ANALYZING THE RETAIL STRUCTURE CHANGE OF IZMIR-TURKEY: INTEGRATIVE AND DISINTEGRATIVE ASPECTS OF LARGE-SCALE RETAIL DEVELOPMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The urban retail sector and retail environments have experienced radical changes in the last decades. With no doubt, most of the challenges are due to the changing demographic, social, economic and physical conditions of the world. As the sector has altered in terms scale, organization, and its geographical representation, many countries have introduced the emergence of new-innovative store formats, the development of large-scale out-of-town retail environments and the appearance of new consumption patterns as well.

The first signs of the retail transformations have seen in the developed countries after the Second World War. With the rising affluence combined with a set demographic, technological, and life-style changes, the structure of the retail trade has changed drastically in the following decades. New store types and retail formats such as supermarkets, hypermarkets, shopping centers and specialty stores at larger scales as multiple establishments have been developed with different spatial and locational formats. Although there are numerous forces associated with this shift, the most important ones are the suburbanization of population growth, increased personal mobility and car ownership, being widespread usage of deep freeze and credit cards, rising demand for consumption goods, and changes in transportation, electronics and computer technologies (see extensive reviews on retail change in Dawson (1980), Guy (1994), Bromley and Thomas (1993), Rogers, (1984), McGoldrick (1984) etc.).

Rapid transformations have continued after 1980s and retail sector has adopted itself to globalized economic structure and internationalization learning to perform in conditions of competition, economies of scale and technology intensive development. The market saturation in developed economies has forced retailers through consolidation and investing abroad leading to new retail transformations especially in developing countries. At the same time, Turkish retailing has started to change radically together with the new emerging socio-economic circumstances. Large investments of national and multinational retail corporations have been established one after another mostly in major cities of the country such as Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir. Since food is the most important consumer expenditure in developing countries, supermarkets and hypermarkets have been the foremost actors that have changed the Turkish retail environments. A number of multi-purpose shopping centers (malls), with their large freestanding outlets, and various specialty stores have followed the initial developments and have started to restructure urban retail geography and hierarchy.

Unlike the developed countries, half of the retail sector in Turkey is still dominated by traditional retailers, large number of small-scale, independent and single location retailers, if periodic markets (bazaars) are not taken into consideration. However, market share and spatial prevalence of large-scale retailers have been increasing rapidly leading traditional retailers gradually disappear and excluded from the urban areas. Inevitably, the increase in spatial prevalence and dominance of large-scale retailers brings many economic, social and business implications as well as noteworthy spatial consequences on the urban geography. At this point the study identifies the spatial pattern of this ongoing retail structure and hierarchy change in Izmir case in a descriptive manner and intends to clarify integrative and disintegrative spatial aspects of large-scale retail developments evaluating two dissimilar regions of the metropolitan area in details.

THE RETAIL STRUCTURE CHANGE IN TURKEY

Before the 1980s, the development policy of the country was based on import substitution, and the structure of the economy was semi-controlled and mixed. The economy was producer driven and the basic concern was the production and availability of goods. Distribution was the secondary concern and was left to a traditional small-scale network of traders (Tokatlı and Boyacı, 1999). Between 1950 and 1975, the country maintained a steady economic development of 6 % per annum on average, the percentage of urban population within the total population increased from 18.5 percent in 1950 to 50 percent in 1980 and the per capita income of the country increased from $166.40 in 1950 to $1330 in 1980 (Tokatlı and Özcan, 1998, p.81). However, from 1950s to 1980s, despite the stage of economic development and urbanization hardly any change in the structure of retailing had occurred. Empirical evidences show briefly that over the thirty-year period, neither a decline in the share of small-scale retailers nor an increase in the share of large-scale retailers had been identified (Kumcu and Kumcu, 1987). Migros (Switzerland-1955), Gima (1956), and various municipality owned stores (after 1970s) serving in the form of supermarket were the only organized retail investments in this period. As Tokatlı and Özcan (1998) states dominant type of retailing up to 1980s was still small-scale, capital-weak, independent and family-owned such as, groceries (bakkal), greengroceries (manav) butchers (kasap) and haberdashers (konfeksiyoncu) that fits well the prevailing demand pattern of the Turkish customer, the public attitudes and the macroeconomic policies.

The true take-off of western type of retail formats and large-scale retail developments in Turkey has started after 1980s. At the beginning of the 1980s, import-substituted industrialization strategy was replaced with the more outward-oriented development strategy which proposes more liberal, market oriented and out-ward-looking economic structure. The export-oriented development strategy has introduced a highly appropriate environment for retail growth and affected the sector in a number of ways by altering demand side factors, changing environmental conditions, and increasing attraction of the sector for large corporations. The economy has begun to go smoothly and experienced relatively high rates of growth (averaging %5 in 1981-1993 period), and has changed the production and consumption patterns since then (Tokatlı and Boyacı, 1998). The economic growth was not the only response for rapid retail development, social, political and technological shifts that country experienced are the other important factors affected the retail environments. In details, increase in urbanization rates, consumer expenditures and private car ownership; widespread usage of credit cards and durable goods; the changing role of women and consumer profile; technological advances and internationalization of retailing have been the major factors that changed the retail structure in Turkey.

