

UNDERSTANDING PERCEPTION OF SEA AND PUBLICITY OF
COASTAL ZONE WITH A USER-ORIENTED APPROACH:
THE CASE OF TRABZON CITY

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ELİF MURATOĞLU

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

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

Prof. Dr. Tarık Şengül
Head of Department

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

Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Olgu Çalışkan (METU, CRP)

Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok (METU, CRP)

Prof. Dr. Ruşen Keleş (Kapadokya Uni., KCY)



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

Name, Last name : Elif Muratođlu

Signature :

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING PERCEPTION OF SEA AND PUBLICITY OF COASTAL ZONE WITH A USER-ORIENTED APPROACH: THE CASE OF TRABZON CITY

Muratođlu, Elif

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

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. ađatay Keskinok

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The point of origin of this study is the stories told to and memories shared with the author about the coastal zone of old Trabzon. She observes that while waterfront of old Trabzon has the greatest and the best place in citizens memories, it has transformed into a disfavored place by the inhabitants of the city. In the past, Trabzon is a city coexists with the Black Sea in social, economic and visual manners. Unfortunately, it is defined as “the city turns its back to the sea” by its own citizens now.

Based on this observation, this thesis attempts to analyze changes in the coastal zone of Trabzon, their effect on publicity of this area and perception of the sea, giving the greatest importance to the space-related user experiences. Since this study focuses on the socio-psychological aspect of the urban planning practices, a frame of reference in which this study can be carried on consistently is drawn based on Henri Lefebvre’s “social space” theory. The importance given to the waterfront and perception of the sea in the planning history, memories of the inhabitants of four coastal neighborhoods and the comments done during the personal interviews are examined within this framework. During the examination of past and present space-related experiences of

citizens, Kevin Lynch's proposals "image of the city" and "a good city form" are benefited to apprehend the reflection of changes in the area on the publicity of the coastal zone and perception of the sea.

Keywords: Trabzon, Social Space, City Image, Publicity of Waterfront, Perception of Sea



ÖZ

DENİZ ALGISINI VE KIYININ KAMUSALLIĞINI KULLANICI ODAKLI BİR YAKLAŞIM İLE OKUMAK: TRABZON KENTİ ÖRNEĞİ

Muratoğlu, Elif

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı
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Bu tez çalışması, yazara Trabzon’da doğmuş ve büyümüş, genel olarak kentin ve Karadeniz ile Trabzon’un kıyı alanının kentsel yaşamdaki yerinin yıllar içindeki değişimine tanıklık etmiş kimseler tarafından aktarılan anılara ve hikayelere dayanmaktadır. Bu anı ve hikayelerde eski Trabzon, denizle bir arada var olan gerçek bir kıyı kenti olarak tarif edilirken yeni Trabzon, Trabzonlular tarafından “denize sırtını dönmüş kent” olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Bu gözlemlerden hareketle yazar bu tez çalışması ile, kıyıda meydana gelişen değişiklikleri ve bu değişikliklerin kıyı alanının kamusalılığı ile denizin algılanışı üzerindeki etkilerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu analizin, kentlilerin mekân odaklı kullanıcı deneyimleri üzerinden yapılması hedeflenmektedir. Bu çalışma, kentsel planlama uygulamalarının sosyo-psikolojik sonuçlarına odaklandığı için, çalışmanın sistematik olarak yürütülebilmesini sağlamak üzere, çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi Henri Lefebvre’nin “sosyal mekan” teorisine dayanarak çizilmiştir. Trabzon’un planlama tarihi içinde kıyının kamusalılığına ve denizen algılanışına verilen önem, Trabzon’un dört kıyı mahallesinin sakinlerinin anıları ve kişisel

görüşmeler sırasında mekan kullanıcıları tarafından yapılan yorumlar bu çerçevede incelenmiştir. Kentlilerin mekansal deneyimlerinin incelenmesi sırasında, Kevin Lynch'in “kent imgesi” ve “iyi kent formu” teorilerinden, kıyı alanında meydana gelen değişimlerin alanın kamusalılığı ve denizin algılanabilirliği üzerindeki etkisini çözümlemek amacı ile yararlanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Trabzon, Sosyal Mekan, Kent İmgesi, Kıyının Kamusalılığı, Deniz Algısı





To My Father

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Aim of the Study and Research Questions.....	1
1.2. Methodology of the Research	2
1.3. Structure of the Thesis.....	3
2. GUIDING FRAMEWORKS.....	5
2.1. Social Space	5
2.1.1. Significance for the Study.....	16
2.2. The Image of the City.....	17
2.2.1 Significance for the Study.....	20
2.3. A Good City Form.....	21
2.3.1. Significance for the Study.....	26
3. PLANNING HISTORY OF TRABZON	29
3.1. First Planning Experience: Lambert Plan (1938)	29
3.1.1. Main Decisions of Lambert Plan	31
3.1.1.1. Roads	33
3.1.1.2. Local Public Services	35
3.1.1.3. Zoning	35
3.1.1.4. Open Spaces and Park System	36

3.1.1.5. Preservation of Historical Tissue and Distribution of Cultural Facilities.....	37
3.1.1.6. Code of Practice.....	38
3.1.1.7. Application Program and Staging.....	38
3.1.2. Sea and Waterfront in the Lambert Plan	38
3.1.2.1. Vertical Roads in The North-South Direction and Terraces Towards the Sea.....	40
3.1.2.2. New Settlement.....	42
3.1.2.3. Terraces as Town Squares Towards the Sea.....	43
3.1.2.4. Beaches	45
3.2. Second Planning Experience: Trabzon Development Plan (1970).....	46
3.2.1. Major Lines of Trabzon Development Plan	47
3.2.1.1. Business Areas (Central Areas)	49
3.2.1.2. Transportation.....	49
3.2.1.3. Urban Service Areas	50
3.2.1.4. Residential Areas	51
3.2.2. Sea and Waterfront in the Trabzon Development Plan.....	51
3.3. Third Planning Experience: Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan (1989).....	52
3.3.1. Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan	53
3.3.1.1. Areas to be Revised	54
3.3.1.2. Additional Development Plan.....	55
3.3.2. Sea and Waterfront in Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan.....	55
3.4. Fourth Planning Experience: Trabzon Revision Development Plan (2002)	56
3.4.1. Trabzon Revision Development Plan.....	56
3.4.2. Sea and Waterfront in Trabzon Revision Development Plan.....	58
3.5. Conclusions from the Studies on Planning History of Trabzon	58
4. GOING BACK IN TIME: TRABZON NEIGHBORHOODS ALONG THE SHORE	60

4.1. Faroz.....	61
4.1.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Faroz from Past to Present.....	63
4.1.1.1. Fishery, Culture of Solidarity and Perception of Sea.....	65
4.1.1.2. Social Life and Perception of Sea	68
4.1.1.3. Sports and Perception of Sea.....	72
4.2. Sotka.....	74
4.2.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Sotka from Past to Present.....	76
4.2.1.1. Urban Fabric, Streets and Perception of the Sea	77
4.2.1.2. Beaches and Perception of the Sea.....	81
4.2.1.3. Symbolic Places and Perception of the Sea	82
4.3. Moloz	87
4.3.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Moloz from Past to Present.....	88
4.3.1.1. Commerce in Moloz and Perception of Sea.....	89
4.3.1.2. Cognitive Routes, Bridges and Perception of Sea.....	96
4.3.1.3. Coastal Public Areas and Perception of Sea	102
4.4. Çömlekçi	105
4.4.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Çömlekçi from Past to Present.....	107
4.4.1.1. Trabzon Port and Perception of Sea	108
4.4.1.2. Streets and Perception of Sea	109
4.4.1.3. Symbolic Places and Perception of Sea	118
4.4.1.4. Beaches and Perception of Sea.....	121
4.5. Conclusions from the Studies on Memories	105
5. COMPARISON: SPATIAL QUALITY, PERCEPTION OF THE SEA AND THE COASTAL ZONE OF TRABZON FROM PAST TO PRESENT	126
5.1. Vitality: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	126
5.1.1. Safety: Remarks from the Personal Interviews.....	127
5.1.1.1. Changes in the Sense of Safety	130
5.1.2. Sustenance: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	131
5.1.2.1. Changes in the Sense of Sustenance	133
5.1.3. Consonance: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	134

5.1.3.1. Changes in the Sense of Consonance	136
5.2. Sense: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	138
5.2.1. Identity and Legibility: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	138
5.2.1.1. Changes in the Sense of Identity and Legibility	139
5.2.2. Structure: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	141
5.2.2.1. Changes in the Sense of Structure	145
5.2.3. Congruence: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	148
5.2.3.1. Changes in the Sense of Congruence	149
5.2.4. Transparency: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	151
5.2.4.1. Changes in the Sense of Transparency	152
5.3. Access: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	153
5.3.1. Access to Places: Remarks from the Personal Interviews	153
5.3.1.1. Changes in the Sense of Access to Places	154
5.4. Conclusions from the Comparison of the Former and Current State of the Coastal Zone	156
6. CONCLUSION.....	157
REFERENCES	167
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	173
APPENDIX B: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM	188

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Lefebvre's Three Levels of Social Space (Source: Fuchs, 2019, p. 137)....	15
Table 2: Comparison of the sense of safety based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	130
Table 3: Comparison of the sense of sustenance based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	133
Table 4: Comparison of the sense of consonance based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	137
Table 5: Comparison of the sense of identity based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	140
Table 6: Comparison of the sense of structure based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	146
Table 7: Comparison of the sense of congruence based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	150
Table 8: Comparison of the sense of transparency based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	152
Table 9: Comparison of the sense of access based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author).....	155

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Tabakhane Valley during the urban transformation project (Source: Mollamehmetoğlu, 2018)	9
Figure 2: Lefebvre’s conceptual triad (Source: Salama & Wiedmann, 2013, p. 162).....	12
Figure 3: Five elements of the city image (Source: Lynch, 1960, pp. 47- 48).....	19
Figure 4: Twelve quality criteria to evaluate city space (Source: gehlpeople.com, 2018).....	28
Figure 5: Lambert's conceptual schema of the main operation proposals (Source: Lambert, 1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p. 186)	32
Figure 6: Lambert's Development Plan approved in 1938 (Source: Lambert, 1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p.186).....	33
Figure 7: Lambert's conceptual diagram of the zoning (Source: Lambert, 1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p. 186).....	36
Figure 8: Trabzon Development Plan approved in 1970 (Source: Aydemir, 1989, p. 51).....	48
Figure 9: New names of coastal neighborhoods and the sections they examined (Source: prepared by the author)	60
Figure 10: Faroz (Yalı) Neighborhood (Source: prepared by the author)	61
Figure 11: Faroz Fishing Port Area (Source: the author, 2019, July 12)	62
Figure 12: Old Faroz (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 86)	63
Figure 13: Fishery in Faroz in 1950's (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)	64
Figure 14: Knitting the fishnets. Gülle Temel and Captain Bilal; a memory from the old port (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 19)	65
Figure 15: Ayasofya Beach in 1940’s (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)	71
Figure 16: Faroz Rowing Team (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 61)	72
Figure 17: Training Field of Karadeniz Gücü (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 59)	73

Figure 18: Sotka (Hızırbey) Neighborhood (Source: prepared by the author)	74
Figure 19: Historical Buildings in Sotka: Hızırbey Ülkü Primary School (left), Hagios John Church (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	75
Figure 20: A Postcard showing Sotka in 1914 (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019).....	76
Figure 21: Sotka in 1940's (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019).....	76
Figure 22: The rock mass to the west of Kayalık Cul-de-sac (Source: the author, 2019, July 13).....	80
Figure 23: Looking south (left) and north (right) from the two ends of Kayalık Cul-de-sac (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	80
Figure 24: Looking to the west from the corner where Haneciler Street and coastal road crosses: Uncle's Tea House and the area in front of it (Source: the author, 2019, July 13).....	83
Figure 25: Facade of Uncle's Tea House (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	83
Figure 26: The cognitive route of Sevim (2011) (Source: prepared by the author)	84
Figure 27: Monopoly Products Tobacco Processing Factory in 1970 (right) (Source: www.alibayir.com)	85
Figure 28: The Fair Ground in 1979 (left) and Faroz Fishing Port (bottom-right) (Source: M. R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)	86
Figure 29: Pazarkapı and Çarşı Neighborhoods (Source: prepared by the author)	87
Figure 30: Moloz (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2008)	88
Figure 31: The pier of Moloz (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2009).....	91
Figure 32: Alemdar Mosque being constructed in Moloz (Source: the author, 2019, July 13).....	91
Figure 33: The commercial axes (Source: prepared by author)	93
Figure 34: The new fish market (Source: the author, 2019, July 13).....	95
Figure 35: Dalyan Tea Garden in late 1980s (Source: www.twitter.com, 2016).....	97

Figure 36: Mumhaneönü in 1930s (Source: M.R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)	98
Figure 37: U-shaped commercial route (Source: prepared by author)	99
Figure 38: Zehra Kitapçioğlu Kinder Garden and the narrow street going down the sea (Source: the author, 2019, July 13).....	100
Figure 39: Trabzon City Walls, Historical Tissue, Tabakhane and Zağnos Valleys (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2009).....	102
Figure 40: Kemer kaya, İskenderpaşa and Çömlekçi Neighborhoods (Source: prepared by the author)	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Figure 41: A street view from Çömlekçi (left) and looking through Çömlekçi and Trabzon Port from the south (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	106
Figure 42: Old Çömlekçi (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2010).....	107
Figure 43: Trabzon Port in 1966 (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2008)	109
Figure 44: The route going down to the beach described by Somel (2011) (Source: prepared by author)	110
Figure 45: The street stairs (left) and Limonlu Street (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	110
Figure 46: The stone house (left) and the narrow street going down to the sea (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	111
Figure 47: Main vertical axes, Dalyan Tea House and Emperyal Club House (Source: prepared by the author)	113
Figure 48: Looking through Emperyal Club house from Ganita (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2010)	114
Figure 49: Emperyal Club House (Source: Biryol, 2016, p. 196)	115
Figure 50: Traces of terraces on the top of old houses of Çömlekçi (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	116
Figure 51: Levels of Privacy (Source: Ekim & Vassilaki, 2015, p. 28)	117
Figure 52: Kanuni Anatolian High School Building in the past (left) (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2007) and 2019 (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)	118
Figure 53: Ganita (Source: Yılmaz, 2011, p. 20)	119

Figure 54: The Sea Cliff Ganita is located on (Source: Yılmaz, 2011, p. 64)	120
Figure 55: The beach of Çömlekçi (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2007)	122
Figure 56: The beach of Ganita in 1940s (Source: www.facebook.com, 2019)	124
Figure 57: Exit of an underpass (Source: the author, 2019, July 14).....	127
Figure 58: The bicycle road (Source: the author, 2019, July 14).....	128
Figure 59: A bike sharing point (Source: the author, 2019, July 14).....	129
Figure 60: One of the points where the waste water discharges to the sea (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)	132
Figure 61: The bicycle road, a buffet and the walking trail (Source: the author, 2019, July 14).....	141
Figure 62: An overpass on the coastal highway (Source: the author, 2019, July 14).....	145
Figure 63: An outline for a people-oriented urbanistic perspective based on Lefebvre's Triad (Source: prepared by the author)	161
Figure 64: The traces of Lambert Plan's concepts and Lynch's five perceptual elements (Source: the author).....	164
Figure 65: The traces of Lambert Plan's concepts and Lynch's five perceptual elements (Source: the author).....	165

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study and Research Questions

This study has two objectives; to examine the effect of the changes in the coastal zone of Trabzon on the perception of the sea and publicity of the area and to analyze reflection of these alterations on inhabitants' image of the coastal zone. Before starting to work on the case study, firstly a set of research questions to draw a guiding framework is determined; 1) **“Why space is a social phenomenon?”** 2) **“How do people perceive space in their daily lives?”** 3) **“How the effects of spatial changes on the perception of a space can be analyzed?”** Based on three major theories on the social and psychological aspects of the space, perception of the space and the factors that affect the quality of a space's publicity; a comprehensive analysis is performed. Respectively, these theories are “social space” established by Henri Lefebvre and “the city image” and “good city form” theories established by Kevin Lynch. To put it in a different way, this study can also be regarded as an exercise endeavoring application of the notions introduced by Lefebvre and Lynch to Trabzon's coastal zone.

In this context, this study looks for answers of the following questions. The first research question – **“how the coastal zone of Trabzon has been approached in major plans?”** – is investigated to trace the functions given to the area, its public space characteristics and the importance given to the clear perception of the sea back to the early years of the Turkish Republic. The second research question – **“how inhabitants' space-related experiences regarding the waterfront and the sea have changed in the course of time??”** – is examined to understand personal, mental and emotional effects of these changes in the coastal zone on inhabitant's images. In other

words, by answering this question, the findings of the first research are tried to be confirmed in its physiological and social aspects. After the examination of perception of the sea and publicity of the area in a defined time period, the final research question – **“how do inhabitants evaluate the changes in the coastal zone of Trabzon based on their own space-related experiences in terms of clear perception of the sea and publicity of the area?”** is examined to understand whether they interpret these changes positively or negatively. With the answers given to these research questions, this study summarizes spatial history of Trabzon’s waterfront in last 90 years, collects often-heard arguments about transformation of Trabzon’s waterfront and evaluate them in an urbanistic perspective.

1.2. Methodology of the Research

Since this study intends to explore the physiological and sociological aspects of urban planning and design in one sense, a literature review on urban sociology and urban design is conducted at first. As a result of the literature review, some major theories of urban sociology and urban design evaluated as the best fit to draw a guiding framework are determined. All the data gathered about the case study is comprehensively investigated within the guiding framework drawn by these theories.

The data gathered can be categorized under two titles as technical and anthropic data. Technical data is mostly used for the analysis of the planning history of Trabzon. In addition to the planning reports, academic publications and online sources are also examined. This group of data is collected from the planning reports of four major plans of the city procured from Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality. The context of four major plans, their main planning decisions, principles, propositions and their approach to the sea and waterfront are examined within the theoretical framework.

Anthropic data is divided in two categories; 1) the memories regarding the former state of the coastal zone, 2) opinions about its current state. The memories are found by investigating memoirs of citizens of Trabzon, local periodical publications and doing personal interviews by elderlies have been lived in the city. To get opinions of about

the current state of the coastal zone, personal interviews are made with eight citizens. The personal information of the interviewees is as below:

- Interviewee 1 (I.1): 53 years old male, living in Trabzon for 53 years
- Interviewee 2 (I.2): 67 years old male, living in Trabzon for 67 years
- Interviewee 3 (I.3): 51 years old female, living in Trabzon for 51 years
- Interviewee 4 (I.4): 59 years old male, living in Trabzon for 59 years
- Interviewee 5 (I.5): 50 years old male, living in Trabzon for 50 years
- Interviewee 6 (I.6): 41 years old female, living in Trabzon for 41 years
- Interviewee 7 (I.7): 39 years old male, living in Trabzon for 39 years
- Interviewee 8 (I.8): 42 years old male, living in Trabzon for 42 years

In this context, some questions are asked to the interviewees based on the interview guideline. The interview guideline prepared beforehand contains a set of questions to get interviewees' opinions about the current state of coastal zone. The questions are prepared based on the spatial quality criteria and elements of the city image identified in the scope of the theoretical framework. After the analysis of the data about past and present states of the coastal zone, the comparative analysis of the changes in the coastal zone and their effect on perception of the sea and publicity of the coastal zone is made.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This study consists of six chapters. The current chapter, **Chapter 1**, is giving introductory information about the research. Main objective of the study; the research questions to be answered to conduct a comprehensive research and reach the stated objective; methodology of the research and the structure of the study is explained in this chapter. In **Chapter 2**, a theoretical frame of reference is defined in which this study can be carried on. Major theories related to the critical issues treated in the study are determined based upon the literature review done. The selected theories, which are Henri Lefebvre's theory named "social space", Kevin Lynch's theory named "the city image" and Kevin Lynch's theory named "good city form" are examined in detail

under three sub-titles. Their significance for the study and how they can be applied to Trabzon case are particularly investigated. **Chapter 3** focuses on the planning history of Trabzon. Main planning decisions, principles, propositions of the major plans of Trabzon and their approach to the sea and the coastal zone are examined. The examination is done in reference to the main concepts of “the city image” theory explained in detail in the previous chapter. In **Chapter 4**, memories about the sea and the coastal zone of Trabzon, belonging to inhabitants of Trabzon who have been lived in the four coastal neighborhoods located in the city center of Trabzon are analyzed. Perception of the sea and public characteristics of the coastal zone of Trabzon in the past is intended to be comprehended by the analysis of these memories. The examination is done within the context of Lynch’s two proposals: “the city image” (1960) and “a good city form” (1981). In **Chapter 5**, primarily the findings of personal interviews are compiled. Then, comments regarding perception of the sea and publicity of the coastal zone in the memories and the personal interviews are compared. This comparison is done based on a set of criteria Lynch (1981) defines as performance dimensions and proposes to evaluate spatial quality of a given place in his theory named “a good city form”. In addition to the analysis about whether the coastal zone has altered for the better or not in terms of spatial quality from past to present, changes in perception of the sea from the coastal zone and the inner city is also examined. In the conclusion chapter, **Chapter 6**, the findings of the research are summarized and a critical review is done based on them. On the basis of these findings, a strategic framework for urban planning and design based on user-centered approach is offered. This strategic framework is tried to be customized to be applied in coastal cities for the sake of increasing publicity of the waterfront and clear perception of the sea.

CHAPTER 2

GUIDING FRAMEWORKS

The point of origin of this study is the stories told to and memories shared with the author. She observes that perception of Black Sea and coastal zone of Trabzon by the inhabitants diversified in the course of time. Based on this observation, she attempts to analyze changes in the mentioned area and their effect on perception of this area, giving the greatest importance to the space-related user experiences.

This study necessitates achieving a certain level of awareness on this issue: space cannot be regarded just as the composition of physical architectural elements; it finds its true meaning in more psychological and sociological levels. Any intervention to the space by authorities will have not only spatial but also social consequences. Thus, there are three main questions should be answered for a comprehensive analysis: 1) “Why space is a social phenomenon?” 2) “How do people perceive space in their daily lives?” 3) “How can we analyze the effect of spatial changes on the perception of a space?”

In this chapter, Henri Lefebvre’s theory named “social space”, Kevin Lynch’s theory named “the city image” and Kevin Lynch’s theory named “good city form” are studied as they are providing answers to the questions above. These theories provide a frame of reference in which this study can be carried on consistently. In addition, significance of these theoretical frameworks for the study and applicability of them on the case of Trabzon are also examined.

2.1. Social Space

According to Lefebvre, the perception of space transforms from absolute to abstract. While absolute space highlights the physical, it is sum of natural fragments, populated

by masses and changes into a political realm at some point. However, during this transformation, absolute space does not fade away, it continues its existence in a more historical and representational way (1991, p. 48). In the course of time, while its neutrality is annihilated by the historical forces (dominant actors of its time), it accumulates knowledge, money, works of art, memories and symbols. Eventually, absolute space become a set of things/signs and their formal relationships, which functions objectively; abstract space. In abstract space, fragments of architecture objectively and derivatively perceived (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). In short, abstract space demolishes absolute space, reconstructs it and concentrates the ties between things and signs.

A particular view of the space predominates since ‘mind-body dualism’ – res extensa and res cogitans – of Descartes. With reference to the distinction between res cogitans and res extensa, space is perceived either just material (res extensa) or logical-epistemological (res cogitans). It is interpreted as an empty surface defined by coordinates, lines and planes like in Euclidean geometry or a prerequisite of all experiences detached from the empirical area, like in Kant (Arslan Avar, 2009, p. 7). As it can be seen, Lefebvre’s absolute and abstract spaces bear the traces of res extensa and res cogitans of Descartes. Nevertheless, while Descartes apprehends these two concepts separated from each other as scientific paradigms to be interpreted by geography and epistemology, Lefebvre attempts to merge them and perceive the space as a whole.

In Trabzon case, absolute space can basically be described as the rough sea, mountains parallel to the sea, sloping land between the sea and mountains, settlements established by different civilizations throughout the history on this sloping terrain and vegetation colored with every shade of green. More or less this would be the answer a person who have never been in Trabzon, lived in Trabzon, or did a research about it. This quite objective, textbook description of the city does not give any clue about the urban dynamics of Trabzon. However, it is more than likely that each of Trabzon’s inhabitants would mention more specific details about the sea and the waterfront, the rural life ongoing at that mountains, personal experiences took place in the narrow

streets of the city, symbolic meanings of some buildings or monuments for him/her and so on. These subjective comments done according to the person's political view, socio-economic status, gender, age etc. give insights about the city life, the effect of the interventions of local government to the city space and interpretation of these governmental actions by the inhabitants. This is what Lefebvre (1991) calls abstract space. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the urban space, which is perceived objectively, evolves out of the geography in the first place. Thus, absolute and abstract spaces could not be apprehended separately.

Lefebvre's theory of the production of space bases upon this precise dualism, this distinction between which is geographical, objective and socio-political, subjective. Lefebvre (1991, p. 27) calls this dualism the double illusion:

If it is true that (social) space is a (social) product, how is this fact concealed? The answer is: by a double illusion, each side of which refers back to the other, reinforces the other, and hides behind the other. These two aspects are the illusion of transparency on the one hand and the illusion of opacity, or 'realistic' illusion, on the other.

The illusion of transparency postulates an innocent space free of traps or secret places. The word "transparency" here refers to the state of openness to any intervention by who is in the ascendant. Anything hidden is regarded as hostile to transparency and should be easily realized in a snap by them. Writing and talking are forms of intervention according to this theory. Therefore, the illusion of transparency bases on the intervention of talking and writing, which consequently creates a coded realm and what have been spoken and written are taken for social practice (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 27-28). Brenner and Elden (2009, p. 371) clarify what Lefebvre (2009, p. 238) intends to say that illusion of transparency can be definitely interpreted as a political illusion of transparency, as state manipulates spatiality extensively by mystifying representations of space depending on what is written and spoken instead of what is socially practiced. This representation enables state to strategically and effectively intervene to the space as it is thought to be transparent (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 238). Brenner and Elden (2009, p. 371) clarifies the final point of this process as below:

In this way, the intensely commodified, homogenized, and fragmented social spaces of modern capitalism acquire the mystified aura of pre-given, natural landscapes or apolitical, technical environments. The imprint of the many strategic decisions, political interventions, ideological negotiations and social struggles that underpinned the production of such spaces is magically hidden; the operations of statecraft, whether grandiose or mundane, are thus insulated from political interrogation.

Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality's statements about Zağnos and Tabakhane Urban Transformation Projects were the most dramatic example of the fact that state manipulates spatiality extensively by mystifying representations of space depending on what is written and spoken instead of what is socially practiced. Zağnos and Tabakhane Urban Transformation Projects were applied by Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality in cooperation with Housing Development Administration of Turkey. Metropolitan Mayor Orhan Fevzi Gümrukçüoğlu states that (Gümrukçüoğlu, n.d. cited in Sarıçayır, 2014):

Trabzon is a 4000 years old historical city. We attach importance to urban transformation projects in order to transfer the city of art, civilization and sports to the next generations in the best way. Especially with the completion of urban transformation projects in the Zağnos and Tabakhane valleys, we will restore the two important valleys of our city to its former identity. These two important valleys, which were consisting of tangerine, orange, pomegranate and fig gardens before crooked construction, are the breathing pipes of our city. With the completion of the transformations, we will also open the city's breathing tubes.

However, in his article published in a local news portal, Mollamehmetoğlu (2018) stated that Tabakhane Valley is filled within the scope of the urban transformation projects and supported his argument with photographs (see: Figure 1). He warned the local authorities that this denaturation could prepare the ground for natural disasters such as the flood took place in 1990, which occurs due the fact that the creek had been closed, and a channel had been built on it. According to him, this intervention is a reflection of the local government's approach to shores; filling them, gaining space and creating urban rent (Mollamehmetoğlu, 2018). As a respond, Secretary General of the Metropolitan Municipality Cengiz Çolak attempted to justify their intervention to the valley as below ("Vadi katliamı' haberine Trabzon BŞB'den açıklama geldi", 2018):

Our goal is to make the valley more useful in the new arrangement. For this we make the fill significantly flat. When it is steep, it is not very comfortable. We're not filling it all. Picnic areas, seating and similar social needs will be put on the work. We will overhaul the whole area in terms of landscape.



Figure 1: Tabakhane Valley during the urban transformation project (Source: Mollamehmetođlu, 2018)

In addition to the reality that naturality of the valley was damaged, the people living in the area was also incurred losses. G. Büyükbingöl (personal interview, June 13, 2019) states that, even though they had been given an amount of money for their property rights in the area, most of the inhabitants had to leave their houses because of the fact that they could not afford to buy or rent the newly built houses on the area with the money paid to them. Generally, middle class families bought these houses

(G. Büyükbingöl, personal interview, June 13, 2019). In short, what nature and society really experiencing in the transformation area was tried to be disguised by local authorities via their discourses. This is a clear example of what Lefebvre emphasize as the political illusion of transparency (Lefebvre, 1991).

The other pillar of the double illusion Lefebvre (1991) is the realistic illusion. The realistic illusion emphasizes what is physical, natural and substantial emphasized by the realistic illusion. Unlike it is portrayed according to the illusion of transparency, space has no need for decoding, it has a natural simplicity. On this view, landscape has a substantial reality, form represses symbolic content, and raw material used in space-oriented occasions directly and solely is delivered from the domain of nature. (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 29-30). In other words, space is so real that it has no need for any explanation or interpretation.

Lefebvre makes an analogy between the illusion of transparency and philosophical idealism and the realistic illusion and materialism. He states that as we oscillate between them, they accentuate each other rather than having an antagonistic relationship. These two illusions getting together, as it is mentioned in his quote above, prevent human mind to comprehend (social) space as a (social) product (1991, p. 30).

At this point, Lefebvre reviews his first proposition is that social space is a social product. By three implications, he attempts to invalidate the double illusion. First, Lefebvre opposes to the realistic illusion by stating that in capitalist societies nature is just regarded as a raw material out of which the dominant productive forces have applied their spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31). More importantly, his second implication is that every social system produces its own spaces. Every single space is appropriated and one of a kind, so it needs a comprehensive analysis with its own specific time and rhythm of daily life. It is also important to say that every time Lefebvre calls “society”, he refers to a particular mode of production (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31). Hence, space is far from being transparent and innocent as it is described in the illusion of transparency. Space is an object for analysis because of the fact that each society comes with its own dynamics due to the variant relations of production and

reproduction (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31). It contains layers of social interactions, power relations in the form of structures such as buildings, streets, monuments, and so on (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33-34).

Trabzon is a city that has historical importance and a rich cultural background as it was the capital of Great Pontus Empire, which dominates Black Sea Region at its time. It has always been a city that draw attention with its magnificent natural features, which provides Trabzon with great agricultural and touristic potential. As it has always been a port city due to its geographical characteristics and strategical location, Trabzon has served as the door of Anatolia opens to the Northern Asia. It undergoes many changes throughout the history but it remains important after the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923. When Trabzon is considered from this point of view, it is clear that Trabzon has a complex economic, cultural and social structure, which definitely reflects on the city form and architecture. Reminding that space is an object for analysis because of the fact that each society comes with its own dynamics and contains layers of social interactions and power relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31), Trabzon is gold mine to examine in terms of social dynamics, power relations and their reflection on the urban planning and architecture.

Insofar, Lefebvre's words below summarize why "social space" must be examined in a nutshell (1991, p. 32):

More generally, the very notion of social space resists analysis because of its novelty and because of the real and formal complexity that it connotes. Social space contains – and assigns (more or less) appropriate places to – (1) the social relations of reproduction, i.e. the bio-physiological relations between the sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organization of the family; and (2) the relations of production, i.e. the division of labour and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions. These two sets of relations, production and reproduction, are inextricably bound up with one another; the division of labour has repercussions upon the family and is of a piece with it; conversely, the organization of family interferes with the division of labour. Yet social space must discriminate between the two – not always successfully, be it said – in order to 'localize' them.

His third implication is about what is to be examined. He clarifies that if space is a social product, then it would be mistaken to analyze things in space separated from

the process of production. Historical incidents leading to the present state of a particular spot or place (thereby altering it simultaneously), their traces and even etymology of the word ‘space’ are inscribed in space. Thus, product and production process are two inseparable aspects when it comes to the “social space” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 36-37).

We can conclude that, Lefebvre sees social space as a complex concept having physical, mental and social aspects. He offers his conceptual triad to apprehend all of them as one (see: Figure 2). He outlines a theory that different aspects of space and their formation processes come together (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 16). Therefore, analysis of the space requires a set of definitions of what is physical, mental and social. Below, three levels of social space are explained in detail.

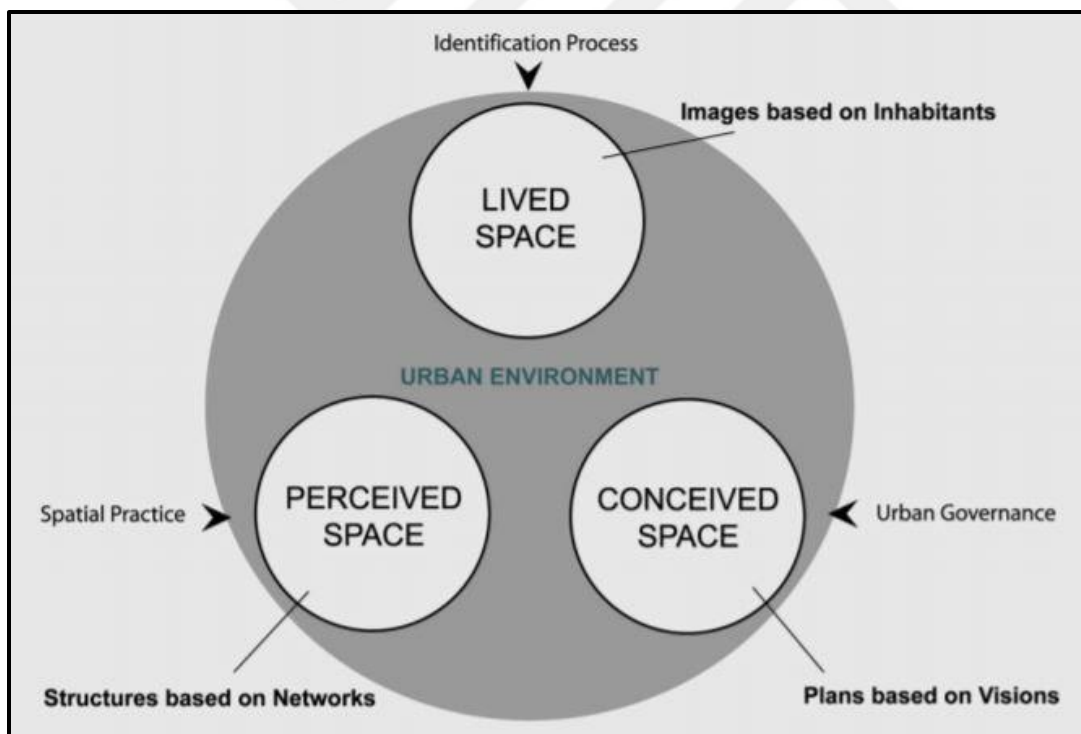


Figure 2: Lefebvre’s conceptual triad (Source: Salama & Wiedmann, 2013, p. 162)

Spatial practice (Perceived spaces): The notion of “spatial practice” refers to a set of spatial characteristics of a social formation located in a particular area. Continuity and cohesion at some level are essentials of spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Spatial practice gradually produces society’s space. Starting from this point of view, by decoding its living environment, dynamics of a society can be deduced (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38).

Lefebvre (1991, p. 38) argues that in neo-capitalist societies “spatial practice” takes its form from co-occurrence of daily routine and urban reality. His basic definition of urban reality is that “the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, ‘private’ life and leisure” (1991, p. 38). Therefore, “spatial practice” makes itself visible in the daily life of a tenant. “Spatial practice” is what Lefebvre calls “perceived space”. Basically, it is how an individual perceives the outside world, the physical appearance (1991, p. 40). Kurtar (n.d., p. 6) interprets perceived space as the space that shapes our space-related behaviors and that we live in without questioning.

Just like Lefebvre (1991) argues that “spatial practice” is the composition of inhabitants’ daily activities which they are unconsciously pursuing and the urban networks connects these activities with each other, Leary-Owhin (2016, pp. 68-69) suggested three major elements forming “spatial practice” all together:

Spatial practice has three major elements: 1) the physical, material city and its routine maintenance; 2) major urban redevelopment in the context of existing neo-capitalist and state power structures; 3) routines of daily life that conform with official representations of space. It is space directly perceptible through the senses, although mediated by 2 and 3 above – perceived space.

Representations of space (Conceived spaces): Due to the relations of production and to the spatial system they create, space presents an order of signs and codes (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Thereby, it represents planners, architects, scientists and social engineers, who conceptualizes it, or rather a superior mind imposing them to do so. As they identify and design where we live in, in a way they decide what is lived and what is perceived. Representations of space or conceived space in other words, is the dominant one in any society (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38).

Leary-Owhin (2016) supports Lefebvre's (1991) idea that technocrats form conceived space. S/he defines representations of space as "rational, intellectualized, official conceptions of urban areas for analytical, administrative and property development purposes" (Leary-Owhin, 2016, p. 69). They are the official and dominant representations produced by technocrats in the form of conceptual maps, zoning plans, master plans, strategy documents, design guides and so on (2016, p. 69). In brief, conceived space is the design and the planning (Kurtar, n.d., p. 6).

Representational spaces (Lived spaces): As conceived space is the space of technocrats, representational spaces are the spaces of inhabitants. In addition, they belong to artists, philosophers and writers describe in their works without any intention of manipulating society's mind. A representational space alias a lived space is another layer on the physical space. It strongly depends on spatial experiences of the user. It is altered and appropriated by imagination; symbolic meanings can be ascribed to its objects. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39).

Lefebvre (1991) and Leary-Owhin (2016) are on the same page when it comes to the relationship between space and what inhabitants cognitively and emotionally experienced in it. Leary-Owhin argues that a representational space is the personal and emotional representation of an inhabitant's urban everyday space. S/he interprets space based on personal and cultural memories rather than representations of space explained above. In this sense, representational space contradicts dominant representations of space most of the time (2016, p. 69).

To draw a more concrete frame of three levels of social space – spatial practice, representations of space and representational space – Fuchs (2019, p. 137) proposes the table below:

Table 1: Lefebvre's Three Levels of Social Space (Source: Fuchs, 2019, p. 137)

	Spatial Practice (Perceived Space)	Representations of Space (Conceived Space)	Representational Space (Lived Space)
Subjects	Members of society	Planners, architects, technocrats, social engineers	Inhabitants and users who passively experience space
Objects	Outside world, locations, spatial sets, urban transport routes and networks, desirable and undesirable spaces	Knowledge, signs, codes, images, theory, ideology, plans, maps, transportation systems	Social life, art, culture, images, symbols, images, memories
Activities	Perceiving, daily routines, reproduction of social relations	Conceiving, calculation, representation, construction	Living, everyday life and activities.

Fuchs (2019, p. 135) puts Lefebvre's (1991) most explanatory definitions of social space together:

Space is not a thing (p. 73) and not a container (p. 94). It is a product and a means of production (p. 85). Human beings 'have a space and [...] are in this space' (p. 294). Space 'is neither subject nor object' (p. 92). It is a 'social reality,' and 'a set of relations and forms' (p. 116). It subsumes products and their interrelations (p. 73). There is a dialectic of social space and human action: 'Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others' (p. 73). Space is part of a dialectic of production: 'Space is at once result and cause, product and producer' (p. 142). Social space is 'always, and simultaneously, both a field of action [...] and a basis of action' (p. 191). Social space interrelates 'everything that is produced either by nature or by society' – 'living beings, things, objects, works, signs and symbols.'

The inference is that, interrelation between individual, society and space is immanent in Lefebvre's triad, combination of which formulates social space in the last instance. As Fuchs (2019) states that social relations are produced by individuals living in a society and they are structuralized to enable or prevent the practices in social systems. Social spaces are where these relations are bounded, related and organized (p. 144).

Therefore, proper analysis of any given space seeks an adequate level of understanding of the social relations taking place in it.

