6	4
8	1
10	4
<u>Floor Area (m2)</u>	
70	2
100-150	18
170-200	4
260	1
300	1
360	1
<u>Parcel Area (m2)</u>	
300-350	13
360-400	7
410-450	4
3500 (7 parcels)	1
<u>TAKS</u>	
0.09	1
0.125	1
0.2-0.5	23
0.51	1
0.80	1
<u>KAKS</u>	
0.20-0.50	10
0.51-0.99	7
1.00-1.50	6
1.51+	4

The houses having 3-4 stories count 12 out of 27 and this is very interesting because in the original plan there was a sentence that no house could be more than 2 storied but now nearly half are more than 2 storied, and most of them are apartment houses. (45% are more than 2-storied). In addition to this, only 11 of 27 houses are independent (40%) (Figure 8.31).

Almost all these buildings were constructed by taking the gardens too. Another typical housing type is 'ikizev' on a parcel.

17 of the families have told that they haven't made any changes neither on their houses nor on their parcels and gardens in time.

TABLE 8.28: CHANGES MADE IN HOUSES

Changes made in time	Number of household
No change	17
Garden beautification	2
One more story added	1
Basement addition	1
Unification of 2 housing units	1
Depot	2
Widening the balcony	1
Closing the veranda to make a room	1

Under the heading, spatial data, only one result comes to be faced with, the original families of Bayramoğlu have started to leave the settlement. This leaving has begun after 1970s and started to gain speed with 1980s. Table 8.11 also shows an interesting point as 7 of the sellers are contractors, in other words these people have bought the originally planned houses, demolished them and built apartments with more than 2-stories and sold to different people. All people have chosen this site as secondary homes because of its closeness to Istanbul.

When people who have bought as parcels are considered, they have built their house by their own means and mostly by themselves.

The houses are between 55-106 m² generally. There is also a 900 m² house but this is on a 3500 m² parcel which was gained by connecting 7 parcels. This house has a garage and also a play pen, a small pier and a yacht before it. Also there are generally 2 bedrooms and a saloon in the houses. From time to time they are using their saloons as bedrooms for the visitors.

Almost no families made a change 17 out of 27 (63%), and others have made small modifications such as a depot, garden beautification and the like. Story addition is not widespread. Instead they demolished their houses and built new highrise ones.

8.7.4. Satisfaction

8.7.4.1. Adequacy

First adequacy of infrastructure, second of superstructure are discussed.

TABLE 8.29: ADEQUACY OF INFRASTRUCTURE

<u>Adequacy of</u> <u>Water supply</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>households</u>
Adequate	9
Inadequate	18
<u>Adequacy of</u> <u>Electricity</u>	
Adequate	19
Inadequate	8
<u>Adequacy of</u> <u>roads</u>	
Adequate	14
Inadequate	13
<u>Reason of</u> <u>inadequacy</u>	
a) Narrow	7
b) There are no sidewalks	5
c) No maintenance	1
<u>Adequacy of</u> <u>Sewage *</u>	
Adequate	5
Inadequate	22

* As there is no sewage system in Bayramoğlu, under this title adequacy of septic tanks was questioned.

Water supply is not adequate in Bayramoğlu because water is given only once or twice a week. So this is one of the biggest problems. In order to solve this problem administrative bureaus found a way such as by carrying water to the settlement with tankers. This created a new scene as houses with bottles and little drums in front of the doors waiting to be filled with water. For sure the tankers added noise to the already noisy streets of Bayramoğlu. Half of the population did not come to Bayramoğlu this summer because of the inadequacy of water supply. Half of the houses are empty now.

Electricity is inadequate but 19 people told that it was adequate but with respect to the previous year.

Roads are inadequate to some extent because they are very narrow. The planners of Bayramoğlu did not consider that each family would own 2 cars and they would need to park them and also they did not think that there would be a harsh traffic on the streets, these were only the connecting links. But now in addition to the heavy automobile, bicycle and motorcycle traffic the cars left on the streets has become a big problem. There are also no sidewalks, streets are full of cars, bicycles and mostly of motorcycles and so people can't find a place to walk. (Figure 8.32).

FIGURE 8.32: CONGESTED STREETS OF BAYRAMOĞLU



Some people told that there was no maintenance of roads. However this year the administrating body of Bayramoğlu collected money and asphalted the roads and there was a banner in the entrance of the settlements; "The roads have been improved with the moral supports of the municipality..."

A few years ago Sheik Zaed donated a very big amount of money for the improvement of the roads but nothing was been done and nobody knows how this money was spent.

There is not a sewage system in Bayramoğlu, sewage disposal are tried to be handled by septic tanks, as out of 22 people told that these were not sufficient, also the tankers that are discharging the tanks are causing noise and smell.

TABLE 8.30: ADEQUACY OF SUPERSTRUCTURE

<u>Adequacy of the shopping areas</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
Adequate	21
Inadequate	6
Reason of in adequacy	
a) Number of markets are not enough	3
b) There is no variation	1
c) Expensive	1
Adequacy of the beach and the <u>services in the beach</u>	
Adequate	6
Inadequate	22
Adequacy of parks and sporting areas	
Adequate	4
Inadequate	23
Adequacy of transportation <u>(to Istanbul)</u>	
Adequate	21
Reason of adequacy	
a) Bus service	7
b) Train service	3
Inadequate	6
Reason of inadequacy	
a) Heavy traffic	2
b) Highway is narrow	2
c) Bad surfacing of the roads	2
d) Buses are in service only in certain time intervals	1

There are a lot of grocers and markets in Bayramoğlu although only 6 people told that they are inadequate. However they are mostly inadequate not in number but in variation. Some people told that there were so much grocers and markets in Bayramoğlu that each year some were closed.

In the original plan of Bayramoğlu there were 3 beaches in between the 3 capes. But later on 2 of them were sold and inhabited. Now there is only 1 beach for the big population of Bayramoğlu. This beach is also narrow and small. Moreover the sea is polluted, only few people who don't think about their healths are bathing in the sea. There is not a service in the beach, the cabins are dirty and there comes no water from the showers.

Now there is a pool project hang on the walls of the administration building (See Appendix B.). This pool has been planned on the beach. But how many people will be able to use this pool? There are a lot of people spending their 3-4 months-long summer holiday in Bayramoğlu and this population increases very rapidly each year. Building a pool is may be a solution but not a resulting one.

23 people out of 27 told that there were not green areas in Bayramoğlu (85%). The reason of this is the same as the reason of inadequacy of the beach. Green areas which were spread between the houses in the original plan were sold and buildings were erected on them.

8.7.4.2. Satisfaction

TABLE 8.31: HOUSEHOLD SATISFACTION

	<u>Number of households</u>
Neighborhood relations	
Satisfied	24
Unsatisfied	1
The size of the house	
Satisfied	21
Unsatisfied	5
The plan of the house	
Satis	24
Unsatis	2
The size of the parcel	
Satis.	18
Unsatis.	8
Shape of the parcel	
Satis.	20
Unsatis.	5
Location of the parcel to the streets	
Satisfied	21
Unsatis	5
Location of the house in Bayramoğlu	
Satis.	25
Unsatis.	1
Administration	
Satis.	11
Unsatis.	15

Only 1 person is not satisfied with his neighbors. He has said that he was not so much satisfied because everybody wanted to do different things at the same time. For example he wants to sleep, one of his neighbors wants to listen to the music and another wants to cook meat on brazier. These are coinciding wants and one disturbs the other. He has also added that this was not the fault of people but of the plan. The houses were one within the other this was the natural result. Nobody could do nothing.

8 people are not satisfied with the size of their parcels. 7 shows the reason that they are small and 1 says that houses are very close to each other. The ones who have said that the parcels were small were living in apartment buildings and these buildings were constructed by leaving only limited garden areas.

Among the people who were not satisfied with the location of their parcels on the streets, 3 were complaining about the high size buildings, 2 said that before the streets before them were not that much noisy and crowded but now they became the primary streets of the network.

The people who are complaining about the administration are emphasizing the commercial thoughts of the administrators, their insufficiency in maintenance and most important the least efforts given for the architectural side of the developments.

8.7.5. Environmental Characteristics

8.7.5.1. Pollution -----

TABLE 8.32: POLLUTION

	<u>Number of households</u>
Is there air pollution	
Yes	0
No	27
Is there water pollution	
Yes	26
No	1
Is there environmental pollution	
Yes	7
No	20

All the people are very happy with the fresh air in Bayramoğlu. "Every time the weather is cool and unpolluted" they have said.

However the sea is absolutely polluted. There are 2 reasons of water pollution in Bayramoğlu, one is inexistence of a sewage system and second is the polluted water of entire Marmara Sea. Nothing can be done

from nowon "everybody says", "Marmara is finished". But some put ideas forward such as opening the shores to public as people who have waterside residences have closed the shorelines before them, nobody is able to get in. Another idea is the help of Darica Municipality.

Environment is clean enough 2 times a day people of administration are collecting garbages which are put in front of the houses. No municipality gives such a service in no city at all.

8.7.5.2. Noise and Overpopulation

TABLE 8. 33: NOISE and OVERPOPULATION

	<u>Number of households</u>
Noise	
Bothered	19
Unbothered	8
Crowd	
Bothered	20
Unbothered	7
Do cars create crowd and congestion	
Yes	25
No	2

There is so much noise in the streets 19 out of 27 families have said that they were bothered from noise. This makes 70% of 27 chosen families. The primary source of noise is the cars, and motorcycles driven by children

who don't have driving licences. They are driving the cars as if they are in a rally. Another source is the sea-gulls. There are a lot of sea-gulls on land in Bayramođlu. They're on land because they can't find food in sea, the sea is polluted so much that there are only few fishes in it. So sea-gulls are coming on land looking for something to eat and they're coming especially early in the morning. Almost everybody says that sleeping in the mornings has become impossible.

20 families have said that Bayramođlu was overcrowded and added that just because they have given permission to more than 2 stories Bayramođlu's seasonal population increases very rapidly every year.

There are a lot of cars on the streets and these are creating such a scene that anyone can feel he or she is in the middle of a business district (Figure 8.33). There are 2 reasons of this congestion first is the absence of a parking lot and second is the narrow streets. They have also put some ideas forward about the solution of this problem as preventing the entrance of the cars to the area, building a storied-parking-lot out of the area and changing the entrance road's place, letting it to pass out.

FIGURE 8.33: CBD-LIKE STREETS OF BAYRAMOGLU



8.7.6. Descriptive Questions

According to the answers given to the first question of this group 21 families (out of 27) have no other secondary-homes than in Bayramoğlu, 2 have in Bodrum, 1 in Büyükada, 1 in Akçay and 1 in Tekirdağ but they mostly spend their summer holidays in Bayramoğlu because it is close to Istanbul and of course to their works.

TABLE 8.34: YEAR-ROUND POPULATION DENSITY

<u>Time spent in Bayramoğlu</u>	<u>Number of households</u>
Only weekends	1
1-1.5 months	4
2-3 months	17
3-4 months	4
<u>Time spent in the other secondary-home</u>	
1 month	1
1.5 months	2

As it can be seen in Table 8.35., 17 families (63%) spend 2-3 months in Bayramoğlu. Women and children come there just after the schools are closed and their husbands are joining them in the afternoons and in weekends.

The people who have other vacation homes, spend either 1 month there and other 2 months in Bayramoğlu or 1.5 month in each.

21 families dont want to change their location of houses in Bayramoğlu and 3 want to change with a place across the sea.

There comes another group of questions on the people's thoughts about Bayramoğlu in general.

TABLE 8.35: LANDSCAPE SATISFACTION

Is Bayramoğlu Beautiful	Number of Households
Yes	12
Reasons	
a) Beautiful gardens	5
b) Clean	1
c) Beautiful houses	1
d) Restful	1
No	10
Reasons	
a) It can be better	2
b) It went bad	5
c) Bad building types	5
d) Crowded	2
e) Pedlars on the streets	1
Well enough	5
Do you propose one of your friends to buy a house in Bayramoğlu	
Yes	15
Reasons	
a) Unurbanized	1
b) To be together	3
c) There is not a place better than Bayramoğlu	1
d) Beautiful	1
e) Restful and good for children	4
f) Close to Istanbul	2
g) Land is precious	1
No	11
Reasons	
a) There are a lot of problems	8
b) There are better places	1
c) Crowded	2
People of Bayramoğlu are	
Lucky	15
Unlucky	11
Do you want to exchange this house with another one in another place in Turkey	
Yes	6
No	17
Perhaps	3

One of the reasons of the changing face of Bayramoğlu is the pedlars on the streets. One feels as if he or she is in one of the bazaars of Istanbul-Tuesday bazaar, Wednesday, Thursday bazaars-pedlars are selling imported materials on the corners of the streets and some are selling clothes and table - lothes. In other words Bayramoğlu becomes a neighborhood of Istanbul not only in its buildings and crowded congested street but in its daily urban life as well.

15 people out of 27 (55%) have said that they would propose a friend to buy a house there but their reason is mostly to become together with them not because Bayramoğlu is a perfect place for vacation.

In spite of the above mentioned problems of Bayramoğlu, 17 out of 27 (63%) don't want to exchange their houses. The others who want to exchange prefer Mediterranean, Agean and Black Sea shores. Mostly they don't want because Bayramoğlu is close to Istanbul. Transportation is the determining factor in chosing a place for secondary homes in Turkey in general.

The answers given to the three following questions can be classified under 3 headings as follows;

1. Good aspects of Bayramoğlu
2. Bad aspects of Bayramoğlu
3. Deficiencies of Bayramoğlu

The numbers in parantheses are the number of the households who gave these answers.

Good Aspects;

1. Transportation facilities (14)
2. Bayramoğlu is beautiful (9)
3. Fresh air and cool weather (5)
4. Decent neighborhood (3)
5. Bus service from Istanbul to Bayramoğlu (2)
6. There are a lot of possibilities (1)
7. Quietness (1)
8. Green (1)
9. Safe, children can walk around (1)
10. It is an ideal place for vacation (1)

Bad Aspects;

1. Inadequacy of water and electric supplies (9)
2. Crowded (7)
3. Bayramoğlu is demolished and is still demolishing (6)
4. High-rise buildings
5. There are no social activities and places for entertainment for teenagers (4)
6. Water pollution (5)
7. Insects (6)
8. Buses and the train are leaving you in the entrance of the settlement and people are going their homes by taxi (2)
9. Automobiles (3)
10. High density, inadequacy of green areas (3)
11. Unplanned growth (2)
12. There is not a regular bus service (1)

Deficiencies of Bayramoğlu;

1. A parking lot (27)
2. Entertainment areas and social activities (6)
3. Municipal service (4)
4. A swimming pool (2)
5. A bank (2)
6. A play pen (2)
7. Shopping mall (1)
8. A regular bus service (1)
9. Ship or seabus services from Istanbul to Bayramoğlu (1)
10. Buses of the municipality (1)
11. Green areas (1)
12. Recreational areas (1)
13. Maintenance (1)

There are a lot of deficiencies and bad aspects in Bayramoğlu but still people are preferring this place. Why?

TABLE 8. 36: REASON OF PREFERENCE OF BAYRAMOĞLU

	<u>Number of households</u>
Their children like	1
Quite and clean	7
Close to Istanbul	18
Decent neighborhood	1
There is a house	2
They like	1

Bayramoğlu is still preferred because it is close to Istanbul, because there are no transportation problems. This positive factor makes 18 families (67% of 27 families questioned) to think to spend their holiday there in future too. 5 want to sell their homes, 1 wants it to be rented and 1 wants to live there year-round. Moreover 16 families spend their weekends and other holidays in Bayramoğlu, 10 not.

Under two questions people have discussed the changing face of Bayramoğlu;

TABLE 8.37: CHANGING FACE OF BAYRAMOĞLU

	<u>Number of households</u>
Past	
Beautiful site composed of garden villas	21
Now	
Goes bad	24
Beautiful	1
Future	
Become a neighborhood of Istanbul	17
Will go bad	4
Will be the same	2
Will be abandoned	1
Don't know	2

People who have told that it would be the same were thinking that it was so bad that it could not be worse, so big that it could not grow more, Bayramoğlu came to an end in its lifetime.

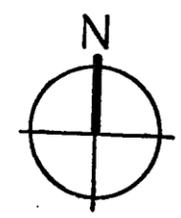
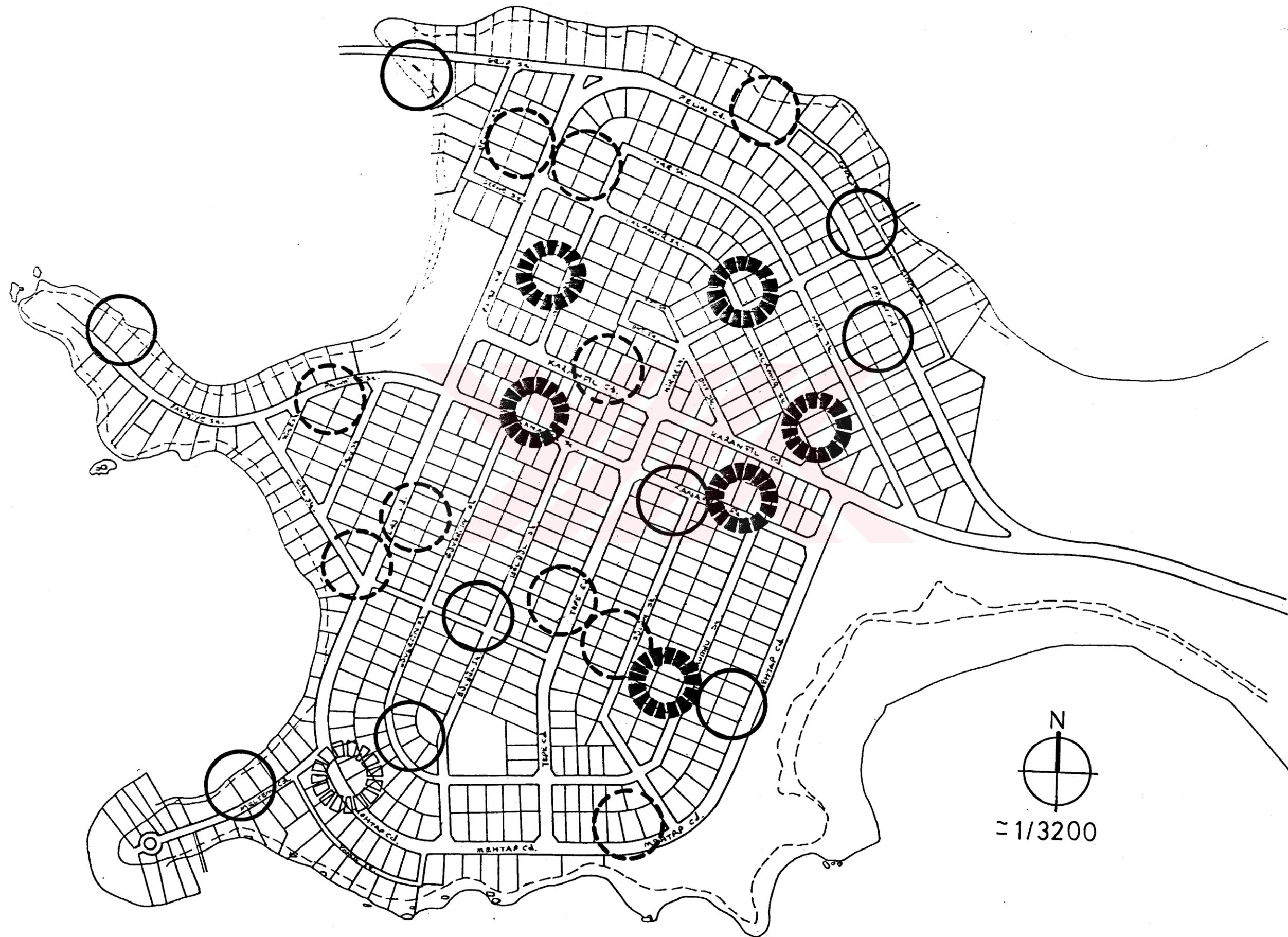
When the families were asked to count the characteristics which a country should have and they have counted 9 characteristics in total (the numbers in the parantheses are the numbers of the households who have given these answers);

1. Organized and clean (13)
2. Unnoisy (15)
3. Organized, regular infrastructure (5)
4. Not dense (9)
5. In green (11)
6. No cars within the boundaries (4)
7. Availability of a health service (2)
8. Activities for every age group (9)
9. Unpolluted sea and a swimming pool (7)

Then each has been asked if Bayramoğlu was a country or not. 25 have said "No". In a way they were counting the characteristics of a country which were not available in Bayramoğlu. Nobody has said "Yes" to this question at all and one person have said that Bayramoğlu was a suburb of Istanbul.

The last question of the questionnaire was about their future thoughts on Bayramoğlu. 15 families don't think to live there year-round and most of them put the reason that in winter Bayramoğlu becomes completely lifeless. However 11 families are thinking to live year-round in Bayramoğlu but they also say "if", if there are some services available (Figure 8.34).

First of all, all the problems should be solved, second roads should be better, third there should be a health service. But the primary if is related to their jobs as they're waiting to be retired. Essentially everybody waits for a motivation from another one. For the time being 10-15 families are living in Bayramoğlu year-round. If one give a start, others will naturally follow one by one.



1/3200

9. CONCLUSION

Prior to 1945 Istanbul was a compact city with its nucleus located in Eminönü CBD and the small scale industrial establishments attached to it extending along the Golden Horn shores towards northeast. Therefore the incoming migration which was incomparatively of reasonable quantities settled in the old and deserted residential and semi-commercial stock next to this nucleus and in the low cost housing areas along the Golden Horn.

Following the proclamation of Republic Istanbul entered into a period of structural changes due to several factors such as loss of its capital city function to Ankara, break down of Turkish economy after the War of Independence and the world economic depression in 1930. However, the most important change took place in its industrial activities as the previously increasing speed of industrialization began to decrease.

The residential area showed two different growth potentials. These were the old city and newly developing suburban areas.

The planning activities of this period put emphasis on reorganization and redevelopment of former fire areas, in the form of apartment houses. Though, a growing tendency for increasing the compactness of the city by making it grow vertically was going on.

Along with this growth pattern of the historical peninsula, there began a shift of prestige areas to Bosphorus and to southern shorelines of both the European and Anatolian sides.

For instance, the shores of the Golden Horn suffered greatest loss of prestige with the construction of barracks (Iplikhane and Humbaracılar), and of the first industrial establishments of the city like Feshane⁶⁷ and Cibali and finally addition of further dockyards.

These new prestige areas were Bakırköy, Rumelihisarı, Maslak, İstinye, Yeniköy, Tarabya and Büyükdere on the western side, and Kanlıca, Anadoluhisarı, Kandilli, Göztepe, Erenköy, Kızıltoprak, Bostancı and Caddebostanı on the eastern side.

The moslem elite built their villas on the slopes overlooking the Bosphorus, in the environs of Üsküdar, Çamlıca, and in suburban districts like Haydarpaşa, Kadıköy, Suadiye, Caddebostanı, Kızıltoprak, Göztepe, Erenköy and Bostancı. Especially Göztepe area became a suburb for residences of high level moslem Ottoman bureaucrats and Pashas, and prevented its elite character in the Republican period too.

In the meantime, villages located along the Bosphorus had grown by then and waterside residences here, formerly used seasonally, were now being used year-round. As early as the 18th century, the rich lords of

Fener had left the historical peninsula in favor of Bosphorus villages like Tarabya and Yeniköy. Moreover in the 19th century, the recently enriched Greeks, Armenians, and Jews settled along the Bosphorus.

In the Bosphorus the British preferred Bebek, Kandilli and Moda on the Anatolian side; while the French were concentrated in Kandilli and Büyükdere... In the second half of the 19th century, French, British German and Italian embassies were located in Tarabya .⁶⁸

Thus in this period suburban areas were visible along the Bosphorus such as Rumelihisarı, Maslak, İstinye, Yeniköy, Tarabya and Büyükdere on the western side and Kanlıca, Anadoluhisarı and Kandilli on the eastern side, populated mostly by the foreigners and on the Pendik axis, such as Göztepe, Erenköy, Caddebostanı, Bostancı and Kızıltoprak, populated by the old Istanbul Moslem elites. The architectural style of these suburban areas was wooden villas in the midst of gardens.

After the second world war rural areas of Turkey experienced a structural transformation and parallel to this transformation rural-urban migration gained impetus and this led to a rapid urbanization. The most important reason of this phenomenon was mechanization of agriculture.

1948-1965 was the first period of mechanization in Turkey due to the application of Marshall aid.

Furthermore this was the period of an incoming migration to big cities and especially to Istanbul. These immigrants moreover became cheap labor for the newly forming large-scale industries.

Along with this demographic increase in Istanbul (Table 9.1) (Figure 9.1.) agglomeration of sectors was for the first time began to be one of the main subjects of the Republic which began to emphasize on credits to industry and of commerce.

In accordance with these developments, Municipal Reconstruction Department issued Istanbul Sanayi Bölgele-rine Ait Talimatname (Instructions for Industrial Areas in Istanbul) in April 1947. According to this instruction, heavy industry would settle in Eyüp-Silahtarağa, Eyüp-Edirnekapı and Yedikule-Bakırköy; middle-sized industry on either side of the Golden Horn and small industry was to remain where it was .⁶⁹

A second decision for the location of heavy industry was taken on August 4th 1949. In agreement with this report heavy industrial areas of Istanbul, including the previous areas, were the farther part of Eyüp, left-hand side of Edirne-Rami road, around Maltepe, Davutpaşa road, Kazlıçeşme, the outer sides of Bakırköy, Yeşilköy, Çekmece and Zeytinburnu environs; on the Kadıköy side, between Maltepe-Kartal, around Pendik and environs of Kadıköy-Gazhane .⁷⁰

TABLE 9.1: PERCENTAGE AND ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION BY SEX IN ISTANBUL (1927-1985)

T - Total
E - Male
K - Female

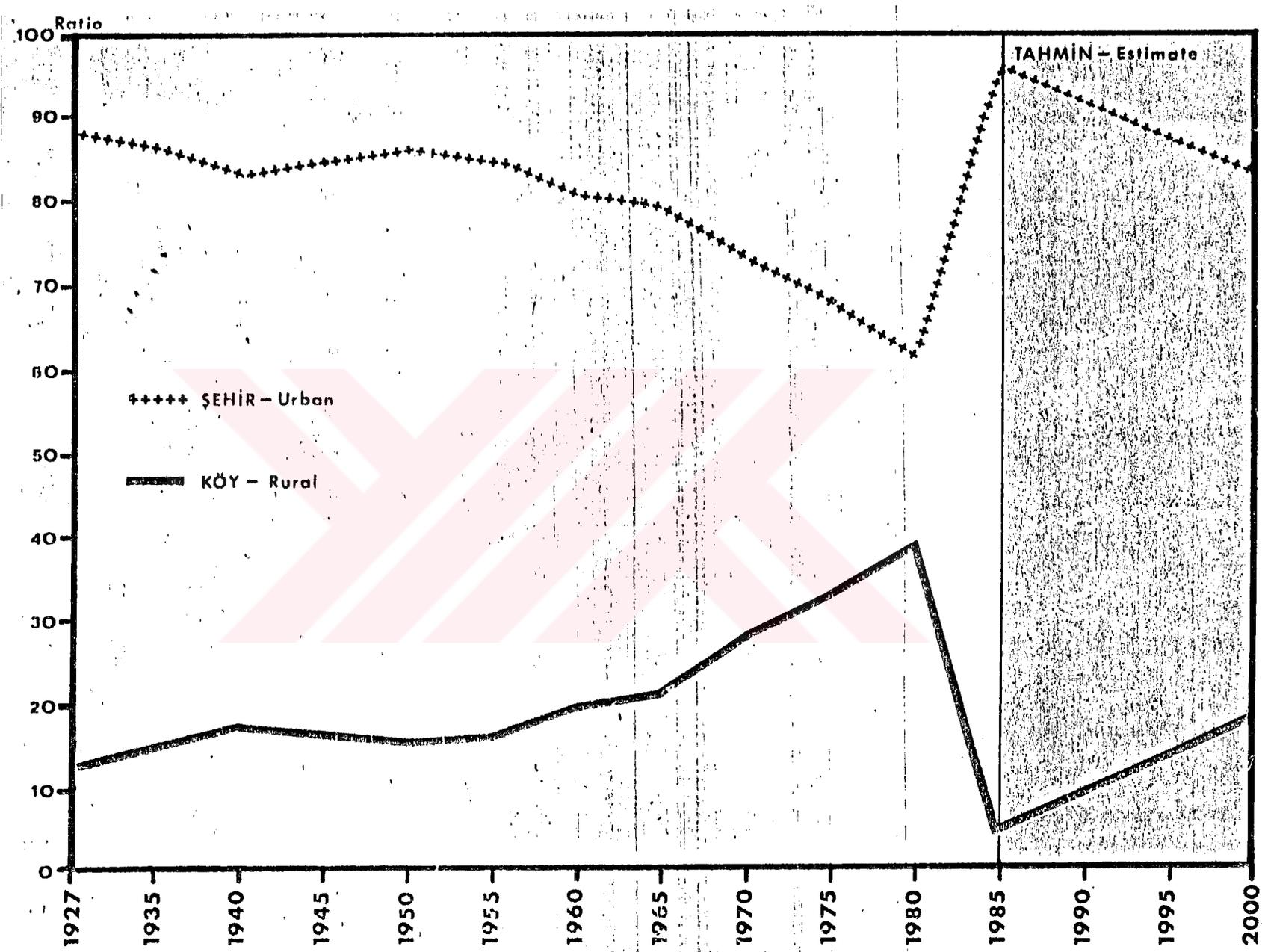
Yıllık nüfus artış oranı Annual rate of growth ‰ (binde — per thousand)									Census year
Toplam — Total			Şehir — Urban			Köy — Rural			
T	E	K	T	E	K	T	E	K	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1927
11.36	13.78	8.81	9.17	11.48	6.76	25.48	28.19	22.47	1935
22.99	32.85	11.84	14.53	17.15	11.71	67.80	106.27	12.68	1940
16.86	19.27	13.94	21.47	26.10	16.28	-6.07	-8.74	-1.31	1945
15.70	16.99	14.12	19.71	23.17	15.66	-7.12	-13.33	3.30	1950 (1)
54.75	56.86	52.11	51.65	55.06	47.52	72.70	66.28	52.60	1955
40.92	36.05	46.96	29.83	27.27	32.95	92.80	75.53	115.92	1960
39.57	38.12	41.32	34.78	32.22	37.81	57.68	59.99	54.84	1965
54.94	53.41	56.75	41.32	40.70	42.04	57.19	92.18	103.24	1970
51.44	47.89	55.50	36.77	32.41	41.71	86.42	84.37	88.80	1975
38.86	36.88	41.05	18.83	16.45	21.44	75.45	73.53	77.64	1980
41.76	40.65	42.96	129.56	129.44	129.69	-74.24	-367.42	-382.23	1985 (2)

(1) Population data by sex for 1950 have been estimated by 1945 and 1955 sex ratios.

(2) Some sub-districts or villages were included into the city or district municipal borders due to the administrative changes between 1980 — 1985 the total population of those places shown as 2 008 984 in 1980 General Census have been subtracted from the village population and added to the city population to make 1985 city and village population comparable with the 1980's.

SOURCE: Genel Nüfus Sayımı, İstanbul, 1985, p.XXIII.

FIGURE 9.1: PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS IN
 ISTANBUL (1927-2000)



SOURCE: Genel Nüfus Sayımı, İstanbul, 1985.

Thus industries were forced to move to areas outside reconstruction controls wherever underground water was available. In other words these industries were not able to move so far away from the city because there were some limiting determinants guiding location in peripheral areas besides cheap land. First to remain along the main transport arteries, second not to move away from certain areas where water and electricity were available, third relations with squatter housing areas and villages had to be kept open for cheap labor, fourth the wish to remain outside the limits of control.

Through this process large-scale industry which was forced to choose location outside the city center were followed by the squatter housing areas locating around them. In 1960, 74% of industrial workforce was employed near squatter housing neighborhoods.

In this period the most prominent concentration of squatter houses was in Kazlıçeşme-Zeytinburnu which started in 1946.

Kazlıçeşme was an area historically known for concentration of tanneries and leather factories. With the attraction of Yedikule iplik (textile yarn) Factory and Bakırköy Bez (textile) Factory which had settled here before the establishment of the Republic, textile industry was pulled to this area after 1930s .

For the labor intensive textile industry it was imperative to have a nearby labor pool. It is also known that some of the factories supported formation of gecekondu neighborhoods by opening credit to their laborers.⁷²

Industries located in Zeytinburnu and Eyüp districts adjacent to the city walls created an industrial ring outside the walls. There were 4 concentration nodes on this ring: Alibeyköy, Rami-⁷³ Topçular, Topkapı-Sağmalcılar and Kazlıçeşme-Zeytinburnu.

In 1960 12.6% of industrial employment was located in the 0-1 km ring, 14.4% in 1-4 km ring, 58.2 % in 4-9 km ring, 2.5% in 9-14 km ring, 7.7% in 14-19 km ring and 4.6% was located beyond the 19km ring. In this period although most of the industry was located around the CBD, the majority of employment was concentrated in the 4-9 km ring.⁷⁴

Zeytinburnu became a district on September 1, 1957 and Gaziosmanpaşa district was established next.

A second specific example to removal of industries with their squatter housing areas was development of Kağıthane in 1955-1970.

In this period, because of high land rents in the center which appeared as a result of increasing demand of

gecekondu and immigrant populations and limited growth potentials of the city, industries which could not make use of external economies moved out to the periphery. Kağıthane which was offering free water, cheap labor force and entire land for expansion of industry was a very suitable place for the location of industrial activities .

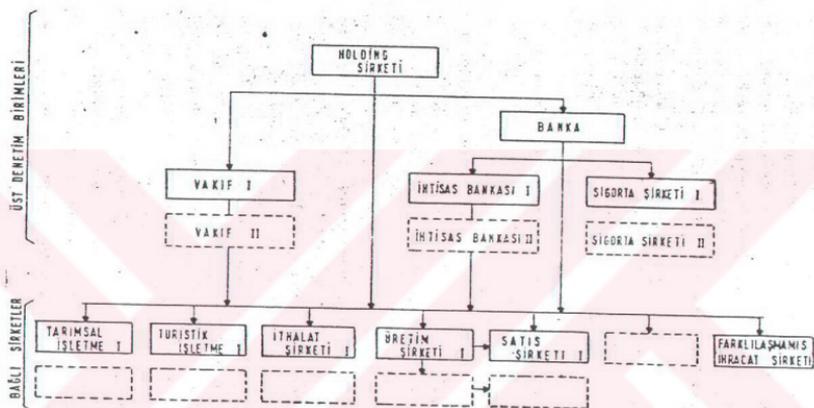
In the mean time, between 1950-60 squatter housing neighborhoods, Gültepe, Kuştepe, Çağlayan, Hürriyet were developed in favor of these industries.

Although decentralization process had already started, the most important sub-section of the CBD, Eminönü still housed the greatest concentration of industry in the city. In general the establishments located in the CBD were of small scale and large industries which began to decentralize were still near to the city.

At this stage, along with the development of industrialization in Turkey, granted monopolistic capitalists began to appear in Turkish private sector. These capitalists further became active in the formation of a multi-firm and multi-factory type of an organization.

This organization (Figure 9.2) showed itself in Turkish economy in the form of two different systems. First was a system of holding companies -joint stock

FIGURE 9.2: ORGANIZATION OF HOLDING COMPANIES IN TURKEY



Not: Oklar, sermaye denetim yönünü göstermektedir.

SOURCE: TEKELİ, I., Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları, p.270.

companies- which were established in 1957 following Türk Ticaret Kanunu (Law of Trade) numbered 6762. Second was a system of banks which gained a capitalistic financial status in 1958 with Bankalar Kanunu (Law of Banks) numbered 7129.

Here a semi-active element entered to the system; firms which were using the capital of banks, such as İş Bankası, Akbank, and Yapı ve Kredi Bankası. In these systems banks were acting as holding companies leading to the entire system as Yapı ve Kredi Bank acted in the formation of Bayramoğlu suburban settlement.

These developments led to the growth of private sector and private entrepreneurs and a new social class, named 'management class'.

However this new managerial class was differing from the old elites of Istanbul whose power was rested on tradition, nobility and family assets (real estate). Anyway, they were the children of middle-class and were engaged in modern business rather than family assets. They were the money creators and instead of forming an exclusive social class they were inclusive in their social class dynamics.

Meanwhile, this new class began to be in search of a residential class identity-spatial identity. Anyhow, instead of joining on the pre-established high-class

suburban areas, they looked for a new place to stress on their identity on space. This was the entrance of a seasonal life style to the Istanbul society. These people were rich enough to pay the transportation costs to the city and they were in a wish to spend their summers in vacation homes located outside the limits of Istanbul but not so far away that they would be able to keep in touch with the city itself.

In this period industrial activities began to expand on space through Gebze in the eastern direction and E-5 highway was started to be constructed. These developments moreover led to the opening of new lands along this route to construction additively.

The urban areas between Büyük Çekmece and Gebze would be developed keeping indirect relation with the sea. The principles of landuse to guide this development were: coastal strips were to be reserved for recreation, residential districts would occupy the next strip which would be bordered by regional transportation lines. Industry would settle beyond the transport lines and would establish contact with the sea whenever possible.⁷⁷

These two tendencies, first the willingness of managerial class to form a seasonal suburb -the founders of Bayramoğlu were a professional group such as the general director of Yapı Kredi Bank, one of the

owners of Kavaklıdere wine factory, contractors and the like. This was the newly emerging managerial class in Turkey, and second the growing patterns of Istanbul on the Asian side along a new road, made Necmettin Bayramoğlu to open his land to this new movement. In 1960s Bayramoğlu suburban settlement was offered to the new elites of Istanbul and Ankara by also the help of newly established private bank, Yapı Kredi. Thus in search of a spatial identity, these people bought independent parcels, to build second-homes on, in Bayramoğlu. (Table 7.3)

Between 1960-1970 1-2 storied garden villas were built and a new kind of a social life-seasonal- appeared in Istanbul. Nonetheless, the architectural styles of new villas were different than their predecessors built by the old elites. They were somehow modifications of the old kiosk-like villas in accordance with the more limited financial means of the managerial class and also with modern conveniences. These houses were for away emphasizing tradition and nobility, instead they were the concrete monuments of luxury.

In spite of the new elite life, squatter housing areas were growing additively on space on the peripheral lands, attached to the industrial areas which were also increasing in number.

After 1970s industrial decentralization spread all over the city in a different form such as industrial estates were begun to be built in the periphery of Istanbul. For this development E-5 state highway was very attractive because of the free land along.

Manufacturing processes... settled on E-5 state highway, parallel to the Bağdat avenue. In a survey made in 1988 it was recorded that of the 1921 total workshops along this highway, 50.2% was engaged in manufacturing, 31.5% in maintenance and repair and 18.3% in warehouses and wholesale activities ⁷⁸ .

Following this period, together with industrial units, management and control activities also became subject to decentralization.

Lower rank business centers were formed in the settlements around the metropolitan core, as in Büyük Çekmece, Küçük Çekmece, Bakırköy, Maltepe and Gebze Under these centers there existed a network of neighborhood centers which provided goods and services to their immediate vicinities. ⁷⁹

Another unique phenomenon of Turkish big cities, gecekondu went on increasing in number and spreading on space additively in this period too put this time with a different scene. A tendency of apartment housing

construction appeared in older gecekondü areas. Thus while former gecekondü areas were now being transformed into apartment housing areas, the authorized housing stock in the city was slowly deteriorating into slums.⁸⁰

Between 1976-82, from Kadıköy towards east, 1311 dwelling units were built in 1226 gecekondü areas with 1-4 floors in Kartal; 5582 dwelling units were built in 5216 gecekondü areas with 1-3 floors in Maltepe and 3505 dwelling units were built in 5654 gecekondü areas with 1-4 floors in Pendik.⁸¹

At this point middle-class people were added to the field of movement to residential suburbs in the form of cooperatives and mass housing areas. but this time instead of being attached to the city limits, they went far away.

Increasing car ownership and increasing use of private bus services by different workplaces and propensity of building big complexes stimulated decentralization. Other factors were tendency to adopt mass housing systems; building of organized industrial estates and industrial sites; mass movement of transport companies, iron mongers, warehouses and terminals from the CBD to areas opened to settlement by paving of new roads; movement of public organizations not in direct contact with the public to the peripheral areas in form of campuses.⁸²

In 1970 percentage of population settled in the ring of 7km from the city center, for the first time, decreased to 55%. This decrease of central area population shows that central city was saturated and further development was directed to the outer rings.⁸³

Moreover, 1970 was also the year of speculators as owners of peripheral lands started to sell their lands and so opened new areas to development. Thus, existence of high level of demand for housing and opening of new areas to settlement created a favorable environment for mass housing projects.

