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Alternative Shopping Places: Periodic Markets in İstanbul

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Alternative Shopping Places: Periodic Markets in İstanbul

Abstract

Since the 1950s, the rapid growth of İstanbul has created a wide range of shopping alternatives. Periodic markets are worth mentioning among the alternatives with their locational convenience and enjoyable atmosphere. This paper investigates the spatial and temporal characteristics of periodic markets (bazars) in İstanbul, through analyzing buyers and sellers in İstanbul. Urbanites from all income and socio-economic levels, use periodic markets to satisfy their needs for food, clothing and other items. Some periodic markets have been operating in the same place since the Ottoman times. Others have sprung up both in squatter neighborhoods and newly planned urban neighborhoods. So they can be classified as traditional and modern.

Periodic markets have their own products, own ways of marketing patterns, own architecture and even their own olfactory characteristics. All these factors together create a local identity, in other words a locale of culture.

İstanbul is a city that provides anything and everything that can money can buy, to her inhabitants through her shopping malls etc. Neighborhood markets and the term going to the market is still meaningful and is part of traditional life style both in Turkey and İstanbul.

Key words: İstanbul, shopping alternative, periodic market, buyer, seller, traditional, modern

Literature

There is a large amount of formal retailing literature on North America and West Europe and a smaller amount of research on developing countries. However, research on periodic markets is greater in developing countries (Tokman, 1992; Bromley, 1992). Some of the studies have shown that such factors as differences in hinterland population, income, customer behavior and accessibility of the market have a positive correlation on the periodic market's importance.

The term bazar with its Persian origin, has survived many centuries and reached today, as the periodic market in both İstanbul and Turkey. İstanbul has had many bazars, many of which have survived until today. For example, Makros Embolos of Byzantian days is Mahmutpaşa today. What has remained exactly the same since the olden days, is the inviting calls of the sellers. These calls bring together the two sides of İstanbul, not only the boats and the bridges. Everyday of the week, echoing calls of many bazars on both sides never cease. The sellers seem to call not only the buyers but each other from Asia to Europa, from Europa to Asia (Kayabal & Nur, 1997).

Periodic markets consist of small, labor-intensive trade units. As the simplest and most energy conserving form of retail, periodic markets have survived years of growth, in good shape. The virtue of this trading form has traditionally been its flexibility (Dökmeci et al. 2005). Periodic markets range from, farmers' markets that open up in relatively more central empty locations on certain days of the week, to periodic markets that open up in central locations in the city, on certain days of the week. So, they happen to be representations of spatial cultural differences.

The view that informal retailing is used by disadvantaged urban consumers out of economic necessity has been recently opposed by cultural theorists, who instead view participation in such practices as more a matter of choice (Williams, 2002). Besides providing basic goods, such as fresh produce and satisfying consumption needs, they also provide an environment of social interactions.

Although some economic historians (Pounds, 1974) claim that economic modernization is associated with a decline in periodic markets in South America, Africa and some

Mediterranean countries, their number and size are increasing, which is an indication of their capacity of adaptation to the needs of expanding and modernizing cities (Bromley, 1998).

Like elsewhere in the world, new shopping means are forcing for structural changes in periodic markets in İstanbul. Even in the most traditional neighborhoods, periodic markets are surviving the changes and no decline is observed in the going to the market habits of İstanbul inhabitants.

Periodic markets are a part of society's culture. In any country or any region, permanent or temporary periodical markets reflect local culture with their products, ways of marketing, architecture and smells and with all of these (Tümertekin ve Özgüç, 1998).

Neighborhood markets and going to the market is part of traditional life and culture both in İstanbul and in Turkey. Neighborhood markets ranging from small farmer's markets that set themselves up in a central location at crossroads of villages or weekly markets in different neighborhoods in cities. Naturally they all reflect, local cultural differences. As for non-urban ones, they provide exchange of basic needs and excess products and also provide an environment of social interactions. Weekly markets in urban areas provide a regular pattern of shopping, as an alternative and supplement for shops, super markets and hipermarkets. Markets in urban areas, unlike suburban areas not only provide basic needs but provide alternatives for freedom of choice. From this point of view neighborhood markets can also be called alternative shopping centers. Covered bazaars of the past and shopping centers of today, they provide the chance of a wide variety of choice for products being displayed together in a covered area. Neighborhood markets provide the similar in an open area on a temporary basis. Additionally, by providing relatively cheaper prices, they increase the chances for lower income groups and developing areas.

İstanbul is a metropol, where all means of shopping is available from the most primitive to the modernest. Today other bigger cities in Turkey follow İstanbul, in the same pattern. New shopping centers and new marketing patterns, have impacts on traditional periodic markets and their restructuring.