2.1.1. Significance for the Study

Lefebvre's triad consisting of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space forming social space all together draws a frame into which the research is conducted. According to Lefebvre, space is a social phenomenon and can only be fully comprehended by examining these three dimensions. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis necessitates enquiry on the following three issues:

- Spatial organization of the selected area, urban networks, interrelations of physical elements experienced unconsciously while using it,
- Urban design and planning approach of the authorities lurk in zoning plans, master plans, urban design projects and policy documents,
- Personal and emotional space-related experiences and ascribed meanings to a given location by the user.

This study aims to present a comprehensive analysis of change in the perception of the sea and Trabzon's waterfront as a public space in the course of time. Due to the time factor, comparison of the former and current states of the area in all three respects should be done. Second issue is studied via the spatial land management decisions regarding waterfront in Trabzon's planning history.

The significance of Lefebvre's theory of social space for the study is the fact that it also puts emphasis on user experience by revealing first and last dimensions of his triad; spatial practice (perceived space) and representational space (lived space). At this juncture, it is useful to remind that the subjects of these two dimensions are inhabitants. While the first one manifests itself in the unconscious perception of the urban environment, the last manifests itself in the social life, the personal and emotional expressions in the memories, images of inhabitants, in the artwork and in

the local culture. Therefore, the examination of user experiences about the coastal zone of Trabzon in the past and present times are included in the study. This examination is done by comparing statements about the area in the memoirs and personal interviews. In addition, the references to the sea and waterfront in some art works such as photographs and paintings provide inputs.

Even though Lefebvre's argument is more than enough to gain insight about space is being a social phenomenon, it remains relatively intangible when it comes to study on the Trabzon case. Lefebvre put emphasis on perception of space (perceived spaces) and inhabitant's space-related experiences (lived space), however his argument lacks the frame of reference in which these experiences are associated with the physical space. In other words, he gives limited information about how people perceive their living environment. At that point, an additional guiding framework is found necessary. As Kevin Lynch's proposal – *The Image of The City* – explains people perceive space through specific urban design elements, it is also applied for the examination of publicity of Trabzon's waterfront and perception of the sea.

2.2. The Image of the City

In his book *The Image of The City*, Kevin Lynch reveals his initial argument about the city image and its elements: any given city has a public image as a combination, an overlapping version of individual images. Each individual image is one of a kind, yet it more or less correlates with the group image. He states that imageability is influenced by lots of factors such as social meaning of the area, its history, its function or even its name (Lynch, 1960, p. 46). Therefore, in order to study in a defined frame of reference, he merely focuses on what is physical and perceptible in his analysis. Lynch delimits his work with the pattern of elements, their structuring and creating the urban identity (Lynch, 1960, p. 46). Since this study also applies for Lefebvre's "social space" theory which basically focuses on the above-mentioned factors, they are not left out of the scope. In this sense, "social space" (Lefebvre, 1991) and "city image" (Lynch, 1960) are two complementary theoretical frameworks of the study.

Lynch (1960, p. 14) examines central areas of Boston, Massachusetts; Jersey City, New Jersey and Los Angeles, California in observers' eyes. Two analysis were carried out in each of these cities. First analysis is mapping various elements based on a field exploration by walking. Observers' create their personal cognitive maps demonstrating connections and disconnections between elements, their visibility, their level of effectiveness on observers' image and the most successful and unsuccessful elements in the context of image structuring. Second analysis is an interview held with a small sample chosen among the city residents: people who were living or working in the given area for a long time. The fact that their residences and offices are both locating in the area is defined as a precondition. Interviewees are asked to give descriptions of locations and draw sketches (1960, p. 14).

He proposes (1960, p. 46) that the content of a city image is composed of five types of elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.

Paths: Paths are all about movement. An individual moved, is moving or will move along these channels such as streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads. Predominance of paths in people's image is stems from the fact that observers behold other elements, as they are moving through them. In addition, organization of other elements are strongly dependent to the arrangement of paths (Lynch, 1960, p. 47).

Edges: Edges serve as separating linear elements. They are not perceived as paths; they are boundaries between two areas. Some of them break the continuity and perceived as barriers even though they could enable penetration at a certain level. Some of them can also behave as connective lines along which two areas joined together. Their predominance is not as much as paths, however in case of they are outlining an area at any scale, for example a shore or a city-wall (Lynch, 1960, p. 47)

Districts: Basically, districts are sections of the city differing in size and having some common, identifying characters. As an observer enters a district, s/he has a sense that "being inside of". Likewise, if it is visible from outside, it can be used for exterior reference. Depending of the observers' perception and design of the given city, they can be predominant as much as paths (Lynch, 1960, p. 47).

Nodes: Lynch defines nodes as strategic spots, intensive foci points in the city (1960, p. 47). He apprehends nodes in two different ways. Firstly, nodes can be junctions, breaking points of transportation lines, convergence of paths, shifting points from one structure to another where individual passes through while s/he is travelling. This kind of nodes are closely related with paths as it can be deduced. Secondly and more importantly, they could simply be concentration points of some use or physical appearances such as a street-corner hangout or a town square (1960, p. 47). Some of them serve as focal point of a district, radiating influence of the symbolic meaning that they stand for. In this case, they are related to the districts as they are polarizing centers of them (Lynch, 1960, p. 48).

Landmarks: Landmarks are strategic reference points of observers' journey, just as nodes. However, contrary to nodes landmarks are external elements, they are not entered within like a town center or a junction. At the city scale, they not only appear within the city but also, they can be located at a distance such as great hills or isolated towers. However, in the restricted localities, landmarks gain local characteristics too. In this case store fronts, trees, doorknobs and other urban details could behave like landmarks that enable observer to be more comfortable during his/her journey as they make it more familiar (Lynch, 1960, p. 48).

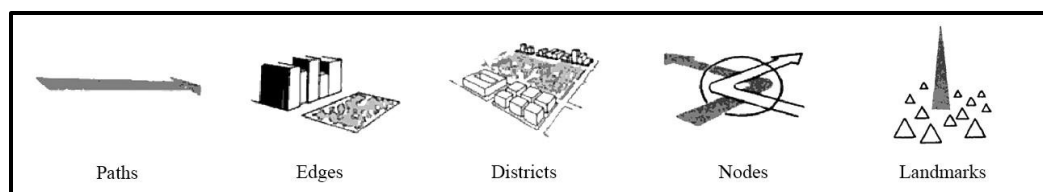


Figure 3: Five elements of the city image (Source: Lynch, 1960, pp. 47- 48)

Lynch's approach to urban design is categorized under the 'social usage' tradition that Matthew Carmona, Tim Heath, Taner Oc and Steve Tiesdell cited in their book *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design* (2003) from Bob Jarvis

(1980). Jarvis (1980) proposes two main traditions appraising the design process and its outputs. First one is the 'visual-artistic' tradition and second one is the 'social usage' tradition. While 'visual-artistic' tradition centers visual quality of buildings and spaces on urban design, primary concern of 'social usage' tradition is the user experience, social qualities of inhabitants, places and activities (as cited in Carmona, Heath, Oc & Tiesdell, 2003, p. 6). Lynch's (1960, p. 1) interpretation of space is as follows:

At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or a view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences. Washington Street set in a farmer's field might look like the shopping street in the heart of Boston, and yet it would seem utterly different. Every citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings.

2.2.1 Significance for the Study

In his book *The Image of the City* (1960), Lynch offers a widely accepted, concrete frame of the image of the city by revealing five elements. In *The Image of the City* (Lynch, 1960), is significant for the study in two ways. Firstly, his theory is based on the mental maps which are prepared as results of inhabitants' pedestrian journeys. The perception of the space is given as much importance as the physical appearance of it. In this respect, Lynch's argument is in harmony with Lefebvre's concept of perceived space. Mental maps of a place can be regarded as the spatial illustration of perceived space.

Secondly, as the concept of public space refers to nodes and this study is focusing on public space characteristics of Trabzon's waterfront, his statements and recommendations regarding nodes and their interconnections with other elements are based upon during the examination of Trabzon's waterfront:

- Nodes can be breaking points of transportation lines.

- Nodes can be concentration points of a certain usage or physical characteristics.
- Nodes and paths are tended to be perceived together, as nodes are breaking points of transportation networks.
- Nodes and districts are tended to be perceived together, as nodes are focal points of districts.
- Landmarks can be located in nodes so nodes can have symbolic meanings for inhabitants.

Therefore, references to places in where certain activities are done, gathers people, have symbolic meanings are searched in the memoirs, photographs and paintings. Places fit to this description at a certain level are chosen to be studied and their interrelation with transportation lines and surrounding areas are also taken into consideration.

2.3. A Good City Form

Several professionals in the field of urbanism including Kevin Lynch attempt to define some key qualities for designing desirable urban places (Carmona et. Al., 2003, p. 9). As Lynch is a follower of ‘social usage’ tradition, his theory of good city form proposes a more community-oriented set of criteria. Lynch proposes that, whether design of a city is performing well or not can be measured merely based on the forms in the city and connections of them. However, when it comes to measuring quality of a place, interplay between this place and the society occupying it comes into play. He lays emphasis on the fact that an urban layout comes out of linkages between the form and purpose, which he illustrates by stating that cities are functioning as networks of access. He adds, social behavior and attitude which are directly linked to the form of that place is another important indicator of spatial quality level (1981, p. 111).

Lynch ends his argument regarding measurement of urban quality by stating how illogical it would be to set criteria for increasing performance of the cities (1981, p. 111), as his theory supports interrelation between social groups behavior and urban morphology (Patil & Patil, 2016, p. 1172). Social values and circumstances are differential, therefore generalized performance standards probably would be insufficient and create inconsistency to evaluate different cities. For the very reason, he concludes that at most performance dimensions could be identified. Along these measurable scales, different groups could take different positions conveniently. Then, any given city could be analyzed “whether by a number or just by more or less” in terms of performance and quality according to its position on the scale (Lynch, 1981, p. 111). Lynch (1981, pp. 111-112) declares his idea about an ideal performance dimension as follows: “To be general, the dimensions should be important qualities for most, if not all, persons and cultures. Ideally, the dimensions should also include all the qualities which any people value in a physical place.”

Lynch (1981) suggests 5 dimensions which he defines as groups of qualities (p. 117). These are; 1) vitality, 2) sense, 3) fit, 4) access, 5) control. He also adds two meta-criteria; 6) efficiency and justice (p. 118).

Vitality: Vitality indicates whether urban places can support human life by providing biological requirements. This criterion is quite anthropocentric but Lynch does not leave other species out of the scope; vitality also includes protection of the survival of other species (Lynch, 1981, p. 118).

Lynch (1981, p. 129) proposes three characteristics that are grouped under the heading of vitality; 1) sustenance, 2) safety and 3) consonance.

- Sustenance stands for provision of an adequate amount of clean air, waste disposal, water, food and energy supply.
- Safety stands for protection from physical hazards such as diseases, prevention of fire, natural disasters etc. Protection from social and psychological hazards such as resistance defense against are also considered.

- Consonance stands for the compatibility of an environment to the optimum state of human physiology. A place should be structured by taking body temperature, rhythm and function into consideration.

He also refers stability of ecological community and protection of biodiversity under the heading of vitality (Lynch, 1981, p. 129).

Sense: As Lynch (1981, p. 118) defines, sense is “the match between the environment, our sensory and mental capabilities, and our cultural constructs”. Sense implies the connection between residents’ perception of a settlement and their values (Lynch, 1981, p. 118).

Lynch (1981, pp. 131-141) proposes sense has five components; 1) identity, 2) structure, 3) congruence, 4) transparency, 5) legibility.

- Identity implies that a place has its own characteristics making it unique that a person can recall it as being different from others (Lynch, 1981, p. 131).
- Structure is a concept meaning of which differs according to the scale. Structure means “the sense of how its parts fit together” at the scale of a small place, while it means “the sense of orientation” at the city scale (Lynch, 1981, p. 134).
- Congruence is the fit of what is spatial and non-spatial, the compatibility of form and function. Compatibility of residential building sizes and approximate number of people in households, adequate public spaces associated with big groups of people and their patterns of flow can be examples of congruence (Lynch, 1981, p. 138).
- Transparency means that it is easy to get a “sense of life” and perceive ongoing social activities in a settlement such as seeing people at work, hearing the sounds of waves and observing what a truck is carrying (Lynch, 1981, pp. 138-139).

- Legibility is the degree of communication among inhabitants of a settlement via the symbolic elements it consists of. These elements inform inhabitants about the recommended common way of life. A cultural stranger may find this social creation unintelligible yet useful to adapt this particular locality (Lynch, 1981, p. 141).

Fit: Lynch (1981, p. 151) says fit of a place refers to “how well its spatial and temporal pattern matches the customary behavior”. He illustrates: if a factory building is a good workplace for labor or if a classroom is a good place for teaching, then these places serve the purposes to which they are built in the first place. These places are modified according to behaviors of their users (Lynch, 1981, p. 151). Lynch (1981, p. 186) suggested two rules; 1) manipulability – the ability to respond 2) resilience – the ability to recover.

- Manipulability is how much can the use and form of a place can be altered due to the limitations of cost, time and power.
- Resilience is the cost of restoring a place its previous condition, for example in a case of natural disaster.

Access: Access refers to the degree of ability to reach material and social needs with minimum amount of time and effort (Patil & Patil, 2016, p. 1173). Lynch (1981, p. 188) identifies classification criteria of access as “the features to which access is given and to whom it is afforded”. Access to other people, access to human activities, access to material resources, access to places and access to information are all given importance to. Lynch also draws attention to certain issues about access such as its unequal distribution among groups, its variation by time of day and season, variations in the modes of access (physical, visual and aural) and channels of movement to (Lynch, 1981, pp. 188-190).

Control: Control of the human space as it is accustomed refers to “the legally defined ownership of a sharply bounded area, which includes all rights not explicitly excluded by law or content, which is held ‘forever’, and is transferable at will” (Lynch, 1981,

p. 205). It rests on some spatial rights; 1) right of presence, 2) right of use and action, 3) right of appropriation, 4) right of modification, 5) right of disposition (Lynch, 1981, pp. 205-207). These rights imply that one can be in a place and exclude others, behave freely and use facilities in it, take the resources all to herself/himself and deprive others, alter the place even permanently as long as it is not bothering anyone in any aspect and can transfer her/his rights to whoever s/he wants (Lynch, 1981, pp. 205-207). Three dimensions of control are listed as follows; a) congruence, b) responsibility, c) certainty (Lynch, 1981, pp. 208-211).

- Congruence

Congruence seeks answer to the question that whether users or inhabitants of a place are controlling it. Congruence enhance a better fit, consequently satisfaction and freedom. Some current proposals of congruence are producer's cooperatives, tenant management boards, neighborhood councils and so on (Lynch, 1981, p. 208).

- Responsibility

Responsibility is a criterion that balances congruence. As congruence proposes who are using or inhabiting a place should control it, responsibility questions motives, information and power enabling them to succeed. Commitment to the place, needs of other people and species using it, readiness to see errors and correct them are crucial as well (Lynch, 1981, p. 211).

- Certainty

Certainty connotes whether people comprehend the system of control, envisage its scope and be comfortable with it. In other words, spatial right should be clear, well-known and agreed upon. Lack of these qualities results in people feeling confused and insecure (Lynch, 1981, p. 211).

Efficiency and Justice: Efficiency stands for "the level of achievement in some performance to a loss in some other" which refers to some interdimensional conflicts (Lynch, 1981, p. 221). The most common interdimensional conflicts are as follows;

the conflict between a vital environment and decentralized user control, the conflict between a vital environment and a well-fitted one, the conflict between sense and adaptability of fit, the conflict between present and future fit and the conflict between good access for all and local control of territory (Lynch, 1981, pp. 223-224). Lynch (1981, p. 223) illustrates one of the most common conflicts which occurs between a vital environment and decentralized user control:

The conflict can be dealt with by accepting a loss on one side or the other (imposing central controls on fireplaces, for example, or choosing to breathe polluted air), or by incurring 'external' nonspatial costs, such as those of expensive air conditioning or massive propaganda campaigns to decrease the user preference for open fires.

While distribution of costs and benefits among several types of value is the main concern efficiency deals with, distribution of costs of benefits between people is what justice puts emphasis on. Due to the socio-cultural differences, meanings of the just distribution differ. Lynch proposes the ability to pay as the basic principle of justice, by all means taking basic goods such as resources essential for living and political freedom out of the context (1981, p. 227).

In the last instance, Lynch (1981, p. 235) reveals his theory of a good city form:

So what is good city form? Now we can say the magic words. It is vital (sustenant, safe, and consonant); it is sensible (identifiable, structured, congruent, transparent, legible, unfolding, and significant); it is well fitted (a close match of form and behavior which is stable, manipulable, and resilient); it is accessible (diverse, equitable, and locally manageable); and it is well controlled (congruent, certain, responsible, and intermittently loose). And all of these are achieved with justice and internal efficiency.

2.3.1. Significance for the Study

In his book *A Theory of Good City Form* (1981), Kevin Lynch defines performance dimensions to measure whether a city is well-functioning or not. He states that these dimensions contain qualities that are valuable for almost all people and cultures. Some of these performance dimensions are related with physical appearances of a place such as vitality, sense and access. Others like fit, control, efficiency and justice are more

dependent upon the decision-making mechanisms than physical appearances and seek analyses at urban policy level.

As this thesis is a comparative study analyzing changing publicity of Trabzon's waterfront and perception of the sea, a set of criteria is needed to evaluate whether the coastal zone have changed for the better or not in its users' eyes. Performance dimensions that Lynch presents are quite useful to compare past and present space-related experiences in terms of spatial quality. At this juncture, a critical point come in sigh. Due to the fact that the necessary information especially about the past space-related experiences is mostly collected from the memoirs, dimensions related with the physical appearances (vitality, sense and access) are more applicable and take precedence over the others in this study.

Kevin Lynch's works – *The Image of The City* and *A Theory of Good City Form* – are pioneering in the urban planning field that philosophers such as Jan Gehl have closely followed the concepts Lynch reveals and adopt his perspective of humanistic urban planning (Jagannath, n.d.). As a matter of fact, Gehl's twelve quality criteria for designing public space that he identified after a research he conducted in Denmark (Reigstad, 2012, p. 147) explicitly bear the traces of Lynch's performance dimensions (see: Figure 4). Therefore, both Kevin Lynch's performance dimensions and Jan Gehl's twelve quality criteria are benefited from in the preparation of personal interview outline.

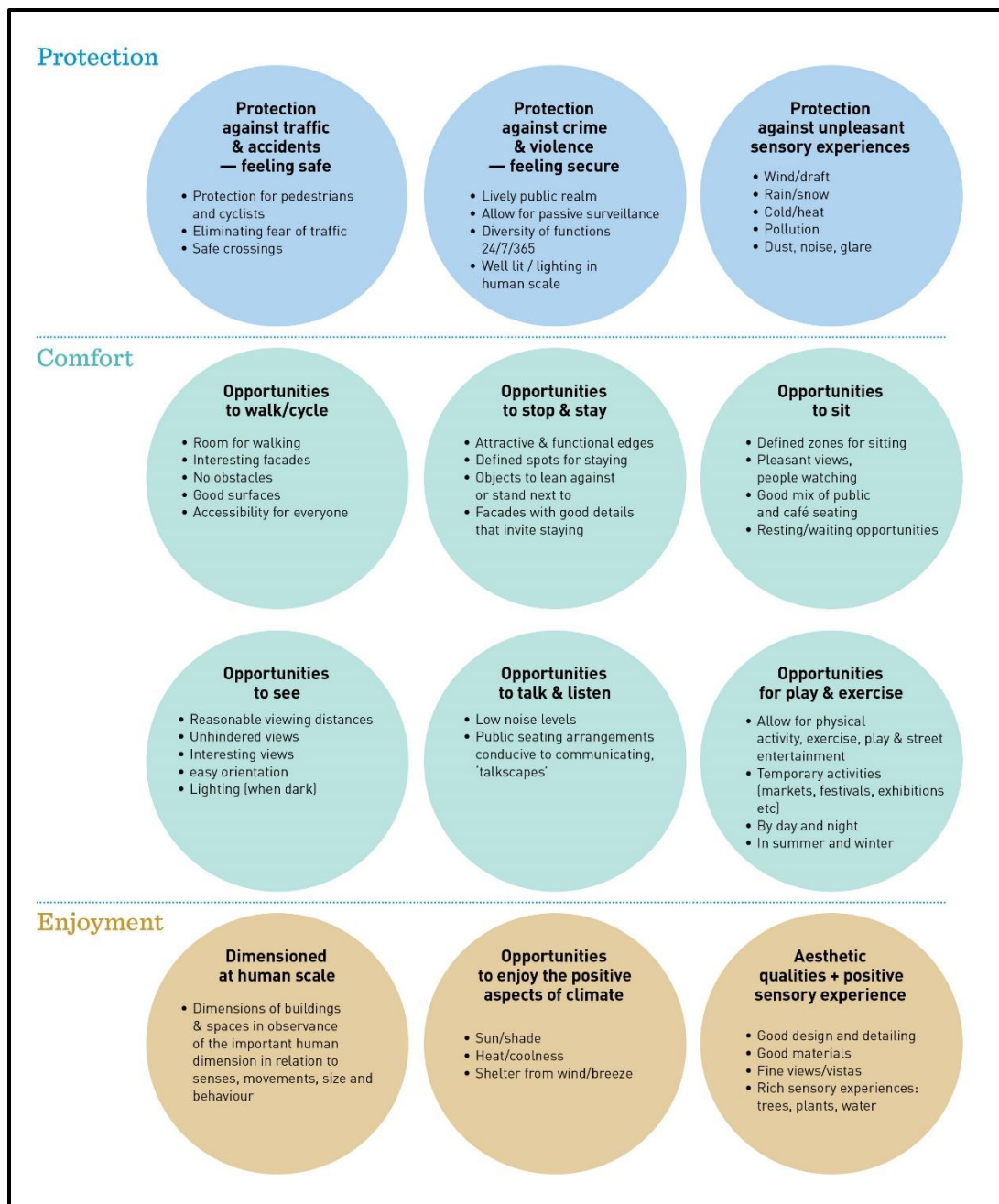


Figure 4: Twelve quality criteria to evaluate city space (Source: gehlpeople.com, 2018)

CHAPTER 3

PLANNING HISTORY OF TRABZON

This chapter focuses on the planning history of Trabzon since the beginning of the Republican Era. The city has had four main plans prepared respectively in 1938, 1970, 1989 and 2002. In this thesis the context of plans, their main planning decisions, principles, propositions and their approach to the sea and waterfront are examined.

The coastal zone of Trabzon has been approached differently in the above-mentioned four major plans. It has transformed based on development plans in terms of its function, spatial organization and interrelations with other areas of the city. The alterations in the plans are compared in terms of their approach to coastal zone of Trabzon. These alterations are affecting the publicity of this area and perception of the sea either directly or indirectly. As this study gives importance to the perception of the sea and Trabzon's coastal zone as a public area, relevant planning decisions in these four periods are evaluated by taking into consideration the concepts that Kevin Lynch (1960) revealed in the scope of his theory named "the city image".

3.1. First Planning Experience: Lambert Plan (1938)

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, as an integral part of the national modernization project, approach to the urban planning was also radically changed. As westernization and the principle of populism were two pillars of this modernization project, their influence can easily be seen on the urban planning approach of the era. In addition, because of the 1929 Great Depression it became hard to find external monetary sources for urban planning. Thus, state control and self-sufficiency principles were adopted in urban development and planning in this era. (Tankut, Çalışkan, Levent & Zorlu, 2002, p. 8).

Urban planning process in Turkey was officially started by the institutions established and laws enacted After 1923 (Tanyeli ,1998 cited in Düzenli, 2010, p. 291). In 1930, Municipal Law No. 1580, which obligates municipalities to prepare zoning plans, was enacted (Ünal, 1987 cited in Düzenli, 2010, p. 291). Municipal Law No. 1580 was mainly focusing on municipal duties regarding housing and public service provision (Göymen, 1983 cited in Düzenli, 2010, p. 291). The first law enacted in the history of the Turkish Republic aim to regulate urban planning practices was The Law on Buildings and Roads enacted in 1933 (Ünal, 1987 cited in Düzenli, 2010, p. 292).

One of the most significant characteristics of the first years of Turkish Republic was that urbanization practices of this era were dominated by foreign architects and urban planners to a large extent. First plans and projects of some of the cities in Turkey were prepared by foreign architects and urban planners who were invited by the government (Şen Beyazlı, 2005, p. 1091) and Trabzon was one these cities. As well as other steps taken in Trabzon for the sake of modernization, urbanization plan of the city was prepared under the supervision of Third Inspector General responsible for Eastern Cities Tahsin Uzer. He played a major role in the communication between central government and local government regarding Trabzon's socio-economic issues. As a matter of course he was the one who took the initiative in preparation of an urban plan for the city (Düzenli, 2010, p. 295).

Planning history of Trabzon started with French architect Jacques H. Lambert visiting the town in 1937 and assessing Trabzon (Aysu, 1981, p. 185). Lambert's (1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p. 186) first impression about the layout of the city was as below:

There is not a center where transportation lines intersect. The existing city center is rather a beautiful recreational garden. There is not a main street in the town which is a characteristic of Turkish cities. Dispersed trade areas, dispersed shops, there is not a modern business district. Such a small population that it is not possible to do its duties that urban life necessitates. The settlement is so dispersed that it is hindering urban economy. It consists of a variety various structures such as three to four storey, square-shaped, durable houses and huts. These structures fascinate visitors with their advantageous locations within a beautiful environment (sea view, beautiful gardens, flowers and shades of trees). However, inhabitants cannot make benefit of it because they are walking in walled areas. Nevertheless, inhabitants can enjoy the scenery from Güzel Hisar and the coffeehouses located on the road to waterfront.

Based on these inferences Lambert proposed an urban regulation program which was actually the first draft of his planning report called “Esbab-ı Mucibe” (Düzenli, 2010, p. 296). This program targeted development of socio-economic life, preservation of natural and cultural assets by taking into account of inhabitants concerns and demands (Aysu, 1981, p. 187). Lambert proposed five main operations in the scope of “Esbab-ı Mucibe” (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010, p. 312):

- Establishment of a business district, a city center (Atatürk Square),
- Arrangement of horizontal roads parallel to the sea in east-west direction and turning Maraş Street into the main artery in the east-west direction,
- Arrangement of vertical roads in the north-south direction, arrangement of two-way service roads for neighborhoods, ventilation of these neighborhoods and arrangement of terraces towards the sea,
- Establishment of a new settlement in the west of the Imaret Neighborhood and to ensure that this settlement is handled separately from the existing city,
- Establishment of open spaces, public cultural gardens, terraces as town squares towards the sea, neighborhood cultural centers and parks.

Lambert presented the final draft of his work consisting of development plans at the scales of 1/2000 and 1/1000, conceptual schemes and planning report was approved in 1938. Development plan at a scale of 1/2000 is now preserved and exhibited in Trabzon Museum. There is no record of 1/1000 scale plan (Düzenli, 2010, p. 295).

3.1.1. Main Decisions of Lambert Plan

Lambert’s development plan was essentially shaped according to three main operations; 1) construction of the harbor in Güzelhisar, 2) construction of the highway, 3) construction of vertical roads towards the sea. These spatial interventions increased accessibility of the Trabzon city center. As accessibility in its every sense stood for diffusion of modernization at that time, the harbor, the highway and the vertical roads

were expected to initiate the development process and socio-economic advancement in the city. In spatial terms, the city of Trabzon which had never managed to be an actual coastal city came together with sea by these interventions (Düzenli, 2010, p. 296).

Lambert's planning report was collected under seven main headings all of which are serving the purposes of increased accessibility and socio-economic development; 1) roads, 2) local public services, 3) zoning, 4) open spaces, greenery, parks, 5) preservation of historical tissue and establishment of cultural facilities 6) code of practice 7) application program and staging (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 296).

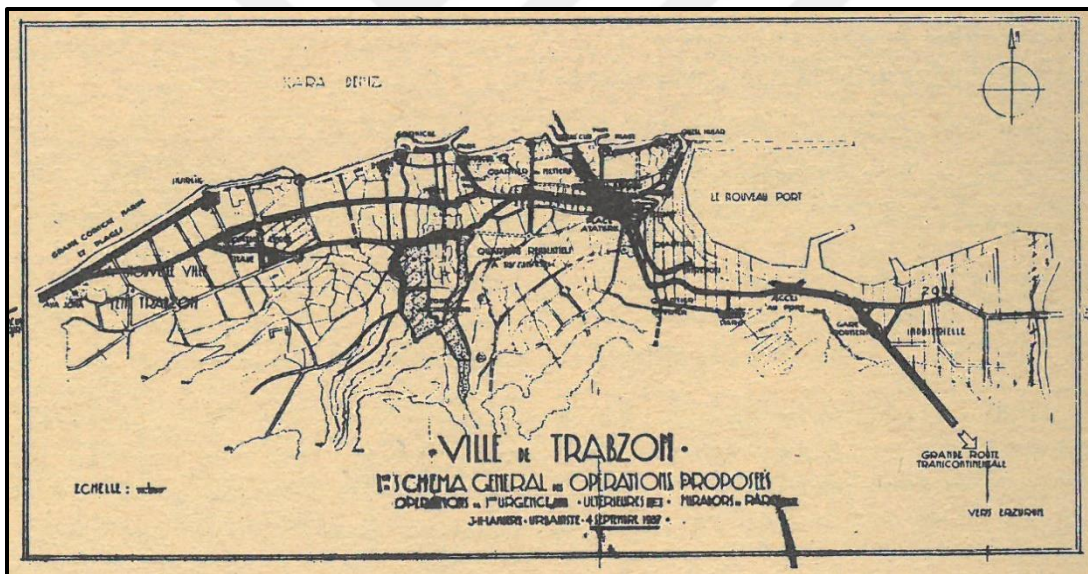


Figure 5: Lambert's conceptual schema of the main operation proposals (Source: Lambert, 1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p. 186)

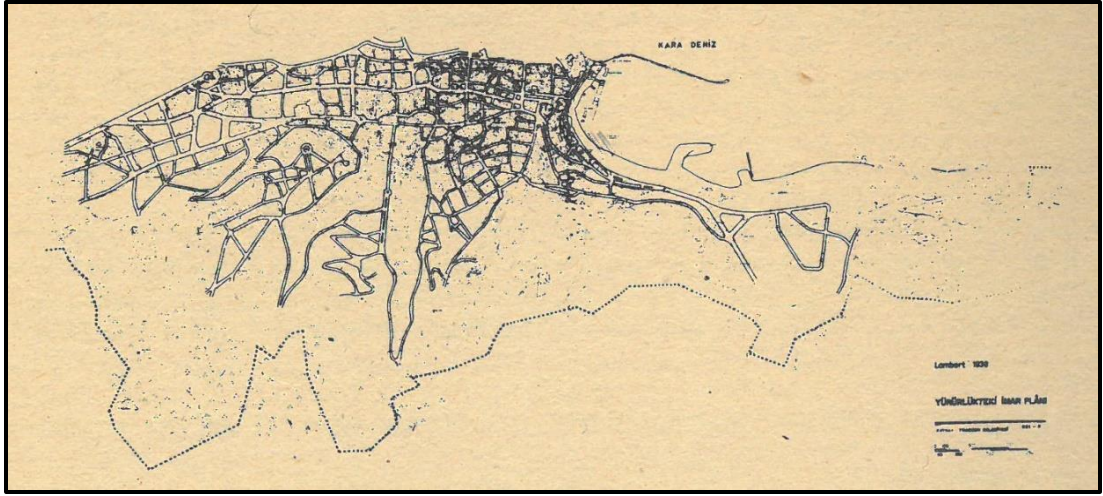


Figure 6: Lambert's Development Plan approved in 1938 (Source: Lambert, 1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p.186)

3.1.1.1. Roads

Lambert proposed four types of roads; 1) longshore horizontal roads, 2) vertical roads towards the sea, 3) the highway, 4) service roads for neighborhoods (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 321).

- Longshore horizontal roads

Longshore horizontal roads identified in Lambert Plan was Maraş Street, Kunduracılar Street, Uzun Street, a new street south of Uzun Street and the coastal road. Even though Maraş Street was not an important street in terms of urban economy at that times, it was still the main artery of Trabzon. Kunduracılar Street and Uzun Street were the heart of commercial life of the city. The current functions of these streets – Maraş Street as the main artery, Kunduracılar and Uzun Streets as commercial streets – were preserved. Construction of the new street south of Uzun Street was identified as a low priority intervention. After Kunduracılar and Uzun Streets were fully rehabilitated and started to perform economically at their full potential, this new street could be added to the agenda. The coastal road proposed between Ganita at east and

Hacı Beşir (Beşirli) at west. It was a 40 meters wide, three-lane road on which vehicular traffic and pedestrian traffic were separated from each other. Lambert stated that the coastal road mostly would serve to pedestrians. The road was expected to increase quality of neighborhoods it passes thorough (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 321-324).

- Vertical Roads Towards the Sea

In his planning report, Lambert proposed two types of vertical roads connecting inner sites of the city to the waterfront. First one was the main vertical transportation axes that enabling onshore breeze to access the south of the city. Lambert also proposed wide viewing terraces at the end of these axes. The roads under this category was Cumhuriyet Street (Mahmut Goloğlu Street), Koraltan Street (Şenol Güneş Street) and Grand North-South Street (). Other than these main vertical axes, Lambert proposed some other roads passing through the neighborhoods such as Tekke, Çömlekçi and Maşatlık Neighborhoods. These roads were sloping down to sea, not perfectly vertical due to the geographical features of the land (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 324-325).

- The Highway

Lambert proposed a harbor and a highway, essential to develop economic and commercial affairs between Erzurum. He gave quite an importance to these two interventions. According to him especially economic development of the city was strongly depending on a functional harbor and strong connections with Erzurum and Asia. Thus, he saw this highway as a connecting route which interconnects the city and harbor to Erzurum and Asia (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 309).

- Service Roads for Neighborhoods

The average width of the local fine roads in the plan was determined as 12 meters. However, there are plenty of narrow side streets and street stairs in the city. In relation to the topography, these side streets were folding. The plan would work for the

preservation and rehabilitation of numerous side streets and street stairs in the city (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 326).

3.1.1.2. Local Public Services

The most significant issue Lambert laid emphasis on was sewerage system. He proposed that sewerage system could be applied in accordance with the transportation lines. In this context, the first heading under the local public services was waterworks. Other local public services regulated by his plan were fire extinction system, elucidation, urban transportation, public Turkish baths, beaches, commercial sub-centers and trading routes, slaughter houses, cemeteries and airport (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 327-330).

3.1.1.3. Zoning

According to the Lambert's Plan, the city is divided into four regions. First of these regions was **the trading zone**, including the commercial city center and the harbor. Second one was **the industrial zone** in the east of the city center around Değirmendere. To the west of the city **playfields and playgrounds** were proposed towards the eastern area of Kavak Square. **A new settlement, residential area** which Lambert called "the new Trabzon" would be established at the western part of the city as a subcenter independent of the existing one. Location and typology of **residential areas** would differ according to inhabitant's occupation and income. For example, it is planned to build houses with gardens for middle-class families mostly outside the city. Considering their proximity to the industrial zone, areas for the residence of workers and craftsmen would be established in Tekke, high Maşatlık and Çömlekçi Neighborhoods which were located around the harbor. Teksota Neighborhood, the northern part of Tekfurçayırı, Yenicuma Neighborhood, the area between Koraltan-Maraş Street and the governmental center, the neighborhoods in the East and Atapark, the Ganita Region were the areas where residential buildings and petty trade are concentrated. In Moloz, Belediye Square and the southern area of Tabakhane, crafts

shops and two-storey apartment buildings would be located. It is also necessary to say that projected population was 75.000 people (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 321-333).

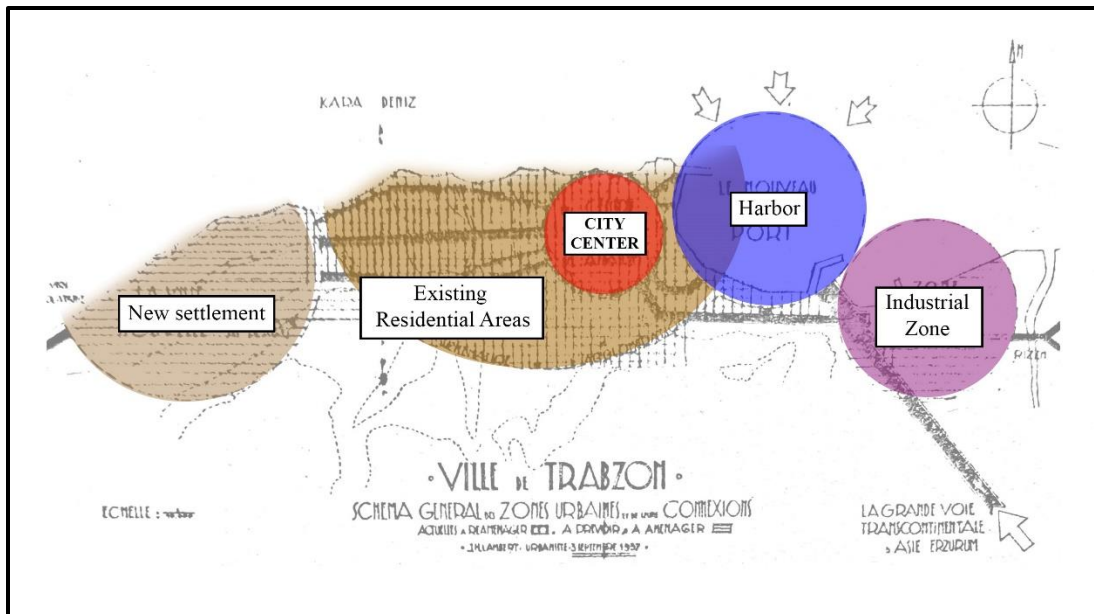


Figure 7: Lambert's conceptual diagram of the zoning (Source: Lambert, 1937 cited in Aysu, 1981, p. 186)

3.1.1.4. Open Spaces and Park System

Lambert defined four types of open spaces in terms of their functions in scope of his plan; 1) playfields, playgrounds and beaches, 2) parks, 3) orchards, 4) terraces for recreation. First category was including a stadium, playgrounds assigned to children, sport clubs, soccer fields, volleyball fields, basketball fields, tennis fields, İncirlik Club with a sea view, an open space for special occasions such as national holidays, beaches and Turkish baths. Under the second category, twelve urban parks were proposed located all over the city. The orchards were located on the fertile lands centered around two creeks (Zağnos and Tabakhane Creeks) in the city. In addition,

historical tissue of the city was located between these creeks. As this area have unique historical and natural characteristics, it would be preserved as a whole according to the plan. Finally, recreational terraces towards the sea as focal points of neighborhoods were proposed by taking advantage of the topography. Preservation of existing trees in the process of construction of these terraces were emphasized (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 334-338).

3.1.1.5. Preservation of Historical Tissue and Distribution of Cultural Facilities

Mosques, churches, bazaars, shrines and monuments were historical artifacts to be preserved and renovated if necessary. Some of these artifacts such as Fatih Mosque and İskender Paşa Mosque were identified as aesthetical *landmarks* located on new proposed roads. Lambert also stated that the network of proposed parks and these historical artifacts were planned accordingly. In addition to preservation of historical artifacts, Lambert proposed construction of new city centers and new buildings which would promote Trabzon's brand new, modern image in terms of both their function and architecture. Two new city squares proposed were municipal center and governmental center. İskender Paşa Neighborhood would be rearranged and new municipality would be built on it. Theatre, cinema, dispensary and bus station would locate in the municipal center. Lambert defined this new municipal center as "geographical heart of the city". The governmental center would consist of governor's office and an open space for special occasions such as national holidays. Other than these two arrangements, Lambert proposed a provincial community center, cultural centers for each neighborhood and craft workshops next to them¹, and new residential buildings (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 338-340).

¹ In these workshops, traditional crafts such as pottery, leatherwork, basketry and silverwork would be taught. Lambert paid emphasis on importance of sustainability of traditional production in terms of urban identity (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010, p. 340).

3.1.1.6. Code of Practice

Lambert included a section named “Code of Practice” to his planning report in order to identify some qualitative standards for operations he proposed. In this way, each operation such as construction of different type of roads and residential areas could be applied in a specific way. These urban planning codes constituted a practical guideline for professionals such as civil engineers, architects, municipal officials and employees to put his plan into practice (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 341-348).