Two decades of liberalization of the Turkish economy, further stimulated by its Customs Union with the European Union (1996) and EU membership procedure (2001), have progressively freed Turkish entrepreneurial dynamism (Codron et.al., 2003). Much of the economic and social outcomes have changed the circumstances for large-scale, western type of retail developments, and a rapid change has been inevitable during the 1990s. A number of multi-purpose shopping centers and shopping malls have established in the major cities of the country such as in İstanbul (37), Ankara (13), İzmir (8), Konya (6), Bursa (5), İzmit (4) (Turkish Concil of Shopping Centers & Retailers, members' list, 2006) up to day. Although some of the multi-purpose large-scale shopping centers and malls have been the first signs, the most crucial changes have occurred in the sector of food retailing. The large domestic and international corporations (mostly European) successfully captured an increased marked share through supermarkets, hypermarkets, department stores, and franchise-based operations starting from the 1990s. Migros, Tansaş, Gima, Carrefoursa, Metro, Real, Kipa and BIM have been the major food retail chains dominate the Turkish organized retailing since than (table 1).

Store Brands	Retail Formats	Ownership	Number of Outlets	Store Brands	Retail Formats	Ownership	Number of Outlets
Major Food Retailers*				Major Food Retailers*			
Migros	Hypermarket	Turkish (Koç)	35	Tesco-Kipa	Hypermarket	UK (Tesco PLc)	11
	Supermarket		161	Metro	Cash & Carry	Germany	9
ŞOK	Discount stores		331	Real	Hypermarket	Germany	7
CarrefourSA	Hypermarket	French(Carrefour)	13	Kiler	Supermarket	Turkish	110
ChampionSA	Supermarket	&		Afra	Hypermarket	Turkish	45
DiaSA	Discount stores	Turkish (Sabanci)	313	Major Non-Food Retailers			
BIM	Hard Dis. Stores	Turkish, US, SA	1322	Carsi	Dep. Stores	Turkish	13
Tansas	Hypermarket	Turkish (Koç)	227	Praktiker	Do-It-Yourself	German	8
Makro	Supermarket	Turkish (Doğuş)	8	Koçtas	Do-It-Yourself	Turkish & Switz.	5
Gima	Supermarket	Turkish (Sabanci)	81	YKM	Dep. Stores	Turkish	42
Endi	Discount Stores		52	Marks & Spencer	Dep. Stores	Turkish	11
Yimpaş	Hypermarket	Turkish (Yimpas)	43	Tekzen	Do-It-Yourself	Turkish & German	9
	Supermarket			Bauhaus	Do-It-Yourself	German	2

Table 1: Major Food and Non-Food Retailers in Turkey
Source: PricewaterhouseCoopers, "2004/2005 Global Retail & Consumer Study from Beijing to Budapest, report on Turkey", p.185, *the number of retail outlets represents the present situation as of 2006; retailers' official internet sites.

The number of hypermarkets mostly located in metropolitan areas has increased more than three fold from 41 units to 129 between 1996 and 2000, whereas number of supermarkets has increased from 1275 to 2850 in the same time period. The increase in number of organized food retailers has also continued in the 2000s despite the economic crises that the country experienced in 2001, and reached a total number of 5545 in 2005. Apart from these, in the same ten-year period from 1996 to 2005, number of groceries (Bakkals, Markets) as being traditional, single location retailers has decreased 23%, from 175121 to 135473. Further, Similarly in increasing store numbers, the market share of the large-scale retailers have also increased radically from 17.4% to 41% whereas the share of traditional retailers decreased from 82.6% to 59% between 1996 and 2001. The increase has continued in the following years and organized retailers have captured the nearly half of the total market shares in 2003 (53 %, AC Nielsen-Turkey, 2004) across to the groceries. However, despite the drastic change after 1990s, traditional retailers still dominate the Turkish retail system and keep surviving today. Considering small-scale, independent, single location retailers such as grocery, butcher, green grocery and other small buffets together with open-air bazaars, traditional food retailers control 64.5 percent (Hypermarkets and supermarkets control 35%, Migros Company Report, 2006) of total food retailing market (see detailed changes in numbers and shares of food retailing in).