For example, in Kadıköy INTAŞ built a project of 267 dwelling units on Bağdat avenue in Kızıltoprak in 1972 and another one of 625 dwelling units in Göztepe in 1978. Construction of 84 units was initiated in Göztepe in 1983 by Anadolu Holding Employees Building Cooperative....⁸⁴

As it has been mentioned before, Kızıltoprak and Göztepe were the two suburbs of Istanbul in the former period. However these mass housing projects created a new scene made up of apartment houses in these pre-suburbs.

These developments were also the starter of a turbulence in the spatial preferences of different social classes in the city. With cooperative housing units, middle-income people got hold of the year-round elite

suburbs of Istanbul. As a result both the physical scene and class identity of these settlements entered into a period of changes, or it can be said, started to be deteriorated.

The changing landscape in Göztepe, Erenköy and Fenerbahçe are clear examples to this deterioration in year-round suburbs of Istanbul. These suburbs were first formed of garden-villas and kiosks in the 19th century and beginning of 20th-century. But later with industrialization, as it has been mentioned above high rise apartments were started to be erected instead and these picturesque 19th-century suburbs became neighborhoods of Istanbul.

Some kiosks and villas could survive but it is a fact that they will soon be swallowed by the high rise monsters. (Figure 9.3).

Another unique characteristic of the period was entry of apartment construction to the sphere of second homes, namely summer resort housing. Such development was observed in Kumburgaz-Silivri in the west, in Kilyos in the north and along the coastline between Dragos-⁸⁵ Bayramoğlu in the east.

FIGURE 9.3: THE OLD SUBURBAN HOUSES UNDER THE SHADOW OF HIGHRISE APARTMENT BUILDINGS (a) Göztepe, (b) Erenköy, and (c) Fenerbahçe



(a)



(b)



(c)

So Bayramoğlu's 2-storied garden villas started to be converted into apartment houses. Furthermore population soared and uncongested streets became full of cars parked, bicycles and motorcycles.

Social class of suburbanites changed both in income and class orientation. Bayramoğlu was populated with people belonging to the elite groups of Istanbul and Ankara. They had a special suburban life style. But today these people has left their places to a new population belonging to a lower-class especially in their culture. They still have the money for transportation costs and the like however they have formed a different Bayramoğlu, they let their urban life styles continue there.

By the way, they spread out in Bayramoğlu in such an increasing speed that the old residents could not prevent their spatial identity anymore.

Today Bayramoğlu is just similar to the pre-suburban neighborhoods of Istanbul (Figure 9.4). One enters to the settlement first faces with 14-storied apartment buildings. Furthermore, one wants to make a walk along the coastline never manages to because of the walls of some houses and high-rise buildings.

FIGURE 9.4: A PRE-SUBURBAN SETTLEMENT OF ISTANBUL AND BAYRAMOĞLU TODAY (a) Göztepe and (b) Bayramoğlu



(a)



(b)

One specific example of its similarity to city neighborhoods is the street-peddlers selling their goods on the corners. (Figure 9.5). People living in Istanbul are used to these but not in seasonal suburbs.

Nonetheless, the middle-class got hold of the settlements of elites but this does not mean that there are no more high-class settlements in Istanbul. This kind of residences are still going on to be constructed but their image is slightly different. Now they are formed of high-rise apartment buildings with a very dense and congested spatial structure. These are no longer to be able to locate on large m² of land like in Bayramoğlu. Korukent which is close to Ulus neighborhood in Istanbul can be given as an example to such a development.

FIGURE 9.5: A STREET-PEDDLER IN BAYRAMOĞLU



The story of Bayramoğlu constitutes one aspect of the answer to the question of what happens to peripheral development of cities of the Third World countries during the industrialization-urbanization process of the 50's.

We know by now that the mostly compact, single centered cities of late 19th century were surrounded by cultivated areas with elite suburban settlements concentrated in certain favorable locations enriched by existence of water, greenery and scenic views. We also know that under the unprecedented migration waves of the 40's, the cultivated and vacant thresholds in the periphery were flooded by squatter housing neighborhoods moving back in establishment priority from major transport routes and built up areas.

One other aspect of the question related to the transformation of peripheral areas includes elite suburbs which could not be generated by the squatter population.

As discussed in the text, Bayramoğlu suburb was built by a rising managerial and bureaucratic class. These new controllers of capital, with their contemporary values and socio-cultural aims needed an exclusive socio-spatial imprint in abstract and physical spaces. In addition to their regular winter housing and even more

exclusive spatial gathering was achieved in the summer resort residences.

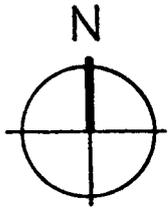
Bayramoğlu constitutes an example to such a case. Bayramoğlu shows that such areas, built with the purpose of preserving a social identity along with other benefits involved in living in the suburbia were;

- swallowed by the extending and expanding city in horizontal and vertical dimensions and therefore were surrounded by regular urban functions (other residences, their centers, industry, major transport routes).

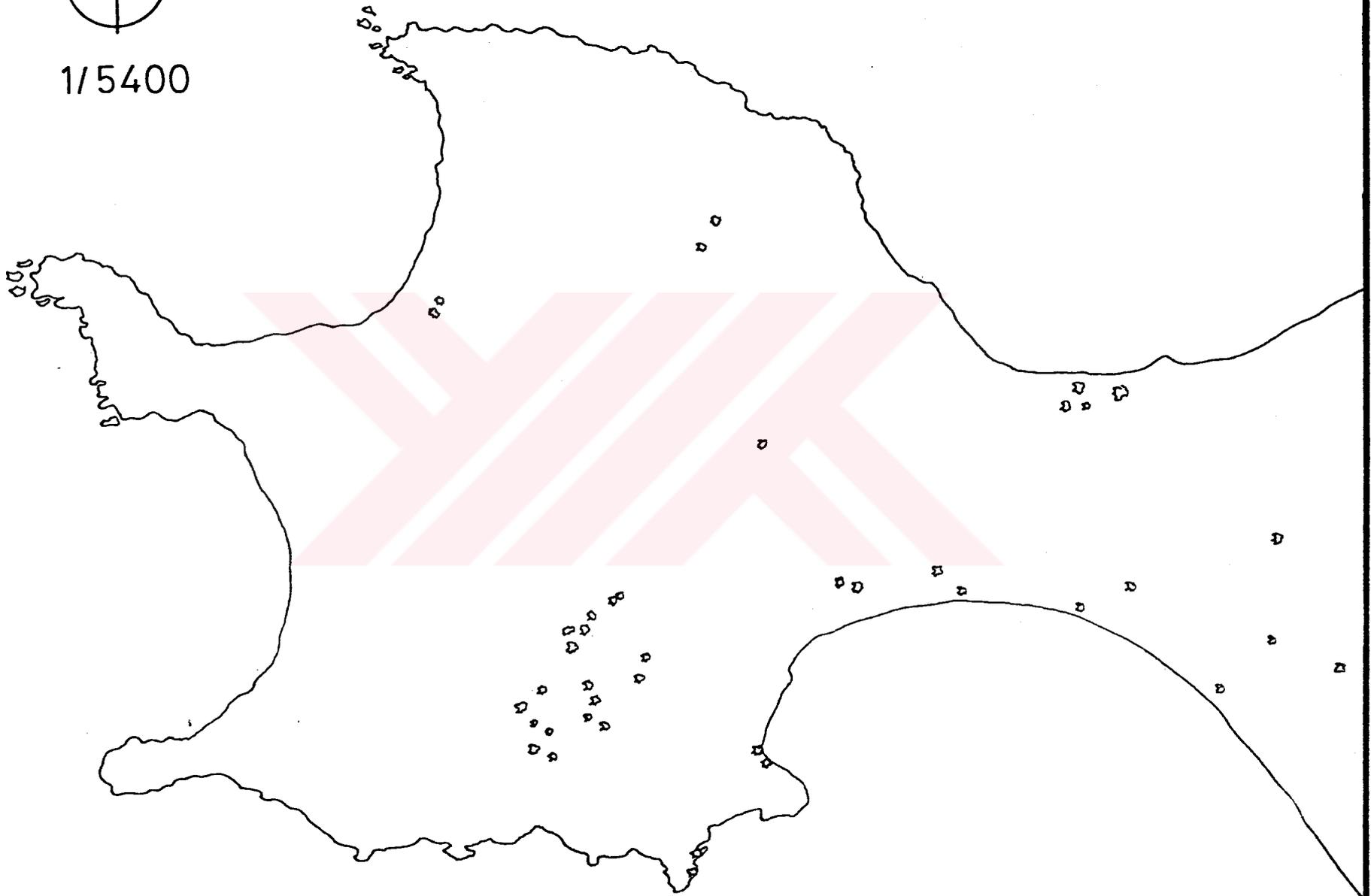
- Under the control of other exogenous factors like soaring land prices, changing function and role of the bureaucracy and the managerial class within the society parallel to changing socio-economic and political conjuncture, the area lost its exclusive social and spatial character and was transformed to reflect more recent, contemporary values. Therefore today we face multi-story structures rising higher and higher to internalize the increasing land value with a insensitive disregard of environmental values, standards and even the sea. The quiet, scenic summer resort area built at human scale to capture and preserve most of the natural values and inputs around, has now turned into a middle and upper middle class apartment housing area which could have been located almost anywhere in the city. (Figures 9.6, 9.7, 9.8, 9.9, and 9.10).

Bayramođlu constitutes an example to the sacrifice of natural endourments and better spatial standards to the interplay of market forces during the typical semi-planned decentralization process of metropolitan cities.

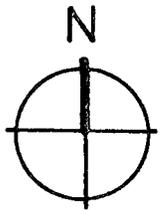
BAYRAMOĞLU, 1940



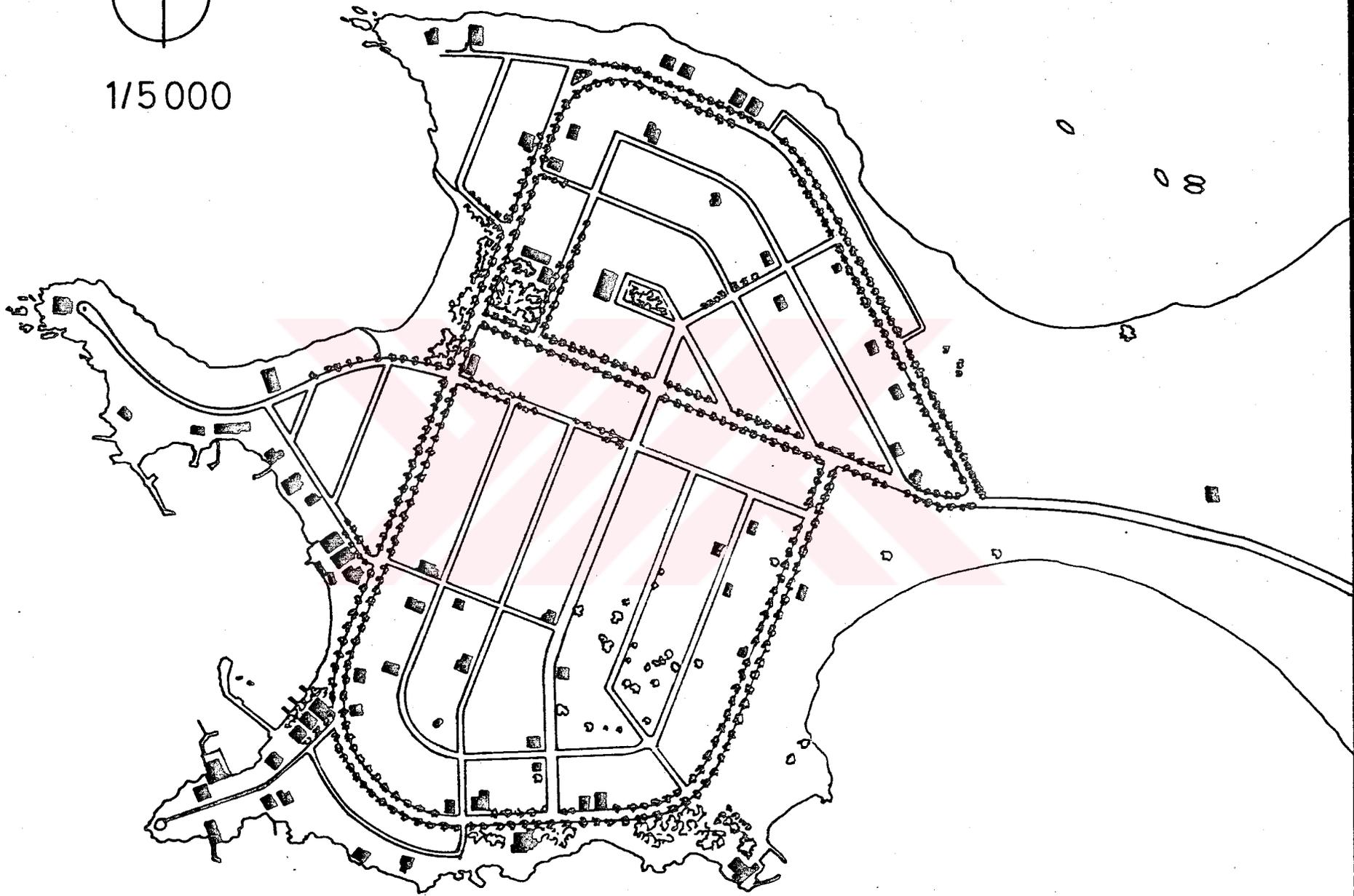
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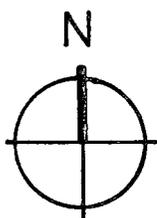
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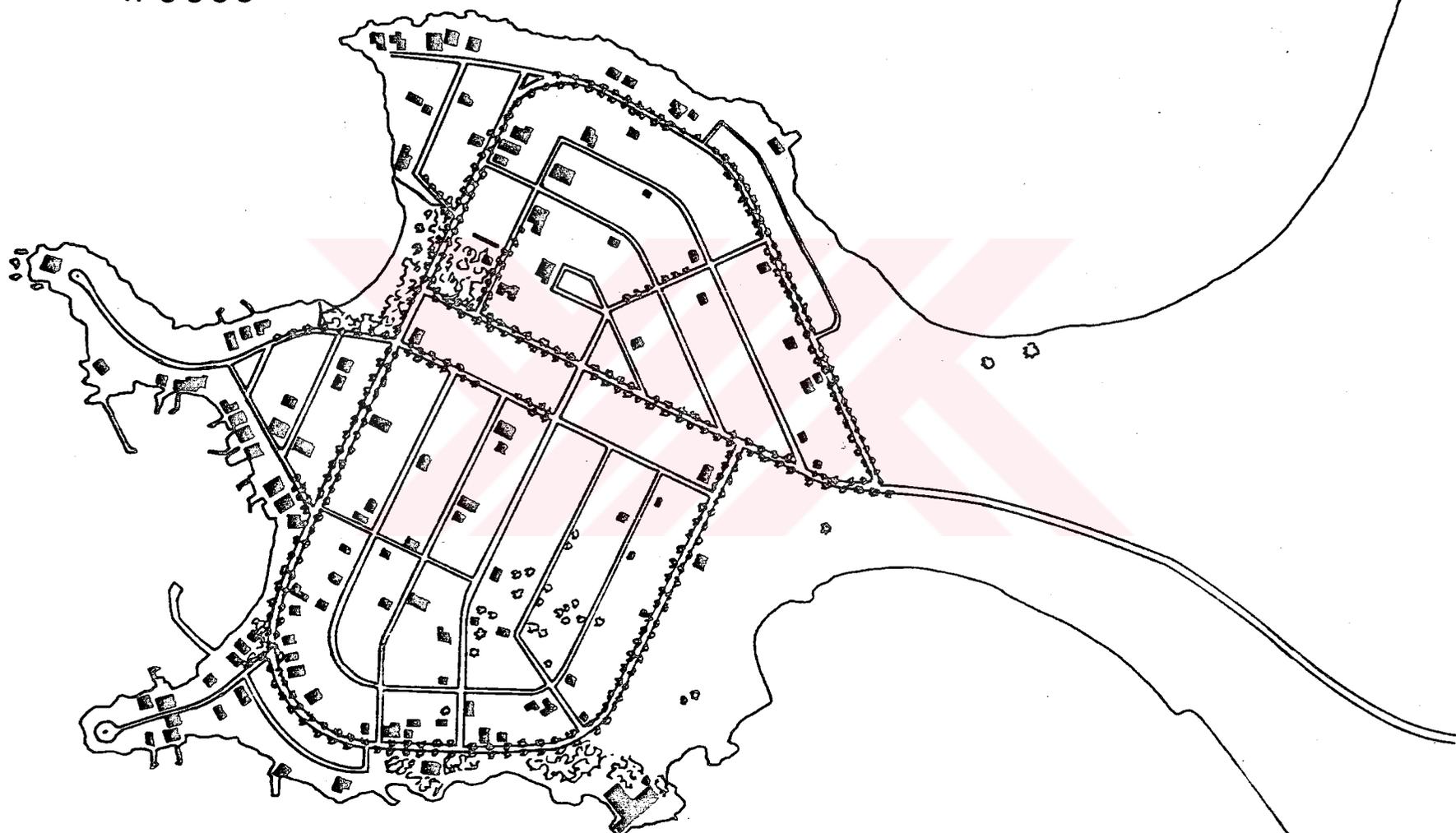
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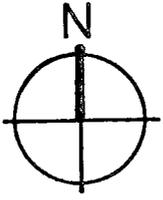
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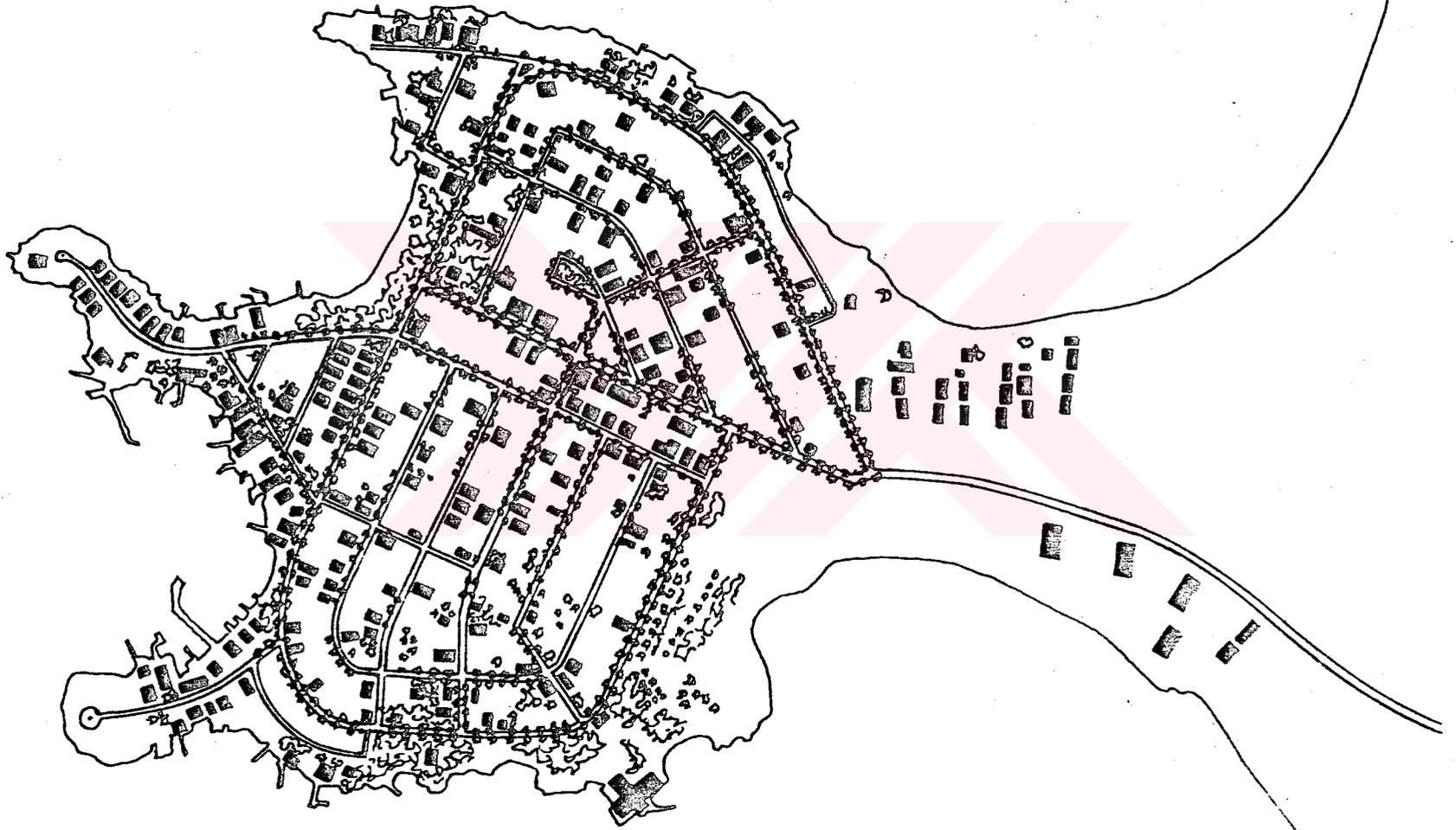
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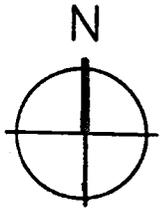
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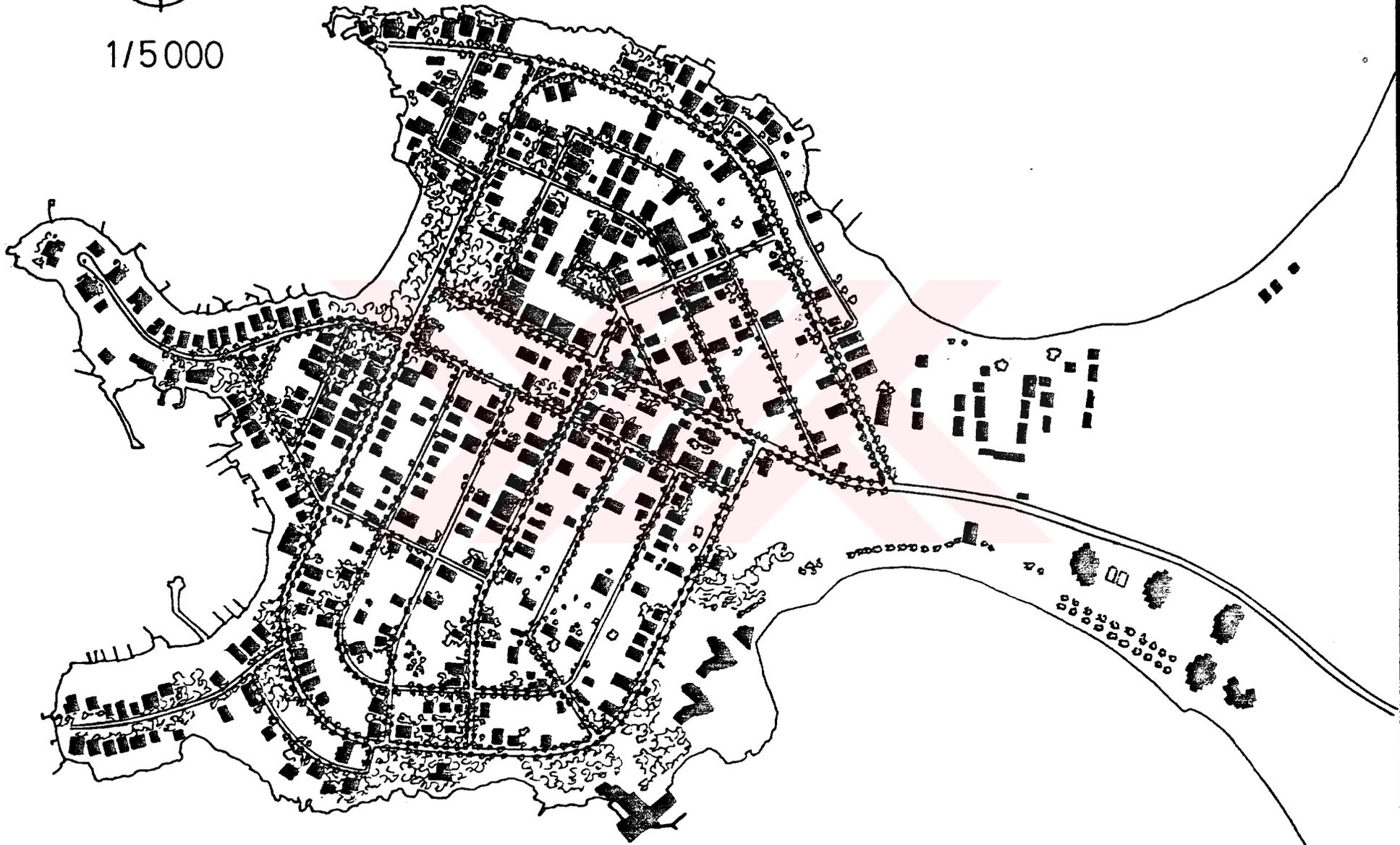
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EVOLUTION OF BAYRAMOĞLU SUBURBAN
SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE CONTEXT
OF DEVELOPMENT OF METROPOLITAN
ISTANBUL: 1955-1985

A MASTER'S THESIS
in
City Planning
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By

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A P P E N D I X A

SUBURBANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1. 19TH-CENTURY

1.1. REASONS OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

1.1.1. Push Factors

1.1.1.1. The Anti-urban Tradition in American Thought

As cities became larger, noisier, and more fearsome, the specter of danger replaced the earlier notion of the city as refuge. Suburbia, pure and unfettered and bathed by sunlight and fresh air, offered the exciting prospect that disorder, prostitution, and mayhem could be kept at distance, far away in the festering metropol.

1.1.1.2. The Fear of Disease

Epidemic disease was another powerful impetus for making one's escape from the crowded city. In the United States, periodic outbreaks of smallpox, yellow fever, and cholera took a heavy toll in every community.

The lyrical view of nature, supplemented by the dread of epidemics, was transferred to residential experience with the introduction of the villa and the bungalow.

1.1.1.3. The Changing Ethnic Composition of the Urban Population

As the acreage of cities doubled, tripled and quadrupled, part of the population and certain kinds of economic activities concentrated near the centers of the metropolises, while other people, industries, and businesses scattered toward the periphery. The play of these centripetal and centrifugal influences made urban sprawl, a higher skyline, central-city commercial and traffic congestion, and a constant shifting of residential neighborhoods and economic districts the hallmarks of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century city.

This changing ethnic composition also increased middle-class antipathy to the older neighborhoods, as Poles, Italians, Russians, and assorted eastern and southern Europeans, most of them Jews or Catholics, poured into the industrialized areas after 1880. Although only one-third of all Americans lived in cities in 1890, two-thirds of all immigrants did.

By the 1870s, the new suburbs were the precise opposite of the kind of dense human settlement that had characterized the planet for millenia. Formerly, open spaces like the Piazza San Marco in Venice had been scattered behind and between buildings. The open style of the American suburb, in contrast, scattered a few houses in the midst of open spaces.

Such residences were attainable only by the middle and upper classes. The suburban ideal offered the promise of an environment visibly responsive to personal effort, an environment that would combine the best of both city and rural life and that would provide a permanent home for a restless people.

1.1.2. Pull Factors

1.1.2.1. Technological Innovations

1.1.2.1.1. Transportation Revolutions

Between 1815 and 1875, America's largest cities underwent a dramatic change. The introduction of the Erie Canal in 1825, the steam ferry, the omnibus, the commuter railroad, the horse car, the elevated railroad, the cable car and completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 opened up a new pattern of suburban affluence and center despair.

These more rapid modes of moving large numbers of people provided city dwellers with a new range of physical movement. As a result, cities began after 1840 to expand in physical size and the rate of residential mobility within urban centers reached unprecedentedly high levels.

By 1848 an estimated 20 percent of Boston's businessmen traveled to work on steam railroads, and 118 of 208 passenger trains entering and leaving the city's

seven major terminals served only stations within fifteen miles of central Boston. The suburbs of which these stations formed the nucleus were both isolated from one another and buffered by a band of open land from the expanding urban fringe of poor city dwellers .

In Cincinnati, travel writer Willard Glazer described the suburbs in 1883 as a 'Paradise of grass, gardens, lawns and tree-shaded roads. In San Francisco by 1860 the city's bankers, merchants, and doctors were moving away from downtown and putting up homes on the heights of Fern (Nob) Hill and Russian Hill .

There is no doubt that the extension of cities in the United States took on a much more regular pattern than it did in the Old World. There were two basic reasons;

- 1- The grid by which land was apportioned so that everywhere the standard block and lot dominated.
- 2- The complete absence of the aristocratic or large landed estate which had such a fundamental impact in Britain. In a strangely paradoxical way in the country of freedom, individual rights and speculation there was a much greater degree of uniformity.

* Source: MILLER, Z.L., The Urbanization of Modern America, p.42.

** Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.45

1.1.2.1.1.1. Ferry Service

Regular steam ferry service to New York City from Brooklyn began in 1814 and soon after with its tree-shaded streets, pleasant homes, access to Manhattan, and general middle-class ambiance, Brooklyn attracted those who sought respite from the extraordinary bustle and congestion of Gotham.

Walt Whitman, whose office at the Brooklyn Eagle overlooked the Fulton Ferry, ship, frequently commented on the suburb's phenomenal growth. In the morning there is one incessant stream of people-employed in New York on business-tending toward the ferry. This rush commences soon after six o'clock...
**

Additional ferrylines soon expanded the commuting possibilities. As the ferry districts became distinct from the more rural areas of the rest of Kings County, so the political form began to change. By that time suburban landowners and speculators were anxious to subdivide their farms into city lots, and they perceived that a stronger government would provide the streets and services that would aid the rapid development of periphery.

** Source: CARTER, H., An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, pp. 27, 28.

By 1880, when suburb had become part of the expanding metropolis—the concept 'suburb' has first used by the Census Bureau in 1880 analysis of New York—very few laborers remained and the farmers had disappeared.

Brooklyn's meteoric rise as the premier suburb of the first half of the 19th-century was mirrored by the career of Hezekiah Beers Pierrepont who turned his energies to land speculation and community boosterism.

In 1814 Robert Fulton began the world's first steam ferry service between Beekman Slip in Manhattan and Fulton street in Brooklyn. Pierrepont meanwhile was formulating his plan for a high-class residential area for affluent businessmen who could purchase several contiguous lots and combine them into one prestigious property suitable for a large mansion.

An 1823 advertisement for "Lots on Brooklyn Heights", situated directly opposite the Southeast part of the city, and being the nearest country retreat, and earliest access from the center of business that now remains unoccupied; the distance not exceeding an average 15 to 25 minute walk, including the passage of the river; the ground elevated and perfectly healthy at all seasons; as a place of residence all the advantages of the country with most of the conveniences of the city.

Gentlemen whose business or profession require daily attendance into the city, cannot better, or with less expense, secure the health and comfort of their families than by uniting in such an association.*

As a result of the continuing exodus and spillover from New York, Brooklyn which was the first and most important of the modern 'ferry suburbs', was gradually transformed from a suburb into a major city in its own right, the fourth largest in the country in the latter part of the 19th-century.

1.1.2.1.1.2. Steam Railroads

The steam railroad had a profound influence on reshaping the American city. Along the tracks population grew by more than 50 percent in the first decade after initial construction in 1829, as real-estate developments sprang up in Rye, Tarrytown and New Rochelle.

As early as 1855, English observer W.E.Boxter noted that suburban villas were springing up like mushrooms on spots which five years ago were part of the dense and tangled forest; and the value of property evreywhere, but especially along the various lines of railroad, has increased in a ratio almost incredible... **

* Source: *ibid.*, pp.31,32.

** Source: *ibid.*, p.36

By 1859 in Philadelphia, more than 40 trains were making commuter stops in the northwestern suburb of Germantown, while in Chicago the northern town of Evanston was growing rapidly because of the frequent service of the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad.

Soon suburban developers reciprocated by including railroad time tables in the advertisements and reminding potential purchasers that every lot was 'within a few minutes walk of the station'

1.1.2.1.1.3. The Horse Railway

Initially developed by John Mason in 1832 the great expansion of horse-drawn railways came after 1852.

The horsecar tracks followed the main roads generally were developed toward the emerging wealthy neighborhoods on the periphery. Indeed, the very availability of quick, efficient mass transportation enhanced property attractiveness, a tendency not lost on land speculators. Subdividers nestled their plots close to the tracks and advertised their proximity to the new convenience.

The impact of railway ridership was foreseen by Sidney George Fisher in 1859.

A beneficial effect of this will be to enable every to have a suburban villa or country home, to

spread the city over a vast space, with all the advantages of compactness and the advantages, moreover, of pure air, gardens and rural pleasures. Before long, town life, life in close streets and alleys, will be confined to a few occupations, and cities will be mere collections of shops, warehouses, factories, and places of business^{*}.

1.1.2.1.1.4. The Electrified Tracks

The conversion of the system to cables and then electricity between 1880 and 1900 provided the means for the completion of the invasion of the highlands. The electrically-powered streetcars with their added speed and power intensified the outward push of urban growth and by 1912 there were 222 miles of track. In 1850, Cincinnati Covered six square miles; by 1880 that had increased to 22.2 square miles, by 1900 it was 35.27, by 1910 50.26 as annexations took place.

Radiating outward from the central business district, the tracks opened up a vast suburban ring, and enabled electric trains to travel as fast as 14 miles per hour, or 4 times faster than the horse drawn systems they replaced. By the turn of the century, a 'new city', segregated by class and economic function, and encompassing an area triple the territory of the older

** Source: *ibid.*, pp.41, 42.

walking city, had clearly emerged as the center of the American urban society. The electric streetcar was the key to the shift.

The electric streetcar was also vital in opening up the suburbs for the common man... Medford Massachusetts, which had been a popular place for wealthy Bostonians to build their summer residences in the 1850s, illustrates the trend. ... Medford's great estates were divided up into house lots and streets, and its population swelled from 11 000 in 1890 to 23 000 in 1905 .

Two policies of the streetcar entrepreneurs were especially important in facilitating the outward movement of population;

1. the practice of extending the lines beyond the built-up portion of the city and into open country. This had the practical effect of enabling heads of households to see that a convenient transportation mode would be available from their homesite.
2. the 5-cent fare. American firms usually adopted a flat fee with free transfers, thus encouraging families to move toward the cheaper land on the periphery.

The pattern was as follows. First streetcar lines were built out to existing villages. Second, the tracks actually created residential neighborhoods where none had existed before.

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.119.

1.1.2.1.2. Other Revolutionary Changes

1.1.2.1.2.1. The Balloon-Frame House.

In 1833 in brand-new Chicago a type of building appeared that would radically alter the face of built America. Mockingly decided as the 'balloon frame', it made possible the new suburban neighborhoods that would absorb most of the population growth of the United States over the next 150 years.

Because the balloon frame reduced construction to a few basic hand and tool techniques, the new structure could be erected more quickly by two men than the heavy timber frame by twenty.

As new transit developments made commuting easier, speculation bought large tracks of farmland adjacent to the city and carved them into lots. Individual families and small contractors then built houses modeled upon a common design. By 1872 prefabricated stores had been introduced, complete with windows and doors and later magazines and pattern books began to include home plans for people emulate, composed almost exclusively of designs for suburban and country houses.

1.1.2.1.2.2. Cheap Land/High Wages

The wages of the working man were almost invariably higher than those of his counterparts elsewhere in the world. Geographically, the amount of space potentially

available to each citizen was also staggering as the United States was composed substantially of heavily forested or grass-covered ground, most of it habitable by human beings, the real estate of North America was almost literally endless.

The average price of a lot suitable for building ranged from city to city, but prices of \$150 were common before 1900.

An advertisement for the Morris and Southwick Company in the Louisville Courier-Journal promised on April 18, 1871: \$50 CASH WILL BUY A LOT \$50 cash on each lot, remainder in 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 years...
*

In economic terms, the marginal cost of transportation did not rise as fast as the price of land fell with distance from the city center. In other words, the least expensive housing option for middle-class families that could afford a commute was to move outward.

1.1.2.2. A Model For a Good Life

The suburban image was quite distinct from that of large cities. This shift had many dimensions and sprang from many causes, but the suburban ideal of a detached dwelling in a semirural setting was related to an emerging distinction between 'Gemeinschaft', the primary,

* Source: *ibid.*, p. 129.

face-to-face relationships of home and family and 'Gesellschaft', the impersonal and sometimes hostile outside society.

1.1.2.2.1. Family and Home

Prior to the 18th-century, much of life was public; privacy hardly existed at all. In every case, the image of the home as the ideal domestic arrangement was missing. Even the word 'home' referred to the town or region rather than to a particular dwelling.

In the 18th-century, however the zone of private life began to expand. The emerging values of domesticity, privacy, and isolation reached fullest development in the United States, especially in the middle third of the 19th-century. In part, this was a function of American wealth.

Industrial and commercial capitalism changed the rhythm of daily life. Between 1820 and 1850, work and men left the home. The family became isolated and feminized. Women thought that the home ought to be perfect and could be made so and the single-family dwelling became the paragon of middle-class housing, the most visible symbol of having arrived at a fixed place in society, the goal to which every decent family aspired. On the simplest and most basic level, the notion of life in a private house represented stability, a kind of anchor in the heavy seas of urban life.

1.1.2.2.2. Real Estate

The idea that landownership was a mark of status, as well as a kind of sublime insurance against ill, fortune, was brought to the New World as part of the cultural baggage of the European settlers. They established a society on the basis of the private ownership of property.

1.1.2.2.3. The Yard

The suburban dream demanded an enlargement of open areas. In particular, the ideal home came to be viewed as resting in the middle of a manicured lawn or a picturesque garden.

By 1870 detached housing had clearly emerged as the suburban style. Unlike Europeans, jealous of their possessions and of their privacy, Americans did not build walls around their houses. The new suburban yard in the United States followed a naturalistic or romantic approach.

1.1.2.2.4. The Winding Lane

The most important in creating a new image for high-status suburban residence was the winding lane. Just as the gnir was ideal for the row houses, the undulating pattern was best suited to the suburban cottage. First introduced in suburban areas in the 1850s as a design feature, a gentle turn was indicative of the pastoral and

bucolic pace of the home rather than the busy and efficient system of the office or factory. Like the natural landscape, the curvilinear road was intended to be picturesque, because as practically every suburban developer would ultimately learn, the image of the bending road was part and parcel of the suburban ideal. It offered the aesthetic order of unified design rather than the mechanistic order imposed by grid subdivision.

1.3. THE WORLD'S FIRST PICTURESQUE SUBURB

In the decade before the American civil war, the world's first picturesque suburb was developed in the eastern foothills of New Jersey's Orange Mountains. Heavily wooded, with rolling hills and clear streams, it afforded a spectacular view of Manhattan and was only thirteen rail miles from New York City over the new Delware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad.

In 1852 Llewellyn S.Haskell, a prosperous drug merchant, began purchasing property in West Orange. He added land every year until by 1856 he and eight partners owned four hundred acres, mostly on the south slope of a mountain. His aim in Llewellyn Park was to create a picturesque community, 'a retreat for a man to exercise his own rights and privileges'.

Haskell propitiously selected Alexander Jackson Daws (1803-1892) to prepare the site plan. Designed with special reference to the wants of citizens doing business in the city of New York, and yet wishing accesible, retired and healtful homes in the country, Llewelly Park introduced two features; first the curvilinear road and second, the natural open spaces at the center that were unprecedented in modern residential experience.

Daws and Haskell sought to reinforce the pleasant environment in a variety of other ways as well. The founders stipulated in the original covenant that no factory, shop, slaughterhouse, or other place of industry could ever made their peaceful refuge. Lot sizes averaged more than three acres, and fences were prohibited because they interfered with the natural scenery. Owners were free to landscape their lawn according to individual preference but every effort was made to harmonize each site with the natural fall and character of the land.

But residence in the parklike surroundings was possible only for the well-to-do, and it has retained its snobbish ambience. Most heads of households were successful businessmen and professionals who could afford an expensive residence and the time and cost of railroad commutation to Manhattan.

Llewellyn Park, further, introduced to landscape architecture the notion that a beautiful natural setting could be created for a group rather than an individual family; it thus began the tradition of carefully planned suburbs that was to be a central concern of American and British architects in the 20th-century.

Kenneth T.Jackson explains why Llewellyn Park is considered the pioneering development of its type as follows;

I suggest this not because it was intellectually novel, but because it combined a distinctive and dramatic site, an unusual vision, a wealthy population, and a rail transportation system in a way that was unique at the time. Indeed, there is no British equivalent to Llewellyn Park even in 1987, if we think of the multiacre individual lots, the substantial average size of the houses themselves, and the vast private preserve that is available for the exclusive use of the residents themselves .
*

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Suburbanization in England and North America, Journal of Urban History, vol.3., no.3, p.303.

2. 20TH-CENTURY, PRE WORLDWAR II

2.1. REASONS OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA IN THE PRE WORLDWAR II PERIOD

The reasons are the same as the previous ones again, but the first reason-transportation revolutions-developed in itself in the 20th-century so only this reason will be considered in this section.