3.1.1.7. Application Program and Staging

Lambert prioritized the operations he proposed in the plan in this section of the planning report. Operations were symbolized by colors and line types on the plan in accordance with their order of priority. The most urgent actions to take were about the port and establishment of commercial areas in neighborhoods. After that, Lambert suggested supportive actions to increase efficiency of the port and commerce. Low priority actions were identified as preservation and rehabilitation of service roads for neighborhoods (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, pp. 348-349).

3.1.2. Sea and Waterfront in the Lambert Plan

In the first years of the Turkish Republic, there was no extensive record showing the spatial and architectural image of the city other than a limited number of official / non-official written or visual materials (Düzenli, 2010, 292). Nevertheless, İsmail Habib gave clues regarding sea element in Trabzon’s city image. In his article named “Trabzon’u Gezerken” published in a local newspaper, *Yeniyol* back then (Habib, n.d. cited in Düzenli, 2010, 293):

In Trabzon city surrounded by the Black Sea, all streets turn their back to the sea. Once you’re in the city, it means that you lost the sea and there’s no way you can find it unless you leave the city. Thank goodness there is one and only Gazi Street, but actually there is nothing to thank God about this street.

You cannot see the sea looking from the city. What about going to the coast? It is again impossible. The spherelike shore around the port is made from sand and dirt and the shores in the north and west are made from sand and rock. Both the sea and the city are too stubborn. Sea is like constantly saying that I'm going to hug you while city is constantly saying I'm not going to look at you. As sea is never going to give up, city is never going to surrender.

During the speech he did in the Trabzon Provincial Community Center, Lambert shared his vision for the city, his first impressions about it and some important steps to take (Düzenli, 2010, pp. 295-296). His opinions regarding Trabzon's relationship with the sea was really similar to İsmail Habib's opinions as it can be seen below (Lambert, 1938a cited in Lambert, 2010a, p. 308):

The city is established on a sloping land in a casually without an order. This disorder must be intervened and the city must be given a new form.

In terms of nature, Trabzon is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Interestingly enough, this city with a coast is totally separated from the sea.

Establishment of Gazi Street was a really good decision. There are no streets in Trabzon towards the sea other than Gazi Street and Ordu Park.

First thing to do is opening vertical roads towards the sea and letting onshore breeze in to the city.

Based on these observations, Lambert identified a vision for the city key component of which was reunite Trabzon with its coast and Black Sea in every possible way. His plan aimed to make the sea a fundamental part of the Trabzon City by assigning various functions to the coastal areas in different parts of the city and spatial arrangements strengthening the connection between the sea and the land. His desire was planning Trabzon as such a city that everybody can be benefited from the sea spatially, visually, economically and socially. Therefore, he suggested a series of spatial operations which he initially revealed in the first draft of his planning report called "Esbab-1 Mucibe" (Düzenli, 2010, p. 296). As it is explained in the previous chapter, he arranged and detailed these operations under seven headings in his planning report afterwards. These operations proposed in Esbab-1 Mucibe were (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 312):

- Establishment of a business district, a city center (Atatürk Square),
- Arrangement of horizontal roads parallel to the sea in east-west direction and turning Maraş Street into the main artery in the east-west direction,
- Arrangement of vertical roads in the north-south direction, arrangement of two-way service roads for neighborhoods, ventilation of these neighborhoods and arrangement of terraces towards the sea,
- Establishment of a new settlement in the west of the imaret neighborhood and to ensure that this settlement is handled separately from the existing city,
- Establishment of open spaces, public cultural gardens, terraces as town squares towards the sea, neighborhood cultural centers and parks.

Especially third, fourth and fifth operations served the purpose of connecting the sea and the city to each other. These operations reflecting Lambert's vision that reuniting Trabzon with its coast and enabling everybody to get benefited from the sea examined in detail below.

3.1.2.1. Vertical Roads in The North-South Direction and Terraces Towards the Sea

According to Lambert (1938b cited in Lambert 2010, p. 313) the only solution to ventilate the city and connect inner parts to the sea is arrangement of vertical roads in the north-south direction. Lambert stated that he really appreciates rehabilitation and extension of Atatürk Street² and same operation is necessary for Cumhuriyet Street and all streets towards the sea. In addition, he proposed establishment of new vertical roads (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010, p. 313).

² Atatürk Street (now Gazipaşa Street) was opened by the order of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during the reign of Kazazade Hüseyin Efendi, who was the Mayor between 1923-1928, about ten years before the plan proposal (Yazıcı, 1997 cited in Düzenli, 2010, p. 305).

He proposed sphere like squares as wide terraces overlooking the sea at the end of the vertical roads. These squares are designed to ease vehicles to take turn at the end of these streets. Two or three stone curbs were put up to give inhabitants the sense that the road is over. For pedestrians, stone benches leaning against these curbs and trees (acacia and cypress) planted on the sidewalks are proposed. In addition, by some street stairs connected to these terraces, it is possible to go down to the beach (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010, 314).

It is important to remind that abovementioned operations were firstly included in the first draft of the planning report of Lambert's development plan. As it is also discussed in Section 3.1.1.1 proposition of these vertical roads became concrete in Lambert's planning report (Lambert, 1938c cited in Lambert, 2010, pp. 324-325). In addition, in his planning report under the section named "Open Spaces and Park System", Lambert pinpointed two of the terraces at the end of the Atatürk and Cumhuriyet Streets³. (Lambert, 1938c cited in Lambert, 2010, pp. 324-325).

Terraces towards the sea as squares that Lambert proposed corresponds to the notion of *nodes* Lynch mentioned. First of all, Lynch emphasizes *nodes* are closely related with *paths* and he gives the examples of junctions and breaking points of transportation lines (1960, p.47). The terraces Lambert propounded were located at the end of the vertical roads as a breaking point. In addition, these terraces were where main vertical transportation axes of the city and pedestrian street stairs intersects. In other words, they were crossing points of primary and secondary roads. Lynch states that he identified examples of *nodes* as intersection points of highways and city streets during his case study such as the intersection point of Storrow Drive and Central Artery in Boston (1960, p. 73). In this respect, the terraces Lambert proposed show similarity to some of the *nodes* Lynch (1960) identified during his case study.

Secondly, Lynch finds it really important to form an identity for *nodes* and he identifies some fundamental elements to achieve that goal; walls, floor, detail,

³ These terraces located at the end of Atatürk and Cumhuriyet Streets are mentioned as follows in the original text in Turkish: "Atatürk Caddesi'nin denize nazır balkonu" and "Cumhuriyet Caddesi'nin denize nazır balkonu" (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c).

lighting, vegetation, topography, or skyline of *nodes* (1960, p. 102). Lambert's initial idea to take advantage of the topography and create terraces overlooking Trabzon's skyline, his detailed description of street furniture (stone curbs and stone benches) and the specificity of the vegetation he recommended (acacia and cypress trees) can definitely be regarded as an effort to form identity for these terraces.

3.1.2.2. New Settlement

Lambert described the area at the western side of the city on which the new settlement would be established as a completely empty and partially forested land which has 7 kilometers of coast. There are no significant structures on these 70 hectares of available land. Thus, Lambert proposed "a new Trabzon" in this area. He stated that the coastal road would be the main artery of this new settlement. Maraş Street and vertical roads in the north-south direction would be complementary roads and complete the transportation system (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 314).

What is remarkable in Lambert's proposal about this new settlement was that he proposed a special development code for this area. He modeled this design on European coastal cities. His priority was the fact that everybody settling in this area could make use of the sea view and sea air equally. In other words, he attempted to prevent the inequality on the matter of benefiting from the sea. He stated that the elevation must be taken as an advantage so inhabitants living in the inner regions of the new Trabzon could benefited from the sea view and sea air as much as inhabitants living closer to the coast. He proposed structures which are not blocking each other's view (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 314).

Lambert's design proposal for the new Trabzon is directly related with three of Lynch's clues for urban design; 1) clarity of joint, 2) directional differentiation, 3) visual scope. Clarity of joint means that connection points and relations between elements are pretty visible and easy to perceive, He gives the example of visible seams and joints on a waterfront or at a major intersection. Directional differentiations are some references differentiating two ends from each other, two sides from each other

and two directions from each other. Lynch illustrates first type of directional differentiations by picturing a road going away from the sea on a sloping land towards an urban area (Lynch, 1960, p. 160). The transportation system of new Trabzon that vertical roads in the north-south direction crossing the coastal road on the waterfront comply with both of these qualities. The other clue mentioned above is visual scope. Lynch defined visual scope as “qualities which increase the range and penetration of vision, either actually or symbolically” an example of which is urban forms appearing behind other urban forms (Lynch, 1960, p. 106). It can be definitely said that Lambert followed Lynch’s (1960) instructions while designing the new Trabzon that he proposed structures which are not blocking each other’s view.

3.1.2.3. Terraces as Town Squares Towards the Sea

In his first draft of planning report, Lambert evaluated Trabzon’s topography as a natural privilege and criticized disuse of this natural slope in terms of open space system with strong connections with the Black Sea. He regarded the sea as a natural element of recreational areas. Hereby, he proposes terraces as town squares towards the sea in the neighborhoods⁴ (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 315). As it is mentioned in Section 3.1.1.4, these terraces are proposed as recreational focal points of neighborhoods and preservation of existing Cupressus trees in the process of construction of these terraces were also emphasized in the final version of the planning report (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 338).

Other than these terraces, Lambert proposed an open spaces system the coastal zone of the new Trabzon. He stated that the section of the coastal road passing through this new settlement would be afforested. Reminding that his suggestion regarding the coastal zone of Trabzon was based on a pedestrian-oriented development as it is mentioned in Section 3.1.1.1, he defined a blue-green recreational axis at the coastal zone in the new Trabzon. The crossroads at the intersection of the coastal area and

⁴ These terraces as town squares towards the sea in the neighborhoods are mentioned as follows in the original text in Turkish: “*Denize nazır, müteaddit mahalle meydanları*” (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 315).

vertical roads would be enriched visually with plantation of trees and flowers. They served as town squares directly facing the sea. This axis passed through the proposed İncirlik Park in the east and Ayasofya Park at the west. He also mentioned that along the coastal zone, there would be a series of beaches (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 316).

It is also necessary to say that in the final version of the planning report İncirlik and Ayasofya Parks were assigned specific usages. İncirlik Park was proposed for sportive activities by Lambert. In addition, he proposed art and history galleries grouped around historical Ayasofya Church in which the historical artifacts would be exhibited. The church and these galleries would be located in the Ayasofya Park (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 336). Besides, Lambert identified Ayasofya Beach as the main beach of Trabzon. He proposed some facilities such as a restaurant, a little clubhouse and pedestrian service roads going to the southern part of the blue-green axis (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 335).

Lynch says that some *nodes* serve as focal points of *districts* (1960, p. 48), terraces as town squares in Lambert's urban scenario for Trabzon defined as recreational focal points of neighborhoods. In addition, he made emphasis on preservation of existing trees in these terraces which can be associated with Lynch's statement that store fronts, trees, doorknobs and other urban details could behave like *landmarks* that enables observer to be more comfortable during his/her journey as they make it more familiar (Lynch, 1960, p. 48). Thus, it can be said that Lambert approached to the *nodes* and *landmarks* in tandem at neighborhood scale. These terraces gathering people together and the trees – which were to be monumental in the course of time and serve as *landmarks* – located in them, would create sense of belonging, familiarity and comfort among the inhabitants of the neighborhoods.

Another attempt of Lambert about bringing elements of city image (Lynch, 1960) together at the coastal zone of Trabzon can also be seen from the blue-green recreational axis he envisioned. This axis he proposed can be regarded a socio-cultural *district* including *paths, nodes and landmarks*. Ayasofya Church which is one of the

most important *landmarks* of the city, the museums and art galleries around it, beaches all along the coast, İncirlik and Ayasofya Parks, crossroads designed as town squares were connected by the coastal road.

3.1.2.4. Beaches

As it was explained in the Section 3.1.1.1, the coastal road Lambert proposed was a 40 meters wide, three-lane road on which vehicular traffic and pedestrian traffic were separated from each other. Lambert stated that the coastal road mostly would serve to pedestrians. (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 321). It is clear that, even there would be vehicular traffic in the coastal zone, this area was regarded as a huge recreational zone of Trabzon. In this scenario, beaches had a significant place.

Lambert proposed four beaches; 1) Ganita Beach, 2) Ayasofya Beach, 3) Beach of Uzer Park, 4) Public Beach. Lambert identified Ayasofya Beach as the main beach of Trabzon. He proposed some facilities such as a restaurant, a little clubhouse and pedestrian service roads going to the southern part of the blue-green axis. Similarly, Uzer Park Beach and Ganita Beach had their own facilities. A coffee house, restaurant and a small marina would be located near Uzer Park Beach and a clubhouse was proposed for the Ganita Beach. In addition, diving was recommended in Uzer Park Beach together with swimming (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 335).

With the specific functions given to them and facilities around them, the beaches that Lambert proposed were examples of *nodes* which Lynch (1960, p. 75) describes as thematic concentration points. He mentioned some *nodes* such as Pershing Square in Los Angeles which he says “characterized by highly typical space, planting and activity” (Lynch, 1960, p. 75). Another example he gives is the Journal Square in Jersey City which is the transfer point of the buses and where shopping areas are concentrated in (Lynch, 1960, p. 76). Thus, abovementioned beaches could be regarded as thematic concentration points. For example, while Uzer Park Beach would be preferred by swimmers and divers, Ayasofya Beach would be the destination of the people who also interested in history.

3.2. Second Planning Experience: Trabzon Development Plan (1970)

The second planning study in Trabzon was started in 1968 with a competition held at the national level and prepared by the Provincial Bank. "Trabzon Analytical Studies" prepared by the Provincial Bank between 1967-1968 and current maps approved in 1964 were provided to the contestants. Preparation work of Trabzon Development Plan were given to the group who came in first in the competition. İrfan Bayhan, Refik Şenvarıdar, Hüseyin Kaptan and Emre Aysu are members of the winning group. The development plans at the scales of 1/20.000, 1/5.000 and 1/1.000 were prepared and they are approved in 1970. Hereby, Lambert Plan was abolished (Aysu, 1981, p. 191).

At the end of the planning period (1970), the city reached the population projected in Lambert Plan. Some of the main decisions proposed in the plan were implemented, especially those related to the transportation system, urban services and urban economy. Most of the recreational areas planned to be established in the city and the new street south of Uzun Street which was given low priority in Lambert Plan could not be implemented. The coastal road, on the other hand, was developed as a state coastal highway, differing from that of Lambert. The development in residential areas could not be evaluated in detail as there is not enough data available in the Lambert Plan (Aydemir, 1989, p. 50). However, Bayhan, Şenvarıdar, Kaptan and Aysu (1977, p. 21) stated in their planning report⁵ that development of the city was dense and irregular. Most common problems mentioned regarding this issue were addition of illegal floors resulting in vertical development, disharmony between the social structure and housing standards and unsanitary housing in the valleys polluting the environment by sewage water (Bayhan, Şenvarıdar, Kaptan & Aysu, 1977, p. 21).

Bayhan et. al (1977, p.1) clarified that there was no trace of fundamental changes in the planning of Trabzon in general. Because of the organic addition of some areas previously designated in the contiguous area to the urban area, the population would be increased. Thus, new residential areas and urban service areas would be needed.

⁵ This plan report was prepared in 1977 which is named "Trabzon Kesin İmar Planı Raporu" taking into consideration the plan revisions done in 1975 and 1976 (Bayhan et. Al., 1977, p.1).

Purpose of this plan was identifying spatial arrangement and development standards of these areas. In addition, this plan proposed cadastral corrections in the problematic areas such as densified city center (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 1). It can be said that Trabzon Development Plan approved in 1970 mainly focuses on preventing irregular, unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization by defining specific standards rather than envisaging a new vision for the spatial development of the city.

3.2.1. Major Lines of Trabzon Development Plan

The fact that the Lambert Plan was not implemented to a large extent when planning studies had been started made it difficult to establish a connection between the old plan and the new one. Projected population was identified as 140.000 for the year 1895 and the city was planned accordingly. Planning studies were based on analytical studies conducted by the Provincial Bank between 1967-1968. However, continuous and detailed investigations and observations were made on the field and findings of this field study were also utilized (Aysu, 1981, p. 191).

Aydemir (1989, p. 51) lists the main planning principles of the plan approved in 1970 as follows; 1) revision of the cadastral tissue of the existing residential areas, 2) improvement of urban service area standards, 3) regular development in small industrial areas, 4) preventing conglomeration tendency of urban development along the coast, 5) southward urban development insofar as the topography permits. Accordingly, two main planning decisions were identified (Aydemir, 1989, p. 51):

1. Arrangement of the “Tanjant Road” [Tanjant Yolu] as the main axis of Trabzon, which would reduce the interurban transportation flow on the coastal road and serve as the collector and organizer road in the main urban transportation flow linking the proposed development areas in the west to the city center and business areas and
2. Proposed development areas would be located in the southside of the city and planned on the basis of primary school units and existing residential areas would be

rearranged according to the property status, parcel sizes either in compliance with planning regulations or coefficients.

In this context, final draft of Trabzon Development Plan Report prepared in 1977 was collected under six main headings; 1) significance of Trabzon at national and regional scale, 2) population, 3) business areas, 4) transportation, 5) urban service areas, 6) residential areas (Bayhan et. al., 1977).

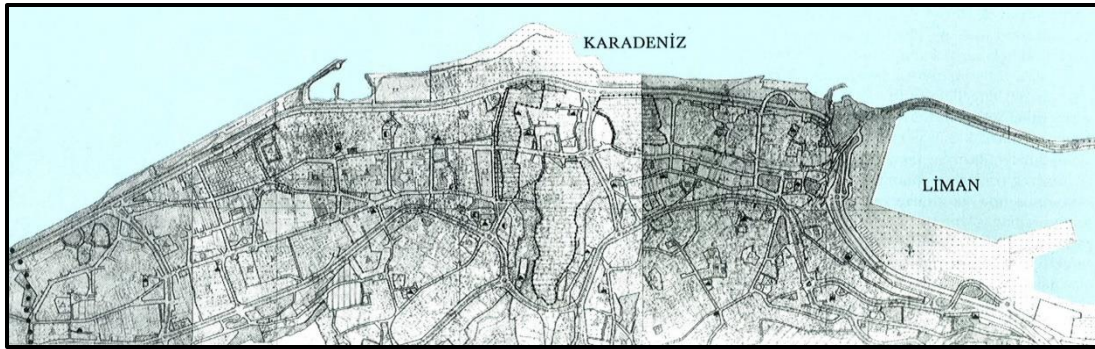


Figure 8: Trabzon Development Plan approved in 1970 (Source: Aydemir, 1989, p. 51)

Under the first heading, Bayhan et. al. (1977, p. 2) explained Trabzon in a more regional and context, generally its connections with surrounding cities demographically and economically. This section is more like an assessment of the current situation rather than proposing some spatial operations. (Bayhan, 1977, p. 2). In the second section named “Population”, Bayhan et. al. (1977, p. 3) focused on projecting population for the development plan, according to the studies done by Provincial Bank and State Planning Organization. On the basis of “Trabzon Analytical Studies” prepared by Provincial Bank, population projected for 1985 was 145.000-155.000 at first. However, reconsidering the enlargement occurred in the urban area of Trabzon due to the uncontrolled development outside the official urban area definition, a new population projection was needed. Thus, the projected population for

1990 was identified as 217.500 (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p.3). Third section and the following sections were including planning decisions, which are detailed below.

3.2.1.1. Business Areas (Central Areas)

Business areas were addressed under two categories; 1) trading areas, 2) industry, handicrafts and storage. Main problem defined for the trading areas were that trading areas were not supplied with the needs of increasing population, there were no sufficient sub-centers in the newly developed areas (Akçaabat and Yomra), the main city center had a linear form along the main roads located here. The proposition for these problems were extension of the central areas and establishing sub-centers in Akçaabat and Yomra. Boundaries defined for the main city center of Trabzon was between the coastal road at the north, the port at the east and the sloping residential areas at the south. The only direction for extension was to the west. For the industry, handicrafts and storage area located on the coastal highway between the port and Değirmendere recreational valley, a specific planning decision was not taken. The reason is that a remarkable improvement in industry was not expected in the planning period according to the researches (Bayhan et. al., 1977, pp. 3-7).

3.2.1.2. Transportation

Bayhan et. al. emphasized the reciprocal relationship between the port and coastal highway and increasing importance of Trabzon at regional scale. As the port and state highway were constructed, Trabzon became a crossroad that provides the connection of the eastern coast of Turkey with the western region. Naturally, the interurban transportation flow has been steadily increased since the construction of the port and the coastal highway. At this stage, the capacity of the highway fell short of this traffic density. In addition, the tendency to develop southward in coastal cities necessitates proposal of adequate transportation solutions. Thus, construction of an additional artery, best known as Tanjant Road was proposed in Trabzon Development Plan (Bayhan et. al., 1977, pp. 8-9).

The factors taken into consideration while the route of Tanjant Road had been identified were decisions of the Council of Monuments, prevention of the roads' intersection with the valleys and selection of unsettled and less settled lands throughout the route. It is also indicated that, Tanjant Road was not only considered as an intercity road that disburdens the coastal highway, but also it would serve as an intracity road. Together with the coastal highway, Tanjant Road would be one of the main axes of the city in east-west direction (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 10). In addition, the area between these two roads defined as the "core of the city" where trading areas, administrative center and educational areas proposed to be located (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 11). The residential units proposed in the southern part of the city would be connected to the Tanjant Road by their linking roads (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 12).

The section of Maraş Street inside the outer castle area became a carriage way connected to the Tanjant Road in the south-east direction. (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 11) The rest of the Maraş Street remained pedestrianized according to the Trabzon Development Plan and a new pedestrian axis was proposed in the southern region of the city. This new pedestrian axis would locate between the proposed residential units, continuously passing through central trading areas of units, educational facilities and open spaces (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 14).

3.2.1.3. Urban Service Areas

Urban service areas were discussed under three categories in the Trabzon Development Plan; 1) education, 2) healthcare organizations, 3) open green areas, recreational areas (Bayhan et. al., 1977, pp. 17-20). Education were taken as the factor in accordance of which the residential areas would be arranged. The basic principal was that, a student could reach his/her school (kinder garden, primary school or middle school) by walking and high schools must have been located in the junction of two residential areas at an equal distance to both of them (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 17). Other than the Karadeniz Technical University Medical School Hospital, 35.63 hectares were zoned for additional healthcare institutions (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 19).

The proposals about open green areas in the Trabzon Development Plan was including valleys, existing playfields and the stadium in the city center automatically to the open space system, preserving existing parks, connecting open green spaces surrounding hospitals and schools located in the north of Tanjant Road along the pedestrian axis proposed in this area, improving the quality of the open green spaces in the coastal zone and connecting them with the ones in the southern part of the city by two pedestrian axes (Bayhan et. al., 1977, pp. 19-20).

3.2.1.4. Residential Areas

Due to problems such as land was divided into very small parcels and illegal floors were added to the buildings, the existing residential tissue was not in a good condition. Thus, the revision of the cadastral tissue of the existing residential areas and establishment of density and structuring regulations were proposed in the scope of Trabzon Development Plan (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 21). Proposed residential areas were composed of residential units in the southern region of the Tanjant Road. These new residential areas would be planned based on educational facilities, as it is explained above in the Section 3.2.1.3 (Bayhan et. al., 1977, p. 21).

3.2.2. Sea and Waterfront in the Trabzon Development Plan

As it is examined in detail in Section 3.2 and Section 3.2.1, Trabzon Development Plan mainly focused on preventing irregular, unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization by defining specific standards rather than envisaging a new vision for the spatial development of the city. Main planning principles and planning decisions were identified accordingly. As a result of necessity to take prompt actions about problematic areas, coastal zone of Trabzon was not regarded as a priority area to study on. Nevertheless, this does not mean that waterfront of Trabzon has been left out of the scope.

The coastal zone of Trabzon was not considered to be a public area serving all inhabitants with its recreational, cultural, sportive functions unlike it was in Lambert Plan⁶. In Trabzon Development Plan, the influence that coastal highway exercised over the coastal area can be clearly seen. The coastal road has been developed as an interurban state highway with high density of traffic contrary to what Lambert proposed. Housing areas started to conglomerate along the coast in an unplanned and unregulated way, which represses any other land use in this area. Two main planning decisions were building Tanjant Road and proposing new residential areas in the southside of the city in order to reduce traffic density on the coastal highway and prevent urban development along the coastal highway.

It is clear that the coastal zone was regarded as a problematic area, but just in the context of transportation and housing. Its disappearing functions proposed in Lambert Plan was slurred over. No accentuated precautions or proposals included to the planning report for preserving or improving existing public, natural and recreational characteristics of Trabzon's coastal zone. The only proposition about coastal zone of Trabzon related with an urban function other than transportation and housing was open spaces. In Trabzon Development Plan, improving the quality of the open green spaces in the coastal zone and connecting them with the ones in the southern part of the city by two pedestrian axes were proposed (Bayhan et. al., p. 20).

3.3. Third Planning Experience: Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan (1989)

Before the preparation of Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan, Trabzon Development Plan was revised in 1975, 1977 and 1984, and the planning boundaries were gradually expanded in the east and west of the city. Toklu and Beşirli Villages were included in the planning boundaries by the plan revision in 1977 which added an area of 80 hectares to the total planned area. An additional and revision zoning plan

⁶ As a matter of fact, it was stated in the Trabzon Development Planning Report that the connection between the Lambert Plan and Trabzon Development Plan due to the fact that Lambert Plan had not been implemented to a large extent when planning studies had been started (Aysu, 1981, p. 191).

was made on 1984 and the planning boundaries was extended to Söğütlü Village in the west and Yomra District in the east. Thus, an additional area of 570 hectares was planned and the total planned area reached 1375 hectares. The development areas were limited to Akçaabat District in the west, Yomra Districts in the east and Chest Diseases Hospital in the south (Öymen Gür, 2016).

While the 1984 plan was in force, the zoning law numbered 3194 was published in the Official Gazette in 22.05.1985. The authority to prepare plans was transferred from the central government to the local government with this law. In this period, the municipalities all over the country have speeded up planning studies by the planning groups established in the municipalities. In 1987, additional-revision development plan works were started by Trabzon Municipality. The development plan prepared by Bülent Berksan was approved and entered into force in 1989 (Öymen Gür, 2016).

In the Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan Survey Report he prepared in 1987, Berksan stated that as the planning study was an additional and revisional one, the population included in the current development plan is examined and new residential areas are proposed for the population. It is assumed necessary urban, social and technical infrastructure were provided for the population included in the current development plan. However, urban working areas (city center, industrial areas, storage areas etc.) were re-examined in accordance with the plan (Berksan, 1987, p.87). Basically, Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan approved in 1989 was prepared with the intent of reviewing the current plan, identifying the areas that it could not meet the requirements of the increasing population and proposing to the point solutions for these problematic areas.

3.3.1. Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan

In Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan, it was assumed that Trabzon's population will reach 265.000 in 2000. Starting from this assumption, the existing planned area which was 1375 hectares was extended to 1700 hectares. The main principles of the plan were identified as integration with the current plan, creating

solutions to the problems occurred due to the new requirements of the city and settling in the appropriate places identified based on the topography (Aydemir, 1989, p. 51).

Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan Survey Report prepared in 1987 consisted of “Analysis” and “Synthesis” sections. Under the heading of “Analysis”, Trabzon’s significance for Turkey and the region, its spatial history, its physical features, its population dynamics, its economic and social structure, its spatial organization and adequacy analysis of urban service areas of Trabzon were examined. The general evaluation of the analysis, upper scale decisions and thresholds that would affect the planning decisions, the requests of the local government, spatial projections and nonspatial projections, requirement of additional spaces, spatial standards for the proposed areas and areas requiring revision and additional plan decisions were included in the “Synthesis” Section (Berksan, 1987). As Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan was a spatial policy document that focusing on solving current issues, the analysis done was quite comprehensive. The planning decisions taken based on this analysis was generally discussed under two categories; 1) areas to be revised, 2) additional development plan (Berksan, 1987, pp. 100-101).

3.3.1.1. Areas to be Revised

Residential areas in the city center and around the Atatürk House in the south would be rearranged. Especially, low density housing areas were recommended in the surrounding area of Atatürk House. Due to the land subdivision and land property issues occurred in the residential area in the vicinity of Karadeniz Technical University, it was subjected to rearrangement. Considering that Trabzon Municipality made a request about the transformation of the residential areas located in the south of the industrial areas to urban working areas, this issue was included in the plan. Land uses of the areas along the Tanjant Road would be reconsidered. Because of the central governments’ request that Trabzon-Giresun coastal highway pass through Beşirli Village, the land use in this specific area would be rearranged (Berksan, 1987, p. 100).

3.3.1.2. Additional Development Plan

For the additional population, residential areas were identified partly in the areas proposed current development plan and partly in the south within the boundary of development plan at a density of 200 k/ha. The proposed residential areas in the south close by Atatürk House in accordance to the existing parcel sizes at a density of 250 k/ha. The industrial area would be rearranged in Değirmendere. The growing trade due to the increasing population in the city center and residential areas located here were approached simultaneously. Educational and sportive infrastructure were found adequate; however, some additions could be considered at neighborhood level. The existing transportation network of the city have developed generally in the east-west direction. As the city would develop to the south, connections would be needed in the north-south direction. For this reason, a high-elevated cornice road⁷ in the south serving to this purpose was required. (Berksan, 1987, p. 101).

3.3.2. Sea and Waterfront in Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan

Trabzon Additional-Revision Development Plan mostly focused on meeting the needs of increasing population. Additional residential areas and some revisions in urban working areas (industrial area and city center) were proposed in the plan. Educational and sportive infrastructure were found adequate. There was no comment about possible requirements about the increasing population other than housing and employment, for example recreational open spaces. In parallel with this approach, the coastal zone of the city was not regarded as an area that has a potential to meet recreational needs of the increasing population. Thus, there were no specific operations proposed regarding the coastal zone.

⁷ In her article named “Trabzon’da Toplumsal Dönüşüm ve Kentsel Kimlik” Öymen Gür (2016) defined this road as the “Second Tanjant Road”.

3.4. Fourth Planning Experience: Trabzon Revision Development Plan (2002)

By the last planning period in 2002, urban environment in Trabzon gave a dispersed and irregular appearance. Rahmi Bıyık, the urban planner prepared Trabzon Revision Development Plan in 2002 (Bıyık, 2002, p. 226) stated that during the Republican era, the city continued to developed and sprawled on all land suitable to settle in. Due to the scarcity of land suitable to settle in because of topographic reasons and high demand for urban areas, development of Trabzon had no significant characteristics. The city took its present shape wherever the topography allowed and even by spanning the boundaries set by topography (Bıyık, 2002, p. 226). As a consequence of longstanding inoperative planning practices, it was not possible to speak of a significant direction identified for the city to develop. The city has continued its rapid and unregulated development in all directions within the municipal boundaries (Bıyık, 2002, p. 234).

With the change of municipal boundaries by the central administration and approval of 1800 modification plans and 50 improvement plans, the integrity of the 1989 plan was destroyed. Due to the facts that land properties had not been included in the 1989 plan and some of the residential areas developed without complying with the current plan, 1989 plan was not operational anymore. In addition, Ministry of Public Works made preparation of the geological-geotechnical studies obligatory after the 1999 earthquake. Thus, the renewal of the plan became a legal requirement too (Bıyık, 2002, p. 234).

3.4.1. Trabzon Revision Development Plan

The design and planning criteria were identified based on geological-geotechnical studies, population structure and projections, existing land use criteria, current development plan, land properties, recommendations of public institutions, morphology of the land and climate (Bıyık, 2002, p. 235). It is also important to say that, meetings were held with non-governmental organizations, universities and public

institutions, the process were explained and suggestions were received before and during the development plan study climate. Projected population was identified as 350.000 for the year 2015, taking into consideration any contingency (Biyık, 2002, p. 236). Based on the data gathered and the population projected, the planning decisions made in accordance with the public interest are outlined below (Biyık, 2002, pp. 235-236).

- The aim of the planning was to establish the identity of the city center of Trabzon.
- The valleys which were located in the center and partially developed were planned as natural green areas open to public use and the status of these areas was shown as special planning zones.
- A transition zone has been established around the areas with natural and historical value.
- Based on geological studies, standards for building density was proposed. A gradual decrease in the density was recommended from the high-density residential areas in the existing in the coast to the low-density residential areas on the southern slopes.
- The coast has particularly been addressed. Coastal planning has been approached by taking into account the opinions of the institutions including the new coastal highway project⁸.
- The fact that coastal highway passing the coastal section of the entire eastern Black Sea Region was cutting off the relationship between the city and the sea was regarded as a problem. Thus, a highway passing through the south of the

⁸ Öymen Gür (2016) states that the coastal area of Trabzon has been arranged according to the recreational coastal plan which was organized within the scope of the new coastal road project and has been arranged to include a marina, fishing shelters, highway crossing, large areas separated for parks and sports and fairgrounds.

city was included to the plan, which would take over the traffic load of the coastal highway.

- Taking into consideration regional, national and international significance of them, central business areas have been established and renewal with wide paths has been proposed in these areas.
- In the planning study, the current maps, property status, development plans including geological surveys were prepared in computer environment and it was aimed to create a base for the future urban information system.

3.4.2. Sea and Waterfront in Trabzon Revision Development Plan

Trabzon Revision Development Plan approved in 2002 brought up the rearrangement of the coastal zone as a recreational public area to its agenda. It explicitly stated that the coastal highway was separating the sea from the city, which answers to the description of *edge* by Lynch (1960). Unlike second and third development plans of Trabzon, some urban functions other than coastal highway and residential areas along it was emphasized such as fishing shelters, large areas for parks and sports. In addition, the recommendation of gradual decrease in the density of housing from the coastal area to the southern slopes evokes Lambert's proposal of new Trabzon mentioned in Section 3.1.2.2. However, its operability has been damaged by a vast number of modification plans and improvement plans.

3.5. Conclusions from the Studies on Planning History of Trabzon

In this chapter, the major plans and their approach to the coastal zone of Trabzon is examined. Since conceived space is described as the representation of spatial exercises which planners, architects, scientists and social engineers decide to do, or rather a superior mind imposing them to do so (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33), conceived space of Trabzon is tried to be investigated in this chapter.

However, as it is explained in Section 2.1, a comprehensive analysis necessitates enquiry on the perceived space, conceived space and lived space. While conceived space can be studied via planning reports, more intangible sources such as memoirs should be examined to analyze what is perceived and lived by citizens in the given area. In this way, whether the intentions and expectations of the technocrats lurk in the plans is reciprocated in the image of the society and social life can be ascertained. Thus, inhabitant's space-related experiences about the past and current states of the coastal zone of Trabzon are investigated in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 respectively.

This chapter involves urban planning strategies and the design tactics to provide clear perception of the sea and integration of the waterfront to the city as a wide public area, especially in the Lambert Plan. Nevertheless, it is observed that either the emphasis put on to these issues seems to decreased or the waterfront is not approached as a public area at all in subsequent plans. In the last instance, successful and unsuccessful strategies and tactics concerning these matters can be inferred from the combination of the findings of this chapter and following two chapters, when the subject matter is considered from a user-centered urban planning perspective.

CHAPTER 4

GOING BACK IN TIME: TRABZON NEIGHBORHOODS ALONG THE SHORE

In this chapter, memories regarding the sea and the coastal zone of Trabzon told in memoirs of inhabitants, who have been living in the coastal neighborhoods of Trabzon are analyzed from the framework put forward by Kevin Lynch, as based on two well-known concepts, that are “the city image” (1960) and “a good city form” (1981). In addition, as Lambert’s vision of urban planning in Trabzon highlights, or even based on strengthening the spatial and social relationship between the city and the sea, his proposals are also practiced on examination of the emphasis put on the sea and waterfront in the memories.

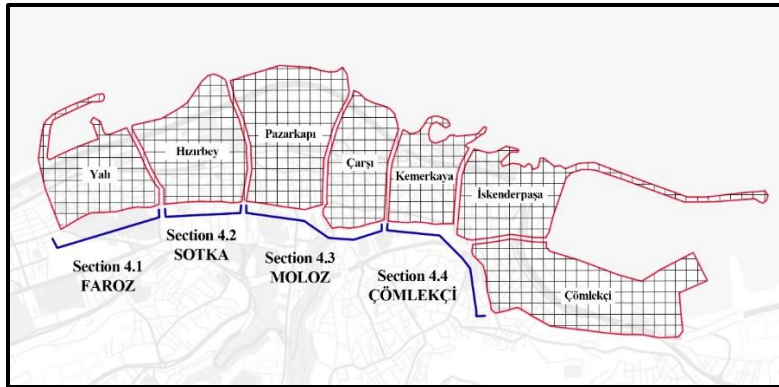


Figure 9: New names of coastal neighborhoods and the sections they examined

(Source: prepared by the author)

Memories gathered from citizens and the personal interviews during the site visit generally point out particular neighborhoods, where the sea and the coastal zone had

a significant place in inhabitant's daily lives. These neighborhoods are Faroz, Sotka, Moloz and Çömlekçi, as they were traditionally named in the memoirs examined. These memories about the sea and the coastal zone are also sub-categorized as they are indicating similar socio-spatial and visio-spatial dynamics. It is also necessary to say that sea and waterfront references found in the memories which are not within the boundaries of the before-mentioned neighborhoods are not taken out of context. They have been included in the relevant section according to the neighborhood where its story-teller mainly refers to.

4.1. Faroz

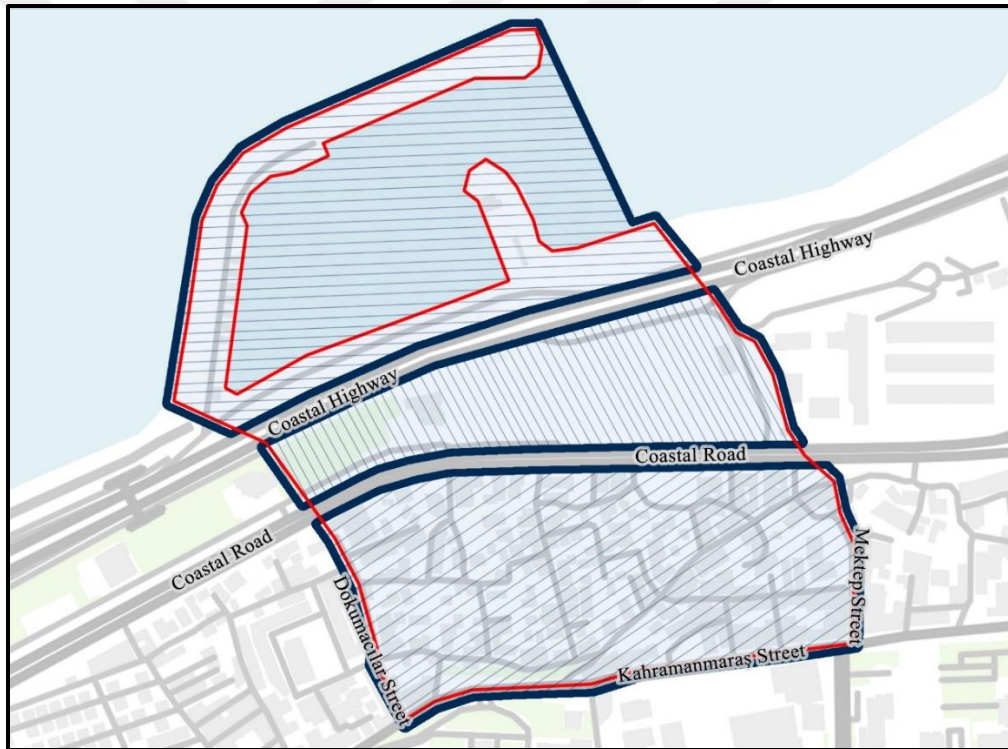


Figure 10: Faroz (Yalı) Neighborhood (Source: prepared by the author)

Yalı Neighborhood, best known as Faroz, is one of Trabzon's central neighborhoods located between Mektep Street in the east, Dokumacılar Street in the west and

Kahramanmaraş Street in the south. Similar to other neighborhoods located the coastal zone of Trabzon, it is split in three zones parallel to the sea by the inner coastal road and the coastal highway. Residential areas are located in the south of coastal road. Between the coastal road and the coastal highway, there are fish and meat restaurants, parks and playgrounds. In the north of the coastal highway, “Faroz Fishing Port Area” [Faroz Balıkçı Barınakları] and a tea garden is located. In addition, the walking trail starts from Faroz and lies down to the west.