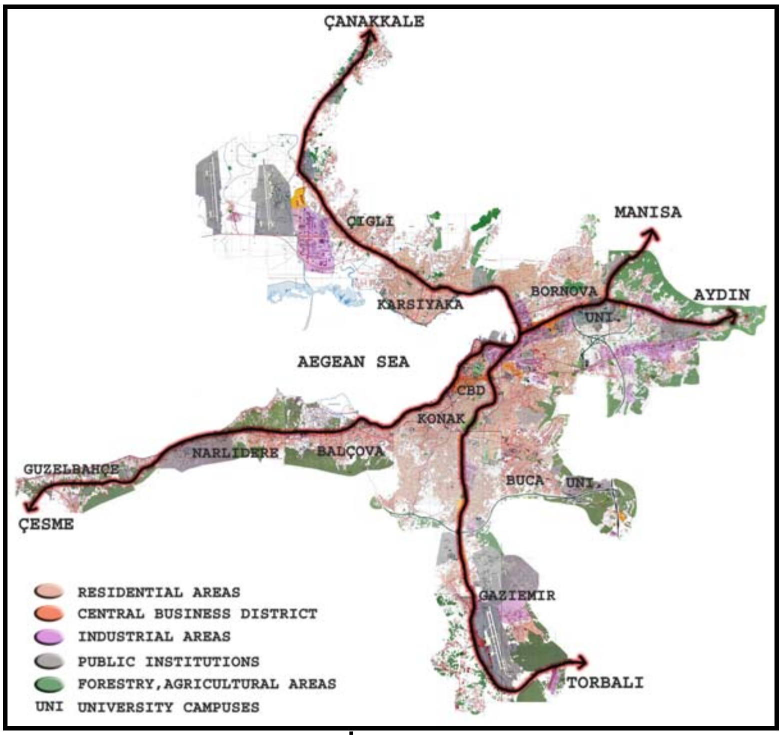
Today, retail industry in Turkey constitutes a dual structure, which consists of both traditional small-scale and modern large-scale retailers. The traditional retail outlets are still preferred by the majority of Turkish customers especially in non-metropolitan and rural areas as well as low-income metropolitan neighborhoods. Open-air bazaars, -with a wide variety of products, fresh fruits and vegetables-, groceries and others -with their proximity and accessibility to home- continue attracting consumers (Kompil and Çelik, 2006). However, certain trends show that Turkish organized retailing market has a high growth potential due to a large and growing population and unsaturated market conditions. In the following decades, the retail structure will continue changing rapidly as in past decades. The major players behind the transformation again will be the organized retailers increasing their market share and store numbers with their large freestanding outlets. At the same time small, single location retailers will start to disappear gradually from the urban areas leading to a decrease in overall retail activity and an increase in number of vacant stores. As the urban retail hierarchy and structure change continue in the forthcoming years, its possible undesired social, economical and physical outcomes have to be identified clearly.

THE RETAIL STRUCTURE ANALYZE OF IZMIR

General View

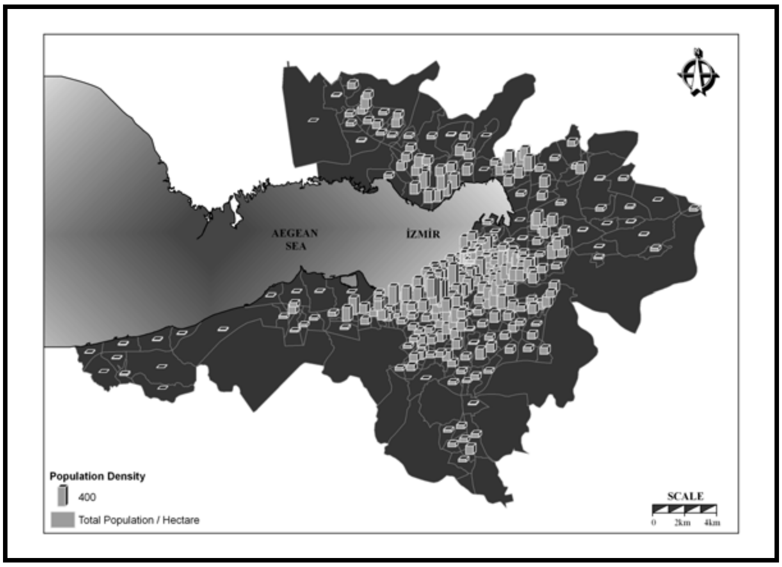
İzmir, the third most populated metropole city of the Turkey with a present population of over three million people, is located on the West coast of the country along the Aegean Sea. From past to date, İzmir has always played a fundamental role in country's economy as being one of the commercial and economical center of the country. The core city surrounding the İzmir Bay has also become an attraction center due to the international commercial seaport, productive agricultural areas in the hinterlands, and economical and industrial structure that is fed from this hinterland. İzmir has continuously outperformed the national average on most of the socio-economic growth indicators over the past decades on account of its strategic location and well developed economic foundation. Considering socio-economic development indicators such as urbanization rate (85%), rate of gross domestic product (7.30%), per capita GDP ($2696), rate of agricultural workforce (28.54%), number of manufacturing workforce (94.341), literacy rate (%92), private car ownership for per 10.000 person (986) etc., İzmir is at the high level of development (3rd of 81) against the other provinces (State Planning Organization, Research on Socio-Economic Development Levels of Provinces and Regions-Turkey, 2003).