2.2.1. Pul Factors

2.2.1.1. Technological Revolutions -----

2.2.1.1.1. The New Age of Automobility

In 1890s more perceptive observers realized that a transportation revolution was taking place, and that the United States was becoming the world leader in automotive technology. Unlike European manufacturers, who concentrated on expensive motorcars for the rich, American entrepreneurs easily turned to economical vehicles that could be mass-produced.

By 1908, 24 American companies were producing simply constructed automobiles at low prices. By 1918 there was one motor vehicle to every 8 people.

2.1.1.1.1. The Model T

In 1908 Henry Ford introduced a boxlike vehicle which was easy to operate, simple to repair, and dependable even under trying conditions.

By 1925 Ford was turning out 9000 cars per day, or one every ten seconds.

When Model T production finally ceased in 1927, the ownership of an automobile had reached the point of being an essential part of normal middle-class living.

By 1927 when the American total had risen to 26 million, the United States was building about 85% of the world's automobiles, and there was one motor vehicle for every five people in the country .

2.1.1.1.2. The Road Building Revolution

On the basis of the common good, many local governments applied general revenues to easing the way for the motorcar.

Changes in the construction and financing of public rights of way reflected not only new technology, but also new attitudes toward the function of streets. In the mid-nineteenth-century, when row houses predominated, the street was the primary open space, and it performed an important recreational function. By 1920, however, most urban residents and virtually all highway engineers saw streets primarily as arteries for motor vehicles.

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p. 162.

The idea of an expressway was first systematically applied in the United States. William K. Vanderbilt's Long Island Motor Parkway (1906-1911) was the world's first thorough fare restricted solely to the automobile, and especially designed for its needs.

Bridges such as that over the Delaware River between Philadelphia and Camden (1926) and the George Washington Bridge, which connected New York City with northern New Jersey in 1933, also spurred growth and increased the demand for feeder highways.

At the national level, rural interests such as the National Grange Association lobbied vigorously for better roads between farm and market. Gradually, urban spokesmen became more insistent, joining with farm groups to promote a national highway program. The Federal Road Act of 1916 offered funds to states that organized highway departments; The Federal Road Act of 1921 designated 200 000 miles of road as 'primary' and thus eligible for federal funds on a fifty-fifty matching basis. More importantly, the 1921 legislation also created a Bureau of Public Roads to plan a highway network to connect all cities of 50 000 or more inhabitants.

Clay MC. Shane has succinctly summed up the change: Thus, in their headlong search for modernity through mobility, American urbanites made a decision to destroy the living environments of nineteenth - century

neighborhoods by converting their gathering places into traffic jams, their playgrounds into motorways, and their shopping places into elongated parking lots. These paving decisions effectively made obsolete many of urban American's older neighborhoods^{*}.

2.1.1.3. Public Transit

Essentially, the street railways were being asked to provide rides for half price. The Boston Elevated Railroad, for example, never made a profit and declared bankruptcy in 1918. By 1925 buses were beginning to replace trolleys on the outskirts, where the long distances made the streetcars less economical, at least during a time of cheap gasoline.

In 1920 the Van Sweringen electric rapid transit lines reached Shaker Heights. Because 4 miles of that track ran along the old right-of-way of a railroad, the brothers bought the entire 513-mile railroad to realize their dream. Thereafter, the town boomed. In the next decade population grew by 1000 percent, and real-estate valuation increased more than five-fold^{**}.

Thus, Americans taxed and harassed public transportation, even while subsidizing the automobile like a pampered child. In New York City, by 1939, there were only 337 miles of streetcar track remaining in the city, and even those were scheduled for extinction.

* Source: *ibid.*, p.168.

** Source: *ibid.*, p.169.

Far from supplementing electric-rail systems, the automobile became the single form available, and the suburbs became abjectly dependent on a vehicle that demanded ever-larger resources in terms of street space, parking facilities, and traffic patrols. As early as 1940, about 13 million people lived in communities beyond the reach of public transportation.

2.2. THE SUBURBAN BOOM OF THE 1920S.

Those who gained the most from the automobile were those living in the newer suburban areas. Undeveloped land on the metropolitan fringes became prime residential real estate.

The decade after the end of worldwar I was the first in which the road and the car had full impact. Also in the 1920s, the rate of new household formation was moderately high, the rate of construction of new housing units was very high, and unemployment was moderate. The 1920 census revealed that only 46 percent American families were homeowners. In central cities, the proportion was even lower; 27 percent in New Orleans, 18 percent in Boston, 12 percent in New York. In the seven years between 1922 and 1929, however, new homes were begun at the rate of 883 000 per year, a pace more than double that of any previous seven-year period. Block after block of the American dream turned into one-story frame houses with chain-link fences, white ruffled

curtains, and wrought-iron posts holding up small front porches.

Long Island is built up for half its length to accomodate those who make New York the metropolis of America; so is New Jersey from Morristown to Long Branch and Jersey City to the Empire State boundary at Suffern. Even Connecticut as for Stamford, Greenwich, and New Canaan, is peopled with those who work in Gotham by day and sleep in the country by night .

The benefits of this suburban boom were not evenly distributed; the biggest gainers were usually those who owned close-in farms.

2.3. SUBURBANIZATION IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

In the economic depression of 1930s, unemployment rose to a fourth of the labor force—a rate which is the most severe that the United States had ever known. New household formation fell sharply and construction of new housing units dropped to a figure of less than 100 000 for the entire nation in 1933. Between 1928 and 1933, the construction of residential property fell by 95 percent, and expenditures on home repairs fell by 90 percent. The prolonged and mammoth economic downturn that followed the stockmarket crash in October 1929 brought the housing boom

* Source: *ibid.*, p.176.

of the previous decade to an abrupt halt. Hence, little additional land was required for residential uses in suburb, city, or countryside.

Meanwhile, the automobile never retreated. In all but the three deepest depression years, motor-vehicle registrations continued to rise and the 1940 total exceeded that of 1929 by 4.5 million.

2.4. CRITICS ON DECENTRALIZATION

During the twenties, regional planners, such as Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, and academic specialists in urban studies, such as Louis Wirth of the 'Chicago School' of sociologists, formulated a critique of modern American metropolis. Influenced in part by the notion that the passing of the frontier endangered democracy in America and by the new nostalgia for a more compact city built closer to the human scale, the first generation of professional 'urbanologists' implied that poverty, inequality, dependency, insanity, delinquency, and crime found their natural home in the city, and that the continuing concentration of a growing proportion of the total population in sprawling metropolises had produced a super-materialistic and hollow society.

The remedy struck a vital nerve the new nostalgia for small communities, and the contemporary movement to the suburbs. It stressed the need to counter sprawl by creating around the great centers, a ring of settlements that would offer the best of both rural and big-city life, and it stressed also the necessity of encouraging balanced rural-urban development in the countryside.

The new pattern, in Mumford's words, 'would permanently preserve the countryside for farming and recreation and bring together the neighborhood, the city, and the metropolis in a new constellation ... called the regional city.^{*}

3. POSTWAR SUBURBS

3.1. REASONS OF MOVEMENT TO SUBURBIA IN THE POST WORLDWAR II PERIOD

3.1.1. Push Factors

3.1.1.1. Population Redistribution -----

'Suburban fever' struck right after World War II ended. Millions of soldiers were returning home to their wives or sweethearts, only to find that there was no place for them to live. Meanwhile, the marriage rate, after a decade of decline, had begun a steep rise in 1940. Soon thereafter, the birth rate began to climb, reaching 22 per 1000 in 1943, the highest in 2 decades.

* Source: MILLER, Z.L., The Urbanization of Modern America, p.166

After the war, both the marriage and the birth rates, continued at a high level. In the decade beginning with 1948, more than 10 million new households were formed partly because of a high marriage rate, partly because of the accumulated backlog of unfilled or potential demand for separate households that had built up through depression and war. In brief, the demand for housing was unprecedented.

The postwar suburbanization, with its relatively large demands for land, may be looked at from the viewpoint of those families—typically young couples with small children—who bought homes and settled in suburbs—new household formation and new housing moved up sharply and together each being dependent on the other.

Single family housing starts spurted from only 114 000 in 1944, to 937 000 in 1946, to 1.183.000 in 1948, and to 1.692.000 in 1950, an all-time high. However, as Barry Checkoway has noted, what distinguished the period was an increase in the number, importance, and size of large builders... Whereas before 1945, the typical contractor had put up fewer than 5 houses per year, by 1959, the median single-family builder put up 22
*
structures.

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.233.

Quite apart from the fact that houses and apartments in older parts of the city were simply not available on a net increase basis, the young couples with children who bought a house in the suburbs found a good many advantages in doing so;

1. the suburban house was new-clean, fresh, full of modern gadgets,
2. it offered a way out of the ills of downtown or older residential areas and into a congenial community with desirable services, such as schools,
3. the suburban new house could be purchased for a relatively low initial outlay,
4. the monthly payments were offset to a significant degree by the federal (and usually state) income tax provisions, which permitted deduction of interest and local real estate tax payments, and
5. lastly, purchase of a home was a magnificent hedge against inflation; in fact, for the low down payment, the buyer had a hedge against inflation on the total price of his home.

In 1950 in the 20 largest metropolitan areas, 58 percent of the population lived in the central cities, whereas in 1960 these same cities accounted for only 49 percent of their metropolitan population. During the 1950s the population of these central cities increased only 0.1 percent, while the suburban population in their metropolitan areas increased by 45 percent.

Between 1950 and 1960, the central cities of all SMAs-Standardized Metropolitan Area- in the country increased in population by 10 percent, but if their territorial settlements are excluded, their increase was only 1.5 percent. In 1950 the Detroit suburb of Warren had 727 inhabitants; in 1960 it had over 89 000.

From 1950 to 1974, population in the US increased by 56.6 million, of which 39.5 million-70 percent was accounted for by growth in suburban rings, 7.9 million (14 percent) by central cities, and 9.2 million (16 percent) by rural areas.

3.1.1.2. The Loss of Community in Contemporary ----- America -----

Citizen identification with the city is now less than it was a century or more ago. Nineteenth-century communities were bothered by crime, class rigidity, social unrest, racial prejudice, epidemics, alcohol abuse, and fires. But they possessed a significant sense of local pride and spirit as a result of their struggles with other cities for canals, railroads, factories, and state institutions. In our own time, most observers have noted that alienation and anomie are more characteristic of urban life than a sense of participation and belonging.

* Source: STANBACK Jr, T.M., KNIGHT, R.V.,
Suburbanization and the City, p.3.

This is reflected in a general shift in the meaning of the word `suburban`. Whereas it once implied a relationship with the city, the term today is more likely to represent a distinction from the city.

The observant traveler can witness a similar phenomenon in the naming of streets and subdivisions. In the older sections of almost every American city—large and small, east or west—the streets of central areas are numbered... To live on a Fourteenth street, therefore conveyed several messages. It meant that your residence was fourteen blocks away from the central business district, and it also meant that you lived in an urban place. Not every nineteenth-century thoroughfare was numbered, obviously, but given names did have a certain logic to them. Many took the title of the city to which they ultimately led, as in Bedford Road, or after an important function or institution that was located there, as in Schoolhouse Road, Dock Street, Market Street, or Railroad Street. Thus, the street layout, the street name, and even the use of the word `street` itself all conveyed an image of urbanity.*

Finally, professional sports nomenclature offers a due to the demise of community. Until about 1960, professional athletic teams were almost always known by the names of the central cities they represented; the New

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., *Crabgrass Frontier*, p.273.

York Yankees, the Boston Celtics. In recent years, however, there has been a trend away from naming teams for cities.

Changing town, street, and athletic nomenclature is symptomatic of the deeper and more fundamental fragmentation of Metropolitan America. As we have seen, the private automobile has been the most important catalyst for this shift.

3.1.1.3. The Polarization of the Metropolis

America's large cities underwent a startling spatial transformation between 1815 and 1875. By the 1920s the exodus of the middle and upper classes from the urban centers had proceeded so far that sociologists at the University of Chicago constructed a concentric-zone model to describe the way in which residential neighborhoods improved in quality with increasing distance from the core.

After 1920, no one could deny that the inner cities were poor and that the suburbs were relatively rich. As the suburbs drew off the wealthy, central cities became identified with social problems.

The core has become identified in the popular mind with poor people, crime, minorities, deterioration, older dwellings, and abandoned buildings. Middle-and upper-income suburbs convey the opposite impression. The result

has been as detrimental to older cities as it has been beneficial to the newer suburbs.

After world war II, the social and economic polarization of large American Metropolitan areas became so pronounced that downtown areas lost their commercial hold on the middle class. Cities became identified with fear and danger rather than with glamour and pleasure.

3.1.1.3.1. Economic Polarization

A major corollary of the decentralization of population is the changing geography of poverty. Within metropolitan areas, concentrations of the poor, particularly those of social minorities have become an essential characteristic of many American cities.

As our large metropolitan areas attracted the poor, first from the rural south, but more recently from nations within Latin America and the Far East, their central cities often came to provide them residence while the suburbs generally attracted the more affluent.*

This spatial inequity has weakened the tax base of central cities making them less desirable places in which to live and work, while the tax base of most suburban communities has become stronger and services for their residents better. For example, in the central city of

* Source: Income Polarization Between the Central Cities and Suburbs of US Metropolises, American Journal of Economics and Socially, vol.48, no.1., p.3.

Atlanta in 1980 the share of households in the lowest income level was 24.4 percent while the share of households in this group in the suburban total was 8.4 percent.

The greatest increase in polarization of the poor between the central city and its suburbs took place during the 1960s. In that decade the median percentage difference of the share of households in the central city total, when compared with that of the suburban total, rose from 0.27 percent in 1960 to 0.44 percent in 1970. For the second and third lowest household income levels the increase was also high *.

The wealthy, who have been generally more successful in maintaining the socioeconomic character of their central city neighborhoods than the middle class has been, did not begin a rapid movement to the suburbs until the 1970s. Such polarization of the more affluent families within the nation's largest MSAs is testimony to the economic vitality of their suburbs when contrasted with that within their central cities.

Among the individual MSAs in any census year there were great differences in the degree of polarization of both the poor and the wealthy between their central cities and their suburbs. Those MSAs with high

* Source: *ibid.*, p.5.

polarization are commonly older, where large minority populations have arisen in their central cities.

By 1980 the share of the poorest households in the median central city of the nation's largest MSAs was far more than double the share of the poorest in the total suburban households, whereas the reverse was true of the share of the wealthy in the median central city. That share was only half that of the median suburban area.

3.1.1.3.2. Racial Polarization.

The racial polarization in the United States has been the source of a circular pattern of tensions that has increased the impetus of middle- and upper-class whites to leave for the suburbs.

Negroes did not share the move towards suburbia. For the most part, they didn't have the money, they still had only a small share of the economic pie. This meant that the income gap between rich and poor, white and black, was actually getting larger.

Even middle-class Negroes found it extremely difficult to buy a house in the suburbs because the color barrier was as strong as the financial barrier. When the first black family bought a home in the suburban development of Levittown, Pennsylvania, a near-riot ensued. Five hundred angry white homeowners confronted the Negro family the day they moved in.

Most builders of suburban developments would not sell to Negroes for fear their presence would drive away white. More often than not, these urban poor are also black, and they are part of what white Americans are trying to escape when they move to the suburbs.

The suburbanization of blacks, however has not followed the trends for population. In 1970, blacks comprised about 11 percent of the total US population and about 12 percent of the metropolitan population, but comprised only about 5 percent of the suburban residents.

Up to 1980, however, blacks have begun to move to suburbs in increasing numbers and at a greater rate. In the suburbs percent black has grown from 4.05 in 1950, to 4.20 in 1960, to 4.80 in 1970, to 7.14 in 1980 .^{*}

In 1968, the commission appointed by President Johnson to examine the causes of the urban riots reported that America was coming closer and closer to a state of 'apartheid'-that is, complete separation of the races.

The commission, headed by Otto Kerner, former Governor of Illinois, stated: 'Our nation is moving toward two societies... one black, one white, separate and unequal .'^{**}

* Source: STAHURA, J.M., Suburban Development, Black Suburbanization and the Civil Rights Movement Since World War II, American Sociological Review, vol.51, no.1., p.132.

** Source: HABENSTREIT, B., The Making of Urban America p.154.

Suburbanites are intent upon keeping out the poor and the black (usually equated as the same). They have several reasons for this. The suburban homeowner is afraid of losing social status, neighborhood associations and investment. These fears are based upon seven fallacies;

1. Negroes and whites do not mix.
2. Negroes are dirty and will spoil the neighborhood.
3. Entry of minority families into a neighborhood hurts the social prestige of the area.
4. The minority always goes where it is not wanted.
5. Once the minority establishes a beachhead, many more will soon follow and displace the once-dominant majority.
6. Property values go down wherever a minority moves into a neighborhood.
7. Homogeneity stabilizes value.

The outlook for the future of the central cities was very grave. If the process continued, the cities might well become decaying, crime-ridden reservoirs for the poor, while the middle classes—both white and black—lived in outlying suburban areas.

3.1.2. Pull Factors

3.1.2.1. Technological Innovations -----

3.1.2.1.1. Transportation Revolutions

3.1.2.1.1.1. Automobile Ownership

The most important factor underlying the dispersion of America's urban population was changing transportation mode. In the postwar era auto sales soared, and two-car families became commonplace. Although the population increased only 35 percent between 1945 and 1965, automobile registrations increased by 180 percent, from 26 million to 72 million. By 1963, the proportion of American families owning a car was 80 percent.

In every city reliance on the automobile was increasing and on public transit was declining. Freed from slow-moving transit lines and devoted to the greater flexibility of automobile, Americans now migrate farther from the urban core and often chose their residence without regard to bus routes and streetcar lines.

Between 1950 and 1980, when the American population increased by 50 percent, the number of their automobiles increased by 200 percent. Indeed during 1975-78 the population growth of counties at the metropolitan fringe increased at a rate one-third higher than that for 1970-75.

3.1.2.1.1.2. Highways

Without adequate highways, however, the automobile might well have proved a slower and more irritating means of travel than the public transit lines. Los Angeles pioneered the construction of urban expressways, opening the Arroyo Seco freeway shortly before the outbreak of World War II. After the war the California Metropolis resumed its ambitious superhighway program, and other cities followed its example.

Federal aid for highway construction began in 1916 and increased in virtually every succeeding year.

In 1951, the 'Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists' devoted an entire issue to 'Defense through Decentralization'. Their argument was simple; to avoid national destruction in a nuclear attack, the US should disperse existing large cities into smaller settlements. The ideal model was a depopulated urban core surrounded by satellite cities and low-density suburbs .

The Interstate Highway Act became law in 1956. This Federal Aid Highway Act authorized the construction of 41 000 miles of interstate freeways including 5000 miles in urban areas. However not a single word was said about the impact of highways on cities and suburbs, although the concrete thoroughfares and the thirty-five-ton

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.249.

tractor - trailers which used them encouraged the continued outward movement of industries toward the beltways and interchanges. Moreover, the interstate system helped continue the downward spiral of public transportation and virtually guaranteed that future urban growth would perpetuate a centerless sprawl.

Us now has the world's best road system and very nearly its worst public-transit offerings.

Municipal, county, and state government officials were more than eager to participate in the economic and political benefits accruing from large scale highway-building projects. They opened up broad expanses of territory to urban development as circumferential freeways inexorably began to define a metropolitan realm predicated on automobile ownership.

The absolute dominance of the highway and the car in America allows a more sprawling suburbia than the more densely developed metropolitan villages that are more closely tied to the railways around London.

Flexibility of transportation between city edge and city centre encouraged, in the America of the interwar years wild expansion of the main urban areas. Land agents and speculators rushed to lay out subdivisions for low-density dwellings, often in excess of the building plots which were demanded. Since such expansions took place in

areas which had rural forms of government and lower densities than obtained in cities, the financial burden of unsold, unused and unproductive lots was considerable.

What followed in the United States was the emergence of the low-density suburb, organized around the automobile and the single-family house, as the principal type of residential environment. The middle classes and then the working classes left the older cities in large numbers, abandoning them to the poor and, unintentionally but inevitably, to a spiral of decay and neglect. Unlike their predecessors, many migrants from small towns came to settle in the suburbs without ever passing through the cities. In the newer cities of the nation, built after entry into the automobile era, most of the urban area was developed in a pattern similar to the suburban extensions of the older cities. By the last quarter of the twentieth century, a majority of Americans were living in an environment which was once the exclusive habitat of the urban rich. It is not always recognized, however, that this type of residential environment is a typical of much of the world outside of North America. Other nations, just as modern, affluent, and advanced as the United States, have chosen different paths of urban growth.

3.1.2.1.1.3. The Drive-in Culture of Contemporary America

The automobile and the suburb have combined to create a drive-in culture that is part of the daily experience of most Americans.

3.1.2.1.1.3.1. The Garage

The drive-in structure that is closest to the hearts, bodies, and cars of the American family is the garage. It is the link between the home and the outside world.

3.1.2.1.1.3.2. The Motel

As the US became a rubber-tire civilization, a new kind of roadside architecture was created to convey an instantly recognizable image to the fast-moving traveler creating a ubiquitous example of the drive-in culture; the motel.

Between 1910 and 1920, however, increasing numbers of traveling motorists created a market for overnight accomodation along the highways.

3.1.2.1.1.3.3. The House Trailer and Mobile Home

The phenomenon of a nation on wheels, is perhaps symbolized by the uniquely American development of the mobile home.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, however, many people, especially salesmen, entertainers, construction workers, and farm laborers, were forced into a nomadic way of life as they searched for work, any work. They found that these temporary trailers on rubber tires provided the necessary shelter while also meeting their economic and migratory requirements.

No, longer a trailer, it became a modern industrialized residence with almost all the accoutrements of a normal house.

These new dimensions allowed for a greater variety of room arrangement and became particularly attractive to retired persons with fixed incomes. They also made the homes less mobile. More importantly, it provided a suburban type alternative to the inner-city housing that would otherwise have been available to blue-collar workers, newly married couples, and retired persons.

3.1.2.1.1.3.4. A Drive-in Society

With the automobile came the notion 'grabbing' something to eat. The first drive-in restaurant, Royce Hailey's Pig Stand, opened in Dallas in 1921, and later in the decade, the first fast-food franchise, 'White Tower', decided that families touring in motorcars needed
*
convenient meals along the way.

* Source: *ibid.*, p.263.

The biggest restaurant operation of all began in 1954, when Ray A.Kroc, a Chicago area milkshake-machine salesman, Joined forces with Richard and Maurice McDonald, the owners of a fast-food emporium in San Bernandino, California. In 1955 the first of Mr.Kroc's 'McDonald's' outlets was opened in Des Plaines, a Chicago suburb long famous as the site of an annual Methodist encampment.

Appropriately headquartered in Suburban Oak Brook, Illiniois, the McDonald's enterprise is based on free parking and drive-in access, and its methods have been copied by dozens of imitators. Later in 1984, on an interstate highway north of Minneapolis, Mc Donald's began construction of the most complete drive-in complex in the world. To be called Mc Stop, it will feature a Motel, gas station, convenience store, and of course, a Mc Donald's restaurant.

3.1.2.2. The New Laws That Made Incorporation Easy
and Annexation Unworkable

Suburbs are where the action is Land transfers, conversion of land from one use to another, and marked changes in land prices characterize the suburban fringe, which in most cases extends beyond the actual settled

areas for a few miles. Land speculators, land agents, land assemblers, developers, builders, financial institutions, insurance companies, public utility companies, and above all the buyers of residential property are engaged, under rules and programs laid down by various governmental organizations, in changing land from some open or relatively unused state to a developed and used one.

3.1.2.2.1. Support to Home Ownership

Since the early New Deal, the federal government has supported the home building industry and has helped its citizens to buy homes or to retain homes previously bought. This support to home ownership has greatly stimulated the rate and process of suburbanization. After the second world war, mass building of suburban housing was undertaken by the private home building industry, with the assistance of financial subsidies of various kinds from the federal government.

As a case in point, Levitt and Sons boasted the largest line of credit ever provided to a privately-owned builder... The success of the Levitt colossus was exemplified by its product, a well-designed suburban dream house for as little as \$56 per month.*

* Source: ROTHBLATT, D.N., Suburbia, An International Assessment, pp.32, 33.

3.1.2.2.2. The Breakdown of Annexation

A second cause of metropolitan fragmentation has been the inability of cities to extend their boundaries through annexation and consolidation. In the nineteenth century suburbs typically lost their separate identities because municipal governments adopted the philosophy that 'bigger is better' and expanded their populations and area by moving their boundaries outward.

In actuality, what was called urban growth was the building up and annexation of new residential communities on the edges. This has not been the experience of most of the large, older cities of the United States. Articulate, affluent, and against big municipal governments, they have chosen to reject political absorption into the larger metropolis.

The negative consequences of governmental fragmentation are especially evident in Newark. Along with Washington D.C., Newark is unusual in having lost more territory than it has gained, and its miniscule 24 square mile size is the dominant cause of many of its contemporary problems.
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* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p. 277.

The fact that the peripheral neighborhoods had then and usually have now the legal status of separate communities has given them the capacity to zone out the poor, to refuse public housing, and to resist the integrative forces of the modern metropolis. Thus, the problems of core neighborhoods are usually more serious than those of adjacent suburbs.

3.1.2.3. A Model For a Good Life

Most of the suburban dwellers harbored a view of their new suburban homes as paradise permanently gained. Suburbs were rich with ready-made visible symbols: patios and barbecues, lawnmowers and tricycles, shopping centers, station wagons, and so on, and that such symbols were readily organizable into an image of a way of life that could be marketed to the non-suburban public.

The myth of suburbia -as it called by Herbert J.Gans- fosters an image of a homogeneous and classless America without a trace of ethnicity but fully equipped for happiness by the marvelous productivity of American industry: the ranch house with the occupied two-car garage, the refrigerator and freezer, the washer and dryer, the garbage disposal and the built-in range and dishwasher, the color TV and the hi-fi stereo. Suburbia: its lawns trim, its drive ways clean, its children happy on its curving streets and in its pastel schools. Suburbia, California style, is America.

3.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF POSTWAR SUBURBAN LAND CONVERSION PROCESS

There are eight characteristics of suburban land conversion in the 20th century;

- 1- Decision-making in suburban land conversion is highly dispersed and fragmented. There is a considerable number of actors, each playing a particular role. No person or organization is responsible for the final result or for the whole job.
- 2- Some actors seek to thwart the action of others. Some suburbs have sought to attract some types of settlers or some types of economic activities and to repel others, irrespective of the effect upon the larger metropolitan area.
- 3- The suburban land conversion process has left a great deal of land unused at any particular time within the generally urban environment. Even within the urbanized areas as established by the Bureau of the Census, there is much vacant land; and within the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, far more land is vacant than is used for urban purposes.
- 4- The market for suburban land is highly imperfect, in economists terms. Land is not a homogeneous commodity; to a substantial degree, each parcel or tract is unique. Its location is fixed in a physical sense,

though its location vis-a-vis other land can be altered by improved transportation and communication facilities. The unit of suburban transaction is really the subdivision rather than the house lot, and the subdivision itself is highly variable in size. There are typically only a few buyers and a few sellers in the market at any particular time. The public processes of planning, zoning, and subdivision control are designed to bring some order into this land market. But it appears that they introduce uncertainty, increase the risk of land holding and development by making the form and the date of the land use conversion less predictable, and hence increase rather than diminish the imperfections of the market.

5- Partly as a result of these market imperfections, the price of suburban land is high and has been rising steeply, and there seems to be no suburban land whose rent or price is at an agricultural alternative level. The suburban land market is far from a fully competitive one, and the prices of land established in it have serious repercussions in terms of the kind of housing that is built.

6- A great deal of both private and public investment is made in growing suburban areas. As a rule, the cost of the public investment is inequitably divided, with the

older areas (in both cities and suburbs) often subsidizing newer suburban areas to a substantial degree.

7- The older legal cities are typically today not the full economic city of which they are a part; the economic city far exceeds the borders of the established legal cities. Thus there is typically a discrepancy between economic interest or responsibility and political power.

8- Urban and suburban growth and change create economic values which are external to the particular properties. Interdependencies in use and value dominate the uses and values confined to or arising from the tract itself. These externalities and interdependencies have been imperfectly measured, and generally there is no legal measure or recognition of value corresponding to the flows of economic values.

3.3. TYPES OF POSTWAR SUBURB

3.3.1. The Shopping Center

As more and more Americans responded to the advantages of suburban life, retailing had to adapt to the suburbanite's devotion to the automobile, and thus the shopping center was born by the mid-1930s. The concept of the planned shopping center, as a concentration of a number of businesses under one

management and with convenient parking facilities, was well known and was recognized as the best method of serving the growing market of drive-in customers. But the Great Depression and World War II had a chilling effect on private construction, and as late as 1946 there were only eight shopping centers in the entire United States. Later, the first major planned retail shopping center in the world went up in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1949.

Between 1954 and 1967 the number of retail establishments declined precipitously in the central city as did the volume of sales. The distinct downtown orientation of retail activity gave way to increasingly large regional centers by the early 1960s, a trend that was accompanied by the emergence of specialized developers capable of creating a standardized shopping center format that would appeal to what has been termed the 'vast monolithic middle-class market'.

During the 1970s, a new phenomenon -the super regional mall-added a more elaborate twist to suburban shopping. Throughout the nation shopping malls were becoming the centerpieces of suburban America where suburbanites communed and amused themselves as well as purchased shoes, clothes and gifts.

Boosters of such mega-malls argue that they are taking the place of the old central business districts and becoming the identifiable collecting points for the

rootless families of the newer areas. With ample parking as well suburbanites no longer felt the need or desire to make frequent trips to downtown department stores. For instance, by the close of the 1950s, residents in metropolitan Pittsburgh were travelling more often to suburban centers for Christmas season shopping than to downtown stores.

By 1984 the nation's 20 000 large shopping centers accounted for almost two-thirds of all retail trade, and even in relatively centralized cities like New York, Boston, and San Francisco downtown merchants adapted to the suburban shift. Easy facilities for parking gave such collections of stores decisive advantages over central city establishments.

3.3.2. Factories

The transition to vehicular transportation proved to be a prime cause of the deconcentration of jobs and industry-manufacturing, warehouse, and wholesale firms were joining the retailer and the resident in the migration to suburbia- a process that began before World War II. Just as the automobile encouraged the suburbanization of retailing, the growing significance of truck traffic encouraged the development of manufacturing plants and wholesaling facilities on the outskirts. For example, between 1939 and 1947 the number of workers employed in manufacturing increased in suburban areas at

a rate more than twice that in the central city. The central downtown business district in many cities was no longer as important for manufacturing or trade. Instead, the downtown district was increasingly becoming the location of business, of offices, and of services allied to business.

Manufacturing is now among the most dispersed of non-residential activities. Even tertiary industries, which do not utilize assembly-line processes and which require less flat space than larger factories, have adapted to the internal-combustion engine with peripheral sites. As early as 1963, industrial employment in the United States was more than half suburban based, and by 1981 about two-thirds of all manufacturing activity took place in the 'industrial parks' and new physical plants of the suburbs.

There are two major reasons for the dispersion of industry. First, a twofold change occurred in vehicular transport... Secondly, in response to assembly line technology and changes in the handling of materials, factories expanded in a horizontal direction, an imperative that could only be accommodated by larger and less-expensive suburban parcels of land... And once industrial decentralization began to occur, economies of scale, the creation of satellite and complementary employment, and the inevitable attraction of increased

population served to catapult suburbs into self-reinforcing patterns of economic and demographic expansion.*

3.3.3. Offices

Office functions once thought to be securely anchored to the streets of big cities, have followed the suburban trend. In the nineteenth century, businesses tried to keep all their operations under one centralized roof.

More recently, the economics of real estate and a revolution in communications have changed these circumstances, and many companies are now balkanizing their accounting departments, data-processing divisions, and billing departments. Just as insurance companies, branch banks, regional sales staffs, and doctors offices have reduced their costs and presumably increased their accessibility by moving to suburban locations, so also have back office functions been splitting away from front offices and moving away from central business districts.

3.4. LIFE IN POSTWAR SUBURBS

More than anyplace else, California became the symbol of postwar suburban culture.... The result has been a new type of centerless city, best exemplified by once sleepy and out-of-the way Orange County, just South

* Source: ROTHBLATT, D.N., Suburbia, An International Assessment, p.25.

and east of Los Angeles. After Walt Disney came down from Hollywood, bought out the ranchers, and opened Disneyland in 1955, Orange County began to evolve from a rural back water into a suburb and then into a collection of medium and small towns. It had never had a true urban focus. By 1980 there were 26 Orange County cities, none with more than 225 000 residents. Like the begats of the Book of Genesis, they merged and multiplied into a huge agglomeration of two million people with its own Census Bureau metropolitan area designation -Anaheim, Santa Ana, Garden Grove Unlike the traditional American metropolitan region, however, Orange County lacked a commutation focus, a place that could obviously be accepted as the center of local life.*

The numbers were larger in California, but the pattern was the same on the edges of every American city. And perhaps more important than the growing number of people living outside of city boundaries was the sheer physical sprawl of metropolitan areas. Between 1950 and 1970, the urbanized area of Washington D.C. grew from 181 to 523 square miles, of Miami from 116 to 429, while in larger megalopolises of New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, the region of settlement was measured in the thousands of square miles.

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p.265.

3.5. SUBURBIA BECOMING A PROBLEM

The move to the suburbs was almost self generating. As larger numbers of affluent citizens moved out, jobs followed. In turn, this attracted more families, more roads, and more industries. There are 10 phases of land conversion in the United States;

Phase 1 Habitation by nomadic Indians

Phase 2 Agricultural settlement

Phase 3 Suburban development

Phase 4 Annexation to large city; emergence as neighborhood

Phase 5 Maturation and stabilization of density

Phase 6 Aging of population; decline in density

Phase 7 Population succession by lower-income groups

Phase 8 Abandonment of some residences; crisis mentality

Phase 9 Emptying of neighborhood; reversion to recreation

Phase 10 Urban redevelopment or gentrification *

The positive result of this process is called 'filtering'. The construction of new housing in the suburb puts competitive pressure on the older housing stock, depressing its price.

* Source: *ibid.*, p. 286.

Some suburbs now contain giant shopping centers ringed with high-rise office buildings that rival older central business districts. In many metropolitan areas, suburbs now contain hospital complexes, colleges and universities, clusters of huge motels, legitimate theatres, fine restaurants, and even sports stadiums. They have also begun to exhibit many negative features of big cities, such as continual traffic congestion, smog, rising crime rates, and deteriorating older housing.

Simply put, the press of population into outlying districts transformed many urban problems into suburban problems. In some places suburbanites were started to discover that certain sections of the central city had more open space than they, and everywhere suburban crime rates rose, pollution spread across political boundaries, and barred automobile commuters complained that the expressways became so jammed during rush hours that they resembled gigantic parking lots. The crush on the subways and the mile after mile of bumper-to-bumper traffic on the freeways during the rush hours are viewed by many people in the New York Metropolitan Region as the most difficult aspect of their daily life. The vast number of automobiles that enter Manhattan each day, has been a key factor in making the air of New York City the most polluted in the United States.

Despite an increase in average incomes, the social problems in the suburbs, while somewhat different from those in the city itself, are as great as and in some instances greater than, those in the central city. The suburbs have grown rapidly in size, and they are still growing. Newer families and industries are continuously moving into areas which either have inadequate urban facilities or have none at all. As a result, local governments have found it difficult to keep pace with the ever-expanding need for new services.

But perhaps the most critical problems have involved suburban teen-agers. The problem of teen-age drug addiction -once confined mainly to the slum neighborhoods of the cities- has now spread to the suburbs.

By the late 1960s a significant proportion of the young and the women of the suburbs were in revolt against suburban culture and loyalties. The proportion of the public with a high level of trust in government dropped from 64 percent in 1964 to 35 percent in 1970 indicated that most people had lost faith in Mayor national leaders and parties.

It was problems such as these that drove people out of the cities in the first place. But even though the suburbs are not trouble-free, the problems there exist on a much smaller scale.

4. THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN SUBURBANIZATION PROCESS

Instead of even more deconcentrated nation, the long process of suburbanization, which has been operative in the United States since about 1815, will slow over the next two decades and that a new kind of spatial equilibrium will result early in the next century.

Quite simply, there are powerful economic and demographic forces that will tend undercut the decentralizing process;

1. The rising real cost of energy and the reduced availability of fluid fuels. Americans first realized that their low-density life style was dangerously dependent upon cheap fuel.
2. The cost of land. In the US, the percentage of the purchase price devoted to the purchase cost of real estate itself rose from 11 percent in 1948 to 29 percent in 1982.
3. The cost of money. The passbook savings that had provided almost 90 percent of home loans as recently as the mid-1960s accounted for only 25 percent by 1980.
4. Building technology. Technological change in the residential construction sector has lagged behind other sectors of the economy. The median price paid for a new home in the US tripled between 1970 and 1982, rising from \$30 000 to \$88 800.
5. The federal government, which did so much to spur

suburbanization after World War II, began to stress conservation, rehabilitation, and mass transit with the passage of the Community Development Act of 1974.

6. The changing structure of the American family. The American population no longer fits the stereotype of the nuclear family. The rise in the divorce rate, the decline of average household size (2.75 in 1980), and the movement of women into the permanent labor force have reduced the appeal of the big suburban house-
*
miles from work, neighbors and support services.

As the suburban world begins to experience unmistakable signs of decay, both central cities and rural areas are making a comeback.

No other nation, however, is likely ever to be as suburban as the United States is now, if only because their economic resources and prospects are even more limited than those of the American Republic. Thus, the United States is not only the world's first suburban nation, but it will also be its last. By 2025 the energy inefficient and automobile-dependent suburban system of the American Republic must give way to patterns of human activity and living structures that are energy efficient. The extensive deconcentration of the American people was the result of a set of circumstances that will not be
**
duplicated elsewhere .

* Source: *ibid.*, p. 297.

**Source: *ibid.*, p. 304.

5. THE LEVITTOWNS

The family that had the greatest impact on postwar housing in the United States was Abraham Levitt and his sons William and Alfred, who ultimately built more than 140 000 houses and turned a cottage industry into a major manufacturing process. Levitt and Sons, Inc., was founded during the Depression by the late Abraham Levitt and by his two sons. The Levitts continued to focus on the upper-middle class and marketed their tudor-style houses at between \$9.100 and \$18.500 .

5.1. THE FIRST LEVITTOWN-NASSAU COUNTY ON LONG ISLAND

In 1946, Levitt and sons, Inc., began the acquisition of 4000 acres of potato farms in the Town of Hempstead, where they planned the biggest private housing project in American history.

Initially limited to veterans, this first "Levittown" was 25 miles of Manhattan and particularly attractive to new families that had been formed during and just after the war. The first 1800 houses were initially available only for rental, with an option to buy after a year's residence, after 1949 all units were for sale only.

Ultimately encompassing more than 17 400 separate houses and 82 000 residents, Levittown was the largest housing development ever put up by a single builder, and it served the American dream-house market at close to the lowest prices the industry could attain.

This early Levitt house was as basis to post. World War II suburban development as the Model T had been to the automobile... As New York Times' architecture critic Paul Goldberger has noted, 'Levittown houses were social creations more than architectural ones-they turned the detached, single-family house from a distant dream to a real possibility for thousands of middle-class American families' .
*

The Levitts planted apple, cherry, and evergreen trees on each plot, however, and the development ultimately assumed a more parklike appearance. To facilitate development as a garden community, streets were curvilinear (and invariably called 'roads' or 'lanes'), and through traffic was shunted to peripheral thoroughfares. Nine swimming pools, sixty play grounds, ten baseball diamonds, and seven 'village greens' provided open space and recreational opportunities.

* Source: JACKSON, K.T., Crabgrass Frontier, p. 236.

The day the houses went on sale, a mob of thousands nearly broke down the doors of the company, and the houses were sold out almost at once, sight unseen, from building plans alone.

The houses were priced at \$ 7.990, including some of the major appliances.

Levitt was able to do this because of a mass-production system he had developed during the war to provide housing for military personnel. Once the war ended, he used the same techniques to build inexpensive private housing. Other builders rushed to follow his lead.

Long Island's Levittown -Long Island suburb of New York City- gave rise to much of the early moral and aesthetic indignation leveled at suburbia.

5.1.1. The Setting

For centuries this grassy, flat, virtually treeless basin (on Long Island) had been an agricultural area. The flat land so perfectly duplicated the vast barren stretches of the open West that 'western' movies were filmed there in the 1920s by eastern film companies.

When Levitt and Sons bought the land from the potato farmers of the area, they were thinking of a subdivision of 2000 units, each to rent for sixty dollars a month- at the time the housing shortage created by

returning veterans and the absence of construction during the war years indicated a modest demand for low-rental housing. By the end of May 1948, however, the demand was holding up surprisingly well, and land enough for 4000 houses had been acquired. By February 1949, Levitt had built 6000 units, and given his name to a rapidly growing community. Three years later, on November 20, 1951, the last house in the project was completed.