Faroz has always been characterized by fishery. However, even if the fishing port continues its existence, fishery in the neighborhood has been losing its significance day by day due to the water contamination and fish importation. H. Zihni states that people who are still doing fishery for a living own 90 percent of the roofs⁹ and fishery is just a hobby for the other 10 percent (personal interview, July 12, 2019). He predicts this percentage will raise in the next 10 years because fisherman cannot provide for their families with the money earned from fishery and see no future in this occasion anymore. There is a trend that transferring the right of tenancy of the roofs and living on the amount of money earned from the transfer (H. Zihni, personal interview, July 12, 2019). Thus, H. Zihni states it is possible that Faroz Fishing Port Area is going to be a hobby space in a short span of time (personal interview, July 12, 2019).



Figure 11: Faroz Fishing Port Area (Source: the author, 2019, July 12)

⁹ “Roof” is called “dam” in Turkish.

Another important characteristic of Faroz is that the neighborhood preserves its social structure. During the site visit, it appears as the only neighborhood about which it is said that the old culture of solidarity, value of being a community and importance of creating a safe social environment by civic life are kept alive. H. Zihni, who has been living in Faroz for 59 years, explained the values mentioned above in detail (personal interview, July 12, 2019). He says that the old traditions like giving feasts in religious holidays that all inhabitants attend, stopping games in the coffee houses when somebody passes away and looking after everybody, especially women, within the borders of Faroz even though they are not inhabitants of the neighborhood (H. Zihni, personal interview, July 12, 2019).

4.1.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Faroz from Past to Present



Figure 12: Old Faroz (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 86)



Figure 13: Fishery in Faroz in 1950's (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)

Murat Ergin (2011) describes Faroz he remembers from his childhood the place as a settlement embracing the sea and coast economically and socially in his memoir named “İçimdeki Mavi Beyaz Faroz”. As the main source of income was fishery in the neighborhood, sea had a crucial place in inhabitant’s lives. His memories of the neighborhood’s relationship with the sea gathers around the fishery, the solidarity culture it creates, changes in the culture of fishery in the course of time and its effect on the culture of neighborhood. In addition, he gives clues about how perception of the sea and waterfront alter based on critical spatial interventions such as construction of the coastal road and built of the walls in the neighborhood. The neutrality of the coastal zone, its economic and social functions and the culture of the neighborhood existed mainly due to the fishery, and changes in the perception of sea in inhabitant’s images are analyzed in the following chapter based on Ergin’s (2011) memoir and personal interviews done by the author during the site visit.

4.1.1.1. Fishery, Culture of Solidarity and Perception of Sea

Ergin explains small scaled, yet quite significant fishery activities in Faroz, its effect of culture and consequences of the change in fishery activities in Faroz as follows (2011, pp. 39-40):

The fishnet had been knitted by hand. Now I get it, everything was as sincere as a fisherman knitting in Faroz. Later the handmade production was turned into manufacturing. Necipoğlu Fishnet Factory was established. Small sailing boats in the neighborhood began to turn into big ships, Black Sea people and greedy money fathers attempted to root all the fish out with trawling fishnets. Fishnets started to be sold by weight, price of two hundred and fifty pounds of fishnet was asked in advance to buy five hundred pounds of fishnet. The fisher folk of Faroz who has been earning their livelihood with small sailing boats get their share of this sudden growth and fierce competition. They got even poorer. Eventually, they had to migrate from Faroz.



Figure 14: Knitting the fishnets. Güle Temel and Captain Bilal; a memory from the old port (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 19)

At this point, Lefebvre's (1991, p. 31) argument that every social system produces its own spaces and space is an object for analysis because of the fact that each society comes with its own dynamics due to the variant relations of production and reproduction comes to mind. In addition, Lefebvre (1991, p. 31) refers to a particular mode of production when he mentions "society". It is understood from Ergin's (2011, pp. 39-40) comment that Faroz was the living space of fisher folk as a "society" who have earned their livelihood from small-scale fishery before the construction of the fishnet factory. As it can be deduced from his words and also mentioned below, social dynamics of Faroz was characterized by spirit of sharing, sincerity and honesty at those times. Therefore, when the mode of production has changed from handmade to manufacturing and small scaled fishery to hunting on huge ships, so does the societal dynamics. It caused poverty and migration of fisher folk from the neighborhood, which had serious spatial and social effects, which is explained below. Thus, taking "small sailing boats" and "big ships" as spaces of two different type of space of two different social systems, Lefebvre's (1991, pp. 33-34) argument that space contains layers of social interactions and power relations can be validated by this example to some extent.

Ergin (2011, p. 32) bemoans about the spatial and social transformation Faroz has experienced after the migration of fisher folk from the neighborhood:

I remember the days when the walls started to build. First, a wall was built of gray briquette that separates Kerametdin's house from the street. Then my parents pulled our wall back and a parcel fight started in the neighborhood. Our migrant fisherman neighbors have been replaced by people unaware of what urbanization is. In the neighborhood where the walls have been ignored for years, real walls begun to be built, millimeters were begun to be calculated, and even streets begun to be parceled. Those thin walls between our neighbors and us have thickened. In those days, I understood that all the walls began to build slowly, you cannot understand what happened, and then you feel like you are living in a prison. That was the case in Faroz; it was always thought that it will stay the same and the changes were just watched. Our neighborhood was turned into a colorless prison with gray walls after immigration. Apartment walls separated our windows from the sea as a set, our gardens we share with our neighbors buried in the darkness. We have not greeted the sea nor the clouds. We have started to see only with sounds.

In Ergin's (2011, p. 32) image, walls are elements separating both people from the sea and people from each other. Firstly, he depicts the sea with its blue color and the gardens with their green color as he says walls transformed the neighborhood to a colorless prison. He mentions loss of sea view but still perceptible sounds of the sea. Thus, walls are perceived as *edges* that Lynch (1960) describes as separating linear elements breaking the continuity. The continuity in Ergin's (2011) perception are both in social and spatial terms that it appears as the social interactions between neighbors and visual relationship of the sea with the houses. Walls interrupt either of them. In fact, Ergin (2011) describes loss of "sense" in the neighborhood, which Lynch (1981, p. 118) defines as "the match between the environment, our sensory and mental capabilities, and our cultural constructs".

However, loss of one of the components that "sense" has which Lynch (1981, p. 129) listed - identity, structure, congruence, transparency and legibility – becomes prominent among the others; identity. Ergin (2011, pp. 34-35) emphasize disappearance of the most significant characteristic of Faroz with his words below:

In the past, people would laugh at poverty, because everything was shared, from the fish kept to a glass of tea. Any problem was got into houses, curses overflowed on the streets. Maybe, swearing was the honorable move to do, hitting it out without throwing it in. The most natural thing I remember of Old Faroz was the fights done in front of the doors. Swearing was at its best in Faroz. As the names of the rocks in front of the coastal road are shady rock, pissed rock; slang was the language of the neighborhood, slang meant living, and slang meant that 'We don't have anything hidden from each other'.

Ergin (2011, pp. 34-35) assimilates Faroz into swearing. In addition, he assimilates swearing into sharing problems and being with each other in the worst of times. It is striking to see how he identifies swearing as a distinctive characteristic of the neighborhood, how he associates this action with its spatial practice as "curses overflowing to the streets" or "neutrality of fights done in front of the doors" and how he perceives it as a symbol of solidarity culture in the neighborhood. In addition, Lynch (1960, p. 48) says that in the restricted localities, *landmarks* gain local characteristics and urban details could behave like *landmarks*. Thus, the rocks named after some curses can be regarded as *landmarks* in Faroz due to fact that swearing is a local characteristic of the neighborhood.

It is important to remind that the solidarity of culture Ergin (2011) mentions belonged the times when fisher folk still have been living in Faroz, before the migration and increase in the poverty started. Their existence was not only dominant in the culture of the neighborhood but also it caused some gathering points symbolizing fishery. Ergin (2011, p. 85) mentions “Uncle Murat’s Coffee House” [Murat Ağa’nın Kahvesi] as such a gathering place, a *node* for fisher folk characterized by its usage for fishery meetings, which fits as Lynch’s (1960, p. 47) definition of *nodes*:

In Old Faroz, the captains and their assistant captains were considered the most important people in the neighborhood. They met in the Uncle Murat’s Coffee House and planned everything to be done. The captains organized the fish season. While Captain Recep was sipping his tea, all the other captains gathered and talked about everything from the technical problems of boats to the crews and weather conditions. Captain Recep was the strictest captain of the neighborhood.

4.1.1.2. Social Life and Perception of Sea

In Ergin’s (2011) memories, there are three places become prominent as public spaces, where the inhabitants, especially women and children, socialized in. These are streets, an open space in a mounted position and the coastal zone. What is remarkable in his comments that he senses the presence of the sea either directly or indirectly while he has been spending time in these places. For example, he illustrates his perception of the sea from the inner areas of Faroz with his words below (Ergin, 2011, p. 22):

Everything in Faroz was a ground color; streets lived with the sea, the wind and sounds of them. Maybe the streets were composed of gardens; gardens were more than closed boxes, they were places that shared, produced and lived. In some mornings, the old times were poured out; there were laughter from inside the gardens and the sounds of fights...

He perceives sea on the streets via its sounds and the wind. His clear perception of the sea even if he did not see it echoes with Lambert’s proposal on street network of Trabzon. According to Lambert (1938b cited in Lambert 2010, p. 313) the only solution to ventilate the city and connect inner parts to the sea is arrangement of vertical roads in the north-south direction. The fact that Ergin (2011) can sense the

wind and sounds in the streets indicates in Old Faroz streets are also served as ventilation canals enabling onshore breeze to access the neighborhood.

In addition, Ergin's (2011) statement that gardens are not private spaces of family houses but they have a public characteristic is worthy of attention. Unlike streets are categorized under *paths* as Lynch (1960) offers, the streets in Sotka are described as public spaces in his memories which have an important place in inhabitant's social life. They are not "all about movement" (Lynch, 1960, p. 47). They spatially display the culture of sharing, sincerity, openness and coexistence. Due to this one of a kind culture of Faroz is visible on the streets while an observer moves along them, s/he has a sense that "being inside of" a particular place, in other words in a *district* (Lynch, 1960, p. 47). In the last instance, streets of Faroz contributes greatly to the perception of Faroz as a *district*.

Other than the streets of Faroz, Ergin (2011, pp. 18-9) mentions another location where inhabitants of the neighborhood used as an open public space. This open space overlooking the sea called "the hill" [tepe]¹⁰ (2011, pp. 18-9):

Women are standing under the silverberry tree, looking at a velvety soft sea. They are knitting a dream with their hands all summer. We are running in the olive groves behind our mothers, we are getting lost in the lush pomegranate orchards, small boats pass in front of us. My mother is crocheting a bunch of grapes on an embroidery frame with a needle. We start to get hungry, and then the neighbor women come with trays in their hands.

It is clear that the hill has a significant place especially in women and children's social life in Faroz. In addition, as much as the hill was a natural playground for the children with its landscape, it was offering other options of games because of its altitude. Ergin (2011, pp. 77-8) explains a unique game invented by the children of the neighborhood. Even in this game, neighborhood's nautical culture and the relationship between the sea and the inner areas of the neighborhood is quite apparent:

We go up the hill with İlhan, we count the number of staircases of the long street stairs. There are exactly 50 steps. The children of the neighborhood got themselves a new toy. They took a shark caught in the nets in the harbor and brought it to the neighborhood. They made a leash for the shark. They put a long

¹⁰ Ergin states that first Trabzon Numune Hospital and then the stadium was built this location afterwards (2011, p. 33).

cable into its fins. They are having fun taking the stairs up the hill and throwing the shark down the coast.

Lambert (1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 315) regarded the sea as a natural element of recreational areas and topography as a natural privilege. He proposed terraces as town squares towards the sea in the neighborhoods. His proposal also included preservation of the existing trees in these terraces (Lambert, 1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 338). The hill overlooking the sea with a silverberry tree in the middle of it typifies town squares towards the sea in the neighborhoods. In addition, the hill gathering people together as a focal recreational point and the silverberry tree in it respectively answer to the description of a *node* and a *landmark* (Lynch, 1960) as it is explained in the Section 3.1.2.3.

Ergin (2011) refers the coastal zone itself as a public space in his memoir. What takes attention at this point is while the sea has an economic value for the men because of the fishery, it has a social significance in children's and the women's lives. Firstly, Ergin mentions popular games of his childhood floating paper boats (Ergin, 2011, p. 36) and doing swimming races (Ergin, 2011, p. 83) between the rocks in the sea. However, as men and children are spending time in the sea and the coastal zone conveniently in the day, women do not have this freedom.

Ergin (2011, p. 19) conveys one of his memories regarding this issue:

It is getting hotter and everyone feels sluggish. We are dragging after women who take handicrafts. Inside the house, women prepare dinner for their husbands. After wearing their most comfortable step skirts, they go to the seaside in the dusk of the setting sun. There's no one on the beach but women. Under the silverberry tree, we hear our mother's screams of joy from the sea. We can only choose their silhouette because of the distance; they have fun like children.

Ergin's (2011, p. 19) emphasis on women's being on their own on the beach in a certain time of the day with a specified dressing code shows that, publicity of the coastal zone of Faroz has its limits in terms of gender. In this respect, the coastal zone of Faroz fails to comply with Lynch's fourth performance dimension: access. Lynch (1981, p. 188) identifies access as "the features to which access is given and to whom it is afforded". Lynch draws attention to unequal distribution of access among groups

and its variation by time of day and season (Lynch, 1981, pp. 188-190). It can be interpreted that distribution of access among genders and its variation by the day and night is definitely unequal in the case of Faroz. However, Ergin (2011, p. 50) mentions the use of coastal zone as a public space fulfilling its goal that “bringing together different groups of people regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age” (Madanipour, 1995 cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 117) in certain occasions:

After every wedding, I was filled with a strange sadness. My mother took my hand and drag my sleepy eyes and I to the beach. Ice creams were bought and we walked up to the Hagia Sophia Beach. In the summer, we went to Orkide and Çağlayan Clubhouses with the whole family. Faroz had such a routine of summer nights; weddings, kolbastı and the beach walks...



Figure 15: Ayasofya Beach in 1940's (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)

4.1.1.3. Sports and Perception of Sea

Coastal zone of Faroz and the sea has a special place in memories of Faroz inhabitants not only because of the fact that it was a fishing town, but also some other crucial components of its identity was coming from nautical activities: water sports and football. Being the best at these three activities among the other neighborhoods of Trabzon, Faroz gained its prestige from the sea. Firstly, Ergin (2011, p. 58) explains importance and meaning of the success at rowing for the neighborhood:

Before football, the 'Farozlular' rowing team boasted of the success of the rowing team. Faroz was the place where the young men who have their first fight of their lifetime with the nature because of fishery. It was a repressed, crushed slum. It never tolerated defeat. With their success, our rowing team was able to crown the pride of the neighborhood.



Figure 16: Faroz Rowing Team (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 61)

Secondly, he refers the picture below and explain how the coastal zone of Faroz enabled football to improve due to its geographical characteristics (Ergin, 2011, p.

59): “The visible area is the training area of the Black Sea Power Football Team. Hayri Gür, the coach of the team at the time, got this field constructed. Despite the lack of plain lands suitable for football, it was always a part of the neighborhood.”



Figure 17: Training Field of Karadeniz Gücü (Source: Ergin, 2011, p. 59)

At this juncture, Lefebvre’s argument that the perception of space transforms from absolute to abstract comes to the mind (1991, p. 48). Lefebvre states that absolute space highlights the physical and it is sum of natural fragments. In the course of time, as it is populated by masses and they annihilated its neutrality, it accumulates knowledge, money, works of art, memories and symbols. Eventually, absolute space become a set of things/signs and their formal relationships, which functions objectively; abstract space. In abstract space, fragments of architecture objectively and derivatively perceived (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). In short, abstract space demolishes absolute space, reconstructs it and concentrates the ties between things and signs.

The accumulated memories and symbols regarding water sports and football about the coastal zone and the sea of Faroz clearly demonstrate transformation of this area from absolute to abstract. Absolute space can be regarded as the flat terrains located in the coastal zone. Thus, abstract space is the training fields in this area where the best national football players were hailed from and filled Faroz with pride. Likewise, the sea was symbolizing resistance, success and prestige because of being the best in fishery and rowing. In the last instance, perception of the sea and the coastal zone by inhabitants of Faroz has an explicit subtext about nautical activities creating the identity of Faroz and bringing prestige to the neighborhood.

4.2. Sotka

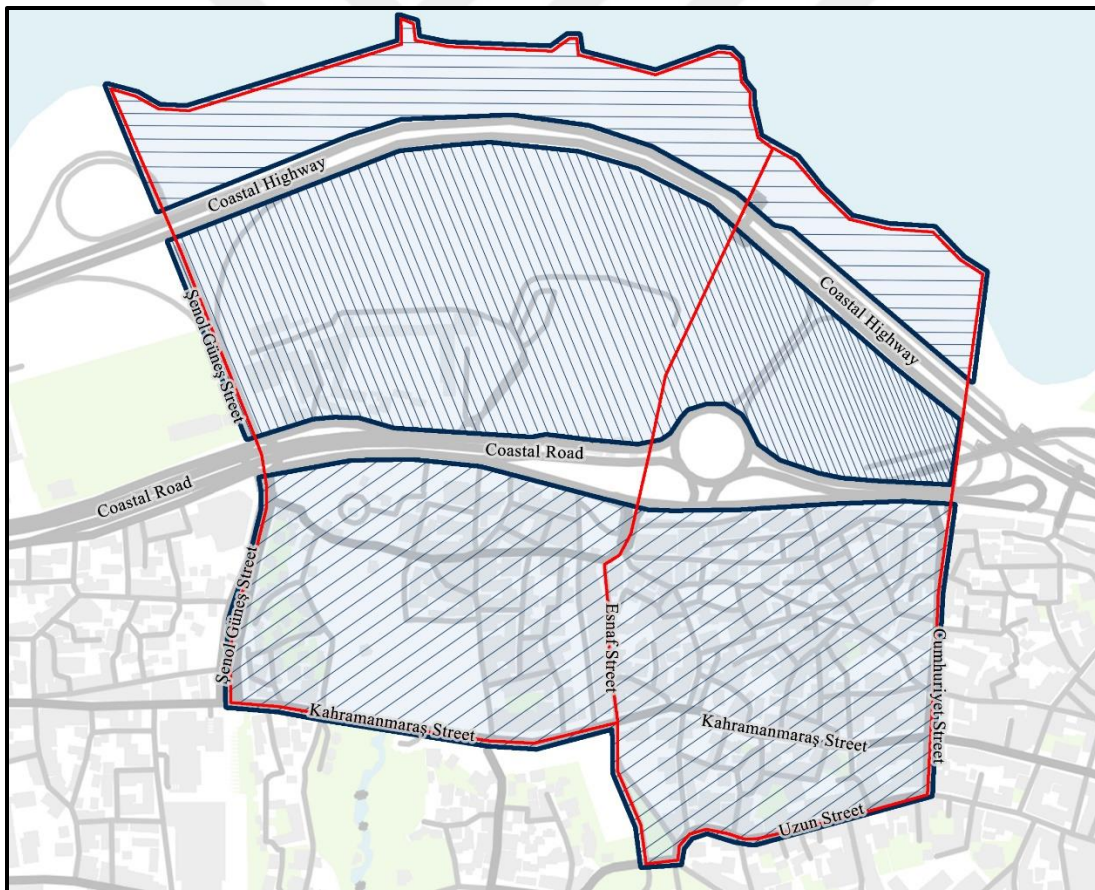


Figure 18: Sotka (Hızırbey) Neighborhood (Source: prepared by the author)

Hızrbey Neighborhood, best known as Sotka, is one of Trabzon's central neighborhoods located between Şenol Güneş Street in the east, Mektep Street in the west and Kahramanmaraş Street in the south. Sotka is splitted in three zones parallel to the sea by the inner coastal road and the coastal highway. The zone located in the south of the coastal road are mostly residential areas. In the zone between the coastal inner road and the coastal highway, some facilities such as fish market, agricultural wholesale market, Sotka Football Field and Haluk Ulusoy Football Training Center are located. A walking trail lies down along the neighborhoods' shore, in the north of the coastal highway.



Figure 19: Historical Buildings in Sotka: Hızrbey Ülkü Primary School (left), Hagios John Church (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

Even though S. Ustaoglu (personal interview, July 13, 2019) states that Sotka has a historical character as it is one of the first neighborhoods established after the city had begun to overflow outside the city walls, only a few historical buildings remain in Sotka. Urban fabric in the neighborhood takes its form by irregular, narrow streets between 3 to 5-storey buildings.

4.2.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Sotka from Past to Present



Figure 20: A Postcard showing Sotka in 1914 (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)

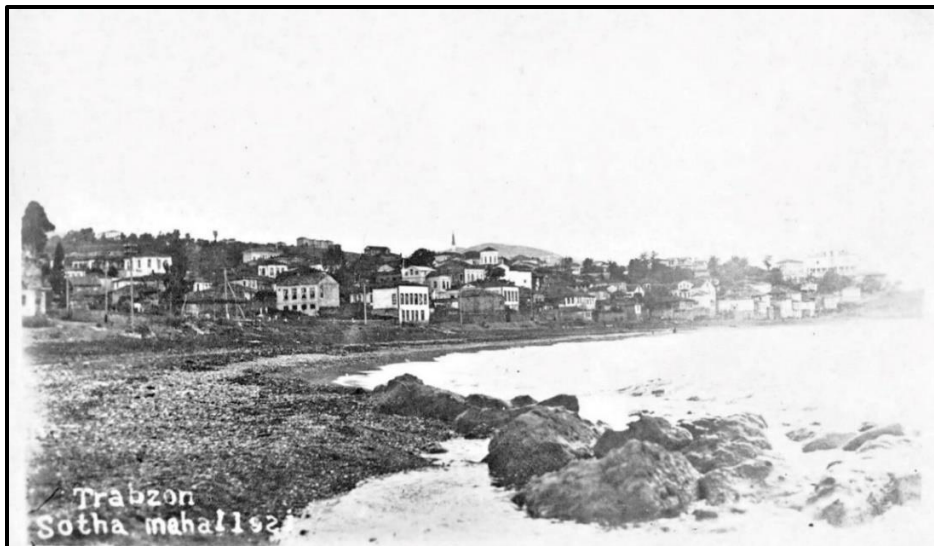


Figure 21: Sotka in 1940's (Source: M. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)

In the memoir of Ayşe Sevim (2011) named “Trabzon’un Denizden Koparılan Kalbi Sotka”, Sotka is described as a neighborhood coexists with the sea and the waterfront both spatially and socially. The comments made by inhabitants of Sotka during the site visit are also proving that the neighborhood has been in an organic relationship with the sea and it has a significant place in the neighborhood’s daily life. As it can also be seen in the picture above, the urban development was in conformity with the coastline. Topography was regarded as a given input for positioning the structures and an advantage in terms of being benefited from the waterscape. The neutrality of the beach and even the rocks in the sea were in evidence. Further remarks on the relationship of the sea with Sotka, how the coastal zone functioned as an open public space, how inhabitants perceived the sea and how the situation has been changed are examined based on the memoirs and personal interviews in the following sections.

4.2.1.1. Urban Fabric, Streets and Perception of the Sea

Sevim described the relationship between urban fabric of Sotka and its effect on the perception of sea tactfully in her memoir. (2011, p. 23). The smooth and easy perception of sea is identified as an outcome of the spatial organization of Sotka in her image:

If the neighborhood is adjacent to the sea and if the area going down to the beach mostly consists of terraces, if the thick stone walls of houses with yards set the boundaries of the streets, if the buildings are at peace and respectful to one another, immense blueness of the sea can be seen from every house. Mothers can recognize and watch their kids playing in wide beach or racing between the sea cliffs when they look outside from their windows.

There are some points attract the attention in her comment. Firstly, her definition of the neighborhood at that times fits what Lambert (1937) envisioned for Trabzon in terms of usage of elevation as an advantage for a clear sea view. Her emphasis on terraces and buildings respectful to one another took part in Lambert’s Plan (1937). Secondly, the sense of elements such as buildings, streets and the coast are fitting together can be deduced from her comment, which is defined as “structure” by Kevin Lynch (1981) as a spatial quality criterion. In addition, her remark that it is possible

for women to control their children playing in the beach from their houses shows that ongoing social life could be perceived in the neighborhood. The easiness of getting sense of life in Sotka associates with another quality criterion of Lynch (1981); “transparency”. As it is mentioned in Section 2.3, “structure” and “transparency” are two components of a set of qualities called “sense”, which means the environment, inhabitants sensory and socio-cultural dynamics are in conformity with one another.

In addition to her perception regarding spatial organization of the neighborhood in general, she also specifies relationships between some urban elements and the sea such as streets directly going down to the coast, certain historical buildings, some gathering points and explicit natural formations such as rock masses and sandy beaches located in the coastline (Sevim, 2011).

Parallel with Lynch’s (1960) argument that *paths* are predominant in people’s image and they behold other elements as they are moving through them, Sevim (2011) puts great emphasis on the condition of streets of Sotka in the past and now. First of all, she mentions loss of straight connection of the streets with the coast and disfigurement of their network (2011, p. 28):

Most of the streets running perpendicular and parallel to the sea are irregular and wiggly because of the slope and new apartments. Perpendicular streets going down the sea ends with the steps at the neighborhood’s rocky part, west side. Now, some streets pointlessly sweep to the right and left as they are disoriented and can reach the coastal road only in that way. From west to the east, Subaşı Street and Hızır Street became cul-de-sacs now. Considering yielding profit, apartments of which width and height were increased against the plan narrowed these streets from north to south day by day. Also, there are the ones left at the size of a hall in front of an apartment and came to an end. I sensed the phenomenon called unplanned urbanization better that somehow, we could not tackle, when the streets that I hoped to go down the beach by following the street signs and by using the steps like in the Mektep Street withered away in front of a grotty apartment under my feet. These changes in the streets were irreversible.

Sevim (2011) states that she realizes the reality of unplanned urbanization via disengagement of the perpendicular streets and the sea, not by the deterioration or lack of harmony in the urban tissue of Sotka. Even though sea is not an element of the built environment, her clear perception of her neighborhood strongly depends on perceptibility of the sea, even from the inner parts of the neighborhood. Her perception

is shaped by both the spatial and visual accessibility of the sea from the inner parts of Sotka. She also expresses her sadness about the loss of the sea view (2011, p. 25):

Beach was demolished, sea was moved away from the neighborhood but they still keep the best place in the memories of inhabitants of Sotka. Old pictures hanged on the wall, kept carefully in the photo album are mostly the ones taken at the beach by being backed by the sea, by leaning it. The sea being used to seen from every street, can only be seen from few streets going down the beach, today.

Reminding that Lynch (1960) defines *districts* as sections of the city differing in size and having some common, identifying characters, it can be definitely said that Sotka was a *district* identified by being a coastal neighborhood. Also, it can be deduced from Sevim's (2011) words that she brings other authentic characteristics of the neighborhood together with the sea in a cognitive route that she ascribed an emotional meaning; going down the beach by using the steps. Sevim (2011, p. 33) gives a particular example of these authentic street stairs, "Kayalık Cul-de-sac" [Kayalık Çıkmazı], which is called Sotka Street now:

This street with steps is the place known as 'Kayalık Cul-de-sac' before. When I look at the west side, I see rock blocks. By filling water between them, giving the look of natural pond and greening the around, a nice landscape was formed. This nice and clean landscaping with its old version at the side of the coastal road is the only rock mass which can give a clue related to the coast's prior situation before the road was constructed.

Sevim (2011) refers to the natural formation of rocks which is extant at the location she defined (see Figure 11). In addition, she mentions that elders told her about the sycamore trees along the shore in Sotka in her memoir (Sevim, 2011, p. 31). A comment done by one of the inhabitants of Sotka during the site visit supports Sevim's (2011) argument that the naturality of the coast was damaged by construction of the coastal highway. He states that in 1980's, waves reached to the rock mass in stormy days and there was a sandy beach right in front of the coastal road where the agricultural wholesale market¹¹ is located now (personal interview, July 13, 2019) (see Figure 12).

¹¹ The agricultural wholesale market is named "Yıldırımlar Tarım Ürünleri" now.



Figure 22: The rock mass to the west of Kayalık Cul-de-sac (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)



Figure 23: Looking south (left) and north (right) from the two ends of Kayalık Cul-de-sac (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

4.2.1.2. Beaches and Perception of the Sea

As it is mentioned above, there were sandy beaches with many different functions in the coastal zone of Sotka. S. Ustaoglu (personal interview, July 13, 2019) tells the importance of the beach for the social life of the neighborhood. It was where children spent their spare time and inhabitants of the neighborhood became socialized:

I live my childhood at the sea and the beach. Şenol Güneş was my childhood friend. Şenol's father was a rug weaver. We all love to play football but there were no plastic balls had been sold at that times. Şenol brought the patches of the rugs, we put them together and made the ball and we played football on the beach. Sometimes we did swimming races between the sea cliffs. When we got hungry, we gathered mussels from the sea, we cooked them and ate. In the afternoon, families gathered on the beach. Women shared tasks before, one made the patty and one made the pie. Then they gathered on the beach. Women chatted on one side, men used to play instruments and sang folk songs on one side.

Lynch (1960, p. 47) states that *nodes* could be concentration points of some use or physical appearances. They could be polarizing centers of *districts*, radiating influence of the symbolic meaning that they stand for and gathering people together (Lynch, 1960, p. 48). Based on S. Ustaoglu's vivid memories (personal interview, July 13, 2019), it can be said that the beach of Sotka answered to the description of the *nodes* in this respect. It appears as an actively used open space, a gathering point where inhabitants from every age and gender came together. It was used for various activities both in the day and night. It was the safe, liberating and social town center of Sotka accessible for everyone. Sevim (2011, p. 44-5) explains the symbolic meaning of the sea and beach as follows:

The coast of the neighborhood; with its wide sandy beach, clear and shallow sea, large and small rocks in and out of the water, and beaches, it was once a place where people felt themselves free and safe. Time has shattered the sand, the sandy beach and the rocks by sweeping the sea in front of it. Inhabitants of Sotka were so broken loose from sea that let alone to hear the sounds of waves, they cannot even see color of the sea. This is why grandparents keep grumbling and sigh yearningly when they cannot find a coast making them cool with salt water to bring their grandchildren insisting on the sea. Also, this is why they are delighted at their childhood's coinciding with such a lucky period.

4.2.1.3. Symbolic Places and Perception of the Sea

There were also other *nodes* other than the beach in the coastal zone of Sotka which have the characteristics of *nodes* that Lynch (1960) describes, which are mentioned above. One of them was “Güler Tea House” [Güler Çay Ocağı] which becomes prominent both in the memoir of Sevim (2011) and personal interview done with S. Ustaoglu (2019). Güler Tea House, which is called “Uncle’s Tea House” [Dayı’nın Çay Ocağı] now is located in the corner where Haneciler Street and the coastal road crosses, which also reminds Lynch’s statement that *nodes* can be junctions and convergence of *paths* (1960, p. 47). According to S. Ustaoglu (personal interview, July 13, 2019), it had the name “Güler Tea House” in 1980’s due to its owner’s surname, but it had the same function before. Thus, it can be said that it has been served a tea house at least 50-60 years. S. Ustaoglu (personal interview, July 13, 2019) states that in his youth, especially men lived in Sotka were the regulars of this place. There was a gramophone always played on and instruments hung on the walls. Anybody comes to the teahouse who knows how to play could take one and do some music in the tea house. He also remembers that men hung in the tea house enjoyed the view and sound of sea waves coming and going in front of it (S. Ustaoglu, personal interview, July 13, 2019). Sevim (2011, pp. 33-4) supports his comments about its being an important, symbolic place in men’s social life, representing the culture of Sotka and its connection with the sea:

This time, I'm walking through the sidewalk of the old coastal road towards the east and at the corner where Haneciler Street and coastal road crosses, I found the oldest tea house at the neighborhood. That tiny place whose current name is Güler Tea House, had an important value for the life of the men in those times, especially before the coastal road was built. Now, the building's floor became lower because of the sidewalk and people on the chairs can only watch the passing cars instead of the sea. I am grateful to all who brought that little tea house at the entrance of duplex building which still protects its floor height from the times it had been built and the building itself to these days. Here what we think about: if an institution took care of this place (municipality or guild), covered repair expenses or contributed to it, turned it into a symbolic gathering place that inhabitants would be proud of and made it regain a little more touristic identity, that would be wonderful. Because natural born citizens of Sotka still have the emotions like alliance and fidelity.



Figure 24: Looking to the west from the corner where Haneciler Street and coastal road crosses: Uncle's Tea House and the area in front of it (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)



Figure 25: Facade of Uncle's Tea House (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

Another place Sevim (2011) ascribes a symbolic meaning to is “Monopoly Products Tobacco Pressing Factory” [Tekel Ürünleri Tütün İşleme Atölyesi] which does not exist anymore. Now, Varlıbaş Shopping Mall and a building of Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality is located on the land it was located back then. However, symbolic meanings attained to Güler Tea House and Monopoly Products Tobacco Pressing Factory by her differed. While Güler Tea House symbolized the social life and culture

of the neighborhood, Monopoly Products Tobacco Pressing Factory symbolized the reflection of the political ideology on the urbanization. (Sevim, 2011, p. 20):

Monopoly Products Tobacco Processing Factory, was a huge beautiful structure made of stone, which embraced labor and laborer from inside and outside. It symbolized the respect of Early Republican Period to the person, labor, city and civic values. It has been planned without approaching to the historical city walls extending along the street which goes down the beach at the building's east side.

What takes the attention from her words is that just like her cognitive routes characterized by authentic street stairs going down the sea explained above, she perceives Monopoly Products Tobacco Processing Factory together with its connection with the coast and historical elements around it. This building is a strategic reference point of her pedestrian journey to the sea, which suits Lynch's (1960) description of *landmarks*. She also perceives historical city walls as a continuous course of line, an *edge* (Lynch, 1960) defining the street. Thus, this is another cognitive route of her, on which she perceives *a landmark, a path* and *an edge* all together. Not surprisingly, final destination of this route is again is the coast.

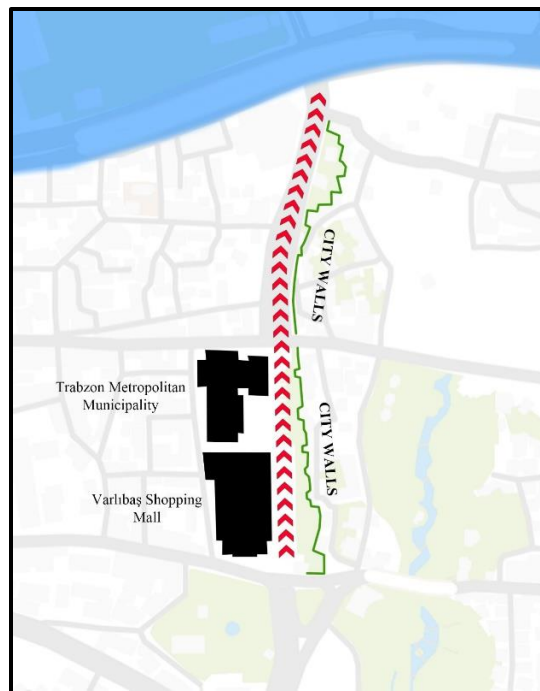


Figure 26: The cognitive route of Sevim (2011) (Source: prepared by the author)

Another important point is that, Sevim's (2011) words about the relationship between the physical appearance of Monopoly Products Tobacco Processing Factory and the political ideology of Early Republican Period reminds what Lefebvre (1991) called representations of space. He states that due to the relations of production and to the spatial system they create, space presents an order of signs and codes (Lefebvre, 1991, p.33). Thereby, it represents planners, architects, scientists and social engineers, who conceptualizes it, or rather a superior mind imposing them to do so (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). It can be deduced from her comment that Sevim (2011) perceives the building in relation with the signs and codes created by the superior minds of that time.

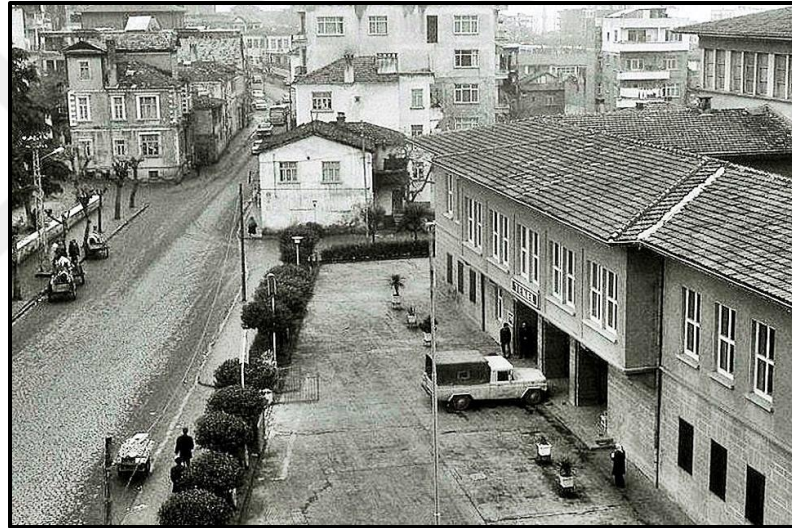


Figure 27: Monopoly Products Tobacco Processing Factory in 1970 (right) (Source: www.alibayir.com)

Another symbolic place in the coastal zone of Sotka mentioned in the memories of inhabitants is the fairground. M. R. Sümerkan (personal interview, July 13, 2019) states that it was located on the embankment area which is visible in the photo he took in 1979 (see: Figure 28). Sevim (2011, p. 123) states that it took attention of the citizens who had not meet shopping malls at that times and mentions some facilities

in the fairground such as pavilions, tea gardens, club houses and amusement park. Ergin (2011, p. 51) makes a similar comment about the fairground: “In the 80s, a beautiful fairground was opened in the neighborhood. Everything was there; ferris wheel, shopping areas; if was possible to experience anything could be done in a fairground.”

This fairground served to citizens between 1976 and 1983 (Sevim, 2011, p. 123). As M. R. Sümerkan (personal interview, July 13, 2019) tells, another arrangement for a fair ground was done in recent years in the northern part of the Alemdar Mosque under construction on the embankment located in Moloz. However, he states that due to the construction of the mosque, it became impossible to use it as an entertainment area (M. R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019).



Figure 28: The Fair Ground in 1979 (left) and Faroz Fishing Port (bottom-right)
(Source: M. R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)

4.3. Moloz

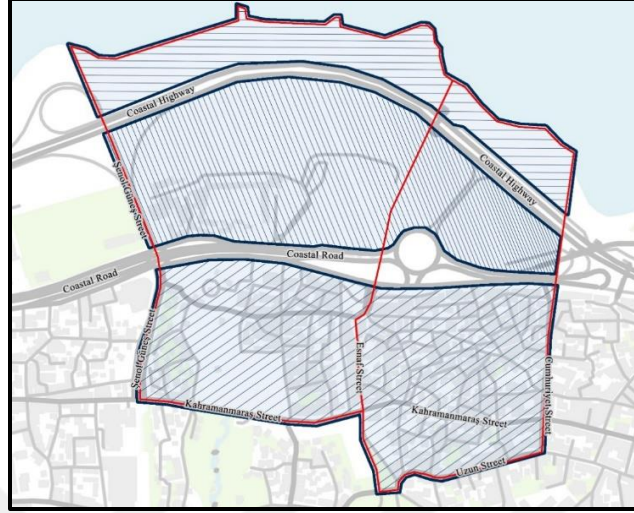


Figure 29: Pazarkapı and Çarşı Neighborhoods (Source: prepared by the author)

Pazarkapı Neighborhood, formerly named as Moloz is a coastal neighborhood located between Esnaf Street in the east, Şenol Güneş Street in the west and Kahramanmaraş Street in the south. However, as Kantarcı (2011, p. 27) states in his memoir named “Babamın Veresiye Defteri Moloz”, the area between between Cumhuriyet Street and Mumhaneönü was known as Moloz in the past. From Kantarcı’s (2011) definition of boundaries of Moloz, it can be deduced that today’s Pazarkapı Neighborhood and Çarşı Neighborhood are both mentioned as Moloz in his memoir. Thus, the area to be examined in the following sections as Moloz are composed of these two neighborhoods. (see Figure ...) Pazarkapı and Çarşı Neighborhoods together are still commercial center of the city just as they have been for years. In addition, these neighborhoods are where sea embarkment reaches its top. On the land reclaimed by embarkment between the coastal highway in the north and the coastal road in the south, Alemdar Mosque is being constructed. There are also gas stations, old Avrasya Bazaar [Avrasya Pazarı] which has been relocated to Reşadiye Junction, Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality Fire Authority on the embarkment. The

area located in the southern part of the coastal road consists of mostly commercial buildings.