In the last decades, the increasing investments within the city's wider region together with the ongoing industrial growth, financial and commercial restructuring have strengthened its economic power. Additionally, increasing number of tourism, housing, transportation and university investments have increased the economic power of İzmir at the national level. Much of the discussions above are also mainly constituted by the metropolitan area of İzmir where the 65 percent of the total population lives in the core city and much of the economic activities located in the metropolitan area. The core city of Izmir has undergone radical changes due to the rapid urbanization and population growth in the recent decades. Uncontrolled rapid development has led to many urban problems as well, such as, increased illegal housing settlements, poor infrastructure provision, urban sprawl, environmental pollution, transport congestion and urban segregation etc.

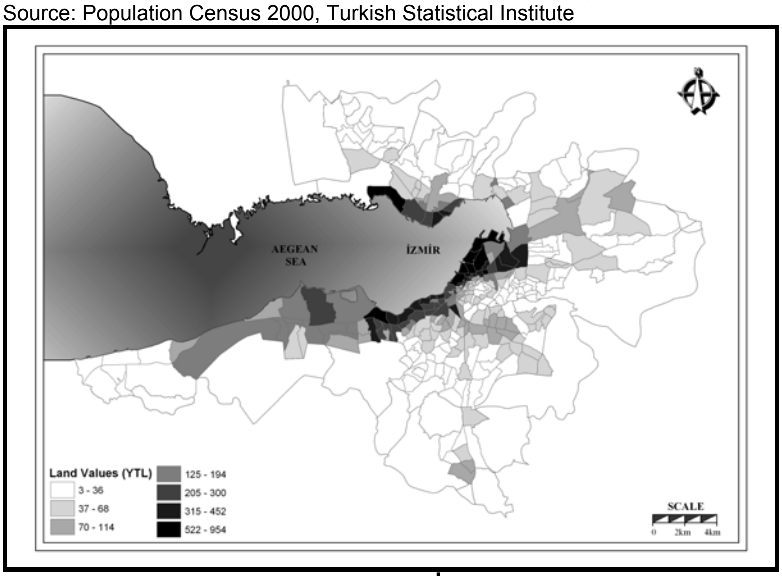


Map1: Land Use Pattern of İzmir
Source: Created based on City Guide 2000, Greater Municipality of İzmir

The urban growth of İzmir metropolitan area represents a linear pattern along the main four arterial roads which of two are parallel to the seacoast (map 1). However, especially in other two axes lying down to interiors of the city, partly a raveling out growth has been seen in the recent years. There has been an increasing decentralization of main urban activities and functions from the city center such as major industrial, commercial and residential activities. This also implies a decrease in the historical CBD and inner city regions leading to a polycentric development within the each metropolitan district as the sub-centers.



Map 2: Population Distribution of Izmir by Neighborhoods
Source: Population Census 2000, Turkish Statistical Institute

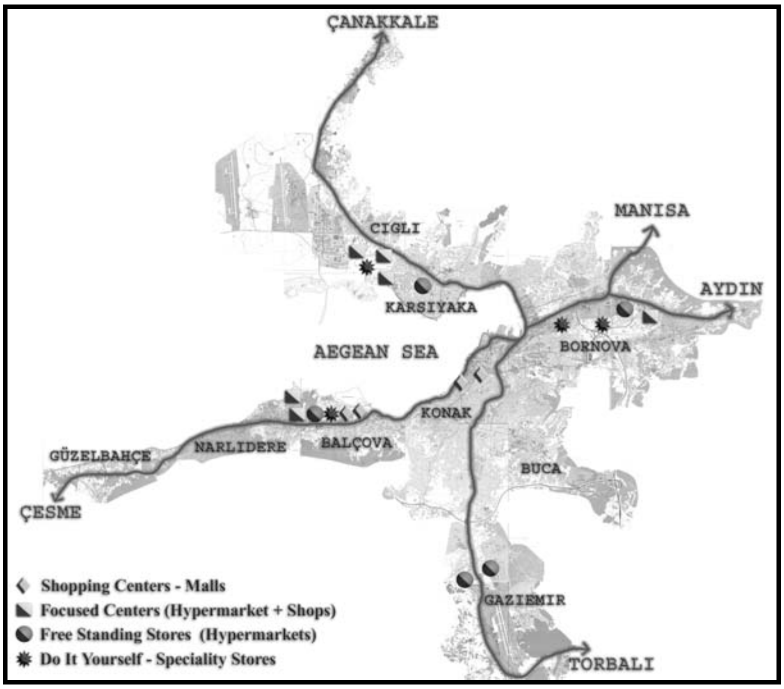


Map 3: Land Value Distribution of İzmir by Neighborhoods
Source: Land Values 2002, National Real Estate Administration