Levitt also provided school sites at strategic intervals; he built 14 park-playgrounds; and for each 2000 families he provided a \$150,000 swimming pool. Toward the end of the construction period, he built a \$200,000 community center (Levittown Center) containing meeting rooms and an auditorium. By this time winding streets made it painful to drive through the community. Levitt built a limited-access highway (Levittown Parkway) which sliced through the northwest corner of the development.

His architects had conceived of an attractive, functional house within the means of blue-collar as well as white-collar families. They set the houses along curving streets and landscaped each section. The trim houses, pastel colors, fresh lawns, and winding streets were delightful to the eye, and the young families that settled into Levittown in those early years cherished it at all.

5.1.2. The Demographic Structure

5.1.2.1. Race and Ethnic Origins

In 1960, Levittown's 15 741 dwelling units housed 65 276 people; there were 4.2 persons in each Levittown household, in contrast to 3.5 persons in households in the county. In the 1960 Census, only 220 Levittown residents were non-whites... The largest single group among Levittown's population for which an ethnic attachment is still comparatively strong is Italians. They constitute about one-fifth of the foreign-stock residents. Other significant foreign-stock groups are German, Russian, and British *.

5.1.2.2. Age

Levittown in 1950 was an extremely 'young' suburb. It is only a little less so now, in spite of considerable movement in and out of the community. Nearly a third of the community was under five years of age in 1950. In 1960 the largest age group was the 5-to-9 year category but it claimed only a sixth of the entire Levittown population. A fifth of the community was 25 to 29 years old in 1950, but only a twentieth in 1960. In 1960, a tenth of the population was 35 to 39 years old **.

* Source: Cities: Where People Live and Why, Sociological Resources For the Social Studies, p.27.

**Source: ibid.,

5.1.2.3. Educational Achievement

Levittown was significantly better educated than Nassau County and the New York Region in general. The high rate of educational achievement in the early years of Levittown was partly a function of its remarkable youth.

5.1.2.4. Class Structure

Levittown consisted of young middle-class families in 1950. There was no elite, no wealthy, prestigious, powerful upper class. There were no shanty families no clusters of the ethnically undesirable. Abundantly visible was middle-class America-the young veterans, their wives and sturdy children- all the excitement of a new way of life for these essentially city families.

By 1960 Levittown was no longer so clearly middle class. Ethnic concentration is high. From all these clues we can infer that the class characteristic in Levittown has drifted from middle to working class.

5.1.3. A Community In Change

If Levittown was a model of suburban homogeneity in 1950, it is no longer. The clash of conflicting internal forces has rendered the community a heterogeneous assemblage of urban families. The rise of working-class elements has eroded the formerly middle-class ethos of the

suburb. Furthermore, the Levittown population clearly reflects, perhaps now more than ever, the conflicts between ethnic and religious minorities so long a characteristic of cities. Only nacially has Levittown remained homogeneous.

In a real sense, Levittown faces many of the problems of cities without having the usual political powers of cities. However, it doesn't want to think of itself as a city with city problems: heterogeneity, density, and change.

It is no surprise that the families in Levittown had to appeal for an increase in state aid for schools. The community had no industries to help with the increasing tax burden. The low tax base in Levittown is one of the results of population homogeneity- that is, all the residents are of similar means. Initially, the population was middle income, consisting of young married couples who moved to the suburbs to raise children. Today many of these children are young adults and the tax sources of the community are providing inadequate for expanding needs.

About 400 of the original settlers are still there, trees have grown to shade the houses and families have striven for individuality with paint and landscaping.

There are large shopping centers, school and recreational facilities. It is difficult to find a Cape Cod house as the Levitts originally built it. The 17 447 houses of the community were put up on plots averaging 60 by 100 feet, and sections have been added to the originals. Houses that sold for between \$7000 and \$10.000 in the early 1950's were worth as much as \$40 000 in the 1970's.

5.2. THE SECOND LEVITTOWN-LOWER BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

November 8, 1951, is a day to be remembered throughout America. It was a day the largest residential home builder in the world changed the life style of thousands of American citizens. It was the day that people of low and moderate income became a partner and sharer of the opportunities in the free enterprise system. It was the day a \$100 deposit bought you a ranch type home, on a minimum lot of 70'x100' in a proposed planned, fully landscaped openspaced, garden community with paved roads and all utilities. It was the day, which five year later, would produce 17 311 homes and involve a population of over 67 000 residents. It was the day Levitt and Sons opened their sales office at the intersection of Route 13 and Levittown Parkway .

* Source: POPENOE, D., The Suburban Environment, p. 112.

So reads the introduction to the brochure prepared for the twentieth-anniversary celebration of Levittown Pennsylvania, June 23, 1972.

In the 1950's the Levitts shifted their attention from Long Island to an equally large project near Philadelphia. Located on former broccoli and spinach farms in Lower Bucks County, Pennsylvania, this new Levittown was built within a few miles of the new Fairless Works of the United States Steel Corporation, where the largest percentage of the community's residents were employed.

5.2.1. The Setting

Levittown, Pennsylvania, located in southeastern Pennsylvania about 22 miles northeast of Philadelphia. The Levitt Organization quietly purchased 5750 acres of land, mostly farmland, from between 150 and 175 different owners. In addition to housing, Levitt built over ninety-seven miles of roadways; donated ground sites for churches, schools and recreation areas, helped to establish a private sewer and water authority; built five Olympic-size swimming pools and a community center (donated to the community under the auspices of a nonprofit Levittown Public Recreation Association); and constructed what for a time was the largest shopping center with a pedestrian mall east of the Mississippi (sixty stores at a cost of \$20 million).

As a building and development process, Levittown was a good example of planning, American-style : the comprehensive development of a large land area by a private builder, as distinct from unplanned, piecemeal development by a multiplicity of small builders and individual owners.

The approximately 17 300 single-family homes are grouped into seven or eight superblocks, each of which is bounded by the major arterial roadways and contains, at its center, the public schools. The housing along the major roadways faces inward, and access to the superblocks is made possible at only a few points via collector streets.

The superblocks, in turn, are divided into forty named neighborhoods ranging in size from 51 to 990 homes, with an average size of 430 homes. Each neighborhood with names like Stonybrook, Crabtree, North Park, and Junewood is bounded by a circumferential collector street which inhibits, to a large extent, through traffic. The neighborhood street plan was designed so that there are few four-way intersections, and almost all the interior streets are curved rather than straight, providing an additional impediment to through traffic. The collector street carries the same name as the neighborhood, and all of its interior streets have names which start with the

same first letter. Thus Stonybrook harbors, Starlight Lane, Sweetbriar Lane, Strawberry Lane, and Swan Lane.

Though every house in a single neighborhood is the same type and on a lot of about the same size (the houses range from the two-or three-bedroom "Rancher"--really a Cape Cod), the exact design and external color of the houses were varied.

Levittown is basically a large, preplanned housing development on the edge of a metropolitan area; what is often called a "packaged" suburb.

The elements of the Levittown residential Environment.

There are five major elements; the single-family detached house, the yard, the street, the automobile, and the vegetation or landscape. The spatial relationships between these elements are repeated throughout the environment: the house fronts on a street and uniformly, is sited in approximately the center of its yard; resting to the front or side of the house, or in the street, is the automobile.

The dominant visual element in the neighborhood is the individual dwelling unit. The smallest of the Levitt houses has only 1000 square feet of floor space, with a very small kitchen, a dining el, and two or three bedrooms.

There is a much greater privatiation of life in suburbs like Levittown than has been characteristic of most communities throughout world history. With the exception of work activities outside the home, most of the daily life of Levittown adults is lived in house and yard, an almost completely private world.

The automobile is the Levittowner's one means of transportation within the community and his main link to the outside world. Services and facilities are too dispersed to get to them on foot. Typically, each adult member of the family has a car.

The fourth environmental element is the street, a hard surface which functions mainly to provide ease of movement for automobiles and as a parking lot. There is no "street life" in Levittown. The street has one other function, as a place for children's play.

Sidewalks were not added to the list of major environmental elements because they do not exist in the newer and wealthier sections. In the older neighborhoods, the sidewalk becomes an extension of the front yard or perhaps an extension of the street.

Levitt claims to have spent \$500 per house on landscaping. The residents are very proud of the result, and it is one of the positive attributes of Levittown most commonly mentioned.

5.2.2. The Demographic Structure

The population in 1970 was 75 071. This represents an increase of about 9 percent from 1960, most of which is accounted for by the addition of new, non-Lewitt housing units within the Levittown tracts.

5.2.2.1. Race and Ethnic Origins -----

The community in 1975s had only about a 1. percent black population. Though Levittown, Pennsylvania, is more heterogeneous in social class than the suburban stereotype would lead one to expect, it matches the stereotpe precisely in racial composition, which remains virtually all white.

The first black, the William Meyers family, moved into the Dogwood neighborhood of Bristol Township in 1957. The move caused a near riot, as irate neighbors milled about in the streets in front of the house for several evenings, hurling stones and shovling epithets .
*

The 1970 census revealed black populations in the Levittown census tracts ranging from 0.0 percent to 1.9 percent- the latter a tract in which a number of blacks lived outside the Levitt area.

* Source: *ibid.*, p. 123.

In respect to other aspects of ethnicity-religion and national origin- the situation is very different. Levittown is one of the more ethnically heterogeneous communities in the nation. Shortly after Levittown was built in 1953, a survey showed a religious distribution in the population of 41 percent Protestant, 15 percent Jewish, 39 percent Roman Catholic, and for the remaining 5 percent no denomination.

The 1960 census revealed that 20 percent of the Levittowners were of foreign stock: 15 percent of these were foreign-born and 85 percent native-born but of foreign or mixed parentage. Italians were the predominant foreign nationality (16 percent), followed closely by British (15 percent) and Russian (14 percent). Smaller in number were Polish (9 percent), German (8 percent), and a variety of other nationalities, including Swedish (1 percent).

5.2.2.2. Age

TABLE 1: The 1970 age distribution in the sample census tract

0-4	11%
5-19	37%
20-44	33
45-64	17
65+	2

Levittown is the habitat of the intact nuclear family.

5.2.2.3. Class Structure

Levittown is not class-homogeneous. For all nine Levittown census tracts in 1960, the occupations of gainfully employed males were distributed as follows: 20 percent upper middle class (professional, technical, and kindred); 30 percent middle class (managers, officers, and proprietors, 12 percent; clerical and kindred 8 percent; sales, 10 percent) and 49 percent working class (craftsmen, foremen, and kindred, 24 percent; operatives and kindred, 18 percent; service workers, 3 percent; and laborers, 4 percent).

In the sample tract in 1970, the division of male occupations was 68 percent working-class and 32 middle-class, whereas for female occupations the division was just the reverse- 68 percent middle-class and 32 percent working-class.

5.2.3. A Community In Change

The residential turnover during the 1960s resulted in a slight decline in the social-class level of the population; higher-class families have been replaced by families lower in class standing.

The automobile is still the overwhelming choice as a means of transportation to and from work. At the same time, the number of families owning more than one car

jumped from 23 to 55 percent (8 percent in 1970 owned three cars or more). In comparison, only 18 percent of the families in the Philadelphia area had two or more cars.

The worst instance of automobile blight is the abandoned vehicle; cars are left commonly in the street or the front or side yard.

Levitt did nothing to limit the number of automobiles in his development, but he did seek to maintain a high degree of environmental control in other ways. The most noteworthy of these ways was his inclusion, in the homeowner's manual which each Levitt home purchaser received, of a number of "do's and don'ts" Among the restrictions were the following: (1) no homeowner could put up a fence...; (2) he could not change the color of his house without the approval of the Levitt Organization; (3) no wash could be hung outside on
*
sundays and holidays...

To what extent do residents abide by these rules today? In one block picked randomly in a working-class district, 75 percent of the houses had backyard fences... In the upper-middle-class districts the use of fencing
**
was significantly less...

* *ibid.*, p. 116.

** *ibid.*,

Apart from canine activity, Levittown has a lifeless quality during the day which is characteristic of all low-density suburbs. In barest terms, Levittown is a large housing development, a dormitory suburb.

TABLE 2:

	Average American Family	Average Levittown Family (Data Approximate)
Location of residence Race	Metropolitan Suburb White	Metropolitan Suburb White
Age of adult male	44	42
Age of adult female	41	39
Years of education completed	12.2	12.4
Number of children	2.35	2.2
Size of house	5 rooms	6 rooms
Value of house	\$17 000	\$22 000
Number of cars	1.25	1.8

Source: POPENOE, D., The Suburban Environment.

Recreation in Levittown is mostly a private activity of home and yard. Every Levittowner has a yard large enough for a small swimming pool, a badminton set, and a barbecue.

There is also within the Levittown area a system of parks and playgrounds operated by the separate townships.

Levitt's main contribution to recreation in the area was the establishment, in 1953, of the Levittown Public Recreation Association (LPRA), an organization of special interest because it is one of the few Levittown-wide organizations in existence and was in the early years an important bond between Levittown residents. While the capital cost of the facilities was paid by the Levitt organization, their upkeep and improvement are financed by annual fees; \$30 per family in 1975s. The fee also entitles members to use the facilities and services of the LPRA's community center during the winter months.

By North American standards, the facilities and services of Levittown are, in general, more than adequate. However, some important facilities are almost entirely absent in Levittown. There are few child-care centers, few youth centers, and almost no facilities for the elderly, the poor, the handicapped. Moreover, there are almost no facilities or activities, except for those of religious institutions, which involve all age groups together.

5.3. THE THIRD LEVITTOWN-WILLINGBORO TOWNSHIP, NEW JERSEY

In the 1960s, the Levitt forces shifted once again, this time to Willingboro, New Jersey, where a third Levittown was constructed within distant commuting range of Philadelphia. This last town was the focus of Herbert Gans's well-known account of The Levittowners.

The spread of suburbia has cut up deeply into America's remaining countryside. There is not very much land left now that can really be called "rural", for much of it has been engulfed by the suburban sprawl.

The Levittown in New Jersey used to be a sparsely settled area of small farms where peaches, plums and tomatoes were grown. Even though it was only 17 miles away from Philadelphia; it was rural in character and appearance.

After World War II, suburbia reached out towards Willingboro Township, fanning out in an ever-widening ring around Philadelphia. As the inner lands filled up suburbanites spilled over into the outer regions. Finally, Levitt and Sons bought up a huge tract of land in outlying Willingboro, put up 12 000 homes and changed a rural area into a suburban one .

* Source: HABENSTREIT, B., The Making of Urban America, p. 149.

5.3.1. The Setting

A fairly complete plan of the community was developed, including an overall road system, a community-wide sewage and water supply system to be built before the community was occupied, and a generalized scheme for shopping, including both a regional retail center and a series of local ones, and for locating schools and churches.

The three types of houses were mixed on each street: a four-bedroom "Cape Cod" initially selling for \$11500; a three-bedroom, one-story "Rancher" for \$13 000; and two-story "Colonial", one with three, another with four bedrooms and costing \$14000 and \$14500 respectively. Each house type was built in two elevations but with the same floor plan, and was varried in external color to effect yet more visual heterogeneity.

The shopping center located at the edge of the community, was designed by a nationally known architect. Perhaps the principal innovation in the new Levittown was the mixing of house types.

Although the firm expected to build 12 000 houses by 1965, it had only put up about 6000 by that date.

The firm went to a considerable effort to keep the monthly payment figure as low as possible. The salesmen were carefully selected and trained to contradict the image of the fast-buck, easy-talking salesmen traditionally associated with real estate.

Perhaps the most important outside influences were the federal government, which through FHA insured the mortgages of the purchasers, and the banks who purchased them.

5.3.2. The Demographic Structure

In 1958, before Levittown, New Jersey, was occupied, the township contained about 300 households. By 1960, the number had risen to 2978 (totaling 11 861 individuals), and by 1964, to about 6200 households (with about 25 000 individuals).

5.3.2.1. Race and Ethnic Origins

Until the state enforced a nondiscrimination law, salesmen refused to sell to Negroes. In time, integration was accomplished peacefully, with little open hostility from the white residents. Care was taken to see that Negroes were scattered throughout the community, rather than being grouped together in one area.

Thirty-seven percent of the families were Roman Catholic; 47 percent were Protestant; and 14 percent were Jewish, the majority Conservative... The vast majority, 66 percent, were third and fourth generation Americans; 28 percent were second generation and 6 percent were foreign born. Thirty seven percent reported being of Northern European origin (English, German, or Scandinavian); 17 percent were Eastern European (mostly Russian Jewish with a scattering of Poles); 10 percent, Irish; 9 percent, Southern European (mainly Italian), and the remainder a heady mixture of all of these backgrounds .

5.3.2.2. Age

Levittowners were, like many other suburbanites, primarily young families who came to the new community to raise their children. At the time of their arrival in 1958-1960, almost four fifths of the men were under forty; 44 percent were between the ages of thirty and forty.

Median family size, according to the 1960 Census, was 3.90,

* Source: GANS, H.J., The Levittowners, pp. 23, 24.

5.3.2.3. Educational Achievement

Being mainly young people, Levittowners' educational levels were fairly high. According to the 1960 Census, 43 percent had attended college, 27 percent graduating; only 28 percent had not received a high school diploma .

5.3.2.4. Class Structure

At time of arrival, the median family income of the population was \$7125... Eighteen percent of the men were professionals, 56 percent were white collar workers, and 26 percent were blue collar workers. Among the white collar workers, 13 percent were managers and minor officials; 18 percent were technicians and semiprofessionals; and the remaining 25 percent were in clerical and sales work... Most of the Levittowners worked in the offices, stores, and electronics and other manufacturing and research plants in Philadelphia and Camden, but 12 percent were in the armed forces, principally as Air Force pilots . These people commuted back and fourth. In this sense, they were city-oriented people, for they didn't depend on the town or each other for their livelihoods. This is one of the fundamental differences between a suburban community and a rural town, where people work as well as live.

* Source: *ibid.*, p. 23.

**Source: *ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

Although statistics suggest that most Levittowners were lower middle class, they still overestimate the upper middle and working class populations.

Most New Jersey Levittowners who bought in the first two years-77 percent-came from the Philadelphia metropolitan area, nearby New Jersey counties, and the states surrounding New Jersey. Many purchasers were mobile.

People's reasons for moving to Levittown were primarily the need for more spacious housing and the desire to own a free standing house- "to own home", as many put it. (Table 3).

The purchasers have moved to Levittown either because they needed to leave their prior residence or because they were attracted by suburbia and by Levittown- because they were pushed or pulled. More were pushed than pulled, 55 percent indicating the former, 34 percent the latter. (Tables 4 and 5).

5.3.3. Research Findings of Gans About Levittown New Jersey

Some of the most important are:

- 1- the majority of Levittown families were relatively young and were headed by white-collar workers;

TABLE 3: PRINCIPAL REASON FOR MOVING FROM PREVIOUS
RESIDENCE BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY

PRINCIPAL REASON	PERCENT OF PURCHASERS		
	Urban	Suburban	All ¹
HOUSE-RELATED REASONS	<u>60</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>58</u>
Need for more space	24	27	26
Want homeownership and free-standing house	17	21	18
Dwelling too hard to maintain, or want new and modern house	9	4	7
Moving out of parents' house	4	2	4
Evicted, need less space, etc.	6	4	3
COMMUNITY-RELATED REASONS	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
Inadequacy of schools, other facilities for children	2	1	1
Dirt, noise, other physical inadequacies	2	1	1
Racial change in neighborhood	4	0	1
Other dissatisfactions with social aspects of neighborhood or community	1	1	1
General dissatisfaction with neighborhood or community	10	3	5
JOB-RELATED REASONS	<u>19</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>29</u>
Transfer by employer	11	17	15
Change of job	7	11	9
Want shorter journey to work	1	6	5
OTHER	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
N	(170)	(238)	(520)

¹ Also includes people from small towns, farms, army camps

SOURCE: GANS, H.J. The Levittowners, p.33.

TABLE 4 : PRINCIPAL REASON FOR BUYING IN LEVITTOWN,
BY TYPE OF PREVIOUS

PRINCIPAL REASON	PERCENT OF PURCHASERS		
	Previous <i>Urban</i>	Community <i>Suburban</i>	<i>All</i> ¹
HOUSE-RELATED REASONS	<u>85</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>84</u>
Value: "Best house for the money"	48	48	48
Low price.	16	21	16
Low down payment	6	7	7
Amount of space	2	1	2
Modernity, other qualities of house	13	7	11
COMMUNITY-RELATED REASONS	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Provision of schools	*	*	*
Playgrounds, pools, other facilities for children	2	0	1
Shopping, other facilities for adults	2	1	1
Neighbors, other social aspects of community	1	1	1
JOB-RELATED REASONS	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
Journey to work	4	6	6
Business and professional opportunity in Levittown	1	2	2
OTHER	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
N	(159)	(222)	(484)

* Less than 0.5 per cent

¹ Also includes people from small towns, farms, army camps

SOURCE: GANS, H.J., *The Levittowners*, p. 35.

TABLE 5 : PRINCIPAL ASPIRATION FOR LIFE IN LEVITTOWN,
BY SEX

PRINCIPAL ASPIRATION

Comfort and roominess for family members in new house
Privacy and freedom of action in owned home
Furnishing and decorating the new house
Working around the house and yard, in garage and workshop
Carrying out normal family roles: being a homemaker (W); providing for family (M); a better place to raise children
Better family life: more time with and joint activity among family members
Better social life: making new friends, having good and sociable neighbors
Relaxed peaceful outdoor living
Using Levittown's recreation and shopping facilities; enjoying the convenience of its facilities
A new start or a better life; being part of a new community
Settling down in a community
Being active in churches and clubs
Being active in civic affairs; having a voice in the community
A shorter journey to work

Other
None
N

• Less than 0.5 per cent

SOURCE: GANS, H.J., The Levittowners, p. 39.

- 2- although few families were nonwhite, there was much variation in ethnic, religious, and occupational backgrounds;
- 3- most residents had moved to Levittown from the surrounding area primarily in a search for new or more spacious housing and also with the desire to own a home;
- 4- on the average, time spent in traveling to work did not change significantly with the move;
- 5- for most families, time spent by parents with children increased or remained the same after the move;
- 6- in a sample which had moved from Philadelphia, more wives reported an increase in activities with their husbands than reported a decrease;
- 7- on the average, visiting with neighbors was greater after the move than before;
- 8- most residents reported less loneliness and boredom after the move;
- 9- unwanted conformity to neighborhood pressures and abdication of individuality seemed rare.*

* Source: FEAGIN, J.R. (Edited), The Urban Scene, p. 84.



A P P E N D I X B

11.8.1959

Donca

Sayın Necmettin Bey,

Malum enerji durumuna şimdide
Çayır ova daki teknik laboratuvarlar, Okulu
Müdürlüğü tarafından müskülât çekil-
mektedir.

Şöyle ki menafiyi umumiyeye karar
olduğu halde rekâletten yaza gelmedi
diye mani oluyorlar bu işler ise men-
sürlükler için gün meselesidir. Maluma-
tınıza arz ettiğim saygılarımla

Etibarlı ins.
Teknisyeni
Fikret Umut

Bayramođlu Sahil Mahallesi
İmar Plânı Raporu

Mahallenin Umumi Karakteri :

Bayramođlu Sahil Mahallesi turistik bir dinlenme sitesi olarak plânlanmıştır. Marmara Denizi'nin bütün tabii güzelliklerini toplayan bu yarım ada plajları, su ve deniz sporları ile sakin iskan ünitelerinden teşekkül edecek olan, bu sitede kurulacak her tesisin ana gayesi dinlenmeye matul olmalıdır. Bu itibarla iskan üniteleri bahçe içinde, ayrik nizam olarak, Mehtap Koyu sahil şeridi üzerinde ise, Blok apartman halinde de inşa edilip olacaktır ve böylece toplu insan yaşantısını sürdürebilen üniteler de yer yer inşa edilmiş bulunmaktadır.

İmar ve İnşaat Nizamı iki tane kalın mütalâa edilmiştir:

a) Turistik Baha: Otel, Motel, Dinlenme, İldik ve evleri gibi v.s. (Bu gibi tesisler ancak plânda gösterilen Mehtap koyunda yapılabilir) bu kısmın imar durumu :

Maksimum arazi kullanma katsayısı	:	30
Toplam Döşeme alanı	:	1.4
Maksimum yükseklik	:	24,50 olacaktır.

b- Mehtap Koyu bahçe, mahallesi'nin tamamı yukarıda izah ettiğimiz esas vasfına uyarak bahçeli evlerden teşekkül edecektir. Her parsel bir inşaat ünitesi olarak mütalâa edilmiştir. Yapılacak her bina, yüz aldığı yoldan kat olacak ve arsa mülherinden ölçülme üzere 6.50 altıbuçuk metre (Yünlü iki katı aşmayacaktır.) Binaların komsu hudutları üç metreden aşağı olamaz. Binaların ön bahçeleri de en az 5 metre olacaktır. Binaların ön, arka ve bahçelerinde garaj v.s. gibi herhangi bir müstamlâat yapılamaz. Arsa ve binaların yol hudutlarına yapılacak duvarlar 60 cm den yüksek olmayacak ve komsu hudutları yeşil çitlerle veya azami bir metre yükseklikteki ince ve zarif tel kafeslerle kapatılabilir. Deniz kenarındaki binalar da katlarını cephe aldıkları yoldan, almak suretiyle bu nizamla tamamen bağılı olup sahil den istifade bakımından, bu kotu olarak altına inebilirler. Çatı menzilleri § 33 den fazla yapılamaz. 6.50 metre irtifadan sonra yapılacak çatılar içine iskan üniteleri konamaz.

İFRAZ SAKLIARI :

Plânın hazırlanmasında esas gaye dinlenme ve turistik inşaat olduğu için arsalar 350 metreden az ve cepheleri 15 metreden küçük olarak ifraz edilmez.

UMUMİ TESİSLERİ :

Plâj, Gazino, Otel, Motel, dinlenme blok ve evleri gibi v.s. tesisler plân ve programlarının icabı olarak yaptırılacak olan avan projeleri yukarıda tesbit ettiğimiz azami ve azami ölçüler dışına çıkmayacaktır. Ancak bu husus, Mimarı-Rantablito ve program icabından dolayı gereklidir.

PLÂN TATBİKATI :

Plân tatbikati ilâhî banuların şunulleri içinde ve her bir belediyesine mütalâa edilecektir.

İMAR
Gürhan ÇURSU

T.C.

DANIŞTAY

Altıncı Daire

Esas No:1978/2438

Karar No:1980/709

-5-

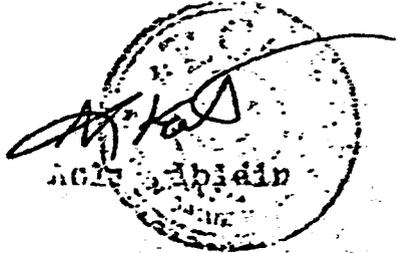
X-Azlık Oyu : İmar Kanununun 26. maddesinde, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığının lüzum gördüğü hallerde, içerisinde veya civarında demiryolu veya karayolu geçen belediye ^{veya} köy imadutları içinde veya dışındaki sahalarda İmar ve yerleşme planlarının tasarrufları veya bir kısmının ilgili belediyelerin kararlarına lüzum kalmaksızın yapmaya yetkili olduğu kararla bölendiğinden ve dava konusu İmar planının yapıldığı saha içerisinde demiryolu ve karayolu geçtiğinden bu yer için İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca re'sen İmar planı yapabileceği kanımıyla İmar planı hakkındaki davanın reddi gerekeceği oyu ile kararın ~~ve~~ bu kısma karşıyım.

Başkan
Orhan Tüzemen

XY-Azlık Oyu : İçerisinden veya civarında demiryolu veya karayolu geçen sahalarda İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca re'sen İmar planı yapılabileceği İmar Kanununun 26. maddesinde ügürünlüğü olması karşısında, içerisinde demiryolu ve karayolu geçen Barıca Belediye imadutları içerisinde Bayramoğlu mevkiinde İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca ilgili belediyenin kararına gerek bulunmaksızın yapılan dava konusu İmar planında bir usulsüzlük bulunmadığı ve yine bu saha için tesbit olunan kâğıt kenarlarında yörenin koşullarına ve bölgenin özelliklerine uygun olduğu kanımıyla davanın reddi gerekeceği oyu ile çözümlük kararına karşıyım.

Üye
Selahattin Metin

AB/



ER 12

R A P O R

Gebze Asliye Hukuk Mahkemesinin 977/133 D.İş sayılı tesbit dosyası için Mahkemece re'sen Fen bilirkişi tayin edildim.

Tesbit isteyen M.Necmettin Bayramoğlu, Darıca Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesiinde 30 pafta 6507 ve 6383 no.lu parsellerin 1/2 hissesine maliktir. M.Necmettin Bayramoğlu 10.8.1977 tarihli dilekçesi ile yukarıda numaraları yazılı parsellerin Deniz cephelerine halen doldurulup denizde yer kazanılıp kazanılmadığı hususunun tesbitini istemiş ve 10.8.1977 tarihinde mahkeme heyeti ile birlikte mahalline gidilmiştir.

Mahallen tarafımdan yapılan pafta ve Darıca Belediyesi tarafın-
dan onanmış sureti bulunan kıyı kod çizgisi tatbik edildiğinde:

- 1- Halen iki parsel üzerinde inşaat temel hakriyatının yapıldığı,
- 2- Denizin doldurularak yer kazanılmadığı,
- 3- Mezkur parsellerin deniz cephelerinin denizden kadim bir rıhtımla ayrıldığı ve mülkiyet sınırı ile kıyı kod çizgisinin buradan geçtiğine dair işbu rapor tarafından tanzim ve imza edilmiştir.

Yüksek Mahkemeye saygı ile sunulur. 16.8.1977


HIRSAN BAŞ
Harita Mühendisi
Tapu Fen Aniri

MAHALLENİN UMUMİ KARAKTERİ :

Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi Turistik bir dinlenme sitesi olarak planlanmıştır. Marmara denizinin bütün tabii güzelliklerini toplayan bu yerin ana plânları, su ve deniz sporları ile sakin iskân ünitelerinden teşekkül edecek olan, bu siteye kurulacak her tesisin ana gayesi dinlenmeye matuf olmalıdır. Bu itibarla iskân üniteleri bahçe içinde, ayırık nizam olarak, Mehtap Koyu sahil şeridi üzerinde ise, Blok apartman halinde de düşünülmüş olmakta ve böylece toplu insan yaşantısını sürdürecektir. Ünitelerde yer verilmesi sağlanmış bulunmaktadır.

İMAR VE İNŞAAT NIZAMI İKİ ÜNİTE HALİNDE MÜTALAK EDİLMİŞTİR.

A- Turistik Saha: Otel, Motel, dinlenme, Blok ve evleri gibi v.s. (bu gibi tesisler, ancak planda gösterilen Mehtap koyunda yapılır.)

VE BU KISMIN İMAR DURUMU :

Maksimum arazi kullanma katsayısı	% 30
Toplam döşeme alanı	1,4
Maksimum Yükseklik	24,50 olacaktır.

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İFRAS SAİTLARI :

Planın hazırlanmasında esas gaye dinlenme ve Turistik iskân olduğu için arsalar 350 metre kareden az ve cepheleri 15 metreden küçük olarak ifraz edilmez.

UMUMİ TESİSLER :

Plaj, Gazino, Otel, Motel, Dinlenme Blok ve evleri gibi v.s. tesisler plan ve programlarının icabı olarak yaptırılacakları avan projeleri yukarıda tesbit ettiğimiz azami ve asgari ölçüler dışına çıkabilir. Ancak bu husus, mimari-Rentablite ve program icaplarından olması gereklidir.

PLAN TATBİKATI :

Plan tatbikatı imar kanunu gumalleri içinde ve Darıca Belediyesiince yürütülecektir.

Y. Mimar
Burhan GURSU

İmza

ASLININ AYNIDIR?

26/3/1971

E. Sahel

T.C.

İMAR VE İSKAN BAKANLIĞI
Belediyeler Tokunak Hizmetleri
Genel Müdürlüğü

ANKARA

30 Haziran 1972

A C B L R

SAYI: 4101/7601-77 2153

İ. B. A. Limited Şirketi'nin
Kuruluşu İçin

KOCATEPE VALİLİĞİNE
(İl İmar Müdürlüğü)

Bakanlığımıza gönderilen 21.6.1972 günlü ve İ. B. A. Limited Şirk. ŞT. 31-
sayılı yazıya ilişiktir.

Bakanlığımızca onaylanan "Beyazıt Sahil Mahallesi" İmar planı, İmar
Koruma Çiziminde de teklif edildiği gibi plan İmar raporuna göre
İmar planı ile ilgili olarak, yukarıda sözü geçen İ. B. A. Limited Şirketi'nin
İmar planı ile ilgili olarak, Bakanlığımızca onaylanıp Belediyemize
İmar planı ve raporu gönderildi. İmar Kanununun ve Bakanlık
teklif edilen yazıya göre işleme ve sonuç hakkında Bakanlığımızca
İmar planı ile ilgili olarak

3285

[Handwritten signature]

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı

Genel Müdürlüğü
Belediyeler Tokunak Hizmetleri
Genel Müdürlüğü

[Handwritten notes and signatures]
11/06/72
5.7.1372
[Signature]

Stamp area with handwritten numbers: 4101/7601-77 2153 and 319421

İMAR VE İSKAN BAKANLIĞI
Belediyeler Teknik Hizmetleri
Genel Müdürlüğü
ANKARA

30 Haziran 1972

A C D B E

Sayı : 410397601-713-3153

Konu : İ B A Limited Şirketinin
müracaatı İhk.

KOCAELİ VALİLİĞİNE
(İl İmar Müdürlüğü)

İlgi

Bakanlığımıza gönderilen 21.6.1972 günlü ve İ B A Limited Şirket.
57 sayılı yazısı ilgilidir.

Bakanlığımızca onaylanan "Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi" imar planı,
İmar Huzumnamesinin 21. maddesinde de belirtildiği gibi plan isah raporuy-
la birlikte bir bütün teşkil ettiğinden, yukarıda sözü geçen İ B A Limited
Şirketi yazısındaki istek görününde tutularak, Bakanlığımızca onaylanıp
Belediyesine tebliğ olunan imar planı ve raporu gereğinin icar Kanununun
ve Huzumnamesinin 29 maddeleri uyarınca tezelden yerine getirilmesi ve so-
nuç hakkında Bakanlığımıza bilgi verilmesinin tezinini rica ederim.

İmar ve İskan Bakanı

3285

TAMER ÖZTÜRK

Belediyeler Teknik Hizmetleri
Genel Müdür İhtivini

Eki : 3 adet yazı örneği

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı

6-71. 926 3 9.4.21

30.6.1972

*Eki fotokopi aslından
çekilmiştir. Bunda fotokopi
okunmadığı için Aslından
kopye çekilmiştir.*

Kastel inşaat, Taahhüt ve Ticaret A.Ş. Erkom Sanayi ve Ticaret Adi Komandit Şirketi'nin ilanı, Milliyet, 16 Haziran 1978.

Bayramoğlu'nda Balyanoz Koyda Müstakil Deniz Villaları,

- 32 Aileye
- 18 0000 m2 arazi üzerinde kurulmuştur
- 4 ayrı tipte 32 villa
- Her villa toplam 330-480 m2 alan üzerinde
- Tüm villalar denize karşı
- Her villaya 3 arabalık özel otopark

Sosyal Tesisler:

- 13 000 m2 yemek ve oyun salonları, diskotek ve Roma meyhanesi
- Yüzme havuzları
- Snack-bar, duşlar, soyunma ve güneşlenme bölümleri, anfiteatre şeklinde disko pisti
- 75 m'lik sahilinde özel plajı, rıhtımı, iskelesi, motor ve yelkenleri bağlama mahalleri
- 600 m2'lik bir çocuk bahçesi
- 300 tonluk hidrofor sistemli su deposu
- 250 kwa gücünde trafo merkezi
- 30 arabalık genel otopark

Basın Sitesi Yanı.

Diğer bir ilan ise Temmuz 1988, 17. sayısında Şehir Dergisi'nde çıkan yine Kastel inşaatın ilanıdır:

"Böylesini rüyanızda bile göremezsiniz: Darıca Bayramoğlu'nda, Deniz Kenarındaki Kastel Sahil Kasabasında Peşinatsız 144 ay Vadeyle Sabit Fiyat Garantisiyle Büyük Ödeme Kolaylığı Getiren Kademeli Taksitlerle Daire ve Villa Sahibi Olacaksınız".

- Kastel Sahil Kasabası
- Derhal Tapu
- Kastel Sahil Kasabası'nın Bayramoğlu'nun en güzel yerinde, Balyanoz Koyu'nda deniz kenarında 535 000 m2 alan üzerinde kuruyor. Deniz kenarında 2400 daire, 848 villa...

"500.000 TL Taksitlerle Daire Sahibi Olacaksınız"

- 40 bloktan oluşan 2400 daire

"1.000.000 ila 3.000.000 TL Taksitlerle Villa Sahibi Olacaksınız"

-Bu Kasabada neler var?

- + 30'u aşkın yüzme havuzu
- + 2 kapalı olimpik yüzme havuzu
- + 28 dükkanlı özel çarşı
- + 50 000 m2'lik alanda basketbol, voleybol, tenis sahaları
- + Yürüyüş parkurları
- + Tanzim edilmiş, asfaltlanmış ve ışıklandırılmış yollar
- + Tanzim edilmiş, çimlendirilmiş, ağaçlandırılmış yeşil alanlar ve bahçeler
- + Yat limanı ve mendirek

- + Sosyal tesisler, eğlence ve sosyal hizmet lokali, kulüp ve dinlenme lokali
- + Otoparklar
- + Fitness Center (saunalar ve jacuzzi)
- + Jimnastik salonu
- + Kapalı spor salonları
- + Buz pateni sahası
- + Tekerlekli paten sahaları
- + Squash
- + vb.....
- Konutlarda neler var?
- + 16 kanal uydu anten
- + Komple mutfak
- + Komple banyo
- + Kalorifer
- + Hızlı asansörler
- + 200 000 tonaja varan su depoları
- + Villalarda şömine ve barbekü, müstakil kat kaloriferi

Daireleriniz: Her daire dublex veya normal 100 m2 olup 3 oda, salon, mutfak, banyo, çift wc ve balkonlardan oluşuyor.

Villalarınız: ... Tümü dumlex. Büyüklükleri 150 m2 ile 190 m2 arasında. Farklı tiplerdeki bu villalar; Tekevler, ikizevler, Sıraevler, Atriumlu (Avlulu) Evler ve Organik Evler isimlerini taşıyor.

Ayrıca 3 katlı evlerden oluşan Terasevlerin her katı müstakil bir daire ve 150m2 genişliğinde;

- 3-5 yıl içinde konutlarınıza geçeceksiniz.
- Daire ve villalar 1991 ve 1993 arasında peyderpey bitirilerek sahiplerine teslim edilecektir.

Proje Mimarı: Melih Koray.

İlanın yayımlanmasıyla birlikte Kastel inşaat arsa sahibi ile anlaşamamış ve inşaat başlatılamamıştır. Bu Kastel inşaatın son girişimi olmuş ve Bayramoğlu'nda pekçok yazlık site inşa eden Kastel inşaat gelecekte de burada söz sahibi olma isteklerine iflas nedeniyle son vermek zorunda kalmıştır.

BAYRAMOĞLU'NDA "TEKSAS" KURALLARI GEÇERLİ KILINDI,
Yalçın PEKŞEN.

Akıllı bir iş adamının başlattığı "Bayramoğlu hareketi" bugün inşaat sektöründe oynanan oyunların iç içe geçtiği tüm örneklerinin yan yana sergilendiği bir mahalle durumuna gelmiştir. Darıca'ya bağlı olan üç kilometrelik kıyı şeridi artan ilgi yüzünden bugün tam bir şantiye görünümündedir.

Biraz daha yer kazanmak, binalarını biraz daha görkemli hale getirebilmek için bir tatil merkezi olan bu yerde kamuya açık 1 m2 yeşil saha bırakılmamıştır. Deniz doldurmaları yüzünden kıyı şeridi son yıllarda 2 kez değiştirilmiştir. Darıca Belediyesi Mimarları, "bugün bir araştırma yapılırsa, Bayramoğlu için yeni bir kıyı şeridi haritasına gerek vardır" diyorlar.

Bu yolla denizden kazanılan alan 250 000 m2 civarındadır.

Bayramoğlu'nda geçerli kurallar 1930 yıllarının "texas"ında geçerli olan kurallardır. Yasalara saygısızlık ve boşverme hatta uyarılara karşın, karşı çıkma tek geçerli kural olmuştur.

Deniz kıyılarına yapılan inşaatlarda 100 m hatta 30 m'ye kadar inşaat yapılamaz kuralı burada inşaat yapanları sadece güldürmektedir. Çünkü denize 2 hatta 1 m yakınlıklarda 4 katlı apartmanlar ilgililerin gözleri

önünde yükseliyor. Bu yapıların eski tarihlerde yapıldığı sanılmasın. Bugünlerde sürüyor bu inşaatlar ve atılan temellerin durumuna bakılırsa daha da sürecek.