4.3.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Moloz from Past to Present

Kantarıcı (2011, p. 26) describes the Moloz in his memories as a neighborhood came into prominence as a with trade; he is pleased to see that it preserves its function but sorry about coexistence of Çömlekçi with the sea is not visible anymore:

The view of the city commune with the sea is just visible in gravures or a black and white picture now. Despite the double roads made parallel to its coast, it could not get rid of the appearance resembling its name. But fortunately, commercial life still goes on here and never lose its significance until now.

As Moloz was the commercial center of the city, some significant and public facilities were located in the coastal zone of Moloz serving not only inhabitants of the neighborhood but also other citizens living in other areas of Trabzon: Dalyan Tea Garden, the club house and the Pier of Moloz. In addition, their vertical connection by the main axes of the city were emphasized in the memories of inhabitants. Lastly, some urban elements such as Tabakhane and Zağnospaşa Bridges enabling citizens to experience the sea visually are examined in the following sections.



Figure 30: Moloz (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2008)

4.3.1.1. Commerce in Moloz and Perception of Sea

Moloz had a commercial function, which also boosted the social life in the neighborhood according to the memories of Kantarcı (2011). Because of the fact that it was the commercial center of the city, it was visited on a daily or at least weekly basis by everybody living in Trabzon at some point. Not surprisingly, Moloz identified in Kantarcı's (2011) memories was a place where men, women and children came together. It was a neighborhood characterized by the ongoing and active economic and social life.

Lynch states that *districts* are sections of the city differing in size and having some common, identifying characters. As an observer enters a *district*, s/he has a sense that 'being inside of'. Likewise, if it is visible from outside, it can be used for exterior reference (1960, p. 47). He also says that in *districts* being identified, intangible clues such as noise are as significant as visual clues (1960, p. 68). Based upon his statements, Moloz can be regarded as a *district*. Due to the variety of people using the area, transportation hubs and different urban activities going on simultaneously in Moloz, there was a perceivable sense of life in the neighborhood. Kantarcı (2011) described Moloz as a crowded, noisy and social area. Thus, any inhabitant could easily say that s/he is inside of the commercial center of the city.

According to Kantarcı (2011) and S. Özer (personal interview, July 12, 2019) in Moloz, there were some prominent places where commerce centered upon: Pier of Moloz [Moloz İskelesi] and the fish market. As it is mentioned above, these places boosted the social life as they are gathering people from different areas of the city together. In other words, they were functioning as public spaces as well. Thus, they were strategic spots, intensive foci points in the city which Lynch (1960, p. 47) defines as *nodes*. In common with other *nodes* in the neighborhoods examined previously, these two places were also located in the coastal zone. In addition, their commercial function was completely dependent on sea-based economic activities.

Kantarçı (2011) states that Pier of Moloz was located across the current Chamber of Industry. It was made of reinforced concrete and entered the sea one hundred and fifty meters. The sea was shallow and there were rocks around the pier. As his mother-in-law who is from Moloz had said to him, this pier was made of wood in 1930s. In 1960s, most of the trade and shipping was made with small boats made of timber and could carry around 500 tons of load. They were both windjammers and motorized boats. They emptied their goods to the Pier of Moloz. (2011, p. 162). He explains importance of the pier in terms of commerce as following (Kantarçı, 2011, p. 162):

When the appearance of the boats in the northwest direction in the sea was announced by the scouts at the Pier of Moloz with the sounds of 'Boats are coming!', we would be happy to run to the pier as the children of the neighborhood. When the boat came and docked at the pier, if there were any goods we could carry, we would set up from the pier to the shore and start a feverish work with the method of cooperation. If the goods we carry were melons or watermelons, they would give us a few instead of money for our work. So, we could contribute to our family economically and we would be very happy.

What is striking in his memory is how the Pier of Moloz occupied a place in children's life even though they were not the primary users of this area like sailors, tradesmen or laborers. They ascribed both an economic and social meaning to the pier. Running towards it, flocking together and carrying the goods in cooperation was a reflex for them triggered by a cultural code, which is the sound of "Boats are coming!" Hearing this sound and taking action were quite common in their daily life, while a child not living in Moloz was unlikely to behave in the same way instantly. This situation sets an example to what Lynch (1960) calls legibility. He defines legibility as the degree of communication among inhabitants of a settlement via the symbolic elements it consists of. These elements inform inhabitants about the recommended common way of life. A cultural stranger may find this social creation unintelligible yet useful to adapt this particular locality (Lynch, 1981, p. 141).



Figure 31: The pier of Moloz (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2009)



Figure 32: Alemdar Mosque being constructed in Moloz (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

In the case of Moloz, the pier represents the symbolic element, the recommended common way of life represents the action of running towards it by the sound and a cultural stranger represents a child not living in Moloz. S. Özer who is from Sotka tells

another example points out legibility of Pier of Moloz (personal interview, July 12, 2019);

There was a historical and very beautiful pier, where the giant Alemdar mosque is being constructed now. We used to jump off this pier to the sea and swim. There used to be a beach alongside of the pier. One day, someone jumped off the pier. It was crowded; there were hundreds of people swimming. I was a little kid at that time. I realized that the man jumped off the pier did not come to surface. I was scared. Nevertheless, I waited for a while. There was still no sign from him. I had come to the pier with an acquaintance from Sotka and I let him know. Then they rescued him. When everybody asked him why he had jumped into the water if he did not know how to swim, he answered he just followed the lead of everybody. He was from Maçka and not living by the sea.

In short, Pier of Moloz as a *node* (Lynch, 1960) created some local social behaviors that inhabitants of Moloz indigenized. As S. Özer (personal interview, July 12, 2019) comments, it contributed to the identity and culture of the neighborhood. In addition, it was a major gathering space of the city and a frequent destination for people from other neighborhoods and even districts of Trabzon. Clearly, Pier of Moloz was serving as a public space. Other than maritime trade ongoing in the Pier of Moloz, Kantarcı (2011) also mentions other commercial activities concentrated in Moloz. Some areas located in the coastal zone of Moloz such as the market place and fish market strengthened Moloz as the commercial center of the city. Similar to the pier, they also had public characteristics. Kantarcı (2011, p. 165) emphasizes different activities and dynamism of the social life taken place in the market place as below:

In those years, there was only one market place in Trabzon and it was around the neighborhood of Moloz in our neighborhood. On Mondays, the market place looked like a fairground. Villagers came here as soon as they had landed in the city. They sold the vegetables they grow in their villages in the Women's Market and on stalls in the coast. In winter, anchovy stalls were set around the pier, grilled anchovy were eaten and the scent of the fish spread through the city.

Just as Kantarcı (2011), M. R. Sümerkan (personal interview, July 13, 2019) remembers sale of fish on the coast and the social life it creates:

When I was around 8 years old, fishermen used to sell fish on the beach in Mumhaneönü, in the area where the fish market near the Niyazi Şahinbaş Underpass was located. There were sand and pebbles on the beach. Fishermen used to open their wooden stalls and formed a wide u-shaped selling space. Everybody took their fish from there. They took some home and ate some right

here while they were chatting and enjoying the sea view. I liked the atmosphere and the liveliness of this place.

Both in Kantarcı's and M. R. Sümerkan's memories, some places are defined as commercial hubs. These are Women's Market [Kadınlar Pazarı], Mumhaneönü and the coastal area where the fish market near the underpass located. Because of the emphasis they put sale of fish among the other products, along this commercial axis (see: Figure 33) get through the sea in the north, a customer can easily get the sense that being in a sea-side neighborhood, or even a sea-side city. In addition, both Kantarcı (2011) and M. R. Sümerkan (personal interview, July 13, 2019) give the hints of the social interaction and liveliness in these places.



Figure 33: The commercial axes (Source: prepared by author)

Lastly, the fish market takes its part in Kantarcı's (2011), M. R. Sümerkan's, (personal interview, July 13, 2019) and G. Büyükbingöl's (personal interview, July 13, 2019) memories. There were three fish markets located in different areas in the course of time as Kantarcı (2011, p. 130) explains:

The first fish market remembered by every citizen over the age of sixty in Trabzon, is the one at the southern entrance of Niyazi Şahinbaş Underpass in Moloz. Because that small fish market was inadequate, another one was added between Sakız Square and Dereboyu Street. At different times, both fish markets were closed and the new one -the current market- was built across the first coast road in a more modern sense than it was then.

M. R. Sümerkan (personal interview, July 13, 2019) interprets the functionality of third fish market correlatively to the coastal road. He states that after construction of this fish market across the road, the sale of fish continued in several stalls south of the road at the location of first fish market. Some people not preferred to cross over the road to buy fish. Thus, even though the fish market was used, it remained relatively idle (M. R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019). It is pretty clear that the coastal road is perceived as a separating linear element, not *a path* but *an edge* by the inhabitants, exactly as Lynch (1960, p. 47) proposes. In addition to the fact that the coastal road caused interruption of pedestrian movement, it also disintegrates the continuous economic activity and publicity along the commercial axis described above. Before the coastal road was constructed, this axis had reached its end in the coastal zone with the first fish market: a wide, u-shaped space where the third fish market is located afterwards. In M. R. Sümerkan's memories, this area was defined as a social, lively place (personal interview, July 13, 2019). However, because of the coastal road, third fish market was not quite accessible. So, it did not have the public characteristic like this area.

Even though the third fish market was separated from the commercial area south of the coastal road, according to G. Büyükbingöl (personal interview, July 13, 2019) it was much better than the fourth fish market in terms of perception of space:

At least it gave the sense that it is a fish market and you can feel like 'I am in a coastal city' both from inside and outside. Now, a huge mosque is being constructed in its location, so they built a new fish market a couple years ago around the Reşadiye Junction. It is a multi-storey building, something like a

shopping mall in where only fish is sold. Is it normal to build such a building as a fish market like Trabzon it is not a coastal city? In short, fish market totally lost its soul.



Figure 34: The new fish market (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

Her words remind what Lynch (1981, p. 138) calls congruence. Lynch defines congruence as the fit what is spatial and non-spatial, the compatibility of form and function. The first fish market is described that it was in a close relationship with the sea spatially and visually in M. R. Sümerkan's memories (personal interview, July 13, 2019). By taking into consideration that fishery is consubstantiated with coastal towns, it can be deduced that the function and form of the first fish market was compatible. Thus, it is not surprising for G. Büyükbingöl to react the location and architecture of

the new fish market. In short, lack of congruence disturbs G. Büyükbingöl about the new fish market.

4.3.1.2. Cognitive Routes, Bridges and Perception of Sea

In his memoir, Kantarcı (2011) described some vertical and horizontal routes reserve a place in his mind with their spatial connection or inconnection to the sea. However, most of them differ from the routes in other coastal neighborhoods such as Faroz and Sotka in terms of their function and intended population. The cognitive routes appear in other neighborhoods were generally narrow streets with no specific function, mostly used by the inhabitants of this neighborhood, had a significance just for them and organically became significant in their journey. Even though some organic, small-scaled routes were mentioned in the memories as it is explained now, the ones in Moloz were generally main transportation axes or well-known commercial streets used at city scale. They are spatially defined by well-known structures or areas and probably organized by local authorities intentionally as main routes in the city center. The first cognitive route of Kantarcı (2011, p. 27) was Cumhuriyet Street, which had defined as one of the main vertical axes of the city in Lambert Plan (1938): “Go down the Cumhuriyet Street and you are at the seaside. There used to be a tea garden called Dalyan Tea Garden. Turn your face to the west from here; Ganita is right behind you now and the area in front of you is Moloz through the Haluk Ulusoy Facilities.”

Kantarcı (2011) put the emphasis on direct connection of Cumhuriyet Street to the sea and the most known public recreational areas located in the coastal zone as a final destination. Probably, he perceived the commercial function of the street en route and its significance became definite by ending with a coastal recreational *node*. As Lynch defines *nodes* as strategic spots, intensive foci points in the city (1960, p. 47), the coastal area in the end of Cumhuriyet Street consisting of two *landmarks* used by all citizens – Dalyan Tea Garden and Ganita – can be regarded as a recreational *node*.



Figure 35: Dalyan Tea Garden in late 1980s (Source: www.twitter.com, 2016)

Another route defined by Kantarcı (2011) is starting from the recreational *node* mentioned above going down to Mumhaneönü. He states that most of the hazelnut factories at the Moloz located around the Yalıhan Street and explains how this major street lost its significance when the coastal road was constructed (Kantarcı, 2011, p. 138):

From Mumhaneönü to Cumhuriyet Street, the workplaces were lined up along the coast didn't have frontage to the sea until the first coast road. The frontage of all the buildings starting from Deniz Wedding Hall faced to Yalıhan Street. When the first coastal road was built, frontages of the workplaces were also opened to the sea side, and interest in Yalıhan Street decreased.

In M. R. Sümerkan's (personal interview, July 13, 2019) childhood memory, the coastal area in front of Mumhaneönü was mentioned as an open public space. There were some small-scale economic activities going on such as selling fish in wooden stalls on the sandy beach (M. R. Sümerkan's, personal interview, July 13, 2019). As before the construction of the coastal road there were no buildings opening to this area, it can be said that the beach of Mumhaneönü was like a backyard. It was a public space gathering people together, yet it was outside of the intense atmosphere of Yalıhan Street to some extent. In addition, M. R. Sümerkan (personal interview, July 13, 2019) underlines that it was possible to enjoy the sea view while chatting with others in peace. After the construction of the coastal road, the coastal area in front of Mumhaneönü gained a characteristic like Yalıhan Street. It became a commercial axis

and remained an area used by everyone living in the city. However, its publicity is likely to be perceived with a less connection with the sea and the coast. The coastal zone of Mumhaneönü had been perceived as a peaceful, partially secluded public space correlated with the sea because of the sea view and a sea-based economic activity that is sale of fish. After its transformation, it started to be perceived as a linear element along which major workplaces located. Thus, it started to be identified by commerce more than its economic or spatial relationship with the sea. In short, the perception of the coastal zone of Mumhaneönü transformed from a *node* to a major *path*, as Lynch (1960) proposed.



Figure 36: Mumhaneönü in 1930s (Source: M.R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019)

At this juncture, it is important to remember that some places are defined as commercial hubs forming a route in Kantarcı's (2011) and M. R. Sümerkan's (personal interview, July 13, 2019) memories such as Women's Market, Mumhaneönü and the coastal area in front of Mumhaneönü. This commercial axis and two axes explained in this section are forming a major, u-shaped commercial route orienting the observer walking through it. Two vertical axes are twisted together by the Yalıhan

Street before the construction of the coastal road and by the commercial axe along coastal road after its construction. As Lynch (1981, p. 134) defines structure as “the sense of orientation” at the city scale, obviously this u-shaped commercial route in the commercial heart of the city was quite well-structured (see: Figure 37).

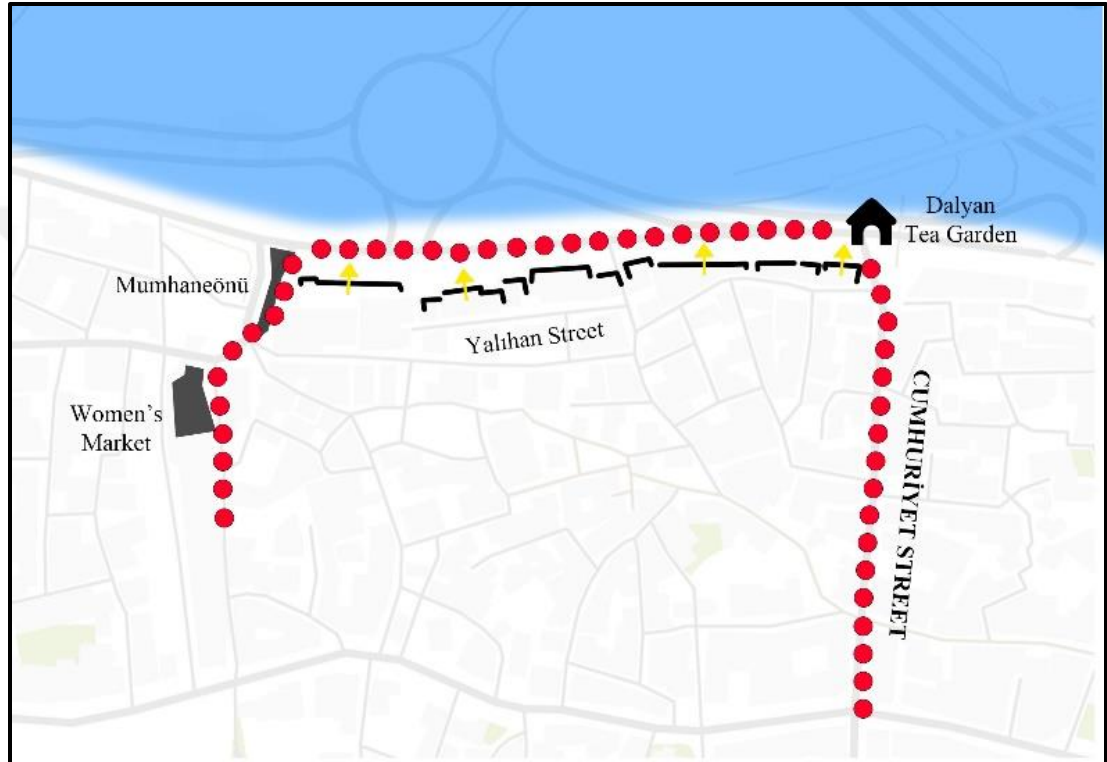


Figure 37: U-shaped commercial route (Source: prepared by author)

As it was mentioned in the beginning of this section, some narrow streets were transformed into preferred routes in daily lives of inhabitants of Moloz. They had no specific function and organically became significant in their journey. One of them is explained in Kantarcı's memories (Kantarcı, 2011, pp. 160-1):

The year was 1960. Almost every day in summer, we met with friends from Pazarkapı Neighborhood in front of the Kindergarten on İslahane Street. We would run down the narrow gap near Zehra Kitapçioğlu's house and go down to the beach in front of the hazelnut exchange on the beach. We would undress immediately and swim. Who would first enter the sea would be the subject of

competition between us. We would leave ourselves to the black and blue waters of the Black Sea.



Figure 38: Zehra Kitapçioğlu Kinder Garden and the narrow street going down the sea (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

Just like the perception of Monopoly Products Tobacco Processing Factory together with its connection with the coast which is explained in Section 4.2.1.3, Zehra Kitapçioğlu's House which is still a very well-known building in Trabzon perceived as a strategic reference point of Kantarcı's pedestrian journey to the sea, which suits Lynch's (1960) description of *landmarks*. What is notable in his memory is that, the beach in front of the hazelnut exchange could conveniently be used by inhabitants of Moloz, which proves integrity of economic and social life in some extent. Considering

Moloz was the commercial heart of the city, it could be expected that areas in the coastal zone differ from the ones in Faroz or Sotka, for instance in terms of control. However, it can be deduced from Kantarcı's (2011) comment that the beaches in Moloz were functioning as neighborhood scale public areas even if they were in a close proximity with significant commercial buildings.

These main commercial axes and narrow streets in Moloz are not the only elements occupy a place in citizen's memories with their function and relationship with the sea. There are also some elements have significance by their advantageous location in terms of getting the sense of being in a coastal city: Tabakhane Bridge [Tabakhane Köprüsü] and Zağnospaşa Bridge [Zağnospaşa Köprüsü]. Gerçek (2011, p. 107) expresses his admiration about these bridges as below:

The perspective here is also clear, the Trabzon houses on the city walls completing this perspective were worth to be seen with their very strong proportions and landscapes. Many writers call Trabzon as 'the city crosses with the sea'. The bridges on these valleys were watching terraces which had their peace with the sea, enable citizens of Trabzon to watch this blueness with their positions overlooking to the sea and enable us to meet every day.

It is clear that in Gerçek's perception (2011) of the city walls and historical houses on them form the border of his coherent perspective. The point to be emphasized is his comment about bridges that how they enable citizens to meet every day. These bridges are linked by most important and horizontal streets of Trabzon along which a considerable amount of pedestrian traffic occurs on a daily basis: Uzun Street. Most likely, Gerçek (2011) regarded these bridges as frequently used, aesthetic, convenient pausing spots with a great sea view. During citizens pedestrian journey on the Uzun Street, they can rest and socialize on the bridges according to him. What makes them attractive gathering points is their accordance to some important quality criteria that Gehl listed (gehlpeople.com, 2018). As it is mentioned detailly in Section 2.3.1, Tabakhane and Zağnospaşa Bridges provided good opportunities to stop, aesthetic qualities and positive sensory experience strongly based on the sea view.



Figure 39: Trabzon City Walls, Historical Tissue, Tabakhane and Zağnos Valleys
(Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2009)

4.3.1.3. Coastal Public Areas and Perception of Sea

Kantarçı (2011) defines the coastal zone of Moloz before the coastal road had been constructed as a commercial public space and later the neighborhood started to undertake the municipal waste of the city. The waste started to be poured into the sea was covered by soil (Kantarçı, 2011, p. 125). He longingly remembers the coastal zone of Moloz until the mid-1960s:

The coast of Moloz, was not a dumpster covered with excavation, but a place where people shopped on the beach while breathing the smell of iodine. Until the mid-1960s, there were hazelnut factories, a pier, a fish-market and beach-like sands lying down to Ganita. There was a magnificent club house located on the beach.

The condition of the beach before mid-1960s met the need of sustenance that Lynch (1981, p. 129) proposes. Sustenance stands for provision of an adequate amount of clean air, waste disposal, water, food and energy supply. As it is explained in Section 2.3 it constitutes vitality together with safety and consonance (Lynch, 1981, p. 129). As Kantarcı (2011) emphasizes the old iodine smell coming from the sea, he implies the air quality decreased because waste disposal was done poorly after the construction of coastal road, which resulted in loss of sustenance.

In his comment about the coastal zone, he also overstresses the club house located on the beach. Then, he speaks of this club house in more detail (Kantarcı, 2011, p. 154):

There was a club house on the sea side in Moloz. Its architecture was similar to the demolished Emperyal Club House in Kemer kaya. Today, you cannot grow those priceless flowers, which added color to the garden in front of it, in Black-Sea Region even if you want to. The upper floor was used as a club and the lower floor as a restaurant. It was a place for notable people of Trabzon. Top governmental officials who came to the city were hosted here. There were a beach and cabins belonging to it in front of this club house. Countless gondolas and race boats were on the shore. Some of the boats could carry 25 to 30 people. When it was windy, the sea would waft some boats. At these times, boat races were famous in Trabzon. 5 to 6 clubs participating in race fought against each other. The races were held between Moloz and Ganita.

This club house on the coastal zone itself and its surrounding were a multi-functional public space. However, unlike coastal public spaces located in other neighborhoods it was used by people from different socio-economic status in different ways. It served top governmental officials and notable person of Trabzon with its club and restaurant; but at the same time, it gathers locals of different neighborhoods by some boat races. As the club house and its surrounding served all of them, it has an informative and communicative function leading to the life styles of different segments of the society interact and learn about each other (Carr et al., 1992; Montgomery, 1997 cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007, p. 117).

The emphasis put on the beautiful architecture and landscape of this club house brings Lynch's (1960, p. 78) statement about key characteristics of *landmarks* to mind. He says that singularity, which stands for a structure having a clear form, being unique, memorable and identifiable (Lynch, 1960, p. 78). It was commemorated as "the club

house looking like Emperyal Club House” with its architecture. However, it was still identifiable. It was not confused with Emperyal Club House due to its strategic location, it was at the end of a major vertical axis, Cumhuriyet Street. In addition, this club house imprinted on the memories of Kantarcı (2011) with the beautiful flowers in its garden. Thus, while the club house is answering to the description of *landmark*, together with its multifunctional surrounding area by the sea side, it appears as a *node*. It was a concentration point of various recreational activities.

Another facility which had characteristics of both a *landmark* and a *node* was Dalyan Tea Garden. Sezer (2010, p. 44) shares her memory about the tea garden:

It was a two-storey tea garden, the ground floor was only used by men. Families could use upstairs. The tables on the ground floor were almost reaching to the sea. If there was a little bit of wind and sea was wavy, you could easily get wet all of a sudden. I loved the bottom floor. Whenever me and my family went there, I ran to the ground floor, stood in the place where the sand and the water come together and looked towards to the startling darkness... However, it was like a weird, unexplainable life would blossom from this startling darkness. There was a place where the noise ceases, action stops and there should be thought. From time to time, ships appeared with their bright lights. The sea cheered up at that times.

Dalyan Tea Garden has the characteristics of *nodes* as it was located at the junction of two important commercial routes – the coastal road and Cumhuriyet Street – as it is mentioned by Kantarcı (2011) in Section 4.3.1.2. However, it is more likely to be perceived as a *landmark* than a *node* because contrary to *nodes*, *landmarks* are external elements, they are not entered within like a town center or a junction (Lynch, 1960, p. 48). The definite fact about Dalyan Tea Garden is that it enabled its visitors to perceive the sea clearly. The emphasis on perception of sea is not as strong in the explanation of the club house as in the explanation of the tea garden, even though they were both located in a close proximity to the sea. The reason of this situation could be the intense atmosphere of the club house created by variety of activities – the action, in other words – is taking over the perception of sea which necessitates a static state of mind. To put it a different way, Dalyan Tea Garden provided more transparency, which means getting a “sense of life” and ongoing activities such as hearing the sounds of waves as Lynch (1981, pp. 138-139) defines, in terms of the perception of sea. Sezer’s

(2010) descriptive expressions such as ceasing noise in the darkness and lights of the ships cheering up the sea while she was standing in front of the sea, proves that she perceived the sea clearly.

4.4. Çömlekçi

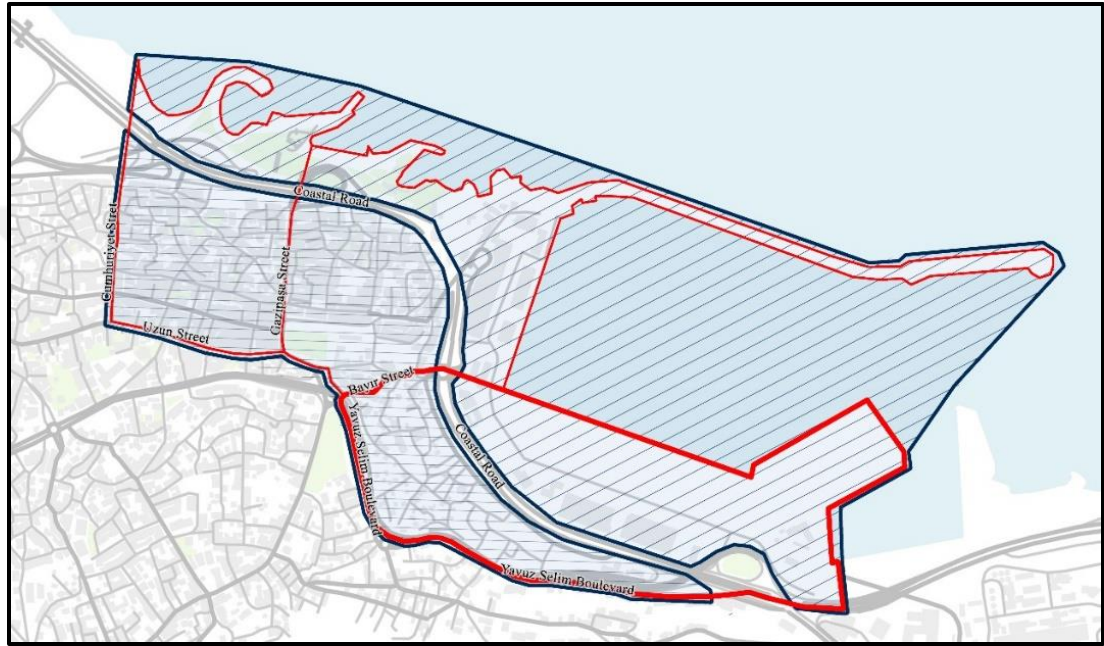


Figure 40: Kemerka, İskenderpaşa and Çömlekçi Neighborhoods (Source: prepared by the author)

Çömlekçi Neighborhood is another coastal neighborhood of Trabzon located in the eastern part of the city. Residential and commercial areas are located in the west of coastal highway, surrounded by Bayır Street in the north and Yavuz Selim Boulevard in the west. By going down in the Limonlu Street – one-down parallel of the boulevard – Trabzon City Square can be reached. Trabzon Port is located on the entire coastal area of the Çömlekçi Neighborhood and the eastern coastal area of the İskenderpaşa Neighborhood.

Çömlekçi is regarded as an urban decay area, which has subject to a two-phased urban regeneration project running by Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality and Housing Development Administration of Turkey. Expropriation and demolition activities had been completed within the context of the first stage of urban transformation. After the acquisition and demolition operations in the scope of second stage were completed, the implementation of the application project will begin immediately (www.trabzonhaber24.com, 2019). In the official website of Trabzon Metropolitan Municipality, it is stated that Çömlekçi will be integrated with the city square and the neighborhood will become "the new attraction center of Trabzon" and the integration of Çömlekçi with the Trabzon Port will be ensured by the urban regeneration project (www.trabzon.bel.tr, n.d.).



Figure 41: A street view from Çömlekçi (left) and looking through Çömlekçi and Trabzon Port from the south (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

In the memoir of Somel (2011) and Sezer (2010) who are locals of Çömlekçi, some symbolic places and streets located within the boundaries of İskenderpaşa and Kemer kaya Neighborhoods were mentioned. Thus, these elements are also examined in the following sections.

4.4.1. Perception of the Sea and Waterfront in Çömlekçi from Past to Present



Figure 42: Old Çömlekçi (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2010)

Somel (2011, p. 31) describes Çömlekçi in her childhood as a neighborhood consisting of white houses in the gardens, narrow vertical streets going down to sea and people of different origins (Turkish, Greek, Laz, Georgian and few Chepni). As it can be seen in the picture above, elevation was turned into an advantage to organize a settlement where inhabitants could benefit from the sea view and sea air as much as inhabitants living closer to the coast. In fact, Sezer (2010, pp. 49-50) expresses her memories about semi-public, functional terraces of the houses. In short, vertical streets directly going down to sea, the spatial organization aiming at taking advantage of the topography and usage of terraces for the sake of visual exploitation of the sea reminds Lambert's (1938) proposals regarding connection of the city with the sea.

As Çömlekçi is in close proximity to the Trabzon Port, it has had an impact on the use and perception of the sea according to Somel's (2011) and Sezer's (2010) memories.

Thus, the interrelation between the port and perception of sea and its effect on publicity of the coastal zone is examined in the following sections. In addition, some symbolic places, streets and beaches mentioned in memoirs are also reviewed based on functional, visual and perceptual references regarding the sea and the coastal zone.

4.4.1.1. Trabzon Port and Perception of Sea

Trabzon Port, which had been started to be constructed in July 8, 1946 (Somel, 2011, p. 44) can be regarded as a hope for the inhabitants of Çömlekçi at first and as a disappointment then. Somel (2011, p. 43) explains how construction of the port occupied the agenda of Trabzon in the 1950s:

There was a stir in Trabzon in the 1950s. Huge trucks began to pour concrete blocks into the sea at the foot of the Kalepark. The rumors that “The port will be built, they are filling the sea,” was the main subject of home conversations. Everybody came up with various ideas about the port. There was a point where almost everyone agrees upon; during the and after the construction, commercial activities in Çömlekçi would enhance.

Before its construction, inhabitants of Çömlekçi had high expectations regarding the economic benefits it would provide. However, it did not meet the expectations. Somel states that most of the inhabitants of Çömlekçi lost their jobs after the construction of the port, probably due to the demolition of their previous work environment on the coast (2011, p. 45):

I don't know if the inhabitants of Çömlekçi, who had set their hopes on the port in those years, found what they had hoped for after the opening of the port. But as far as I can tell, those who used to be fishermen sailing with their boats, who had been carrying passengers and cargo, were unemployed. Some people tried to earn their lives with handline fishing, others looked for other jobs.

At this juncture, Lynch's meta-criteria called efficiency (1981, p. 118) comes to the mind. He defines efficiency as “the level of achievement in some performance to a loss in some other” which refers to some interdimensional conflicts (Lynch, 1981, p. 221). He gives the conflict which is between a vital environment and a well-fitted one as an example (Lynch, 1981, pp. 223-224). In the case of Trabzon Port, inhabitants of Çömlekçi had an expectation that the port would be a good workplace for them and

they would economically get benefited from it. However, from their perspective, it did not serve the purpose to which it is built in the first place. Thus, it was not well-fitted. If it had been, probably the damage it would have caused in the vitality of the sea and the coastal zone – the water and soil contamination – could be compensated by them. In other words, this conflict between vitality and fit could not be dealt with in the case of Trabzon Port.

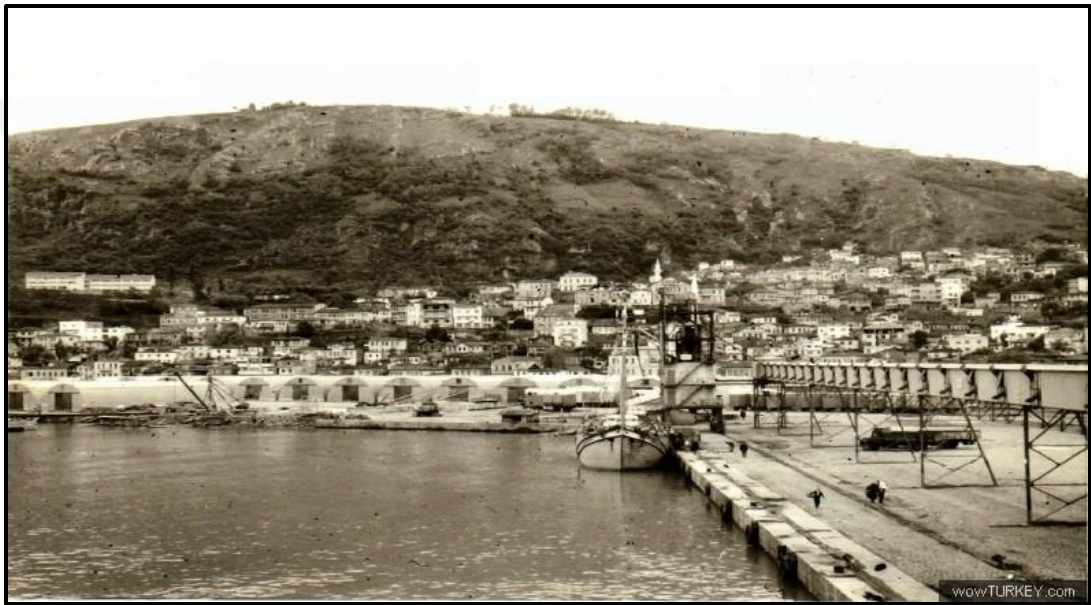


Figure 43: Trabzon Port in 1966 (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2008)

4.4.1.2. Streets and Perception of Sea

Just as it can be seen in the other coastal neighborhoods examined in previous sections, Çömləkçi had vertical streets directly going down to the sea. In the memoir of Somel (2011) it is explained that there was a publicly used area such as a beach where the sea and the street came together. He explains a route, which he vividly envisages due to its significant characteristics (see: Figure 44) (Somel, 2011, p. 44):

We would walk down Limonlu Street, turn to the street stairs going down to the sea on the left and reach to the beach when we passed the stone house of Erkent's. At that time, sea was quite close. There were always a few boats landed to the beach on the right and left. We wore our swimsuits between those boats and left ourselves to the beautiful waters of the Black Sea. Those who had homes near the beach had learned to swim at an early age. I was one of those who learned how to swim much later.

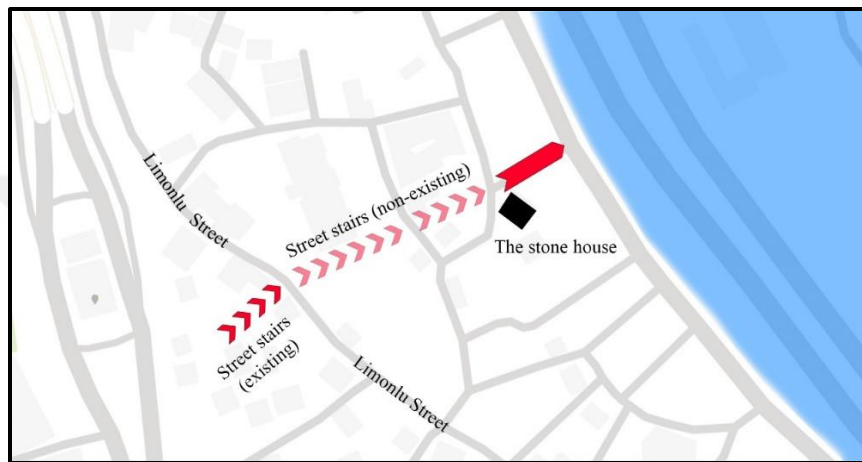


Figure 44: The route going down to the beach described by Somel (2011) (Source: prepared by author)



Figure 45: The street stairs (left) and Limonlu Street (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)



Figure 46: The stone house (left) and the narrow street going down to the sea (right)
(Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

In Somel's (2011) perception, this route going down to the beach was more dominant than the other vertical streets clearly because of its authentic characteristic – consisting of stairs – and a structure distinguished from the others – the stone house of Erkent's¹² – one it. First of all, it is necessary to remind that Lambert (1941 cited in Lambert, 2010c, p. 326) proposed the preservation and rehabilitation of street stairs as it is explained in Section 3.1.2.1. In addition, he proposed sphere like squares as wide terraces overlooking the sea at the end of the vertical roads connected to the beach by street stairs (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010, 314). Even though Somel (2011) does not mention any kind of open space could be regarded as a terrace at end of this street stairs, this route reflects Lambert's vision about connecting inner areas of neighborhoods to the beach by street stairs.

Secondly, his emphasis on the stone house can be considered as an evidence that this structure was perceived as a *landmark*. Lynch (1960, pp. 78-79) states that: “*Landmarks* become more easily identifiable, more likely to be chosen as significant,

¹² Now, this stone house is Çömlekçi Neighborhood Administrative Office [Çömlekçi Mahalle Muhtarlığı].

if a structure has a clear form, if they contrast with the background; and if there is some prominence of spatial location.”

Due to the fact that it was built of stone unlike other structures forming a background for it and it has a significant form, it has a recognizable physical appearance (see: Figure 46). Its location was also prominent as it indicated the route going down to sea would come to its end soon. As Lynch (1960, p. 78) explains that people familiar with the city, they tend to rely on *landmarks* in a continuous pedestrian journey to enjoy uniqueness and specialization, Somel – a local inhabitant of Çömlekçi – perceived this structure as a *landmark*. The beach, as the final destination of this short pedestrian journey is described as a reward. The use of the phrase “to left themselves to the beautiful waters of Black Sea” (Somel, 2011, p. 44) implicates cleanness of the sea and psychologically relaxing. Thus, the beach had the characteristics of sustenance and consonance that Lynch (1981, p. 129) identifies as quality criteria, as it is explained in Section 2.3. detailly. Additionally, the beach was an important public space where children of the neighborhood gather and socialize in their spare times.

In her memoir, Sezer (2010) who spent her childhood in Çömlekçi, mentions a vertical street even though it is not located within the boundaries of the neighborhood, Gazipaşa Street. In fact, it is not surprising because Gazipaşa Street was the closest main vertical axis of Trabzon to Çömlekçi. By following Limonlu Street, one can reach Gazipaşa Street and the city square. Sezer’s (2010, p. 52) memories about Gazipaşa Street is as following:

Every single road in Trabzon gets to the sea. My favorite route for going to the waterfront is going through Gazipaşa Slope. You can see the sea from the beginning of the slope; first its smell, its breeze, then itself... Once, there was Emperyal Club House at the end of the slope, across the Street. Now, a huge abutment of an overpass rises at its place. A little further ahead, there was Dalyan Family Tea Garden.

