

**AN INQUIRY INTO NOCTURNAL SPACE:
UNCOVERING THE DARK SIDE OF THE
HISTORICAL KEMERALTI BAZAAR**

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**by
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ABSTRACT

AN INQUIRY INTO NOCTURNAL SPACE: UNCOVERING THE DARK SIDE OF THE HISTORICAL KEMERALTI BAZAAR

This thesis, with its general content, considers night and darkness as determinative factors affecting the use of space and investigates the Historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, which is chosen as the thesis area, together with the user practices. For this research, the thesis examines night spaces, darkness and user practices in the context of social space.

Firstly, the concept of night spaces and darkness were examined and the spatial aspect of the night was tried to be comprehended. Accordingly, darkness has a threatening and uncertain nature and it is associated with fear. That's why it is open to a number of transgressive and illegal acts. These are such as criminal acts, provocation, rape, political opposition, subcultural practices, urban abuse, posters and graffiti etc. Secondly, night spaces and darkness are controlled by the ruling powers or classes. Surveillance is used as a means of control in urban areas with a number of techniques and technologies. Finally, night as a time that supports social practices and creates a profitable space, appears as a place of consumption and leisure activities. In addition, the practices of the users in daily life (de Certeau, 1984) and the socially produced structure of the space (Lefebvre, 1991) were examined and correlated to the night spaces.

In the light of these basic concerns, the night and darkness of the Historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, the practices and social spaces created by the actors who changed and reshaped it were examined. These actors are; vehicles, shops, customers-walkers, cleaning workers, waste material pickers, peddlers, security guards, street animals, graffiti and the atmosphere of bazaar itself. The relationships between the users and the space are reinforced with the concepts of Lefebvre's social space and de Certeau's tactic and strategy. In this direction, the nights and users of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar were evaluated and associated with the concept of night spaces.

Keywords: Night, Darkness, Night Spaces, Social Space, Historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar

ÖZET

GECE MEKANLARI ÜSTÜNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA: TARİHİ KEMERALTI ÇARŞISI'NIN KARANLIK YANINI ORTAYA ÇIKARMAK

Bu tez, genel kapsamıyla, geceyi ve karanlığı mekân kullanımını etkileyen belirleyici birer faktör olarak ele almakta ve tez alanı olarak seçilen Tarihi Kemeraltı Çarşısı bağlamında, kullanıcı pratikleriyle birlikte incelemektedir. Bu araştırma için tez, gece mekanlarını, karanlığı ve kullanıcı eylemlerini sosyal alan bağlamında inceler.

Öncelikle, gece mekanları konsepti ve karanlık incelenerek gecenin mekansal yönü anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Buna göre karanlığın tehdit edici ve belirsiz bir doğası vardır ve korkuyla ilişkilendirilir. Bu yüzden bir dizi transgresif ve yasa dışı eyleme açıktır. Bunlar, suç eylemleri, provokasyon, tecavüz, siyasi muhalefet, alt kültür eylemleri, kentsel alanı kötüye kullanma, posterler ve grafiti vb. gibi eylemlerdir. İkinci olarak, gece mekanları ve karanlık, yönetici erk veya sınıflar tarafından kontrol altında tutulmaya çalışılır. Gözetleme, birtakım teknikler ve teknolojiler ile kentsel alanda kontrol aracı olarak kullanılır. Son olarak, sosyal pratikleri destekleyen ve karlı bir alan yaratan bir zaman olarak gece, tüketim ve etkinlik yeri olarak karşımıza çıkar. Ayrıca kullanıcıların günlük yaşam içindeki pratikleri (de Certeau, 1984) ve mekânın sosyal olarak üretilen yapısı (Lefebvre, 1991) incelenerek gece mekanlarıyla ilişkilendirilmiştir.

Bu temel kaygılar ışığında, Tarihi Kemeraltı Çarşısı'nın geceleri ve karanlığı, onu değiştiren ve yeniden şekillendiren aktörlerin pratikleri ve yarattıkları sosyal mekanlar incelenmiştir. Bu aktörler; araçlar, dükkanlar, müşteriler ve yayalar, temizlik işçileri, atık malzeme toplayıcıları, seyyar satıcılar, güvenlik görevlileri, sokak hayvanları, duvar yazıları ve çarşının kendi atmosferidir. Kullanıcılar ve mekân arasındaki ilişkiler, Lefebvre'nin sosyal mekânı ve De Certeau'nun taktik ve stratejisi kavramları ile pekiştirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Kemeraltı Çarşısı'nın geceleri ve kullanıcıları değerlendirilerek gece mekanları konseptiyle ilişkilendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gece, Karanlık, Gece Mekânları, Sosyal Mekân, Tarihi Kemeraltı Çarşısı.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the Study

This thesis begins with wondering what happens at *Kemeraltı* Bazaar located *İzmir*/Turkey, when night falls. The thesis considers darkness of night as a decisive factor that influences the use of space and determines and directs the actions of users. Although it takes place on the same structural ground, the spaces of the night differ from the spaces of the day. Activities under the light of day begin to disappear with the collapse of darkness. The spaces and social functioning under the daylight changes almost entirely with the darkness. In this way, night produces new spatial grounds and these spaces are stage to different functions and uses.

The general purpose of this thesis is to examine the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar and its nights in the context of social space. This examination shows an up-to-date analysis feature that examines the dark side of today's *Kemeraltı* Bazaar based on its current usage and structural features. In particular, this thesis aims to investigate the role of darkness through its social, spatial, political, and cultural dimensions as a phenomenon that enables the transformation and re-use of space. Therefore, the main questions guiding this thesis are;

- What is the role of night in producing new spaces and practices?
- Who are the users of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar at night and what kind of practices they perform?
- How does the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar seem at night?

This thesis considers the darkness of night as a covering and concealing phenomenon that is shaped by political, ideological and socio-cultural contents. Accordingly, it is possible to examine this covered time interval with its dimensions that reproduce the space and lead to different uses and actions. In this context, besides the physical, political, economic and socio-cultural structure of the bazaar, spatial contents and user practices shaped by the guidance of the night are traced. In the bazaar, daytime hours are active and

busy with the invasion of visitors. In this intensity, invisible or less visible actors become evident at night. It is the subject of research to reveal these actors with their daily practices and to analyze the spatial transformation of this historical bazaar after closing and what it contains. Depending on the night dynamics of the bazaar, the nocturnal actors who makes *Kemeraltı* alive at night and the shape of the built form and its appearance are examined. Likewise, the contents of the bazaar which are living during the day and disappearing at night or hiding during the day and emerging at night and how these practices take place on this spatial basis and the spatial atmosphere of the bazaar are evaluated. In this regard it is tried to be understand what is exactly the face of the bazaar embedded in the dark. Thus, it will be possible reinterpret the dark side (in other words, lesser-known aspect) of the historical bazaar and reveal the spirit that makes *Kemeraltı* special.

The space in which the actions gain meaning can have different relationships at different times. This feature makes the space an area where individuals' activities, and daily practices can be observed. While the actors become visible with the space, the space itself is interpreted by its users. The night and its phenomena the darkness transforms the existing space into another space and direct it. Thence the thesis examines the functioning of the historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, with considering its daytime use, especially the actors that emerge close to shutting down and after closure and the relationship between these actors and space then the place itself. The thesis consists of archive scanning and field researches, observations and interviews. To examine the space by night, this thesis investigates literature about night, night spaces, darkness and social space theories.

Firstly, when we look at the theories of social space, the concept of space is multidimensional and it is difficult to discuss in all contexts. There are many explanations and researches on this subject and spatial sociology continues to be studied by sociologists, theorists, urban planners and architects as an interdisciplinary field of study. In addition to the physical structure that affects and directs daily life, many sociologists have considered the space to have historical, political and ideological origins. 19th-century sociologists such as Durkheim, Weber, Simmel and Tönnies have tried to explain the phenomenon of urbanization by centering on social changes. For instance, transition from mechanical solidarity societies to organic solidarity societies (Durkheim, 1969), transition from rural (*gemeinschaft*) to urban (*gesellschaft*) (Tönnies,1957), in the transition from feudalism to capitalist economy, the city as the area where rationality grows (Weber,1966) and the city that Simmel mentions is a structure in which life

depends on money economy and alienation of the individual (Simmel, 1957) are demonstrates their understanding of urban sociology. Such approaches proceed the city as a phenomenon and examine society through economic and social changes. Yet in this thesis, it focuses more on the spatial dimension and the users of the urban space.

Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells contributed to Marxist urban theory and spatial analysis through urban space studies. According to Castells, the city is primarily a common place of consumption. He introduced the concept of a network society that is connected to the logic of interconnected flows and nodes of the global economy (Castells, 1998). Harvey explains urbanization and the movements and crises of capitalist capital accumulation in the context of time and space compression. In this sense, the place is seen as an industrial product. Therefore, the way in which the built environment is produced becomes part of the "capital accumulation process" (Harvey,1989). Lefebvre considered space as an area that affects actions in everyday life and as a factor that can reproduce social meanings. According to him, space is a social product and every mode of production produces its own space. Within the Marxist approach, for the first time, Lefebvre used the concept of space alone, apart from the concept of urban space. He places the space in a triple dialectic as a product produced with the users (Lefebvre, 1991).

Within these approaches, the idea of Lefebvre's "social space" will be operated as a means of researching urban space and society. Parallel to the space concept of Lefebvre, De Certeau's user practices and urban space ideas are handled together. The thesis searches of darkness and night spaces by following the spaces shaped with the users' daily practices. These produced practices and spaces will allow us to make cultural, political and economic inferences and interpretations about users and society in a wider sense.

Henry Lefebvre is one of the most prominent social scientists in space exploration. He clarifies space as a triple dialectic in his work *The Production of Space* (1991). According to him space includes the relations of production and the social relations of reproduction. And space is a social product and every mode of production produces its own space. Thus, new spaces created in the production process of space also create new social relations. In the production of space, capitalism constructs its own representations through a built environment. Spatial practices are the result of the interaction between these representations and social relations.

Lefebvre defines the production of space as a triple dialectic process with three different but inseparable constituent dimensions. This triple dialectic also shows how all the complexities of the three moments of space production penetrate to social sphere from

all levels (physical production, knowledge production, meaning production). Consequently, Lefebvre re-conceptualizes the triad of perceived, conceived and lived space including three moments of the production of space: Spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation. Space is a (social) production with these dialectically connected three dimensions (Avar, 2009).

Kemeraltı Bazaar, which is defined as a thesis area, enters a new social production process after it closes with darkness, and this mode of production creates new spaces and its users. The thesis tries to examine the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, its nighttime users and their attitudes in terms of spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation, which is Lefebvre conceptualizes as triple dialectics.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), de Certeau mentions two factors, *strategies* and *tactics* that shape everyday life and are in constant contact with each other. Here de Certeau tries to explore the everyday life operations of ordinary people. According to him, ordinary people: "To a common hero, an ubiquitous character, walking in countless thousands on the streets" (de Certeau, 1984, p. v). Ordinary man is a part of everyday life, is not an element of any power bloc in fact are not in the dominant group that forms the dominant culture.

The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below," below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk—an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thickets and things of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it. (de Certeau 1984, p. 93)

According to him, users are not just "passive and guided by established rules" on the contrary they resist and produce their own "ways of operate". He tries to explain that the consumers who consume the strategy imposed by the powers are not mere consumers. Way of consumption actually conceals a second production and this second production usually occurs in tactical form. Tactics are shaped by ordinary people and space. In this sense, the thesis examines the users and their actions that emerge with shadows and darkness with de Certeau's concepts of "strategy and tactics".

Secondly, literature research about night, night spaces and darkness appear with its versatile dimensions. Night is separated from the day with its users and social meanings and its mediating aspects. It refers to the second half of the day as a temporal expression. However, the night is also an expression of space. Night spaces define new productions and relationships based on time and space. It is associated with fear in one

aspect. Because of its transgressive meanings, the night has a threatening and uncertain nature. Therefore, it directs the relationships that users establish with the space and each other in the urban area. In parallel with this threatening nature, the night is a time interval that is desired to be controlled by the sovereign powers. For this, surveillance mechanisms and agencies of the executive powers constantly control the night. At the same time, night is the time of consumption as a time of rest and entertainment. The ruling powers and the businesses organize the night and night spaces, to utilize this time interval for consumption and leisure activities. In this sense, the night reproduces the urban space and its relations with its users by its socially and politically oriented dimensions.

1.2. The Preference of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* as Case Study

Each city has various images or imagery elements that reflect its historical, social, cultural and social characteristics. These images in the city play an effective role in the ownership of the city and thus the urban identity. For *İzmir*, one of these images that brought urban culture and identity to the city is the Historical *Kemeraltı Bazaar* that comes to the mind of the majority when it comes to *İzmir*. It is estimated that approximately 100-150 thousand users visit the market per day with the daily use of local people and the participation of local and foreign tourists. The factors that make the bazaar visible and constantly attract the flow of users-visitors are as follows.

- The bazaar contains significant spatial contents that refer to the thousands of years old history of the city of *İzmir* and still preserve its existence.
- Besides its architectural structure, it is one of the central points of the city that has remained alive since the past due to its commercial identity.
- The bazaar has a special motif created by its unique spatial structure, social organization and economic activities.
- Thanks to its diversity and richness of its historical, physical, economic, socio-cultural and functional structure it is used extensively.
- It has a local imaginary structure with unique characteristics.
- It is a center known by many people and has a significant place in the memory of the citizen.

Despite all this socio-cultural wealth, functional diversity and intensive usage, *Kemeraltı Bazaar* sustains its mobility only in the traditional hours-nine to five. When darkness comes to the bazaar, the bazaar turns into a deserted place free of its users (see Figure 4.27.). This living organism, which lives very dynamically during the day, transforming its colors, sounds and textures to the new ones at night. The bazaar turns into a completely different spatial atmosphere (see Figure 4.2.). The shops, streets and squares where daily practices take place meet the darkness as empty spaces under dim lights. This powerful image created by darkness is the opposite of the day (see Figure 4.1.). The thesis arises from these opposite images of the bazaar. For this purpose, the social, cultural, politic and spatial factors that shape the night use of *Kemeraltı Bazaar* and how they affect the production of the users are examined. Thus, it will be possible to make the invisible reasons visible behind the night atmosphere of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* and the night production of the users and to evaluate more accurately this urban area, which is known mostly for the day.

Moreover, beyond being a prominent part of the commercial life of *İzmir* in every period, because of it is one of the main elements of urban identity and reflects the cultural accumulation of the region, many investigations have been accomplished on *Kemeraltı Bazaar* which is one of the historical and commercial point of *İzmir*. With the curiosity stemming from a personal interest, it was thought that the subject of the thesis will uncover the dark side of *Kemeraltı Bazaar* and expand our knowledge world about this historical bazaar.

1.3. Methodology and Case Study

This thesis is the product of an effort to understand the situations created by night and darkness, user practices and their relationship to space. The spatial productions of the night in the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*, user practices and the built architectural form itself are explored with current spatial data and personal experiences. For the purpose, as a resident of *İzmir*, it has been found many times in the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* at varying time intervals, by observing and engaging in everyday life and carried interviews with users. Thus, after examining the first part (the day) of the daily life of the bazaar, it was investigated the second part (the night), to grasp what the bazaar turns into or what it contains spatially.

The data from the night were obtained through participant observer investigations in the area, starting from the hours when the weather slowly darkened until midnight.

For this thesis, a qualitative research method was determined and the data obtained from the field based on observations, one-to-one interviews, photographs, sketches and field-related documents. For this purpose, thesis investigates the area with participating to the built environment of the bazaar and to the flow of time to experience the usual functioning of the bazaar in first hand and to understand the night, darkness, users acts and movements and themes that emerge.

Firstly, the historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, which is determined as the study area, is divided into sub-regions for easier examination. In this zoning, places with different characters were considered. These are *Hisarönü* and *Kemeraltı* regions. *Hisarönü* is an area where there are mostly eating and drinking areas such as restaurants and cafes and *Kemeraltı* is a place where there is more variety of shops and many of them are based on sales (see Map 4.2.). Thus, the examination of the area is ensured by comparing the actions that take place in these sub-regions and what these spaces themselves have become, with their daytime uses. Even if the bazaar closes, the places that remain open until late at night, which spaces they are and their users are examined. The actors who become more visible or emerge close to shutting down and after closure and the relationship between these actors and space are examined, by considering the spatial atmosphere of the bazaar and they are evaluated under separate titles. These actors are; vehicles, shops and tradesmen, customers-walkers, cleaning workers, waste material pickers, peddlers, security guards, street animals, graffiti and the atmosphere of the bazaar itself (see Table 4.1.).

Situations that come out, productions and actions are observed by walking in the field. Since the actions taking place in the field were developed temporarily, the walks were carried out randomly. As can be seen from the Map 4.3., *Anafartalar* Street, the main artery of the bazaar, constitutes the main gateway of my entrance to it and my involvement in the field. This street constitutes the entrance of *Konak* to the bazaar (next to the *İzmir* Governor's Office) and the entrance of *İkiçeşmelik*. The radial roads from *Anafartalar* Street to the inner parts of the bazaar and extending towards *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard were observed by walking. These walks were performed at different hours, days and seasons. Walks and observations were made in April, May, June and July of 2018 and in November, December and January of 2019. Starting from the closing hours (17:00-19:00) of the bazaar to the later hours (24:00-02:00) of the night, the bazaar itself,

the relations of users with the space and each other were observed. It has been found in the field more than 40 times during the thesis writing process. Many of them are long-term (until midnight) and some are short-term (for two or three hours). Same streets and squares have been visited more than once in the one day. Observations were made on different days. Weekdays and weekends during the day and night, conditions of the bazaar were examined. For instance, the actors identified during the night starting from the closing hours of the bazaar are in the field consecutively or simultaneously. Tradesmen, customers-walkers, cleaning workers, waste material pickers, street animals, and peddlers exist at the same time during the closing hours of the bazaar. Then vehicles and security guards emerge and participate in the nights of the bazaar. The actions of users encountered or followed in the bazaar are noted. In addition, through interviews with some actors (these are: peddlers, waste material pickers, cleaning workers, security guards and some tradesmen) it is provided learning and interpreting users' actions and their own experiences. Thus by these interviews with actors, takes into account how space is used and the elements that guide their actions but are invisible.

Photographing is the basic method used to obtain visual data related the field. The aspects and actions of each actor in the bazaar are photographed and the instant situations of the bazaar and users are presented in the thesis. The night usage of the bazaar, the actors and the built form were tried to be reflected in the photographs taken at unpredictable points. Photographs were taken in the same direction and points to see the differences in day and night use and appearance of the bazaar. In addition, by using sketches, the relationship that users establish with the space and the way they change the space with their presence and absence is tried to be described. In the sketches, the day and night sections of the streets are described and the relations of the users with the street as a mobile whole are examined. The thesis is supported by current maps such as the land use map (Map 4.2.), lighting map (Map 4.7.), pedestrian density of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar (Map 4.3.) and elaborated by the produced data.

Secondly, the information obtained, examinations and interviews are interpreted through literature review. To examine the Historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar by night, this thesis investigates literature about darkness of night, night spaces and social space theories. Night has been examined with different dimensions as the area of fear, spatial control and consumption and that is has been used as a guide in interpreting *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. The thesis also examines the theory of social space in order to make sense and interpret the actions taken on spatial ground by considering the bazaar with its users. That is, spatial

experiences are what define and make space visible. In this sense, space is produced by social practices and in the ways that residents use it. For this purpose, the thesis referred to Lefebvre's concept of "social space is a social product" and de Certeau's concept of "space is a practiced place" and *Kemeraltı Bazaar* has been interpreted with these concepts. Within the framework of these concepts and approaches, the invisible or lesser known aspects of the Historical *Kemeraltı Bazaar* are tried to be considered.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. In general, the introduction chapter covers the idea and purpose of the thesis. The first section explains the sources of urban and spatial sociology and the limitations drawn on this topic. Space approaches of major scholars and how to apply these ideas within the scope of the thesis are explained. Therefore, this section aims to show the relevance of the current literature, which is thought to guide how night spaces and user practices shape social space. Apart from the literature research, it is explained how the subject is handled and evaluated. In addition, the determinant factors in the selection of the research area are listed.

The second chapter titled "Night and Darkness" refers to general literature and approaches about it. It is stated that the night is not only a temporary time statement but also a place. The relation of darkness and night to fear and its effect on social space are explained. It is argued that darkness and night spaces are an area that is tried to be controlled by the executive powers and the businesses. In addition, it focuses on how night is being an object of consumption of leisure as a space.