For example, some German researchers in their 1976 research on Middle East including West Anatolia, say that “, even in the most traditionalist systems, periodic markets display a rather

elastic view against modernist improvements” (Gaube et al. 1976). They also add that periodic markets are prepared for this restructuring. One thing is for sure, no matter what their structural changes mean, the concept of going to the markets has not lost its importance both in İstanbul and in Turkey and doesn't look like to do so.

As mentioned earlier, İstanbul has all sorts of shopping facilities, from mega shopping malls like Akmerkez, Cevahir, Capitol to street sellers. Shopping facilities manifest themselves in all means. Street sellers provide instantaneous services so as to serve on demand. Another form of street selling has turned into a pattern such as making rows of street sellers in front of shops so as to turn into mobile business districts. Tahtakale with its electronic mobile street markets is a typical example to this. Another example is, in certain empty locations, street markets take place on a daily basis like the back of Yeni Cami in Eminönü. Temporary markets on the Eminönü foot of Galata Brigde at night times and temporary exhibitional markets especially ahead of Religious Festivals (Eids) can be added to the examples.

The majority of periodic markets in the developing world is an important phenomena versus the permanent markets and marketing patterns of the developed world. There are some similarities in the patterns of developing countries. For example, loud speaker street sellers, who can come up to your door on demand and street sellers who park at crossroads where marketing capacity might be higher, show similarities both in İstanbul and in other cities in developing world such as South America (Bromley, 1974).

Neighborhood periodic markets, are means of marketing activity which is based on features such as location, mobility, periodic time pattern. This way of marketing has been the subject of many economic, social and spatial researches. Some of these works have indicated the theoretical background to evaluate periodic markets in urban and rural areas. So, before going deeper into İstanbul Periodic Markets, let's review the theoretical background.

Theory of Periodic Markets and Periodic Marketing

Periodic markets, more commonly named as neighborhood markets or weekly markets or just markets, are an official public gathering of sellers and buyers in a designated location on a designated time. This definition comes from Hodder (1965). Whether it be urban or rural, periodic markets have three basic properties; *recurrence, mobility, changeability*.

Existence on certain days, mobility between locations, changing the items of marketing, either attracting the buyer potential or getting to the already existing buyer potential are the factors provide basis for the periodical or temporary markets phenomenon.

Two traditions appear in the way periodic markets and mobile marketing is observed, one being economic and the other non-economic (Smith 1979). The non-economic one sees the topic as a social phenomenon (Tinkler 1973). The traditional economic look sees it as two different ways. One sees it in Christaller's 1933 'Theory of Central Places', the other sees it in 'Location Theories' which has a wider look. For both of these looks periodic markets and marketing is an economical phenomenon. A third tradition may be introduced which sees the topic as ecosociocultural. Periodic markets existing and keeping their existence since very long times, and existing in different parts of the world in similar patterns, has eliminated the third tradition which was found to be anti-theoretical.

Periodic markets were first studied with the central places approach by Stine (1962) in Korea. Stine's theory stood on two bases, a non-permanent way of selling and a minimum and maximum of variety of goods which Christaller (1933) also used to clarify his central places theory.

Periodic Markets in İstanbul and their Locales

Like elsewhere in the world cities, İstanbul also has periodic markets or neighborhood markets. Both in the developed world and the developing world these markets are of great importance for the citizens. Some of them have even gained fame in a global scale, especially those that are in cities that fit the definition of global city, like Portobello Market in London. These cities, with their populations composing of people coming from almost all parts of the world, are supposed to offer all the items that their inhabitants used to find back in their country of origin.

In different parts of the world these markets show some similar attributes such as, why are they there, what they offer, their customers, their sellers and their design. While these similarities are observed, population characteristics, customs and habits, education, ethnicity characteristics are also present. For example, while it is possible to observe the abundance of raw and refined fish in a periodic market in Amsterdam, it is possible to see the kind of food that commonwealth people choose to eat in most of London's periodic markets. Portobello

has its fame for antiques and old stuff besides food. In most poor African and Asian cities, few products (such as coffee and tomato) mark their existence in periodic markets. In South American periodic markets herbs and old-wives medicine attract the most attention. So, periodic markets in the developed world cities and developing world cities show differences in quality and quantity.

İstanbul's periodic markets are spread all over the city and hence they create an intercity central place system. The bigger and more famous periodic markets are gathered in more central locations such so as to attract bigger masses of populations. They are known as neighborhood markets but they also have metropolitan and regional central place importance.