Darıca Belediye Başkanı Hasan Ciddi bu yapıların bir kısmının yasal ruhsatlara dayanarak yapıldığını söylüyor. AP'li eski Belediye Başkanı elinden geldiğince dağıtmış bu ruhsatlar. Onun v ermediklerini de imar ve iskan Bakanlığı tamamlamış ve "özel izinlerle" inşaatların sahipleri kendi başlarına işleri yürütmeyi sürdürmüşlerdir. Darıca Belediyesi'nin yaptığı ilk saptamalara göre, ne iskan izni ne de ruhsat izni olan yapıya onlarca rastlanmıştır.

Keçi yolları; öte yandan tek veya en fazla 2 katlı evler yapılacağı düşünülerek geniş bahçeli villalar arasında bırakılan yollar şimdi yükselen 9-10 katlı blokların arasında keçi yolundan farksız duruma gelmiştir. 7-10 milyon lira arasında satılan kat sahiplerinin hemen hepsinin son model olan Mercedesleri bu yollardan yan yana geçememektedir. Yaz geldiğinde aynı yollara arabaların da park edileceği düşünülürse Bayramoğlu'nda bu yaz tatile çıkacakların biraz sıkıntılı günler geçireceği anlaşılıyor.

Tüm bunlar yetmiyormuş gibi Bayramoğlu'nun Darıca Belediyesi'nde bulunan planına göre, denize açılan 3 yol, bu yol yolların hemen ucunda bulunan yalılarının

sahiplerince kapatılmış, gerçekten güzel bahçeler durumuna getirilmiştir. Ancak, bu bahçelerin tek mahsuru aslında halkın denize inebileceği yollar üzerinde kurulması ve birgün mutlaka yine halkın denize inmesi için kullanılacağıdır.

Darıca'nın CHP'li yeni başkanı Hasan Ciddi bu konu üzerine "ciddi" olarak eğilmiş görülmektedir. İlk iş olarak Darıca Belediyesi'nin malı olarak Bayramoğlu'nda bulunan tek parseli ele geçirecek ve halkının buradan denize girmesini sağlayacaktır. "Ele geçirecek" diyoruz. Çünkü "Abaza Şükrü" adlı bir şahıs tarafından işgal edilmiş durumdadır. Adının "Abaza Şükrü" olduğu belediye arsasının üzerine kurduğu ve etrafını tel örgülerle çevirdiği salaş lokantasının üstüne astığı tabeladan anlaşılan bu şahıs Hasan Ciddi'nin kulağına gelenlere göre, onu epey uğraştıracaktır.

Pislik içinde yüzenler; 9-10 katlı binaların lağım sularını denize akıtmaları başka bir sorundur. Hasan Ciddi bu konuyla da önümüzdeki yaz uğraşmak kararındadır. Burada oturan insanlar kendi pislikleri içinde yüzmeye razı olsalar bile. Olmayacaktı söylediğine göre.

Başka bir konu da belediye hizmetlerinin özel kişilerce yürütülmesinin önüne geçmektir. Öyle özel firmalar türemiştir ki, Kartal Sular Birliği'nden alınan sular, hatta TEK kurumundan alınan elektrik bile

Bayramođlu'nda özel şahıslar eliyle abonelere satılmakta, parası da yine bu özel şahısların cebine girmektedir. Hasan Ciddi "devlet içinde devlet" bu firmaların da önüne geçmeye kararlıdır.

Hatta bu işlere ucundan kıyısından başlamıştır bile. İş başına geldiđi 3 ay içinde ruhsatsız olarak başlayan bir kaç inşaatı durdurmuş, hatta yıkım işine bile başlamıştır. Ancak birlikte gezdiğimiz Bayramođlu'nda ruhsatsız oldukları için bir yandan yıkılırken, bir yandan yine ruhsatsız olarak yapılan binalara rastladık. Hatta bunların yan yana ve aynı müteahhite ait olanları bile vardı. Örneğın Mahmut Özderici adlı bir müteahhit, bir kısmı yıkılmış bir inşaatın hemen yanında ve denize 2 m mesafede yeni bir binanın temellerini attırıyordu ustalarına.

Belediyeye Ne; Bayramođlu'nun çamurlu yollarında bir Mercedes duruyor yanımızda. Kürk yakalı paltosu içinde arabadan inen şahıs yanımıza geliyor Belediye Başkanı Hasan Ciddi ile konuşmaya başlıyor: "Sayın abim, bizim kat irtifakları daha çıkmadı mı?"

Hasan Ciddi bu işi biraz beklettiklerini söylüyor.

Müteahhidin yüzündeki yumuşak ifade siliniyor. "Bak babam sana birşey söyleyeyim iskan alınmış, ruhsat verilmiş, Belediye'ye ne? Belediyeye ait bir şey değil ki..."

Darıca Belediyesi'nin mimarı Bakanlıktan gelen bir emirle kat irtifaklarının belediyelerce yapılacağını hatırlatıyor. Yine yumuşuyor müteahhidin yüzü: "O halde yapın abim. Tam satış mevsiminde olur mu bu?..."

"Yapacağız" diyor Hasan Ciddi yeniden. Öyle anlaşılıyor ki, Bayramoğlu'na yasal bir düzen getirmeye kararlı. Dolıştığımız yerlerde, peşimizden 8-10 kişilik bir kalabalık izliyor bizi. Görünüşleri pek dostane değil. Yine de birşey söylemiyorlar, uzaktan bakmakla yetiniyorlar. Hasan Ciddi, kuşkuyla gözlerle izliyor bu adamları zaman zaman. Görünüşe bakılırsa bu adamlardan pek çekinmeyecek ve "devlet içinde devlet" bu yörede Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kanunlarının uygulanması için uğraşacak. Ama aynı devlet daha sonra kendisine sahip çıkabilecek mi? işte sorun burada.

Cumhuriyet, 27 Ocak 1978.

Turistik Bölgede yapılacak istenen Tersaneye ait tanımlanmış alanın içinde bulunan mülklerin halindeki yazıların Fihristi.....

- Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi ve Turistik Bölgeye ait Plan.
- Gebze Kaymakamı Vekilöğlu İzzet, Tapu Sicil Müdürlüğüne muhatap 18/2/960 tarihli yazı, ve Kocaeli Valisi Alaaddin Eriş İzzet, Gebze kaymakamlığına muhatap 13/11 sayılı yazı.
- Tugrul Akçura imzalı, Bölge Planlama dairesine muhatap 15/12/962 tarihli yazı
- Gebze Kaymakamı Salahattin Altay imzalı, Kocaeli Vilayeti makamına muhatap Top. İskan Md.İçiş. ile ilgili 16/4/963 tarihli yazısı.
- Şehirçilik dairesi ve İmar İskan Bakanlığı yerine Turgut Tunçay imzalı; Kocaeli Valiliğine muhatap 11/6/963 tarihli yazı sureti, ve orif onurdaç imzalı Gebze Kaymakamlığına muhatap 1/7/963 tarihli yazı sureti.
- Gebze Kaymakamı Salahattin Altay imzalı, İba Limited Şirketine muhatap 8/7/63 tarihli yazısı.
- Ahmet Kurtazoğlu Kollektif Şirketi tarafından, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Harita ve Planlama Genel Müdürlüğüne yazdığı yazı sureti.
- Gebze Kaymakamlığı tarafından Vilayet makamına yazılan 6/4/964 gün ve 341 sayılı yazı ile ilgili yazı sureti.
- Darica Belediye Reisliği tarafından Gebze Kaymakamlığına yazdığı 13/4/964 gün ve 28 sayılı yazı ile ilgili yazı sureti.
- İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı tarafından, Kocaeli Valiliğine muhatap 21/5/964 tarihli yazı sureti.
- İBA Limited Şirketi tarafından Kocaeli Valiliği yüksek katına arz ettiği 4/3/965 tarihli yazı sureti
- Kocaeli Valisi Bekir Süphü Aktan imzalı, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına muhatap 5/3/965 tarihli Turistik Böl. Tersane yapmak istenen meyanulu yazı
- İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı yerine müsteşar Nihat Yonon imzalı, İba Limited Şirketine muhatap 12/ Mart/965 günlü dilekçe ile ilgili yazı sureti.
- İBA Limited Şirketi tarafından İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına yazılan (ve Bayramoğlu Çözümleme derneğinin) alakalı bulunduğu yazı sureti.
- İBA Limited Şirketi tarafından İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına yazılan 12/3/965 tarihli yazı sureti.
- Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı tarafından İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına yazılan 16/3/965 tarihli Balyanöz Köyündeki Tersane yapımı hakkındaki yazı sureti.
- Kocaeli Valisi Bekir Süphü Aktan imzalı, İ- İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına, 2- İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Planlama Md. İstanbul adresine yazılan 19/3/965 tarihli usulüne yazılma hakkındaki yazıları sureti.
- Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı tarafından, Ulaştırma Bakanlığına muhatap 18/6/965 tarihli yazıları sureti.
- Turistik sahaya dahil Bayramoğlu Sahil mahallesi içinde yapılacak tersanenin belirlenmesi ve mahzurlarını gösterir not.
- İBA Limited Şirketi tarafından İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına yazılan 29/4/965 tarihli, Tersanenin yapılmasının belirlenmesi hakkındaki yazısı.
- Balyanöz Köyünde Tersane inşaatı tekrarı ettiği takdirde Turistik saha için doğuracağı mahzurları gösterir not.
- Doğu Marmara'da Tersane seçimi hk. da Bakanlıklar arası Rapor.
- Kocaeli Divil Savunma Komisyonunun 4/3/965 tarihli raporu.
- Kocaeli Valisi Bekir Süphü Aktan imzalı, Genel Kurmay Başkanlığına yazdığı 6/3/965 tarihli yazısı.
- Hımarlar Odası İstanbul Şubesinin görüşünü bildiren Ankara Hımarlar Odası'na yazdığı 5 sayıfalık raporu,
- İBA Limited Şirketi tarafından Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığına yazdığı Yazısı
- " " " " " 12/3/965 Ta. Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Bşk. yazdığı yazısı sureti.

*Bundan sonra ekli Planın Tas.
Tik edildi.*

Tapu Sicil Muhafızlığına
Gebze

Darica Belediye Başkanlığı 30/1/1960 Tarih ve 48 Sayılı Yazak.

1- Belediye meclisince inkişaf sahası olarak kararlaştırılan ve birinci derecede İmar Planı yapılması arzu edilen Darica belediye sınırları dahilinde mankafa burun ile yolkenkaya arasındaki hattın batı ve sahil kısmında bulunan bölgenin turistik bölge olması Kocaeli Valiyetince muvafık görüldüğü ve keyfiyetin İmar ve İskan vekaletine arz edildiği ve neticeye intizar edilmekle beraber bu bölgeye zarar verecek olan inşaat ve tesislere şimdilik müsaade edilmemesi hakkında Kocaeli Valiliğinin 17/2/1960 tarih ve Toprak İskan Müdürlüğü 311 sayılı emrin sureti aşağıya çıkarılmıştır. Buna göre hareket edilmesini ve keyfiyetin Belediye'ye tebliğini rica ederim.

2- Darica Nahiye Müdürlüğüne , Tapu Sicil Muhafızlığına yazılmıştır. 18/2/1960

Gebze Kaymakamı
Faruk Cemal Vekrioğlu.
İmza

Kocaeli Toprak ve İskan Müdürlüğü 17/2/1960 tarih ve 311 sayılı yazıları suretidir.

132/II

Gebze Kaymakamlığına

1/2/1960 gün ve tahrirat kalemi 34/II sayılı yazınıza karşılık.

Kazandı Darica Nahiyesine bağlı ve Belediye sınırları dahilinde bulunan Bayramoğlu sahil Mahallesinin krokide gösterildiği ve hile Turistik bölge olması Valiliğinizce muvafık görüldüğü ve keyfiyet İmar ve İskan vekaletine arz edilmiştir.

Neticeye intizar edilmekle beraber iş bu Turistik bölge dahil ve bu bölgeye zarar verecek olan inşaat ve tesislere şimdilik müsaade edilmemesini rica ederim.

Kocaeli Valisi
Alaaddin Eriş.
İmza

Bölge Planlama Dairesi Başkanlığına,

Surecini ilişik olarak sunduğumuz İBA Şirketinin 265 Sayı ve II/12/962 Tarihli dilekçesinde Darıca Balyonoz Koyunda bir Tersane ile bir Kontrplak Fabrikası inşaatına bağlanmakta olduğu, Ancak bu alanın 8/7/960 tarihinde Bakanlığımızca tasdik edilen Darıca Mücavir alan Planında Turizm sahası olarak kabul edildiği söylenmektedir.

Resmi Plan sınırları içinde kalan bu alanda san'ayi tesislerine Darıca Belediyesince ruhsat verilmemesi ~~ve~~ ve inşaatı mani olunması zorunluluğu açıktır.

Mevzu bahis Kontrplak Fabrikasının dilekçesi ekli İlyas Kuriş'e ait olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. mezkur dilekçeyle müracaat'a 22/II/962 tarih ve 204 sayılı yazımızla menfi mütalada bulunduğumuzu da tekrar hatırlatırız.

Buradaki Resmi Plan'ı uygulamak vazifesinin mahalli idareye ait olduğunu Genel Müdürlüğümüzce Darıca Belediyesine durumu müstaceliyetine ivedilikle bildirilmesini arz ederim.

Tuğrul Akçura

Eki:
İlyas Kurişin dilekçesi
İBA Şirketinin "
1 Plan

Vilayet Makamına
Kocaeli

Toprak ve İskan Md.

İlgi: 2/4/1963 gün ve 347 sayılı yazıya K.

İstanbul Bayındırlık ve Malzeme işleri İBA Limited Şirketinin, Turistik sahasının korunması hakkındaki İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına verilen 20/12/1962 tarihli dilekçesi eklice iade edilmiştir;

Dilekçede istenilen konu incelendi:

Bayramoğlu sahil mahallesi Ankara-İstanbul asfaltına, asfalt yolla bağlı, mahallenin içi yine asfalt yollar ve muntazam parsellerle ayrılmış, Elektrigi, Şuyu bulunan ve içindeki evleri çok muntazam Turistik yerlerden bulunmaktadır.

Mevcut bulunan plaj, gazino ve dinlenme evleri 6086 sayılı Turizm Endüstrisini teşvik kanununun birinci maddesi ve bu kanunun açıklamasına ait Bakanlar Kurulunun 25/1/1964 gün ve 4/2269 ve 1/9/1958 gün ve 4/10712 sayılı kararlarıyla tasdik edilen Turizm müesseselerinin vasıflarına uygun bulunmaktadır.

26/11/1960 gün ve 1849 sayılı emirlerde, bu saha İmar ve İskan Bakanlığının 8/7/1960 gün ve 3026/7257 sayılı emirleriyle mücavir saha olarak tasdik edilip sanayi tesislerinin yapılmasının uygun bulunmadığı bildirilmiştir.

Yukarıda arz edilen sebepler tahdanda İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca mücavir saha olarak kabul edilen ve ilişik olarak sunulan haritada kırmızı ile taralı ve Otel, Motel ve İskana tahsis edilecek Turistik, sahil mahallesiyle Cam Fabrikası arasındaki ve yine mahalle ile Darıca Feneri arasındaki, sahaya sanayi tesislerinin yapılmaması uygun mütalaa edilmektedir.

Bu husus yorinde görüldüğü takdirde ruhsat verilmemesi konusunda Darıca Belediye Reislğine bildirilmesine müsaadeleri arz olunur.

Selahattin Altaş.
Gebze Kaymakamı.

İMAR VE İSKAN BAKANLIĞI
Planlama ve İmar Genel Md.
Şehirçilik Dairesi Bşk.

Ankara
13/6/1963

Sayı : 410351001/4185
Konu : Darıca Mücavir sahaları Hk.

Kocaeli Valiliğine ;

İlgili 27/4/1963 gün ve 438 sayılı yazınızı ;

İlinize bağlı Gebze İlçesi Darıca Bucagının Turistik tesisler ve İskan tahsis olunan mücavir sahaları eyvelden Bakanlığımızca onanmış Kuzeyde Cam Fabrikası , Güneyde Darıca Feneri arasında kalan Turistik saha içinde sanayi tesisleri yerleşimi Şehirçilik prensipleri bakımından uygun görülmemektedir.

Bilgi alınmasını ve alakalılarına böylece bildirilmesinin te-
minini ehemmiyetle rica ederim.

İmza
Turgut Tuncay
Şehirçilik Dairesi Bşk.
İmar ve İskan Bakanı Y.

T.C.
K O C A E L İ
Toprak ve İskan Müdürlüğü.

Sayı : 663
Konu : Darıca Mücavir sahaları Hk.

Kocaeli
17/7/1963

Gebze Kaymaklığına

İlgili 16/4/1963 gün ve Toprak-İskan 15 sayılı yazınızı ;
Darıca Mücavir sahaları hakkında bu koruma İmar ve İskan Bakanlığın-
dan alınan 13/6/1963 gün ve Planlama ve İmar Genel Md. Şehirçilik Daire-
si Bşk. 410351001/4185 sayılı emirlerinin bir örneği aynen yukarıya çı-
karılmıştır.

Bakanlık Emirleri gereğince, Kuzeyde Cam Fabrikası , Güneyde Darı-
ca Feneri arasında kalan ve Turistik saha olarak kabul edilen kısma sana-
yi tesisleri yaparına meydan verilmemesini ve neticeden İBA Limited
Şirketine de bilgi verilmesini önemle rica ederim.

İmza
Arif Onursoy

S.Ş.
S.Ş.
Tapu Sicil Müdürlüğü
Sayı: 31

07/193

İstanbul, Dayanıklılık ve Malzeme
İşleri İMİ Limited Şirketi
Büyükdüğü İstiklal Cad. No: 103
Mikisyal Bulvarı Kat: 3

İstanbul

Konaklı Mülklerinin Toprak ve İşleri İMİ İhtisarı 3/7/1963
sayılı karar ile gönderilen alar ve işleri İhtisarı 13/6/1963
Tarihli Planlama ve Genel Müdürlük Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı
1963 sayılı emri ile resmi olarak bildirilmiştir.

Bilgi edinilmesi ve gerekli rica olunur.

Selhattin Altay
Şehzade Kaymakamı

Bu belge, Şehzade Mahallesi sınırlarında
Şehzade Mahallesi sınırlarında

Bilgi : İMİ İhtisarı şirketi.

Ahmet Murtazaoglu
Kollektif Şirketi

İmar İnkân Bakanlıği Harita ve Plânlama Genel Müdürlüğü

A n k a r a

İsmit İli Gebze kavaasına baęlı Derice hudutları içinde Bulvaros Toyu civarında kâin Menkafa nolu ile maruf araziye bakim nitölyesi ile sosyal bina ve depo yaptırmak üzere Şirketiniz numune satın alıay ve rühsat için gerekli müsaadenin verilmesi hususunda 22. Eylül. 1963 tarihinde Derice Belediyesinin müracaatta bulunmuştuğuk.

Derice belediyesi müracaatınızı imar plâni gereğince bu mahallin ayrik nizam ish inkân tevsi sahhasına isabet ettiğinden projelerin tatbikine inkân pürülmesuaptir. Şekilde cevaplandırılmakla bu güne kadar işlerimizin muvafak kalmamasına sebebiyet verilmiştir.

Bu kere Şirketinizce teraane inşaatı tekrarı ettirilmeğ bulunmakla projeleri bilahare taksim edilmek üzere aynı mahallin teraane tesisleri kurmaklağınızda bir mahzur bulunmadığı takdirde keyfiyetin İsmit Valiliğine bildirilmesini saygı ile müsaadelerini rica ederiz.

Vilayet Makamına

İlgi:6/4/964 gün 341 sayılı yazıya karşılıktır.

Mustafa Kurtzaoğlu müessesesinin İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Harita ve Planlama Dairesi Genel Müdürlüğüne vermiş olduğu 4/2/964 tarihli dilekçesinde konu Kazamız Darıca Nahiyesi Mankafa mevkiindeki arazisine Tersane tesisi yapılması hakkındaki dilekçesinin bu arazinin Turistik mıntıkaya ait olması itibariyle yerine getirilmesine imkan bulunmadığı 12/5/964 tarihinde 45 sayılı yazımızla adı geçen müesseseye bildirilmiştir.

Keyfiyet arz olunur.

Gebze Kaymakamı.

Kaymakamlık Yüksek Makamına

Tapu Sicil Muhafızlığınızın 13.4.1964 tarih ve 28 sayılı buyrukları:

Ekli dilekçe sahibi Murtazaoğlu Şirketi 30.9.1963 tarihinde bakım atölyesi inşaatı için proje ile belediyenize müracaat etmiş olup tahkikatımız neticesi olarak verilen cevabın sureti aşağıda aynen çıkarılmıştır.

(Adı gocen mahal 8.7.1960 tarihli İmar Planı gereğince ayırık nizam işkan tevsi sahasına isabet ettiğinden ekli projelerin tatbikata ki bakım atölyesi inşaatı uygun görülmemiştir.)

Du kerre yeniden tetkikimizin neticesinin yine aynen olduğu, durumda bir değişiklik bulunmadığı saygı ile arz olunur.

Ayrıca bu son dilekçelerinde tersane inşaatından bahis edilmektedir. Bizim evvelce mevzu bahis ettiğimiz arsaları dahilindedir. Eğer sahildeki arsalarını kastediyorlarsa o sahillerin tamamen turistik mülkaya dahil olduğunu arz ederiz.

Darıca Belediye Reisi

T. C.
İMAR ve İSKÂN BAKANLIĞI
Planlama ve İmar G.N.M.D.
Bölge Planlama D.Şşk.

Ankara

Sayı : 1.11.01/370-3222

21/5/1964

Konu : Tersane Bölgeleri
Hk.

Kocaeli Valiliğine

İlgi : 12/5/1964 Gün ve 333 sayılı yazınıza ek.

Gemi İnşaat sanayinin kısa vadedeki yer ihtiyacı konusunda, Turistik ve dinlenme sahalarına sanayi bölgelerinin devamını ve sığırmasını önlemek bakımından, Balyanaz Koyundan sarfınazar edildiği ve Maltepe Sigara Fabrikası - Kartal arasının Tersane yeri olarak tahsis edildiği hakkında Bakanlığımız teklifi Devlet Planlama teşkilatınca da uygun görülmüştür.

Gereği için bilgilerinizi rica ederim.

İmar ve İskân Bakanı

Kocaeli Valiliği
Yüce Katına.

Gebze Kazasının Darıca Bahiyesine bağlı Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi de Şirketinizle Hacıoğlu Bayramoğlu'nun müsterek müteahhütlüğü ile ve Millîlerden lira yatırım yapılmak suretiyle vacuda getirilen, iki taraflı ağaçlı asfalt Yol, Elektrik muhavvile mevkesi ve direkleri, Kuyu, Su isale hattı ve evsi şebekesiyle en modern bir şekilde değerlendirilerek teçhiz edilen Otel, Motel, Gazino, Plaj ve sayfiye ve dinlenme evleri ve buna benzer Turistik tesislerin her biri bitişiginde bulunan Balyanoz Koyunda Üzül sokküne mensup bazı firmaların Geni İnşaat sanayiî Kurmak üzere hareketine geçtikleri istihbar edilmiş İmar İskan Bakanlığı ile Devlet Planlama teşkilatı nezrinde tarafımızdan vaki tahdit müzaccatlar Üzerine yetkili mercilerce yapılan incelemeler sonunda (Turistik ve dinlenme mahallarına sanayiî binalarının devrimini ve sıgırmasını önlemek bakımından) balyanoz Koyunda tersane gibi tesislerin kurulmasından şar nazar edilmesi kararlaştırılmış ve kayfiyet 2/5/1964 tarih ve I.II.OI-3704/2 sayılı yasa ile İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı tarafından vilayetinize bildirdilmiş.

Esasen Kandıra burnu ile Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi arasında bulunan Balyanoz Koyu 8/7/60 tarih ve 3026/7257 sayılı İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca tasdikli (Darıca İmar ve İskan genişleme Planında) Otel, Motel ve İskan tahsis edilecek Turistik saha için alınmış ve Planda o suretle işaretlenmiş bulunduğundan bu muntabada Tersane ve Geni İnşaat Sanayinin kurulması mevzuat tasdikli İmar Planına aykırı düşmektedir.

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Vilayetinize mahutap yazarında yazılı 2/5/65 tarihli yasa ile İmar Planının ayrıca tevhikini teyiden kabul eylemek ve Tersane ile Kartal- Baltape arasında yapılmasını uygun bulmaktadır.

Buna rağmen son günlerde İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı İstanbul Bölgesi Müdürlüğünce yeni inşaat sanayiî ve Tersane için tekrar Balyanoz Koyu Üzerinde kurulmakta olduğu ve bu yolda Bakanlıca bir rapor verildiği bildiğimi istihbar edilmiştir.

Bakanlıca tasdikli Planlara ve onlara dayanılarak alınan ve mahallere teblig edilip uyularına safhasına intikal ettirilen prensip kararlarının sık sık ve gelişmiş güzel değiştirilmesinden doğacak sayısız mahzurlardan şaka bu kararsızlığın; yatırım yapan müteahhütlüğü büyük zararlara sokacağı Turizm sahalarında üngürülen yeni yatırımları büsbütün bozacağı muhakkaktır.

Ayrıca Kocaeli Vilayeti'nde bu Bölgesinde Turistik karakterde tesis kurmaya her bakımdan elverişli müsait başka bir sahil parçası kalmadığı düşünülürse Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi'nin Turizm bakımından önemli ve Bölgede sanayi tesisler kurulmasının baltalayıcı bir kat deha artmış bulunmaktadır.

Kocaeli'nin Turizm ile ilgili konuları tevhik edilmekte olduğu bu günlerde kayfiyeti ehemmiyetle arz eder bu konunun tevhik buyrulacak bir şekilde alakalı bakanlıklara intikal ettirilerek Tersane inşaatının önlenmesine talimat buyrulmasını saygılarımla rica ederiz.

İ B A

YATIRIM VE İNŞAAT BAKANLIĞI
MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE
BİLDİRİM

5/3/965

1 : II/417/130

2 : Turistik Bölgeye yapılacak
istenen Tersane hakkında.

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına
Ahikara

2/5/964 tarih ve I.II.01/370-3222 sayılı yazınıza karşılıktır.

İlimize bağlı Gebze İlçesinin Darıca Mahiyesinde ve Bayramoğlu İl Mahallesi bitişindeki Balyanöz Koyunda Tersane yapılmasından vaz geçildiği hakkındaki bakanlık kararının, bu mahallede Turistik tesisler yücude imiş bulunan İBA Limited Şirketine ve Necmettin Bayramoğluna ilinizce İbn tebliğ edilmesi buraya büyük masraflar ihtiyar etmiş olan sızın on müteğabbisler, Turizm sahasındaki yeni faaliyetlerine hız vermişler ve l inşaatı ; mevcut tesislerin tevail ve Avrupođan Turist celbi hususunda İnk teğabbüslere girişlerdir.

Bu kerre İBA Limited Şirketinden alınan bir Ürneđi ilişik dilek- in totkikinden de anlaşılabacağı vechiyle İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı İstanbul Şesi teşkilatı tarafından Tersane inşaatı için Marmara sahilinde müsasip saha aranırken yeniden Balyanöz Koyu üzerinde durulduğu ve bu yolda bir or'un Sayın Bakanlığınıza gönderilmiş bulunduđu öğrenilmiştir.

Bakanlığınız tarafından 8/7/960 tarihinde 3026/7297 sayı ile tas- edilmiş bulunan (Darıca İmar ve İskan genişleme planında) Turistik saha ola- kabul edilmiş bulunan Balyanöz Koyunda Tersane inşaatına müsade edildiđi firdo Bayramoğlu Sahil mahallesinin Turistik karakteri tamamen kaybolacak Üsel Sektör tarafından buranın İmarı için harcanmış olan Milyonlarca Lira a olacaktır.

Bundan başka İlimizde , İstanbul gibi büyük bir Turizm merkezi ile odan yakın irtibatı bulunan Marmaranın Kuzey sahilinde Bayramoğlu Sahil mahal i niteliğinde İmar müsait başka bir saha kalmadığından Balyanöz Koyunda sane inşaatı Bölgenin Turizm alanındaki inkişafına engel olacaktır.

Kaldığı bu sahada sanayi tesislerinin kurulmasının uygun bulunsa- ı 13/6/963 tarih ve Şehirçilik dairesi Başkanlığı ifadeli 410351001/4185 ılı yazınıza ile de Vilayetinize bildirilmiş ve keyfiyet aynen İBA Şirke- e ve Necmettin Bayramoğlu'na tebliğ edilmiş idi.

Turizm alanındaki çalışmaların Ünem kazandığı ve büyük masraf çok harcayarak suretiyle yeni tesislerin kurulması çareleri arandığı bir ada , evvelce kurulmuş ve çalışmaya hazır tesislerin yanına Tersane inşaatı muvafakat edilmesinin sayın bakanlığınızca da torviç edilemeyeceđi kana- ile keyfiyeti totkikinize sunar, Tersane inşaatı teğabbüslerinin Ünlene- e müsadelerini arz ederim.

Yazı
İçin

Bilgi için

Bekir Suphi Aktan
Kocaeli Valisi.

İmar İskan Bakanlığı, Turizm Bakanlığına.

T.C.
İMAR ve İSKAN
BAKANLIĞI
Planlama ve İmar Genel Md.
Şehircilik Dairesi Başkanlığı

Sayı : Pl. 410332001/2072
Konu : Müracaatınız İhk.

İstanbul Boyındırlık ve Ulaşma
İşleri İBA Limited Şirketine,

İlgi: 12/Mart/1965 günlü dilekçeniz:

Darica Belediyesi Mücavir sahaları dahilinde bulunan Balyonoz Koyunun Tersane yeri olarak tesbit edilmemesi hakkında dilekçeniz incelendi:

1965 Yılı İcra Planında doğu Marmara Bölgesindeki Tersane yerlerinin seçiminin Mart 1965 e kadar sorumlu Bakanlıklarca tamamlanması derdest edilmiş buna göre yeniden yapılan inceleme ve toplantılar sonunda da ilgili Bakanlıklarca hazırlanan protokolda Balyonoz Koyunun bu maksat için en müsait yer olduğu üzerinde ittifak olunmuştur.

Talebinizinde göz önünde tutularak kesin bir karara varılabilmemesi için sızdı edilen bölgede bu maksada uygunluğu iddia edilen ve Tersane yeri olarak seçilmesi mümkün görülen yerler mevcut ise mühtemelen tetkik ettirilmek üzere bunların bildirilmesini rica ederim.

İmar ve İskan Bakanı Y.
Müsteşar
Mithat Yenen.

Bu kadar başka konuslugu tasdikli planların temininde dayanarak tektonik prensiplerinin her ne sebeple olursa olsun dışarıdan vadi olarak istek ve arzularla sık sık değiştirilmesi, bu planlara dayanarak yatırım yapma ve yapılacak olan çabaların ve maddeseleri belirsizliğe ve gelişimlere sevk edeceği gibi planların içinin ciddiliği hususunda çözümler uygulanmasına ve araya bu kadar kadar yatırılan özel sermayenin, dolayısıyla milli servetin sermaye izlenimine Turizm alanında gelişilen gayretlerin boşa gitmesine sebep olmaktadır.

Kaldığı, Barınmanın doğu bölgesinde, Barınca Fenovi civarı, Büyük Liman Ayık Liman, Barınca-Eskihisar arasındaki saha, Tavşancıl, Tutun Güftüğü gibi diğer civardaki bölgeler dâhil Turistik saha içindeki Alyanoz Köyünde arazi edinilmesinin sebebiyle bir türün anlaşılmasını olmaktadır. Olmaz olsa Tersane arazi isteyenlerin Alyanoz Köyünde arazi sahibi oldukları ileri sürülürse de bu araziyi, Turistik İmar Planının tasdik tarihi olan 6/7/60 tarihinde sonra satın aldıkları düşünülürse bu iddialarda tamamen haklı ve ersiz olduğu ve meydana çıkar.

Barınca'nın Sahil Mahallesi ve civarını tehdit eden Tersane işi için yararlanılabilecek ve Turizm davası dışında kalan mahallerden birinin seçilerek Alyanoz Köyünden vaz geçilmesini ve bu suretle Turizm yatırımlarının baltalanmaktan kurtarılmasını önemle rica ederiz.

saygularımızla.

olar:

- 1- tasdikli İmar Planı
- 1- Kocaeli Valiliğinin Gebze Kaymakamlığına yazdığı 17/1/60 tarih ve 3111 sayılı yazı;
- 1- Barınca Belediye Re. Gebze Kaymakamlığına yazdığı yazı sureti.
- 1- İst. Bölge Planlama Md.

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca

ANKARA

Özel sektör tarafından büyük çaplı ve kapsamlı turistik bir dinlenme sitesi olarak Avrupa ülkeleri tarafından meydana getirilen ve Flaj, Casino, Otel, Hotel, ve benzeri tesislerini ihtiva eden Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi'nde şahsan yatırıp yapmış olan 300 yakın ortaşın bulunması olduğu Bornevin temsilcilerimiz.

Üyelerimiz, Belediyemiz Turizm davasını hakıyla benimsenmiş, bu maksatla varını yığını ve istikbalini bu mahalleye bağlanmış kimselerdir.

Burada yapılan yatırımlar: Mahalli Belediye (Barica Belediyesi) Gebze Kaymakamlığı, İzmit Vilayeti ve en nihayet İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı ile Turizm ve Tanıtım Bakanlığının bu sahil ve civarının turistik saha olarak kabul edilmiş olduğunu bildiren müstahfif yazılarına ve tasdikli İmar Planına güvenilerek yapılmış bulunmaktadır.

Bu sahen, bu mahallenin suyu, Elektrikliğini temin eden yollarını yaparak asfaltlayan ve amelendiren, Casino, Flaj ve turistik Oteli inşa eden (Hesettin Bayramoğlu- İBA Limited şirketi) de tasdikli İmar Planları ile ve yukarıda şahil geçen müstahfif derecelerdeki ilgili kararların yazılarıyla kabul ve ilân edilmiş ve bu itibarla kesilmiştir bulunan bu bölgenin (Turistik saha) vasfına dayanarak yatırımlarını yapmış ve yollarını yapmaya hazırlandığı bulunduğu da Bornevimiz ce yakinen bilmektedir.

Bu suretle Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi ve civarının resmen Turistik saha olarak kabul edilmesinden sonra İBA Limited şirketi ve Hesettin Bayramoğlu 15. Milyon Bornevimiz Üyesi bulunan büyük listelerle işleri yazılı hususi şahisler tarafından 20. Milyon liralardan 35. Milyon liralara yatırım yapılmış bulunmaktadır.

Buna rağmen, özel sektör için Barica Doğu Bölgesinde Tersane inşasına elverişli saha aranırken, Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi bitişğinde ve Bakanlığın tasdikli İmar Planında turistik saha içinde bulunan (Balyanlar Foyunu) seçilmiş bulunduğu ve Barica Belediyesinin de (Kaymakamlık, Vilayet ve Bakanlığın vermiş nokta-i nazarı bilfihi) bu yolda bir karar almaya istiklal olduğu ortaklarımızın Bornevimize ve diğer temsilcilerimizden duyulmaktadır.

Halbiki, bideyotken bu gibi kadar Tersane inşası için vahi önermeler, tasdikli İmar Planına aykırı olduğu gerekçesiyle bir kaç defa mahalli kararlarla kabul olarak red edilmiş bu suretle bölgenin turistik bir saha olduğu kesinlikle kabul edilmiştir. (Bu husustaki yazı suretleri ilahtir.

Tasdikli İmar Planı ruhen ve şerhler nispetinde Tersane inşası tasdikli gerekçesiyle taktirde özel inşaat ve tasviratından husule gelecek mülkiyet, mülkiyet, işletme yazılarına ve ruhsatları çıkacak diğer pasların deniz suyunu kirletmesi, tayfa ve işçilerin mahalle sakinlerini taciz etmesi sifit kaynatılmasından ve diğer işler kabul rind n çıkacak kimseler, A ile ruhe kimseleri, bu mahalleye tahakkuk için gelen kimseleri ve turistleri rahatsız edecek mahallede turistik hareketleri tahakkuk kimseleri ve husaya harcama kimseleri bu mahalleye tahakkuk olacaktır.

Ankara
16/3/1965

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına

Özet:
Balyanoz Koyundaki
Tersano hakkında..

Çok acildir.

Kocaeli Valiliğinin 5/3/1965 tarih II-417-130 sayılı yazınızdan Vilayetlerine bağlı Gebze İlçesinin Darıca Mahiyesinde ve Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi bitişindeki Balyanoz Koyunun Bakanlığınız tarafından 8/7/1960 tarihinde 3026/7257 sayı ile tasdik edilmiş bulunan (Darıca İmar ve İskan genişleme) Planında Turistik saha olarak kabul edilmiş olmasına rağmen bu kerre Balyanoz Koyunda Tersano inşasına teşebbüs edilerek sahanın ihlal edildiği öğrenilmiştir.

Diğer taraftan, Turistik olarak ayrılan yerlerde geniş yatırımlara gidildiği ve gayretlerin çeşitli kredilerde de kamu Sektörü tarafından ve özellikle Bakanlığınızca desteklendiği yüksek mevlurumuzdur.

Milletçe Turizme hazırlandığımız ve Üzel sektörde bu sahada yatırım yapmaya teşvik ettiğimiz şu sıralar da Turizmin inkişafını önleyecek her türlü davranışlardan kaçınmanız şarttır.

Kaldığı; Sanayi Bölgelerinin Turistik sahalara kaymasını önlemek üzere Başbakanlık tapımı ile, ilgili mercilere gönderilen 1965 Turizm sezonu hazırlık tedbirlerinden sanayi Bakanlığa sorumluluğunda olan 2nci madde de (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca tesbit edilmiş olan Turistik sahalara sanayi Bölgelerinin kaymasını önleyecek tedbirler alınacaktır.) denmektedir.

Kocaeli Valiliği tarafından Bakanlıklara aksettirilen bu meselemin tüm olarak Türkiye'nin Turizm kalkınmasında sarf edilen gayretleri heba etmemek yönünden Genel tedbir olarak ele alınmasını emir ve mihmetelerimize arz ederim.

Turizm ve Tanıtım
Bakanı.

Kocaeli
1973/965

- 1- İmar İskan Bakanlığına
Ankara
- 2- Marmara Bölgesi Planlama İd.
İstanbul

Hülasa: Darica nahiyesinin usulsüz yazışması hk.

Gebze İlçesine bağlı Darica Belediyesinin yetkilerinin şumul ve muhtovasını aşarak hudutları dahilinde yeniden bir Tersane kurulmasına muvafakat ettiği ve bunu makaminize (İmar İskan Bakanlığına 22/2/65 ta. ve II4 sayı ile , Marmara Bölgesi Planlama Müdürlüğüne 25/1/65 tarih ve ... sayı ile) arz ettiği öğrenilmiş bulunmaktadır.

Sözü geçen belediyemiz çevresinin, bu gün için artık milli bir dava olduğunda ittifak edilen Turizm mevzuu yönünden de önemli bir özelliği bulunduğu malumdur.

Turizm, İmar İskan konularının planlanması için bu gün artık sadece bir İl'in dahi hükmü olarak kabul ediliniyörök (Bölgesel bir Planlamaya) gidilmesi zarureti karşısında küçük bir belediyenin, Bölgenin kaderine tesir edecek bir konuda tek başına karar ve mütalaa vermesinde isabet görülmemiştir.

Diğer taraftan, İl İdaresi kanunu ve mer'î diğer mevzuat yönünden de bu Kasaba belediyesinin yetkili bilyük kararlarla doğrudan doğruya yazışmaya girişmesine de hukuki iskan ve cevaz yoktur.

Belediye-in, bahsi geçen bu yazısı üzerine makaminizce bir işlem yapılmayarak, usulsüz ve sorumsuz hareket edenler hakkında takibata tevessül edilmiş olduğundan yapılmakta olan takibata esas olmak üzere Darica Belediyesinin yukarıda tarih ve No:su bildirilen yazısının Valiliğine acile gönderilmesine emirlerinizi arz ve rica ederim.

Saygılarımla.

Kocaeli Valisi
Bekir Süphî Aktaş.

10/10/1965

10/10/1965

Ulaştırma Bakanlığına,

Hi : 4/6/1965 tarih ve
E.İ.İ. 4-2041(1958/5175)
sayılı İmar ve Deniz
işleri Bakanlığından
Mafeli yazınız.

İlgideki yazınız ve eki Bakanlığınızca incelenmiştir.

te belirtilen ve dört Bakanlık arasında hazırlanan Protokolden Bakanlığınızın saltanatı olmadığı gibi konu, Turistik bir Bölge ile ilgili bulunduğu için bu konuda yapılan toplantılardan da Bakanlığınız haberdar edilmiştir. Ancak 16/3/1965 tarih ve 1971/4103 sayılı bir yasa ile Bakanlığınızın bu konudaki görüşü İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına bildirilmiştir.