In third chapter, the social space understanding of Lefebvre (1991) and de Certeau (1984) are explained because they express that the space (night spaces) is the productions that produced by the practices of the users. Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* and de Certeau's work of *The Production of Everyday Life* are elaborated to grasp and evaluate the night spaces through their social space concepts.

In the fourth chapter, the structure of the historical *Kemeraltı Bazaar*, which changes and reshapes with the darkness and the night and it is examined together with its users. Since the beginning of darkness, the actors and their actions that make the bazaar actively visible have been examined one by one. These actors are; vehicles, shops, customers-walkers, cleaning workers, waste material pickers, peddlers, security guards,

street animals, graffiti and the atmosphere of bazaar itself. The relationships between the users and the space are reinforced with the concepts of Lefebvre's "social space" and de Certeau's "tactic and strategy". Furthermore, in *Kemeralti Bazaar*, the places and regions that surviving active at night are examined.

The fifth chapter is the concluding chapter of the thesis. This chapter evaluates night spaces and darkness in accordance with user practices and attempts to answers to research questions. Accordingly, night spaces and darkness create fear with its uncertain nature. Night spaces and darkness are also place that are tried to be controlled and utilize by the executive powers and the businesses. In this direction, the nights and users of *Kemeralti Bazaar* were evaluated and associated with the concept of night spaces.

CHAPTER 2

NIGHT AND DARKNESS

2.1. The Concept of Night Spaces

Day and night are natural phenomena that regulate circadian rhythms of human nature and shape time intervals such as working and resting. Unlike the day, night is differentiated by its nocturnal actors and its socially directed dimension. Night refers to the second half of the day as a temporal expression. But night is not only an expression of a temporal period, but also a place. Night spaces describe a new production based on time and space. As a different dimension of the "social production of the space" that Lefebvre (1991) talks about, it expresses the discourse about the interaction of human and space, which emerges mostly through darkness. Darkness, as a means of guiding daily practices, prepares the ground for the realization or end of these actions. In other words, darkness creates night spaces and these spaces are socially attractive or repulsive areas that differ within the cityscape. Night spaces, for example, obscure areas in the dark or only in the control of certain groups, are open to destructive, inappropriate or illegal actions that disrupt the social order in the control of darkness. At the same time, as a time of rest and sleep, the night also creates night spaces (the home, places for the consumption of leisure or entertainment etc.), which are socially acceptable places that canalizing social activities.

The night has been studied in various aspects by disciplines including sociology, urban studies, political economy and history, both temporally and spatially. Henri Lefebvre, refer to "night-time spaces" in the "Contradictory Space" section of *The Production of Space*. He sought to explain how the night allow to certain activities (especially illegal ones) in certain abstract, hegemonic and ruled areas created by capitalism. Bryan Palmer (2000) discussed the night as historically and examined the history of the night in terms of its social dimensions and consequences. Palmer, in his book *Cultures of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression*, historically shows how counter-hegemonic activities and values take place at night, the dangers and freedoms hidden in the dark, and how they are fueled and shaped by the rise and

transformation of capitalism. Other works written by historians examining the changing state of the night between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century are as follows: Schivelbusch (1988), Schlör (1998), Ekirch (2005), Koslovsky (2011). Dick Hobbs and his colleagues (2000) discuss the emergence of the "night economy" as a powerful indicator of post-industrial society. They explored how globalization and "night economy" are creating pressure to compete in the world of business and finance. Twenty-four hour city concept in the nighttime economy has developed with similar discourses. Lovatt and O'Connor (1995), Heath (1997), Bianchini (1990) and Kreitzman (1999) elaborate their approach on utilizing and revitalizing older city centers with guiding propositions and initiatives in particular in UK. Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands (2002) search on the relationship between youth activities and the city space and propose future scenarios for nightlife. Murray Melbin (1978), a pioneer in research on the sociology, in his "Night as frontier" article, considers night as a temporal and spatial boundary.

2.1.1. Darkness and Night as a Place of Fear

Throughout history, it has been taught in all cultures that darkness is associated with evil forces. It is told that we should be afraid of night people, people who live in the night, people who live the night. However, day and night individuals are actually the same individuals. Daylight reveals the submissiveness in us, but at night we feel free. The forces of order have conditioned us to avoid night and freedom. (Vassaf, 1997, p. 2.II)

The aspect of fear associated with space exacerbates personal vulnerability and causes anxiety. It is a known fact that as a distinctive asset, fear reduces the desire of social encounters and participation in the areas where people live and gather (Bannister & Fyfe, 2001). According to Ferraro and LaGrange (1987), fear emerges as a personalized, emotional response to the possibility of becoming a victim of a particular type of crime. However, fear varies according to social characteristics such as age, gender and ethnic group and varies over time (Pain, 1997). Fear does not show a homogeneous distribution in the urban area; it is spatial. The spatiality of fear shows dispersion according to the recorded pattern of crime and specific vicinities of different places within the city center (Bromley et al., 2000). The discourses of newspapers, television and rumors that emphasize awareness of crime and social problems create learned fear.

Creating perception by the media has the potential to increase fear of crime (Thomas & Bromley, 2000). Therefore, night spaces can indicate to places of fear in relation to localized patterns of crime and fear.

Nightfall brings forces very different from those that rule the day. In the symbols and myths of most cultures, night is chaos, the realm of dreams, teeming with ghosts and demons as the oceans teem with fish and sea monsters. (Schivelbusch, 1988, p. 81)

Because of its transgressive meanings, darkness has a threatening and uncertain nature depending on social codes and this ambiguous nature includes all "bad" possibilities. Darkness prevents the deployment of strategies, techniques and technologies that maintain the order of society or allows other potentially corrosive behavior to take place under the veil of anonymity (Williams, 2008). Nightfall creates "a wall of darkness, so to speak, protecting an area from incursion by government forces" (Schivelbusch, 1988, p. 106). Illegal or transgressive acts such as criminal activities, provocation, rape, political opposition, illegal love affairs, subcultural practices, urban abuse, posters and graffiti take place under the concealed veil of darkness (Garrett, 2013).

Nighttime in particular is a period of escapism and deviance (Nasaw 1992). It is difficult to keep the dark and night under full dominance due to its constantly changing and transforming structure even though it is tried to be kept under control. Actors who use this specific and hidden time find or create a range to infiltrate by creating tactics and strategies (de Certeau, 1984) to carry out and to pursue alternative goals. Edensor likewise gives the following explanation about what kind of users and behaviors the night creates as a special time and space.

Night, remains that time when witches, prostitutes, bohemians, beatniks, drug dealers, rioters, revolutionaries and conspirators, heretics and blues and jazz musicians come out to play, plot and do business, nurturing ideas that darkness is associated with libidinal desires, transgressive sexualities and mystical practices, providing a realm in which "counters ... to conventional wisdom find a space to grow and growl." (Edensor, 2013, p. 429)

Night spaces are also recreated in the plane of gender, race and class. In this sense night spaces are gendered, racialized and classified. These groupings or marginalization create fears based on ambiguity. That creates "felicitous" and "hostile" spaces (Bachelard, 1969) by enforcing informal social codes and affect the actions using spaces of oppressed

individuals and groups (women, children, marginalized groups, etc.). Night and darkness respond as something that creates a risk in the mind, a time when women should not be out alone (Condon et al., 2007). "The association of male violence with certain environmental contexts has a profound effect on many women's use of space" (Valentine, 1989, p. 385). According to Stanko (1990), women who walk after a certain hour in public spaces or in poorly lit dark places they are often thinking in danger of being attacked. This feeling becomes particularly noticeable at night when darkness is no longer a natural event, but becomes a space. This emerge associated with social norms, representations by institutions and the media and possible cases of fear of being a victim of sexual violence and verbal abuse (Gardner, 1995). Valentine (1992a) points out that most women have been exposed to sexual offenses at least once in a public place throughout their lives. These are being followed, being exposed to exhibitionists and sexist insults and humiliation or physical abuse. Although it varies depending on social, cultural and economic understanding, activities such as meeting other people, attending an event, going to a concert or nightclub, spending time outside are spatially restricted for women. Besides, people who use public transport have a higher level of anxiety at night than daytime. This is more common in women. Therefore, women and the elderly avoid traveling by public transport after dark (Hill, 1996). Based on these academic studies, what is clearly understood here is that, depending on social codes, public spaces and streets are insecure for women at night. Rather, night spaces as a gendered area, is predominantly used and dominated by men (Hubbard & Colosi, 2015). In this respect, the night is shapes as a "counter space," which contains actions that are claimed and freedom is demanded, especially by women. Street protests such as "Take Back the Night" marches or night walks find responses in many cities of the world. These protests generally emphasize the temporal dimensions of women's right to be in the public space and protesters are particularly protest violence against women and the insecurity of women at night (Williams, 2008). This movement creates a common consciousness and draws attention to the night by emphasizing the prevalence of gender-based violence. Night, as a common space for all, is a space of resistance in which women try to take part freely and therefore it the scene of women's creative protests or activities.

According to Bromley et al. (2000), activities related to nightclubs and bars have a negative impact on many people's perception of safety. These late-evening activities and their nodes (the drinking streets) give rise to high levels of anxiety. These venues are based on consumption, especially alcohol. Accordingly, these areas are especially

exclusionary because of their close relationship with alcohol consumption by young men, which creates fear and avoidance among other groups of the population.

Darkness and night spaces do not fully match to urban legends and rumors about them. In the urban area, this fear of darkness is localized depending on the social structure and codes. The night is famous for being a time of crime. But these crimes are mostly related to certain parts of the cityscape. There are places where various types of crime (criminal or administrative) occur more than others (Hobbs et al., 2000). Because of this, some spaces attractive in urban areas at night, while others are either repulsive or deterrent. Furthermore, although some crimes occur at night and therefore cause disorder in society, it is not fair to say that all of the night acts are criminal or dangerous (Williams, 2008). "Both land frontier and the nighttime have reputations as regions of danger and outlawry. Interestingly, both do not live up to the myths about them, for the patterns of aggression are selective and localized" (Melbin, 1978, p. 10).

At night, people interact in a different way; because night, as a result of abating or changing the flow and pressures of the city, it has a different social atmosphere than the day. According to Melbin (1978), there is a close connection between violence and helpfulness-friendship. This connection leads to solidarity among those who believe that they share the fears and dangers that arise at the frontiers. This establishes partnerships through similarities and differences, based on ethnicity, gender or activity, between individuals or groups.

2.1.2. Control of the Darkness and Night Spaces

In the Enlightenment Era, there was "the fear of darkened spaces" and "of the pall of gloom which prevents the full visibility of things, men and truths" (Foucault, 1980, p. 153) Max Milner defines the dusk as an "enveloping veil, an opaque cloud, an insidious atmosphere annihilating contours and colors" (Straw, 2014, p. 189). This insidious atmosphere has possibility to contain stereotypes associated with social codes, fears, danger, transgressive or illegal acts. Likewise it is time to take action or places to meet, time to rest, sleep and entertainment etc. Therefore the management mechanisms and the business strategies try to keep the darkness and the night spaces under control through formal and informal physical and perceptual arrangements.

The night has the potential to break down social boundaries because it contains darkness as a temporal expression. When night starts, the legal or individual rules for social order (which are necessary for comfort, security and control) can be easily broken (Williams, 2008). "Temporality and fluidity are the enemies of the proper" (Cresswell, 1998, p. 269). There are places where various types of crime (e.g., criminal or administrative) take place more than others, and these illegal acts are often found at night as a time-space interval. The night, covered in darkness, is often perceived as a dangerous and insidious time.

The night spaces created by government policies, business strategies, or social codes of conduct seek to direct, if not outright control, people's actions and desires. Yet such hegemonic night spaces are themselves contested by groups and individuals who use the darkness to pursue alternate goals, some socially transgressive and some illegal. Accordingly, night spaces can be multiple, overlapping, and contradictory, incorporating the myriad tensions of the social processes that constitute them. (Williams, 2008, p. 514)

The darkness of the night facilitates opposition to rules and regulations and prepares the ground for this. It provides a variety of opportunities for transgressive practices that are not normally available during daylight hours. Therefore, the darkness of the night affects the use and deployment of political and social control tools, especially in the spatial sense. "Surveillance" one of the mechanisms of social control and its means allow to control and intervene the darkness and night. The phenomenon of surveillance in the public sphere is shaped within the dialectic of visibility and appearance. Visibility (in the sense to be subject to the gaze of power) and appearance (to become a citizen by participation in public space); these two modes of visual acknowledgment are interlinked (Batuman and Erkip, 2019). Foucault called the gaze "panopticism" to refer to the observation (Foucault, 1978). "Gazes" are a control technique because our actions can be guided by observations through being physically visible. Gazes directed by the governing power or dominant groups can often force compliance with the rules. Foucault explains the effectiveness of Panoptic by an important element (the visibility of visibility) in the realm of power as follows: "to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power... for what matters is that he knows himself to be observed" (Foucault, 1978, p. 201). Thus, behaviors are shaped accordingly through a known reality (being surveilled) and citizen's production in the urban area changes accordingly. "He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication" (Foucault, 1978, p. 200). That's why

"visibility is a trap". Mechanism is the same at night. Full illumination and the eye of an observer is stronger than the covering darkness. According to Arendt "the space of appearance" is namely, the space where people appear to others and "where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly" (Arendt, 1998, pp. 198-199). Individuals are seen in the public and private spaces with the eyes of power and their voluntary or involuntary appearances in the public space find place in this sphere. Based on the visibility and appearance dialectics, surveillance systems-technologies and police officers, who represent the most visible face of state authority, constantly observe private and public spaces. For instance; associated with the control of the night in the case of Turkey, the traditional night watchmen (*bekçi*) who not seen for many years as a patrol guards in public places, began to appear again (Batuman and Erkip, 2019) (see Figure 4.25.).

Surveillance is one of the main mechanisms of social control and has various tools. Technologies and techniques like motion sensing, night vision device, in situ guards, cameras and observation poles and patrols through the streets or polices and security guards can be devices of observation and these devices can be varied. For example, closed circuit television systems (CCTV) have become increasingly common tools of surveillance in recent years. As regards crime and anxieties, practices such as gated housing communities, private policing of offices and shopping areas, and local curfews at night are implemented in city centers to reduce the risk of public irregularity (Fyfe & Bannister, 1998). Such technologies and techniques are often regulated and used by hegemonic powers and property owners (Williams, 2008). These systems are significantly common strategic reactions to fears due to the growing concern of consumers and business security in urban centers. "To an unprecedented degree, people are now under surveillance in the routines of everyday life and thus more visible to invisible watchers than ever before" (Fyfe & Bannister, 1998, p. 249).

One of the vital means of controlling darkness is lighting. It creates night-time spaces organized around consumption and entertainment and provide safety and security for social order on the cityscape at night. Electricity began to appear in urban life in the early 1880s. It was first used in the mansions of wealthy families and in the stores trying to attract customers. Then it was used in public areas, on the streets and along main access roads. The illumination of public spaces and streets is the basis of new uses for the urban night (Koslofsky, 2002). The lighting makes the outlines of the dark areas clearly visible (Schlör, 1998). The streets and side roads are illuminated after dark, helping us to travel

to places like home, work and consumption points. More importantly, it allows the security and supervision of people and property (Williams, 2008). Street lighting aimed at strengthening law, security and order and suppressing darkness to some extent. Illuminating the dark places where thought to be fear and crime is seen as a common tool used to prevent excessive or illegal actions (Painter, 1996). "Without illumination, the shadowy world seemed to contain a host of malign and insubstantial entities, and imaginations, stimulated by ghost stories, folk beliefs and religiously inspired terrors were cultivated" (Edensor, 2013, p. 424). Illumination serves to reduce or alleviate the fear. This encourages and increases the use of night time.

Illumination also embellishes cities, provides comfort and reflects the willingness to use the city at night. Lighting technologies reduce the frontier of darkness with artificial lighting means. Thus lighting has enlarged the night and allows for more diverse social practices (Melbin, 1978). Illumination besides draws the consumption time from the light of the day to the dark of the night. Lighting not only makes the night visible. It also shapes night spaces and paves the way for consumption and diversifying social uses. Artificial lighting gave great stimulus to the nighttime entertainment industry (Schlesinger, 1933). Modern lighting changed the city experience at night, creating city arrangements, hierarchical selectivity, consumption and imagination (van Liempt et al., 2015). Lighting technologies help to channel attention and stimulate desire to areas such as illuminated billboards and showcases, bright streets, restaurants and squares. Accordingly, darkness and light determine where to be and what to do during certain periods depending on gender, class, ethnicity and other identifiers.

Night spaces and darkness are areas that are generally considered ambiguous and threatening by the mainstream society. They do not show a homogeneous dispersion throughout the urban plane and can change over time. Night spaces are peculiar to the territory. These spaces include various social behaviors that are seen as subcultures. "Subcultures express different conceptions of what it means to be a human being, flouting normality and conventionality in the darkness" (Williams, 2008, p. 519). Subcultures are spatially and normatively sensitive to marginal actions and practices. Controlling, managing and directing the subcultural dimensions of night and darkness have long been the goal of many communities, businesses and local governments. Nightfall facilitates counter-hegemonic practices and creates what Lefebvre called "counter-spaces" that threaten or exploit the existing order by marginalized groups. In this sense, marginalized groups (subcultures) can use the opportunities created by darkness and use the spaces of

the night for social purposes. Graffiti, political messages, the consequences of destructive actions, and the restructuring of the current order appear in the morning after the secret curtain of the night is lifted.

Graffiti is an expression of the experiences and ideas of people who live on those streets but don't own them or the houses or the businesses. Graffiti creates solidarity between all those people. It isn't academic, it's immediate and doesn't require money. (Posener, 1986, p. 3)

The night and its veil darkness also produce isolations between some groups and the main society. Oppositions or conflicts may develop between individuals who actively use the day and groups that actively use the night. "People active after dark find their lifestyle differing from that of daytime society, become aware of having a separate identity, and evolve into interest groups" (Melbin, 1978, p. 18). In particular, homosexuals and prostitutes generally linked with the nighttime find activity in the night as isolated groups. For these groups of society, night a place in which they can display themselves and looking for clients. Therefore these groups are the target of police officers who represent the most visible face of the state authority at night.

Groups marginalized by the constraints of governance mechanisms and various social classes create new spaces separate from other parts of the city. These spaces can be spatially segregated and socially dangerous, where people are categorized (Cullen & Pretes, 2000). Lefebvre (1991) stated that "The strategy of classification distributes the various social strata and classes (other than the one that exercises hegemony) across the available territory, keeping them separate and prohibiting all contacts" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 375). Historically, in pre-industrial Europe, governments used curfews and night patrols to keep people under control and in the darkness (Ekirch, 2005). Include official zoning and enforcing informal codes of behavior can be use by regional managements to implement of marginalization and to organize the night and darkness within space (Williams, 2008).

Exclusion, as a mode of control, creates protected areas from external dangers or interventions. It provides places of security or consumption. This is a type of spatial segregation. The best example of this is the gated communities. The main purpose creating a protected living space by building high walls or obstacles around the space. Many pre-industrial cities and towns in Europe would close the castle gates and walls to protect their citizens from external threats at night (Ekirch, 2005). Exclusion, in the

modern age, can use certain domination technologies, what we call access control, as a means. For instance; alarm systems, key cards and classificatory systems, pass codes etc. The use of such access control technologies is similar to its deployment during daytime and night time. Residential complexes and public institutions keep the doors open during the day, doors close at night and thus exclusion areas are built. With these arrangements, management mechanisms, businesses or individuals can create spaces that are rearranged and controlled in the dark at night. While governing mechanisms try to control night and darkness, they can leave some areas on their own. Namely, not all night spaces are under the control of the local authorities, the polices or the businesses. These spaces form an internal balance under the leadership of individuals, groups or organizations. But this is not a case of complete independence. Binding elements created by laws, social codes and stereotype continue to exist in these areas. These spaces, which are partially left on their own, can allow the rearrangement of social spaces at night and thus what Lefebvre calls "pseudo-transgressions" finds a realization site (Williams, 2008).

2.1.3. Consumption of the Night

This section focuses on how night is being an object of consumption of leisure as a space. Night creates both social activities such as; entertainment, rendezvous, meeting and transgressive actions or opportunities not available in the day. Bars, clubs, cinemas, theaters and cultural festivals, which are particularly active at night, are mostly used during the nighttime. There are also urban consumption areas such as shopping centers, entertainment complexes and nightlife zones in cities (van Liempt et al., 2015). Today, more people than ever are engaged in all kinds of activities and are often outside instead of their homes. All night there are supermarkets, game halls, shops, restaurants, cinemas, bus and airline terminals, radio and television broadcasts (Melbin, 1978). So much so that night is no longer just a temporal expression as a phenomenon with a wide scope and imagination. It is "not just a period of time, but a place." Urban night is a world away from the day with its own users, activities and opportunities (Straw, 2014).