As can be followed from the daily timetable, spatial distribution of periodic markets in İstanbul show a regular pattern. So İstanbul's weekly markets can be said to have a compatibility of time and place. Someone who has missed the periodic market of his/her locale, can catch up with another neighboring periodic market for shopping. Buyers can also commute between neighboring markets just like sellers. Next to the area of influence of a periodic market, there exists another one within a dimension of 200-250 meters. This situation creates a horizontal complementary characteristic both for the sellers and buyers.

İstanbul, with its 1997 population of approximately 10 million inhabitants, is a city that has sprawl in all directions. It has the highest buying capacity with the highest GNP and highest frequency of economical activities. Within the İstanbul Metropolitan Area, 226 of a total 330 periodic markets, are on the European side of İstanbul while 101 are on the Anatolian side and 3 are on the Princess Islands. The periodic markets outside the metropolitan area of İstanbul are not considered in this paper. The periodic markets considered in this paper can be regarded in two ways:

- a) Ones in the central city
- b) Ones on the periphery of the central city.

It is quite difficult to correlate these periodic markets with population. If generalized, the periodic markets outside the central city, even as big as Ümraniye periodic market, have their shoppers from the local population, that is to say they have local importance. The periodic markets in the central city, have a potential buyer capacity not only from the central area but from all over the city, that is to say they have regional importance.

Central and peripheral periodic markets have important differences according to goods being sold and according to the profile of buyers and sellers. First difference is in size. Central city ones are much larger. Second difference is in variety. Most of the goods on sale come from city wholesalers. The periodic market on the periphery are smaller in size and in the variety of goods they offer. They mostly depend on food items. Seller is also the producer in most cases. For example, Sarıyer and Beykoz periodic markets. While the peripheral periodic markets are more quiet with their local people and goods, the central ones are more crowded and complicated. The central periodic markets introduce a bigger economical and social attraction to their locales, which sometimes goes to extremes like making shopping impossible.

The time-location tables and maps (Figure 1) are clear indications of too many periodic markets in the İstanbul Metropolitan Area. As mentioned before, their locations being 250-300 meters apart, make it possible to operate more than once in a week in the same location, with few modifications in size and variety. Spatial distribution of periodic markets is an indication of the built structure and the abundance of central business districts in the city. New residential areas proliferating next to the central areas attract periodic markets. In the Adalar district of İstanbul, periodic markets operating on different days display a supplementary character.

History

It is important to know the exact number of markets that operate daily in İstanbul. According to information obtained from Periodic Markets Association (2002), around 330 periodic markets operate weekly in İstanbul. This gives an approximate number of 50 periodic markets a day. The larger ones extend beyond their local limits and have a citywide effect. But still all of them are important for İstanbul residents and sustain their existence.

History of periodic markets go back centuries as elsewhere in the world, but there have been changes in their locations and contents. For example, in the times when İstanbul city was surrounded by city walls, it was forbidden to sell agricultural products inside the city. So, sellers from villages could sell their goods outside the city gates, in places allocated for them (Göktaş, 1997). As the city grew, these places grew into market places and people got used to