Bahsi geçen yazıda da belirtildiği üzere Bakanlığınız Sanayi İşletmelerinin Turistik sahnelere kaymasını prensip olarak kabul etmemektedir.

Kaldığı, Bu Bölge İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı tarafından 2/7/1960 tarihinde 3026/7237 sayı ile tasdik edilmiş bulunan (Darica İmar ve İskan Genel İmar Planının da) Turistik sahne olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Bu kez Delyonoz Foyunda Tersane İnşa edilmesi hususundaki yeni işlemlerin Turistik sahnenin ihlal edilmesi yönünden önlemlenmektedir.

Bölgele bir Tersane kurulmasına ihtiyac duyulabilir, ancak tersane yerinin seçilmesi hususunda daha titiz davranılması gerekmektedir.

Konunun tım olarak Turizm kalkınmasına sarf edilen gayretleri haba etmeyecek şekilde ele alınmasını ve Bakanlığınız prensibinin gözünde bulundurulması için bir karara varılmasını rica ederim.

Turizm ve Tanıtma
Bakanı.

**TURİSTİK SAHAYA DAHİL BAYRAMOĞLU MAHALLESİ DE YATILACAK
TERSANENİN ÜZÜLMESİ HAKKINDA NOT.**

- İzmit Vilayeti Gebze ilçesi Darica Nahiyesine bağlı bayramoğlu sahil mahallesinin bitişiginde ve 8/7/60 tarihinde İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca tasdikli Plana göre Turistik saha içine alınmış bulunan (Balyonoz) koyunda tersane inşaatı için 962 senesinde beri bazı hususi firmalar tarafından İmar ve İskan bakanlığına ve Darica Balodiyosine mütteaddit müracaatlar yapılmış bu müracaatlar (BALYONUZ) koyunun tasdikli Plana göre Turistik saha içinde bulunduğu gerekçesiyle reddedilmiştir.
- Balyonoz Koyunda tersane kurulmayacağı hususunda 13/6/63 ve 21/5/64 tarihlerinde İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı tarafından İzmit Vilayetine yazılar yazılmış ve bu yazılar Vilayete usulen belediye ve bu mahalde de turistik tesisler vucuda getirmiş bulunan İBA Limited Şirketiyle Necmettin Bayramoğlu'na tebliğ edilmiştir.
- Bakanlığın bu sarif emirleri üzerine mahallede turizm konusunda yapılan yatırımlar arttırılmış , mevcut tesisler tevsi edilmiş ve Turistik bir Otel inşa edilerek Turizm belgesi ve Kredisi alınmıştır.

Bu güne kadar yapılan yatırımlar aşağıdadır.:

- İBA Limited Şirketi ve Necmettin Bayramoğlu tarafından Asfalt yol, Elektrik ,Su, Ağaçlandırma, Plaj ve gazino için10.000.000.-Tl.
Villa ,tv dinlenme yeri rihtim ve İskole için
gemişler tarafından harcanan 20.000.000.-Tl.
-Hotel ,Otel dinlenme yeri Kamping vesaire yapmak maksadıyla arsa satın alan Hususi gemis yatırımları. 6.000.000.-Tl.
Yekün: 36.000.000.-Tl.
- Balyonuz Koyunda tersane inşaatına muvafakat edilirse bu yatırımların tamamı sıfıra inecek ,Tuzla'dan İzmit'e kadar olan sahil mantıkası tamamen Fabrikalarla dolmuş olduğundan Turizm sahasında yeni bir faaliyet to bulunmayada imkan kalmayacaktır.
Bu husus İzmit Valiliğinin İmar ve İskan Bakanlığın yazdığı 5/Mart/965 tarihli yazı münderecatından da anlaşılmaktadır.
- Tersane İnşaatının Turistik Mahalloye vereceği zararları:
 - a) Mahalleinin civarı gece kondularla dolacak
 - b) Gemi tayfaları ve işçiler plajın etrafında ve mahalle içinde kayo ve botlarla dolğan kadınları rahatsız edecekler.
 - c) Tamir edilecek gemilerden çıkan sintine yağları raspa nesleri Midye kabukları sahilleri kirletecek.
 - d) Vinç çalınmaları , madeni levhaların indirilip kaldırılması ve çekiş darbeleri Turistleri ve buraya dinlenmek için gelenleri rahatsız edecek ve kaçıracak.
- İzmit Körfezinde tersane inşaatına her bakımdan elverişli ve buna mukabil başkalarına zarar vermeyecek evsafa mütteaddit yerler vardır. Bunlar Üzerinde durulmadan Turistik saha içindeki Balyonuz Koyunda inşaat edilmesi her milyonlar sarfı ile İmar görmüş bir Turizm sahasının elden çıkmasına herde yapılan yatırımların ve dolayısıyla milli servetin yok olmasına sebebiyet verecektir.
- Bu herre Tersane inşaatı için yeniden müracaatlar vuhnu bulduğu , bu hususta alakalı mercilerin taziyik edildiği ve acile bir karar alınmak üzere olduğu öğrenilmiştir.
Bir emri vaki olmadan önlenmesi gerekmektedir.

1965 İcra Planının tersane yörüngeden cerektirdiği gelişmeleri yapar
n daha evvel tasdikli bir Plana istinaden yapılacak Turistik tesisleri
kara alarak bisatibi planı dejenere etmek demektir.

Sayın Bakanlığınızın ve alakalı diğer Bakanlıklar temsilcilerini
na mehal vermeyeceklerinden ve Planın hekimiyetini koruyacaklarından em
lunduğunuz arz eder yapılacak tetkikatta şirketimiz temsilcisini de
zar bulundurulmasına şübhelerinizi rica ederiz.

Saygılarımızla,

İba İstanbul Dayandırılık ve
Tolome İşleri Limited Şirketi

- 1- Darica Feneri Bantıkası
- 2- Darica Yüksek Liman
- 3- Darica Büyük Liman
- 4- Darica -Eski Hisar arasındaki 4 kilometrelik sahil.
- 5- Dil İskelesi civarı.
- 6- Tavşancıl sahil
- 7- Tütün Çiftliği.
- 8- Derince
- 9- Kova
- 10- Hersek
- 11- Baltope Sigara Fabrikası Kartal arası.
- 12- Tuzla İle Cip Fabrikası arasındaki sahil?..

Not: Bu yerlerin hepsi İstanbul'a 50 Milden uzak değildir. Ve işçi i
min olacak merkezlere çok yakındır.

28/1/65

İmar Ve İskan Bakanlığına

İz: Balyonoz Köyünde yapılmak istenen
Tersanenin önlenmesi hakkında.

9/1/65 tarih ve 2872 sayılı yazıları cevabıdır:

Söz konusu yazının Şirketimize ulaştırıldığı, Şirketimiz Müdürünün Bakanlığınızdan temin eylediği tasdikli suretinden ittila peyda edilmiştir

Doğu Marmara bölgesinde tersane inşasına elverişli yerleri aşağıya yüksek tetkikinize arz ediyoruz. Bu sahaların civarı esasen sanayi tesisleriyle çevrili olup Tersane inşası halinde herhangi bir şahıs, müessesese veya mahalleye bir zararı bir zararı dokunması varit değildir.

Doğu Marmara bölgesi Gemlik Körfezi ile İzmit Körfezi arasındaki sahilleri ihtiva ettiğine göre tersane yerinin bu geniş sahada da aranması kabil görülmekle beraber bundan evvelki otütlerde üzerinde durulan İzmit Körfezi Bölgesinde bu işe elverişli noktalar tesbit edilerek inceleme işi sunulmuştur.

Tersane için yer seçimi mevzuunda aranacak şartlar tek taraflı olarak ele alınmalıdır. Bu iş için pek uygun şartları ihtiva eden bir maddenin başka yönlerden zararlı olduğu takdirde sağlanacak faide ile doğuracağı mahsurları mukayese ederek ona göre karar verilmelidir.

Sayın Bakanlığınızın bundan evvel vermiş olduğu prensip kararları bu kararlara istinaden muhtelif şahıs müessesese ve teşekküllerin bu sahada yapmış oldukları milyonlarca liralık yatırımları gözönüne almak suretiyle Turizm davasını ve milli serveti koruyucu adil bir rol oynayacağını kuvvetle ümit etmekteyiz.

Gaye, her ne pahasına olursa olsun bir Tersane yeri bulmak değil ülkenin merteye az mahsurlu bir saha seçmektir. Hiç bir Sanai teşebbüs hakirlik mahiyetinde bir takım zaruri yatırımları göze almadan tahakkuk ettirilmez. Nitekim Şirketinizde senelerden beri Bayramoğlu Sahil mahaltesinde yatırımlar yapılmış ve fakat bunların semeresini henüz toplanmamıştır. Tersane kurmak isteyen müteşebbislerde ön yatırımı icap ettirmeyen o henüz ele alınmamış boş bir saha buldukları takdirde orasını seçmekte akli olabilirler, bulamadıkları takdirde ön yatırım masraflarından kurulmak için bölgenin büyük emek ve masraflarla senelerce evvel kurulmuş egane Turistik sahasını tahrip etmek hakkına sahip değildirlen.

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Balyanoz Koyunda Tersane İnşası
Tekrarrur ettiği takdirde Turistik
Saha için doğuracağı mahzurlar

- 1- Vinye gelişmelerinden, saqların vesair madeni aksamın indirilip kaldırılmasından ve geçişlenmesinden husule gelecek gürültüler,
- 2- Raspa ameliyesinden çıkacak Demir ve boya paslarının, sintine yağlarının ve tamire girecek teknelerin altından çıkan ÖLU midyaların Denizi kirletmesi ve civarını kokutması (Denizciler arasında, Deniz Vebası olarak isimlendirilen sintine yağlarının plajları kirleteceği bilhassa göz önüne alınmalıdır)
- 3- Amelenin ve Gemi mürettebatının boş zamanlarında ve Gece vakti plajların ve evlerin etrafında dolaşmaları, şortlar ve mayolarla gzmekte olan kadınlara ve genç kızlara sarkıntılık yapmaları (Gemi mürettebatı uzun müddet evlerinden ve ailelerinden usak kaldıkları için her memlekette bu gibi hareketlere tevessül etmekle şöhret kazandıkları her kes tarafından bilinmektedir.)
- 4- Balyanoz Koyu Sina'i tesislere tahsis edildikten sonra orada her nevi tekne inşasının önlenmesi mümkün olamayacağından ahşap mavunalar ve kayıkların da yapılacağını tabii görmek lazımdır. Bu suretle ahşap inşaattan çivi çakılması ve zift kaynatılması neticesi hüslü gelecek gürültü, koku ve pisliklerin Turistik mahalle sakinlerini ve Turistleri rahatsız edeceği şüphesizdir,
- 5- Balyanoz Koyunda bu şekilde bir sanayi mintakası kurulduktan sonra civarını amele gece kondularıyla dolacağı muhakkaktır. Turistik bir mahalde gece konduların arz edeceği çirkinlikleri ve Mahalloye dinlenmeye gelmiş olan Turistler üzerinde yapacağı Urkutucu ve her bakımdan menfi tesiri izaha lüzumu yoktur.
- 6- Sanayi bölgesinin ihtiyacı olan her türlü malzeme^{Malzeme} /Arzualliyetle, Ankara asfalt kanalı ile yapılacağı ve Ankara asfaltı ile yegane irtibat yolunun Turistik Mahallenin içinden geçtiği cihetle bu nakliyatın da dinlenme yeri olan Mahalloye vereceği huzursuzluğu göz önünde bulundurmak lazımdır.

Tersane için teslim yerlerix
geçitli faktörlere göre değeriendirilmesi
(+) vıgım (0) erta (-) vıgım değil

	Kaya ertle- rına göre sahil durumu	Deniz altı durumu	Arası duru- nu (meyil, inhişaf)	Kara- yolu durumu	Knarji Saasıle Kalifi- su yakın- durum lak temini	Pıyasaya Ye ıgıı lak	Özellerine geçiğ yakınlık
Derince	+	+	-	+	+	-	0
Tütün gıft- lik	+	-	0	-	0	0	-
Tavşaneil	-	+	-	+	0	-	0
Bil iakel- si	-	+	+	0	-	-	0
Kara burnu	-	-	-	0	-	-	0
Eakihisar	0	+	+	0	0	0	0
Darica	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Balyanos koyu	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
fusla jip fabrikası	-	-	0	+	+	+	+
Kartal- Meltepe	-	-	+	+	+	+	+

Doğu Marmara Tersane yeri seçimi hakkında
Rapor

5 yıllık kalkınma planını 1965 yılı icra programına göre, Doğu Marmara bölgesinde tesbiti gereken tersane yeri mevzuunda yapılan çalışmalar, Bakanlıklar arası bir komisyonca incelenerek bir protokol ile kaymetlendirilmiş, ancak bu protokolda varılan karara itiraz edilmesi üzerine, bu maksat için elverişli bulunduğu ileri sürülen diğer bütün mahaller de komisyonca yerinde görülmek suretiyle, durumun bir kere daha incelenmesi uygun bulunmuştu.

Bu vazife ile görevlendirilmiş bulunan komisyonumuz, bu güne kadar yapılmış çalışmalarını yeniden gözden geçirmiş, bunları kaymetlendirmiş, kriterleri tesbit etmiş ve Maltepe'den Derince'ye kadar uzanan mahalli, deniz haritalarından ve rüzgâr yıldızlarının da faydalanarak, üzerinde durulan kısımları teker teker tetkik etmek suretiyle karadan ve denizden inceliyerek aşağıda açıklanan kanaat ve görüşe varmıştır.

Gemi inşaat sanayi ile ilgili olarak, en küçük ahşap tekneden en büyük çelik teknelere kadar bütün deniz araçlarının yapıldıkları mahallere tersane adı verilmektedir; ancak yerleşme tesbitleri bakımından, bunların sınıflandırılmaları ve bu sınıflandırmaya göre müthalâları yerinde olacaktır.

a- Sandal, pirat, garpa, katra, dragon, yele, motorböt gibi yelkenli ve makinelî küçük ahşap spor teknelerin yapıldığı mahallerin bir arada toplanmasına, bunlar için bir bölge, bir site teftihine lüzüm yoktur; bu gibi tekneler müsâsîp her yerde yapılmalı

ve malalline hususiyet veren bir faaliyet olarak mütalâ olunmalıdır.

Kıtazın bu tip çalıřma yerleri fiilen de muhtelif semtlere dağılımı bulunmakta ve bu sektörden bir talep vaki olmaktadır.

b- Çektirme, tako, barko, kamabag ve balıkçı tekneleri inşa edilen, kıskılanan ve tamirleri yapılan mahallerin muayyen bölgelerde yer almaları faydalıdır. Ancak bunlardan çehirden pek usak olmaları lazıma gerekir. Halen bu tip inşaatı yapan müesseseler İstanbul'da Hasköy ve Ayvansaray semtlerinde toplanmıştır. Buraları bunların inkişaflarına müsait olmadığı gibi çekrek yerleri günün ihtiyacını da karşılayamamaktadır.

Bu sektörden de bu gün için acil bir talep vaki olmamakta beraber İstanbul nazım imar plânının tanziminde bu gibi tesislerin yer alacağı kısımların tesbiti zaruridir.

c- bin tona kadar çelik teknelerin inşa edildikleri mahaller halen Fenerde iki ve Büyükdere'de iki olmak üzere dört tanedir. Hususi teşebbüslere ait müesseselerdir.

Çelik tekne inşaatına istek artmış bulunduğundan talebi karşılayamamaktadırlar; inkişaf etmek, teçhizat ve inşaat kolaylıklarını bu günün içaplarına uydurmak, yatırım yapmak arzusunda dırlar.

Dağ politikada da bu sektörden bazı görevler beklenmekte, bu yüzden bütün talepler bu sektörden gelmektedir.

Tetkik konumunu teşkil eden ve 5 yıllık kalkınma plânının ön görüldüğü çalıřma bu sektör için seçilecek tersane yeridir.

d- Büyük tonajlı gemilerin inşa edileceği büyük tersaneler için büyük yatırımların yapılacağı, hususi teşebbüsten ziyade devlet sektörünün tahakkuk ettireceği ve usun vadeli tesisler olup, işleme mevzuumuz dışında kalmaktadır.

✓

Kaldı ki bu hususta evvelce geniş çapta çalışmalar yapılmış oldu-
ğu, Pendik, Darıca arası, Büyükçekmece koyu gibi mevkiilerin bu
maksat için elverişli bulunduğu, hatta Pendik çivarında geniş
bir arazinin Denizcilik Bankasınınca satılacağı da malumdur.

Şimdi esas konumuzu teşkil eden bin tona kadar çelik teknelerin
inşa edileceği ve hususi teşebbüs tarafından tahakkuk ettirile-
cek tersaneler için seçilecek bölgenin kriterleri üzerinde duru-
larak, tersane tesisi için lüzumlu vasıflardan, hava şartlarına
kargı sahilin mahfuz olması ile denizaltı durumunun müsait bulun-
ması şartlarının, sinei imalata ve ameliyelere lüzum göstermek-
sizin tabii olarak mevcut bulunması veya oluşı denebilecek bir
yatırımla sağlanmasının mümkün olması gerektiğinde ittifak edil-
miştir. Zira bu şartların mevcut olmaması halinde hususi teşeb-
bün kendi imkân ve yatırımları ile bunları sağlanmasını düşünme-
nin realitelerden uzaklaşmak olacağı kabul olunmuştur.

Umumi olarak tersane tesisi maksadıyla seçilecek yerlerin vasıf-
ları veya başka bir deyimle bu gibi yerlerin seçiminde gözönünde
bulunulması gereken faktörler :

- 1- Hava şartlarına göre sahilin muhafazası
 - 2- Denizaltı durumu
 - 3- Arazi durumu
 - 4- Kara yolu
 - 5- Enerji-su durumu
 - 6- Sanayiye yakınlık
 - 7- Kalifiye işçi temini
 - 8- Piyasaya yakınlık
 - 9- Gemilerin geçiş yollarına yakınlık
- olarak kabul olunmuştur.

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Bu meyanda denizaltı ve arazi durumları bakımından, 3 bin tonluk bir geminin denize indirilebilmesi için su altı meyilinin $\% 7$ yani 50 metrede $\frac{1}{2}$ 3,5 metre derinlik verecek şekilde olması lâzımgeldiği, arazi meylinin ise kıskak meyli $\% 7$ olduğundan $\% 4$ civarında bulunması gerektiği, bir tersane için asgari 100 metrelik derinliğe ve 40-50 metrelik genişliğe ihtiyaç bulunduğu teabit edilmiştir.

Bütün bu hususlar göz önünde tutularak bahis konusu yerler karadan ve denizden incelenmiş :

- Kartal-Pendik arasındaki sahilde rüzgara kapalı, arazi ve su altı durumu bakımından tersaneye uygun bir yere rastlanmamıştır.

- Bayramoğlu mahallesinin bulunduğu Çoburun mevkiine kadar olan sahilde Balyanoc koyu değişik rüzgarlara karşı mahfuz olması, arazi meylinin ve su altı durumunun elverişli bulunması, İstanbul ve sanayi sahalarına yakınlığı ve karayolu ile irtibatı bakımından uygun görülmüştür.

- Eskişehirdeki metruk çimento fabrikasının yeri bazı bakımlardan muvafık bulunmuş ise de lüdos, kible ve keçişleme rüzgarlarına açıklığı, buna mani olacak menderek inşaatının bu noktada suyun fazla derin olması yüzünden büyük masraflara yol açacağı görülmerek uygun bulunmamıştır.

- Kavaburnu, Diliskelesi, Tavşancıl, Yarınca sahilleri gerek rüzgarlara açık oluğu gerek arazi durumu bakımından müsait görülmüştür. ~~İstanbul~~ Hemen bu sahanın büyük bir kısmında arazinin apik olduğu, kısmen tatlı meyilli olan yerlerin ise mevkiinde bulunduğu diğer taraftan demir yolunun hemen hemen sahile muvazi olarak geçtiği görülmüştür.

- Bütün gırtlığının, su derinliği ve yol irtibatı bakımından uygun bir yer olmadığı görülmüştür.

- Derince de müsait yerlerin mevcut tesislerde işgal edilmiş bulunduğu görülmüş bunlar haricinde uygun bir yere rastlanmamıştır.

- Hersek mevki ise , karga sahilde bulunmaktadır. Bu sahil işçi temini bakımından hususî teşebbüs bakımından hiçbir şekilde benimsenmemektedir. Durum komisyonumuzca da böyle mütalaka edildiğinden bu mevki üzerinde durulmamıştır.

Yukarıda muvafık hatlarıyla işaret olunan bütün bu mahaller ayrıca her faktör yönünden ayrı ayrı değerlendirilerek ekteki cetvel elde edilmiştir.

Bu cetvelin tetkikinden de, hususî teşebbüsün kuracağı tersaneler için Balyanoz koyunun çok uygun bulunduğu ve Fendik ile İsmit körfezi arasındaki sahilde bu mevkin, elverişli tek yer olduğu görülmüştür.

Bu vaziyet karşısında bölgenin civar ile münasebetleri daha yakından incelenmiştir.

Balyanoz koyunun kuzeyinde Tusla koyunda oip fabrikası ile oca fabrikası yer almaktadır. Geniş bir sahaya yayılmış bulunan bu fabrikaların inkişaf etmekte olduğu ve yeni tesisler ilâvece yalnızca bulunduğu öğrenilmiştir.

Güney de ise Bayramiye turistik sahil sitesi kurulmuş halde bulunmakta ve girnevli ve otel gibi turistik tesislerle ile güzel bir site haline gelmektedir. Bu itibarla çay ve oca fabrikaları ile bağlantı bu site istikbâsında kurulacak inkişaf eden sanayiye Balyanoz koyunda kurulacak tersane tesisleriyle nihayetlendirilmesi, bu tesisler ile site arasında yeteri kadar bir tampon bölge ihtisas edilmesi partiyile, müakın görülmektedir.

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KOCALI SIVİL SAVUNMA KOMİSYONU
RAPORU

4/5/65 günü Balyanoz Koyu m' allinde yapılması tasavvur edilen Tersane yeri çehirçilik, sivil Savunma ve Askeri Yönlüden etkil edilmiş

Tersane tesislerinin Balyanoz Koyunun Kuzey batısında Çayirova Cam Fabrikası hudutlarına müttesil olarak yapılması, Çehirçilik, Sivil Savunma ve Askeri yönden mahsur olduğu görülmüş ve 4/11/75 sayılı nisannamenin de 9 ve 11 nci maddelerine aykırılığı tesbit edilmiştir.

Madde 9- Silah ve mühimmat Fabrikaları gibi, harp gücünü doğrudan doğruya destekleyen sanayi müesseseleri ve büyük stok tesisleri iskan bölgeleri dışında kurular. bu müessese ve tesisler yer altında yapılmadıkları takdirde iskan bölgeleri hudutlarının en az 15 Km. ötesinde yer alır.

Madde 13- Nükleer taarruzlara ve devamlı bombardmanlara hedef teşkil edeceği, Müdafaa ve Dahiliye Vekaletlerinin tesbit edilecek çehir ve kasabalar da yeni yapılacak bütün Hastahane, Yatılı Okul, Eşla ve bunlara benzeyen normal zamanlarda kullanılacakları mani bulunmayanlar tercihan iskan bölgeleri dışında ve hava taarruzlarına karşı emniyetli mevkiilerde inşa olurlar.

Çehirçilik Yönünden :

A- Tersane tesislerinin inşaatı düşünülen yer, Birinci sınıf Turistik tesislere sahip olan Beyramoğlu Sitesine ortalama 250 Metre uzaktadır. Tersane buraya yapıldığı takdirde 60 Milyon bir yatırımla meydana gelen bu Turistik Bölge istikbal bakımından önemi kaybedeceği gibi, kalkınma döneminin ikinci yarısında bulunduğumuz bu sıralarda Turistik bakımdan hedef ve payasından uzaklaştırılması olacaktır.

B- Tersanenin Balyanoz Koyunda kurulması halinde Atelyelerin çalışma saatlerinde çıkaracağı gürültünün Turistleri rahatsız edeceği, Deniz sathından 3-4 Cm. kalınlığında yağ tabakasının oluşacağı, Keza Turistleri ve bölge sakinlerini rahatsız edecek koku nöğredeceği, gibi mahzurlar dolayısıyla büyük yatırımlarla meydana gelmiş olan binaların oturulmaz hale geleceği düşünüldüğü bu yere Tersanenin yapılmasının, Çehirçilik yönünden mahzurlu olduğu,

Sivil Savunma Yönünden :

Mutasavver Tersanenin 400 Metre kadar Kuzey Doğusunda Umumi sayılı tesisler eder mahiyette Şişe ve Cam Fabrikası, 1.Km. doğuda aynı mahiyette Kresler ; makina ve takım fabrikaları ile birlikte kurulmak üzere bulunan üç adet fabrika daha mevcuttur.

Bu fabrikaların yaptığı kesafet neticesi burada Düşmanın her bir için gerek nükleer ve gerekse konyansiyolen silahlarla yapacağı bir taarruza toplu hedef teşkil etmesi kuvvetle muhtemeldir.

Merkezinin iktisadi ve Askeri bakımdan hayati önemi olan Tersanenin burada kurulması Düşman taarruzlarının daha ziyade artmasını sağlayacağından telafisi mümkün olmayan büyük mahzurlar yaratacaktır.

./.

Bu bakımdan Tersane tesislerinin B banyoz Koyunda kurulması mah-
zurlu ve sakıncalıdır.

Gerek Şehirlik ve gerekse Sivil Savunma ve Askeri yönden Tersane-
nin balyanoz Koyunda yapılmasının mahzurlu oluşu üzerine Gemi İnşaat tesi-
lerinin yapılabileceği yerler komisyonumuzca araştırılmıştır.

Kartal Kazasına kadar kıyı geridi gözlemlenmiştir.

- Maltepe Sigara fabrikası- Kartal kazası arası
- Kart Tuğla fabrikasının Güney sahil geridi.
- Tuzla Joep Fabrikası ile Cam Fabrikası arası.

Olmak üzere üç yer tesbit edilmiştir.

Bu yerlerden I No'lu Maltepe Sigara fabrikasından başlayarak
Kartal Kazasına doğru İKİ. Lik sahil geridi içerisinde tasavvur edilen
Gemi Sanayi tesislerinin kurulması aşağıda izahları bulunan komisyonumuz-
ca uygun görülmüş olup, işbu rapor sekiz nüsha tanzim edilmiştir.

Heyet Başkanı
Mühürlik Müdürü
Ahmet Şantay.
İzaz.

Üye
15 Kır. K.yerine
Tg.
Recep Balçık
İzaz.

Üye
Toprak İskan Md.
Halil Motkin
İzaz.

Üye
Sivil Savunma Md.
Hecmettin Girit.
İzaz.

6/8/965

Bayramođlu Sahil Mahallesiindeki
Balyanoz Koyunda yapilmassina
ilgilien Tersane Hk.

Genel Kurmay Bařkanligina

A N K A R A

İlimiz Darica B.ıccagi sınırları dahilinde Bayramođlu sahil mahalle-
nari ilotarıflan mahaldeki Balyanoz Koyunda Üzel Sektör marifetiyle bir
i Tersanesi inřasatı teřebbüslerine girişilmiştir.

Ancak gerek 1960 Yılında kabul ve tasdik edilen ve tatbik edile-
en İmar Planına aykırılığı, gerekse milli bir dava olan Turizm devrimizi
evrede baltalamak durumunda olması sebepleriyle keyfiyetin çeřitli yönlör-
tetkiki Vilayetinize saruri bulunmuştur. ve noticede bu mahalde (Bir ter-
e) yapılımasının, Turizm Şehirçilik ve Sivil Savunma yđalarından uygun
unmadığı somucuna varılmış ve bu husus ilgili ve yetkili mekanlara da çe-
li Rapor'larımızla arz edilmiştir.

Bu konuda İmar ve İskan Bakanligından Valiliginizin gürüşlerini
id eden yazılar vardır.

Diđer taraftan, Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanligından ilgili İmar ve İskan
anligına ,(Bu Bölgede tasdikli İmar Planı nın zedelenmemesi, Turizm davamızın
ar girmemesi) konusunda da yazılmış yazılar mevcuttur.

Ayrıca Valiliginizce bu Bölgede Askeri güvenlik ve Sivil savun-
yönlörinden de durumun tetkik ve aydınlığa çıkarılması lüzumlu bulunmuş-
. Bu maksatla, konu İl Savunma Komisyonuna da tetkik ettirilmiş ve bu Ko-
yon bir sureti ekli raporunda bu Bölgede Tersane yapılımasının çeřitli
lerden mahzurlu olduğu açıkca ifade edilmiştir.

Konunun Büyük Önesine binaen , Balyanoz Koyunda Tersane yapılıması
nin , Milli Güvenlik ve Askeri Yönlörden mahzurlu olup olmadığının daha
askeri makamlarca tetkikine zerruret hasıl olduğundan , keyfiyetin ince-
nesine emirlerinizi arz ederim.

1: Rapor sureti.

Bekir Suphi Aktan
Kocaeli Valisi.

Araştırma -Geliştirme Dökümantasyon Merkezi

İstanbul Elmadağ, Cumhuriyet Caddesi Ütade sokak I/3 Sigli Telefon 474472

Üzr: Balyanoz Koyunun özel tersane yeri olarak tayin edilmesi üzerine Darıca nahiyesi sakinlerinin Mimarlar Odası İstanbul şubesine yaptıkları miracaat ve bu konudaki Mimarlar Odası görüşü.

Konu ve eleştirme:

Dünyanın birinci derecede Turizm merkezlerinden olan İstanbul'da genellikle Turizm yatırımlarının en belirli zeminleri olan sahil şeritlerinin bu maksatlar için korunmaları, Plancuların her zaman ve her vesile ile öngörülleri olmuştur.

Muhteşem Tarih ve kültür kıymetlerinin yanı sıra, muazzam tabiat değerlerini de kapsayan şehrimizin bu Turizm bütünlüğü, dünyanın hiç bir şehrine nasip olmayan bir özelliktedir.

Şehrimiz Planlamasıyla ilgilenen yabancı Uzmanlar da bu şehrin Turizm alanları üzerinde önemle durulmasını öngörmüşlerdir.

Hitekin; İstanbul'un yakın çevresinde Turizm açısından marmaranın en kıymetli sahillerini ihtiva eden Darıca Sahilleri de Plancılar tarafından Turizm hususiyetleri öngörülerek (Darıca İmar ve İskan genişleme) Planı ismi altında Planlanmış ve İmar Kanunu gereğince İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı tarafından 8/7/960 tarih 3026/7257 sayı ile tasdik edilerek kanuni bir vesika haline getirilmiştir.

Bu Plana göre, Çayırova Darıca arasındaki sahil şeridi ve bu şerit içinde kalan (Balyanoz Koyu) Turizm bölgesi olarak tesbit edilmiştir.

Planlamanın bir gayesinde , en verimli yerleşme düzeni içinde Planlamaya göre yapılacak inaatın bu Planın gösterdiği istikamette , istikrarlı bir gelişme yaratmak ve yatırımların geleceği için de bir teminat vermeyi sağlamaktır.

.I.

Nitekim, Darıcanın bu sahil bölgesinde Plan istikametinde hâlen 36 milyon Liralık bir Turizm yatırımı yapılmış ve T.C. Milli Sandığı ile Türkiye İş Bankası tarafından da yatırım hazırlıklarına başlanmıştır.

1960 senesinden itibaren , yapılmaz olan yatırımın hemen yanında ve yüzde yüz aynı perapektiv dahilinde kalan(Balyanoz Koyunda) Tersane yapılmasını talep ediyorlar ve bu talep , ilgili mercilerce Bölgenin Planına uyularak evamalı olarak reddediliyor ve bu bölgenin Turistik saha olarak ayrıldığı, u sebeble yabancı bir unsur olan tersane tesislerinin buraya giremeyeceği olumu ve kat'î ifadelerle bildiriliyor.

a- İmar ve İskan Bakanlığının 13/6/963 gün ve 410351001/4165 sayılı yazısında(..... Turistik saha içinde sanayi tesisleri yerleşimi şehirçilik prensipleri bakımından uygun görülmemektedir.) denmektedir.

b- İmar ve İskan Bakanlığının 21/5/964 gün ve I.II.OI/370-3222 sayılı yazılarında(..... Turistik ve dinlenme sahalarına sanayi Bölgelerinin devamını önlemeye sığmasını önlemek bakımından Balyanoz Koyundan sarfınazar edildiği ve aşka bir yerin tersane yeri olarak tahsis edildiği ve bu görüşün Devlet Planlama teşkilatınca da uygun görüldüğü,) bildirilmiştir.

c- Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığının İmar ve İskan Bakanlığına yazmış olduğu 16/3/965 tarih 1971/4163 sayılı yazılarında;(.....Darıca İmar ve İskan genişleme planında turistik saha olarak kabul edilmiş olmasına rağmen u kerre Balyanoz Koyunda Tersane inşaatına teşebbüs edilerek sahanın ihlâl edildiği öğrenilmiştir.) diğer taraftan Turistik olarak ayrılan yerlerde geniş yatırımlara gidildiği ve bu gayretlerin çeşitli kredilerle de kamu sektörü tarafından ve özellikle Bakanlığımızca desteklendiği yüksek malumdur. Nitekim turizme hazırlandığımız ve özel sektörde bu sahada yatırım yapmaya teşvik ettiğimiz şu sıralarda Turizmin inkıfapını önleyecek her türlü davranışlardan kaçınmanız şarttır.) denilmektedir.

Bütün bu yazışmalara, tasdikli plana ve plan istikametinde yapılan yatırımlara rağmen son olarak 12 Mart 1965 de İmar ve İskan Bakanlığınca (Balyanoz Koyunda) Tersane inşaatının uygun görüldüğü bildiriliyor. Bakanlığın 2/Mart/965 tarih ve Pl. 410332001/2372 sayılı yazılarında(..... yeniden yapılan inceleme ve toplantılar sonunda da ilgili Bakanlıklarca hazırlanan protokolda Balyanoz Koyunun bu maksat için en müsait yer olduğu üzerinde ittifak olunmuş(....)deniyor.

Bu fikir değişikliği, Planlama gayesinin ne kadar zayıf tutulduğunu ortaya hiçe sayıldığını göstermektedir. Bakanlığın İBA İmt.Şrk. ne yazdığı yazısının sonunda(..... kesin bir karara varılabilmesi için sözü edilen bölgede bu maksada uygun iddia olunan ve tersane yeri olarak seçilmesi mümkün görülen yerler mevcut ise muhtasiran tetkik ettirilmek üzere bunların bildirilmesini rica ederim.) demesi de şehir yerleşmeleri ile sorumlu teknik bir Bakanlığın kendi görevini bu konu ile ilgili olmayan bir Şirketten istemesi , planlamanın ne kadar zayıf tutulduğunu ayrıca ispatlamaktadır.

Turizm yatırımı yapan bir Şirketin Sorumlu olmadığı tersane yerleşmesi konusunda gösterebileceği yerlerde elbette isabet aranamaz.

İhtiyaçların karşılanmasında meydana gelecek çatışmaları önlemek ve kaynakları korumakla ve gerek faydalanmayı sağlamakla görevli Planlamada, korunacak kaynakların tesbitiyle diğer ihtiyaçların bu kaynaklara zarar vermayacak şekilde yerleşmesi gereklidir.

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığının son yasalarında (..... yeniden yapılan ince- ve toplantılar sonunda ilgili bakanlıklarca hazırlanan protokolda) demek- likat bu konuda birinci derecede ilgili olması gereken bakanlıklardan Turizm anıtına bakanlığının , toplantılarda bulunmadığı gibi, protokolada dahil edil- gi ve bu bakanlığın bu husustaki görüşünün de nazarı itibare alınmadığı gılmaktadır.Şöyleki:

Turizm ve Tınıtma Bakanlığının 18/6/965 gün ve 4204/1721 sayılı yazıla- a ,(..... ekte belirtilen ve 4 Bakanlık arasında hazırlanan protokoldan nliğimizin malumatı olmadığı gibi, konu Turistik bir Bölge ile ilgili bulun- halde bu mevzuda yapılan toplantılardan da bakanlığımız haberdar edilme- ir.

Ancak, 16/3/965 tarih ve 1971/4163 sayılı bir yazı ile Bakanlığımızın onu ile görüşü, İmar ve İskan bakanlığına bildirilmiştir. bahsi geçen yazı- a belirtildiği üzere, Bakanlığımız, sanayi Bölgelerinin Turistik sahalara asını prensip olarak kabul etmemektedir. Kaldığı, bu bölge İmar ve İskan Ba- ığı tarafından 8/7/960 tarihinde 3026/7257 sayı ile tasdik edilmiş bulunan ca İmar ve İskan genişleme planında Turistik saha olarak kabul edilmiştir.) ektedir.

Sanayileşmeyi ve kalkınmayı sağlayacak ,hızlandıracak bir yerleşme düze- n bilimsel işbirliği ve devrenişle tesbit edilebileceği aşkar olup, bu hu- Planlamanın gereklerinden biridir.

Bu işbirliğinden kaçınılmış ve gerekli davranış terk edilmiştir.

Doğu Marmara Bölge Plan'ı perspektivi içinde bir Tersanenin , Gemi Bakım etleri ile yakın ilişkisi bulunduğunun göz önüne alınması, dolayısıyla Li- arla bu yakın ilişkiyi yaşatacak şekilde yerleştirilmesi gerekir.

Bir Tersane yerleşmesinin İstanbul'un yakın çevresinde kurulması da , iye henüz bir genel yerleşme planına sahip olmadığı cihetle çok şüphelidir.

İstanbul'un yakın perspektivi içinde Anadolu ve Rumelinin Marmara Sa- eri , Boğaziçi ve Haliç muazzam Turizm kıymetlerimizdir.

Haliç bu gün mahfudilmiştir. Tahripkar eller Boğaziçi ve Marmara sahil- ne gitmektedir. Bu sahillerimizin yabancı unsurlardan kurtarılması ve bu urlara karşı korunması gerekir. Bu Bölgeler Turizm yatırımlarının en uygun nleridir. Nitekim İç işleri Bakanlığının İstanbul Valiliğine de gönderilen gustos/9633 gün ve 612-206-16/16763 sayılı tamimlerinde , Turizme elverişli ve ileride de olması muhtemel sahil şeritlerinin korunması hakkında görüşleri de bu gerçeklerin açık ifadesidir.

5 Yıllık Kalkınma Planının ilk 5 yıllık devresinde Turizme büyük yatı- lar ayrılmış olup, bu yatırımların da en büyük kısmının Doğu Marmara Bölge- e yer alacağı öngörülmüştür.

Balyanoz Koyunda Tersane yerleşmesini uygun gören 4 Bakanlık arasında lanan Protokola esas teşkil eden(Doğu Marmara tersane yer seçimi hakkın- Rapor) un incelenmesinde, Turizm faktörünün hiç nazarı itibare alınmadı- üldüğü gibi , yer seçimi için takip edildiği bildirilen metod da yanlış ve rsizdir.

a- Rapor, Tersane için bu gün ve ilerideki senelerde ne ölçüde gelişeceğini ve büyüyeceğini aydınlatan her hangi bir hesaba dayanmamaktadır.

Bu nitve burada yaratıldığı takdirde ileriki senelerde gelişeceği ta-
dır. bu yerleşimin kendisi ve gelişmesi, civardaki Turistik saha ve tesisler için bir tahribat kaynağı olacaktır.

b-Tersanenin hangi yardımcı imalat ve hizmet faaliyetlerini gerektireceği ve bunlar için gerekli saha miktarı açıklanamamıştır.

Yer seçiminde göz önünde tutulduğu ileri sürülen sanayie yakınlık fak-
tırı gereksiz bir ifadedir. Zira Cam Fabrikasına veya bir Jeep Montaj Fabrika-
sına yakınlık, Gemi İnşaatı için belirli ve yeterli bir fayda sağlayamaz.

Bir Gemi İnşaa sanayinin Limanlarla birlikte mütalaası olumlu bir
avranıştır.

c- Gelişme istidadında olduğu bildirilen Jeep ve Cam Fabrikasının geliş-
mesini önlemek için bir gemi inşa sanayii kurulmasının kabul edilmesine im-
an yoktur.

Bir Sanayi Bölgesinin büyümesini önlemek için bu Bölgeyi Gemi İnşaa sa-
nayine tahsis etmek düşünülemez. tam aksi, Bölgeyi ancak sanayi dışı bir fa-
liyete çevirmek bu gayeyi sağlar.

Kaldığı; Jeep ve Cam Fabrikasının bu Bölgede kalıp kalmayacakları mün-
aşa mevzuu olup, her halde tevsilerine imkan verilmeyeceği bir gerçektir.

d- Kalifiye işçi temini bu günkü gerçeklerden çok uzaktır.