A city turns inside out at night. After the outflow of rush hour there is an hour's pause before the inflow of recreational pilgrims streams back into the city's core to fill the vacuum. The offices and buildings that teemed during day stand empty while the theatres, bars, discos, casinos, restaurants,

opera houses, arcades, and concert halls begin to open. But only the core entertainment districts are active at night. Otherwise, the city is quiescent, and the municipal business of street cleaning and emergency road and transit repairs takes place without the hindrance of traffic. (Dewdney, 2004, p. 89)

Dark and night are part of a constantly changing and repeating cycle of the day. However, they differ from bright time (the day) in terms of their social uses and meanings in the spaces that created and functioning. The darkness of the night socially mediates the use and reproduction of space. As stated earlier, the darkness creates night spaces (to consumption of leisure or entertainment etc.), which are socially acceptable places that channel social activities at night as time of rest. As Harvey points out, in the process of capital circulation, capital accumulates in different places and regions, creating new areas of profit. Thus, the place becomes the profit goal of capitalism (Harvey, 1989). "Nighttime again offers the clearest illustration. Developments in technology, morality and policing opened up new times and spaces for new work and leisure activities, after which these activities themselves have become subject to control and instrumentalization" (Frank & Stevens, 2007, p. 10). Like this, the night attracts the attention of business, government and civic leaders as a time that supports social practices and creates a profitable space.

Everyday life and its cyclic rhythms are often used to describe the night. Lefebvre, in his concept of the everyday-life, he describes "representations of space" where we experience our daily routine adhering to knowledge, social signs and codes. He tries to explain how the capitalist processes mediates the practices that take place in daily life and at night as part of it "leisure spaces and living spaces is supplied by the agencies of political power and by their mechanisms of control" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 59).

Space is divided up into designated (signified, specialized) areas and into areas that are prohibited (to one group or another). It is further subdivided into spaces for work and spaces for leisure and into daytime and nighttime spaces. The body, sex, and pleasure are often accorded no existence, either mental or social, until after dark, when the prohibitions that obtain during the day, during 'normal' activity, are lifted... In accordance with this division of urban space, a stark contrast occurs at dusk as the lights come on in the areas given over to 'festivity', whereas the 'business' districts are left empty and dead. Then in a brightly illuminated night the day's prohibitions give way to profitable pseudo-transgressions. (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 319-320)

The night has been examined in terms of "nighttime economy" as a field that can be utilized and reorganized in capital order (Hobbs et al., 2000; Bianchini, 1995). This term has been used to describe a post-Fordist capitalist mode of production which is

theoretically linked to ongoing socio-economic changes and transformations. The night economy is based on consumption, especially alcohol. The aim is to create new or alternative consumption areas by changing the old order and rules with the marketing strategies and regulations of the entrepreneurs and governors to attract and keep the customers in their facilities (Hobbs et al., 2000). In a capitalist order, the value of consumption of leisure has been increased and businesses and governments have directed their investments to the night. The night has forced management mechanisms, business and citizens to use the facilities of the night, taking into account the darkness. Companies and local governments collaborate to control night spaces. The term "nighttime economy" is an attempt to create living urban spaces consisting of bars, clubs, cinemas, theaters and cultural festivals and events, which are thought to contribute to urban changes and local economic growth in the context of urban entrepreneurship (van Liempt et al., 2015).

Regulation in which the development of urban playscapes can be understood through a night-time entertainment regime based around a modified relationship between state, developers and consumers, including enhanced forms of surveillance and control; and consumption which is characterized by segmentation and differentiation and based around more 'exclusive' and 'up-market' identities. (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002, p. 95)

The aim of the governments and commercial actors is to reorganize the space and to enlarge the social dimension of the night as a space by realizing some change of traditional order in the dark (Williams, 2008). Businesses can regulate and direct the night and darkness by describing them in commercial terms. Night is the right time to consume these regulated spaces and products of the businesses (Cresswell, 1998).

To a rationalized, expansionist and the same time centralized, clamorous, and spectacular production corresponds another production, called "consumption." The latter is devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere, silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather its ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order. (de Certeau, 1984, pp. xii-xiii)

In all these production and consumption relations, the language of the night's consumption is formed, which is shaped by the strategies and tactics of the businesses, governments and users. People create their own path or map in the cityscape with their everyday practices and actions. These activities are not independent from the economic

order and management mechanisms (de Certeau, 1984). To the extent permitted by social codes and management mechanisms, relations of production and consumption are shaped. In fact, here, in the duality of production and consumption, consumption of the night describes something different or new, which night and darkness directs, changes or subverts.

2.1.3.1. 24-Hour City Concept as Part of Night Time Economy

The concept of "Nighttime Economy" dates back to the 1980s. It has emerged as an aspect of urban revitalization strategies, particularly in British cities. Because city centers have become temporary places where people work and shop between nine and five hours. However, the twenty-four-hour city concept breaks down the traditional nine-to-five retailing, enabling city centers to be addressed in a more holistic and broader way. "The 1980s saw the re-emergence of a concern with city centers as focal points for, and as symbolic of, a specifically urban way of life seemingly eroded in the 1970s" (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995, p. 127). After the de-industrialization of the city centers, the older city centers remained empty and unattended. City centers were no longer strong living areas of the region and they were areas that far from daily activities and employment. According to Heath, the concept of a twenty-hour city, was as a response or strategy to this situation to utilizing and revitalize their older city centers in particular in UK (Heath, 1997). According to Bianchini, first attempts were implemented in Italy in 1977 by the Roman City Councillor of cultural policy. To do this they "focused upon public monuments and historic streets and squares in the city centre, which were made safer, more attractive, and more accessible by coordinating cultural policy with appropriate policies on public transport, lighting, policing, childcare, and environmental improvements" (Bianchini, 1990, p. 7). According to Kreitzman (1999), "24/7 city" or "24 hour society" means to rethink how we handle time and how we use it and to get rid of traditional restrictions in the day and night, weekdays and weekends.

The Twenty-four Hour City describes a multi-faceted range of initiatives intended to revive civic night life... Rather than as simply nine-to-five retailing and office centres, the Twenty-four Hour City concept provokes a more holistic and expansive consideration of the totality of city centres. (Heath, 1997, pp. 193-194)

Table 2.1. Reasons for 24-Hour City Strategies
(Source: Heath, 1997 and Tallon, 2010, p. 235)

1. Development of a safer city center
2. Improve city image/attract inward investment (business, tourists, residents)
3. Economic regeneration
4. Enhance local service provision for the population
5. Specific local reason, festival or sporting event
6. Following another city's lead
7. Prompted by central government

By adopting twenty-four-hour initiatives, UK local authorities aimed to develop urban nightlife and evening economies. "Councils should change their attitude towards the use of their town centre by regarding it less as a nine-to-five retailing and employment centre and more as an eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, economic, social and culture centre" (Comedia, 1991, p. 51). The main intention was to create a lively city center that offers a wide range of leisure activities by reviving the city centers used only within the traditional hours-nine to five. Thus, by creating a sense of security, areas now dominated by groups and users, such as youth groups, prostitutes and drug addicts, would develop a city image as a focus for people of all ages and genders throughout the day and night, while attracting a wide range of people to the city center (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995).

Local authorities have used various initiatives to develop twenty-four-hour plans to revive city centers. These initiatives will help to achieve the objectives of economic development, making a safer city center and improving the image of the city. These are; (Heath, 1997, pp. 199-203).

Licensing Issues: The issue of licensing has a crucial role in the twenty-four-hour city plans. Licensing operates in two aspects in British cities; first, national initiatives to modify the existing system of license restrictions and the issuing of licenses, and second, attempts to modify local restrictions on licensed facilities. This initiative is more concerned with the security dimension of cities. In most cities, uniform closing hours increase the number of incidents that prevent potential users from using facilities in the city center.

Retail Initiatives: This initiative is mostly related to the extension of working hours of the venues closing early. British cities and towns close around 5pm. and 6pm., and shoppers tend to leave the city center after 4pm. Few shops remain open for a little

longer. Retail utilized to attract and retain people at night with various initiatives (live music, street entertainment, theater, cinema and restaurant promotions).

Restaurant and Cafe Promotion Initiatives: These venues are critical elements in a twenty-four hour city initiative. Stimulation of café and restaurant activities is made possible through extended hours and with a number of combined initiatives based on the provision of discount offers, with entertainment centers such as theaters, cinemas. Thus, the visit to the city centers is out of one purpose and this supports the nighttime economy and the city.

CCTV and Street Lighting Schemes: CCTV and street lighting are seen as a way to deal with fear of crime in the city center at night. Twenty-four hour city programs include CCTV as well as night illumination.

Residential: A residential population living in the city centers is effective in encouraging and developing the twenty-four hour city concept. This creates a living society, provides surveillance and supports the city by keeping the nighttime economy active.

Other Initiatives: The twenty-four-hour city concept also includes the supporting of street entertainment, festivals, tourist activities, and the promotion of the official entertainment industry, such as theaters, art galleries, libraries and cinemas. These initiatives aim to extend hours of use and create demand for activities. In recent years, activities have been organized on this issue, especially in the UK with the concept of "museums at night" in the context of the nighttime economy. "Museums at Night is a twice-yearly festival of late openings, sleepovers and special events taking place in museums, galleries, libraries, archive and heritage sites. It is a cultural event in which museums and cultural institutions in an area cooperate to remain open late into the night to introduce themselves to new potential patrons" (url-1). Such initiatives are performed in many museums and art galleries in Mexico City, Melbourne, Sydney, Moscow, Berlin, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago for the same purposes. Especially museums and galleries that are thought to contribute significantly to the diversification of the nighttime economy, are presented to visitors enriched with music, food and beverage, transportation support and social activities (Figures 2.1., 2.2., 2.3.). Thus, museums and galleries make the night lively and vibrant with the opportunities offered, both as part of a cultural experience and social space by adding another four or five hours to the evenings of the visitors.



Figure 2.1. Natural History Museum-London
(Source: Retrieved from <https://www.nhm.ac.uk/events/new-years-eve-creatures-night.html>- Accessed February 12, 2020.)



Figure 2.2. Nocturnal Melbourne Museum
(Source: Retrieved from <https://museumsvictoria.com.au/melbournemuseum/> Accessed February 12, 2020.)



Figure 2.3. The American Museum of Natural History
(Source: Retrieved from <https://mymodernmet.com/museum-sleepovers/>
Accessed February 12, 2020.)

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL SPACE AND PRACTICES OF USERS

In this section, the social space understanding of Lefebvre (1991) and de Certeau (1984) are explained because they express that the space (night spaces) is the productions that produced by the practices of the users. Accordingly, night spaces are produced in ways that inhabitants use it. The thesis uses night spaces and user practices shaped by social, cultural, economic and political processes to obtain knowledge. That's why, users' practices act as a tool to trace the night. Through the concept of social space, it will be possible to interpret darkness, night spaces and night-side of society with user practices and productions.

Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1991) refers to "night-time spaces". According to Lefebvre, each mode of production has its own specific space, the transition from one mode to another must require the production of a new space. Shifting the day to the night is a clear example of the transition from one mode to another and the spatial transformation. The night itself is a space that creates new spaces and productions with darkness. "Night does not interrupt diurnal rhythms, but modifies them and especially slows them down" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 222).

The night space is also produced in practices, in the way users consume it just as de Certeau's referred. In his work *The Production of Everyday Life* (1984), he explicates the ways in which inhabitants "operate". Consumers are not simply users who consume the established order. At the same time, consumers create a second production in their daily practice by resisting or keeping up with the order. In this sense, the thesis elaborates the night-side of this production which occurs under the direction of darkness and light through user practices.

3.1. Trialectic of Spatiality-Henri Lefebvre

Henri Lefebvre (1991) formulated the space as "(social) space is a (social) product". According to this formulation, social space is a dynamic structure that includes objects, individual and collective productions as a whole. And this idea of (social) space with its multiple and overlapping dimensions is a complex one.

Lefebvre's formulation of the production of space is analytical and he defines it as a basic trio. These are the perceived space, the conceived space and the lived space. The production of space is provided by this different but inseparable triad constitutive dimension. "Relations between the three moments of the perceived, the conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable..." (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 46). This dialectic triad does not contain contradictions with its supporting and connected structure; it has been formulated to avoid such contrasts. Lefebvre re-conceptualizes the three moments of the production of space: spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation. "Taken together, representations of space and spaces of representation provide the conceptions and images necessary for spatial practice to operate" (Borden, 2001, p. 7).

This sophisticated conceptualization of the various possible arenas for space not only allows for ideas of space (verbal and visual, conscious and unconscious, real and imagined) but also situates those ideas in an overall notion of spatiality without reducing them to either aberrant misconception or irrelevant abstraction. (Borden, 2001, p. 7)

Spatial practice; refers to all practices involving space. These practices range from the everyday routines to the social ones and show continuity. It consists of routine repetitive experiences, productions and reproductions that take place in daily life. It is directly related to the *perceived space*. The daily life of the individual and the spaces divided for work, private life and leisure time are connected to each other within the perceived space. Spatial practices are the production, suppression and use of the space of the individual and society within the material and economic reality (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 8-33).

Representations of space; expresses the dimension of space, articulated with ideology, power and knowledge. They are the conceptualized, conceived and abstract spaces. These spaces are the field of specialists such as scientists, planners, urbanists,

technocratic subdivides and social engineers. These professionals identify what is lived and what is perceived with what they conceive. Hence, representations of space include signs, jargons, codes and objectified representations used and produced by these professions. As an intellectual expression, it comprises the specialized knowledge and power essential for the realization of spatial practices. Representations of space are the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Professions and disciplines that produce abstract space create the rational basis of the capitalist state. For this reason, Lefebvre emphasizes that representations of space are spaces of capital (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33-45).

Representational spaces; "is the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'." These spaces are directly lived through its associated images, symbols and codes. They are objectifying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the hidden or underground side of social life. Representational spaces are the dominated by power and abstraction and hence passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. They overlay the physical space by making symbolic use of its objects. Representational spaces tend towards coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs. Representational space is lived space itself and alive, it speaks. It is fluid, qualitative and variable. It can be defined in very different, directional, situational and relational forms, but does not follow any rules of consistency and continuity (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33-42).

It is reasonable to assume that spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 46)

Lefebvre's formulation sees social space produced in line with social practices and relationships as part of the formation and production of these practices. Social practices that create social space incorporates spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces through historical-geographical combinations. The social space exists both in the physical constructed environment by the practice of "specialists" and in the practices of the, in Lefebvre's terms, "subject". Social space is not just a structure that contains physical material "things" or "subjects". "Mediations, and mediators, have to be taken into consideration: the action of groups, factors within knowledge, within ideology, or within the domain of representations" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 77). It also includes

interrelationships between these "things" and the social relationships shaped by knowledge, ideologies and social codes.

Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such 'objects' are thus not only things but also relations. As objects, they possess discernible peculiarities, contour and form. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 77)

Lefebvre points out the fact that social space is a social product is concealed with by a "double illusion". This double illusion, clarifies each other and hiding behind the other. These two are the illusion of transparency and the illusion of opacity, or "realistic" illusion (Lefebvre, 1991).

The illusion of transparency through knowledge and ideology shrink the space to a mental sphere. The illusion of transparency indicates the space as though comprehensible through speaking and writing. All the characteristics of the space are accepted as merely a thought by means of design and compressed into a mental domain. "Design serves as a mediator- itself of great fidelity-between mental activity (invention) and social activity (realization); and it is deployed in space" (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 27-28). For Lefebvre, the illusion of transparency makes space appear "luminous" and entirely intelligible. However, actual socio-spatial practices or experience and realization are kept at a distance by this form of reductionism except through the subjective "design" (Soja, 1996, p. 63).

The realistic illusion or the illusion of opacity can be grasp empiricist, materially deterministic or objectivist approaches towards space. The realistic illusion tackles the "things" rather than the reality of "thoughts". This merely shrinks spatiality to "things" in space. Here, social space tends to be understood naturally or as designed. According to Soja (1996), the "real" in this realist illusion is reduced only to material or natural objects and their directly sensed relations; the "imagined" is unseen, unmeasurable, and therefore unknowable.

Social space is not a thing among other things, or a product among other products, rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their inter-relationships in their coexistence and simultaneity. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations therefore cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73)

The social space of Lefebvre is a comprehensive, complex and interconnected 'real' space discourse located at the center of all these. This "social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33) Triad of spatiality provide understanding of urban space and its operation shape, inhabitant and their daily lives in sense of socio-spatial practice. At the same time he emphasize, social space works as a toll of analysis of society (Lefebvre, 1991). And, as he points out in his argument, one of the main discourses directing the thesis is the fact that social space is a mean of analysis.

3.2. De Certeau's Concept of Space and Urban Practices

Similar to Lefebvre, De Certeau's (1984) concept of space is considered with its social dimension. The argument of "space is a practiced place" explains De Certeau's understanding of space. In addition to the physical structure of the space, it's production mainly based on the daily practices of the users. Users-ordinary people-are not only passive consumers, but also subjects that can actively produce, manipulate, invent, and change the surrounding environment through everyday actions. De Certeau seeks to explain how individual users transform and appropriate the sovereign mode of production in modern society.

He allocates the community into two main groups. These are the producers (mechanisms of production, ruling class, elites or businesses) and the users (the ordinary people who are everywhere). According to de Certeau, ordinary people in their daily practices or with their experience of the urban landscape produce a creative and productive process as well. In the consumption order imposed by powers, consumers (user) creates another production with their practices that de Certeau calls "ways of operating", "doing", "acting" and "making". "These "ways of operating" constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users re-appropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xiv) and in addition "there are countless ways of "making do" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 28).

The "making" in question is a production, but a hidden one, because it is scattered over areas defined and occupied by systems of "production"... To a rationalized, expansionist and at the same time centralized, clamorous, and spectacular production corresponds another production, called "consumption. " The latter is devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere, silently and

almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order. (de Certeau, 1984, pp. xii-xiii)

De Certeau classifies two mode of production. Institution and power structures (government, businesses, corporation, etc.) implement frameworks for production called "strategies." Users navigate these strategies and subvert, cooperate and manipulate them for their own purposes via "tactics" (de Certeau, 1984).

Tactics are the attitudes of the user as a means of resistance to deal with or manipulate the hegemonic order (strategies) in daily life. But this form of resistance is not directly opposed to power; does not directly resist. Rather, tactics infiltrates through openings in the existing layout to create space for act or profit through tricks and maneuvers. "The tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xvii). Users manipulate or surpass the mechanisms of discipline, regulation and control systems or "conform to them only in order to evade them" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xiv) by "ways of operating".

In the technocratically constructed, written, and functionalized space in which the consumers move about, their trajectories form unforeseeable sentences, partly unreadable paths across a space... the trajectories trace out the ruses of other interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop. (de Certeau, 1984, p. xviii).

Tactics generally cannot find any advantage to produce or manipulate the space without a place to operate. The tactics that are interconnected and located within each other in the urban and they are not stable. They need others to exist. "The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 37) and "a tactic depends on time it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized on the wing" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix).

Strategies basically indicate compelling or governing powers. The aim is to adapt countless and endless transformations within the dominant cultural economy to their own concerns and to their own rules. The strategies have ability to force tabulated spaces on ordinary people and they create the terrain for interaction, manipulating and daily practices of the users. De Certeau states that strategy arises when it comes to a mechanism

that has power, such as a business, an army, a city, or a scientific institution. "I call a strategy the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power can be isolated from an environment" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix). The political, economic and scientific rationality on which the strategies are based, foresees and establishes relationships with the spaces that constitute the strategies. "A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (propre) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it" (de Certeau, 1984, p. xix).

Strategies are actions which, thanks to the establishment of a place of power (the property of a proper), elaborate theoretical places (systems and totalizing discourses) capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed. (de Certeau, 1984, p. 38)

De Certeau's concept of space brings forward users who resist the discursive and managerial regime imposed by dominant strategies and challenge with them via numerous "minor" everyday practices (tactics). According to he, in daily routine practices, there is a creative and productive process shaped by user's practices. It is possible to trace this production which is shaped by strategy and tactics through the paths and trajectories of the users. In the creation of the thesis, considering the fact that social space is created with the practices of the users, space is examined in terms of tactics and strategy (de Certeau, 1984).