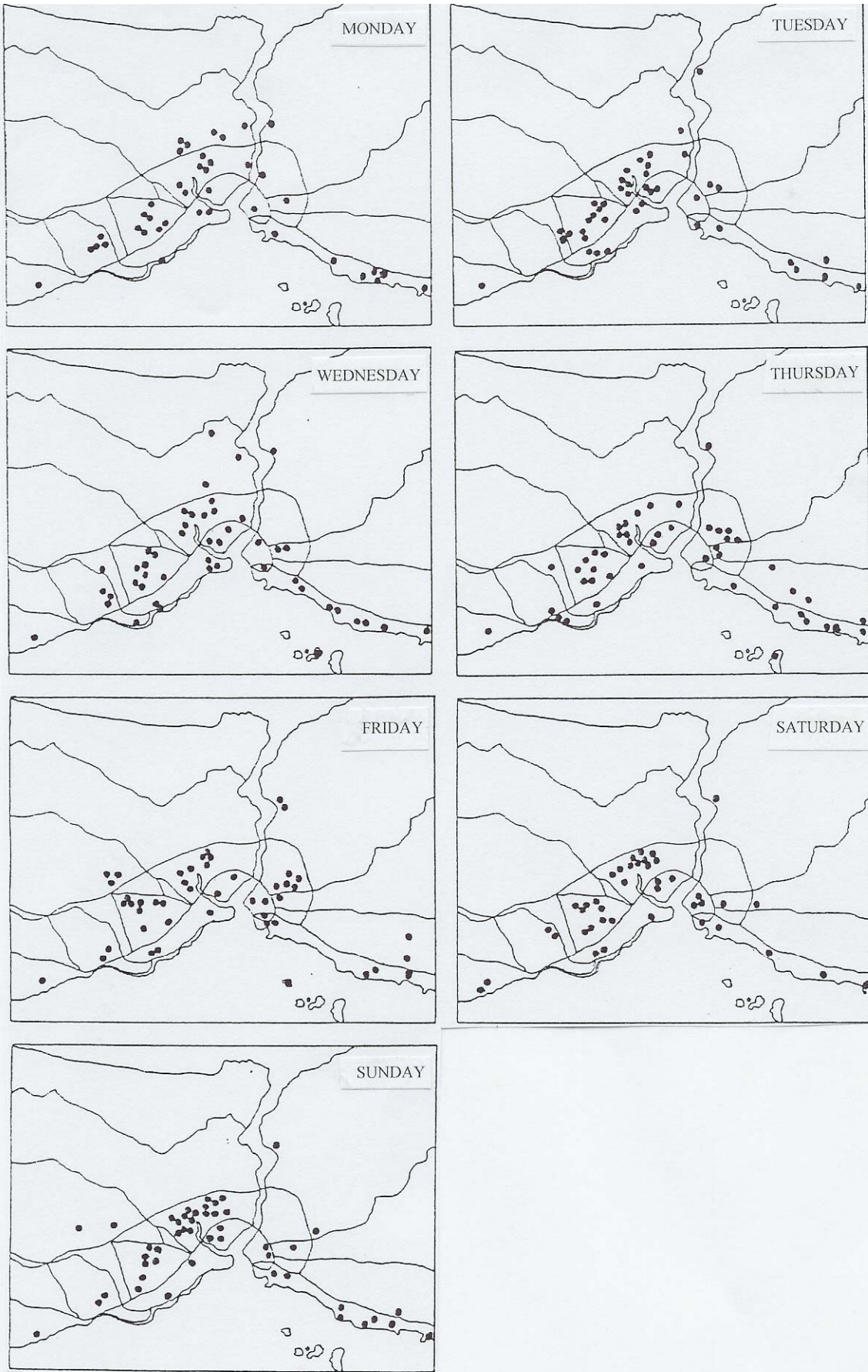


Figure 1 The Distribution of periodic markets according to days of the week in İstanbul (1999-2002)

them. Agricultural activities inside and outside İstanbul city walls helped the continuity of periodic markets.

After the conquest, İstanbul was divided into four administrative parts governed by four Kadıs (Judges). İstanbul, Galata, Eyüp and Üsküdar. It is known that seven big markets were on every week day in İstanbul. Such as Wednesday Market in Fatih İstanbul, Thursday Market in Galata. Some special markets, under the name neighborhood markets like today, used to operate on certain days of the week, such as Flea Market, Chicken Market, Slave Market, Women's Market, in the 18th century (Göktaş, 1997).

For long years, these markets operated on the same day, some of them have gone through changes towards present day. Some of them have given their names to their locales. Their names still exist even though the markets don't. For example Salıpazarı in Tophane has taken its name from Tuesday Markets that used to operate there in the olden days. Perşembe Pazarı in Galata has taken its name from the Thursday Market that used to operate there.

İstanbul's present central city periodic markets can be traced back to 50-100 years. For example Şehremini Market has been operating since 1920 and (Tuesday Market) Salı Pazarı in Kadıköy used to operate as a farmers market between 1930-1944. After 1944 it grew larger and only after 1970s it has changed into its present form. (Wednesday Market) Çarşamba Pazarı in Fatih with its very long history, has reached its present fame after 1950's.

Characteristics

İstanbul metropolitan area is analyzed according to three concentric zones: the core area is up to 3 km. from the center of the city, namely the old CBD; the first ring between the core area and up to 12 km. from the center, namely the boundary of the city before the migration of 1950s; the second ring is the peripheral area, namely the squatter zones (Table 1).

Spatial distribution of around 330 periodic markets that operate in İstanbul, is such as being 226 on the European side, 101 on the Anatolian side and 3 on the Princess Islands. The largest and the most famous ones can be lined up in the order of, (Tuesday Market) Salıpazarı in Kadıköy, (Wednesday Market) Çarşamba Pazarı in Fatih, (Wednesday Market) Çarşamba Pazarı in Yeşilköy, (Thursday Market) Perşembe Pazarı in Ulus, Mecidiyeköy, Bakırköy,

Üsküdar and (Friday Market) Cuma Pazarı in Fındıkzade follow these as smaller but much visited markets.