İzmir Metropolitan Area is divided into nine district municipalities, which are under the authority of the Greater Municipality. Balçova, Çiğli, Buca, Bornova, Güzelbahçe, Gaziemir, Karşıyaka, Konak and Narlıdere. These districts are divided into 329 neighborhood units as indicated in map 2-3. Accompanying with the decentralization of residential areas and some other activities, new district centers have been the scene of highest population growths. If the spatial distribution of population is taken into consideration, it can be easily seen that the most concentrated zones lies along the seacoast in Konak and Karşıyaka (map 2). There is hardly any emptiness along with the coast, except for the central business districts in Konak, seaport and military areas whereas a scattered structure is seen in outer urban areas. This also explains having the highest land values of coastal zones with the earnings of dense residential and commercial activities in İzmir (map 3).

The Large Scale Retail Developments and Traditional Retail Structure

Most of the previous discussions about the retail structure change refer to the developments in the largest cities of country. As the country witnessed a great many of socio-economic and physical transformations with more liberal policies, İzmir metropolitan area has been the initial scene of these transformations together with İstanbul and Ankara. Benefiting its above-mentioned socio-economic and physical advantages, İzmir metropolitan area has also experienced considerable developments. The most outstanding implementations and investments through the economic and spatial transformations have taken place through the large-scale retail developments. Up to mid 1990s the retail structure of İzmir mainly consisted of the small-scale traditional retailers. The only western type retailer was Tansaş, which was a semi public corporation of İzmir Municipality and serving in the form of supermarket. After 1990, rapid increase in population and purchase power, and being widespread of private car ownership along with decentralization of housing and some other functions has been the initial factors leading to a suitable environment for large-scale retail developments. So, the mid 1990s have introduced some major large-scale retail developments as a consequence of the changing demand side and supply side factors.



The initial large-scale developments have mainly taken place on the exits of the city in the field of food retailing. Kipa in the South and Migros in the West, serving as independent freestanding stores in hypermarket format have been the first large-scale developments in the mid 1990s. Both of them have established on the main exit axes of the metropolitan area landing on areas above 10.000 square meters (Map 4). Kipa, having introduced with the consumers, has carried on large-scale investments in all the axes of the metropolitan area.

Map 4: Some of The Major Large-Scale Retail Developments After the Mid 1990s
Source: Rearranged (July 2006) based on data in Kompil (2004), unpublished master thesis

In the following years various establishments have started to develop especially in the other main road axes. The most outstanding ones are regional shopping centers - malls, focused centers (including a hypermarket and shops) and do-it-yourself stores, which may sometimes exceed 20.000-25.000 m2 floor spaces (table 2). The major tendency for retailers has been to locate in inexpensive and large sites accessible with the high-income groups. This also leads to a clustered large-scale retail structure on the four main road axes of the metropolitan area as indicated in map 4 above.

Outlet Name	Location	Type Of Outlet	Enclosed Area (m^2)	Establishment Year
Tesco-Kipa	Çiğli	Focused Center	77743	1999
Tesco-Kipa	Balçova	Focused Center	58119	2001
Tesco-Kipa	Bornova	Free Standing Store	11406	1994
Tesco-Kipa	Gaziemir	Free Standing Store	14012	2000
CarrefourSA	ÇİĞLİ	Focused Center	54000	1999
Özdilek	Balçova	Focused Center	20000	2001
EGS Park	Karşıyaka	Focused Center	40000	1999
EGS Park	Bornova	Focused Center	14020	1997
Metro	Gaziemir	Free Standing Store	10000	1995
Migros MMM	Balçova	Free Standing Store	10000	1994
Migros MMM	Karşıyaka	Free Standing Store	above 5000	-
Agora	Balçova	Shopping Center - Mall	41000	2003
Palmiye	Balçova	Shopping Center - Mall	24000	2004
Orkide	Konak	Shopping Center - Mall	15000	2004
Konak Pier	Konak	Shopping Center - Mall	18000	2002
İkea	Bornova	Do-It-Yourself - Speciality	30000	2006
Koçtaş	Bornova	Do-It-Yourself - Speciality	above 5000	1996
KOÇTAŞ	Balçova	Do-It-Yourself - Speciality	above 5000	1998

Table 2: Some of The Major Large-Scale Retail Developments: Types - Sizes - Years
Source: Conversation with retailers; Retailers' official Internet Sites.