CHAPTER 4

THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE HISTORICAL *KEMERALTİ* BAZAAR



Map 4.1. Location of Historical *Kemeraltı* Bazaar
(Source: Google Earth, November 2019-Edited by Author)

The *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, in the city of *İzmir* in Turkey, is located in the *Konak* district (Map 4.1.) This area starting from *Mezarlıkbaşı* district and reaching to *Konak* Square, is the district and bazaar where commercial activities are intense. *Fevzipaşa* Avenue and *Eşrefpaşa* Avenue constitute the land borders of the bazaar. *Anafartalar* Street, which forms the old seashore line, is the busiest street that is the main backbone of the bazaar. The general characteristic of the bazaar is spread along this street.

In the first years of its establishment, the streets of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar were covered with vaults and tiles. The bazaar has preserved this feature until the late 19th century. However, today the bazaar has lost this feature and the top of streets and squares that

forming the bazaar have remained open. Some of the vaulted and domed structures have preserved their features and these venues mostly contain shops and cafeterias. The bazaar generally houses modern business centers, shops, cafeterias, restaurants, cinemas, jewelers and shops with dozens of different functions. Apart from this, there are many historical inns, mosques and synagogues in the bazaar (url-2).

The *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, which developed between the 15th and 18th centuries with the filling of the ancient inner harbor, continues to live as a commercial center. Today, *Kemeraltı* and its surrounding area, which is still defined as the center of the city and used actively, contains more than 2000 registered monumental and civil architectural buildings. This is an area where commercial, social, administrative, civil and religious architectural structures such as hostelry, workshops, hotels, Turkish baths, mosques, churches, synagogues, schools, fountains, in a special street and square texture, are formed and developed as a result of the interaction of different civilizations with a rich and multicolored cultural mosaic. There is an intense life in this historical bazaar, which includes archaeological sites and historical building stock.

Within this area, the central business area has shifted to northward during the city's growth process. Destruction and vacant areas occurring in the historical texture increase day by day, for reasons such as; the evacuation of the center, decrease of the growth dynamics of the area, shrinkage in terms of population and employment, slum areas as a result of migration, moving of the upper income groups living in the region to modern houses, change of function in the empty areas, decrease in the usage of housing and negligence. Renovation and conservation works are carried out in the region in order to provide an integrated approach to rehabilitate these vacant areas.

This area, which is about 252 hectares of historical city center, was declared as "*İzmir Konak Kemeraltı* and Surrounding Renovation Area," in 2007 by the decision of the Council of Ministers in line with the initiatives of *İzmir* Metropolitan Municipality and law no 5366. This project aims to revive the historical center of *İzmir* and to transfer it to future generations with its original qualities. Apart from the renovation area, regional and single-scale conservation initiatives are ongoing (url-3).



Map 4.2. Land Use Map of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar

(Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan-Edited by Author)

4.1. The Atmosphere of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar Before the Shadows of Night

Kemeraltı Bazaar is a commercial center which is used extensively in daily life and contains dozens of different functions. In the bazaar, mostly there are two-storey buildings, active on the ground floor, with commercial functions. It is estimated that approximately 100-150 thousand users visit the bazaar per day. Within this intense usage, users participating in the flow of the bazaar define networks and relationships with their daily practices that seem to be basically the same but are multicolored and variable. With all these production relations' processes and spaces, it constitutes the social spaces that shape the close hours of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. As Henri Lefebvre (1991) pointed out "social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). At the same time, the urban practices of the inhabitants cannot be considered separate from where these practices take place. In this direction, the practices and creation processes of the bazaar users and their relations with the "conceived space" are examined.

Kemeraltı Bazaar is a big business center. It works both as a shopping center and as an entertainment area. The bazaar is literally a fairground place with hundreds of products located in hundreds of different streets. The products offered for sale are displayed by hanging on the facades of the streets and putting them in front of the shops. The density of sales products on the walls renders the built structure almost invisible. These products, which are juxtaposed along the shop series, form a multicolored union. The goods that are mostly exhibited on the ground floors, overflowing to the streets and covering the walls seem to be intertwined with the pedestrian flow. Especially in the narrow streets of the bazaar, the goods covering the facades and hanging from the top make it difficult to find directions and change the perception of space. Awnings and other facade elements overflowing from the facades to the streets create a kind of balanced mess. The streets extending and branching by articulating each other constitute the context of the bazaar. As it can be followed from Map 4.2., it appears like a labyrinth formed in an organic way. *Anafartalar* Street is the most prominent axle that shapes the bazaar and gives its form to it. This street, which connects *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard and *Konak* Square, is the most active and busy street. Tens of different shops lined up side by side along the street give an exact idea of the general functioning of the bazaar. Especially in the summer months, users are prevented from being affected by the sun with awnings

that are stretched on the street. These awnings create shady areas on the street. In addition, the awnings on the doors of the shops, folded against the walls after darkness collapses.

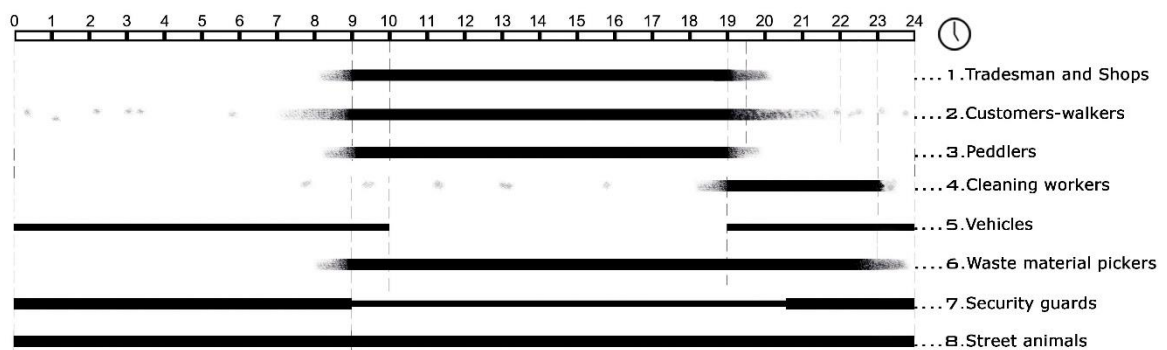
The bazaar is occupied by a busy crowd of people in the daytime, as opposed to the night. While walking through the crowd during the day, users walk by making pauses and changing their directions. In the crowd barkers who sell products try to attract customers by shouting. Food smells spread to the bazaar from food and beverage businesses. In addition, the smell of coffee from coffee grinders and smell of perfume from the perfume shops spread to it. The bazaar houses streets and areas with different functions. For instance, there are dozens of fishing shops on the *Havra* Street. Customers pass through the smell of fish and fish benches standing on both sides of the street. *Kahveciler* Street (906th), which is located on the left side of the *Kızlarağası* Inn, is one of the most used places. There are usually cafe-style businesses on the street and the street is fully equipped with seating units. This street, which is getting crowded especially in the afternoon, is a social activity area among coffee smells and hookah fumes. *Balıkçılar* Square and 871th street are surrounded by fish and mussel shops and benches. During the day, hundreds of customers flock here to eat. Buskers are often found in this square with their instruments and songs. Their voices spread in the square. Almost every street of the bazaar has continuously customers and walking people. Especially in the narrow streets of the bazaar that located inner parts and in the whole bazaar, buzzing prevails. Also, since there are many mosques in the bazaar, the call to prayer sounds echoes during the day and night in the streets.

This urban area that exceedingly active and living during the daytime, after darkness collapse to the bazaar, starts to live literally the opposite of the day (Figure 4.1.). It gradually loses its vitality. All sounds and smells either disappear or leave their place to new ones. Night and dark as a spatial phenomenon, it reshapes the bazaar and spatializes it with its actors. In the following part of the thesis, these actors are examined one by one, and the relations they have established with each other and with space are observed and transferred. These actors are; shops and tradesmen, customers-walkers, peddlers, cleaning workers, vehicles, waste material pickers, security guards, street animals (Table 4.1.). It also investigates the night atmosphere, sound, light and colors of the bazaar, as well as the user productions that take place with their spatial context.



Figure 4.1. Contrast of Day and Night
(June 2018-Taken by Author)

Table 4.1. Actors and Time Intervals
(Edited by Author)



The hours that users are active are marked in the diagram.

4.2. Tradesmen and Shops During Closing Hours

Dozens of products hanging in facade of the street and located in fronts of the shop almost make the built form invisible and creating a multicolored union in the bazaar. However, the night comes to the bazaar as an annihilating cloud that covers and hides all these colors (Figure 4.2.).

Towards late afternoon, the bazaar begins to lose its vitality as a river slowly dries during the closing hours. During these hours (18:30-20:00), the preparations of closing and bustle of the tradesmen are observed in *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. The shops in the inner parts of the bazaar, especially located in the narrow streets and passages, close earlier. With the

coming of darkness, these regions lose their users. Since *Anafartalar* Street is the street where the human flow lasts longest, the shops located here close later. The part of this street close to *Konak* Square is the part that lost its vitality at the latest. This part is the route connected to the square and it is one of the main entrances of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, it can remain alive until the last moment.



Figure 4.2. Colors of the Day and Night
(Edited by Author)

There are places that can be closed or remain open before and after closing time interval. During closing hours clothes sellers and restaurant owners stand in front of their shops and try to attract customers. As a tactical behavior (de Certeau, 1984) they try to persuade customers to shop by standing in the middle of the street. Customers coming to the bazaar at closing hours negotiate with shop owners to benefit from evening discounts. At this time, some shops are already closed, while others still work. Shop owners who do not close their shops yet wait in front of their shops and they watch around. The closure preparations of shops are different according to their types.

The jewelry shops, which are mostly located on Anafartalar Street, close earlier. Before the closure, they illuminate the street with illuminated showcases. In the evening when the weather begins to dark, the owners of the shop talk to each other on both sides of the street. The showcases of the jeweler shops are placed on a rail system. This mobile system is placed in the shop in a way that overflows a part of it to the street during the day. After dark begins, shop owners collect the jewelry in the showcase one by one and empty it. The empty showcase is slid over the rail system and placed into the shop by hand (Figure 4.3.). Afterwards, automatic shutters covering the facades of many shops of the bazaar at night are closed. Finally, the jewelry shops owners that close their shops leave the bazaar by wishing good evening to the neighboring shopkeepers.



Figure 4.3. Jewelry Shopkeepers at Closing Hours
(June 2018-Taken by Author)

Clothing and shoe seller shops, in the evening, on the one hand while preparing for the closing on the other hand waiting for the last customers. During the day, clothing stores hang their products on the facades of the shops that facing to the street with the help of hangers. The clothes dressed on the models are arranged in front of the shop and on the walls respectively. In the evening, these products hanged on the walls, are taken

from the wall with the help of a stick and placed in the shop (Figure 4.4.). In particular, the products put out in narrow streets where vehicles cannot enter create an uninterrupted continuity. At the end of the day, the garbage collected under the clothes' shelf is poured from the shop into the street with a brush. Large garbage bags are left in front of the doors. Large shelves where shoes and clothes are displayed left out of the shops by covering with a piece of cloth.

This time period is also the material transport hours to the shops. After the ban on entry of vehicles into the bazaar come to end, vehicles park in front of the shops and new materials are transported. In the narrow streets of the bazaar, materials are transported by hand carts. Goods loaded on hand carts are transported through the crowd of people. Shoe store owners carry shoe boxes stacked on top of each other in front of the store. Waste shoe boxes and packages are collected by waste material pickers who passing through the streets continuously. The shoe sellers, who have completed the gathering work, leave the bazaar after closing the shutter and leaning the blinds on the wall. Since it takes time the closing of shutters, the shop owners wait for a while in front of the shops. Old-style shutters are mostly located in the inner parts of the bazaar. And these shutters close by making a big noise when trying to close. These sounds echo in the long corridors of the bazaar that begin to discharge.



Figure 4.4. Products Hanged on the Walls
(June 2018-Taken by Author)

Shops serving food keep the streets alive with the tables and chairs they put on the streets of the bazaar. There are shops arranged in this way in *Balıkçılar Square*, *Hisarönü Square*, *Alipaşa Square*, *Kızlarağası Inn* and in streets of *Hisarönü Region*. The vast majority of food and beverage venues are located in the *Hisarönü Region* (see Map 4.2.).

Along the *Anafartalar* Street in some places there are restaurants on both sides of the street and bakers trying to attract customers. The cafe and restaurant initiatives, which are very important in the nighttime economy and the twenty-four-hour city concept, are necessary to keep the night alive and to stimulate other activities (Heath, 1997). The places where eating and drinking culture take place in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar are streets and squares arranged with tables and chairs. According to Montgomery (1994), this kind of eating, drinking and socializing culture is the opposite of the exclusionary bar culture. This culture that makes the street and squares alive, supports the twenty-four-hour city concept by enjoying being outside in the urban atmosphere and with creating a sense of security by presence of other people. In *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, it is the daylight and its hours that support the accuracy of this determination and make it visible. In other words, the soul of the bazaar living during the day disappears at night. Because with the collapse of darkness, vitality in the bazaar gradually disappears. These consumption areas do not survive overnight. As stated earlier, in the context of the nighttime economy concept, night produces spaces for consumption of leisure or entertainment etc. which are socially acceptable places that channel social activities (Hobbs et al., 2000; Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995). However, the cafes and restaurants in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar do not operate in a format that supports the twenty-four-hour night order. Almost all the shops are closed except for the limited area in the *Hisarönü* Region. Currently, the bazaar is far from being a night consumption and entertainment area.

After the shop owners serve their last meals, the closing preparations begin. What darkness shapes during these hours is the rush of tradesmen to close their shops. It is time to clean the workbenches and shop itself. Benches that contaminated during the day are removed outside the shop and are cleaned outside of the shop by the owners. This cleaning practice is made on the street. The floor and front of the shop are washed by a hose. It is then cleaned with a broom and a mop. Garbage is filled to the large black colored garbage bags and are left in front of the shops. These will be collected by cleaning workers who start working at the closing hours of the bazaar. At closing times, waste food is given to cats and dogs walking around. In addition, preparations are made in the shop for the next day. Tables and chairs on the street are moved into the shops. But there are also shops that leave tables and chairs outside (Figure 4.5.). Thanks to the security measures that have been increased in the bazaar in recent years, shop owners do not need to collect furniture.



Figure 4.5. Tables and Chairs Left Outside the Shops
(October 2019-Taken by Author)

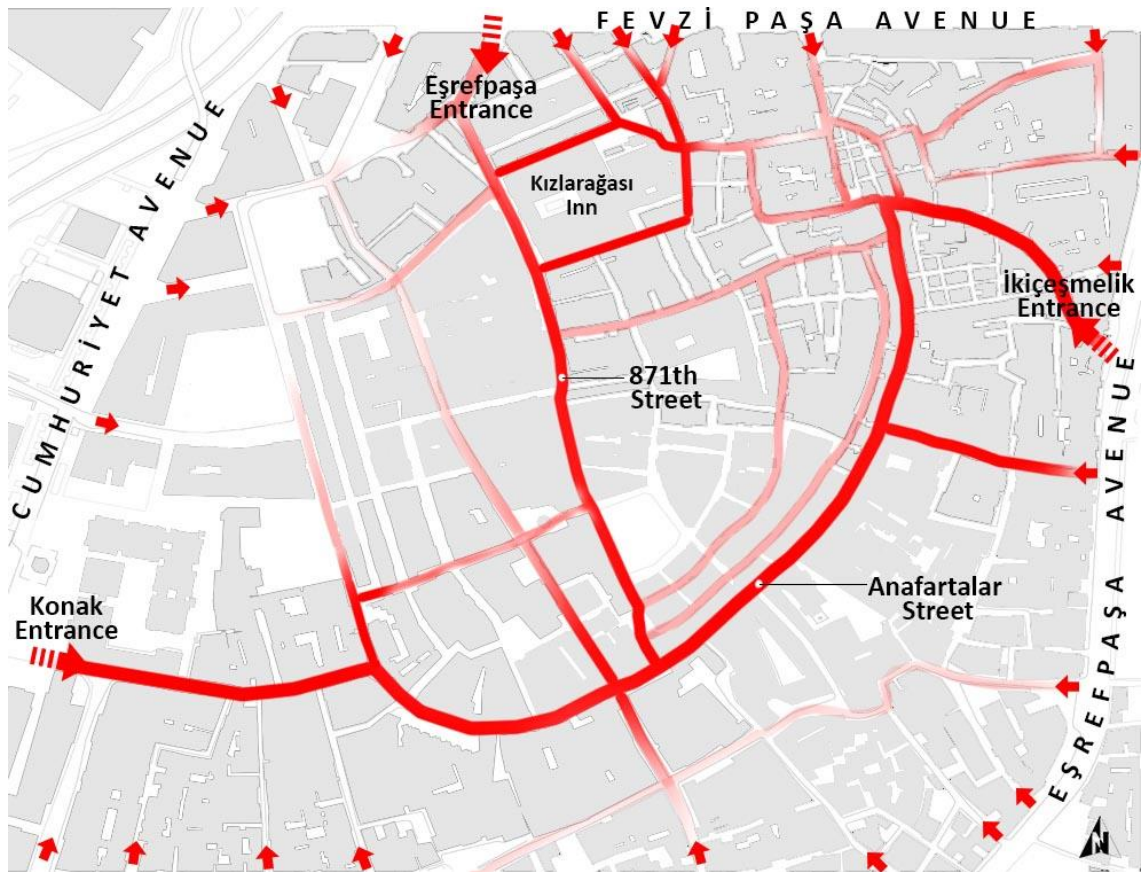
Except those, the bazaar also houses shops with a wide range of functions. For instance; business centers, gift shops, spice seller shops, pet shops, pickle shops, bijouterie shops, wedding dresses and curtain shops, record shops, etc. The Bazaar also includes forgotten professions such as tinsmith and smithery. When the darkness begins to collapse, these shops start to close one by one after the preparations for closing. All these shops close in the rhythmic functioning of the bazaar after dark. They are closed behind the shutters by tradesmen to continue working the next day. These shops, which look very colorful in the daytime, look like a homogeneous whole after the shutters are closed. In this sense, the dark simplifies and simulates the elongated corridors of the bazaar.

4.3. Customers and Pedestrians During Closing Hours

Kemeraltı Bazaar is a prominent pedestrian area visited by many people from inside and outside the city of *İzmir* during the day. This dynamic form, which is in constant motion and flow, determines how the day and night of the bazaar will be lived. Customers and pedestrians are the most prominent elements that make the place visible and shape the daily life and social spaces of bazaar. However, visitors and employees of the bazaar mostly exist during daylight hours. Night, interrupts and changes the vibrant rhythm (Lefebvre, 1996) of *Kemeraltı* users during the day and especially slows it down. Therefore, users particularly shape the bright time of the day. Every day, they add

themselves to the flow of the bazaar and remove them at the end of the day. In this way they re-creating the bazaar again and again at the level of the living space. This space is the creation space which forms the social space and shaped by the users' daily practices.

Entry and exit of pedestrians to the bazaar is provided from the entry points located on the borders of the *Kemeraltı* (Map 4.3.). *Anafartalar* Street is the main line that feeds the bazaar. *Konak* entrance is the main and most intensely functioning entrance. *İkiçeşmelik* entrance on *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard is another frequently used entrance. The entrance on the *Fevzipaşa* Boulevard that reaching the *Kızlarağası* Inn is another distinctive gate. Apart from these main entrances, there are many entrances that feed the bazaar and provide access to the interior parts.



Map 4.3. Entrance Points and Pedestrian Density Map of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar
(Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan
-Edited by Author)

The users of the bazaar, with their bodies, compose the general flow that makes the bazaar mobile and variable. As de Certeau pointed out, "it is as though the practices organizing a bustling city were characterized by their blindness" (Certeau, 1984, p. 93). The bazaar, which contains dozens of different business areas, attracts visitors during the day. The bazaar users visit it for clothing shopping, accessory shopping, eating and drinking activities, meeting, worship and touristic sightseeing. When visitors enter the bazaar, they walk through dozens of different products placed on the streets. These products and stalls, which are still on the street during the closing hours, partially occupy the street. The pedestrian route takes shape according to this sequence (Figure 4.6.).