Some of them can be categorized as the largest (Fatih & Kadıköy) as for the area they occupy and the number of visitors and sellers; the largest as for the density of retail (Ulus); the cheapest as for the reasonability of prices (Fındıkzade). The others are categorized as middle-size (50-100 stalls) and small-size (10-15 stalls). The sellers have either gathered in an empty area (like Ortaköy) or lined up along one or two streets (like Heybeliada).

In İstanbul periodic markets, food items and items for daily use are sold together. The size and the location of the market effect the quantity and quality of the items sold and the buyer/seller profile. While food is the main item in smaller periodic markets, it is possible to buy household items, like TV and refrigerator, in larger markets.

Location is observed to be quite effective on the item range in smaller markets. For example, Ferahevler in Tarabya is a small size periodic market, but availability of readywear garments differentiates this market from other small size markets due to its location. The location is quite far from central business districts and has no shops selling these items. The existence of three stalls selling only head scarves is due to the conservative profile of the neighborhood. In general, in the interior design of periodic markets, specialist divisions are kept apart. For example food divisions and other daily use items divisions are separated. Depending on the size of the market, readywear garments division and other daily use items divisions are separated. For example, in (Wednesday Market) Çarşamba Pazarı / Fatih, only a single item is being sold on some of the streets.(Figure 3) Only shoes and bags are sold in certain streets and electronic items are sold in certain streets. Although there is an availability of variety in all larger markets, the ratio of items sold are different in different markets. For example, (Thursday Market) Perşembe Pazarı in Ulus has specialized in readywear garments. Bric-a-brac, leather ware, small household items and food are also available. Vegetables, fruits and other food items, due to their higher prices, occupy less and less number of stalls, which takes Ulus Market away from the traditional market category. The reason for this is, the upper-middle income group of market visitors get their food shopping from the supermarkets in the neighborhood. As for the market visitors from outside the neighborhood, they prefer to buy readywear garments and similar items. As for (Tuesday Market) Salıpazarı in Kadıköy and

(Wednesday Market) Çarşamba Pazarı in Fatih, where everything is available, there exists a special “Farmer’s Market” which stresses the value of fresh produce.

Table 1 The distribution of population, the number of periodic markets and the number of stalls according to districts in İstanbul (1999-2002)

	Districts	Population	Number of periodic markets	Number of stalls
Core	Beyoğlu	234.964	9	5207
	Eminönü	55.548	2	1353
1.Ring	Beşiktaş	191.776	10	4339
	Eyüp	232.356	13	5961
	Fatih	407.991	8	9400
	Kadıköy	654.295	15	30832
	Şişli	271.003	9	4649
	Üsküdar	501.804	21	9675
	Zeytinburnu	244.062	6	6725
2.Ring	Avcılar	235.113	8	5728
	Bağcılar	559.894	20	12980
	Bahçelievler	464.903	14	15443
	Bakırköy	208.223	6	6064
	Beykoz	178.438	12	1202
	Esenler	394.423	14	5066
	G.O.P	671.170	23	17218
	Kağıthane	345.574	17	8289
	Kartal	334.950	8	8900
	K.Çekmece	558.135	20	11967
	Maltepe	358.231	11	4516
	Pendik	384.381	20	14500
	Sarıyer	220.171	10	2413
	Tuzla	108.329	10	1002
	Ümraniye	450.767	8	4954

State Institute of Statistics (2002)

Records of The Municipal Government of İstanbul (2002)

Besides variety range, quality range makes the periodic market different from each other. Larger periodic markets offer a wider range of quality and the quality itself is higher than other markets and hence the prices. For example Yeşilköy and Ulus periodic markets are

better known as high-society periodic markets that offer a wider variety of quality. The originals, the fake and default products of the same famous brands and imitations can be found there. These two periodic markets are famous for ladyswear. So famous that even portable changing rooms are available in some stalls to encourage ladies for shopping. In Ulus periodic market some stalls offer credit-card facilities. Price is a very important factor in periodic markets. Some items being sold at half price of a shop is an important factor for choosing periodic markets for a shopping place.

Smaller periodic markets and lower-income neighborhood markets keep the prices lower. The same items are sold at higher prices in larger periodic markets by the same sellers. From this point of view (Friday Market) Cuma Pazarı in Fındıkzade is known to be the cheapest and (Wednesday Market) Çarşamba Pazarı in Yeşilköy is known to be the most expensive. Besides location, relativity of prices may depend on items, seasons, time of the day and even on weather.