The rise of supermarkets has affected the existing retail pattern and traditional retail structure of İzmir more than hypermarkets. Particularly for the restructuring process of food retailing, the most foremost actors of the retail change have been the supermarkets. Starting with the local chains Tansaş and Pehlivanoglu especially in 1990s, other national chains such as BIM, Migros and Şok have entered into the İzmir retail market and increased their spatial prevalence in numbers.

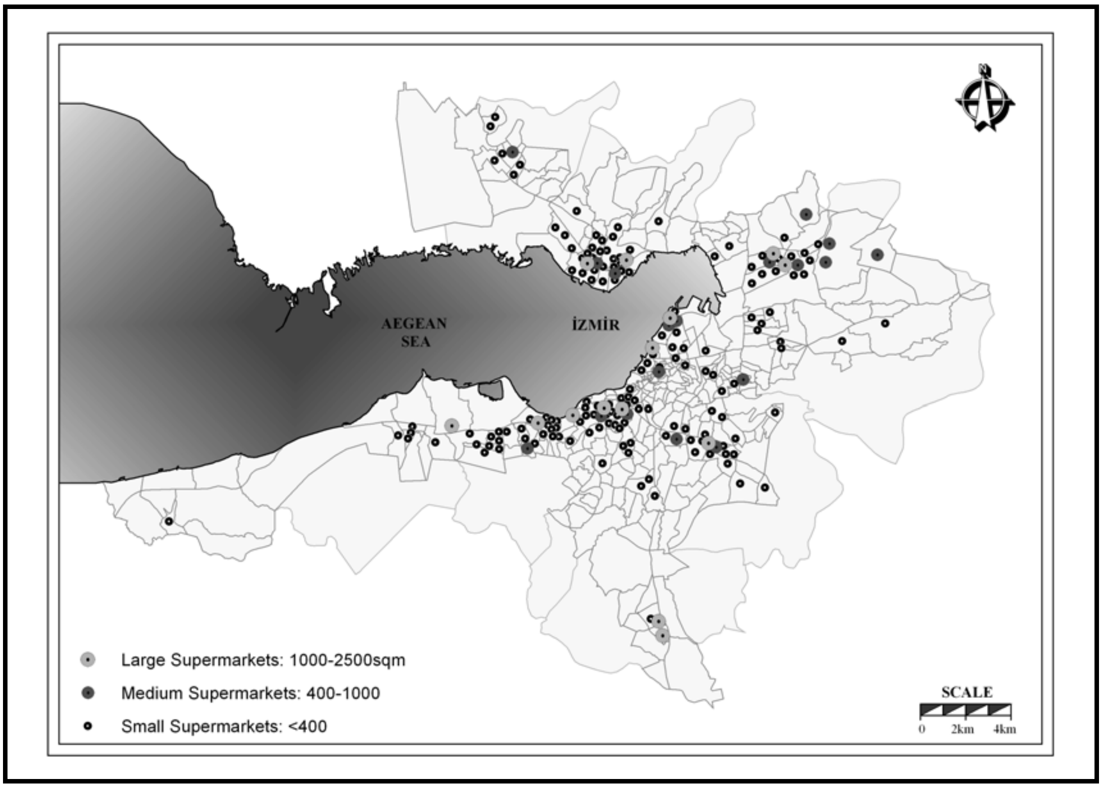
Since to find small, cheap and convenient locations inside the densely built up sites is easier, the supermarkets have increased their spatial prevalence and market shares' dominance rapidly. Average number of supermarkets in İzmir metropolitan area has increased to 80 for per one million person whereas 15 in the whole country.

Much of the supermarket outlets serve in the type of discount or hard-discount stores, smaller than 400 square meters. There are also several brands serving in each of the retail type. The total number of supermarkets belongs to a retail chain is 183 where 151 of these smaller. The major retail chains and their outlet numbers and types are given in table 3 as below.