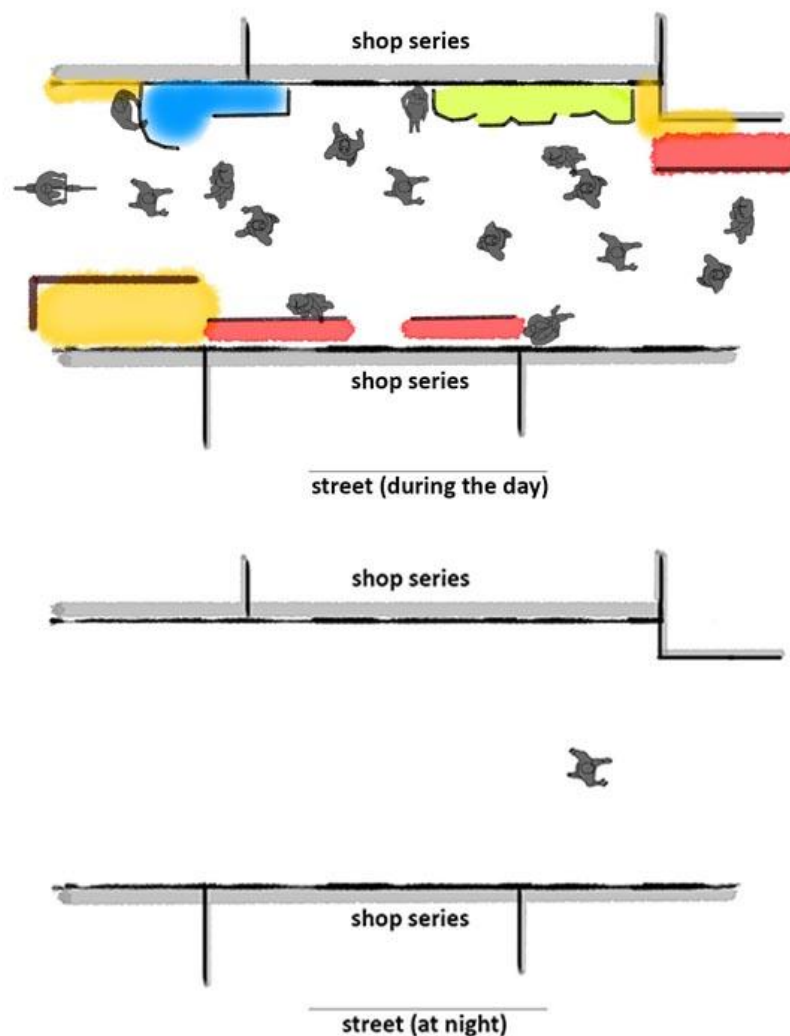


Figure 4.6. Positioning of Pedestrians and Products on the Street
(Edited by Author)

This lively flow of people at any time, fill and evacuate the streets, stores, shops, restaurants and squares that located along the all over the bazaar. This moving mass, which fills the streets until the closing hours, leaves its place to the emptiness of the street at night (Figure 4.7.). In the twenty-four-hour city concept, the community of people that living and visible in the urban area creates a sense of security and a willingness to engage in social activities (Heath, 1997). In the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, there is no human density at night to create this willingness. Night hours are users' withdrawal times from the bazaar. During the closing hours, the relatively dense areas of pedestrians are *Anafartalar* Street, 871th street and the surroundings of *Hisarönü* Mosque (Map 4.3.). The pedestrian flow is mostly from the *Anafartalar* line to *Konak* Square. Towards the evening, when the shops close one by one, the crowd begins to dilute.

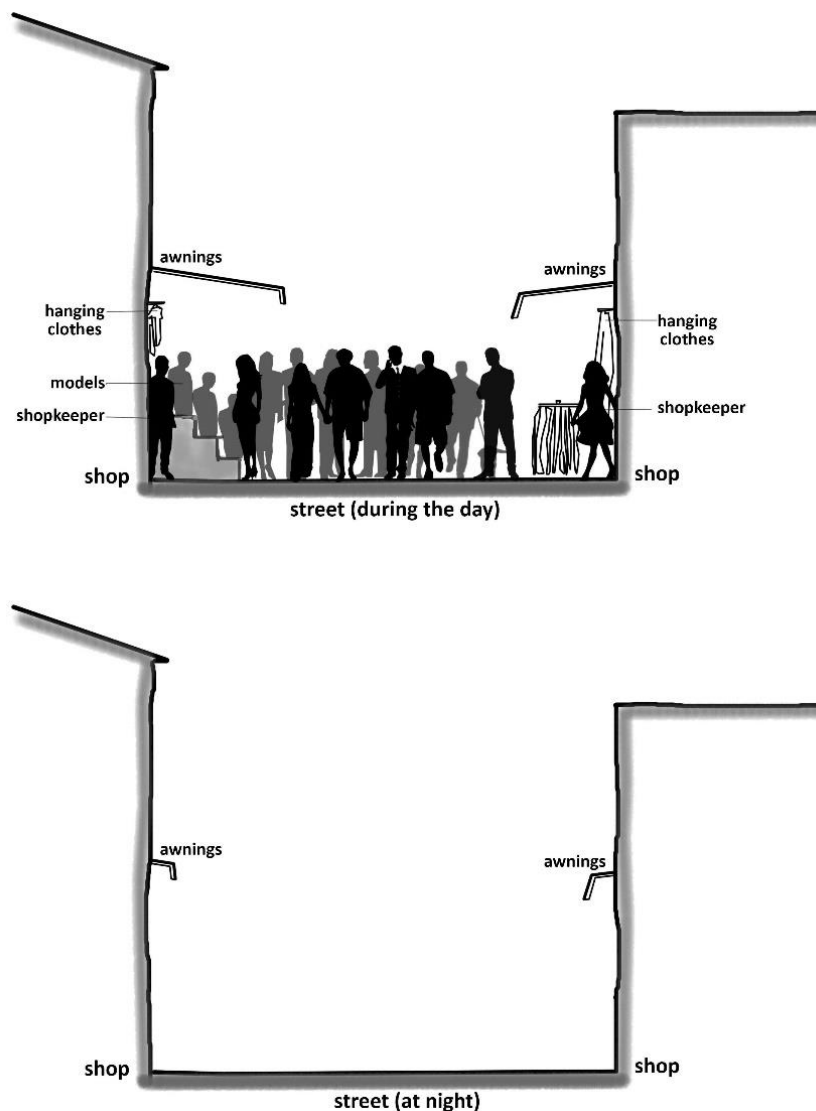


Figure 4.7. The Section of Street-Day and Night
(Edited by Author)

Kemeraltı's tradesmen close their shops approximately around 6pm. and 7pm., and the visitors general sense tend to leave the bazaar after 6pm. The bazaar mostly runs in the traditional hours-nine to five. In the twenty-four-hour city concept, it is aimed to keep the night active for a long time and allow leisure activities with retail initiatives (Heath, 1997). For this restaurants, theaters, cinemas, bars and clubs and entertainment venues should remain open to keep consumers in the consumption areas. However, since the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar does not offer these consumption areas to the visitors at night, it loses its users after certain hours. After the darkness began to collapse, the bazaar continues to work for a while. Walkers continue to visit the shops and cross the street while the shopkeepers are preparing for the closing. Customers who shop, enter and exit the shops and are in dialogue with the shopkeepers. On the other hand, shopkeepers trying to attract customers to the shops fill the streets with their voices. The stores serving food host their last customers (Figure 4.8.). The tables and chairs around the shops are slowly emptied. Busy cafes and restaurants in the day lose their vitality during these hours. For example, the cafes in *Kahveciler* Street and *Kızlarağası* Inn close around 8pm. Once the darkness begins to fall, customers slowly begin to leave these consumption of leisure spaces.



Figure 4.8. Customers Before Darkness
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

Some of those who fill the streets use the bazaar only as a transit route. During this transition, pedestrians walk the streets through the garbage that is not on the street

during the day but left to the streets after dark. Since these times are also cleaning hours, cleaning workers participate in the pedestrian flow too. First, people begin to withdraw from the inner parts of the bazaar, which consists of narrow corridors. In these parts, shutter sounds are heard during the sporadic passage of the walking person. *Anafartalar* Street is the main street used by those who walk in the bazaar. The flow of people continues until the bazaar is completely closed from *Anafartalar* Street.

During these hours, people with shopping bags in their hands, those who trying to select products in the shops and wanderers are seen in the view of the bazaar. There are also many walkers passing by the streets with baby carriages they drive (Figure 4.9.). Walkers walk along the streets in two directions. The vehicles are added to the pedestrian flow after hours when vehicles can enter the bazaar. Pedestrians walk between moving and parked vehicles at certain points. Vehicles pass slowly through the reduced human flow. Among the diminishing crowd of people there are beggars sitting on the ground by the street. They take place at closing hours, calling out to people walking on the street. In addition, peddlers, waste material pickers and stray animals are found in the streets at the same time. These groups become visible when the gradually decreasing crowd of people begins to lose its dynamics.



Figure 4.9. Walkers Before Darkness
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

In the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, there are five large mosques located inside the *Anafartalar* arc (see Map 4.2.). During the prayer times, movements of the mosque community are observed in and around the courtyards of five mosques in the bazaar. In summer, especially during late night prayer times, people are seen walking to mosques or leaving from them in the darkness of the night. These are some human movements that

appear in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, which becomes deserted at night. Later in the night bazaar is becoming a deserted region that loses its human mobility under the sovereignty of semi-illuminated and dark streets (see Map 4.7.).

4.4. Peddlers Before Nightfall

Peddlers are mobile actors who are constantly present in the daily life of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. With the advantages of being mobile and temporary, peddlers add and remove themselves to the flow of the bazaar every day. The way that peddlers do business emerges as the counter space in the space that Lefebvre (1991) conceptualizes as representations of spaces field of specialists. Users reconstruct the existing urban space according to their own needs and usage requirements, with what de Certeau (1984) calls tactic every day. Their solutions to exist in the city turn into tactics as they resist with strategies, rules and laws. They create spaces of utilization by settling in "loose spaces" (Frank & Stevens, 2007) within the urban space constructed with strategies. These spaces, where tactics come to life, are defined as spaces that carry the potential of unpredictable transformations. They find space to move within the crowd of people and the urban built environment that they need to exist. When the conditions that create them disappear, they either disappear or evolve into something else. They change and reshape the existing urban space by infiltrating, articulating, utilizing or adapting to different spaces in a constantly changing order of positioning in the bazaar.

During the day, peddlers walk around the interior parts of the bazaar in constant motion, just like other people who come to shopping to meet their needs. This situation of action ensures their continuity. They change their position over an indefinite network. They do not have a stable space. Unauthorized sales by peddlers are prohibited by municipal law (url-4). But peddlers exist by resisting these rules. Peddlers are those who do not comply with the rules of using of space that formed by the representatives of the power, the legislators and the law enforcement officers, and redefine their spaces with the products they sell and operate them by putting their own rules to this space.

Peddlers are positioning in the daily life of the bazaar, with the mobile vehicles (pickle handcart, folding mussel bench, corn handcart, chestnut bench, bagel bench and Ottoman paste tripod, etc.) that they develop on food and drink. There are also ballooners,

teetotums and peddlers who sell dozens of products on a wheeled exhibition stand. These ordinary people, mentioned with the names of the products they sell, convert the point where they are walked and stopped into a mobile selling area. They establish shopping areas that are visible at certain times in urban space, by creating unplanned and unscheduled encounter possibilities. Since they establish temporary sales areas, they may not visit the same place more than once.

Peddlers work in fear of being punished because they exist within the ruling order by resisting to the rules. The representative face of the executive power is the *zabita*, which is shaped in the space Lefebvre (1991) calls the representations of space and present in the urban area during the day. *Zabitas* are inspection officers employed by the municipality who check whether the determined orders and prohibitions are followed. Authorized officers (*zabita*) may intervene with the peddlers, if deemed necessary. This intervention takes place in the form of cutting penal receipt or expropriation of the peddler's handcarts or workbenches. Sometimes these *zabitas* warn the peddlers only by words or condone their work. They escape from where they are to avoid being punished in these cases. According to de Certeau (1984), tactics are interdependent, located inside each other and need others to exist. The realization area of a tactic creates the ground for another tactic to happen. For example, the pickle peddler says that if you see the balloon peddler escaping, you should escape too. The balloon peddler's "way of operating" (Certeau, 1984) is escape. He uses this as a tactic as he can move more easily within the pedestrian flow. This escape warns another tactician to position in a different way within the bazaar order. Some peddlers only carry as many products as they can sell during their working. This is not only improves mobility, but also allows them to suffer less in cases of punishment. These behaviors shape the spaces of representation in daily life as behaviors that develop in the functioning of the order.

Peddlers create unreadable paths in a conceived and functionalized order where consumers act intensely. During the day, peddlers mostly work in the inner parts of the bazaar, which is less controlled by the *zabita*. When the bazaar gradually loses its vitality, the peddlers move from the inner parts of the bazaar to *Anafartalar* Street. Because the shops in the *Anafartalar* arc of the bazaar close earlier. Tacticians are always on the watch, looking for the opportunities to infiltrate and take advantage of the hours that need to be seized (Certeau, 1984). Since the presence of peddlers depends on the presence of customers, they are positioning in this street where human flow continues at these times (6pm.-7pm.). As the number of people decreases from the bazaar, peddlers become

progressively visible. The crowded flow of people during the day takes on a covering mission. Hence, the visitors of the bazaar forms peddlers' movement area and they move within this moving area. After the flow of people is completely finished, peddlers complete their daily routines in the bazaar.

During the hours when the shadows of darkness began to fall into the bazaar, peddlers continued to work with handcarts placed in the spatialized areas of the streets (Figure 4.11.). In a diminishing crowd of people, they stand in front of the shutters of a closed shop or on the corner of the street and sell their products. These spaces are not spaces where they can stop and sell during the day. After the closing hours, shop fronts become a suitable area to sell. They turn their place into a temporary shop and articulate themselves to the street before dark (Figure 4.10.). This process continues until the crowd of people thoroughly decreases.

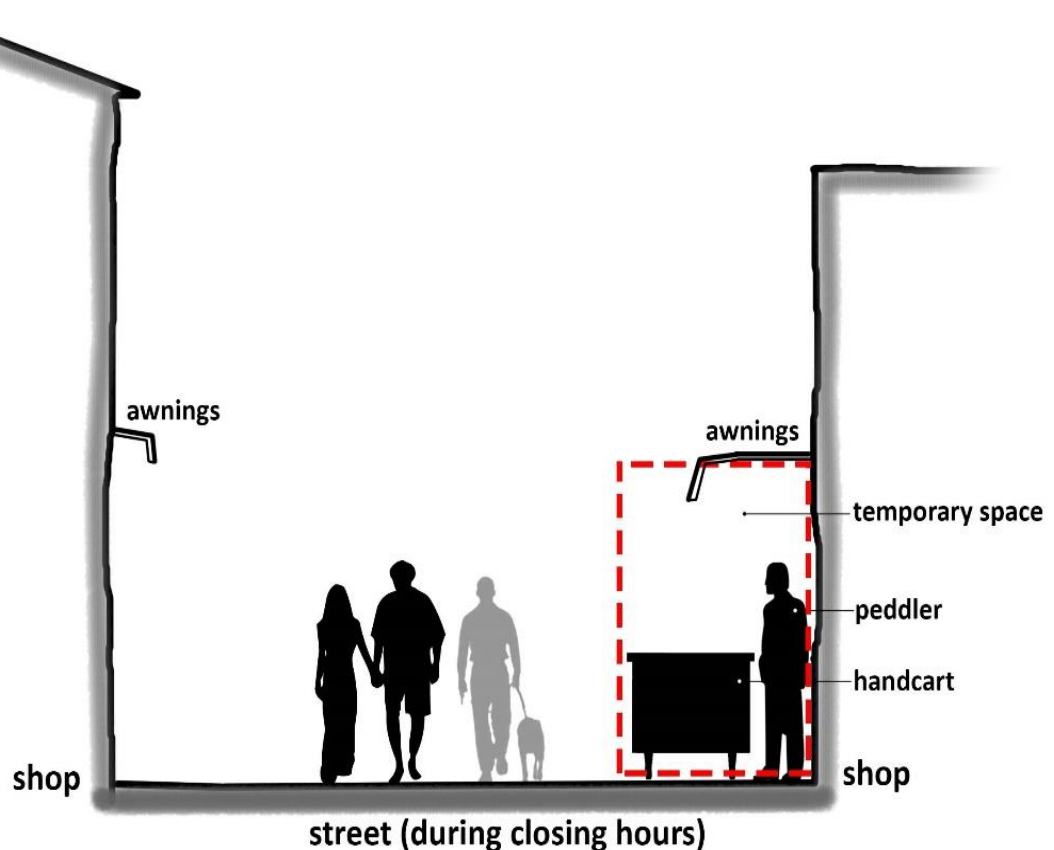


Figure 4.10. Positioning of the Peddler on the Street
(Edited by Author)



Figure 4.11. Peddlers (Pickle Handcart, Corn Handcart, Bagel Bench)
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

Some peddlers sell by settling in the middle of the street and trying to attract customers. On the other hand, they speak in sentences that they praise their products to attract customers. Some of them try to make visual contact with customers by standing in the middle of the street or on the edge. In particular, balloon peddlers stand out with a bunch of balloons hanging in the air and tied to a rope (Figure 4.12.). They work in a hurry to sell the final products they have. In the meantime, the customers gathered around the handcarts of the peddlers create density from time to time.



Figure 4.12. Peddlers (Balloons and Slipper Bench)
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

Peddlers, who continue to chat with shopkeepers and customers on the street, begin to move again when the weather starts to darken. Once the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is completely closed, it is no longer a working area for peddlers. In the nighttime economy concept, night also creates consumption areas and users (Hobbs et al., 2000). However, in the case of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, users are withdrawn from the bazaar because the consumption areas are closed at night and the bazaar remains deserted. In this case, peddlers who need the presence of consumers to do business are also withdrawn from the bazaar. The peddlers who continue to work move to different parts of the urban area. Those who finish their work disappear in the long corridors of the bazaar to make preparations for closing. At the end of the day, they leave their handcarts to the warehouses in certain places of the bazaar. For example; the lower floors of some of the buildings (east side of *Anafartalar* Street) located near *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard are used as warehouses. Peddlers also use these warehouses as a preparation area before they start selling. Late in the night, peddlers are already leaving from the bazaar completely.

4.5. Stray Dogs and Cats in Nights of *Kemeraltı*

Dogs and cats continue to exist both in the day and at night in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, as in many urban areas around the world. These animals are very popular pets and their relationship with humans has always been very close. Although the exact number is unknown, a considerable number of dogs and cats are located on the streets and night of *Kemeraltı*. These animals roam freely in many parts of the urban area and switch between regions. Urban area is their habitat-in a sense it is their home. The same dog can be seen in different places while walking through the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar - both night and day.

Stray dogs are a source of fear, especially at night. Most of this fear and anxiety is caused by diseases such as rabies or fear of being bitten. These cats and dogs live outside animal shelters. Some of them have earrings in their ears that they have been vaccinated, but others do not. The possibility that street animals are dirty and carry disease causes loathing and staying away from them. However, this varies depending on the social codes and does not apply to everyone. In addition, a stray dog, suddenly emerging from the obscurity of darkness and seeking attention, can cause fear.

They are less visible in the busy crowd and hum of *Kemeraltı* during the day, but they are seen during sleeping, wandering or feeding in many parts of the bazaar. After the sun goes down, they become more visible in the elongated corridors of *Kemeraltı*, illuminated by street lamps. Cats and dogs are prominent actors of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar at night. In the bazaar, which is covered with darkness at night, there are dogs lying and sleeping in front of the shops, squares or hidden in the nooks. Sometimes it is seen the dogs that swinging away or running away in the shady atmosphere of the night. At night, dogs are either irrelevant to the people around or waiting for attention. Sometimes it happens that they are walking with walkers. Cats are more sensitive to the movements around and are more mobile. When walkers notice them, they have already noticed the walkers. Cats are climbing trees, vines or awnings in the bazaar at night. There are also cats playing on the litter or wandering around (Figure 4.13.).



Figure 4.13. Stray Dogs and Cats in the Darkness
(May 2018-Taken by Author)

The weather affects the behavior of stray animals. In hot and cold weather, especially dogs enter the stores and try to warm or cool. In winter months, dogs rest through snuggle to each other or curling at the places they find suitable. In summer, they lie on a cool surface by spreading due to the heat. At night, there are many dogs lying on the ground and resting around the *Balıkçılar* Square in summer.