Bir Sanayi Bölgesinin ileri gelişme yıllarında , çevresinde geniş
işçi İskan sahalarını geliştireceği tabii olup, bunun hemen yanında dış tale-
be hitap edecek Turizm Endüstrisine tahsis edilecek tesislerin geliştirilme-
line de imkan vermeyeceği bir gerçektir.

6- Raporla Tersane ile Turistik tesisler arasında bir tampon Bölge
kurulması şartı ile mahzurların önleneyeceği beyan olunmaktadır. Havadan, deniz-
den ve karadan nasıl bir tampon bölge düşünüldüğü meçhuldür. 300 metre Tul
ivarında olan bir Koyda bunun teknik yönden mümkün olmayacağı tabiidir.

f- Doğu marmara'da ayrıca İzmit Körfezinde Tersane yerlerinin mevcut
olduğu , fakat Tersane yapmak isteyenler için uzak addedildiği ve Komisyonca da
byle mütalaa edildiği beyan olunmaktadır.

Bölge Planlaması prespektivi içinde tersane yerlerinin seçimi
bunların istegine göre değil, ihtiyaçların karşılanmasında çeşitli faaliyet
lanlarını birbirleriyle çatıştırmayan bir organizma yaratmakla görevli Plan-
manın işidir.

Demek oluyor ki; Üzel tersaneciler Boğaziçinde herhangi bir Koyu
aya kalamış koyunu isteseler burada uygun görmek gerekecektir. zira onların
steği bütün şartlara uyacaktır.

LC :

1- İstanbul'un yakın gelişme alanı içinde ve Turizm gelişmesinin birli zeminleri olan Marmara sahillerinin bu Bölgesi, Darıca İmar ve İskan Planı da da Turizm Bölgesi olarak tayin ve tesbit edilerek 1960 sene İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı tarafından tasdik edilerek kanuni bir vesika haline getiriliyor.

Bu suretle; ihtiyaç ve taleplerin , yerleşme düzeninde bir birini zarar vermesini önleniyor ve bütün tabii kaynakların korunmaları teminat altına alınmış oluyor.

2- En verimli yerleşme düzeninde Plana göre yapılacak İmaratın istikametinde istikrarlı gelişmesini yaratmak, Planlama gayelerinden birisi olduğuna göre, bu yerde de Plan istikametinde 36 Milyonluk bir Turizm yatırımı yapılıyor.

3- Planlama gayelerinden biride yatırımların geleceği için bir teminat sağlamak olduğuna göre, 1960 senesinden bu yana aynı Bölgede yapılmak üzere Tersane teklifi, ilgili mercilerce Plan otoritesi gereğince kesun ve reddedilmiştir.

4- Tersane talep eden şirketin devamlı ısrarları karşısında, bir süre 1965 senesinde, olumlu davranış terk ediliyor, Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığının dahil edilmediği bir protokol ile Balyanoz Koyunun tersane için en uygun yer olduğu bildiriliyor.

5- Planlama, aynı zamanda bilimsel bir iş birliği gerektirdiği halde bu konu ile en yakın ilgili olan Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığının görüşleri nakil edilmiş ve "tabii kaynakların korunması" fikri kabul edilmiştir.

6- Doğu marmara bölge planı içinde , Gemi İnce sanayinin Lİ ile beraber düşünülmesi yerine , gerekli araştırmalar yapılmadan , böylece planlamaya geçilmeden , hatta doğu marmara bölge planı çalışmalarında önüne " sahillerin korunması" fikri ve darıca Planındaki tahsis şekli üzerinde durulmadan, yalnızca bir kararla Balyanoz Koyunda ısrar ediliyor.

Her iki yerleşimde Doğu Marmara bölgesi içinde yer alması plan çalışmalarının sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmış ise, bu ihtiyaç ve taleplerin yerleşme düzeninde birbirine zarar vermesini önlemek zorunluluğundayız.

Bir Planlama düzeninde ,Turizme yararlı olan ve olması muhtemel sahalar kısa vadelerin , Plan otoritesi çignenerek başka fonksiyonlara tahsis edilemez.

İstanbul'un yakın gelişme alanı içinde Turizme elverişli olan şekilde Planlanmış bulunan ve Plan istikametinde de büyük bir yatırımın bir sahil geridini, birinci sınıf, gayri sıhhi bir tesis olan tersane olarak kullanmak, ileride telafisi imkansız problemler yaratacak ve Planlama devrinde çok kötü bir misal olarak kalacaktır.

Yukarıda detaylı bir şekilde arz edilen hususlar, planlı kaldevrinde , yurt ve bölgeler içinde yerleşme planlamasıyla görevli ve sorumlu olan İmar ve İskan Bakanlığının ön çalışmalarını tamamlanmış bulunduğu Marmara Bölgesi hakkında dahi sarıh bir görüş olduğunu açıkça göstermektedir.

Milli Güvenlik Kurulu
Sayın Başkanlığına

A N N E K S E

1- Turistik Bayramoğlu Mahallesi
mahallesi içinde bulunan Balyanoz
Koyunda Bakanlıkca tasdikli Plan
çerçevesinde yapılması düşünülen
Tersane Hk.

Kocaeli Vilayeti Gebze İlçesi Darica Mahiyesine bağlı Bayramoğlu
Mahallesi bitişinde bulunan ve 500 senesinde inar ve İskan Bakanlığınca
tasdik edilen (Darica ilçesi saha) Planında Turistik saha içine alın-
mış olan Balyanoz Koyunda Genel Sekreter tarafından mühtelif tarihlerde Tersane
inşasına teşebbüs edilmiş ve bu hususta yapılan görüşmeler; bu mahallin
Turistik saha içinde olması dolayısıyla inar ve İskan Bakanlığınca ve alakalı
diğer mercilerce her defasında red edilmiş idi.

Bölgenin bu suretle kazanılmış ve kazanılmamış bulunan Turistik
mahalline güvenilerek Turizm sahasında 30 Milyona baliğ olan yatırımlar yapılmış,
Su, Elektrik, Asfalt Yol, ağaçlandırma işleri ihmal edilmiş, Plaj,
Kafeler ve Hotel gibi tesislerin inşa ve ihmaline girişilmiştir.

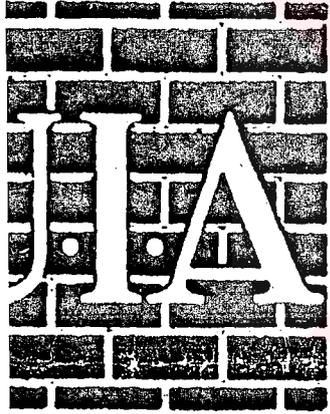
Marsızların bu mahallinde Fabrika ve sanayi tesislerin inşasından
menkul olabilmiş olan bu yegane diyalanma ve Turizm merkezinde son günlerde
Tersane inşası için yeniden elektrik tesislerinin görüldüğü ve bu hususta
kararlar verildiği yapılan temaslardan anlaşılmış bulunmaktadır.

Milli servete, Tasdikli Planatürizm devasına ve bu güne kadar ala-
mli bakanlıklarca titizlikle savunulan prensiplere aykırı olan bu teşeb-
hün mahzurları hakkında İstanbul Mimarlar Odasının hazırlamış olduğu Ra-
por'un bir sureti ile Kocaeli Vilayeti Sivil Savunma Komisyonunun Ankara'da
Sivil Savunma Başkanlığına göndermiş olduğu 21/5/1965 tarihli rapor kopye-
sini ilgilik olarak taktik ediyoruz.

Milli bir dava haline gelmiş olan (Turizm) ve Planların nefusunu
altlayan bu nizam dışı gayretlerin devlet ekonomisine ve dolayısıyla
Milli servete yapacağı tahribat tetkik buyrulurak Tersane inşasının ön-
emsi hususunda devlet memurlarının yapılmasını saygılarımla rica ederiz.

Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Şubasının Ankara'da Mimarlar
Odası başkanlığına muhterap 18/8/1965 tarih 1001-1006
648 sayılı yazısı.

- Bu yazıya cerbut Mimarlar Odası görüşünü bildiren
rapor'u
- Sivil Savunma Komisyonunun 21/5/1965 T.raporu



**PARİS
KONGRESİ
TEMMUZ
1965**

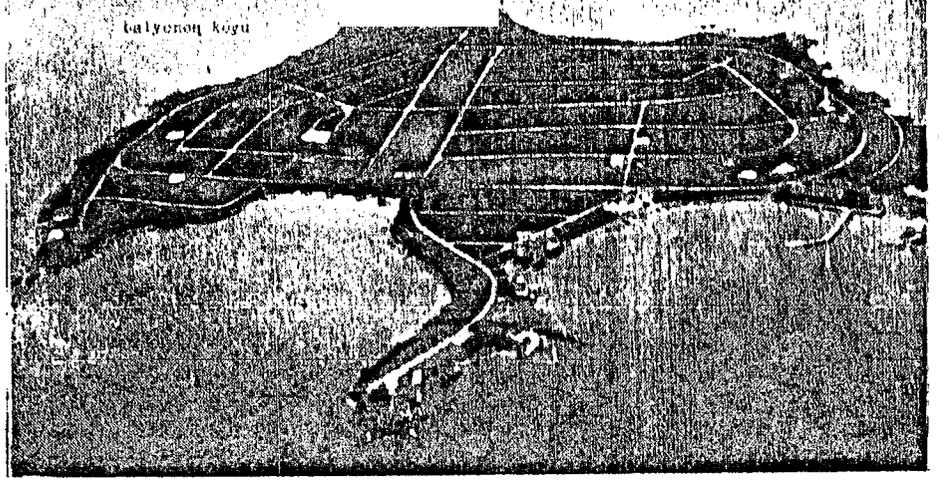
Yükseköğretim Kurulu
Bakımantasyon Merkezi

O

1965
EKİM

mimarlık

MIMARLAR ODASI YAYIN ORGANI



Balyanoz koyu

ÖZÜ: Balyanoz koyunun özel tersane yeri olarak tayin edilmesi üzerine Darıca Nahiyesi sakinlerinin Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Şubesine yaptıkları müracaat ve bu konudaki Nazım Plân komisyonu ve Mimarlar Odası görüşü.

SONU VE ELEŞTİRME

Dünyanın birinci derecede turizm merkezleri olan İstanbul'da genellikle turizm yatırımlarının en belirli zeminleri olan sahil şeritlerinin bu maksatlar için korunmaları, plâncıların her zaman ve her vesile ile ön görüleli olmaktadır.

Auhtem tarih ve kültür kıymetlerinin yanı sıra, muazzam tabiat değerlerini de kapsayan ekrimizin bu turizm bütünlüğü, dünyanın hiçbir ekrine nasip olmayan bir özelliktir.

İstanbul plânlamasıyla ilgilenen yabancı uzmanlar da bu şehrin turizm alanları üzerinde önemle kurulmasını ön görmüşlerdir.

İr Şehir yerleşme düzeninde, bütün ihtiyaçların esbittiyile bu tabii zenginliklerin, bu varlıkların korunmaları en genel olarak (Plânlama) ile gerçekleştirilmektedir.

Plânlama, gelecekte karşılaşılabilecek muhtemel ve ihtelif ihtiyaçları kapsıyarak bu ihtiyaçların arşılanması için nasıl davranılacağını tesbit eder. u görevini başarı ile yapabilmesi için plânlamanın, içinde bulunulan durumu ve ileride doacak ihtiyaçları bilimsel metodlarla tesbit etmesi şarttır.

İhtiyaçların karşılanabilmesi için bu ihtiyaç ve ihtelâflerin yerleşme düzeninde birbirlerine zarar armesini önlemek amacıyla Plânlama yapılması ve bu Plânlama vasıtasıyla da bütün tabii zenginliklerin korunmaları teminat altına alınmaktadır.

İstanbul'un yakın çevresinde turizm açısından armara'nın en kıymetli sahillerini ihtiva eden Darıca sahilleri de, plâncılar tarafından turizm hususiyeti öngörülerek (Darıca İmar

ve İmar Kanunu gereğince İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı tarafından 8.7.1960 tarih ve 3206/7257 sayılı ile tasdik edilerek kanunî bir vesika haline getirilmiştir. Bu plâna göre, Çayırova Darıca arasındaki sahil şeridi ve bu şerit içinde kalan (Balyanoz koyu) turizm bölgesi olarak tesbit edilmiştir.

Plânlamanın bir gayesi de, en verimli yerleşme düzeni içinde plânlamaya göre yapılacak inşaatın bu plânın gösterdiği istikamette, istikrarlı bir gelişme yaratmak ve yatırımların geleceği için de bir teminat vermeyi sağlamaktır.

Nitekim, Darıca'nın bu sahil bölgesinde plân istikametinde hâlen 76 milyon liralık bir turizm yatırımı yapılmış ve T.C. Emekli Sandığı ile Türkiye İş Bankası tarafından da yatırım hazırlıklarına başlanmıştır.

1960 senesinden itibaren, yapılmış olan yatırımın hemen yanında ve yüzde yüz aynı perspektif dahilinde kalan (Balyanoz koyu) 'nda tersane yapılması talep ediliyor ve bu talep, ilgili mercilerce Bölgenin plânına uyularak devamlı olarak reddediliyor ve bu bölgenin turistik saha olarak ayrıldığı, bu sebeple yabancı bir unsur olan tersane tesislerinin buraya getirilmeyeceği olumlu ve kat'î ifadelerle bildiriliyor:

a — İmar ve İskân Bakanlığının 13.6.1963 gün ve 410351001/4185 sayılı yazısında, (..... turistik saha içinde sanayi tesisleri yerleşmesi şehircilik prensipleri bakımından uygun görülmemektedir.) denmektedir.

b — İmar ve İskân Bakanlığının 21.5.1964 gün ve 1.11.01/370-3222 sayılı yazılarında, (..... turistik ve dinlenme sahalarına sanayi bölgelerinin devamını ve sıçramasını önlemek bakımından Balyanoz koyundan sarfi nazar edildiği ve başka bir yerin Tersane yeri olarak tahsis edildiği ve bu görüşün Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtınca da uygun görüldüğü) bildirilmiştir.

c — Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığının İmar ve İskân Bakanlığına yazmış olduğu 16.3.1965

Darıca İmar ve İskân Genişleme plânında turistik saha olarak kabul edilmiş olmaya rağmen bu konu Balyanoz koyunda Tersane inşasına teşebbüs edilerek sahaya ihlâl edildiği öğrenilmiştir. Diğer taraftan turistik olarak ayrılan yerlerde geniş yatırımlara gidildiği ve gayetlerin çeşitli kredilerle de Kamu Sektörü tarafından ve özellikle Bakanlığımızca desteklediği yüksek malûmlarıdır. Milletçe turizme hazırladığımız ve özel sektörü de bu sahada yatırım yapmaya teşvik ettiğimiz şu sıralarda turizmin inkişafını önleyecek her türlü davranışlardan kaçınmamız şarttır.) denmektedir.

Bütün bu yazışmalara, tasdikli plâna, ve plân istikametinde yapılan yatırımlara rağmen, son olarak 12 Mart 1965 de İmar ve İskân Bakanlığınca (Balyanoz koyunda) tersane inşasının uygun görüldüğü bildiriliyor. Bakanlığın 12 Mart 1965 tarih ve Pl. 410332001/2872 sayılı yazılarında, (..... yeniden yapıla inceleme ve toplantılar sonunda da ilgili Bakanlıklarca hazırlanan protokolla Balyanoz koyunun bu maksat için en müsait yer olduğu üzerinde ittifak alınmıştır.) deniyor.

Bu fikir değişimi, plânlama gayesinin ne kadar zayıf tutulduğunu veya hiçe sayıldığını göstermektedir. Bakanlığın İBA Ltd. Şti. ne yazdığı yazısının sonunda (..... kesin bir karara varılabilesi için sözü edilen bölgelerde bu maksada uygun iddia olunan ve tersane yeri olarak seçilmesi mümkün görülen yerler mevcut ise münhasıran tetkik ettirmek üzere bunların bildirimini rica ederim.) demesi de şehir yerleşmeleri ile sorumlu teknik bir Bakanlığın, kendi görevini, bu konu ile ilgili olmayan bir Şirketten istenmesi, plânlamanın ne kadar az ciddiye alındığını ayrıca isbâllamaktadır.

Turizm yatırımı yapan bir şirketin, sorumlu olmadığı tersane yerleşmesi konusunda gösterebileceği yerlerde elbette isabet aranmaz.

İhtiyaçların karşılanmasından meydana gelecek çalışmaları önlemek ve kaynakları korumakta

iğer ihtiyaçların bu kaynaklara zarar vermiye-
ek şekilde yerleşmesi gereklidir.

nar ve İskân Bakanlığının son yazılarında
..... yeniden yapılan inceleme ve toplan-
lar sonunda da ilgili Bakanlıklarca hazırlanan
rotokolda denmekte, fakat bu konuda
irinci derecede ilgili olması gereken Bakanlık-
ardan Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığının. Toplan-
larda bulunmadığı gibi, protokola da dahil
dilmemiş ve bu Bakanlığın bu husustaki gö-
işünün de nazarı itibare alınmadığı anlaşıl-
maktadır. Şöyle ki: Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakan-
ğının 18.6.1965 gün ve 4284/9721 sayılı ya-
ılarında, (..... ekte bildirilen ve 4 Ba-
anlık arasında hazırlanan protokolden Bakan-
ğımızın mâlumata olmadığı gibi konu, turiz-
k bir bölge ile ilgili bulunduğu halde bu
evzuda yapılan toplantılardan da Bakanlık-
ımız haberdar edilmemiştir. Ancak 16.3.1965
arih ve 1971/4163 sayılı bir yazı ile Bakan-
ğımızın bu konudaki görüşü İmar ve İskân
akanlığına bildirilmiştir. Bahsi geçen yazıda
a belirtilenlere Üzere Bakanlığımız, Sanayi böl-
elerinin turistik sahalara kaymasını prensip
olarak kabul etmemektedir. Kaldı ki, bu bölge
nar ve İskân Bakanlığı tarafından 8.7.1960
arihinde 3206/7257 sayı ile tasdik edilmiş bu-
nan Darıca İmar ve İskân genişleme plânında
uristik saha olarak kabul edilmiştir.) denmek-
dir.

anayileşmeyi ve kalkınmayı sağlayacak, hız-
andıracak bir yerleşme düzeninin bilimsel iş-
irliği ve davranışla tesis edilebileceği aşikâr
up, bu husus plânlamanın gereklerinden biri-
ir.

u işbirliğinden kaçınılmış ve gerekli davranış
ektilmiştir. Doğu Marmara Bölge Plânı pers-
ektivi içinde bir tersanenin, gemi bakım hiz-
etleri ile yakın ilişkisi bulunduğu gözönüne
 alınması dolayısıyla limanlarla bu yakın iliş-
iyi yansıtabilecek şekilde yerleştirilmesi gerekir.
ir tersane yerleşmesinin İstanbul'un yakın
evresinde kurulması da, Türkiye henüz bir
enel yerleşme plânına sahip olmadığı cihetle
ok şüphelidir.

stanbul'un yakın perspektivi içinde Anadolu
e Rumelinin Marmara sahilleri, Boğaziçi ve
lalîç muazzam Turizm kıymetlerimizdir. Haliç
ugün mahvedilmiştir. Tahrîpkâr eller Boğaziçi
e Marmara sahillerine gitmekedir. Bu sahille-
imizin yabancı unsurlardan kurtarılması ve bu
nsurlara karşı korunması gerekir. Bu bölgeler
urizm yatırımlarının en uygun zeminleridir. Ni-
kim İş İşleri Bakanlığının İstanbul Valiliğine
e gönderilen 20 Ağustos 1963 gün ve 612-206.
6/16763 sayılı tamimlerinde, turizme elverişli
lan ve ileride de olması muhtemel sahif şerit-
erinin korunması hakkındaki görüşleri de bu
erçeklerin açık ifadesidir.

alkınma plânının ilk 5 yıllık devresinde
urizme büyük yatırımlar ayrılmış olup, bu
atırımların da en büyük kısmının Doğu Mar-
ara Bölgesinde yer alacağı ön görülmüştür.

alyanoz koyunda tersane yerleşmesini uygun
ören ve 4 Bakanlık arasında imzalanmış pro-
kola esas teşkil eden (Doğu Marmara Ter-
sane yerleşimi hakkındaki rapor) en incelen-
evresinde, Turizm faktörünün hiç nazarı itibare
linmadığı görüldüğü gibi, yer seçimi için takip
dildiği bildirilen metod da yanlış ve yetersiz-
ir.

— Rapor, tersanenin bu gün ve ilerideki se-
nelerinde ne ölçüde gelişeceğini ve büyüye-

dayanamamaktadır.

Bu nüve burada yaratıldığı takdirde ile-
riki senelerde gelişeceği tabiidir. Bu
yerleşimin kendisi ve gelişmesi, civardaki
turistik saha ve tesisler için bir tahribat
kaynağı olacaktır.

b — Tersanenin hangi yardımcı imâlat ve hiz-
met faaliyetlerini gerektireceği ve bunlar
için gerekli saha miktarı açıklanmamıştır.
Yer seçiminde göz önünde tutulduğu ileri
sürülen sanayiye yakınlık faktörü gereksiz
bir ifadesidir. Zira Cam Fabrikasına veya
bir Jip Montaj fabrikasına yakınlık, gemi
inşaatı için belirli ve yeterli bir fayda
sağlayamaz. Bir gemi inşa sanayinin li-
manlarla birlikte mütalâası olumlu bir
davranıştır.

c — Gelişmek istediğinde olduğu bildirilen Jip
ve Cam Fabrikasının gelişmesini önlemek
için bir Gemi İnşa Sanayii kurulmasının
kabul edilmesine imkân yoktur.

Bir sanayi bölgesinin büyümesini önlemek
için bu bölgeyi gemi inşa sanayine
tahsis etmek düşünülemez. Tam aksi, böl-
geyi ancak sanayi dışı bir faaliyete çevir-
mek bu gayeyi sağlar.

Kaldı ki, Jip ve Cam fabrikalarının bu Böl-
gede kalıp kalmayacakları münakaşa
mevzuu olup, her halde tevsihine imkân
verilmeyeceği bir gerçektir.

d — Kalifiye işçi temini bugünkü gerçeklerden
çok uzaktır. Bir sanayi bölgesinin ileri go-
lişme yıllarında, çevresinde geniş işçi İskân
sahalarını geliştireceği tabii olup, bunun,
hemen yanında dış talebe hitap edecek
Turizm Endüstrisine tahsis edilebilecek tesis-
lerin geliştirilmesine de imkân vermiyeceği
bir gerçektir.

e — Raporda tersane ile turistik tesisler ara-
sında bir tampon bölge kurulması şartı ile
mahzurların önleneyeceği beyan olunmaktadır.
Havadan, denizden ve karadan nasıl bir
tampon bölge düşünüldüğü meçhuldür.
800 metre tul civarında olan bir koyda
bunun teknik yönden mümkün olmayacağı
tabiidir.

f — Doğu Marmara'da ayrıca İzmit Körfezinde
tersaneye müsait yerlerin mevcut olduğu, fa-
kat tersane yapmak isteyenler için uzak adde-
dildiği ve komisyonca da böyle mütalâa
edildiği beyan olunmaktadır.

Bölge plânlaması perspektivi içinde tersane
yerlerinin seçimi şahısların isteğine göre
değil, ihtiyaçların karşılanmasında çeşitli
faaliyet alanlarını birbirleri ile çatıştırma-
ya bir organizma yaratmakla görevli
plânlamanın işidir.

Demek oluyor ki, Özel tersaneciler Bo-
ğaziçinde herhangi bir koyu veya Kalamış
koyunu isteseler, bunu da uygun görmek
gerekecektir. Zira onların isteği bütün şart-
lara uyacaktır.

SONUÇ

1 — İstanbul'un yakın gelişme alanı içinde ve
Turizm gelişmesinin en belirli zeminleri olan
Marmara sahillerinin bu bölgesi, "Darıca İmar
ve İskân Genişleme" Plânında Turizm Bölgesi
olarak tayin ve tesbit edilerek, 1960 senesinde
İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı tarafından tasdik edi-
lerek kanunî bir vesika haline getiriliyor.
Bu suretle, ihtiyaç ve taleplerin, yerleşme dü-

bütün tabii kaynakların korunmaları teminat
altına alınmış oluyor.

2 — En verimli yerleşme düzeninde plâna göre
yapılacak İcratın plân istikametinde istikrarlı
gelişmesini yaratmak, plânlama gayelerinden
biri olduğuna göre, bu yerde de plân istikame-
tinde 36 milyonluk bir turizm yatırımı yapılı-
yor.

3 — Plânlama gayelerinden biri de yatırımla-
rın geleceği için bir teminat sağlamak olduğuna
göre, 1960 senesinden bu yana aynı bölgelerde
yapılmak istenen tersane teklifi, ilgili merciler
tarafından plân otoritesi gereğince kesin ve olum-
lu ifadelerle reddediliyor.

4 — Tersane talep eden şirketin devamlı ısrar-
ları karşısında, birdenbire 1965 senesinde,
olumlu davranış terk ediliyor ve Turizm Bakan-
lığının dahil edilmediği bir protokol ile "Bal-
yanoz Koyunun tersane yerli olarak en uygun
yer olduğu" bildiriliyor.

5 — Plânlama, aynı zamanda bilimsel bir iş-
birliği gerektirdiği halde, bu konu ile en ya-
kından ilgili olan Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakan-
lığının görüşü nazarı dikkate alınmıyor ve ön-
görülmesi gerekli "tabii kaynakların korunma-
sı" fikri terk ediliyor.

6 — Doğu Marmara Bölge Plânı içinde, Gemi
inşa sanayinin Limanlar ile beraber düşünülme-
si yerine, gerekli araştırmalar yapılmadan,
böyle bir Plânlamaya geçilmeden, hattâ Doğu
Marmara Bölge Plânı çalışmalarında öngörülen
"sahillerin korunması" fikri ve Darıca Plânın-
daki tahsis şekli üzerinde durulmadan, yalnız-
ca bir kararla Balyanoz koyunda ısrar ediliyor.
Her iki yerleşimin de Doğu Marmara Bölgesi
içinde yer alması, plânlama çalışmalarının sonu-
cu olarak ortaya çıkması ise, bu ihtiyaç ve talep-
lerin yerleşme düzeninde birbirine zarar vermesini
önlemek zorunluluğundadır.

Bir plânlama düzeninde, turizme yararlı olan
ve olması muhtemel görülen sahalara kısa va-
delerle, plân otoritesi çizilerek başka funk-
siyonlara tahsis edilemez.

İstanbul'un yakın gelişme alanı içinde turizme
elverişli olan ve bu şekilde plânlanmış bulunan
ve plân istikametinde de büyük bir yatırım ya-
pılan bir sahif geridini, birinci sınıf gayri sıhhi
bir tesis olan tersane yerli olarak kullanmak,
ileride telâfisi imkânsız problemler yaratacak
ve plânlı kalkınma devrinde çok kötü bir mi-
sâl olarak kalacaktır.

Yukarıda detaylı bir şekilde arzedilen hususlar,
plânlı kalkınma devrinde, yurt ve bölgeler için-
de yerleşme plânlamasıyla görevli ve sorumlu
olan İmar ve İskân Bakanlığının ön çalışma-
larını tamamlamış bulunduğu Doğu Marmara
Bölgesi hakkında dahi sarîh bir görüşü olma-
dığını açıkça göstermektedir.

Not: Bu görüş Oda tarafından aşağıdaki mer-
cilerle iletilmiş bulunmaktadır:

- 1 — Başbakanlık,
- 2 — Devlet Plânlama teşkilâtı,
- 3 — İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı,
- 4 — Turizm ve Tanıtma Bakanlığı,
- 5 — Sanayi Bakanlığı,
- 6 — Millî Savunma Bakanlığı,
- 7 — T.M.M.O.B.
- 8 — Sanayi Odası,
- 9 — Millî Güvenlik Kurulu,
- 10 — Kocaeli Vilâyeti,
- 11 — İstanbul Vilâyeti,
- 12 — İstanbul Belediyesi.

Teksas değil, Bayramoğlu

İSTANBUL'un burasının dışında bir "Bayramoğlu" var. Birçok kişiyi, özellikle Ankara'da yaşayan yüksek seviyedeki bürokratların, doktorların, serbest meslek sahiplerinin yazlıklarının bulunduğu bir yer.

Ne var ki Ankara'da oturdukları sırada Türkiye'ye hükmeden bu "yüksük" düzeyli kişiler, Bayramoğlu'na gelince silt dükümüş kediye dönerler. Örneğin Bayramoğlu'nda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yasalarına, kurallarına, gelenek ve göreneklerine tabii tabii ters bir uygulama (ne demek bir uygulama, sayısız uygulama) yıllardan beri gözlerinin önünde cereyan edip gittiği halde, hiçbirini kendileri aralarında "Olur mu böyle şeyler?" (Bundan konuşmalar geçse bile sonunda "Yallahın Buca Gülhanı'nın bekimlerinden Dr. Battalgazi ve arkadaşları buradaki key-

liklere karşı mücadele açtılar da ne oldu, sonunda şirket kazandı" derler ve kaderlerine razı olurlar.

Diyeceksiniz ki "Ne şirket?"

Zaten işin aslı da bu "şirket"le ilgili.

Efendim, biliyorsunuz yasalarımıza göre bir yerleşim yeri ya "şehir"dir, "kavaba"dır, ya "köy" veya "mezra"dır. Bu yerleşim yerlerindeki insanlara ya "belediyeler" eliyle hizmet götürülür veya belediye kurulamayacak kadar küçük bir yerleşim yeriyse orası bir muhtarlığa bağlanır. Böylece toplumsal hizmetler muhtarlık kanalıyla yürütülür.

Oysa Bayramoğlu öteden beri Türkiye'nin dışında bir yerleşim yeriymiş gibi burada yaşayanlara belediye hizmetleri "Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi İmar İdare ve Bakım İşleri" isimli bir "şirket" evet yanlış okumadınız "şirket"

tarafından götürülür. Şirketli yönetimler halktan bu amaçla her yıl 40'er, 50'şer bin lira para toplar. Bayramoğlu aslında 1500 kadar yazlık eve yetecek kadar bir alan iken, İmar mevzuatı filan tanımayan "şirket"li uygulama içinde bu sayı 8-10 misline çıktığı için toplanan para çok büyük rakamlara ulaşır. Ama iş burada bitmez. Hemen yakındaki "Darica" Belediyesi de "Bayramoğlu hizmet sınırlarımız içindedir" der ve yasaların gerektirdiği vergileri toplar. Ancak sıra hizmet vermeye gelince Bayramoğlu'na karışmaz.

Ama sanmayın ki "şirket" ile "belediye"nin arası iyidir. Tam tersine "şirket"çiler belediyeden çekinir ve ikide bir halkı "Aman biz Belediyeye karşı koruyun" derler. Hemen "birlik, beraberlik" içine girerler.

Eksik bırakmamak için söyleyelim: Son zamanlarda Bayramoğlu "muhtarlık" bölgesi haline geldi. Ama belediyeye hizmetleri yine "Darica" ile "şirket" arasında kaldı. Ama yasa tanımazlık bitmedi.

Şimdi Bayramoğlu'ndakiler -hani o kocan kocan bürokratlar var ya... Onlar bu şirketin kamu hizmetlerini yapma yetkisini nereden aldığını doğrusu çok merak ediyorlar, ediyorlar ama işin altını kurcalayacak kadar cesaret gösteremiyorlar. Çünkü sadece "Bayramoğlu" ismi bile, çekimlerine yetiyor.

Ve birileri çıksa da onları bu dertten kurtarsa diye bekliyorlar.

Dakalım 13 Nisan 1986 günü saat 14.00'te Bayramoğlu'ndaki "İdare" binasında yapılacak toplantıda bir çare bulabilecekler mi?

Böylesini rüyanızda bile
Darıca Bayramođlu'nda, deniz kenarında

ESİNATSIZ 144 AY

SABİT FİYAT GARANTİSİ

büyük ödeme kolaylığı getiren kademeli

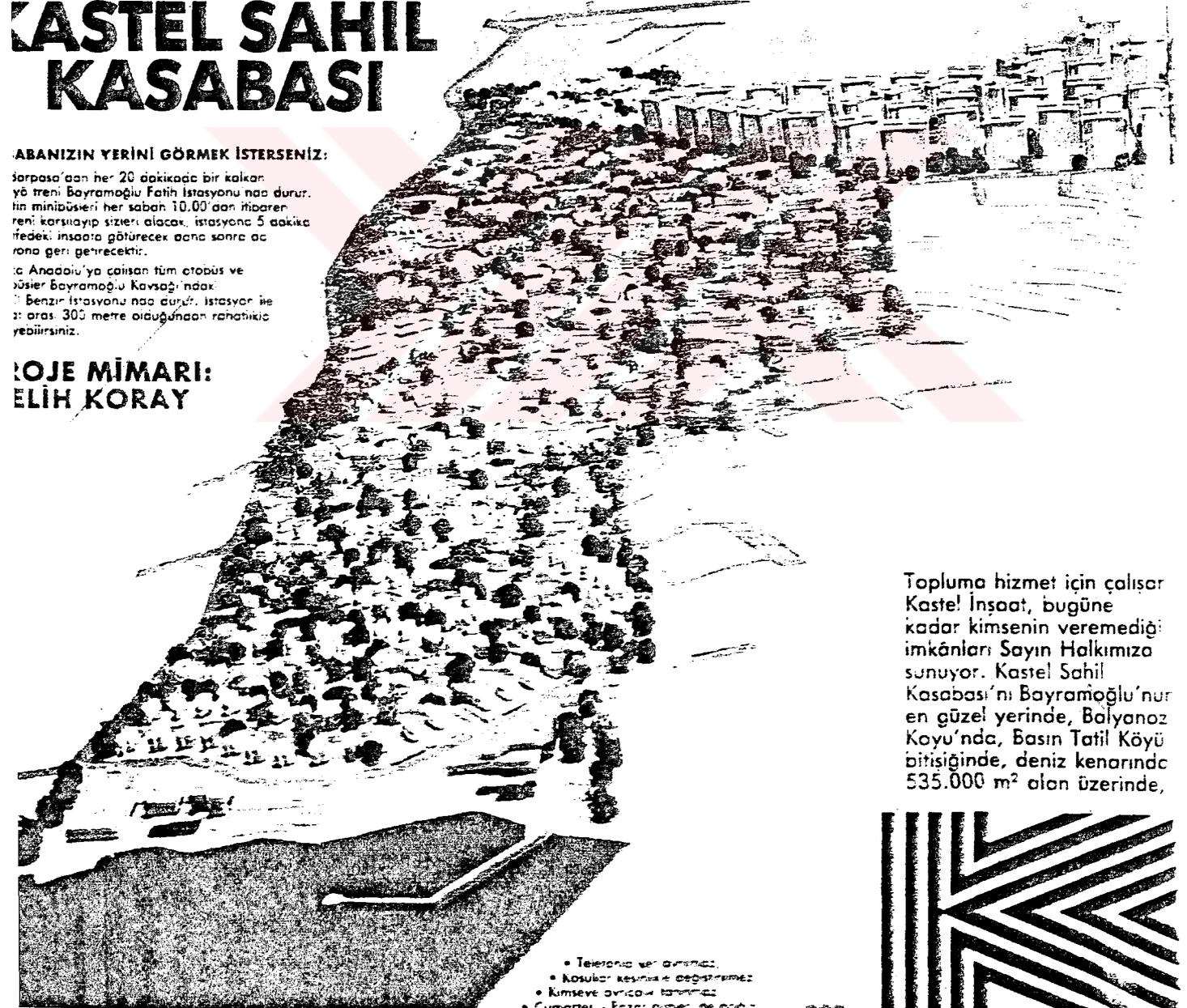
KASTEL SAHİL KASABASI

ABANIZIN YERİNİ GÖRMEK İSTERSENİZ:

İstanbul'dan her 20 dakikada bir kalkan
yö treni Bayramođlu Fatih İstasyonu'na durur.
İki minibüsleri her sabah 10.00'den itibaren
reni karşılayıp sizi alacak, istasyona 5 dakika
ifedeki inşaatı götürecektir. Orada sonra otobüs
rona geri girecektir.

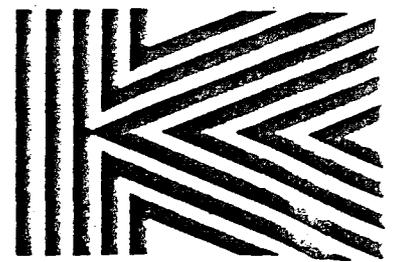
İstanbul'dan Anadolu'ya çalışan tüm otobüs ve
otobüsler Bayramođlu Kavşağı'ndaki
İstasyon ile istasyon arasında durur. İstasyon ile
arası 300 metre olduğundan rahatlıkla
yebilirsiniz.

PROJE MİMARİ: ELİH KORAY



Topluma hizmet için çalışır
Kastel İnşaat, bugüne
kadar kimsenin veremediği
imkânları Sayın Halkımıza
sunuyor. Kastel Sahil
Kasabası'nı Bayramođlu'nun
en güzel yerinde, Balyanoz
Koyu'nda, Basın Tatil Köyü
bitişiginde, deniz kenarında
535.000 m² alan üzerinde,

- Telefonla yer ayırmaz.
- Kosuvar kesinlikle değişmez.
- Kimseve ayırcılık tanımaz.
- Cumartesi - Pazar günleri de açılır.



Üsküdar'da iskele Mihrimahsultan Camii, Edirnekapusunda Mihrimah Camii, Süleymaniye Camii, Surre alayı, Mimar Sinan, Üsküdar da Valdeiatik Camii, Sultanahmed Camii, Hüdâi Aziz Mahmud Efendi, Üsküdar'da Çinili Cami, Yeni Cami, Üsküdar'da Yenivalde Camii, Şeyh Mahmud Nasuhi, Şair Süleyman Nahifi, Nurosmaniye Camii, Üsküdar'da Ayazma Camii, Lâleli Camii, ilk mahya, Beylerbeyi Camii, Hamidiye Türbesi ve İmâreti, Üsküdar'da Selimiye Camii, Kumbarahâne Camii, Nusretiye Camii, Mecidiye Camii, Hırkisaadet Camii, Ortaköy Camii, Dolmabağçe Camii, Kasımpaşa Camii Kebiri.

Adı geçen camilerin hepsinin birer resmi vardır; ekserinin bir köşesine bânisinin de bir madalyon içinde resmi yapılmıştır. Bir kısmı pek basit çizgilerden ibâret olan bu binâ resimleri umumiyetle çok kötü klişelerle ve adı bir mürekkebe kullanılarak basılmıştır. Hoş görülmelidir. müellifin eserini bin türlü güçlük ve maddi sıkıntı içinde tahakkuk ettirdiği bellidir, bu kadarı bile hamiyet işidir, büyük fedakârlıktır.

Bu kitapçık Ressam Hüsnü Beyi dâima rahmetle andıracaktır.

BAYRAMI TARİKATI TEKKELERİ — İstanbul'da muhtelif tarikatlere aid kurulmuş tekkeler üzerine tek rehber Üsküdarlı Ahmed Münib Beyin «Mecmuai Tekâya» adındaki 16 sayfalık risâlesidir. Hicri 1307 (M. 1889-1890) de basılmış olan bu risâlede yerleri, isimleri ve âyin günleri ile tesbit edilmiş 305 tekke içinde 4 Bayramî Tekkesi bulunmaktadır ki şunlardır:

Üsküdar'da Sahtakda Emekyemez Tekkesi (âyin günü pazartesi), Altı mermerde Tavil Mehmed Efendi Tekkesi (âyin günü sah), Üsküdar'da Divitcilerde Şeyh Himmet Efendi Tekkesi (âyin günü Sah), Nakkaşpaşada Himmetzâde Tekkesi (âyin günü Perşembe).

BAYRAMOĞLU (Necmeddin) — İş adamı, Tuzla-Gebze arasında geniş toprak sahibi, Bayramoğlu Sâhil Mahallesi Kuran İba Bayramoğlu Şirketinin iki ortağundan biri; 1920 de Darıcada doğdu, babası çiftçi ve mülk sahibi, Millî Mücadeleye iştirak edenlerden, «Müdafai Hukuku Vatan Cemiyeti»



N. Bayramoğlu

azası, zaferden sonra yıllarca Darica tahsiye reisliğini yapmış İsmail Beydir. N. Bayramoğlu ilk tahsilini Darıcada yapmış, Kadıköy Orta Okulunu bitirmiş, Kuleli Askerî Lisesine girmiş, Kuleliden de amirlik birincisi olarak mezun olmuş, Topcu amirlik tercih etmiş, 1943 de de Harb Okulundan diploma alarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Ordusuna topçu asteğmeni olarak katılmıştır. Odu hizmetinde 1955 yılına kadar on iki sene kalmış, Tuzla ile Gebze arasında babasından kalan cennet misâli sâhil boyunu imar etmek, lâyük olduğu medeni tesislerle iktisat etmek gaayesi ile yüzbaşı iken 1955 de ordu'dan istifâ etmiş ve hemen bu umran işine teşebbüs etmiştir (B.: Bayram oğlu sâhil Mahallesi). Gaayet nazik, sevimli çelebi, çok zeki; evli ve üç erkek evlâd sahibidir.