Periodic markets have survived until today by adjusting themselves according to changing conditions. Today periodic markets display a wide variety of items other than daily needs and wants, which used to be mainly food in the olden days. Progress in transportation has facilitated the range of variety. Most sellers have their own transportation facilities. Free trade policies have increased the chances for a wider variety of choice. All periodic markets have import items, which used to be forbidden in earlier years.

Not only the items, even the sellers can be imported. Romanian, Bulgarian, Russian, Middle Asian and Far Eastern sellers exist in most periodic markets. So some periodic markets provide very special global products besides local ones, such as tea and coffee and other drinks from various parts of the world, such as Albanian Raki, Bulgarian Cheese, Middle Asian silk etc.

Periodic Markets from the point of view of Buyers and Visitors

A common characteristic for all markets is, over 90% of buyers are women and over 90% of sellers are men. This is something that can be noticed at once in any periodic market. Men among buyers are mostly husbands helping their wives or husbands whose wives cannot come or veterans. There are still a few small differences that can be observed.

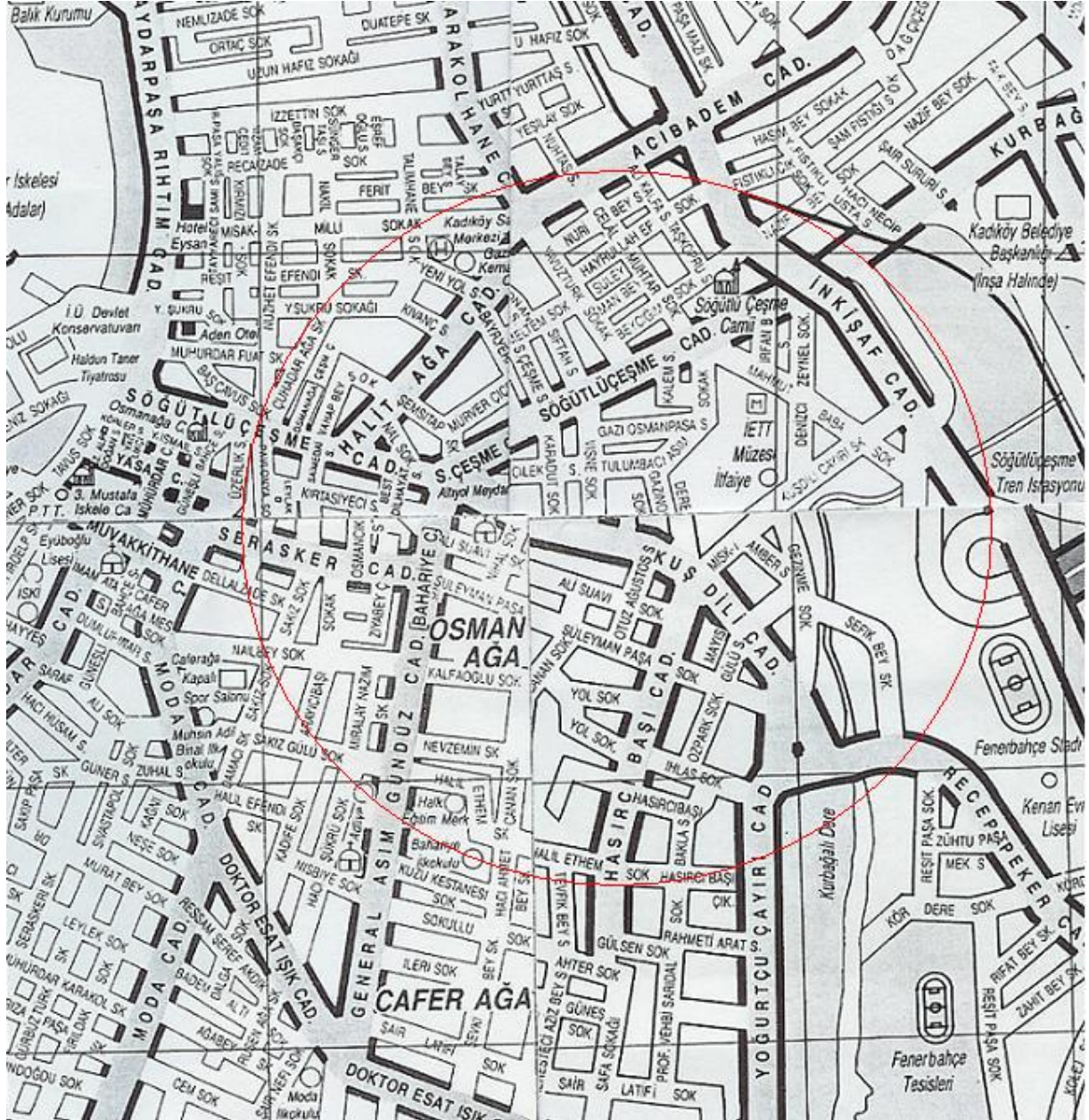


Figure 2 Tuesday Market (Salı Pazarı) Kadıköy and its impact on the immediate environment



Figure 3 Wednesday Market (Çarşamba Pazarı) Fatih and its impact on the immediate environment

Customers differ depending on the location of the periodic market and on the time of year (For example, Eids or Sales) and on weather conditions. In mid-winters and mid- summers the number of customers minimize; at back to school times, prior to Eids and Mothers' Days number of customers maximize.