Sezer’s (2010) comment about the perceptive coherence between Gazipaşa Street and the coastal zone shows parallelism with Ergin’s (2011) statement about perception of the sea from the inner areas of Faroz as it is quoted in Section 4.2.1.2. He perceives sea on the streets via its sounds and the wind even if he did not see it (Ergin, 2011, p.

22). According to Lambert (1938b cited in Lambert 2010, p. 313) the only solution to ventilate the city and connect inner parts to the sea is arrangement of vertical roads in the north-south direction. Both Ergin (2011) and Sezer (2010) lay stress on wind, breeze, and smell on the vertical streets going down to the sea. Thus, it can be concluded that these streets were served as ventilation canals enabling onshore breeze to access the inner parts of the city.

In addition, Gazipaşa Street showed resemblance to Cumhuriyet Street in terms of its connection with the coastal road. They were both described as main vertical axes of the city in Lambert Plan (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010, p. 313) and they were both came to their end at the coastal zone with most known public recreational areas. While Dalyan Tea Garden was the final destination of Cumhuriyet Street as Kantarcı (2011, p. 27) told, Emperyal Club House was located where Gazipaşa Street comes its end on the coast.

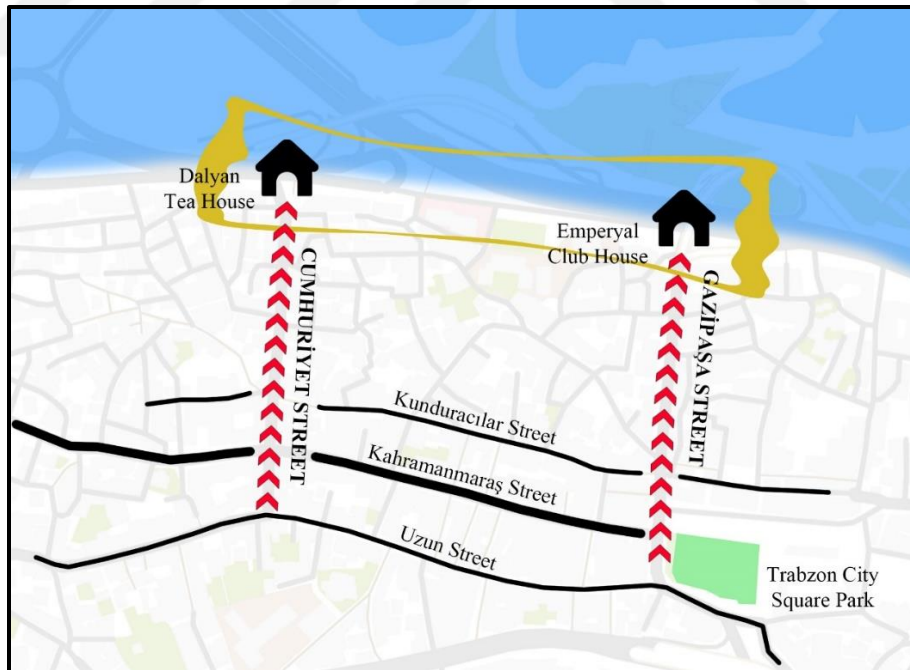


Figure 47: Main vertical axes, Dalyan Tea House and Emperyal Club House
(Source: prepared by the author)

Reminding that Lynch defines *nodes* as strategic spots, intensive foci points in the city (1960, p. 47), Emperyal Club House defined as the most important social entertainment place of Trabzon by Biryol (2016, p. 196) and its surrounding area can be regarded as *node*. In memories of Kantarcı (2011) and Sezer (2010) these major vertical streets were perceived together with the *landmarks* located in the end of them on the coastal zone. Besides, Sezer (2010, p. 52) states that this recreational *node* was “a little further ahead” from Dalyan Tea House. In other words, Emperyal Club House was within walking distance to Dalyan Tea House. Thus, the coastal zone consisted of Emperyal Club House and Dalyan Tea Garden could be regarded as a whole social and recreational *node* which had direct connection with two main vertical axes of the city.



Figure 48: Looking through Emperyal Club house from Ganita (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2010)



Figure 49: Emperyal Club House (Source: Biryol, 2016, p. 196)

Other than Gazipaşa Street and Emperyal Club House, terraces have a place in Sezer's (2010) memories about the sea. She states that sea was visible from the terrace of their family house in Çömlekçi (Sezer, 2010, p. 54) and commentates terraces in terms of their social and visual functions, especially for women (Sezer, 2010, pp. 48-49):

When I got older, my freedom to run through the sea was restricted. I was a girl, I was grown up, it was a shame, it was a sin, what would people say, how could it be!... Then I understood that I had to make a choice: either I would settle for the given which means that I would let the rules set up by others direct me; or I would fight for what I want to do, according to my own beliefs. Of course, the second option was my choice, but I had no idea about how to do it! Terraces came to my rescue; everybody knows that Trabzon is a terrace city. These terraces did not for belvedere, they were functional. Unfortunately, those terraces disembark. In those terraces where clothes hung up, carpets were cleaned and washed, cottons were willowed, hazelnuts were dried... But what I liked the most was rolling dough, especially when the Ramadan drew on. Some women from neighbor would gather in a yard if there was one, or would go to terraces, rugs were laid, some wooden tables were placed.



Figure 50: Traces of terraces on the top of old houses of Çömlekçi (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

At this juncture, the comment done about publicity of the coastal zone of Faroz in Section 4.2.1.2 must be recalled. Ergin (2011, p. 19) emphasizes women's being on their own on the beach in a certain time of they with a specified dressing code shows that, publicity of the coastal zone of Faroz has its limits in terms of gender. Likewise, Sezer (2010) tells how her freedom to use the coastal zone was restricted by community pressure because of her gender. Just as the coastal zone of Faroz, the coastal zone of Çömlekçi fails to comply what Lynch describes as access. Lynch (1981, p. 188) identifies access as "the features to which access is given and to whom it is afforded" and draws attention to unequal distribution of access among groups and its variation by time of day and season (Lynch, 1981, pp. 188-190).

Sezer (2010) regards terraces as an alternative to the coastal zone for women to keep connected with the sea. However, they did not provide socializing opportunities like the coastal zone, they just enabled them to get benefited from the sea visually. In addition, while the coastal zone has the capacity to host tens of people from different neighborhoods, Sezer (2010, p. 49) states that terraces could only be used by "some women from the neighborhood". Thus, when compared to the coastal zone, these

terraces could only be regarded as semi-public spaces, just like the courtyard examined by Ekim and Vassilaki (2015, p. 28) in their master’s thesis called “Levels of Privacy: On the Borders of Public, Semi-public, Private Residential Life”:

According to Benn and Gaus (1983), the level from public to private is defined through the degrees of access, interest and agency. That means, if more people use the space or can have an access to the space, this space is defined as more public. So, since our courtyard is leveled up from the street, it is shared only from two blocks which strengthens a more semi-public character.

In short, it can be concluded that while the coastal zone of Faroz was a public space had spatial connection with the sea, terraces of Çömlekçi were only semi-public spaces had visual connection with the sea. Nevertheless, these terraces were compatible with Lambert’s proposal about preventing the inequality on the matter of benefiting from the sea (1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 314). He stated that the elevation must be taken as an advantage so inhabitants living in the inner regions of the Trabzon could benefited from the sea view and sea air as much as inhabitants living closer to the coast. He proposed structures which are not blocking each other’s view (Lambert, 1938b cited in Lambert, 2010b, p. 314).

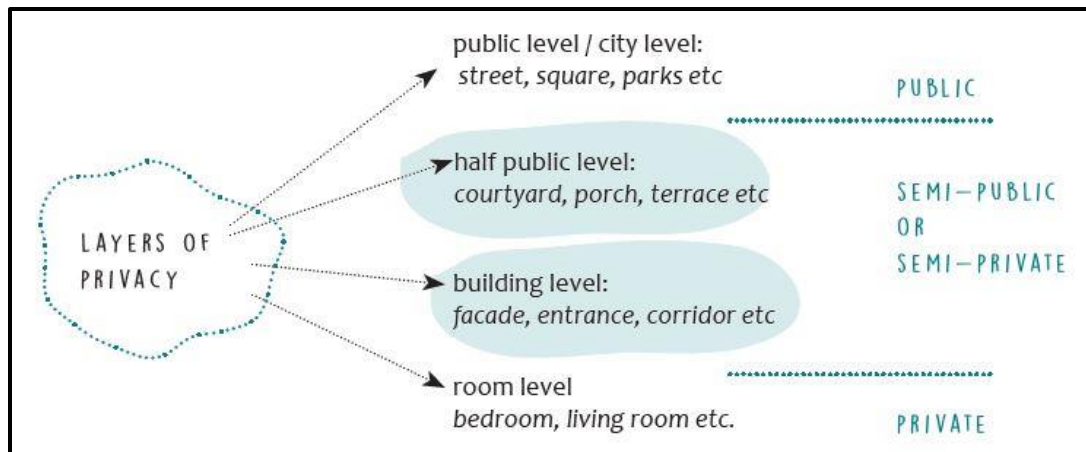


Figure 51: Levels of Privacy (Source: Ekim & Vassilaki, 2015, p. 28)

4.4.1.3. Symbolic Places and Perception of Sea

The symbolic places mentioned in Sezer's (2010) memoir, were not within the boundaries of Çömlekçi Neighborhood. While Kanuni Anatolian High School Building is located in Kemer kaya Neighborhood, Ganita is located in the İskenderpaşa Neighborhood. However, they found place in memories of Sezer (2010) in terms of their positions overlooking sea.

Sezer (2010, pp. 148-149) explains longstanding educational usage of Kanuni Anatolian High School and its proximity to the sea:

I saw 'Nalınlar' by Necati Cumalı when I was in middle school at the Trabzon Boys Elementary School which is called Kanuni Anatolian High School now. This building was built by engineer Kakudilis in 1889. The building serving as a Greek college for a period, paved the way for Trabzon Teacher School and Trabzon High School and was used as a teacher school for a while. After that, it served as Fatih Educational Institution and Anatolian High School. Students coming from the occupied territories during the Independence War were educated in that school. The building literally overlooks the sea. In the days of old it was so close to sea that it was hit by waves. But because of the extended roadworks and embarkment works, the building is only able to see the sea with a bird eyes view now. This is the best place where the size of the structuring between the sea and coast can be seen.



Figure 52: Kanuni Anatolian High School Building in the past (left) (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2007) and 2019 (right) (Source: the author, 2019, July 13)

While her explanation about the building does not give many clues about perception of sea and the coastal zone from a user perspective, it is still commemorated with its close proximity to the sea in the old times. In addition, it remains as a *landmark* for centuries because of its historical characteristic and iconic architecture in a more modern surrounding and invariant function.

Ganita is mentioned in memories of Sezer (2010) and Sulukan (2000) mostly with the cultural and peaceful atmosphere it had, rather than its perceptive relationship with the sea like Kanuni Anatolian High School. While he is explaining profile of people sat on the tables at the top of Municipality Park [Belediye Parkı], Sulukan (2000) uses the phrase that “doyen/nes similar to the ones at the Ganita”. Likewise, Sezer (2010, pp. 459-50) complains about loss of peaceful environment providing people proper communication:

Another place that I liked to watch the sea was Ganita. It still exists today. Still, lovers, young people go there, drink tea and chat. But Ganita got its share from the change like every other place and every other thing. Nobody hears each other because of the sound of the rummy tiles, the clank of the checkers and loud music nowadays. It's not the old Ganita that we used to sit on weedy steps, stare at the sea from woody tables and chairs, listen songs from the speaker hidden in the tree.

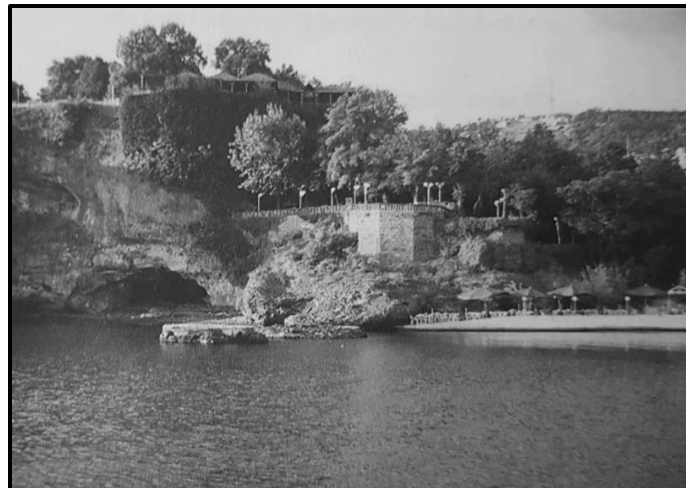


Figure 53: Ganita (Source: Yılmaz, 2011, p. 20)

On the other hand, Yılmaz (2011) touches upon not only Ganita's iconic cultural atmosphere, but also its spatial qualities and visual relationship with the sea. Just like the other writers referenced above, he also mentions that Ganita was frequent destination of intellectuals and left-wingers in 1960s (Yılmaz, 2011, pp. 21-22). Yılmaz (2011, pp. 21-22) states, he listens from the elders that Ganita was where Trabzon Highschool students reading world classics; all painters, poets, cartoonists in the Trabzon frequently came; chess competitions done and poetry recitations organized in Ganita.

Regarding Ganita's spatial features, Yılmaz (2011) has some significant evaluations. He describes Ganita as "the balcony of Trabzon", "a core memory place" (Yılmaz, 2011, p. 21) and "neither an indoor space or an outdoor space, at most an intermediate space" (Yılmaz, 2011, p. 36). As a matter of fact, he points out Ganita's position overlooking the sea with the balcony metaphor. It's being an intermediate space connotes the privacy it has because of its geographical features. Ganita is located on a sea cliff which makes it more difficult to be accessed unlike its counterparts in the coastal zone (see: Figure 54). Thus, it is secluded up to some extent. Nevertheless, somehow it managed to gather people with a specific socio-cultural disposition. When considered from this point of view, it was definitely a public space.

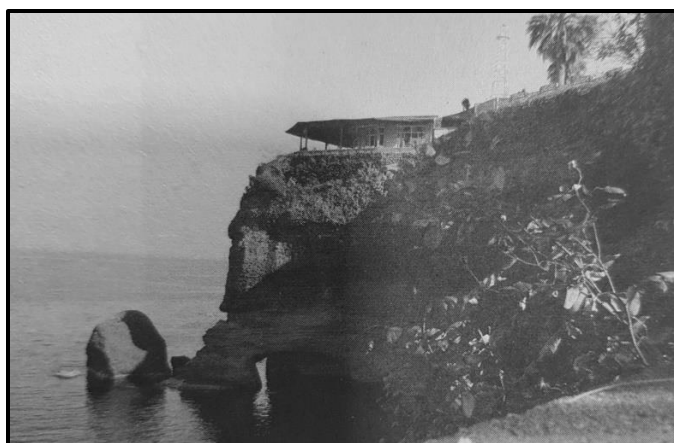


Figure 54: The Sea Cliff Ganita is located on (Source: Yılmaz, 2011, p. 64)

Regarding the perception of the sea from Ganita, Yılmaz (2011) makes another metaphor in addition to his description of Ganita as a balcony. He makes an analogy between Ganita and a summer cinema: “Isn't the sea a cinema screen when it is looked through Ganita in the evenings? So Ganita is an inimitable summer cinema! A place where we watch unforgettable movies and fascinated” (Yılmaz, 2011, p. 51).

In his quote, Yılmaz (2011) implies that the sea could be perceived as clear as a movie on a cinema screen in Ganita. The sea view seen from Ganita is described with such an admiration that is not seen in the previous sections. With its fascinating sea view best in the city and its clear form arising from its geographical features, it is definitely an easily identifiable place which Lynch (1960, pp. 78-79) defined as a *landmark*. Moreover, due to the meanings ascribed to Ganita stemming from the activities done and the group of people it appeals to, Ganita could be regarded as the intellectual and socio-cultural hub of the city. That is to say, in line with Lynch's statement (1960, p. 47) about *nodes* that they could simply be concentration points of some use or physical appearances, as Ganita was the socio-cultural hub of the city, it also had the features of *nodes*. In the last instance, Sezer's (2010) comment about the replacement of its peaceful, cultural atmosphere with the noisy, unqualified and mainstream tea house setting proves that unfortunately it is hard to define Ganita as a socio-cultural *node* anymore.

4.4.1.4. Beaches and Perception of Sea

The beach on the coastal zone of Çömlekçi in Somel's (2011) memory was a natural and clean public space. He states that the beach of Çömlekçi was the second most important beach of Trabzon after the beach in front of Ganita, as it was not only used by inhabitants of Çömlekçi, but also used by other people coming from different neighborhoods (Somel, 2011, p. 43). In fact, the only open-air cinema [yazlık sahil sineması] mentioned in the memories examined was located on the coastal zone of Çömlekçi (Somel, 2011, p. 201). However, Somel (2011, p. 102) makes a comment regarding the beach of Çömlekçi supporting Sezer's (2010, pp. 48-49) statement in

Section 4.4.1.2 about cultural codes putting pressure on women in terms of freedom to use the coastal zone:

The waterfront of Çömlekçi Neighborhood was an inimitable natural beach for children with its black, fine and clean sands and waters illuminating the bottom of the sea. In our spare time we used to play on this beach from morning to night. We swam nonstop. The nature of these shores, the sand and the sea were only benefited by men. Traditions and Islam forbade girls and women to exploit this nature. But on very hot days, women could go swimming when the darkness sets in, under the supervision of their relatives.

As Somel (2011, p. 44) previously implicates by saying “beautiful waters of Black Sea”, Sezer (2010) in her comment above also mentions the cleanness of the sea. Thus, the beach of Çömlekçi had the characteristics of sustenance which Lynch (1981, p. 129) correlates with provision of clean air, clean water and so on. In addition, as Gehl (www.gehlpeople.com, 2018) considers opportunities for play and exercise by day and night as a component of comfort which is one of three spatial quality criteria groups he proposes, it can be deduced parents perceive the beach as a safe place and feel comfortable about letting their children to play on the beach even by night.



Figure 55: The beach of Çömlekçi (Source: www.wowturkey.com, 2007)

Another beach mentioned in the site visit within the boundaries of the area examined in this section is the beach in front of Ganita. It is explained above that Somel (2011, p. 43) thinks that the beach in front of Ganita was the most important beach in the city. During the interview done with M. R. Sümerkan (July 13, 2019), he explains an interesting thing he realized when he was a teaching assistant in Black Sea Technical University and taking aerial photographs of Trabzon:

I saw white bands on Ganita's beach in aerial photographs. I thought it was a photographic error. Then I realized that weavers would put the linen in the sea water to soften and whiten it, and they would spread it on the beach to sun dry it. Ganita beach was also used for this purpose.

It is remarkable that in one of the most commonly used beaches in the city, there were some activities done other than recreational activities and no traces of conflict between different groups using the beach for different groups can be found in M. R. Sümerkan's comment (personal interview, July 13, 2019). With regard to his words above (M. R. Sümerkan, personal interview, July 13, 2019), it can be deduced that the publicity of Ganita Beach was interiorized by every segment of the society. Another memory about Ganita Beach implying publicity of Ganita Beach and peaceful and respectful environment similar to the one above was told by Sezer (2010, p. 53):

Old women in our neighborhood had told us; once, couples used to go swimming to the beach of Ganita's, and workers around the beach would disappear to not bother the couples. Now, when I see the ones who wait for an opportunity to see a piece of nudeness, I remember those old days wailfully.

These comments done about Ganita Beach reminds Lynch's fifth group of spatial qualities; control (1981, p. 205). He states that it rests on some spatial rights; 1) right of presence, 2) right of use and action, 3) right of appropriation, 4) right of modification, 5) right of disposition (Lynch, 1981, pp. 205-207). These rights imply that one can be in a place and exclude others, behave freely and use facilities in it, take the resources all to herself/himself and deprive others, alter the place even permanently as long as it is not bothering anyone in any aspect and can transfer her/his rights to whoever s/he wants (Lynch, 1981, pp. 205-207). Thus, it could be definitely said that control of Ganita Beach belonged to all rather than any socio-economic segment of society. Everybody respected each other's right to be there, use it as s/he wants, exploit the natural opportunities it presents and behave freely. In short, nobody

bothered anyone or excluded any other people / group of people different than her/himself in any respect.



Figure 56: The beach of Ganita in 1940s (Source: www.facebook.com, 2019)

4.5. Conclusions from the Studies on Memories

Basically, lived space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39) belonging to the users of the coastal zone of Trabzon is examined in this chapter. The personal, mental and emotional emphasizes in the space-related experiences in these memories shows that the image of the coastal zone is appropriated by their imagination and symbolic meanings are ascribed to the area by each of them just as Lefebvre (1991, p. 39) states.

What is vital to realize that the expressions about their lived space strongly address to the pattern of Lynch's elements of the city image (1960, p. 46), their structuring and creating the urban identity. The cognitive routes identified by *landmarks* or *edges*, the

socially significant *nodes* as public spaces located on the coastal zone, the streets as *paths* going down to these *nodes* can be given as examples. At this juncture, it is important to remind that Lefebvre (1991, p. 40) defines perceived space as how an individual perceives the outside world in the daily life unconsciously.

Moreover, the traces of concepts proposed in Lambert Plan to integrate the sea with the city and ease its perception are implied in the memories. As conceived space stands for representation of planner's, architect's and social engineer's vision about a given space, it can be said that conceived space has an effect on conceptualization of lived space of a society.

Examination of the memories show that formulation of lived space strongly depends on comprehension of perceived and conceived spaces. In general, this finding can be useful for establishment of a planning approach centers on designing favorable urban spaces for its users in the last instance. Specifically, it exhibits how urban planning can be the major tool to make use of water element in coastal cities. In short, admiration of the coastal zone of old Trabzon and the clear perception of the sea expressed directly by its users can guide producers of urban policies and design codes. It exhibits what should be done not only for designing urban areas successfully, but also for assisting citizens to collect in favorable space-related experiences while using these spaces.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARISON: SPATIAL QUALITY, PERCEPTION OF THE SEA AND THE COASTAL ZONE OF TRABZON FROM PAST TO PRESENT

In this chapter, the comments regarding perception of the sea and the coastal zone in the memories and the personal interviews are compared. This comparison is done based on a set of criteria – vitality, sense, fit, access, control, efficiency and justice – which Lynch (1981) defines as performance dimensions and proposes to evaluate spatial quality of a given place in his theory named “a good city form”.

Since the memories examined in the previous chapter are focusing on the physical appearances of the coastal zone, its spatial arrangement, its public characteristics, its socio-cultural significance and the perception of the sea, a well-balanced comparison seeks selection of the dimensions useful to evaluate the aspects mentioned above. Thus, vitality, sense and access are chosen to be used in this comparison and the interview guideline is prepared accordingly (see: Appendix A).

In addition to the analysis about whether the coastal zone has altered for the better or not in terms of spatial quality from past to present, changes in perception of the sea from the coastal zone and the inner city is also examined. The opinions shared by interviewees especially the ones implying the second performance dimension selected – sense – demonstrate how citizens perceive the sea and the coastal zone at present.

5.1. Vitality: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Vitality indicates whether urban places can support human life by providing biological requirements (Lynch, 1981, p. 118). Lynch (1981, p. 129) proposes three characteristics that are grouped under the heading of vitality; 1) sustenance, 2) safety and 3) consonance. These characteristics stand for provision of clean resources,

protection from physical and social hazards, and the compatibility of an environment to the optimum state of human physiology respectively (Lynch, 1981, p. 129). In the following sections, the remarks from personal interviews about sustenance, safety and consonance of the coastal zone of Trabzon are summarized. In addition, they are compared to the relevant comments in the memories of citizens.

5.1.1. Safety: Remarks from the Personal Interviews



Figure 57: Exit of an underpass (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)

The general opinion regarding safety of the coastal zone for a pedestrian is that it is not providing a completely safe environment to walk. I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) states that due to the fact that %80 of the coastal zone is consisting of coastal highway, it is not exactly possible to talk about pedestrian safety. The coastal zone as a whole is not an area designed for pedestrians; it serves to vehicles a large extent. It can be said that the walking trail is safe and partially suitable for walking, however until a pedestrian reaches it, s/he faces a number of difficulties. It is not possible to reach the walking trail at the ground level; in fact, it is quite normal because the coastal highway is a transit, interurban road (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12). Thus, a pedestrian can only use underpasses and over passes. Yet, there are no adequate

number of underpasses and overpasses, besides there are long distances behind them. (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12). In addition, the underpasses are quite dirty, smelly and unsafe (I.3, personal interview, July 14). The barriers by the side of the coastal highway are not durable enough to prevent serious consequences in the case of an accident, when the speed of the cars on the coastal highway is taken into consideration (I.4, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

Most of the interviewees appreciate continuous bicycle road and separation of the walking trail from the bicycle road, in other words they find it safe. Another aspect mentioned frequently during the personal interviews is the bike sharing system. However, I.3 (personal conversation, 2019, July 14) points out an important matter that it is quite hard to reach the bicycle road for a cyclist with her/his own bicycle. A cyclist must carry her/his bike with an automobile or use the underpasses or overpasses, which would create inconvenience (I.3, personal interview, July 14). I.1 shares his opinion as he states that even though it is safe and comfortable to use the bicycle road in the east-west direction, there are no linking bicycle roads in the north south by which a cyclist could reach the bicycle road from the inner parts of the city (personal interview, 2019, July 12).



Figure 58: The bicycle road (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)



Figure 59: A bike sharing point (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)

Another aspect of a safe environment, which the coastal zone of Trabzon lacks, is that the sense of safety it provides for its users differs by day and night. Almost all interviewees agree upon the coastal zone is not safe to be in the late evening hours. Even though there are no complaints about the lighting and some interviewees mentions existence of municipal police in the coastal zone (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12 & I.4, personal interview, 2019, July 12), the coastal zone in general regarded as an idle and deserted area which causes hesitance about its safety in the eyes of interviewees. It is striking that these concerns are valid for both genders. I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) as 67 years-old male states that he does not feel comfortable using the coastal zone in the late evening hours. Likewise, according to I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) on the one hand the coastal zone is not safe especially for young women after 8.00-9.00 p.m. especially they are on their own as females, on the other hand it is not possible to say that it is totally free of risk for a male either. Interviewees have different reasons to feel uncomfortable in late hours in the coastal zone. While I.6 (personal interview, 2019, July13) worries about “the outcasts and drunks” on the rocks by the walking trail in the evenings and it is always

so uninhabitant, I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July13) complains of lack of facilities to spend time inside late into the night.

5.1.1.1. Changes in the Sense of Safety

When the coastal zone described in the memories examined in Chapter 4 and personal interviews are compared, it can be seen that citizen’s sense of safety has changed unfavorably from past to present. Firstly, while coexistence of different socio-cultural groups is emphasized in the memories, some interviewees mention disturbance from the others. Secondly, some concerns about safe pedestrian mobility both in the north-south and east-west directions emerge because of the transit coastal highway. Lastly, the pattern of usage of the area by vulnerable groups such as women and children has altered due to the safety related reasons (see: Table 2).

Table 2: Comparison of the sense of safety based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
Sense of safety in the social environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on social coherence • Emphasis on respect to the different groups 	Sense of unsafety in the social environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on undesirable groups: “the outcasts and drunks”
Safe pedestrian access in the north-south direction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on difficulties reaching to the waterfront from the inner city 	Concerns about pedestrian safety in the north-south direction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on unsafe underpasses & overpasses
Safe pedestrian access in the east-west direction	Concerns about pedestrian safety in the east-west direction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on the need for separation elements: barriers

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on the need to separate vehicular traffic from pedestrian traffic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on distrust for durability of the barriers
<p>Safety for vulnerable groups (women and children)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on gender-specific but safe spaces just for women after sunset • Emphasis on safe playing areas for children, no emphasis on the necessity of control on a regular basis • Emphasis on safe facilities to spend time inside such as Emperyal Club House, Dalyan Tea House 	<p>No safety for vulnerable groups (women and children)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis of spatial seclusion of women in the coastal zone • Concerns about safety for women after sunset • Concerns about safety for men after sunset • No emphasis on effective usage of safe playing areas for children • No emphasis on safe facilities to spend time inside

5.1.2. Sustenance: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Generally, interviewees share the same opinion regarding the water and air quality of the coastal zone of Trabzon which refers to sustenance Lynch (1981, p. 129) identifies as a characteristic of a vital environment. Their comments center upon some specific types of pollution. The most underlined type of pollution is water pollution. All interviewees mention that Black Sea is polluted because of the sewage water of the city drains away into the sea without an appropriate treatment system results in an unpleasant smell (I.1 et. al., personal interview, 2019). I.2 states that it is possible to identify the points where the waste water discharges to the sea by its color and it is not safe to swim in the city center at all (personal interview, 2019, July 12). According to I.4 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) there are at least nine points from which sewer pipes discharge waste water into the sea. He also reminds that (I.4, personal interview, 2019, July 12) the previous deep-sea discharge system was damaged during the sea embankment work and construction of the coastal highway.



Figure 60: One of the points where the waste water discharges to the sea (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)

Nearly all of the interviewees state this unpleasant smell as the most important reason why they are not willing to spend time in the coastal zone (I.1 et. al., personal interview, 2019). In addition, I.3 (personal interview, 2019, July 14) touches on an important matter by saying due to the heavy traffic on the coastal highway, exhaust gas density adds to the air pollution especially in winter (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14).

In addition to the water pollution and the smell issue, I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) has some complaints about the solid waste left by the users of the walking trail. Some of the interviewees agree with his opinion (I.6, personal interview, 2019, July 13 & I.8, personal interview, 2019, July 13). However, I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) develops empathy with the people polluted the walking trail to a certain extent by saying that there are not sufficient number of rubbish bins on the trail put by the municipality. On the other hand, I.6 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) appreciates municipalities' attitude towards this issue and states that solid wastes are cleaned by municipal sanitation workers on a regular basis.

5.1.2.1. Changes in the Sense of Sustenance

The level of environmental pollution has increased in the coastal zone of Trabzon. In the memories examined in Chapter 4, there are almost no emphasis on any type of pollution. On the contrary, the coastal zone is described as a clean area and the cleanness of the sea water is emphasized. However, interviewees complain about several issues regarding the water pollution, air pollution and solid wastes in the coastal zone (see: Table 3).

Table 3: Comparison of the sense of sustenance based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
Emphasis on cleanness of the water	Emphasis on water pollution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns about food security: sea products • Emphasis on discharge of sewage water into the sea • Emphasis on lack of clean beaches in the city center
No emphasis on air pollution	Emphasis on air pollution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on an unpleasant smell • Emphasis on exhaust gas density
Emphasis on cleanness of the coast	Emphasis on solid waste left on the coast

5.1.3. Consonance: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Interviewees agree on the fact that the coastal zone of Trabzon is insufficient in terms of compatibility to the optimum state of physical and physiological needs of human, which is described as consonance by Lynch (1981, p. 129). The issues that interviewees lay too much stress on are noise pollution, lack of green open spaces for relaxation and social interaction and lack of opportunities for protection from unpleasant weather conditions (I.1 et. al., personal interview, 2019).

According to interviewees, the coastal highway is the main source of the noise pollution. I.2 states that when the speed of the cars on the coastal highway is taken into consideration, it is possible to speak of a constant noise pollution for sure (personal interview, 2019, July 12). Likewise, I.1 states that all of the places that one can spend time in the coastal zone is exposed to traffic noise 7 days 24 hours. (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12). They both express their desire to hear the voices of the waves but unfortunately, it is not possible due to the sounds of the cars (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12 & I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12). Other than the traffic noise, there is also a noise caused by the people according to I.3 (personal interview, 2019, July 14). She explains that there are no available open spaces to spend time on the coastal zone and the walking trail does not meet the demand. Thus, when the walking trail is crowded, there is always a humming of human voices. (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14).

Just like I.3, almost all interviewees complain of the non-existence of open green spaces in the coastal zone. I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) tells that the only places can be considered as open green spaces are the gardens of restaurants and cafes located on the refuge. However, naturally citizens cannot lay on the ground and behave freely as they can do in a park in these gardens (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12). I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) looks at the issue from the same aspect and tells that there are no green open spaces or some open-air facilities in the coastal zone people to use for different activities such as chatting, reading books, playing instruments or doing physical activities like yoga and interact with each other (I.8,

personal interview, 2019, July 13). According to him, the social interaction takes place in the coastal area is unable to go beyond some occasional, small conversations occur between people eating fish in front of the buffets (I.8, personal interview, 2019, July 13). I.6 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) clarifies what other interviewees mention social interaction in open green spaces mean by saying it is not possible to see youngsters doing music at the one side and a family having a picnic at the other side in a beautiful park in the coastal zone. Thus, different social groups cannot see each other on action, experience each other's lifestyle in some degree, develop understanding towards each other, all of which triggers social integration (personal interview, 2019, July 13).

Some of the interviewees define their dream coastal zone as the coastal area of Batumi. I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) states that in Batumi, it is possible to walk through on the coast in greenery and there is nothing between the sea and people. There are touristic facilities on this axis, open spaces where people can sit and chat and specially designed street furniture. All of these places enable people to enjoy the sea view. There are no such arrangements in the coastal zone of Trabzon. (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12). A similar comment about the greenery in the coastal zone of Batumi is made by I.5 (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He states that an observer cannot understand where the rural ends and urban begins if s/he is walking through the coast of Batumi city center. The coastal zone is so green and natural that it gives the sense that being in a rural area (personal interview, 2019, July 12). I.4 express his opinion that actually, sea embankment gives opportunity to create such open public spaces to let the sea into citizens life again, but it has been used usually for the sake of building roads. He states that, even if there are few examples in Trabzon as he mentions, they do not serve the purpose of creation of actual open public spaces (I.4, personal interview, 2019, July 12). For example, authorities fill the sea where people swam and had a picnic in Akyazi. People used to go that place as they wish. Now it is a football field, which can only be used by the permission (I.4, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

Another issue some of the interviewees mention is lack of opportunities for protection from unpleasant weather conditions. I.1 and I.5 think that it is convenient to use the coastal zone only in the summer and clear weathers. (personal interview, 2019, July 12 & I.5, personal interview, 2019, July 12). The statement of I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) supports their argument as he says that there are some places one can avoid bad weather conditions if it is necessary between the coastal highway and the coastal road, but not around the walking trail. I.3 (personal interview, 2019, July 14) exemplifies the problem by stating that the best and most convenient way to be protected from the sun in hot days is sheltered in a tree shade. However, there are not any trees providing shadow especially on the walking trail. There are some in the area between the coastal highway and the coastal road (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14). I.4 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) criticizes the local government's attitude towards this subject. He states that municipality lacks the perspective of user experience and people-oriented planning approach. He gives the example that the elderly and children are the ones in need of seasonal arrangements in the coastal zone, just like disabled people needs some special arrangements. He states that special needs of any social group are taken into consideration during the design process (personal interview, 2019, July 12).

5.1.3.1. Changes in the Sense of Consonance

Similar to safety and sustenance, sense of consonance has also changed in a negative manner from past to present. The coastal zone described in the memories is a place free of noise pollution, a place to relax and a place enables people to come together with others and socially interact. In other words, it is compatible to the optimum state of physiological needs of human. Unfortunately, it is observed that noise pollution, lack of open green spaces, beaches and open-air facilities and lack of opportunities for protection from unpleasant weather conditions make it hard to spend quality time in the coastal zone. The possibility to hear the sound of waves, to sit on the beach and chat with strangers and watching the sea view peacefully has disappeared.

Table 4: Comparison of the sense of consonance based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>No emphasis on noise pollution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on the traffic noise • Emphasis on possibility to hear sound of the waves 	<p>Noise pollution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on the traffic noise because of the coastal highway • Emphasis on impossibility to hear sound of the waves • Emphasis on the humming of human voices in the crowded times
<p>Open spaces triggering social integration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on green spaces • Emphasis on beaches as open spaces • Emphasis on coastal trade areas as open public spaces such as fish stalls in Moloz • Some open-air facilities such as the fairground, training fields of local football teams • Emphasis on the sense of being close to the sea and enjoy the view peacefully • 	<p>Lack of open spaces triggering social integration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on lack of green spaces • Emphasis on lack of open-air facilities • Emphasis on lack of beaches • Emphasis on the impossibility to enjoy the sea view peacefully
<p>No emphasis on opportunities for protection from unpleasant weather conditions</p>	<p>Lack of opportunities for protection from unpleasant weather conditions</p>

5.2. Sense: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Lynch (1981, p.118) defines sense as “the match between the environment, our sensory and mental capabilities, and our cultural constructs”. Sense implies the connection between residents’ perception of a settlement and their values (Lynch, 1981, p. 118). As it is detailly explained in the Section 2.3, Lynch (1981, pp. 131-141) proposes that sense has five components; 1) identity, 2) structure, 3) congruence, 4) transparency, 5) legibility. In the following sections, remarks from the personal interviews with respect to components of sense are summarized and compared to the relevant comments in the memories of citizens. The following sections also involves changes in perception of the sea and publicity of the coastal zone, as these issues fall under the context of sense.

5.2.1. Identity and Legibility: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

All interviewees express negative thoughts regarding the identity of the coastal zone of Trabzon. The comments are either implying the area has no identity or it assign negative meanings to the identity of the area. I.5 thinks that the identity of the coastal zone of Trabzon is its lack of identity (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He questions how the coastal zone can has an identity as everything once displayed Trabzon’s culture, social life and authentic architecture is demolished (personal interview, 2019, July 12). Likewise, I.3 correlates the coastal zone’s identity with some specific structures (personal interview, 2019, July 14) which have been frequently mentioned in the previous chapter. She reminds that in old times, best facilities were in the coastal zone and they create an identity such as Emperyal Club House, Dalyan Tea Garden, the fairground (personal interview, 2019, July 14). In short, they both states that the coastal zone of Trabzon has no characteristics making it unique that a person can recall it as being different from others as Lynch (1981, p. 131) says.

Other than the interviewees make clear that they do not believe the coastal zone has an identity, some interviewees have remarkable negative comments about the area.

For example, according to I.4 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) If identity means how people define a place and what envisages first when they think about a place, then the identity of the coastal zone of Trabzon is its being an awful place. Similarly, while I.2 defines the coastal zone just as a transit highway (personal interview, 2019, July 12), I.4 describes the area as a small concrete jungle (personal interview, 2019, July 12). She sees the big picture and says that the coastal zone of the Trabzon is a striking example of how waterfront can be the most unused place in a coastal city. This identifies the area very well (I.6, personal interview, 2019, July 13).

5.2.1.1. Changes in the Sense of Identity and Legibility

When the comments regarding the identity of the coastal zone of Trabzon in the memories and personal interviews are compared, it can be concluded that there is a striking, negative change has occurred from past to present. The coastal zone had some characteristics of its own and it stirs positive senses in its user's image. However, everything makes it identifiable have been disappeared according to the interviewees. Architecturally and functionally significant structures, publicity of beaches, organically formed open public spaces such as fish stalls and their surrounding area in Moloz and social dynamics taking place in these areas are mentioned as now-defunct unique characteristics of the coastal zone. Thus, the area is now characterized either as an area without an identity, or negative meanings assigned to its identity as the beloved characteristics of it are erased in the course of time.

Table 5: Comparison of the sense of identity based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>Positive meanings assigned to the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of the coastal zone as a recreational area consisting of various public spaces 	<p>Negative meanings assigned to the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of the coastal zone as a transit highway • Usage of words and phrases such as “an awful place”, “a small concrete jungle”, “the most unused place in a coastal city”
<p>Social dynamics creating identity of the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The culture fishery creates (i.e.: Faroz) • The culture trade in the coastal areas creates (i.e.: chatting and watching the sea around the fish stalls in Moloz) • The culture inhabitant’s social activities create (i.e.: gathering on the beach in the afternoons, chatting and singing on the beach, sea related plays children invented, using beaches as football fields for neighborhood football teams) 	<p>No emphasis on social dynamics indigenous to Trabzon’s coastal zone</p>
<p>Structures creating the identity of the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on architecture of these facilities (i.e.: Emperyal Club House, Dalyan Tea Garden) • Emphasis on social functions of these facilities (i.e.: Emperyal Club House, Dalyan Tea Garden) 	<p>No emphasis on specific structures in terms of their architecture or function in the coastal zone</p>

5.2.2. Structure: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Regarding the spatial arrangements in the coastal zone, all interviewees express some negative thoughts. The general opinion is that the landscaping, spatial relationship of the areas and perception the sea from these areas are not satisfactory. I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) states that there is not a variety of areas in terms of their function. The coastal zone is consisting of just a couple of buffets on a walking trail, a bicycle road parallel to it and the rest is a highway non-utilizable for pedestrians. Landscaping of the area is poor too. Likewise, I.6 states that she does not prefer to spend time in the coastal zone because it is not visually or functionally alluring as a recreational area with its spatial structure (personal interview, 2019, July 13). Even the sea view cannot change this situation because it is not perceivable from any location in the coastal zone except Ganita. She strikingly states that she feels like living in a city located in the central Anatolia (I.6, personal interview, 2019, July 13).