BAYRAMOĞLU SAHİL MAHALLESİ — Zamanımızın tâbiri ile İstanbul yükersosyetesinin yaz dinlenmesi, deniz eğlencesi ve sporları ve amatör bahçecilik meşgalesi için kurulmuş yeni bir mahalledir; Tuzla ile Gebze arasında bir yarım ada üzerinde emlak mülki idâre bakımından İzmit Vilâyetinin Gezbe Kazasına, hayattiyet bakımından da İstanbul şehri şehrine bağlıdır; bu köyün alınması da bu bağından dolayıdır.

Yarım adaya İstanbul - Ankara yolundan, Çayırova'yı geçtikten az sonra sınırlı hususi bir yol ile gidilir.

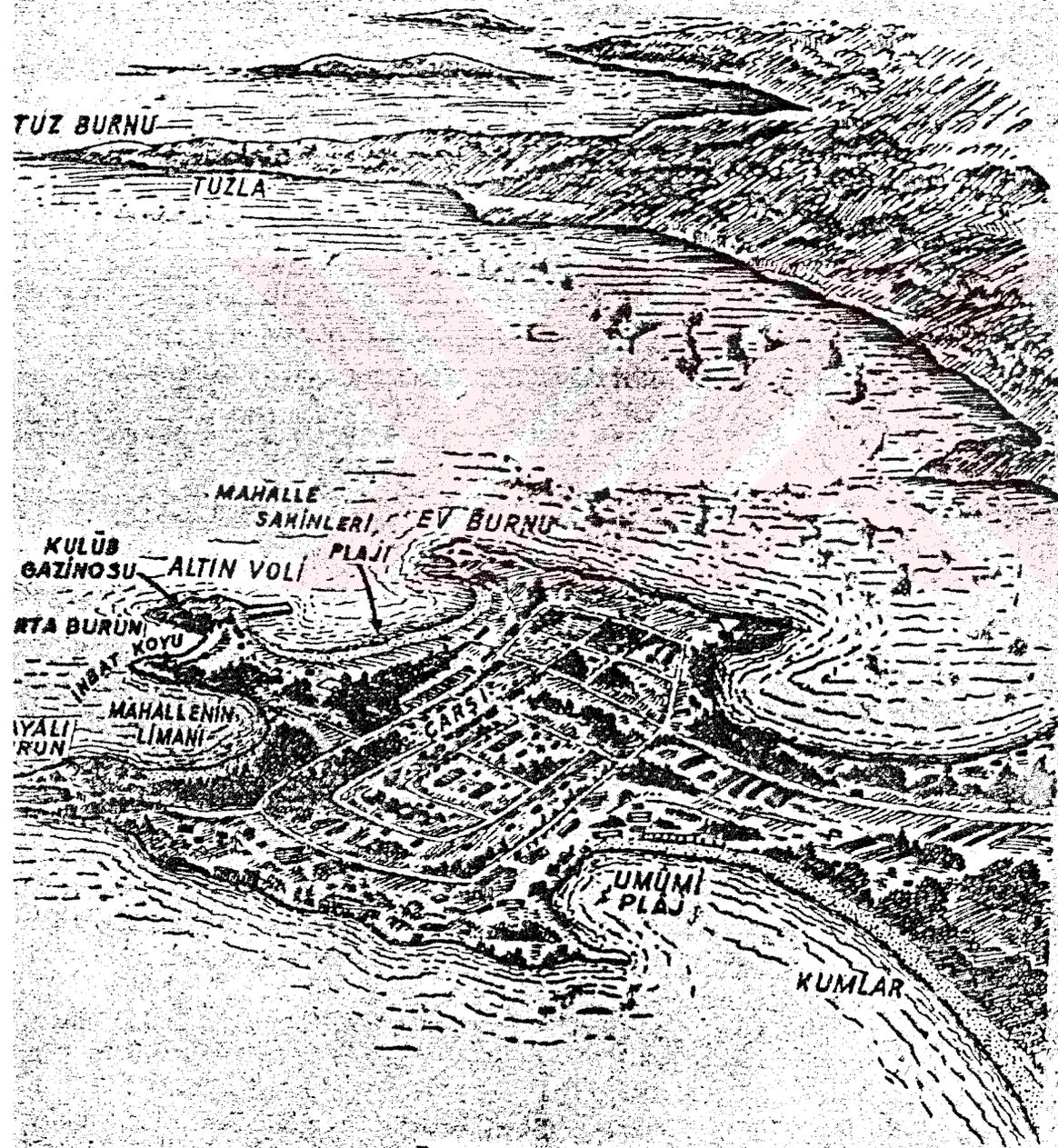
Mahalle toprak sahibi Necmeddin Bayramoğlu ile İba Limited Şirketinin kurduğu hususi bir ortaklıkla tesis edilmiştir, ve bu 1955 yılında başlanmıştır.

Bafra bakan üç burun arasında iki köşeli olan yarı ada 650 parselle ayrılmış olup, bu mahalleyi tesis eden şirket yarı adanın yollarının tanzimini, suyunu ve elektrik ile tenvirini üzerine almış, inşaat ile meşgul olmamaktadır, parsellemiş araziyi tahsis etmekle kâim evlerin yapma işi de

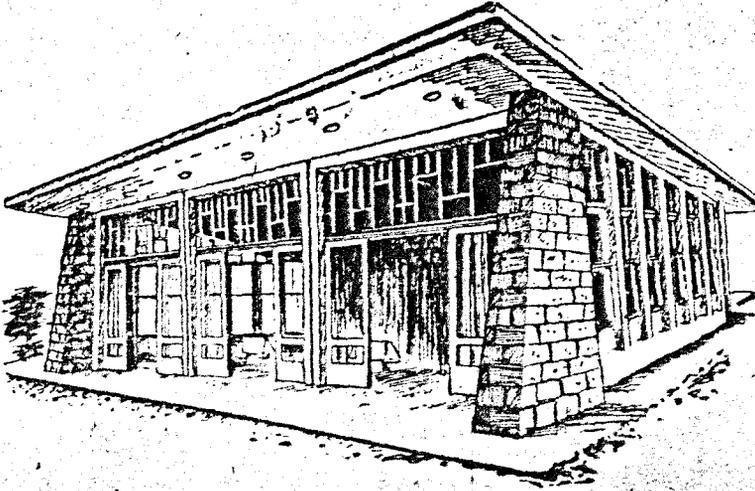
evlerine ve servet imkânlarına bırakılmıştır, Şirket binâ olarak batıdaki burundan birine güzel bir gazino, koylardan birine mahalle sâkinleri için hususî bir plâj ve plaj odaları, yarım adanın ortasında bir okak üzerine de dört dükkânlı bir çarşı yapmakla iktifâ etmiştir; ilerisi için, berzâın güneyinde, kadından beri «Kumlar» diye anılan koyda, mahalle sâkinlerinden ayrı haricden gelecekler için bir umumî plâj işası tasavvur hâlinindedir.

Parseller «lebi deryâ» ve «iç» olmak

üzere iki kısma ayrılmıştır; lebi deryâ parseller 700-800 metro karelik olup 50.000-60.000 lira arasında, iç parseller de 400 metro karelik olup 15.000-25.000 lira arasında satılmaktadır. Satış bedelinin nisfî peşin olup öbür yarısı iki sene vâde ile iki taksitde alınmaktadır. 1960 yılının Ağustos ayında 650 parselden 346 parseli satılmış, satılan parsellerden 41'inin üzerine de sâhibleri yazlık evlerini yaptırmış bulunuyorlardı; evlerini yaptırmış olanlar arasında tanınmış simâlardan Kâzım Taşkend, Doğan Nâdi, Şev-



Bayramoğlu Mahallesi
(Resim: Behret Çetrek)



Bayramoğlu Mahallesi Gazinosu
(Resim: Bülend Şeren)

ket Rado, Vedad Nedim Tör, Dr. Nihad Reşad Belger, Mimar Bedri Uçar, Y. Mühendis Necdet Arslan, Yapı ve Kredi Bankası İstanbul Merkez Müdürü Tâceddin Baykal, Fabrikatör Nihad Uzer, Mühendis Ali Akpınar ve toprak sâhibi Necmeddin Bayramoğlu vardı; arsa alıp da henüz evini yapırmayanlar arasında da Prof. Hüseyin Naili Kubalı, Falih Rıfki Atay, Prof. Tevfik Remzi kazancigil, Sulhi Dönmezer ve Müfide Küley bulunuyordu. Yine o Ağustos ayında yazı yarım adada geçiren 41 evin halkı 250-300 kişi idi.

Hususi Mahalle plajı açılmıştı; mahalle halkından ve onların misafirlerinden gayri kimse kabul olunmamakta idi.

Şirket, toprak tesviyesi, parselleme ameliyesi, ana yolun ve iç yolların açılması, çarşı, plaj ve gazino tesisleri, ve su getirilmesi için kurulmasından 1960 yılına kadar 5 milyon lira harcamış bulunuyordu. Su, Necmeddin Bayramoğlunun yine o civarda bulunan başka arazisi içindeki bir kaynaktan getirilmiş olup su mikyası derecesi 25 dir. Elektrik de Sarıyar Barajından temin edilmiştir. P. T. T. Umum Müdürlüğü de binası şirket tarafından açılmak şartı ile Mahallede bir şube tesisini kabul etmiş bulunuyordu. Şirketin bir otobüsü Kadıköy ile yarım ada arasında muntazam olarak işlemekte, bu bir araba günde üç gidiş ve üç geliş seferi yapmakta idi.

Bu yarım adanın bir nimet sayılacak hususiyeti, sularının en makbul bafıklara

yatak oluşudur; barbunya, sardalye ve bilhassa gaayet iri mercanlar çıkmaktadır, diğer makbul deniz mahlûklarından da bal istakozlar çıkmaktadır.

Bayramoğlu Sâhil Mahallesi'nin bir hususiyeti de maddî ve mânevî en küçük bir devlet muzâberetini istenmeden, tamamen şahsî teşebbüs eseri olmaktadır.

BAYRAM PAŞA — Onyedinci asrın birinci yarısında namı vezirlerden, Dördüncü Sultan Muradın eniştesi, en en sâdik ve mahrem adamı, ve

bu pâdişahın Bağdad seferi başında sadrazamı; İstanbulda bir semt bu vezirin nisbetle anılır.

İstanbulda doğdu, doğum târihi bilinmiyor; İsmail Hâmi Dânişmend «İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi» adlı eserinde büyük şehrin Devutpaşa semtinde doğduğunu kaydettikten sonra: «Babasının adı Kurd Ağa'dır, âilenin menşei Amasyanın Lâdik kaza basıdır» diyor.

Bayram Paşa pek genç yaşında, mülkî hiklik çağında Yeniçeri Ocağına nefer olarak girdi ve Yeniçeri neferliğinden ocak yoluyla yükselerek yetişti. O târihte devşirme kanunu yürürlükte, kendisinin de İstanbulda Kurd Ağa adında bir adamın sulbünden doğmuş yaya geldiği bilindiğine göre, Bayram Paşa'nın Ocğa girebilmesi için babasının bir Yeniçeri emeklisi, dolayısı ile Lâdik reyâyatında muhtedi olması gerekir.

Osmanlı Târih kütüğünde adına üç defa olarak hicri 1031 (milâdî 1622) senesinde vak'aları arasında «Turnacıbaşı Bayram Ağa» diye rastlıyoruz, İstanbulda yirmi yaşında kadırgaların nezâretine memur olmuş, Birinci Sultan Ahmedin kızı ile evlendirilmiş, Bayramda İskenderîyada oturan sultan, ananeye uyularak bir tib edilen bir düğün alayı ile Eski Saraydan alınıp Bayram Ağanın menziline nakledilmişdir. Yeniçeri Ocağından Turnacıbaşı rütbesinde bir zâbite, kendisine vezirlik verilmeden bir sultan ile evlendirildiği, bu bu Bayram Ağada istisnâî bir vak'a olarak

SATIŞ DUYURUSU

GEBZE BAYRAMOĞLU'NDA SATILIK DENİZ MANZARALI APARTMAN

Kocaeli, Gebze, 1. Bölge, Darıca Köyü, Bayramoğlu mevkiinde, tapunun 53 pafta, 2307 parselinde kayıtlı (Pelin Sok. No: 9) bodrum + zemin kat + 2 normal kat + çekme kattan oluşan deniz manzaralı apartman 1.510.000.000.- TL muhammen bedelle ve ihale yoluyla satışa çıkarılmıştır.

Taşınmazın ihalesine katılmak için gerekli olan % 3 teminat (45.300.000.- TL) İstanbul, Maslak'taki Merkez Şubemizce, teklifler GENEL MÜDÜRLÜK - Emlak Projeleri Pazarlama ve Satış Müdürlüğü'nce 14.05.1990 - 17.05.1990 günleri mesai bitimine kadar kabul edilecektir.

Alınacak kapalı tekliflerin değerlendirilmesi sonucu açık artırmaya 18. 05.1990 günü saat 14.00'te GENEL MÜDÜRLÜK - Emlak Portföy Yönetimi Başkanlığı'nda başlanacaktır.

Taşınmazla ilgili daha geniş bilgi ve satış şartnamesi Emlak Projeleri Pazarlama ve Satış Müdürlüğü'nden temin edilebilir.

Banka, 2886 sayılı ihale Kanunu'na tabi değildir.

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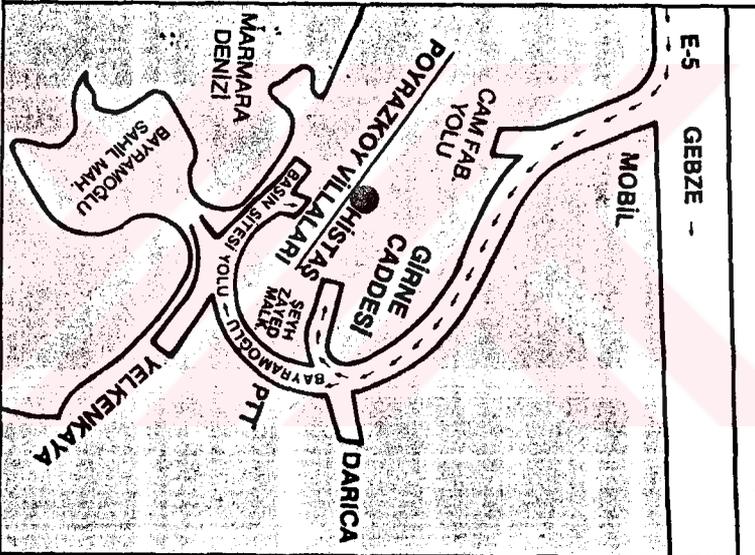
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EMLAK PROJELERİ PAZARLAMA VE SATIŞ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
TELEFON: 176 56 48 - 176 58 34 - 176 16 20 (30 HAT) 462 - 469



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Nasıl gidilir?

E-5 Karayolundan Gebze istikametine gidiyoruz. Arçelik fabrikasını geçince sağda Bayramoğlu yol ayrımına yaklaşıyoruz. Bayramoğlu istikametine sarp Darıca-Bayramoğlu kavşağına kadar ilerliyoruz. Yine Bayramoğlu istikametine sağa saptırız ve 20 metre ileride tekrar sağa sapan ve Balıanoz Köyüne inen GİRNE CADDESİ'ni takip ettiğimiz zaman doğru Poyrazköy Villalarının Şantiye Binasına ulaşırız. Dilerseniz Bayramoğlu-Darıca yol ayrımından sonra devam edip Yelkenkaya / Basın Sitesi Kavşağına ulaşabilir, sağa Basın Sitesi yoluna sarpip tabelalarımızı takip ederek yine Şantiye Binamıza ulaşabilirsiniz.



**Hafta Sonları
ve
Bayramda
Şantiyemiz
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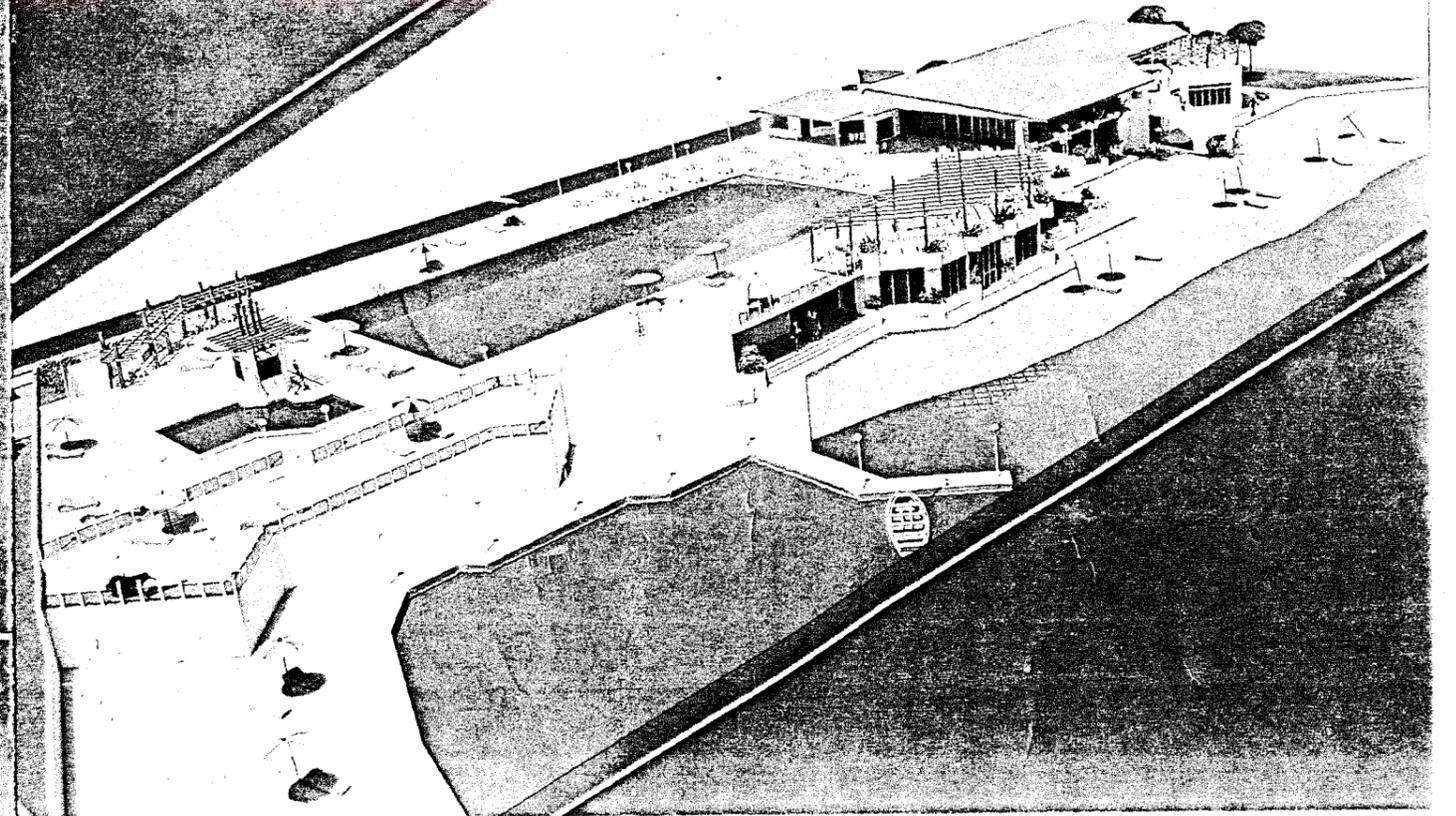
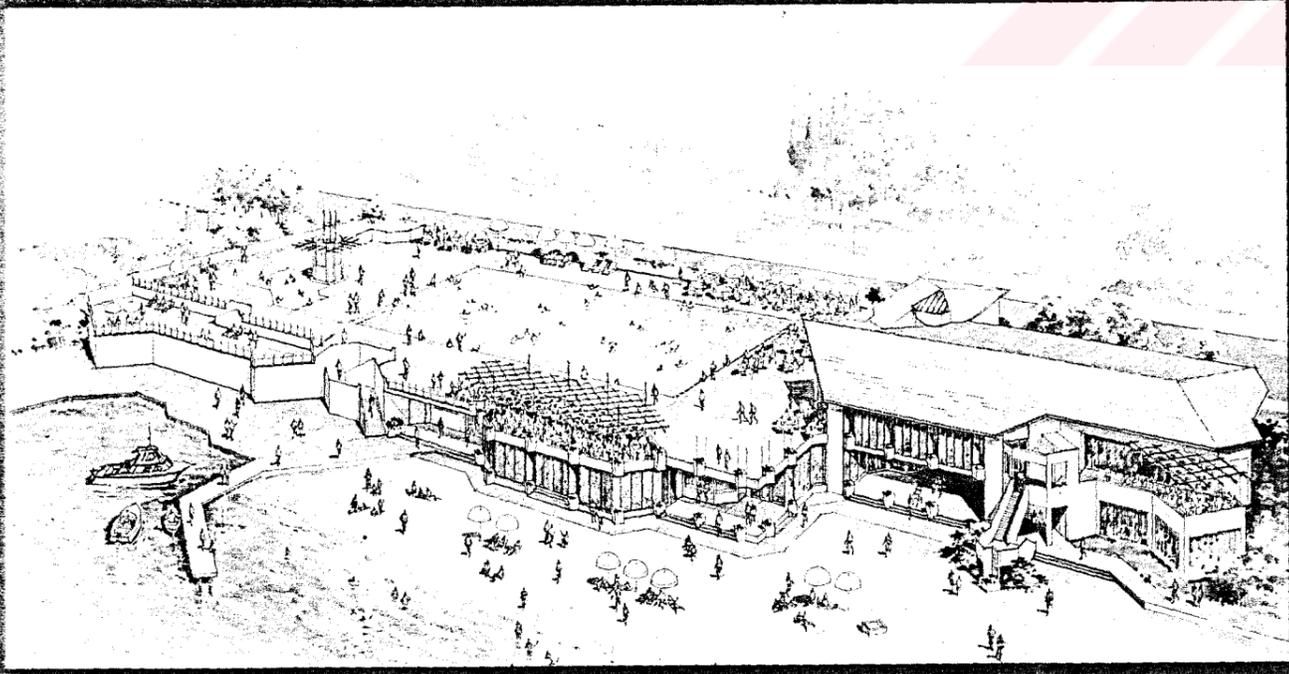
ARALIK - 1990

POYRAZKOY'DAN HABERLER

- * Sosyal tesis binamız ve yüzme havuzlarımız bitti. Havuzumuz dolduruldu. Kullanıma hazırlandı.
- * Artezyen kuyumuz da bitti ve işletmeye alındı. 100 ton/gün kapasiteli suyumuz var. Şebeke suyu olmasa bile günlük ihtiyacımızın 3 misli suyumuz var. Su sorununuz kalmadı. Dışarıya su bile satabiliriz.
- * İSKİ tarafından ihale edilen şebeke inşaatı devam ediyor. Nisan-91'de şebeke suyu da gelecek.
- * Siteye 4/40 kapasiteli otomatik telefon santrali koymaya karar verdik. Site içinde dahili görüşme yapılabileceği gibi diğer tüm imkanlarından da faydalanabileceksiniz.
- * Trafo tesisatı-pissu/temizsu şebekeleri-bordür ve iç yollar tamamlandı. Biten villalara enerji ve su verildi.
- * 9163-9164 ve 9166 parseldeki villalar tamamlandı. Biten villaların anahtarları sahiplerine teslim ediliyor.
- * Son parselde ince inşaatımız devam ediyor. 3-4 ay sonra site inşaatı tamamen bitirecek.
- * Bahçe tanzimi, ağaç ve çiçek dikim işlerine başlandı. Site için bahçıvan kadrosu oluştu.
- * 24 villamız sahipleri ile tanıştı. Satılık 12 villamız daha var. Önümüzdeki haftalarda bu villalar da sahipleri ile tanışacak.
- * Poyrazkoy Sitesi sakinleri arasında Doktor-Eczacı-Dişçi-İnş. Mühendisi-Mimar-Sanayici-Noter-Derici ve Tekstilci arkadaşlarımız şimdiden var.
- * Sezon sebebiyle satış kampanyasını da Aralık ayında başlattık. Şimdi Poyrazkoy Villalarına 1/3 peşin bakiyesini 12 ayda eşit taksitler ödeyerek sahip olabilirsiniz.
- * Sitemizde kat irtifakı kurulmuştur. Satışlar arsa payı üzerinden değil, kat irtifaklı tapu verilerek yapılmaktadır.
- * Kalitemize çok güveniyoruz. Bayramoğlu İstanbul'a sadece 20 dakika mesafede. Bir hafta sonu sizleri de gezmek için davet ediyoruz. Beğeneceğinize ve mutlaka sahip olmak isteyeceğinize inanıyoruz. Saygılarımızla,

KÂMİL ÇAMBOL
Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı
Genel Müdür

BAYRAMOĞLU SAHİL MAHALLESİ Plaj Düzenleme ve Havuz Tesisi Projesi



BAYRAMOĞLU SAHİL MAHALLESİ Plaj Düzenleme ve Havuz Tesisi Projesi

Gerekçe : Yıllardan beri İzmit körfezinde oluşan ve son yıllarda ise tüm Marmara denizinde ciddi boyutlarda kendisini hissettiren deniz kirliliği, maalesef 2000 ailenin yararlandığı mahallemiz plajını da etkisi altına almış bulunmaktadır.

Buna ilaveten Gebze - Darıca - Bayramoğlu bölgesinde artan nüfusun kullandığı ev atık sularına ilaveten bölgedeki endüstrinin atıklarıyla da adeta fosseptik çukuruna dönüşen Çayırova Körfezinin mevcudiyeti de plajımızı kullanılmaz hale getiren etkenlerin başında gelmektedir.

Mahallemiz esas itibarıyla bir tatil beldesi olarak kurulmuş olup genelde yaz aylarında deniz ve güneşten yararlanılmak amacıyla kullanılmaktadır.

Deniz kirliliği, mahallemizin bu özelliğini yakın bir gelecekte ortadan kaldıracak ve hatta terke zorlayacak önemdedir.

Süratle tedbir alınmadığı takdirde bütün özellikleriyle dillere destan olan mahallemiz, hak etmediği kötü ve olumsuz sıfatlarla anılmaya başlanacak ve bunun sonucu olarak da taşınmazların maddi değerlerinde de büyük düşmeler meydana gelecektir. Son iki yılda satılık ve kiralık ilanlarının artması bu olumsuzluğun ilk işaretleri sayılmalıdır.

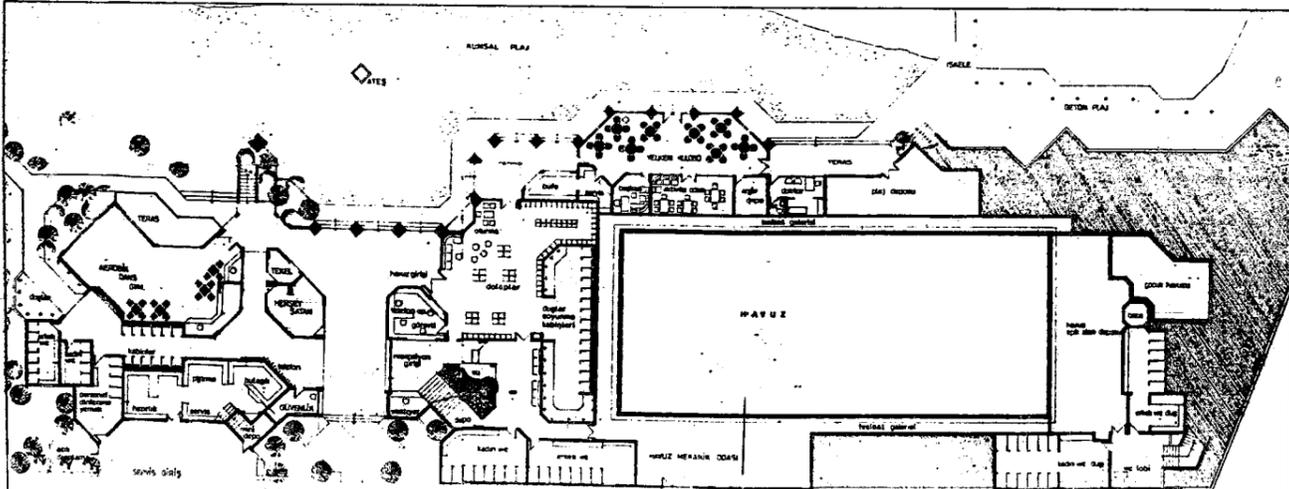
Yaşamımızda en büyük etken olan ve çözümü devlet gücü ile gerçekleştirilecek su ve kanalizasyon sorunu yanında, mahallemiz sakinlerinin imkan ve gayretleriyle çözülmesi mümkün olan plaj sorunu, her türlü hijyenik arıtma tesislerine sahip bir havuz kompleksi inşa edilerek ortadan kaldırılabilecektir.

Bu düşünce ile ve 1989 yılı Olağan Genel Kurulunda alınan temenni kararı çerçevesinde, plajın düzenlenmesi ve havuz tesisinin yapılması için ilgili tüm proje çalışmaları tamamlanmış ve inşaata Ekim 1990 da başlanılarak mahalle sakinlerinin 1991 yılı yaz mevsiminde yararlanabilmeleri için Mayıs 1991 de tamamlanmasını sağlayacak faaliyetlere başlanmıştır.

Projenin Özellikleri : Projede, mevcut plaj cephesi boyunca denizden yararlanılması ve kumsalın büyük bir kısmının aynen korunması ve tesisin, mümkün olduğunca halen kullanılmayan bölümde inşa edilmesi esas alınmıştır.

Ayrıca, büyük havuz platformunda ayrı bir çocuk havuzu yapılması, güneşlenme alanlarının geniş tutulması, gençlere yüzme yanında diğer sportif çalışmalarına imkan sağlayacak mekan ayrılması, yine gençlerin eğlenebilecekleri disko ve çay salonu bulunması, mahalle sakinlerinin günlük kıyafetleriyle kulüp atmosferinde birarada bulunmalarını ve yiyip içmelerini sağlayacak bir restoran ve kafeterya bulunması, gereken ihtiyaçların plaj bünyesinde satın alınmasını temin için içeride ve plaj önünde biriken seyyar satıcılardan kurtulmak amacıyla dışarıya dönük ve yol kenarında küçük dükkanların yapılması projede öngörülen hususlardır.

Projede genel olarak, yüzme havuzu, Restoran - Kafeterya, Gençlik Klübü ve Genel hizmetler olmak üzere dört ana bölümden oluşmaktadır.



Yüzme Havuzu Bölümü :

Büyükler için 40 x 18 x 2 mt., çocuklar için 10 x 8 x 0,6 mt. boyutunda iki havuz ile, havuz kenarında güneşlenme ve çocuk oyun terasları, soyunma kabinleri, kapalı ve açık duşlar, pergola ve büfe mevcut olup, havuzda deniz suyunun mikroplardan arıtılarak kullanılması ve plaj kumunun taşınmasını önlemek amacıyla giriş koridoruna fotoselli duş sistemi konulması öngörülmüştür.

Restoran ve Kafeterya Bölümü :

600 kişilik Restoran ve Kafeterya ile buna ait mutfak tesisleri ve akşamları havuzun kapanmasından sonra, havuz kenarının servise açılmasını sağlayacak şekilde bir düzenleme öngörülmüştür.

Gençlik Kulübü Bölümü :

Disko ve çay, oyun ve dinlenme, aletli jimnastik ve aerobik salonları ile su sporları için hazırlık ve depo bölümleri öngörülmüştür.

Genel Hizmetler Bölümü :

İdare ve personel odaları, giriş ve kontrol bölümleri, dükkanlar, makine ve filtrasyon daireleri, duşlar, WC ler ve gerekli depolar öngörülmüştür.

Projenin Maliyeti :

Proje 1990 fiyatlarıyla yaklaşık olarak;	
Proje hizmetleri	: 45.000.000.- TL.
İnşaat maliyeti	: 1.200.000.000.- TL.
Makine, elektrik ve tesisat maliyeti	: 375.000.000.- TL.
Dekorasyon ve tefriş	: 200.000.000.- TL.
Sair giderler	: 80.000.000.- TL.
Toplam	: 1.900.000.000.- TL.

Projenin Finansmanı :

2000 ortağı bulunan Bayramoğlu Sahil Mahallesi İmar İdare ve Bakım İşleri Anonim Şirketi kar gayeli bir ticari faaliyet göstermediği ve sosyal içerikli tüm faaliyetlerini ortaklarının katkılarıyla sürdürdüğü cihetle, mutlak hizmetleri dışında ek bir hizmet için ve özellikle benzeri proje yatırımlarını realize edecek bir fona sahip bulunmamaktadır.

Bu nedenle gereken finansman belirli bir sürede ve ortaklara yük teşkil etmeyecek bir tarzda ortaklar tarafından sağlanacaktır.

Yukarıda dökümü verilen proje maliyetine göre :

Her ortağın 1.000.000.- TL. (Bir milyon) ödemesi gerekiyor. Ortaklar bu paranın 500.000.- TL. sini 30.Eylül.1990 tarihine kadar ikinci 500.000.- TL. sini ise 1.Mart.1991 tarihine kadar taksitle ödeyebilme imkanına sahiptirler.

Ortakların katkılarının kıfayet etmemesi halinde kısa vadeli kredi kullanılmak suretiyle proje zamanında tamamlanacaktır.

Bilgi almak için müracaat edilecek yetkililer :

Azmi YAVUZALP	Yön. Kur. Başkanı	Tel. İst. ev 141 23 64 B.Oğ.ev 31223 İş 179 49 80 - 178 00 70
Necati NEMUTLU	Yön. Kur. Bşk. Vkl.	Tel. İst. ev 350 53 24 B. Oğ. ev 31521
Hakkı EREZ	Yön. Kur. Üye	Tel. İst. ev 336 92 92 B. Oğ. ev 31223
Visalettin VARDAR	Yön. Kur. Üye	Tel. İst. ev 146 33 44 B. Oğ. ev 31252
Ertuğrul KARABAKI	Yön. Kur. Üye	Tel. İst. ev 338 84 39 B.Oğ. ev 35501 İş 350 45 15
Haluk DENİZMEN	Yön. Kur. Üye	Tel. İst. ev 336 97 74 B. Oğ. ev 33811



A P P E N D I X C

TARİH :

ANKET NO :

ADRES :

PARSEL NO :

KONUTUN KAT ADEDİ :

BAGIMSIZ DAİRE ADEDİ :

TABAN ALANI (m²) :

PARSEL ALANI (m²) :

A) HANEHALKI ÖZELLİKLERİ

HANE BAŞKANINA YAKINLIK	YAŞ	DOĞUM YERİ	EĞİTİM DURUMU (SON BİTİRDİĞİ-NİZ OKUL)	MEDENİ DURUM	MESLEK	İŞ	STATÜ

B) ULAŞIM BAĞLANTILARI

ARABA SAYISI. (KAÇ ADET ARABANIZ VAR?)	KIŞLIK EVİNİN ZİN YERİ (SEMT MAHALLE)	KIŞLIK EVİNİN HANGİ VASITAYLA KAÇ SAATTE GİDİYORSUNUZ?	İŞ YERİNİN ZİN YERİ (SEMT-MAHALLE)	İŞ YERİNİZİN BURADAN HANGİ VAS. İLE KAÇ SAATTE GİDİYORSUNUZ?	EĞLENCE İÇİN NEREYE VE NE İLE KAÇ SAATTE GİDİYORSUNUZ?	GÜNLÜK ALIŞ VERİŞ İÇİN NEREYE VE NE İLE KAÇ SAATTE GİDİYORSUNUZ?	TOPTAN YİYECEK ALMAK İÇİN NEREYE, NE İLE GİDİYORSUNUZ, KAÇ SAATTE?	GİYECEK VE DAHA BÜYÜK ALIŞ-VERİŞ İÇİN NEREYE GİDİYORSUNUZ?

C) MEKANSAL VERİLER

1. SATIN ALMA

PARSEL-KONUT OLARAK MI SATIN ALDINIZ?	NE ZAMAN SATIN ALDINIZ?	KİMDEN SATIN ALDINIZ, NE İŞ YAPIYORDU?	NEDEN SATTI?	SATILIK OLDUĞUNU NASIL ÖĞRENDİNİZ?	NEDEN BAŞKA YERDE DEĞİLDE BURADAN PARSEL (YA DA KONUT) ALDINIZ?

2. İNŞAAT

KONUTUNUN İNŞAAT BAŞLANGIÇ VE BİTİŞ TARİHLERİ	NE ZAMAN TAŞINDINIZ ?	KONUTUNUN PLANINI KİME YAPTIRDINIZ?	KONUTUNUN İNŞAATINI KİME YAPTIRDINIZ?	KONUTUN ÖZELLİKLERİ.	KONUTUNUZ KAÇ M ² ?	KONUTUNUZ KAÇ ODAĞI İÇİN KULLANIYORSUNUZ?	KAÇ ODAYI YATMAK İÇİN KULLANIYORSUNUZ?	BARAJINIZ VAR MI?	YOKSA ARABANIZI NEREYE PARK EDİYORSUNUZ?	ZAMAN İÇİNDE KONUT, PARSEL, BAHÇE DÜZÜNDE HERHANGİ BİR DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPTIĞINIZ MI, BUNLAR NELERDİR?

D) SATISFACTION

1. YETERLİLİK			2. MEMNUNİYET				
ALTYAPI	YETERLİ	YETERLİ DEĞİL	NEDEN		MEMNUN	MEMNUN DEĞİL	NEDEN
SU				KOMŞULUK İLİŞKİLERİ			
ELEKTRİK				EVİNİZİN BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ			
YOL				EVİNİZİN PLANI			
KANALİZASYON				PARSELİNİZİN BÜYÜK.			
ÜSTYAPI				PARSELİNİZİN ŞEKLİ			
ALİŞVERİŞ YERLERİ				PARSELİNİZİN SOKAKLARA GÖRE KONUMU			
PLAJ							
PLAJ HİZMETLERİ							
PARKLAR				PARSELİNİZİN (KONUTUNUZUN) BAYRAMOĞLU NDAKİ YERİ			
SPOR ALANLARI							
ULAŞIM-KENT İLE BAĞLANTI				İDARENİN HİZMETLERİ			

E) ÇEVRE ÖZELLİKLERİ

1. TEMİZLİK

	EVET	HAYIR	HAYIRSA NEDEN VE SİZCE NELER YAPILMALI
HAVA			
DENİZ			
ÇEVRE			

2. GÜRÜLTÜ VE KALABALIK

	EVET	HAYIR	EVETSE NEDEN VE SİZCE NELER YAPILMALI
GÜRÜLTÜ			
KALABALIK			
ARABALAR KALABALIK, KARIŞIKLIK YARATIYOR MU ?			

1. Başka yerde yazlık konutunuz var mı, nerede?
2. Bir sezon içinde ne kadar süre ile Bayramoğlu'na, ne kadar süre ile diğer yazlığınıza gidiyorsunuz?
Bayramoğlu :
Diğer ev :
3. Evinizin yerini Bayramoğlu sitesi içinde değiştirme imkanınız olsa idi nerede olmasını isterdiniz, neden?
4. Etrafınıza baktığınızda (mahallenizdeki evler ve yollara) gördüklerinizi güzel buluyor musunuz, neden?
5. Bir arkadaşınız buradan ev almak istese önerir misiniz, neden?
6. Sizce burada konutu olan kişiler şanslı kişiler mi, neden?
7. Buradaki konutunuzla bir takas yapma şansınız olsa nerede konut almak isterdiniz, neden?
8. Genelde Bayramoğlu Sitesi hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?
9. Sizce Bayramoğlu sitesinin eksikleri nelerdir, elinizde olsa neleri değiştirmek, neleri eklemek isterdiniz?

10. Ulaşım eksikleri sizce nelerdir; ekleme, değiştirme olanağınız olsa neler yapardınız?
11. Burada oturmanızın başlıca önemli sebepleri nelerdir?
12. İleride konutunuzu ne yapmayı düşünüyorsunuz?
13. Konutunuzu yılda toplam ne kadar süre ile kullanıyorsunuz?
14. Arada geliyor musunuz (hafta sonları, bayramlar, vb.)?
15. Sizce Bayramoğlu ileride nasıl bir yer olacak?
16. Sizce Bayramoğlu eskiden nasıldı, şimdi nasıl, nasıl bir değişim gösterdi?
17. Sizce bir sayfiye yeri nasıl olmalıdır (ne gibi özelliklere sahip olmalıdır)?
18. Sizce Bayramoğlu bir sayfiye yeri mi, bir sayfiye yeri özelliklerinin ne kadarını taşıyor?
19. Yaz - kış burada oturmak için nelerin olmasını isterdiniz?