As the frequency of periodic markets customers vary according to the time of year, it also varies during the day. Mornings are for those who like to finish off shopping first, while the marketplace is quiet and spare the rest of the day for other activities. House viwes ,who don't care about the higher prices of the morning, prefer the morning hours for market shopping. Noon is for the working people. An extende lunch break is a good chance for shopping. It is also the time for women who sleep all morning. Evening is for those that go shopping after work. Number of male customers increase in the evenings and the prices are lower. Late evening shoppings is for the poor and the free loaders.

In general, it is true that periodic markets are mostly utilized by the lower and middle income groups. Exception for this fact is the case of Ulus and Yeşilköy periodic markets. They are mostly utilized by customers from higher income groups. Both of these periodic markets are known as high society periodic markets because many novelties and stars prefer these two for shopping. This characteristic of customers, also create other characteristics such as, variety of goods for sale, the overall appearance and the general atmosphere, even the olfactory characteristics of the periodic market.

The frequency of visits to periodic markets mostly depend on the distance to the market place. Walking distance is important for heavy shopping (grocery etc.). Walking distance used to be more important in the past years. Now, the shopping bags on wheels make shopping easier. They are the substitutes for basket boys. Private cars and taxis are the alternatives for long distance shoppings.

Periodic Markets from the viewpoint of sellers.

According to Göktaş (1997), until 1861 only the muslim population was allowed to open a grocery store. So, until that time minorities used to be periodic market sellers if they preferred to get involved in this sort of economical activity. After 1950s, as migration to bigger cities began in Turkey, periodic market sellers began to vary in geographic origins. In Turkey, especially in İstanbul immigrant populations preferred this sort of economic activity, because

it didn't require substantial investment as a start. The quotation saying "I can make a living by selling lemons" is almost identical with market place sellers.

Today sellers of all origins can be seen all over the country. Some sellers come together so as to make fellow citizenship groups. It is observed that majority of İstanbul periodic market sellers have Siirt or Bitlis origins, the ones from Malatya and Sivas follow. It can be exemplified from different market places as such: In Beşiktaş periodic market, sellers are mostly from Siirt and Sivas, Eastern Black Sea origins follow.

In Ulus periodic market, the sellers are all from the Eastern Province or they are the second generation İstanbul citizens. In Fatih Wednesday periodic market, while grocery sellers are mostly from Bitlis, Siirt and Mardin, ready-wear garment sellers are from Malatya. In general, sellers are less educated but in high-society locations sellers have relatively higher education.

As far as the number of sellers are concerned, smaller markets differ from bigger markets. Actually, it is very difficult to find out the exact number of sellers in İstanbul periodic markets. The number of sellers are high in big periodic markets. For example, in Kadıköy, Fatih and Beşiktaş periodic markets the number is over 3.500. Depending on the season, the number may increase to 5.000 with sellers from car booths and suitcases.

In Yeşilköy Wednesday periodic market a total of 500 stalls, in Ulus Thursday periodic market a total of 250 stalls make up 1500 and 2000 selling units consecutively. With the mobile sellers that provide food for the periodic market sellers, the number of people go even higher. In smaller periodic markets, depending on the number of stalls, the number of people changes between 10 -100. As mentioned earlier, over 90% of İstanbul periodic market workers are men. This is rather contrary to other developing countries. For example, in South Eastern Asian countries like Bangkok, in some Latin American cities periodic market sellers are woman in majority. Especially food is mostly sold by women. (Bromley, 1974).

Gender differences are observed in rural and urban Turkey. In rural areas, items produced by the family are sold by women. There are even periodic markets run only for women. For example, in Bolu's farmer market, which runs since 100 years. In urban areas, because it doesn't have direct connection to production, it looks as if it is mainly men's business.