There are interesting links between waste material pickers and stray dogs. Some waste material pickers walk with stray dogs (Figure 4.14.). They see these dogs as a friend who protects or accompanies them, especially in the dark. According to a 12-year-old Syrian waste material picker, the dogs recognize them after seeing and smelling them several times. Then dogs do not treat them aggressive when they work in the dark at night.

Also, according to a worker, stray dogs use people to change their territories. The summary of the situation is as follows: especially at night, when stray dogs move, they accompany people to protect themselves from the attacks of other groups of dogs. This can be seen as the learning and tactical behavior of stray dogs.

Another interesting relationship between stray dogs and waste material pickers is based on fear. As has been witnessed many times, stray dogs become disturbed and they are barking, even show offensive behavior during the transition of waste material pickers. Although waste material pickers do not care about dogs barking, dogs bark until workers leave. Although the reason is not fully understood, such behaviors of stray dogs were observed during *Kemeraltı* nights.



Figure 4.14. Stray Dog and Waste Material Pickers
(May 2018-Taken by Author)

Another prominent relationship between stray animals and humans occurs through nutrition. Feeding of stray animals depends on the mercy or sensitivity of people within the urban area. There are dogs and cats waiting in front of butcher shops, fish workbench or restaurants. Particularly at the closing hours of the bazaar (18:30-20:00), some tradesmen leave the remaining waste food on the ground so that cats and dogs can be fed. Garbage bags are left in front of the shops when the shops are closed. At this time (18:30-23:00) it is observed that the cats and dogs scramble the garbage heaps and try to tear the bags (Figure 4.15.). Because they basically feed on garbage. In the darkness of the night,

around the garbage heap, the sounds of a dog trying to eat bone can be heard. And also restaurant's customers feed cats and dogs standing next to them while they are eating. Water pots and animal food left by volunteer people can be seen around. Especially in summer, they meet their water needs from these water pots or fountains of mosques. During the winter months, local municipalities and volunteer groups leave food for street animals that are having difficulty finding food.

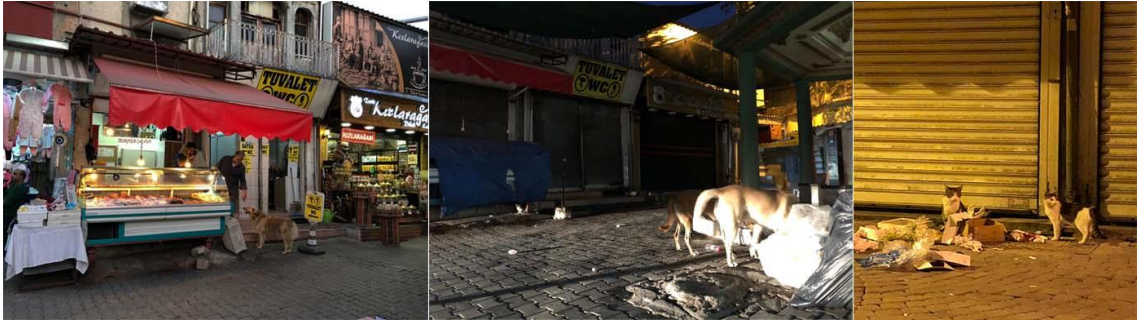


Figure 4.15. Feeding of Street Animals
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

Dogs are animals that are sensitive to loud sounds. The call to prayer is one of these loud sounds. There are five large mosques in *Kemeraltı Bazaar*. When the call to prayer starts, the dogs begin to howl. Since the bazaar is empty at night, this situation can be observed more easily during the *isha* and morning prayer. At this time, the sound of the dogs mixed with the sound of the call to prayer. At the same time while walking through the dark or shady corridors of the Bazaar, in the empty corridors, the sounds of cats echoing at night.

Another issue that needs to be mentioned in this section is the crickets and domestic birds whose voices are heard during night-time especially in summer. After the bazaar closes, *Kemeraltı* is silent in contrast to daytime. These voices, which are not heard in the daytime crowd, become apparent at night. In the areas of trees and vines (*Alipaşa Square, Hisar Mosque, Abacıoğlu Inn, Piyaleoğlu Bazaar, etc.*) sounds made by crickets are heard (Map 4.4.). At the same time, the sounds of the domestic birds singing held by the *Kemeraltı* tradesmen in the cage are heard behind the shutters.



Map 4.4. Green Texture in *Kemeraltı* Bazaar
 (Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan
 -Edited by Author)

4.6. Cleaning Workers

Another figure that appears in the shadows and darkness of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is the cleaning workers. Since *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is a busy commercial center during the day, it leaves large stacks of garbage to the dark of night. During the day, the cleaning workers, who are not visible in the bazaar, start working in the night. This working order, which indicates the executive power and knowledge, is shaped in the representations of the space (Lefebvre, 1991) and the time of its realization is after the bazaar is closed. In the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, the hours when the darkness began to collapse are also the times when garbage is left in the streets and in front of the shops. At this time, the users of the bazaar pass through the streets, witnessing the garbage left on the street. This is another side of

the bazaar formed by the shadows of darkness. Nearly all shops leave their wastes on the streets in bulk or scattered during the closing hours (17:00-20:30) (Figure 4.16.).



Figure 4.16. Garbage Left in the Streets
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

After collapse of darkness begins, the crowd of people begins to dilute. In the meantime, the cleaning workers are mixed with the crowd of people who are wearing their working clothes. They walk from *Konak Square* to the north side of the *Eşrefpaşa Boulevard* surrounding the bazaar with same work clothes and wheeled trash cans. (Figure 4.17.). Workers divided into three or four groups and start cleaning from there. Because the part of the bazaar extending towards *Konak Square* closes later. Cleaning workers begin to collect the garbage left in the street with the help of a broom and shovel. The workers also chat while cleaning. They usually talk among themselves and do the cleaning quickly. The sounds of broom licking the streets, the wheeled trash can and the voices of the chatting workers belong to these hours (18:00-23:00) of darkness.



Figure 4.17. Closing Hours and Cleaning Workers
(November 2019 & May 2018-Taken by Author)

The small parts of the garbage are filled to the garbage cans and transported. However, large black garbage bags are stacked at certain points and left for garbage trucks to collect. Especially in *Anafartalar* Street and the 871th street passing in front of *Kızlarağası* Inn, a large number of these garbage stacks can be seen in front of the shop series. These streets, which are large enough for garbage trucks to enter, are more suitable areas for storing garbage. The narrow streets of the bazaar are cleaned with trash cans. Workers who control the garbage truck move through the main arteries of the bazaar and quickly load the garbage collected by the pedestrian team onto the truck.

During cleaning hours (18:00-23:00), can be encountered to the cleaning workers while walking in the bazaar. Cleaning workers perform cleaning during the passage of pedestrians, which are increasingly fading in the elongated corridors of the bazaar, which are in places lit or buried in darkness. This cleaning process continues until at 23:00.

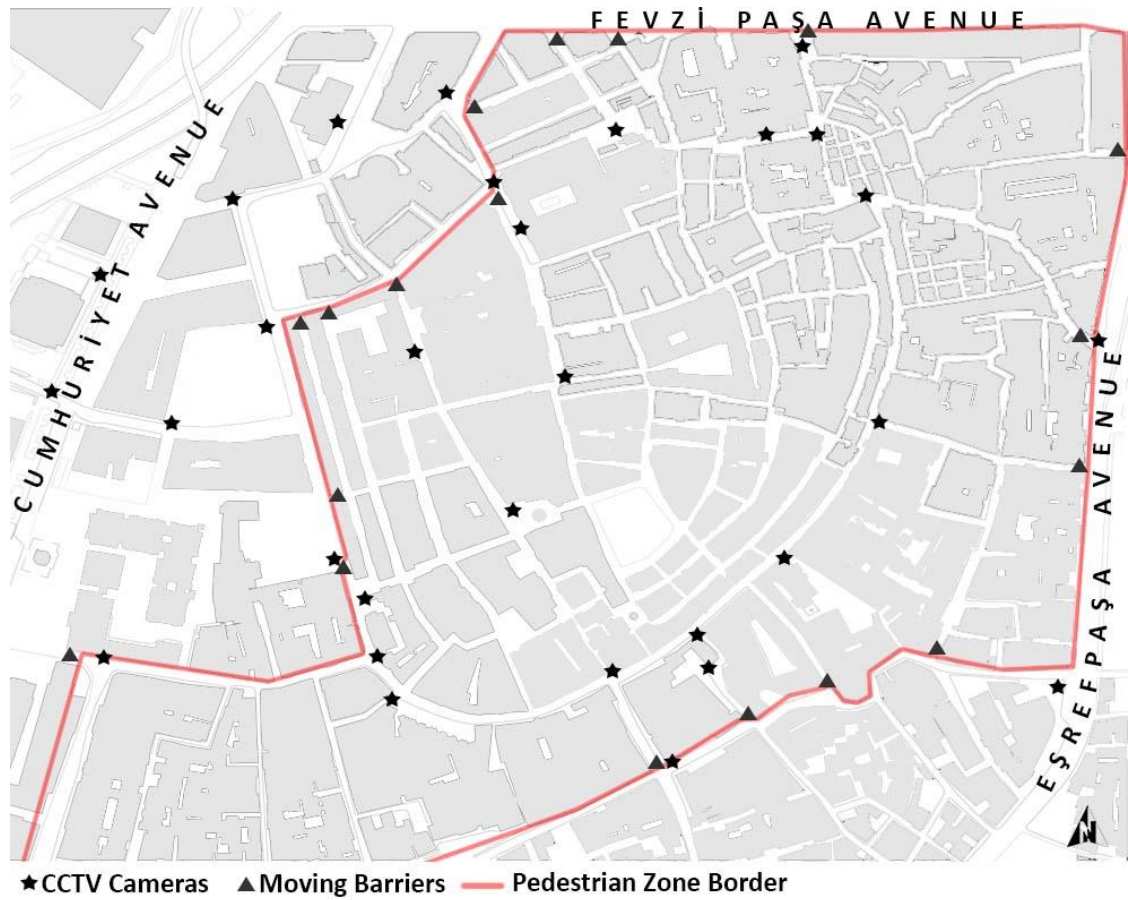
4.7. The Darkness of *Kemeraltı* and Vehicles

With the shadows of darkness vehicles, another actor of the bazaar, begin to appear. After the weather starts to darken, vehicles are also added to the flow of the bazaar. Vehicles cannot be seen in the bazaar during the day. With the arrangements made under the leadership of *İzmir* Metropolitan Municipality, entering of vehicles to the bazaar are prohibited from 10:30 to 17:30. This time interval can be extended to 19:30 in summer. With this study carried out within the scope of pedestrianization project, it is planned to make the pedestrian use of the bazaar more convenient and safer (url-5). With the initiative of specialists (Lefebvre, 1991), this commercial area that the way of use is conceived, the time and space limits are determined, shapes the daily practices of the users in the dimension of the lived space (spaces of representation).

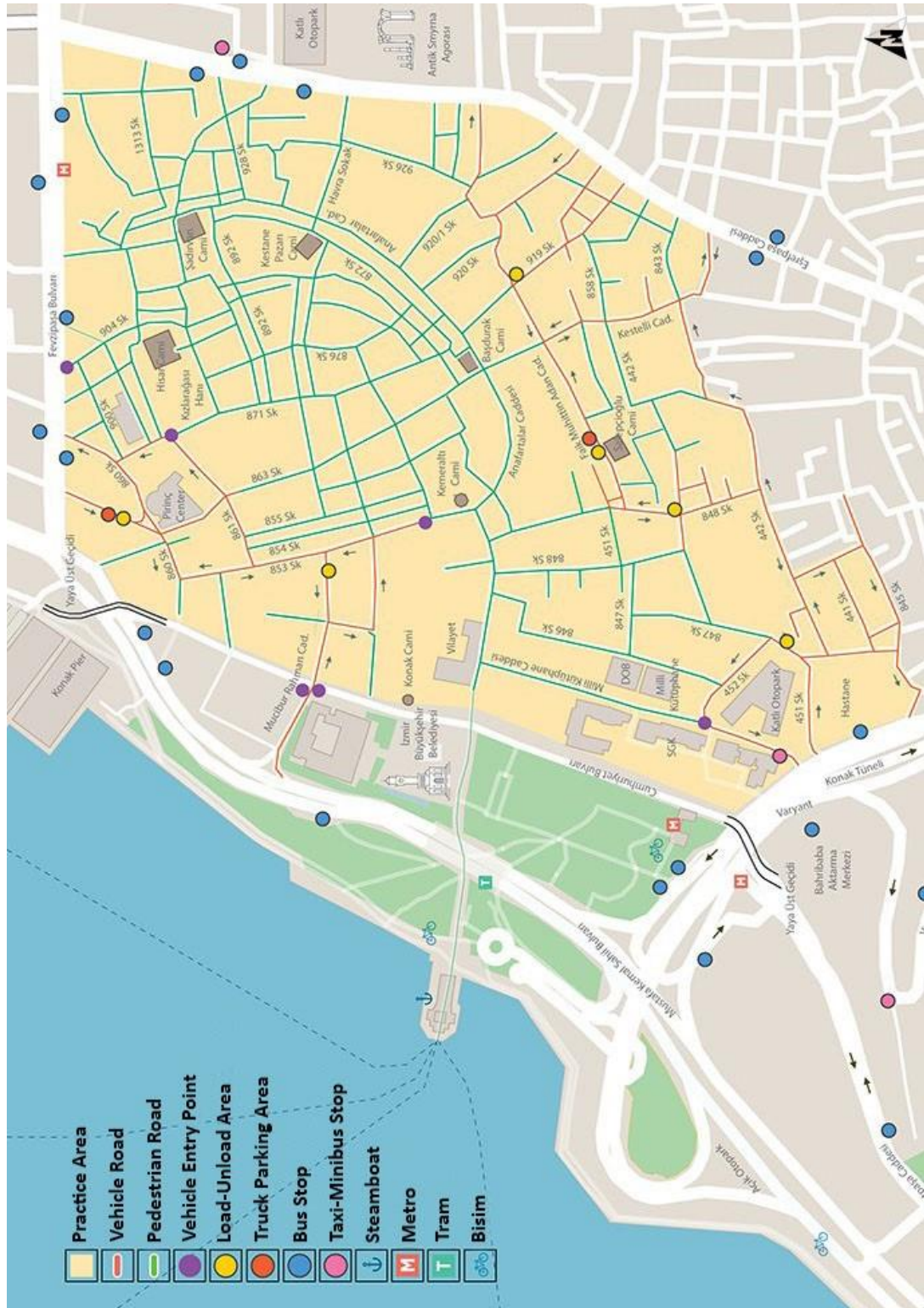
According to Bromley et al. (2000), the revitalization of the evening economy and the strengthening of the twenty-four-hour city concept is dependent on the major development of parking lots and public transport facilities. "Good accessibility is a key facet of the prosperity of the city economy" (Bromley et al., 2000, p. 77). Poor nighttime public transport service cannot provide safe environments where activities involving the evening economy can be carried out (Heath, 1997). The living and heavily used face of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is basically limited to day hours. During the day, the bazaar is a

pedestrian zone within the determined frontiers (Map 4.5.). When we look at the access network to *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, it is located in a strong transportation network during the day as an important center of the city (Map 4.6.). Public transportation vehicles pass through the edges of the bazaar and form a movement network. No public transport enters the interior part of the bazaar. The main transportation network feeding the bazaar is located around *Konak* Square. *Konak* Metro Stop, *Bahribaba* Transfer Center (bus), *Konak* Ferry Port, tram line and bus stops are located in this area. There are three bus stops and *Çankaya* Metro Stop on *Fevzipaşa* Boulevard and three bus stops on *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard provide access to the bazaar. Public transportation vehicles that feed the bazaar basically operate starting from 06:00 in the morning until 00:30 (url-6).

The entrances and exits to *Kemeraltı* Bazaar are controlled by moving barriers (Map 4.5.) under the supervision of *İzmir* Transportation Center (İZUM). 26 electronic barriers surrounding the bazaar from west to south, from south to east and from east to north are identified within the scope of the observations (Figure 4.18.).



Map 4.5. The Location of CCTV Cameras, Moving Barriers and Pedestrian Zone
 (Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan
 -Edited by Author)



Map 4.6. Transportation Map of the Kemeraltı Bazaar
 (Source: İzmir Transportation Center, January 2020-Edited by Author)



Figure 4.18. Moving Barriers
(January 2020-Taken by Author)

Since the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is a commercial center that works very intensively and offers many different services, thence the transportation of the required materials is vital. This material transport process begins after the darkness covers the bazaar. All loading and unloading operations performed at the bazaar area are carried out at the time interval (19:30-10:30) of the bazaar which is open to traffic. The loading and unloading operations to be performed in the closed time interval are only carried out at the points specified in the pedestrian zone boundaries. In the time zone in which motor vehicle traffic is prohibited, goods entry and exit of commercial establishments are provided by handcarts, cargo bikes and small electric vehicles. Especially in the central part of the bazaar, materials are transported by hand carts to the corridors where vehicles cannot enter. During the closing hours, the bustle of the shopkeepers who park their vehicles in front of the shops and load the materials or stack the materials in front of the shops is observed. (Figure 4.19.). During the hours that are open to traffic, vehicles with a transportation permit up to 3 tons are allowed to enter the bazaar. However, this rule is sometimes violated. Once the bazaar is completely closed, it can be seen in the darkness of night, a truck parked on *Anafartalar* Street or a freight truck passing rapidly. This space, shaped by the rules set by the managers and named as representation of space by Lefebvre (1991), is re-spatialized the *Kemeraltı* nights with user practices what de Certeau (1984) calls tactic.



Figure 4.19. Transport of Materials to Shops and Vehicles
(April 2018-Taken by Author)

After the banned hours (after 19:00), it is seen that vehicles try to pass through the bazaar by splitting (sometimes by honking) the crowd of people. Because during these hours (19: 00-20:00), there are considerable people in *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. When the day is almost over, customers try to shop while vehicles try to pass through the bazaar. Thus, the movements of pedestrians and vehicles intermingle, and they find a place for themselves in the shadows of darkness (Figure 4.20.).



Figure 4.20. Vehicles Passing Through the Crowd
(April 2018-Taken by Author)

After the crowd of people withdraw from the bazaar the front of *Kızlarağası* Inn (871th street) and the area where *Anafartalar* Street intersect with 852th street (front of the *Kemer Plaza*) begins to turn into a parking area for vehicles (Figure 4.21.). As the weather goes dark, traffic is concentrates on the 853th street that extends to Cumhuriyet Boulevard and sometimes it is seen that the traffic policemen are directs the traffic by whistles. Later in the night, vehicles park in the parking lot in the area surrounding 853th street. In addition, the commercial taxi stand (*Metropol* taxi-located around the Masjid of *Katipzade*) on the 853th street operates actively at dusk. These yellow commercial taxis are the visible actors of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar at night. The streets where the vehicles are

especially active during the night hours are *Şehit Fethi Bey* Street, 853th, 860th, 862th and 895th streets that located in *Hisarönü* towards *Fevzipaşa* Boulevard. Similarly, on *Anafartalar* Street, which connects *Cumhuriyet* Boulevard to *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard, vehicles' and pedestrians' transition are seen even after midnight.



Figure 4.21. Streets That Turn into Parking Areas at Night
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

The vehicles of the municipality that do the cleaning works appear in the darkness of night in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. In addition, the municipal maintenance and repair vehicles and workers work at night in the darkness (Figure 4.22.). The bazaar, which is busy during the day, makes this kind of work difficult. This kind of services are not something that can be observed in daylight. Starting from *Hisarönü* and towards *Konak* Square, garbage bags collected at certain points are carried by garbage vehicles. The cleaning workers who manage the garbage trucks load the garbage piles one by one in order to move them. Afterwards, the washing and sweeping vehicles circulate slowly in the empty streets. In the meantime, the sounds from the vehicles spread to the bazaar along the empty streets. During these hours (after 23:00), the bazaar starts to become a crossing area for a small number of pedestrians and vehicles except the *Hisarönü* part.



Figure 4.22. Municipal Vehicles Working at Night
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

4.8. Waste Material Pickers

As an informal business area, waste material picking and its employees appear almost everywhere in the urban area. Waste material picking, which is a phenomenon of urban poverty is vital for many people as a source of livelihood. Waste material pickers are people who collect recyclable products such as paper, glass, metal and plastic from garbage and from urban environment and sell them to recycle centers and provide their livelihood in this way. There are workers of almost every age group regardless of men and women. In unhealthy and uninsured conditions, in all conditions of the day and changing seasons, they constantly wander in the urban area. These people who work informally are often perceived as being identified with guilt and crime or as socially and politically excluded individuals. Local governments are trying to keep waste material pickers under control with recent regulations. They are supervised by *zabitas* and are asked to work at certain times. In a hegemonic order bordered by specialists, creating their own movement spaces (counter space) within the representation of space (Lefebvre, 1991), they are trying to make money by collecting and selling recyclable materials thrown into the trash.