Figure 61: The bicycle road, a buffet and the walking trail (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)

Similar and more comprehensive comments are done by I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He says that the spatial arrangements done after 1963 are just for the vehicles. Therefore, the pedestrian connection of different areas located in the coastal zone is not well arranged. Actually, there are no interesting areas through the walking trail that encourage people with their function and physical appearances to stop and spend time in. Even, there are not any facilities to have dinner from Faroz to the west. If a person wants to eat something while s/he is looking to the sea, s/he must go top of Forum Shopping Mall. In that case, s/he cannot perceive the sea as it is. S/he cannot get the sense of being in a seaside city. S/he can look at it just like a painting. In addition, there is no connection and orientation in the north-south direction in the coastal zone. There are some facilities and open spaces between the coastal highway and the coastal road but they are pretty disconnected with the walking trail. However, the design approach to that refuge is building a café and planting a couple of trees around it. They are not pretty functional as open public spaces (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12). I.6 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) also express her opinion about these spaces in the refuge. She says these open spaces are only used for very few people for doing picnic. However, they cannot perceive the sea from the areas in the refuge. Spending time in one of them is not different from being in a park located in the southern parts of the city (I.6, personal interview, 2019, July 13).

I.3 criticizes lack of well-connected spaces and facilities enabling citizens to have quality time in the coastal zone of Trabzon (personal interview, 2019, July 14). She states that there is no spatial coherence in the coastal zone (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14). Citizens cannot use the coastal area of Trabzon without getting bored. In her opinion, in a seaside city, citizens should be able to spend time in the waterfront by doing variety of activities consecutively (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14). For example, a pedestrian should be able to go for a walk, swim, read a book in shade of a tree and has a meal when s/he gets hungry. Besides, these areas must be within walking distance and the road should orient the pedestrian (personal interview, 2019, July 14). I.8 agrees with I.3 on this matter. He states that Trabzon coastal zone is not

a place a citizen can spend all day by doing different activities because there are no spaces enabling that (personal interview, 2019, July 13).

In addition to the spatial arrangements done in the coastal zone, interviewees also mention some changes occurred in the inner parts of the city affecting their thoughts and senses about the sea and the coastal zone. Almost all of them feel sorry about the changes occurred in the city skyline seen from the walking trail.

First, I.1 mentions the topography of Trabzon. He states that the land is quite sloped. However, due to the amount of embankment, if a citizen looks toward the sea from the walking trail, s/he sees a flat area. In addition, it is not possible to see the urban tissue clearly. The high-rise buildings behind the coastal road blocks the view. Actually, there is nothing beautiful to see, the whole view looks like an ugly concrete jungle consisting of interlaced buildings according to him (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12). He also emphasizes the lack of harmony between a few old structures remained and the new ones in the city skyline. (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

I.5 makes a similar comment and states that the city looks like a concrete mass as a whole when one looks toward it from the walking trail or the coastal highway (personal interview, 2019, July 12). The topography is damaged. He assumes that the ones make the decisions have no aesthetic concerns. Actually, Trabzon itself created these aesthetic views in the past, as he remembers. He exemplifies by mentioning Boztepe with its beautiful nature, Girls Monastery and the authentic urban tissue was pleasantly visible from the coastal zone [Kızlar Manastırı] (I.5, personal interview, 2019, July 12). I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) also bemoans about the devastation of the natural landscape once visible from the seaside. He states that the southern area of the city once providing a beautiful, green view for the ones walking along the coast is now deforested because of the construction of the Yavuz Selim Boulevard (I.8, personal interview, 2019, July 13).

I.2 also talks about the beautiful views Trabzon provided for its inhabitants (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He describes the urban tissue in the coastal area of the city as it is in a fishing town before the coastal highway was constructed: adorable low-

rise houses and commercial buildings (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He explains that it was enjoyable to walk through the coast while watching this urban tissue. They are built with respect to the neutrality of the land and each other. However, with the construction of the coastal highway, this situation changed. As this road became the main axis of the city, high-rise buildings were constructed along it. In coastal cities, building heights should rise from the coast to the inner areas. Trabzon developed inversely (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

I.8 states that Trabzon developed by damaging the old urban tissue irremediably (personal interview, 2019, July 13). In his opinion, the new buildings could have been built in harmony with the older ones (I.8, personal interview, 2019, July 13). He also mentions other urban elements such as streets. He says that not only the buildings but also streets could have been developed according to the existing tissue. For example, he appreciates the fact that wide streets like Gazipaşa and Cumhuriyet Streets are vertically and directly connected with the sea and they let the sea breeze in the city (I.8, personal interview, 2019, July 13). I.5 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) supports I.8's opinion regarding the streets by stating that the street layout accentuating the existence of the sea is interrupted. He says that the vertical streets are quite clear in form as they are vertically reach to the sea in the past (I.5, personal interview, 2019, July 12). The sea can only be seen from the top of a few streets now. (I.5, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

Rather than focusing to the general situation, I.3 lays emphasis on some elements created visual pollution in the coastal zone now (personal interview, 2019, July 13). The first ones come to mind are the exits of underpasses and overpasses. I.3 criticizes local government's approach to these little details, which are actually important when they all come together. (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14) I.6 also complains about the view of the overpasses (personal interview, 2019, July 13).



Figure 62: An overpass on the coastal highway (Source: the author, 2019, July 14)

What is interesting to see is that how comments of some interviewees in terms of the visual pleasure differ according to the hours it is perceived. I.6 says that the city view of Trabzon is quite beautiful in the night with all the lights. However, in the day, it looks like an ugly puzzle, parts of which are not fit to each other (personal interview, 2019, July 13). Likewise, I.5 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) states that when the darkness covers the city in the night, a magnificent view of lights come out of this ugly concrete mass (personal interview, 2019, July 12).

5.2.2.1. Changes in the Sense of Structure

Structure is “the sense of how its parts fit together” at the scale of an area and “the sense of orientation” at the city scale as it is defined by Lynch (1960, p. 134). Unfortunately, the coastal zone of Trabzon has transformed in a slapdash manner from past to present. While the urban elements were in coherence and they were working for the sake of easing the perception of the sea, their well connection has been become tainted in the course of time. Variety of open spaces and facilities; natural formations; easy pedestrian connection between them and with the inner city; beautiful and

authentic city skyline supporting the pedestrian journey on the coast; streets, terraces and structures looking across the sea do not have places in the comments of interviewees, as they have in the memories of inhabitants. Deterioration of structure of the coastal zone and transformation in the urban tissue in general, obstruct the sea to be perceived conveniently in the last instance.

Table 6: Comparison of the sense of structure based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>Spatial relationship of the areas in the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various areas in terms of their functions (i.e.: beaches, Emperyal Club House, Dalyan Tea Garden, open-air cinema, surrounding area of fish stalls in Moloz, coastal football fields in Sotka and Faroz, the fairground) • Strong pedestrian connection between these areas • Opportunity to spend quality time in these areas consecutively 	<p>No spatial coherence in the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor pedestrian connection between the walking trail and the refuge • Lack of social facilities along the walking trail • Lack of open public spaces along the walking trail • No areas to spend quality time in areas with different social functions
<p>Beautiful city skyline supporting the pedestrian journey on the coast visually</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban tissue evoking a fishing town • Low-rise buildings respectful to the topography • Authentic urban tissue • Favorable views (i.e.: Boztepe, Girls Monastery) • Beauty of the city skyline both in the day and night 	<p>Unpleasant city skyline disturbing the pedestrian journey on the coast</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban tissue described as “a concrete jungle” • High-rise buildings disrespectful to the topography and each other • No authenticity in the urban tissue • Unfavorable views (i.e.: deforested area because of the construction of the Yavuz Selim Boulevard)

Table 6 (continued): Comparison of the sense of structure based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>Easy perception of the sea in the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open spaces to enjoy the sea view • Facilities to enjoy the sea view • Perception of sea-based activities (i.e.: swimming, fishery) 	<p>Hard perception of the sea (in the coastal zone and from the refuge)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of areas to enjoy sea view along the walking trail • No emphasis on sea-based activities • Impossibility to perceive the sea from the refuge
<p>Easy perception of the sea from the inner city</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vertical streets directly connected to the sea and incoming the sea breeze • Usage of topography as an advantage, houses looking across the sea • Terraces looking across the sea (i.e.: Çömlekçi) • Open-air public areas looking across the sea (i.e.: the hill overlooking the sea in Faroz) 	<p>Hard perception of the sea from the inner city</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interrupted street layout, limited opportunities for incoming the sea breeze • Incongruous urban development to the topography, structures blocking each other's sea view • No emphasis on open-air public spaces or facilities looking across the sea except Ganita
<p>Emphasis on natural landscapes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clean and fine beaches • Natural formations on the coast (i.e.: natural formation of rocks in the coastal zone of Sotka) • Trees along the shore (i.e.: sycamore trees in the coastal zone of Sotka) • No emphasis on human-made open green spaces 	<p>Poor urban landscaping</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on beaches • No emphasis on neutrality of the coastal zone • Emphasis on poor forestation and gardening, lack of trees, flower arrangements • Emphasis on lack of human-made open green spaces

5.2.3. Congruence: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

As congruence stands for the fit of what is spatial and non-spatial, the compatibility of form and function according to Lynch (1981, p. 138), the function of the coastal zone in their opinion is asked to the interviewees first. Then, their comments on if the coastal zone has necessary spatial qualities to serve the citizen based on its function are requested. The answers given shows that all of the interviewees regard the coastal zone as a transportation axis (I.1 et. al., personal interview, 2019). However, they also state that the coastal zone should have not used for building a transit, interurban highway (I.1 et. al., personal interview, 2019). I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) appreciates the fact that in some cities in the Black Sea Region the coastal highway passes through in the southern parts of the city so these cities can preserve the neutrality of their coastal zone and it can serve as an open public space (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

A significant issue is underlined by I.3 (personal interview, 2019, July 14). She states that the coastal highway can only serve well to those have an automobile. This road is not used efficiently for public transportation in terms of speed, comfort and variety of transportation modes. Thus, if the coastal zone of the city is ruined for providing accessibility in the east-west direction, it cannot be said that it is completely fulfilling its mission for the ones prefer to use public transportation (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14).

Another important comment is done by I.5 (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He states that other than transportation, the function of the coastal zone is bringing the local government in some flat space by embankment works. However, these embankments are not used for the sake of public interest (I.5, personal interview, 2019, July 12). I.5 offers that local government can put some of the embankment areas in good use by constructing socio-cultural facilities or open public spaces to serve all Trabzon (I.5, personal interview, 2019, July 12). I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) exemplifies this situation by saying that in the northern area of the embankment on where Alemdar Mosque is being built, there is a place designed as an amphitheater

perfectly suitable for festivals, concerts and other socio-cultural activities. However, because this area gains a religious characteristic with the construction of the mosque, it can only be used for V.I.P funerals now (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12).

5.2.3.1. Changes in the Sense of Congruence

The function of the coastal zone of Trabzon has changed in time. In the memories of inhabitants, the emphasis is on the social, recreational and integrative characteristics of the area. Several places which have public characteristics were located in the coastal zone. In addition, there was a perceivable economic life going on the waterfront. However, with the construction of the coastal highway, it has lost its publicity completely according to the interviewees. Thus, its function cannot be defined as being the primary social and recreational area of the city anymore. Interviewees express that function of the coastal zone is being one of Trabzon's main transportation axis now. Even though the area failed in its mission in some respects such as serving both genders equally, it can be deduced from the memories that the coastal zone fulfilled its mission as a social and recreational public belt. At present, there are some major issues regarding the accessibility it provides for different groups who has different travel behaviors. While it successfully serves to the vehicle owners, it is quite insufficient in terms of public transportation.

Table 7: Comparison of the sense of congruence based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>Function of the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on sociocultural and recreational significance of the coastal zone and the sea (i.e.: beaches in the neighborhoods as gathering places, recreational facilities, the fairground) • Emphasis on economic significance of the coastal zone and the sea (i.e.: fishery activities in Faroz, the pier of Moloz) 	<p>Function of the coastal zone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on social, recreational or economic significance of the coastal zone • Strong emphasis on the function of the coastal zone as a transportation axis • Emphasis on the function of the coastal zone as provision of flat space by embankment works
<p>Fulfillment of the mission: Coastal zone as a set of social and recreational public spaces</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successfully bringing together different segments of the society • Successfully assisting creation of identity both at neighborhood and city level • Successfully providing opportunities for variety of social and sportive activities • Failing in its mission in terms of gender mainstreaming (i.e.: women's being on their own on the beach in a certain time of the day with a specified dressing code in Faroz and Çömlekçi) 	<p>Fulfillment of the mission: Coastal zone as a transportation axis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial success in terms of providing accessibility in east-west direction: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Successfully serving privately owned vehicles ✓ Poor public transportation in terms of speed, comfort and variety of modes <p>Fulfillment of the mission: Provision of flat space by embankment works</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failing in its mission to meet the demand of socio-cultural facilities

5.2.4. Transparency: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Surprisingly, there are two opposite opinions regarding the transparency of the coastal zone of Trabzon. While some of the interviewees state that it is easy to get a sense of life and perceive ongoing activities which implies transparency according to Lynch (1981, pp.138-139) in the coastal zone, others say that it is not that easy. However, even the interviewees sharing the first opinion do not make that comment in a positive manner. For instance, I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) sarcastically states that every single activity can be perceived in the coastal zone because the amount of area actively used is really low and very few people doing limited activities in the coastal zone. Likewise, I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) says that there is not much to be aware of in the coastal zone, so it is really easy to notice anything a little bit unusual, alluring or noisy. It is important to add that both I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) and I.6 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) overemphasize that they are only talking about ongoing activities in the walking trail, bicycle road and the rocks beside the sea; not the activities associated with a coastal city like sound of the waves, a beach setting or water transportation cannot be perceived (I.1, personal interview, 2019, July 12 & I.6, personal interview, 2019, July 13).

Some of the interviewees state that it is not easy to perceive the ongoing life in the coastal zone. One of them is I.3 (personal interview, 2019, July 14) who states that the noise and the dominant view of the cars on the coastal highway prevent the users of the area to perceive anything. She states that the coastal area of Trabzon was an active, lively place once where children safely swim, families and youngsters go to the social facilities such as Dalyan Tea Garden, fisherman chat; and these groups can see and hear each other (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14). According to her it was perceived as “a metropolitan area with its big and lively facilities, like the coast of a fishing town with the economic activities going on and like the seaside of a touristic place with its beaches at the same time” (I.3, personal interview, 2019, July 14).

5.2.4.1. Changes in the Sense of Transparency

When the comments of inhabitants in memories and personal interviews are compared, it can be said that sense of transparency has altered in two ways. While perception of sea-based activities has gotten hard in the course of time in the coastal zone of Trabzon, because there are limited activities going on in a confined space, other activities can easily be perceived. In other words, the coastal zone of Trabzon is not transparent as a coastal area, but is as a walking trail according to a group of interviewees. However, another group of interviewees state that the coastal highway dominates perception of the area because of the noise and view of the traffic. Thus, it is quite hard to get a sense of life regardless what an inhabitant wants to perceive.

Table 8: Comparison of the sense of transparency based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p data-bbox="201 1193 616 1227">Simplicity of getting a sense of life</p> <ul data-bbox="252 1256 726 1552" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="252 1256 726 1422">• Perception of ongoing activities associated with a coastal city (i.e.: sound of the waves, a beach setting, lively atmosphere of social facilities on the coastal zone) <li data-bbox="252 1451 726 1552">• Sense of being in a metropolitan area, a fishing town and a touristic place at the same time 	<p data-bbox="751 1193 1166 1227">Simplicity of getting a sense of life</p> <ul data-bbox="802 1256 1276 1552" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="802 1256 1276 1391">• Emphasis on limited activities to be perceived in the coastal zone (walking, cycling and sitting on the rocks or a bench) <li data-bbox="802 1420 1276 1552">• Emphasis on simplicity of perception of ongoing activities because the amount of area actively used is really low
	<p data-bbox="751 1583 1160 1617">Difficulty of getting a sense of life</p> <ul data-bbox="802 1646 1276 1771" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="802 1646 1276 1680">• Emphasis on the noise <li data-bbox="802 1709 1276 1771">• Emphasis on the dominant view of the cars on the coastal highway

5.3. Access: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

Access refers to the degree of ability to reach material and social needs with minimum amount of time and effort (Patil & Patil, 2016, p. 1173). Lynch (1981, p. 188) identifies classification criteria of access as “the features to which access is given and to whom it is afforded”. He gives importance to access to other people, access to human activities, access to material resources, access to places and access to information (Lynch, 1981, pp. 188-190). The accessibility of the coastal zone from the southern part of the city and the accessibility along the coast is examined in the following sections based on personal interviews. In the following sections, remarks from the personal interviews about accessibility are summarized and compared to the relevant comments in the memories of citizens.

5.3.1. Access to Places: Remarks from the Personal Interviews

I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) summarizes opinions of all interviewees more or less by stating that the coastal zone of Trabzon is not an accessible area by walking, cycling or using public transportation, but it is accessible by driving to a certain extent. Difficulties a pedestrian and a cyclist will face to reach the coastal zone are summarized by I.1 (personal interview, 2019, July 12), I.2 (personal interview, 2019, July 12) and I.3 (personal interview, 2019, July 14) in Section 5.1.1.

As I.8 (personal interview, 2019, July 13) states that driving is the most convenient way to go to the coastal zone, consequently everybody prefers to go to the waterfront by their cars, which results in transformation of roadsides to parking lots (I.8, personal interview, 2019, July 13). I.1’s comment that accessibility of the area by driving is not that easy as well because of the parking issue (personal interview, 2019, July 12) shows parallelism with I.8’s statement above. I.1 says that there is not adequate amount of parking lots in the coastal zone (personal interview, 2019, July 12).

In addition to the comments done by all interviewees in the personal interviews, some statements of I.2 attracts the attention (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He

compares the old and new state of the coastal zone in terms of accessibility and states that the inner city and the coastal zone had integrity in the past, while a highway now (I.2, personal interview, 2019, July 12) divides them. Thus, they cannot be properly connected by any transportation modes anymore. I.2 also mentions the wire mesh areas located between the coastal highway and the coastal road (personal interview, 2019, July 12). He used the word “barrier” for the highway and the phrase “a fenced area which does not let people to reach the sea” for the refuge.

5.3.1.1. Changes in the Sense of Access to Places

In the memories of the citizens of Trabzon, the coastal zone of Trabzon is described as an accessible area for pedestrians. However, the comments done in the personal interviews show that some difficulties to reach the walking trail arise with the construction of the coastal highway. These difficulties are also valid for cyclists. Even though spatial arrangements allow pedestrians and cyclists to be mobile in the coastal zone in the east-west direction – on the walking trail and bicycle road – their vertical mobility between the inner city and the coastal zone is quite low. The coastal zone is more accessible by driving in north-south direction. However, interviewees underline that parking becomes an issue for car owners when they reach the coastal zone. They also express their dissatisfaction about public transportation from the inner city to the coastal zone and on the coastal highway. In short, it can be said that accessibility of the coastal zone has declined from past to present.

Table 9: Comparison of the sense of access based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>Pedestrian accessibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High pedestrian accessibility from the inner city to the coastal zone • Emphasis on mobility of pedestrians between the variety of areas in the coastal zone 	<p>Pedestrian accessibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low pedestrian accessibility from the inner city to the coastal zone <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficulties to reach the walking trail from the inner city ✓ Wire mesh areas located between the coastal highway and the coastal road • Emphasis on the existence of a separate walking trail in the coastal zone • Perception of the coastal highway as a barrier
<p>Cyclist accessibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on cyclist accessibility 	<p>Cyclist accessibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low cyclist accessibility from the inner city to the coastal zone <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Difficulties to reach the bicycle road from the inner city with a bicycle ✓ Wire mesh areas located between the coastal highway and the coastal road • Emphasis on the existence of a separate bicycle road in the coastal zone • Perception of the coastal highway as a barrier

Table 9 (continued): Comparison of the sense of access based on the memories and personal interviews (Source: the author)

Memories	Personal Interviews
<p>Vehicle accessibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on vehicle accessibility 	<p>Vehicle accessibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on convenience of vehicle ownership in terms of accessibility • Emphasis on lack of adequate amount of parking lots in the coastal zone • Transformation of roadsides to parking lots in the coastal zone
<p>Public transportation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on public transportation 	<p>Public transportation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor public transportation routes in terms of speed, comfort and variety of modes from the inner city to the coastal zone • Poor public transportation routes in terms of speed, comfort and variety of modes on the coastal highway

5.4. Conclusions from the Comparison of the Former and Current State of the Coastal Zone

As this chapter includes comparison of the interpretations of citizens about publicity of coastal zone and perception of sea, one can infer the urban design and planning tactics to be applied and not to be applied to produce favorable spaces in the coastal cities with regard to publicity and perception of the sea. Moreover, the assessments done by inhabitants about changes in Trabzon’s waterfront presented a base for local authorities to do self-criticism. Based on the comparative research presented, the success of urban design and urban policy planning practices touch upon the matters mentioned above can be evaluated by their producers.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Until Chapter 6, the effect of the changes in the coastal zone of Trabzon on the perception of sea and publicity of the area is investigated. The reflections of these alterations on inhabitant's image of the coastal zone is studied via analysis of past and present space-related user experiences. Firstly, the theoretical framework of the study is drawn. Three theories on social aspects of space, perception of space and designing quality spaces are synthesized and a trigonal frame of reference is established in which this study can be carried on consistently. Henri Lefebvre's theory named "social space", Kevin Lynch's theory named "the city image" and Kevin Lynch's theory named "good city form" represent corners of this trigonal framework.

Lefebvre presents his conceptual triad for the comprehensive analysis of a given space. Conceived space stand for plans based on visions; perceived space stands for spatial layout based on networks; and lived space based on inhabitant's experiences. To put it another way, while conceived space deals with what is technical, perceived space and lived space deal respectively with what is perceivable and emotional. In this study, the conceived space of Trabzon's waterfront is studied via the spatial land management decisions regarding waterfront in Trabzon's planning history. The perceived and lived spaces of the area are construed by exhaustive examination of space-related experiences of inhabitants.

Lefebvre's proposal remains relatively intangible as it lacks the frame of reference in which the space-related experiences are associated with the physical space. In other words, he gives limited information about how people perceive their living environment mentally and emotionally. At that point, an additional guiding framework is found necessary. Since Kevin Lynch's proposal – The Image of The City – explains people perceive space through specific urban design elements, it is also applied to the

examination of publicity of Trabzon's waterfront and perception of sea. Traces of Lynch's urban design elements are searched both in the memories of inhabitants and results of personal interviews.

How people perceive the waterfront and the sea is examined within the scope of the city image theory. However, when it comes to how people evaluate changes in the area, a set of criteria is needed to analyze whether the coastal zone have changed for the better or not in terms of the subject matters mentioned above. Performance dimensions that Lynch presents in his proposal – A Theory of Good City Form – are quite useful to compare past and present space-related experiences in terms of spatial quality. Not surprisingly, it is observed that spatial quality of the coastal zone is associated with its public characteristics and perception of sea both in the memories and personal interviews.

In the light of the outcomes of the comparative analysis done within the scope of the theoretical framework presented above, this study leads one to a threefold conclusion:

- Getting feedback from users of an area about their perceptual and emotional status arising from its spatial arrangement is vital for creation of favorable urban spaces.
- Preserving public character of the coastal zone and providing clear perception of sea from all over the city are of the greatest importance for a successful coastal city planning.
- In Trabzon case, the public characteristic of the coastal zone and perception of sea have tailed off since Lambert Plan.

The first concluding statement calls for a new perspective to urban planning, which focuses on socio-psychology of the community in the end. In a manner of speaking, this approach to urban planning converges to the participatory planning approach. It is obvious that participation of the community to the urban decision-making processes is necessary; it can be regarded as a precaution to take for planning cities, which answer to the social requests. What is emphasized at this juncture is social impact

assessment. International Association of Impact Assessment (iaia.org, n.d.) defines social impact assessment as follows:

Social Impact Assessment includes the processes of analysing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions. Its primary purpose is to bring about a more sustainable and equitable biophysical and human environment.

The results of the study once again show that every planning decision included in master plans, urban strategy documents or design guides have social consequences; it manifests themselves in inhabitant's perceptual and emotional space-related experiences. Thus, regardless of whether the community participation to urban decision-making process is provided or not, local authorities should research social impact of the urban planning practices.

Even though developing such a planning approach necessitates a much more comprehensive study, it can be stated that Lefebvre's conceptual triad offers a quite purposive point of origin. As it is implied in the name of his theory – social space – it presents the outline of a people-oriented urbanistic perspective going beyond the technical aspects of urban planning. At least for starting, his proposal can be useful for enhancing the existing urban planning policies for the sake of integration of space-related user experiences as a performance indicator to the planning process. Today, 'monitoring and evaluation' as a whole is an inseparable part of the preparation processes of any kind of strategy or policy documents, such as national or regional development plans, institutional or corporate strategic plans, project proposals and so on. Considering that spatial plans are urban policy documents in the form of contemplated illustrations rather than elaborative texts, they should be monitored and evaluated as well. More importantly, it should never be overlooked that local authorities are obliged to work for the sake of public interest. In addition, the urban services they provide influence community faster and more directly than central government's decisions because of their local nature. Thus, it is crucial to assess social effects of their actions.

In one sense, this thesis can be regarded as a pilot study of using Lefebvre's triad as a base for monitoring and assessment of spatial plans by getting feedback from users of a specified area. Lefebvre's three levels of social space is examined in the case of the coastal zone of Trabzon in the simplest terms as it is mentioned above. The study results validate Lefebvre's argument that these three levels are indeed completing each other. While citizen's perception of their environment is analyzed from their space-related experiences in the memories, a whole range of references to the main concepts of Lambert Plan regarding the coastal zone and the sea is found. As expected, the personal, sociocultural, emotional and symbolic meanings attained to the certain places and routes are quite visible too. Thus, this study shows that with the help of Lynch's theories about perception and quality of space, Lefebvre's triad can provide local authorities with the opportunity to assess social impacts of urban spaces produced by spatial plans and develop their planning tactics accordingly (see: Figure 63).

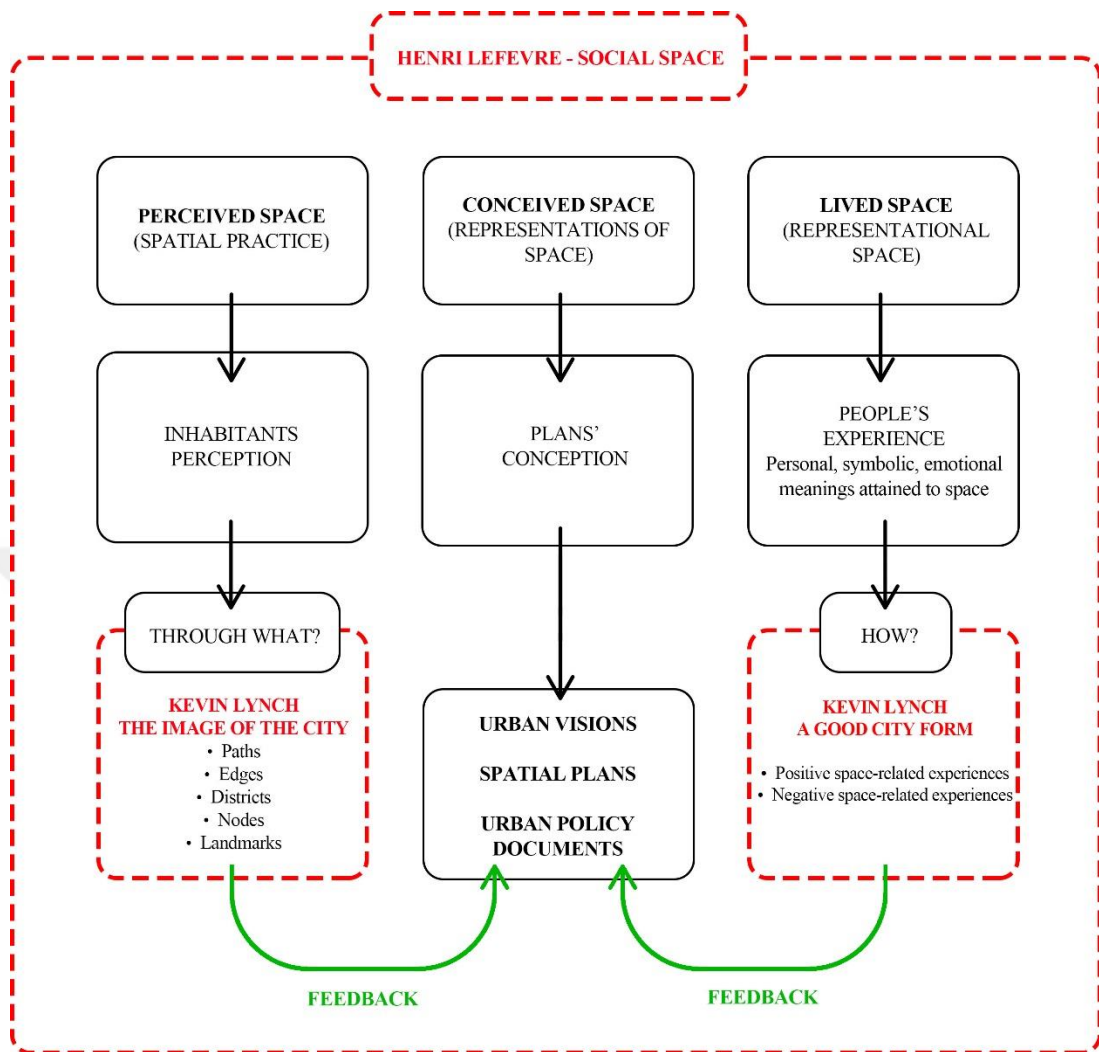


Figure 63: An outline for a people-oriented urbanistic perspective based on Lefebvre’s Triad (Source: prepared by the author)

The second concluding statement identified with the study is that preserving public character of the coastal zone and providing clear perception of sea from all over the city are of the greatest importance for a successful coastal city planning. As it is detailedly explained in Chapter 5, the comparison of the memories and the results of personal interviews shows that there is a discontentment in the limelight about these two issues. Coastal zone of Trabzon is out of use; it has no ability to gather citizens together; it is detached from the city by a transit highway; it is not accessible; it does

not meet socio-cultural demands of the society; it lacks the functional diversity. The sea is hard to perceive both from the coastal zone and the inner city mostly due to the incongruous urban planning exercises to the topography and unorganized street network. There are no facilities or open spaces to enjoy the sea view neither in the coastal zone nor in the inner city.

In addition to the discontentment about the current situation, a nostalgia to the former state of the coastal zone comes into prominence. Well-known public facilities, organically formed open public areas, beaches as gathering places located in the coastal zone of old Trabzon are highly appreciated. Citizens of Trabzon long for the identity, lively but peaceful environment and socio-cultural dynamics that these areas create. The streets directly going down to the sea, houses looking across the sea, open-air public areas to enjoy the sea in view Trabzon are remembered with fondness. Besides, spatial arrangements of waterfronts of some cities are regarded as good practices. Interviewees do some good comments regarding Batumi's coastal zone. Also, some of them state that in some cities in the Black Sea Region, the coastal highway passes through in the southern parts of the city so these cities can preserve the neutrality of their coastal zone and it can serve as an open public space.

The discontentment about the current situation and the nostalgia to the former state of the coastal zone give local authorities some clues of successful and unsuccessful urban planning tactics for coastal cities in terms of publicity of the coastal zone and perception of the sea. The traces of these two concepts in inhabitant's memories match some concepts of Lambert Plan and they are perceived via elements that Lynch reveals; and they create favorable images in sensory of inhabitants (see: Figure 64). Contrary to this, current state of the coastal zone is highly disfavored and local authorities criticized severely by inhabitants. Thus, from the viewpoint of citizens of Trabzon, Lambert's vision and urban planning tactics serve as a model to create a coastal zone which has a strong public characteristic and to plan a coastal city embracing the sea functionally and visually. Likewise, their criticisms and interpretations about recent interventions to Trabzon City and specifically to the coastal zone give hints of which urban policies should be avoided. It is also necessary

to say that, the spatial quality of the coastal zone has also decreased in some other manners apart from the publicity of the coastal zone and perception of the sea. Since these issues fall under the context of sense, one of the spatial quality dimensions of Lynch, are examined under this category. In this study, the changes in sense of safety, sustenance, consonance and the accessibility of the coastal zone is also analyzed based on user experiences. The results of these analysis provide additional data, which can be used for increasing favorability of Trabzon's waterfront.



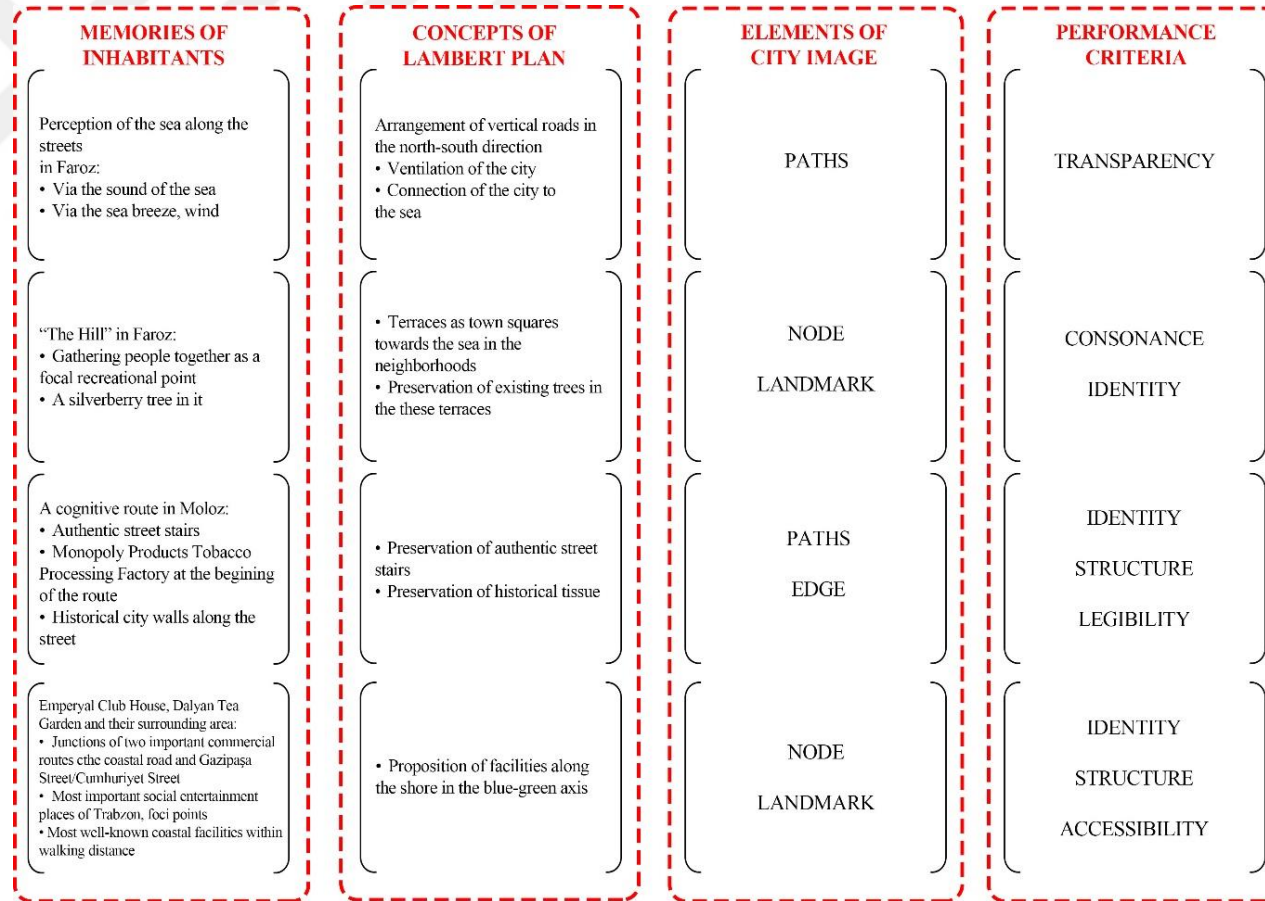


Figure 64: The traces of Lambert Plan’s concepts and Lynch’s five perceptual elements (Source: the author)

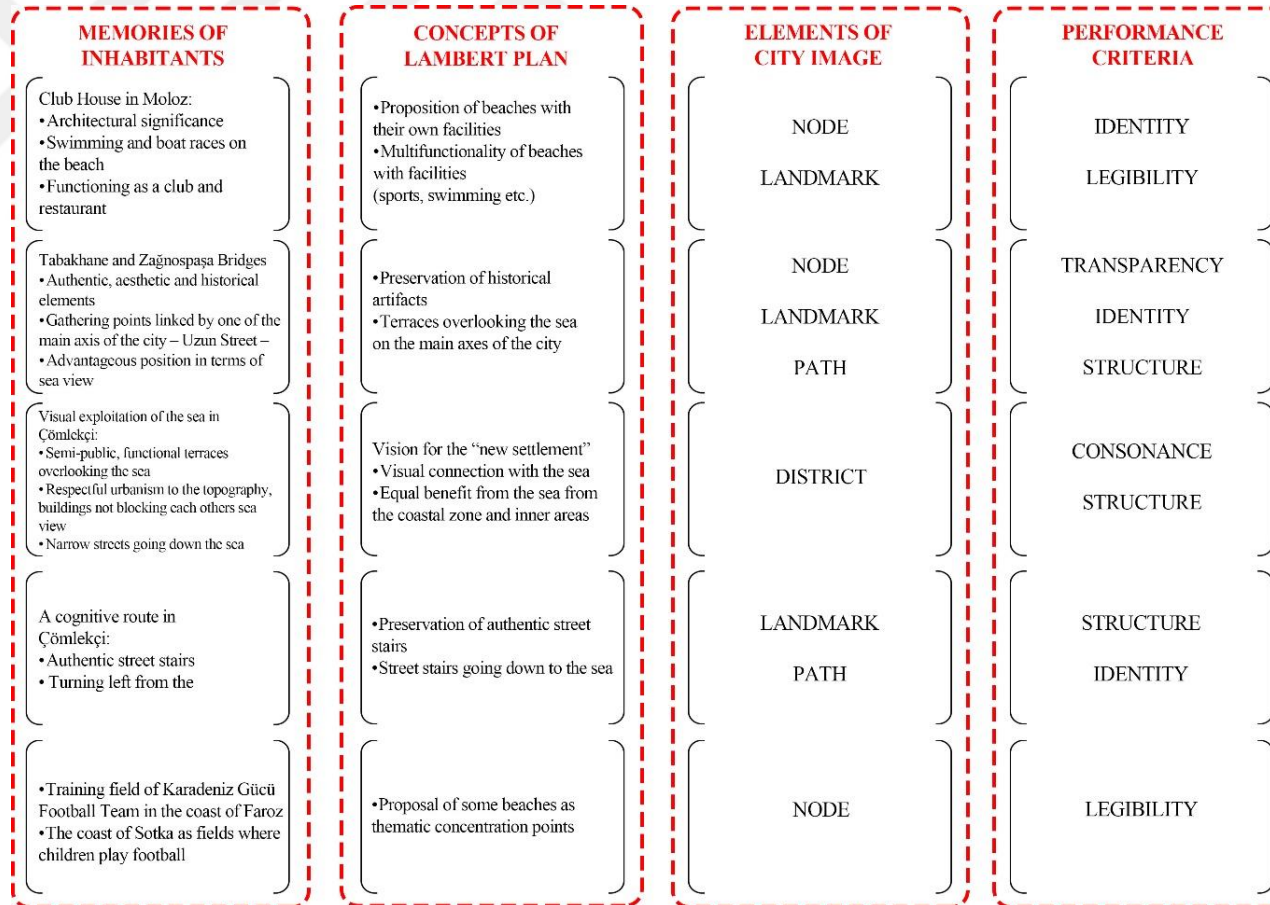


Figure 65: The traces of Lambert Plan’s concepts and Lynch’s five perceptual elements (Source: the author)

The last concluding statement is merely about the case study; Trabzon's coastal zone. Comparison of the memories and personal interviews show that public characteristic of the coastal zone and perception of sea in Trabzon have tailed off since Lambert Plan. The coastal zone has become an unpreferable area for recreational and social uses as it lacks necessary sanitary infrastructure, means of transportation and decent spatial arrangements. At the same time, Trabzon city as a whole has transformed into a city which is defined as "the city turns its back to the sea" because of the incongruous urbanization to the topography, disfigurement of the street network and overdone embankment works. Its identity has faded away in the course of time.