In İstanbul, while the majority of sellers are men and majority of buyers are women, in central areas ratio of women sellers is much higher compared to more conservative outer areas. In some periodic markets women are only seen in stalls where women underwear is sold by women sellers. In bigger central location periodic markets, 12% of sellers are women, which corresponds to more than half of cosmetics and readywear garments sellers. The highest ratio of women sellers is in Ulus periodic market which is 25%. It is observed that the number of women sellers increase as years go by. Teenagers are also seen as sellers in periodic markets as mobile lemon sellers, paper tissue and peg sellers.

The selling patterns are almost universal. In all periodic markets, like elsewhere in the world, sellers shout out loud and try to look as colorful as possible. They also create a Marketplace Literature (Kayabal and Nur, 1997). This can be called the power of attraction for the seller and totally depends on his marketing skills, with customer profile added, they all make up the local identity of the market.

Periodic Markets as problem areas in cities.

Neighborhood periodic markets in İstanbul, have shown a parallel growing pattern with the city itself. Especially since 1960s, they proliferated with the squatter areas. More squatter areas, created more periodic markets. As periodic markets facilitated life, they encouraged more squatter areas, ie. a bilateral impact. For example, in Bahçelievler/Bakırköy, periodic markets that opened up in 1964, helped this neighborhood grow bigger. With a similar pattern, all Zeytinburnu periodic markets came out between the years 1955-1965, when more and more squatter neighborhoods grew.

Actually, spatial distribution of periodic markets in İstanbul cannot be explained by planning criteria. In newly planned neighborhoods such as Ataşehir and Bahçeşehir, the overall plan already includes a place allocated for a periodic market. If it is an unplanned neighborhood, when the so called neighborhood reaches a certain population, they ask for a periodic market to serve the locale. In some locales, depending on the area and population, periodic markets open up more than one day a week. In their second performance, they either occupy part of the whole market place or open up in another place. The second market of the week is smaller and opens up in partly outside the market's original place and this indicates a longer

traffic jam during the week. For example, Salıpazarı (Tuesday Market) in Kadıköy, opens up on Fridays and Saturdays (as Russian Market) partly.

İstanbul's bigger periodic markets have a larger spatial impact, which attracts customers from neighboring towns and cities.(Figure 2) For example, Kadıköy's Tuesday periodic market attracts customers from Tekirdağ, Edirne and Bursa. Yeşilköy periodic market's non local customers are mostly from Yalova, Bursa and Kumburgaz. So, periodic markets, even if they open up once a week, they have blocking effects on the city. First, the periodic market itself causes a blockage by occupying the streets and crossroads. Second, periodic market visitors and the pre-sellers (those who don't have stalls and are mobile) cause a blockage besides the market itself. The periodic markets create important nodes of blockage with their 5.000-15.000 visitors a day. Ulus periodic market which seems to have its space on a rather less problematic point, creates a problem around Akmerkez.

The bigger periodic markets scatter over large areas. For example, Wednesday market in Fatih district covers up 3 streets and 36 substreets completely and extends partly to neighboring streets, almost creating a large web. Saturday market in Beşiktaş district scatters over a slopy area, where there are level differences of 5–10 steps. The inconvenience of topography creates even more problems. Creating traffic jams is a common problem for all İstanbul periodic markets. Yeşilköy periodic market covers 10 substreets and blocks up the whole central area of Yeşilköy.

Another problem of periodic markets in İstanbul is that children get lost. An average of 10 children get lost every week in Yeşilköy periodic market. They do get to their mothers in a short time, but still overcrowding creates such urban problems.

CONCLUSIONS

As far as retail space is concerned, İstanbul reflects a combination of traditional and modern retailing systems. This is due to continuing rural migration, along with the effects of globalization. Both retail systems support each other to serve the needs of growing urban populations. Periodic markets are found both in high-status neighborhoods and low-income neighborhoods, although quality and price varies.

The success of the periodic markets is getting the customers and the sellers together at the same time, at the same place every week. Location is very important for all periodic markets. Change of location doesn't guarantee success. Central periodic markets try to keep their regular locations unchanged. As the population increases, there is demand for increase in their size, which means occupation of more and more streets. Urban growth doesn't allow for more space for periodic markets. On the contrary, they may come to terms with losing their regular locations.

Despite the direct and indirect economic advantages of periodic markets, noise, pollution, insufficient place for parking and traffic congestion are the major complaints.

Like elsewhere around the world, periodic markets in İstanbul have come to live for centuries. This fact cannot be explained by location theory only, but by historical development of urban populations, by the social structure of the city and by possibilities for growth.

Periodic markets are also supposed to be seen as job alternatives for the urban population as well as shopping alternatives. They are also seen as key factors in selecting locations for permanent markets. They are places for social interaction, for recreation and for chances of making new associates.

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