Waste material collectors are mostly associated with theft, fear and crime as a marginalized subculture (Özsoy, 2012). Waste material picking is often identified with crime in the mainstream media. According to Thomas & Bromley (2000), newspapers and televisions that emphasize awareness of crime and social problems have the potential to increase fear of crime. Therefore, waste paper pickers are associated with fear through this perception, especially at night and in the dark. This determines the social space of the city user, the limits of action and the time of these actions in the spaces of representation, which is shaped directly by symbols, associated images and codes (Lefebvre, 1991).

Kemeraltı Bazaar is one of the areas where waste material pickers work intensively. Since the bazaar is a commercial center that works very intensively and offers many different services it leaves too much waste material to the streets. This situation constantly attracts waste material pickers to this historical bazaar. Starting from the day until late at night, they wander around the shops and collect the packages and waste materials. Especially after the weather starts to darken, the materials that can be collect increase during the picking up and closing hours of the bazaar. These workers use handcart to carry waste materials. A large bag placed on the handcart forms the store in

which the materials are collected. There are also workers picking up waste material in small vans. During the day and after dark, they work around the streets of the bazaar many times. After the darkness begins to collapse to the bazaar, they move through the crowd of people and they collect material by making pauses in some places. Shop owners give waste materials to the workers that passing through the street. In addition, waste material pickers are competing with the cleaning teams of the municipality. Before the garbage piled up on the street is collected by the cleaning workers, they should come and pick up the recyclable materials. In the dark of night, especially in *Anafartalar* Street, 871th and 892th streets there are many stacked garbage bags. Workers, who work alone or in groups of several, tear these bags and collect materials from them. They sometimes face negative reactions because they spread out garbage heaps. They crush the cartons with their feet and place them in the handcart under the light of street lamps (Figure 4.23.). Most of the workers who do this work are child workers. Some workers work with their children. There are workers who have placed their children in the handcart. While the worker is working on the one hand, he is carrying his child with himself on the other hand. Especially after the civil war in Syria, many of the people who migrated to Turkey is engaged in this works. As a result, the number of employees in this business has increased and earnings have decreased.



Figure 4.23. Working of Waste Material Pickers
(April 2018-Taken by Author)

The workers who fill their bags bring their bags to the storage area where located on 926th street (Figure 4.24.) There are similar storage areas on the part of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar that extending towards *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard. Workers who take handcarts from warehouse owners bring waste materials that they collect to these warehouses. Waste materials coming to these storage areas are classified according to their types. These

materials are then loaded into trucks for processing at the factories. Waste material pickers earn money according to the price of the material they collect. In addition, their working areas and working hours are variable and flexible.

The waste material pickers, which are less visible in the dense crowd of people during the day, become apparent after darkness collapse to the bazaar. From the outside, they seem like isolated from society and entirely focus on their work. As soon as they finish their work at one point, they move to another one. They work in almost every part of the bazaar. They walk around by mixing trash piling up in front of the shops that are starting to close and pull handcart behind them. Even after the shops are completely closed, they work late at night. They pass through the empty streets of the bazaar with the sounds of the handcart they pull behind them. As mentioned earlier, stray dogs may occasionally accompany or attack waste material pickers. After the cleaning workers of the municipality completely clean the streets, they begin to decrease. After these hours (23:00) *Kemeraltı* Bazaar begins to turn into a transit route for them. The bazaar forms the other side of the day (dark one) with its feature that attracts waste material pickers.



Figure 4.24. Waste Material Storage Areas
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

The work of waste material pickers, which collect waste material and realize it illegally and make a profit, is tolerated from time to time by executive powers. Because of a complete solution could not be found, managers' strategies form the tactics of the users and tactics reopen the space for themselves in the strategies. The waste material pickers, which shape the darkness of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, use tactics to exist within strategies (de Certeau, 1984). Most of them try to continue their activities outside the legal regulations. Although there is no strong communication and cooperation between

waste material pickers, workers who know each other warn each other against the *zabitas*. With the advantages of being mobile and temporary, they add and remove themselves to the urban space every day. *Zabitas*, as a strategy and control tool of local governments, sometimes penalize waste material pickers or confiscate their handcarts. Their creative solutions (as counter space) to exist in the city become tactics as they conflict with strategies, rules and laws.

4.9. Police Officers, Guards and Surveillance Systems as Control Mechanisms in the *Kemeraltı* Nights

According to Rubinstein (1973), the contemporary police officer is a patrol officer who reflects state authority to every moment of daily life and forces it to adapt to order by using and strengthening uniforms, badges and coercion tools. Public and private police personnel transmit certain messages with their uniforms, vehicles, badges, signs, cameras and other equipment and awaken certain feelings in the citizen (Cook & Whowell, 2011). Gazes directed by eyes of powers (Foucault, 1978) in physical possibility of visibility enforces users-citizen comply to dominant order. Users act voluntarily or involuntarily in the space of appearance (Arendt, 1998) as being aware of observed. Security mechanisms designed by specialists in representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991); to ensure the governance and security of the public sphere, regulates the living space and this comes to life in the form of security guard (*bekçi*) to the nights of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. According to Boyar & Fleet (2010), safety of bazaar was very considerable for the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, the security of the bazaar and neighborhoods provided by the security forces called the *bekçi*, in the night. They are traditional night watchmen. The presence of the *bekçi* dates back to the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire. Its emergence is based directly on the principle of Foucault's visibility and surveillance, since the streets are limited illuminated at night. The presence of the *bekçi* has continued decreasingly, from the establishment (1923) of the Republic of Turkey until to 1966. The *bekçi* gradually become outdated in the late 1980s, but in 2017 the Ministry of Interior reinstatement the *bekçi*. Accordingly, the *bekçi* will be the auxiliary force supporting the police, the primary force responsible for security in the city (Batuman & Erkip, 2019). The social space, which does not consist solely of things and objects, has been shaped with ideology and

knowledge within the representations of the space (Lefebvre, 1991), it has been reconstructed in the context of *Kemeraltı*. In this regard the *bekçis*, with their presence as the visible face of the state authority, appear in spaces of the visibility and appearance, in the urban area and in the nights of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*.

Since *Kemeraltı Bazaar* is a commercial center, the sales materials placed in the shops are left behind the shutters locked. Shop owners take security measures and try to break the vulnerability of their property. As Cresswell pointed out, "temporality is expelled through the creation and maintenance of boundaries and territories " (Cresswell, 1998, p. 269). Although the movement area is narrowed at night, the doors are locked, the lights are turned off and the security systems are activated, nighttime has tendency to illegal or transgressive actions (Frank & Stevens, 2007). For instance, in May 2019, four people entered the jewelery shop by breaking the shutter and escaped without stealing anything (*Hürriyet*, 2019). As in this example, recorded fear of crime (Bromley et al., 2000) causes taking precautions by shop owners and local governments. Therefore, in many parts of the urban space, technologies such as motion detection, night vision devices, cameras and observation poles, police and patrols on the streets and security guards are used as control mechanisms.

"At night, public order forces are asleep. Bureaucracy, military, schools, police, in short, all the forces that regulate our lives are asleep; outside the police on duty patrolling the street" (Vassaf, 1997, p. 2.I). One of the most prominent actors of *Kemeraltı* nights and darkness is the security guards (*bekçis*) patrolling the streets. While some security guards patrol with the vehicle, others do that by walking around the bazaar (Figure 4.25.). It was learned from the interviews with the security guards that these patrols were carried out incessantly until morning. Strict security measures are observed at *Kemeraltı Bazaar* at night. Beyond taking security precautions, this situation is related to the reappearance of the *bekçi*, and politically and ideologically the desire for gradually keep under control of all units of the urban area. "The power of the modern state comes not only from the masses but also from the ability to follow citizens individually with developing technologies" (*Duvar*, 2020). As a result of this, as in many parts of Turkey, in the *Kemeraltı Bazaar's* streets, "mobile panoptikons" are wandering with their dark clothes in the dark of night as surveillance mechanisms. During the exploration of the night, the *bekçi* can question walkers if they find it necessary. Since the bazaar becomes a deserted place at this time (after 23:00), those who walk through the long corridors of the bazaar become highly visible. "Being visible, or rather being seen, is an important part

of doing policing" (Cook & Whowell, 2011, p. 611). Public space has become an area where emphasis on appearance, costume, display, fashion and eroticism (Sennett, 1974). As being "mobile panopticons" the *bekçi* can be a deterrent or cause anxiety in the bazaar with their presence, appearances, clothes and equipment. For this reason, persons attracting attention are subjected to identity control by security officers (*bekçi*).



Figure 4.25. Patrol of Security Guards
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

Security guards patrolling with the vehicle, especially on the prominent axles (*Anafartalar* Street, 871th, 863th, 853th, and 892th streets and *Hisarönü* Region) of the bazaar. Those who patrol by walking can enter the narrow and dark streets of the bazaar with flashlights.

With the "rise of surveillance society" (Lyon, 1994), surveillance systems and its' tools are now seen as inevitable by many local authorities (Reeve, 1996). Surveillance cameras (CCTV) became contemporary panopticon and became particularly visible in the control of contemporary cities (Fussy and Coaffee, 2012). These tools, which are used especially for night-time surveillance and control, are located in many parts of the urban area. According to Lovatt, and O'Connor (1995), cities that adopt the twenty-four-hour city approach are trying to generate safer cities with surveillance methods such as CCTV and lighting arrangements, except for police patrols. Among the twenty-four-hour city plans, CCTV and lighting are taking part to reduce crime-related fear of the users in the city center at night (Heath, 1997). There are city surveillance cameras located on the wide streets of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar (see Map 4.5.), which are used extensively (Figure 4.26.). In addition, these cameras are located at the entrance gates, squares and mosque facades

of the bazaar. Especially places where the day is busy, *Anafartalar* Street, *Alipaşa* Square, *Balıkçılar* Square, *Hisarönü* Square and 871th street, are strictly controlled. Surveillance systems contribute to some people gaining a sense of security and at the same time increasing paranoia and distrust among people, and emphasizing fear (Ellin, 1996). Apart from the city surveillance cameras, individuals are setting up security systems. There are security cameras and alarm systems located in the entrance facades of many shops in the bazaar. Apart from the police patrols and surveillance systems, there are also guards guarding the night at the *Kızlarağası* Inn, the *Arap* Inn and *Hisarönü* Square. Night guards who sit in *Hisarönü* Square or wait at the entrance of the Arab Inn are the living actors of the night. In addition, the two shops on *Anafartalar* Street have similarly night guards. Their voices overflow into the street from time to time when strolling through the street at night.



Figure 4.26. CCTV Cameras and Alarm Systems
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

4.10. Light, Sounds and Dominant Atmosphere of the Bazaar at the Late Night

Street lighting makes it easier to use cities at night and increases the willingness to use urban space. Thus, lighting combines the day with the night, expands the time interval and enables a wider range of social activities (Melbin, 1978). It appears as a mean to defeat the fear of darkened spaces. Efficiency and usefulness of surveillance mechanisms depend on lighting arrangements. "The space of appearance" where people

appear to others (Arendt, 1998) and the space they expose themselves to gaze is the space of light. Night, as it is tried to be kept under control, panoptic mechanisms, through visibility (Foucault, 1978), observe the space and its users as an object under the guidance of light. Light and dark spaces shape the users' spatial practices within the perceived space (Lefebvre, 1991) and then lead to profitable transgressions that are forbidden during the day through tactics (de Certeau, 1984).

In the twenty-four-hour city approach, street lighting is seen as a convenient way to deal with fear of crime in the city center at night (Heath, 1997). Since lighting tends to reduce the fear caused by crime, in areas where fear of crime is common, lighting arrangements reduce fear and attract people to the place by making the space and objects visible (Pain et al., 2006). In the case of *Kemeraltı Bazaar*, lighting and security problems are the prominent issues that stand out and are not resolved. Security and lighting systems need to be increased in order to keep the liveliness and commerce in the region continue in the evenings (Egiad, 2015). According to *Kemeraltı Lighting Master Plan*, the current lighting elements in the bazaar area are not suitable for night lighting and cannot provide sufficient light. In addition, there are lamps that are dysfunctional and do not emit light (url-7).

Lighting technologies help direct users to consumption areas with the function of attracting attention and stimulating desire (Nye, 1997). Night, as a space that can be used and reorganized in the capital order, comprises the venues and their products supplied by the enterprises (Hobbs et al., 2000). However, in the case of *Kemeraltı Bazaar*, night investments of entrepreneurs have not been directed to this region yet. Almost all the shops close around 6am., except for the few businesses in the *Hisarönü* Region. Once night starts, bazaar visitors leave the area and weakly illuminated streets remain empty. Instead of the crowded and colorful atmosphere of the day, the night seems deserted and uniform. The bazaar becomes a region that has surrendered by the dark in the evening and has lost its vitality under the control of deserted streets. After the daily users of the bazaar are completely withdrawn from the bazaar, the lights and shadows of the night dominate the streets which are almost completely empty. These hours are the time when darkness invades the bazaar and the time when darkness shapes stereotypes and fears (Schivelbusch, 1988). The closed shutters form a repetitive coexistence along the streets with shadows and yellow lights shining on them (Figure 4.27.). The streets cleaned by the cleaning workers shine under the street lights. There are not many people except those who walk very rarely through the streets at night. Almost all of the bazaar is free of people.

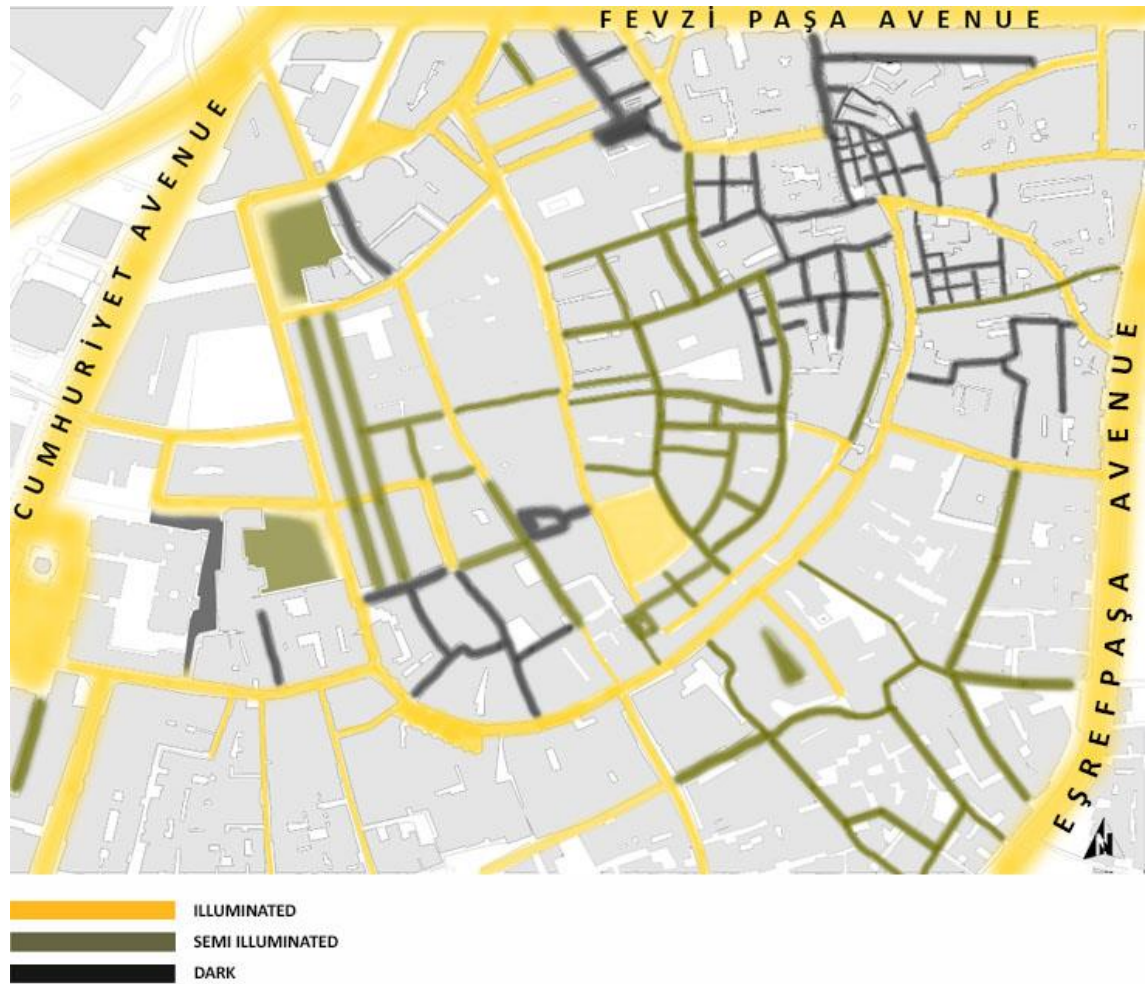
At night, the bazaar area is open to the car entrance. In these times, the bazaar becomes a parking space for vehicles. In addition, from time to time vehicle passes through the main arteries of the bazaar such as *Anafartalar* Street, 853th, 863th, 871th and 895th streets. These are the main actors that make the bazaar moving at night.



Figure 4.27. Shutter Series
(July 2018-Taken by Author)

Throughout the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, it is seen that yellow light sources (sodium-vapor lamps) are used in the main axes and squares. In the bazaar area, old type lighting poles are used at varying heights ranging from 8-10 meters. The streets and areas outside the wide streets and squares of the bazaar, which are prominent, are semi-light or completely dark (Figure 4.28.). According to the Jakle (2001), street lighting creates a spatial hierarchy: commercial streets are brighter than side streets, and streets with higher traffic or mixed modes of transportation are brighter than others. Similarly, *Anafartalar* Street, which is the main backbone of the bazaar, is illuminated from *Eşrefpaşa* Boulevard to *Konak* Square. Besides, *Hisarönü* Region where commercial activities continue at night and 853th street where traffic is relatively vibrant are illuminated. Most of the narrow streets within the *Anafartalar* arc are semi-illuminated or dark. It is seen that not all areas of the bazaar are sufficiently illuminated. Illuminated, semi-illuminated and dark streets follow one another (Map 4.7.). The yellow lights that illuminate the streets from the hill paint the places where they are reflected to their own colors. The bazaar is semi-illuminated under dim yellow lights and covered with full and half shadows. The awnings, connection ropes, signboards and dozens of different facade elements that cover shop fronts irregularly create shades of different lengths and depths on the floor and street facades. The awnings stretched on the streets prevent the light from reaching the street

directly and create dark areas. The facades of buildings such as *Kızlarağası Inn*, *Başdurak Mosque*, *Hisar Mosque* and *Balıkçılar Square* are illuminated by artificial lighting and the minarets of the mosques are glittering with colorful lamps. On the facades of some shops in the inner streets, light sources emitting white color (fluorescent lamps) are placed. There are photocell lamps (motion sensitive lamps) in some shop fronts in the narrow and dark streets of the bazaar. These lamps suddenly light during the exploring of the night and expose the street and its contents. In some streets, illuminated advertising signs illuminate the street and its facade. Moonlight is a natural light source that illuminates the bazaar. Some nights, the moon appears above the narrow and dark streets of the bazaar and brightens the sky.