All in all, the urban intervention which has caused the greatest damage to the publicity of the coastal zone and the perception of the sea has been the coastal highway. As a result of the comparison of memories and personal interviews, the main reason for the negative change in socio-spatial dynamics is found to be the coastal highway. The coastal highway not only serves as a barrier separating the sea and the city, but also reduces the quality of the coastal zone in terms of human health and psychology.

Although some of the changes in Trabzon's coastal zone is irreversible such as the damage to the coastal highway, local authorities should seek solutions to revitalize the area as a social and recreational part of the city. At the very least, the pedestrian accessibility to the area should be increased; some socio-cultural facilities should be located in the strategic spots; necessary measures should be taken to prevent factors such as the smell and noise that cause people not to prefer spend their time in the area. In addition, the planning practices should come under review at the urban scale. It should be remembered that Trabzon is a coastal city and the urban policies should be produced accordingly.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKGÇE ÖZET

Bu tez çalışması, yazara Trabzon'da doğmuş ve büyümüş, genel olarak kentin ve Karadeniz ile Trabzon'un kıyı alanının kentsel yaşamdaki yerinin yıllar içindeki değişimine tanıklık etmiş kimseler tarafından aktarılan anılara ve hikayelere dayanmaktadır. Bu anı ve hikayelerde eski Trabzon, denizle bir arada var olan gerçek bir kıyı kenti olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Yazar, mekân kullanıcılarının eski Trabzon ile ilgili anlatımlarında kullandıkları ifadelerden, kıyı alanının Trabzon'un bütün sosyo-kültürel kesimleri tarafından aktif olarak kullanılan, çok fonksiyonlu ve kamusal bir alan olarak kentlilerin hafızalarında oldukça büyük ve güzel bir yere sahip olduğu çıkarımını yapmıştır. Öte yandan yeni Trabzon, Trabzonlular tarafından "denize sırtını dönmüş kent" olarak tanımlanmakta, kentin kıyı alanının erişilemeyen, kullanılmayan, psikolojik olarak hoşnutsuzluk yaratan ve kamusal niteliğini kaybetmiş bir alan haline geldiği belirtilmektedir. Bu gözlemlerden hareketle yazar bu tez çalışması ile, kıyıda meydana gelişen değişiklikleri ve bu değişikliklerin kıyı alanının kamusalılığı ile denizin algılanışı üzerindeki etkilerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu analizin, kentlilerin mekân odaklı kullanıcı deneyimleri üzerinden yapılması hedeflenmektedir.

Çalışmanın kullanıcı deneyimlerine dayanması ve mekânda meydana gelen değişikliklerin sosyo-psikolojik etkilerine odaklanması sebebi ile, vaka çalışması özel örneğinin analizine başlanmadan önce bir dizi sorunun cevaplanması gerekliliğini doğurmuştur. Bu sorulara verilen cevaplar çalışmanın teorik çerçevesini çizmiştir. Bu sorular sırası ile aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Mekân neden sosyal bir kavramdır? (Social space/Sosyal mekân)
- İnsanlar mekânı nasıl algılar? (The Image of the City/Kent İmgesi)

- Mekânda meydana gelen değişikliklerin mekânın algısı üzerindeki etkileri nasıl analiz edilebilir? (İyi kent formu teorisi/A Theory of Good City Form)

İlk sorunun cevabı yazarı Fransız kent sosyoloğu Henri Lefebvre tarafından 1991 yılında ortaya koyulan “sosyal mekân” teorisine götürmüştür. Lefebvre “sosyal mekân” teorisi ile süregelen ikili mekânsal analiz yöntemlerine yeni bir boyut kazandırarak, yeni bir üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırma önermiştir. Lefebvre’e göre sosyal mekân; algılanan mekân, tasarlanan mekân ve yaşanan mekân olmak üzere üç katmanın çakışması ile oluşur. Algılanan mekân fiziksel, maddi ve somut olanı, kısacası dış dünyayı ifade etmektedir. Daha açık bir ifade ile dış dünyanın, tek tek çeşitli konumların, mekânsal setlerinin, ulaşım ağlarının bilinçsizce algılanışı algılanan mekâna konu olmaktadır. Tasarlanan mekân, mekânın planlanma ve düzenlenme biçimidir. Tasarlanan mekân politiktir; kendisini üreten teknokratların veya teknokratların üzerinde yer alan üst aklı, yerel yönetimlerin ideolojilerini içerir. Bu katmanda, mekânın sayısallaştırılması ve temsillerle yüklenmesi söz konusudur. Tasarlanan mekân, üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırma içinde yer alan en dominant mekândır. Lefebvre’in mekânın kavramsallaştırılmasına yaptığı asıl katkı yaşanan mekânı ortaya koymasıdır. Yaşanan mekân insan eylemlerinin, duygularının ve çelişkilerinin gerçekleşme alanıdır. Bir başka ifade ile bu mekân, toplumsal mekândır. Yaşanan mekân onu kullananlar tarafından yaşanan, üretilen, deneyimlenen, zamanla değiştirilen, imgeler, anlamlar ve sembolleri içeren sosyal mekândır.

Lefebvre’in üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırmasında algılanan mekân ve yaşanan mekân vurgusu yapılmakla beraber, bir vaka çalışması düzeyinde bu mekân katmanlarını somutlaştırılmasına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bu noktada devreye Amerikalı şehir plancısı Kevin Lynch’in sırasıyla 1960 ve 1981 yıllarında ortaya koyduğu “kent imgesi” ve “iyi kent formu” teorileri girmektedir. Lefebvre’in “sosyal mekân” teorisinin Trabzon vaka çalışması özel örneğinde uygulanabilmesine yardımcı olmak üzere Lynch’in mekânın algılanması ve kent mekânlarının kalitesine ilişkin teorilerinin seçilmesinin sebebi, Lynch’in kentsel tasarımına yaklaşımının sosyal kullanım geleneğinden gelmesidir. Şehir planlama literatüründe “görsel artistik gelenek” ve “sosyal kullanım geleneği” olmak üzere iki temel kentsel tasarım geleneği

bulunmaktadır. Görsel artistik gelenek kentsel tasarımda görsel kaliteye odaklanırken, sosyal kullanım geleneği kullanıcı deneyimi ve mekânların sosyal kalitesi üzerinde durmaktadır. Kullanıcı deneyimine ve sosyal kaliteye verilen önemden dolayı, bu tez çalışmasında Lynch'in ortaya koyduğu teorilerden yararlanılmıştır.

İkinci araştırma sorusunun cevabı Lynch'in "kent imgesi" teorisi aracılığıyla verilmiştir. Lynch "kent imgesi" teorisinde bir yayanın kent içindeki yolculuğu sırasında kenti 5 element üzerinden algıladığını savunmaktadır. Bu elementler bağlantılar, sınırlar, bölgeler, düğüm noktaları ve nirengi noktalarıdır. Bu tez çalışmasında düğüm noktaları fazladan bir öneme sahiptir. Çünkü düğüm noktalarının kentin uğrak yerleri olmaları, toplanma alanları olmaları, bir araya getirci özellikleri nedeni ile kamusal nitelikleri ön plandadır. Trabzon kıyısını incelerken düğüm noktalarının izini sürmek ve diğer elementlerle ilişkilerini analiz etmek önem arz etmektedir. Lynch'in kent imgesi teorisi anıları ve kişisel görüşmeleri analiz ederken, Lefebvre'in üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırmasında yer alan algılanan mekânın net bir şekilde okunabilmesini sağlamıştır. Anı ve kişisel görüşmelerde yer alan ifadelerde bu elementlerin izlerine çokça rastlanmıştır.

Tez çalışmasının teorik çerçevesi, üçüncü araştırma sorusuna Lynch'in "iyi kent formu" teorisinin verdiği cevap ile tamamlanmıştır. Lynch'in "iyi kent formu" teorisinde mekânın kalitesinin ölçülmesi ile ilgili ortaya koyduğu performans kriterleri, Lefebvre'in üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırmasında yer alan yaşanan mekânın çözümlenmesinde yazara yardımcı olmuştur. Daha önce de ifade edildiği gibi yaşanan mekân kişilerin mekânsal deneyimleri ile ilgili hislerini, düşüncelerini, sembolik anlamları içermektedir. Bu nedenle geçmişten bugüne yaşanan mekânsal değişikliklerin toplumun yaşanan mekânı üzerindeki etkisi Lynch'in belirlediği mekânsal kalite kriterleri üzerinden çalışılmıştır. Lynch "iyi kent formu" teorisinde kaliteli mekânların kalitesini ölçmek üzere beş adet performans kriteri ve iki adet meta-kriter belirlemiştir. Bu performans kriterleri canlılık, duyu, uyum, erişilebilirlik ve kontroldür. Bu tez çalışmasında Trabzon'un kıyı alanının kalitesinin ölçülmesi için performans kriterleri içinden fiziksel özellikler ile ilgili olanlar seçilmiştir. Bu performans kriterleri canlılık, duyu ve erişilebilirliktir. Anılar ve kişisel görüşme

sonuçları bu performans değişkenleri üzerinden karşılaştırılarak kullanıcı deneyimlerinin olumlu yönde değişip değişmediği irdelenmiştir.

Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi çizildikten sonra Trabzon vaka çalışması özel örneğinde belli sorular sorulmuştur. Bu sorular sırasıyla aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Trabzon için yapılan ana planlarda kıyı ve deniz nasıl ele alınmıştır?
- Zaman içinde kıyı ve deniz algısı ile ilgili kullanıcı deneyimleri nasıl değişmiştir?
- Bu deneyimler ışığında, kentlilerin kıyının kamusalılığı ve denizin algılanışını nasıl değerlendirdiği söylenebilir?

Başka bir deyişle, bu tez Lefebvre'in "sosyal mekân" teorisinin Lynch'in "kent imgesi" ve "iyi kent formu" teorileri ile birlikte Trabzon'un kıyı alanına uygulanmasının bir pilot çalışmasıdır. Bu pilot çalışma kapsamında öncelikle Trabzon'un planlama tarihi ve kent için yapılan ana planlarda kıyı alanının ele alınışı incelenmiştir. Daha sonra Trabzon'un merkezinde bulunan Faroz, Sotka, Moloz ve Çömlekçi adlı dört kıyı mahallesinde yaşamış kentlilerin anıları incelenmiş, kentlilerle birebir görüşmeler yapılmış, bu anılarda kıyının kamusalılığının ve deniz algısının izleri aranmıştır. Bulunan izler Lynch'in ortaya koyduğu beş algı elementi ve mekânsal kalite kriterleri üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Daha sonra kıyının kamusalılığı ve deniz algısının günümüzdeki durumunu çözülemek amacıyla sekiz Trabzonlu ile kişisel görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Son olarak ele alınan iki konunun geçmişteki durumları ve günümüzde geldikleri nokta karşılaştırılmalı olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Planlama tarihi boyunca Trabzon için 1938, 1970, 1989 ve 2002 yıllarında dört adet plan yapılmıştır. Bunlardan ilki 1938 yılında Fransız Mimar Jacques H. Lambert tarafında yapılan ve "Lambert Planı" olarak anılan plandır. İlk planlama deneyimi Lambert'in 1937 yılında kenti ziyareti üzerine bazı tespitlerde bulunması ile başlamıştır. Fransız mimarın kent planlamasına ilişkin tespitleri aşağıdaki gibi özetlenebilir:

- Ulaşım akslarının birleştiği bir kent merkezi bulunmamaktadır.
- Kent merkezi bir kent bahçesi görünümündedir.
- Ana ulaşım aksları belirlenmemiştir.
- Ticaret alanları oldukça dağınıktır ve tek bir alanda yoğunlaşmamaktadır.
- Yapılar avantajlı konumları sebebi ile görsel anlamda etkileyici bir deniz manzarasına bakmaktadır ve kentin doğal peyzajı oldukça etkileyicidir.
- Trabzon'da deniz manzarasının tadının çıkarılabileceği bazı alanlar bulunmaktadır.

Bu gözlemlere dayanarak Lambert planında bazı ana kararlara yer vermiştir; kent meydanının oluşturulması, denize paralel ve dik ana yollar açılması, denize dik ana yollar olan Atatürk ve Cumhuriyet Caddelerinin bitişlerinde denize nazır balkonlar oluşturulması, kentin batısında yeni bir yerleşim alanı önerilmesi, açık yeşil alanlar sisteminin oluşturulması. Özellikle denize dik yollar, yeni yerleşim alanı ve açık alanlar sisteminin oluşturulması deniz ile kenti birbirine bağlamak ve kıynın kente kamusal bir alan olarak hizmet etmesini sağlamak amacıyla ortaya konulan plan kararlarıdır.

Denize dik ana yolların açılması ile kenti denize bağlamak ve kentin havalandırılması amaçlanmaktadır. Atatürk ve Cumhuriyet Caddelerinin sonunda denize nazır balkonlar önerilmiş, deniz manzarasından faydalanan kamusal alanlar önerilmiştir. Ayrıca, Lambert'in "denize nazır, müteaddit mahalle meydanları" olarak tanımladığı odak noktaları planın önerileri arasındadır. Bu alanlarda yer alan çınar ağaçlarının korunması özel olarak belirtilmiştir. Lambert Avrupa kıyı kentlerinin planlarında esinlenerek batıda önerilen yeni yerleşim alanı için özel bir planlama kodu geliştirmiştir. Bu kod, yerleşim alanının iç kesimlerinde yaşayan kentlilerin de deniz havası ve manzarasından kıydaki bir kentli kadar yararlanabilmesini sağlamak için eğimin bir avantaj olarak kullanılması ve birbirinin manzarasını kapamayan yapıların inşasını önermektedir.

Lambert'in açık yeşil alanlar sistemi kıyıda önerdiği mavi yeşil aks içinde organize edilmiştir. Bu yaya öncelikli aks, doğuda İncirlik Parkı'ndan batıda Ayasofya Kilisesi'ne kadar uzanmaktadır. Mavi yeşil aksın denize dik yollarla kesiştiği yerlerde özel peyzaj düzenlemeleri önerilmiş, bu alanlar denizle direk bağlantısı olan meydanlar olarak düşünülmüştür. Ayasofya Kilisesi'nin çevresinde ise, içinde sanat galerileri ve müzeler olan bir kampüs önerilmiştir. Ayrıca bu aks boyunca çeşitli fonksiyonlara sahip plajlar konumlandırılmıştır. Bu plajlardan bazıları Ganita Plajı, Ayasofya Plajı, Uzer Park Plajı ve Halk Plajı'dır. Bu plajların gazino, restoran, tekne yarışları için ufak marinalar, soyunma kabinleri gibi kendilerine ait tesisleri bulunmaktadır. Plan döneminin sonuna gelindiğinde planın ulaşım ve kent ekonomisi ile ilgili temel kararları uygulanmış, geri kalan plan kararları ancak belirli ölçülerde hayata geçirilebilmiştir.

Görüldüğü üzere Lambert Planı'nda Lynch'in ortaya koyduğu algı elementlerinin izlerine rastlanmaktadır. Ulaşım akslarının kesiştiği odak alanları "düğüm noktaları" olarak tanımlayan Lynch'in kurgusu, mavi yeşil aksın denize dik yollarla kesiştiği yerlerde özel peyzaj düzenlemeleri ile önerilen meydanlar ile ilişkilidir. Ayrıca Lynch, bağlantıların düğüm noktaları ile birebir mekânsal ilişki halinde olduğunu savunmaktadır. Lambert'in deniz algısının çok güçlü olduğu meydan önerilerinin ulaşım akslarının kesişim veya son noktalarında bulunması, Lynch'in tezini çağrıştırmaktadır. Ek olarak, zaman içinde anıt ağaca dönüşme potansiyeline ağaçların bu meydanlar, bir başka deyişle düğüm noktaları içinde yer alması, kent kimliğini güçlendiren öğeler olarak nirengi noktalarının düğüm noktaları içinde konumlandırılması ile bu alanların kamusal ve toplumsal anlamda birleştirici niteliklerinin desteklenmesi anlamına gelmektedir. Lambert Planı'nın Lynch'in yalnızca "kent imgesi" teorisinde yer alan kavramları değil, aynı zamanda "iyi kent formu" teorisinde yer alan kalite kriterlerini de gözettiği söylenebilir. Ulaşım akslarının yaya öncelikli düşünülmesi ve kuvvetli bağlantıları erişilebilirliği artırmaktadır. Denizin kent içinden algılanmasına yönelik hava koridorları olarak denize dik yollar ve denize nazır mahalle meydanları önerileri, Lynch tarafından

“duyu” olarak nitelendirilen kalite kriterine atıfta bulunmaktadır. Lambert Planı’nda burada örneklenen teorik bağlantılar gibi birçok bağlantı bulunmaktadır.

Trabzon’un deneyimlediği ikinci ve üçüncü planlama süreçleri sırasıyla 1970 ve 1989 yıllarında onanan Trabzon İmar Planı ve Trabzon İlave Revizyon Planıdır. 1970 yılında kabul edilen imar planı İller Bankası’nın ulusal ölçekte düzenlediği bir yarışmanın kazanan ekibi tarafından 1/20000, 1/5000 ve 1/1000 ölçeklerinde hazırlanmıştır.

Bu plan, yeni planlama önerileri geliştirmekten ziyade nüfus artışının beraberinde getirdiği plansız gelişmeyi kontrol altına alacak belirli standartlar belirleme amacı taşımaktadır. Trabzon’un kıyı alanı Lambert Planında olduğu gibi öncelikli bir planlama alanı değildir. Trabzon İmar Planı’na göre sahil yolu Lambert’in öngördüğünden farklı bir şekilde, şehirlerarası araç kullanımına yönelik bir yol olarak düşünülmüştür. Bu durum beraberinde sahil boyunca plansız yapılaşmayı getirmiştir. Bağlı olarak kıyının doğal, kamusal, rekreasyonel özelliklerinin korunması oldukça zor hale gelmiştir. Öte yandan, kıyıda yeşil alanların geliştirilmesi, kentin güneyine doğru iki yaya aksının önerilmesi ve kıyının rekreatif bir kamusal alan olarak kente bağlanması önerilmiştir.

Trabzon’un planlama tarihi içinde yapılan üçüncü plan olan Trabzon İlave Revizyon Planı var olan planın revizyonudur. Bu planın yapımı ile artan nüfusun ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması, problemler alanlar için noktasal çözümler üretilmesi hedeflenmektedir. Planda kıyı alanı ile ilgili belirli planlama kararları bulunmamaktadır. Kıyı, artan nüfusun rekreasyonel ihtiyacını karşılamaya yönelik bir alan olarak düşünülmemiştir.

Trabzon için hazırlanan son imar planı 2002 yılında onanan Trabzon İlave Revizyon Planıdır. Bu planın kent merkezinin kimliğinin yeniden tesisi, vadilerin açık yeşil alanlar olarak değerlendirilmesi, doğal ve tarihi değeri olan alanların çevresinde geçiş alanlarının tesis edilmesi, güneyde yeni bir çevre yolu gibi bazı önerileri bulunmaktadır. Lambert Planı’ndan sonra kıyı alanını özel olarak ele alan ilk planlama çalışması bu planlama çalışmasıdır. Yeni sahil yolu projesi kapsamında kıyının yeniden düzenlenmesi önerilmiştir. Bu düzenleme bir marina, balıkçı barmakları,

kıyıda yeşil alanlar için ayrılmış geniş alanlar, fuar alanı gibi bir dizi operasyonu içermekte, bu operasyonlar ile kıyının kamusal niteliğinin güçlendirilmesi ve çok fonksiyonlu bir hale gelmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Lambert Planı'nın aksine, ikinci, üçüncü ve dördüncü planlama deneyimlerinde Lynch'in iki teorisinde kentin algılanışı ve mekân kalitesi ile ilgili olarak ortaya koyulan kavramların nüvelerine rastlanamamaktadır.

Trabzon'un planlama tarihinde kıyı alanı ve deniz algısı vurgusunun incelenmesinin ardından, Trabzon kıyı alanında yer alan dört kıyı mahallesinde yaşayan Trabzonluların anıları kıyının kamusalılığı ve denizin algılanışını bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu mahalleler Faroz (Yalı Mahallesi), Sotka (Hızırbey Mahallesi), Moloz ve Çömlekçi'dir. Anıların değerlendirilmesi, Lambert Planı'nda yer alan kavramlar ve Lynch'in beş algı elementi ve kalite kriterleri üzerinden yapılmıştır. Bir başka ifadeyle, teorik çerçevede öne sürülen tezler, Trabzonlu mekân kullanıcılarının deneyimleri üzerinden test edilmiştir. Kentlilerin anılarında, çalışmanın teorik çerçevesinin temel nüvelerine sıklıkla rastlanması, mekân kullanıcılarının dış dünyanın algılanmasında Lynch'in öne sürdüğü elementlerden yararlandığını doğrulamıştır. Ek olarak, anılarda kullanılan ifadelerin Lynch'in "iyi kent formu" teorisi kapsamında belirlediği mekânsal kalite kriterlerine referans vermesi, Trabzon vaka çalışması özel örneğinde bu teorinin uygulamasının da başarılı sonuç verdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Anıların incelenmesi sonucunda açığa çıkan bazı algı durumları aşağıda özetlenmiştir.

Tipik bir balıkçı kasabası görünümünde olan Faroz ve kentin surlar dışında gelişen ilk yerleşimlerinden biri olan Sotka ile ilgili anılarda, sokaklardan denizin algılanışının net olması ile ilgili referanslara bolca rastlanmaktadır. İki mahallede de denize dik açılan sokaklardan, Trabzon'a özgü merdivenli sokaklardan, kıyının ve kıyıda yer alan plajlar, toplanma noktaları gibi alanların erişilebilirliğinden, kıyının özellikle kadınlar ve çocuklar için sosyal öneminden bahsedilmektedir. Bu ifadelerden açıkça anlaşılacağı gibi, yukarıda açıklanan Lambert'in deniz ve kent bağlantısının sağlanmasına ilişkin önerilerinin ve Lynch'in teorik çerçevesinin temelini oluşturan

kavramlarının mekân odaklı anılardaki izleri oldukça görünürdür. Ek olarak anılarda bazı bilişsel rotalara rastlamak mümkündür. Bu rotalar Lynch'in kriterleri üzerinden algılanmaktadır. Örneğin anılarda, Sotka sınırları içinde yer alan Tekel Ürünleri İşleme Atölyesi'nden başlayan, yol boyunca tarihi surların devam ettiği ve denize çıkan bir rota tanımlanmıştır. Bu rotanın mekânsal okuması kullanıcı tarafından, mimari ve fonksiyonel özellikleri ile çevresindeki kentsel dokudan ayrışan bir nirengi noktası olarak Tekel Ürünleri İşleme Atölyesi ile bir sürekliliği ve eski-yeni yerleşimlerin ayrışmasını ifade bir sınır olarak tarihi surlar üzerinden yapılmaktadır. Benzer şekilde Faroz'la ilgili anılarda kıyıda Ayasofya Plajı'na kadar devam eden gece yürüyüşü rotasından bahsedilmektedir. Bu rota, hareketliliği ve erişimi vurgulayan bir bağlantı ögesi olarak kıyı yolu ile kıyı yolunun sonunda kentin simgelerinden biri olması sebebi ile bir nirengi noktası olarak Ayasofya Kilisesi üzerinden algılanmaktadır. Anılarda tanımlanan bilişsel rotalar haricinde bazı belirli alanlara ilişkin ifadeler de Lambert Planı'nın konseptlerine ve Lynch'in tanımladığı elementlerin referanslarına rastlamak mümkündür. Faroz'da yer alan, denizi gören konumda bulunan, mahallelinin toplanma noktası olduğu belirtilen ve "Tepe" olarak anılan alan ve içindeki yer alan ağacın gölgesine yapılan vurgu, Lynch'in düğüm noktası ve nirengi noktası tanımlamalarına uygundur. Ek olarak, Lambert'in denize nazır mahalle meydanları önerisini de akla getirmektedir.

Moloz Mahallesi'nin kentin ticari merkezi olması sebebi ile anılarda tanımlanan rotalar ticari özelliklere sahiptir. Örneğin Kadınlar Pazarı ve Mumhaneönü Meydanı gibi kentin ticari merkezlerinin rota üstünde yer alan uğrak noktalar olarak tanımlandığı alışveriş rotası, deniz kenarında ahşap balıkçı tezgahlarının kurulduğu bir alanla sona ermektedir. Bu alan insanların bir araya geldiği, denizi seyrederken balık yediği ve sohbet ettiği bir yer olarak tariflenmektedir. Balıkçı tezgahlarından başlayan ve sahil yolunun açılmasından sonra ticari yapıların cephelerinin yön değiştirmesi ile etkisini kaybeden Yalıhan Sokağı'na paralel bir şekilde kıyı boyunca devam eden bir başka rota, Dalyan Çay Bahçesi ile son bulmaktadır. Bu noktada şehrin denize dik iki ana caddesi olan Cumhuriyet ve Gazipaşa Caddeleri'nin ikisinin de sonunda kentin en önemli rekreasyonel tesislerinin bulunduğu hatırlanması

önemlidir. Bu tesisler sırası ile Dalyan Çay Bahçesi ve Emperyal Gazinosu'dur. Sotka ve Faroz Mahallelerine ilişkin anılarda yer alan rotalarda olduğu gibi, Moloz sınırları içinde yer alan rotalarda da mekânın algılanışının Lynch'in algı öğeleri üzerinden gerçekleştiği açıktır. Düğüm noktaları olarak karşımıza balıkçı tezgahları, Dalyan Çay Bahçesi ve kendine ait bir plajı bulunan Emperyal Gazinosu, Lambert Planı'nda önerilen mavi-yeşil aks içinde önerilen tesisleri anımsatmaktadır.

Son olarak incelenen anılar Çömlekçi Mahallesi'nin yerlilerine aittir. Bu anılarda sıklıkla ve önemle vurgulanan mahalleye özgü özellik, evlerin teraslı oluşudur. Üzerine kurulu olduğu arazi oldukça engebeli olan Çömlekçi'de topoğrafyanın denizden görsel anlamda yararlanılması anlamında bir avantaj olarak kullanıldığı, mekân kullanıcılarının anılarında kullandıkları ifadelerden rahatlıkla çıkarılabilmektedir. Teraslar özellikle kadınlar için sembolik anlamlar taşıyor. Teraslar yalnızca deniz manzarasından faydalanmayı kolaylaştıran yarı kamusal alanlar değil, aynı zamanda kültürel yapı nedeni ile kıyı kullanımını kısıtlanan kadınların sosyal hayatında önemli bir yer tutan kamusal alanlardır. Teraslar, mahalle kadınlarının bir araya geldiği, günlük aktivitelerinin bir kısmını gerçekleştirirken denizden duysal anlamda da yararlanabildiği anılar olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Açıkça görülmektedir ki, Çömlekçi Mahallesi'nin kentsel yerleşimi veya daha açık bir ifadeyle mahalleyi şekillendiren “teras evler” düzeni, Lambert'in önerdiği yeni yerleşim alanı için geliştirdiği, denizden görsel anlamda yararlanılmasında sosyal adaletin sağlanması üzerine kurulu olan planlama vizyonuyla örtüşmektedir.

Trabzon'un kıyı alanının ve denizin algılanışının geçmiş durumu, Trabzon'un kıyı mahallelerinde yaşamış Trabzonluların anılarının incelenmesi ile çözümlendikten sonra, bu konularda meydana gelen değişimlerin analiz edilebilmesi için sekiz Trabzonlu ile kişisel görüşme yapılmıştır. Görüşmelerde Lynch'in “iyi kent formu” teorisi ile belirlediği mekânsal kalite kriterleri üzerinden kıyı alanının kentlilerin beklentilerini karşılayıp karşılamadığı araştırılmıştır. Özellikle duyu kriterinin bir alt başlığı olan yapı kriterinin Lynch'in algı elementleri üzerinden kentin algılanışı konusunu içermesi, anılarda önemle üzerinde durulan bu elementlere bağlı olarak

çevrenin algılanışı konusunun kapsam dışında kalmasını önlemiş ve zaman karşılaştırılmalı bir analizi olanaklı kılmıştır.

Mekânın temizliği, fiziksel ve psikolojik güvenliği ile insan doğasına uyumu gibi biyolojik gereksinimlerin ele alınan alan tarafından karşılanıp karşılanmadığını ölçen canlılık kriterinin geçmişteki ve günümüzdeki durumları anıların ve kişisel görüşme sonuçları üzerinden incelendiği zaman, bu anlamda Trabzon'un kıyı alanında olumsuz değişiklikler geldiği söylenebilmektedir. Anılarda güvenli, yaya erişimine açık, kadınlar ve çocuklar gibi hassas sosyal gruplar için kullanılabilir bir alan olarak tanımlanan kıyı, günümüzde tam tersi bir algı yaratmaktadır. Ek olarak geçmişte temizliği ve berraklığı ile ön plana çıkan denizin, bugün kanalizasyon atıklarının kontrolsüz boşaltımı nedeni ile kirlenmiş durumda olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Su kirliliği ciddi bir hava kirliliğine yol açmakta, meydana gelen koku sebebi ile kentliler kıyıyı günlük hayatları içinde kullanmayı tercih etmemektedirler. Ek olarak, kıyı alanının hemen güneyinde yer alan şehirlerarası sahil yolundaki yoğun araç trafiği nedeni ile kıyı alanında yoğunlaşan egsoz dumanı hava kirliliğine katkı da bulunmaktadır. Sahil yolu ciddi bir gürültü kirliliği sorununa da yol açmaktadır. Anılarda temiz, huzurlu, sakin, sosyalleşmeye imkan sağlayan kıyı alanı, kişisel görüşme sonuçlarına göre günümüzde tam tersi bir görünüm sergilemektedir.

Mekânın insanın algısına, zihnine, kültürel yapısına uyumu anlamına gelen duyu kalite kriteri bağlamında yapılan karşılaştırmalı incelemede, kıyı alanının bu anlamda da mekânsal kalitesini yitirdiği gözlemlenmektedir. Kişisel görüşmelerde geçmişte kıyı alanının kimlik oluşumuna katkı sağlayan alanlar, aktiviteler, tesisler ve sosyal dinamiklerin yok oluşunun kıyı alanını kimliksiz bir hale getirdiği ifade edilmektedir. Ek olarak kıyıda bir tam gün boyunca vakit geçirmeyi teşvik edecek çeşitli fonksiyonlara sahip alanların bulunmadığı, kıyı alanında yer alan farklı alan ve tesislerin birbiri ile mekânsal ilişkisinin ve bütünlüğünün bulunmadığı, tarihi dokusu ve kent simgeleri tahrip edilen şehir silüetinin görsel anlamda rahatsızlık yaratarak insanları kıyıda vakit geçirmekten soğuttuğu sıkça vurgulanmıştır. Denizi kent içinden algılamanın mümkün olmadığı, bununla beraber kıyı alanında da dalga sesi, deniz kokusu gibi etkenlere bağlı olarak denizin varlığının hissedilemediği dile getirilmiştir.

Anılarda ise, kişisel görüşmelerde kullanılan bu ifadeler zıt olarak kıyı, çok fonksiyonlu, kamusal bir alan olarak tanımlanmakta, Trabzon'un bir kıyı kenti oluşunun kentin mekânsal yapısı sayesinde rahatlıkla hissedildiği, denizin rahatça algılandığı vurgulanmaktadır. Günümüzde mekân kullanıcıları kıyıyı yalnızca şehir içi ve şehirlerarası ulaşım fonksiyonuna sahip bir alan olarak görmektedir.

Son olarak incelenen kalite kriteri erişilebilirliktir. Minimum zaman ve efor harcayarak maddi ve sosyal ihtiyaçlara erişebilmeyi ifade eden erişilebilirlik kriteri, yaya erişimi, bisiklet ile erişim, araç erişimi ve toplu taşıma bağlamında anılarda ve kişisel görüşmelerde mekân kullanıcıları tarafından kullanılan ifadeler üzerinden karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu karşılaştırmanın sonuçları kıyıya yaya erişilebilirliğinin azaldığını ortaya koymuştur. Kıyı ile kent arasında yalnızca alt ve üst geçitler ile sağlanabilen yaya erişimi, alt ve üst geçitlerin güvensiz ve sağlıksız olması sebebi ile kolaylıkla gerçekleştirilememektedir. Kıyıya bisikletle erişim konusunda da durum aynıdır. Kıyı alanında doğu batı doğrultusunda yaya ve araç trafiğinden ayrıştırılmış bir bisiklet yolunun ve bisiklet kiralama sisteminin olması mekân kullanıcıları tarafından olumlu değerlendirilmekle beraber, kentten kıyıya kişisel bisikletle ulaşımın çok zor olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Kuzey güney yönünde kişisel araç ile erişim, kıyıda otomatik park sorunu nedeni ile aynı ölçüde zordur. Ek olarak hem kıyı boyunca doğu batı doğrultusunda, hem de kent ve kıyı arasında kuzey güney doğrultusunda, Trabzon'un toplu taşıma sisteminin yetersiz olduğu kişisel görüşmelerde sıkça dile getirilmiştir.

Çalışmanın başında çatisı Lefebvre'in üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırması ile çatisı kurulan ve Lynch'in "kent imgesi" ve "iyi kent formu" teorileri ile desteklenen teorik çerçevenin çizilmesi ile bu çerçeve içinde Trabzon vaka çalışmasının karşılaştırmalı analizinin yapılması, çalışma sonucunda üç temel çıkarım yapılmıştır. Bu çıkarımlar sırası ile aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Mekânsal kalitesi yüksek alanlar planlayabilmek için, mekân kullanıcılarından mekân algılayış biçimleri ve mekânsal düzenlemeden kaynaklanan duygu durumlarına ilişkin geri dönüş almak kritik öneme sahiptir.

- Kıyı kentlerinin planlanmasında, kıyı alanının kamusal bir nitelik kazandırılması ve denizin kent içinden algılanabilirliğinin sağlanması bir önkoşul olmalıdır.
- Trabzon vaka çalışması özelinde, kıyının kamusalılığı ve denizin kent içinden algılanışı zaman içinde yok olmuştur.

Çalışmanın sonunda ulaşılan ilk sonuç, yerel yönetimler tarafından hazırlanan imar planlarının strateji ve politika belgeleri olduğunu hatırlatmakta ve bu belgelerin sosyal etki ölçümünün yapılması gerekliliğini vurgulamaktadır. Unutulmamalıdır ki, yerel yönetimler kamu yararı için çalışan kurumlardır ve misyonlarına ulaşmak için kullandıkları en güçlü araç kent planlamadır. Hazırlanan çeşitli ölçekteki planlar, yalnızca kentlerin mekânsal düzenini oluşturmamakta, aynı zamanda uygulandıkları yerelliklerde ciddi sosyo-kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Bugün, çeşitli kamu kurumları ve işletmeler tarafından hazırlanan kurumsal strateji planlarının, politika belgelerinin, proje dosyalarının üretim ve uygulama süreçlerinde, izleme, değerlendirme ve etki ölçümü sürece dahil edilmektedir. Bir kentsel politika dokümanı olarak imar planlarının da izlenmesi, değerlendirilmesi ve sonuçlarının ölçülmesi, kaliteli mekânların üretilebilmesi için kriti derecede önemlidir.

Kentliler için sağlıklı, güvenli ve insan psikolojisine uygun mekânlar üretme amacı taşıyan imar planlarının bu amaca ulaşp ulaşmadığını tespit edebilmek için, bu çalışmada kullanılan teorik çerçeve ve uygulama yöntemi planlama disiplinine bir altlık sağlamaktadır. Çalışma sonuçları Trabzon'un planlama tarihi içinde uygulanan planların başarılı ve başarısız planlama yaklaşım, strateji ve taktiklerini, sistematik bir şekilde analiz etmiş ve mekân kullanıcılarının gözünden ortaya koymuştur. Son tahlilde şu sonuca varılmaktadır; Lefebvre'in üçlü mekânsal kavramsallaştırması Lynch'in ortaya koyduğu teoriler ile bu tez çalışmasında uygulanan biçimde desteklendiği takdirde, imar planlarını sosyal etki ölçümünün yapılabilmesi ve kaliteli kent mekânlarının üretilebilmesi için başarılı bir çerçeve ortaya koymaktadır.

Çalışma sonucunda varılan ikinci sonuç, kıyı kentlerinin planlanması ile ilişkilidir. Anılarda ve kişisel görüşmelerde mekan kullanıcıları tarafından kullanılan ifadeler,

kıyının kamusallığının ve bir kıyı kentinde denizin varlığının net bir şekilde hissedilmesinin kullanıcılar için çok önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Lambert Planı'nın kenti denize bağlamayı ve kıyının kamusal bir alan olarak kente kazandırılmasını amaçlayan stratejileri ile kentlilerin anılarında kamusal ve denizin algılanışı Lynch'in algı elementleri ve kalite kriterleri üzerinde yorumlandığında, bu teorilerin uygulamada karşılık bulduğu doğrulanmıştır. Ek olarak planlama stratejileri doğrudan hedef kitle gözünden değerlendirilmiş, başarılı ve başarısız olanlar somut göstergelerle ortaya konmuştur. Lambert Planı'nın uygulanmakta olduğu, kıyının kamusal bir alan olarak kente hizmet ettiği ve denizin erişilebilir ve algılanabilir olduğu dönemde kullanıcı deneyimlerinin olumlu olması, kişisel görüşmelerde Akçaabat ve Batum gibi yerleşimlerin sahil şeritlerinin kamusallığının sıklıkla vurgulanması ve sahilin geçmiş durumuna duyulan özlemin dile getirilmesi, kıyı kentlerinin planlanmasında kıyı ve denizin nasıl ele alınması gerektiği ile ilgili yerel yönetimlere yol göstermektedir.

Son olarak, bu çalışma Trabzon'da kıyının kamusallığının ve denizin kent içinden algılanışının zaman içinde yok olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Mekan kullanıcılarının bakış açısından Trabzon kıyısı, temiz, güvenli, geçmişte halkın aktif olarak kullandığı, toplumsal bütünleşmeyi tetikleyici alan ve tesislerle donatılmış, erişilebilir bir alanken, günümüzde kentten şehirlerarası sahil yolu ile koparılmış, vektör geçirilmeyen, su ve hava kirliliği sebebi ile insan sağlığını tehdit eden, güvenliği tartışılabilir ve atıl bir alandır. Genel olarak Trabzon kenti ise, denizin varlığının kentin her tarafından algılandığı bir kıyı kenti iken, denizin varlığının hissedilemediği "denize sırtını dönmüş" bir kente dönüşmüştür. Ancak, bu sorunların çözümüne yönelik olarak bazı müdahalelerde bulunmak hala mümkündür. Kıyıya yaya erişilebilirliğinin artırılmasına yönelik önlemler almak, denize kanalizasyon atıklarının boşaltımını kontrollü hale getirerek çevre kirliliğinin ve koku sorununun önüne geçmek, dolgu alanlarında kamusal alanlar ve tesisler inşa etmek, kent için yapılan planlama çalışmalarında denizin kent içinden algılanabilir olmasını önkoşul haline getirmek, kent içinde hala var olan otantik öğeleri deniz ve kıyıyla beraber ele

arak mekânsal düzenlemeler yapmak gibi uygulamalarla, Trabzon'un uzun zamandır
küs olduđu Karadeniz ile barışması belirli bir ölçüde sağlanabilir.



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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Muratoğlu
Adı / Name : Elif
Bölümü / Department : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

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TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

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