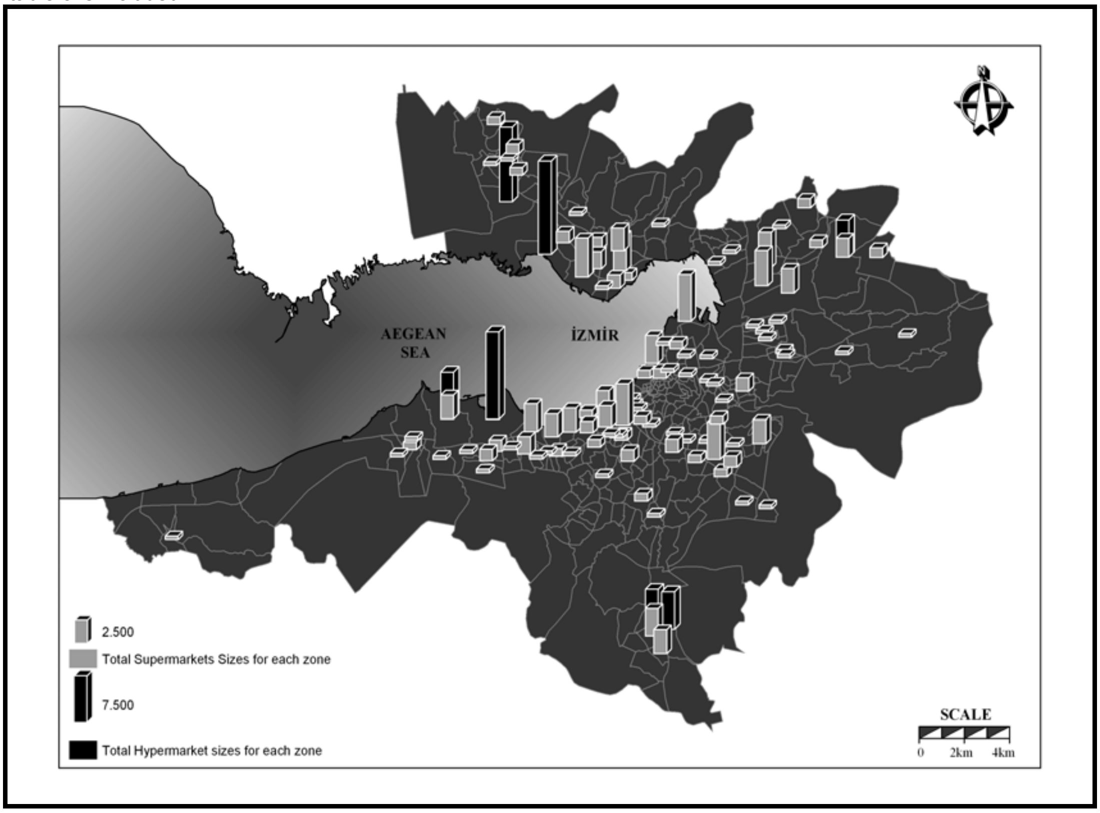
Type of Retail Outlets and Store Brands	Number of Retail Outlets	Outlet Sizes (m^2)
Groceries	*8231*	
Grocery (Bakkal)	6194	< 50 m^2
Larger Grocery (Market)	2037	50-100 m^2
Supermarkets	*183*	
Small Supermarkets	151	< 400 m^2
Mini Tansas	48	
Pehlivanoğlu	26	
BIM	47	
Sok	30	
Supermarkets	17	400-1000 m^2
Midi Tansas	12	
Migros M	5	
Large Supermarkets	15	1000-2500 m^2
Maxi Tansas	10	
Migros MM	5	
Hypermarkets	10	>2500 m^2
Kipa	4	
Migros MMM	3	
Özdilek	1	
Metro	1	
Carrefoursa	1	

Table 4: Number of Retail Outlets According to Retailer Types and Store Brands-2004
Source: Ministry of Finance, list of taxpayer groceries and addresses in İzmir, 2004; Outlet address lists of each retail chain in www.tansas.com.tr, www.pehlivanoglu.com.tr, www.bim.com.tr, www.migros.com.tr, www.kipa.com.tr, surveyed in July 2004

If the spatial distribution of supermarkets is evaluated, they are mainly located in the main arterial roads, such as Mithat Paşa, İnönü, Menderes etc. streets. However, the discount or hard-discount stores may locate on the second level roads inside the residential areas. In general, the highly populated neighborhoods with high-income groups have been the destination of major supermarkets in İzmir. Most of them clustered along the sea and major arterials through the outer district centers and sub-centers as shown in Map 2. The spatial distribution of population and land values (relatively represents the income levels) introduced in the previous section also supports this type of identification in terms of supermarket locations (Kompil and Çelik, 2006).