Map 4.7. Lighting Map of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*
(Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan
-Edited by Author)

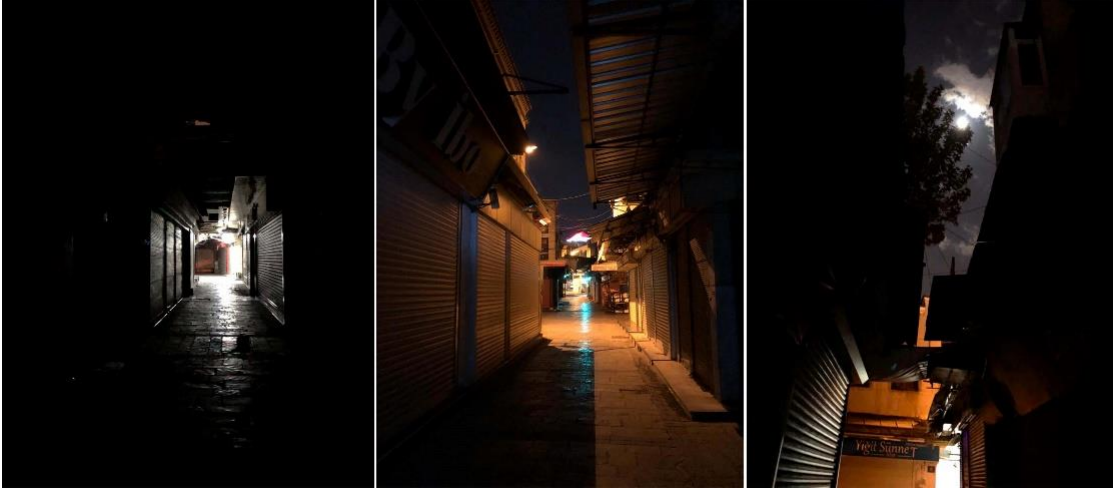


Figure 4.28. Streets in the Darkness of Night
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

The bazaar, which is very crowded and humming with human voices, leaves its place to different sounds at night. These are sounds that are not felt during the day but are present in the environment and visible at night. The humming of the city is one of these sounds. Sounds from the settlements around the bazaar area are heard. The machines that continue to work at night fill the streets of the bazaar with their sounds. Ventilation air conditioners, cooling machines, generators used in the shops are some of the machines that create these sounds. Five main mosques (*Kemeraltı Mosque*, *Başdurak Mosque*, *Kestanepazarı Mosque*, *Şadırvanaltı Mosque* and *Hisar Mosque*) (see Map 4.2.) within the *Anafartalar* arc create a distinctive sound at night and in the morning with the call of prayer. In addition, when the months of Ramadan coincide with the summer period, the voice of the congregation overflows from the mosques to the streets of the bazaar.

In addition, since the bazaar is also home to street animals, their voices mix into the night. During the exploring of the night, cat voices are heard from time to time in the empty corridors of the bazaar. Suddenly, other dogs accompany a barking dog's voice and they run through in the empty streets of the bazaar. In the squares and large areas of the bazaar with trees, the sounds of crickets which is the symbol of summer and green areas, can be heard walking through the streets of the bazaar. These sounds remain behind in the busy daytime routine of the bazaar.

4.11. Wall Writings in the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*

Graffiti is the spatial reflection of social, cultural, political, religious and artistic forms of opposition that emerge against to the dominant ideological order on the surfaces which are the common means of urban space (Lachmann, 1988). "The space of the street is often a space in which we encounter words and pictures in voluminous quantities...advertisements, instructions, political messages, newspapers, illegal posters, monumental murals and messages, graffiti" (Cresswell, 1998, p. 261). What spatially creates graffiti is the space of individuals and users, which Lefebvre (1991) categorizes as "representational spaces". Graffiti are utilized by individuals or groups to express their thoughts and feelings, as a tactic of infiltration into dominant strategies (de Certeau, 1984). These graffiti are encountered in the streets and squares of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* as a public space. However, writing graffiti on public property is prohibited in many urban areas. It is prohibited because it represents an opposition to the established order (class or administrative) and to the dominant order and is shaped as a means of self-expression of the subculture. Such actions are often associated with crime or vandalism. Graffiti, as transgressive or illegal actions, are often created under the veil of the night and often in haste. It is not known exactly who made the graffiti and after the hidden veil of the night is lifted, they appear in the morning. The meaning of graffiti, in many ways, related to its temporality. Because many graffiti works are temporarily painted by the governing institutions or by other writers.

The graffiti on the streets of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* are often out of sight. Since most of the streets and shop fronts are used as surfaces where the goods to be sold are exhibited, these writings remain hidden. One of the factors that cuts the visual relationship with the surfaces of the streets is the dense crowd of people. Also, since these graffiti are located on the shutters, they do not appear during the day. Accordingly, these graffiti became visible in the night. Especially the graffiti on *Anafartalar Street* can be given as an example. After *Kemeraltı Bazaar* closes, it is possible to see the traces left behind while walking around the bazaar randomly. To do this, visitors need to examine the streets a little carefully. Because under the faint lights of the night, graffiti may not be clearly visible (Figure 4.29.). The facades on the 864th street of the bazaar is covered with many graffiti. Political, economic and personal discourses are together on the walls. Besides, as part of a street activity that aims to increase the interest of young people to the *Kemeraltı*

Bazaar, artistic works were depicted on the shutters of shops located on 865th street by graffiti artists in the pioneering of local initiatives (url-8). This legally organized organization has found the ground to be performed in the night. The realization of this street activity depends on the closure of shops and the shutters that becoming visible surfaces in the night. These graffiti are compositions that aimed at making the street colorful rather than being political and personal messages (Figure 4.30.). Therefore these graffiti depicted on the closed shutters can be observed in the second part (night) of the general functioning of the bazaar.



Figure 4.29. Graffiti on Shop Facades
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

Users, use graffiti to reflect and become visible in particular the thoughts they want to express. These graffiti provide clues to the interests or concerns of users who use the walls of the bazaar to write. With spray paints of different colors, depending on the temporal interest of users, there are expressions that contain especially political discourses. Writings created by different writers point to different interests and conflicts. The intertwined economic, political and individual issues lie on the same surface. The graffiti written to leave marks, express and react, they also have a chronological depth. It can be observed that the graffiti in the same place visited at different time intervals has been deleted, new inscriptions have been added or the wall surface is getting old. The words staining or blackened and the dates written explain this temporal experience. Users and space change with time changes and space is reshaped by its users.



Figure 4.30. Graffiti Artists and Their Productions
(January 2020-Taken by Author)

The number of graffiti encountered in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is not very intense (Map 4.8.). This situation, which may change temporarily, arise from the intense security measures of the bazaar and the deletion of the writings. However, as a result of legally organized street activities, it is foreseen that there will be more and more numbers and types of graffiti on *Kemeraltı* streets.



Map 4.8. Graffiti on the Streets of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar
(Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan
-Edited by Author)

4.12. Alive Places at Night

"On successful city streets, people must appear at different times. This is time considered on a small scale, at different times throughout the day" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 152).

Social space is divided into working and resting areas within the day and night. In accordance with this separation, business areas remain as empty and dead areas while lights come on in the areas divided for entertainment and festivity at night (Lefebvre, 1991). When we evaluate *Kemeraltı Bazaar* from this perspective, it points out a business area feature. The bazaar mostly serves to the day with its dozens of different shops. Except for a limited number of shops that can remain open until certain hours, almost all shops are closed. According to the Egiad report (2015), there are no facilities such as education, entertainment and social facilities that can increase the cultural value of the bazaar and where the young population will want to live more. Within the concept of nighttime economy, bars, clubs, discos, cinemas and theaters that are thought to contribute to economic growth in the context of urban entrepreneurship (van Liempt et al., 2015) seem to exclude the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*. Such places, especially attracting the young population, are located in different places inside the city, outside the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*. The bazaar seems to be abandoned with its limited number of venues in the *Hisarönü* Region and its few customers.

According to Heath, "a residential population helps to create a living city-providing natural surveillance-and adding to the demand for the products of the nighttime economy" (Heath, 1997, p. 201). For instance, as an initiative *living over the shop* facilitates creating sense of security and increases of residents in the city centre. Promoting residential and employment functions in the city center contributes to improved security perception, economic regeneration and social revival, encourages the twenty-four-hour night city and seems essential to the lively city center (Tallon, 2010). *Kemeraltı Bazaar* generally consists of two-storied shops serving in various sectors. The ground floors of the shops are used to display the goods, and the second or third floors are used as storage areas. In this sense, *Kemeraltı Bazaar* does not contain the residential texture and settlers that will support nightlife and make it vibrant. There are no dwelling units outside a few small hotels. As a busy business center it hosts its users during the day and sends them to the dwellings or entertainment venues when the night starts.

Cities that adopt the nighttime city approach try to create a safer city with methods such as CCTV and powerful lighting schemes (Heath, 1997). However, in any nighttime city concept, the greatest sense of security is trust in the presence of residential units and visitors filling the streets. *Kemeraltı* is a safe place in judicial-administrative sense; security problems are few (Egiad, 2015). In order to break the nine-to-five traditional working hours, twenty-four-hour city concept uses retail initiatives to make the night a more lively area (Heath, 1997). Nevertheless, many of shops restaurant and cafes that critical elements in a twenty-four-hour city initiative, close around 5pm. and 6pm. The limited time we use facilities and opportunities offered by the bazaar - from 9am. to 6pm. The flood of people that fills the streets of the bazaar during the day evaporates, literally, and leaves its place to empty corridors.

As a retail initiative, a street activity was organized in partnership with *İzmir* Metropolitan Municipality and *Kemeraltı* Tradesmen Association (url-8). In this context, for three-day a graffiti activity and bicycle, dance, concert and acrobatics show were organized, aiming to increase the interest of young people to *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. According to Heath (1997), such street entertainment, festivals, concerts and shows support the twenty-four-hour city approach, making the urban area vibrant and creating a willingness to participate in social activities. The activity, which is on 865th street, took place between 6pm.-12pm. Graffiti artists have colored the street by painting 26 shutters. Young people filling the street danced with music on the one hand and watched the graffiti works on the other (Figure 4.31.). Loud music and paint smells rising from 865th street spreads to the close environment. Meanwhile, other areas of the bazaar started to close in the usual flow and lose their users. Also, *bekçis*, *zabıtas*, cleaning workers and municipal officials were present in the area to ensure security. The community in the area started to melt slowly later in the night. After 11pm., graffiti artists are preparing to end the night by doing their last work. In the empty street at the end of the night, cleaning workers leave the street after cleaning. On the second and third days, it was observed that the number of people attending the event decreased. In order to use the bazaar for a longer period and to increase the interest of young people in *Kemeraltı*, similar activities are planned to be held at different points of the bazaar in the future.



Figure 4.31. Street Party for Youth in *Kemeraltı* (January 2020-Taken by Author)

Hisarönü Region carries a different character at night in *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. Contrary to the general functioning of the bazaar, it keeps the bazaar alive with its entertainment spaces open until late at night (Figure 4.33.). These spaces, which consist of brasseries, cafes and taverns, are open until 2am. These shops located on the 895th, 897th, 898th, 900th, 901th and 902th streets, spatialize the night as an object of leisure time consumption (Map 4.9.). These venues carry out their daily activities on the streets with their seating units placed on the streets. For their activities outside during the winter months, they create sheltered spaces from cold weather with tarpaulins that extend from the exterior of the shop to the street (Figure 4.32.). The users of the region are generally individuals who are the permanent users of these places. In parallel with the temporality of the night, these places create the ground for the users and their activities that shapes the space. These activities, which is shaped by the inseparable link of the tavern culture with the night, finds its ground in the night. Thence, the darkness of the night socially mediates the use and reproduction of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar.



Figure 4.32. Sheltered Spaces from Cold Weather (January 2020-Taken by Author)

The streets are illuminated under the yellow lights of the sparkling lighting elements. The sounds of music spreads to streets, from the voice of singing singers. Other shop customers accompany the songs sung. The streets, which are active at night, are not very crowded. Contrary to the daytime use of the bazaar, there is no humming. The voices of customers eating and chatting do not intermix. Furthermore, it was witnessed that the begging children (the children, who are apparently Syrian) were begging among the tables. Grocery shops on the south side of *Fevzipaşa* Boulevard are also closed late. Pedestrians passing through the boulevard enter and leave these shops. After the bazaar has lost almost all its crowds, the places of *Hisarönü* which are open and active at night and mostly used during the night, keep the bazaar alive for a while. In the following hours, these places are completely closed and the bazaar becomes a deserted and silent area completely free of its users.



Figure 4.33. *Hisarönü* Region at Late Night
(November 2019-Taken by Author)

In addition, the other places active in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar for a while at night are the *Abacıoğlu* Inn and the *Küçük Karaosmanoğlu* Inn. These inns located on *Anafartalar* Street, with their users, make the night alive until 11pm. in their inner courtyards, independently from the street. In these courtyards, it is heard that people chatting and laughing under dim shadows illuminated by yellow lights. *Küçük Karaosmanoğlu* Inn hosts its users with cafe arrangement on the ground floor. The first floor of the inn is used as a hotel. During the day, the sounds of music spread to street from the inn. However,

the hotel does not play music during night hours to avoid disturbing residents and the inn closes earlier than before. The *Abacıođlu* Inn, with its inner courtyard, where trees are located, hosts its frequenter users at night. There are cafes, restaurants and bars in the courtyard. The inn is not crowded at night. Even most tables remain empty. The sounds of couples and groups of friends can easily be heard in the courtyard, in the atmosphere of the quiet bazaar. The inn may close earlier in the winter months because the number of customers decrease. Later in the night, these inns too participate in the general recession of the bazaar with their locked doors.



Map 4.9. Alive Places at Night
(Source: Konak Municipality, Konak Neighborhood Development Plan
-Edited by Author)

The shops, which constitute the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, mostly serve to the bright hours (day). Except for the limited number of venues that remain open until certain hours at night, the streets are elongates like deserted corridors where users are not seen much. It can be said that night hours are a recession and rest time for the bazaar.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Day and night are time intervals that regulate the daily rhythms of human nature and determine their labor and leisure activities. Night refers to the second half of the day as a temporal expression. But night is not only an expression of a temporal period, but also a place. In this thesis, night and darkness are considered as the determining factors that affect, direct and reproduce the use of space and activities of the users. In case of the *Kemeraltı Bazaar*, which is extremely opposite in the day and night, under the guidance of the night, the built environment of the bazaar, its relationship with its users and the factors that shape them are examined. In the first chapter, based on the two main research questions, the functioning of the night and the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* was questioned. The first research question was to questioning the role of darkness in producing new spaces and practices. The other tries to questioning the nocturnal users of *Kemeraltı Bazaar* and their practices in the night atmosphere. Furthermore, it was questioned how the *Kemeraltı Bazaar* looks as a built environment at night. In the light of these basic concerns, the thesis examines the literature about night spaces, darkness, user practices and social space. Within the context of this related literature, firstly the place of night spaces and darkness in the current academic studies and the structure of the night were investigated, then the theories of social space and user practices were analyzed and finally, the historical *Kemeraltı Bazaar* and its users were examined and evaluated in the context of night.

According to the literature review, night spaces and darkness, in terms of the social spaces they create in line with the user practices, appear in various dimensions. Above all, darkness is perceived as a space of fear in relation to its historical origins. This is because darkness has a threatening and uncertain nature and is open to a number of transgressive and illegal acts. These are such as criminal acts, provocation, rape, political opposition, subcultural practices, urban abuse, posters and graffiti. Night spaces are also associated with fear, as they are re-created spaces on the level of gender, race and class. Another dimension of night and darkness is the dimension that is tried to be govern and kept under control. In connection with fear and crime, the darkness of the night facilitates opposition to rules and regulations. Therefore, the management mechanisms or ruling

classes and the business strategies try to keep the darkness and the night spaces under control through formal and informal physical and perceptual arrangements. Surveillance is the basic tool for controlling and directing night spaces and its users. Technologies and techniques which are the means and methods of surveillance such as alarm systems, night vision devices, cameras, security guards, policemen, surveillance poles are regulated and used by hegemonic powers and property owners. Thus, with surveillance, users' daily lives and night spaces are forced to compliance with the rules. In addition, one of the vital means of controlling darkness is lighting. It creates night spaces arranged within the built environment and provides safety and security for social order in the cityscape at night. Finally, night spaces appear as a place of consumption and leisure activities. Because individuals and communities participate in all kinds of activities more than ever and prefer to be outside instead of their homes. The darkness creates night spaces (to consumption of leisure or entertainment etc.), which are socially acceptable places that channel social activities at night as time of rest. Thus, as a time that supports social practices and creates a profitable space, the night takes the attention of the business and executive powers.

Finally, the Historical *Kemeraltı Bazaar* and its users are examined in the light of night spaces and darkness literature and with Henri Lefebvre's social space and de Certeau's tactic and strategy concepts. The darkness and nights of *Kemeraltı Bazaar* with its own users and activities is a world away from its' daytime. After dark, *Kemeraltı Bazaar*, which starts to lose its users like a slowly drying river, turns into a deserted area later in the night. The nights of *Kemeraltı Bazaar* are weak in terms of the consumption of the night and the aspect that promotes leisure activities. In this sense, the bazaar is far from being a night consumption and entertainment area. The reasons behind the bazaar being an area away from consumption areas, free from people and closed to the night spaces are as follows;

- The bazaar is a business center that is used during the daytime, mostly in the traditional hours-nine to five. Many shops that work intensely during the day do not continue these activities at night.
- In the twenty-four hour city concept, a population of settlements living in city centers is effective to promote and develop the night and night spaces. However, *Kemeraltı Bazaar* generally accommodates business areas such as business centers, cafeterias, restaurants, jewelers, etc., mostly consisting of two-storied

shops serving in various sectors. In this sense, the bazaar is not a residential area and it does not show a feature that will make its surrounding vibrant at night.

- In the dark of night, the bazaar is under the domination of the semi-illuminated and dark streets as a poorly lit area. "The fear of darkened spaces" and fear of crime reduce users' participation in this urban area and remove them from this area that using intensively during the day.
- Within the concept of nighttime economy, bars, clubs, discos, cinemas and theaters, street entertainments, festivals and tourist initiatives that are thought to contribute to economic growth and keeping the place alive are extremely weak in the case of *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. These kinds of activities and spaces, especially attracting the young population and create willingness to social encounters and participation in the urban area.

The side of the bazaar, which is trying to be kept under control with the surveillance mechanisms is strong. Although the bazaar is not a prominent consumption and entertainment area at night, security measures are conspicuous. Because this is an intensively used trade center and darkness offers a variety of opportunities for transgressive practices that are not normally available during daylight hours. Therefore, surveillance technologies and its inevitable tools CCTV cameras and police (*bekçi*) patrols work continuously. In connection with this, *Kemeraltı* Bazaar is not utilization and movement area the of marginal groups that (prostitutes, drug addicts and dealers, etc.) generally linked with the nighttime.

Darkness is like a messenger to the closing hours of shops in the bazaar. It slows the daily rhythms of *Kemeraltı*'s users and cuts them almost completely after a certain point. Starting from the hours of darkness collapse, the users that examined one by one mostly shape the closing hours of the bazaar. The users who shape and recreate the closing hours and nights of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar are added to flow of bazaar or leave from the bazaar in successively or simultaneously. During this time, pedestrians, cleaning workers, waste material pickers, peddlers, street animals and vehicles are simultaneously located on the streets of the bazaar. The users create new spaces and productions at night with their spatial practices within the space which Lefebvre calls the representations of space. Shop owners and customers make these hours bustling. Especially peddlers and waste material pickers use this specific time to find or create a gate to infiltrate into strategies by creating tactics (de Certeau, 1984) to pursue their goals. Dark collects peddlers on *Anafartalar* Street, which loses its vitality later and draws waste material pickers to the

region. Vehicles pass through the streets among diminishing crowd of people. Later in the night, certain points of the bazaar turn into parking areas. Then the shutters of the shops start to close one by one. In the progressive depth of darkness, cleaning workers clean up the garbage left on the street. After the bazaar has lost all its users, the streets of the bazaar host the street animals, rare pedestrians and vehicles and security guards. With its dozens of different shops, tradesmen, visitors, sounds and smells, *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, which look very colorful in the daytime, look like a homogeneous whole after the shutters are closed. In this sense, the dark simplifies and simulates the elongated corridors of the bazaar.

The *Hisarönü* Region is home to the brasseries, cafes and taverns that live at night in the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar. These shops keep the deserted bazaar active for a while. Furthermore, *Abacıoğlu* Inn and *Küçük Karaosmanoğlu* Inn, which are located on *Anafartalar* Street, work as consumption areas at night. After midnight, these places too remain behind closed doors in the desolation of the bazaar. As a result, *Kemeraltı* Bazaar does not show uniform or homogeneous distribution at night. Some regions remain active, while others farewell early to the night after completing their daily rhythms.

In the light of these basic determinations, *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, in relation to the night, carries significant motivation sources for architects, planners and politicians who have important roles in the functioning of the urban area. Night spaces and darkness shape the urban space with endless space and practice. Because the night is completely separated from the day with its advantages and disadvantages. In the context of the *Kemeraltı* Bazaar, this area, which has been neglected and surrendered to the darkness, can be transformed into an urban area that providing consumption and entertainment opportunities to users with its convenient physical conditions, supporting different user groups, free from fears and creating desire to use. At this point the rulers and non-governmental organizations have great duties in bringing the night to life. Thus, revealing the potential of the night will increase the liveliness and willingness in urban spaces with local initiatives and designs.

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