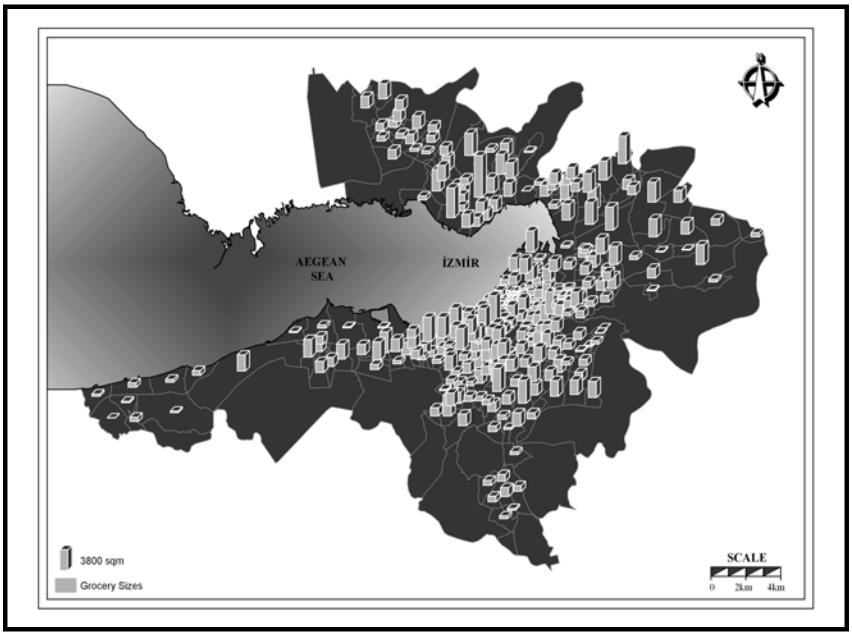


Map 5: The Distribution of Supermarkets by Neighborhood Divisions - 2004
Source: Outlet address lists of each retail chain in www.tansas.com.tr, www.pehlivanoglu.com.tr, www.bim.com.tr, www.migros.com.tr, www.kipa.com.tr, surveyed in July 2004; only retail outlets listed in table 3 is included.



Map 6: The Spatial Distribution of Supermarkets-Hypermarkets by Total Sizes
Source: Outlet address lists of each retail chain at www.tansas.com.tr, www.pehlivanoglu.com.tr, www.bim.com.tr,, www.migros.com.tr, www.kipa.com.tr; surveyed in July 2004; Total outlet sizes are shown in the center of neighborhoods. Supermarket sizes set as 400m^2 (small), 1000m^2 (normal), 2500m^2 (Large) and only retail outlets listed in table 3 is included.

Just as in other major cities of the country, İzmir has a dual retail structure. The retail environments in metropolitan area not only consists of hypermarkets, supermarkets and other large-scale retail outlets but also groceries, butchers, green-groceries, open-air bazaars and other small buffets which constitutes the major traditional retailers. As stated for the Istanbul (Dokmeci et.al., 2005) these different types of retail facilities are distributed throughout the İzmir metropolitan area depending on the size and socio-economic characteristics of the population, density, and accessibility as well suitable land availability. It should be noted that one undisputable result of the retail structure change, beyond others, is the drastic decline in the number of small-scale independent retailers from all formats. The groceries (corner shops up to 50m^2 and markets up to 100m^2) as being the most widespread type of traditional retail outlets have been the pioneer actors of the retail transition and retail decline. Commonly, the major advantage of neighborhood groceries is their convenience due to proximity and availability of tab purchase as well as close relationship with the residents. On this account groceries have comparatively continued the spatial prevalence in numbers and sizes up to now however much the spatial prevalence of large-scale retailers increases. Even their market shares have been decreasing and their efforts to survive have been increasing day by day, there are already 8231 "taxpayer" groceries in İzmir metropolitan area where 6194 of them small and 2037 of them are large (Ministry of Finance, taxpayer groceries' list, 2004). In the past two years period approximately two thousands of grocery was closed in the whole İzmir province, and this represents that the physical presence and number of small-scale outlets have been decreasing violently (see details about retail transition among groceries and supermarket-hypermarkets in Kompil (2006)).



Map 7: The Spatial Distribution of Groceries by Total Sizes
Source: Ministry of Finance, list of taxpayer groceries and addresses in İzmir, 2004;
Grocery sizes set as 50m^2 (Small) and 100m^2 (Large).

In summary, the retail structure of İzmir has a dual structure, with the large-scale western type retail outlets and small-scale traditional retail outlets. The new emerging retail formats are mainly located along the sea-cost or near the some other highly populated, new developing zones in the outer city regions. On the other hand, the inner city areas, the urban fringes and the illegal settled regions with low-income groups have been far from these types of developments and served by traditional small-scale retailers and periodic markets. If the retail transition continues by the spatial spreading of supermarkets, hypermarkets and other large-scale retail outlets through the all zones in Metropolitan area, the retail environments for small-scale retailers will become more difficult to survive.

INTEGRATIVE AND DISINTEGRATIVE ASPECTS OF LARGE SCALE RETAIL DEVELOPMENTS

In the past decades, by the effects of out-ward-looking economic policy and the dynamics of globalization, metropolitan urban areas have become the focal points for investments both in national and international levels. With the pressures of economic transformations, urban areas have begun to change rapidly by the inclination of local and foreign capital. As its nature, capital takes place where maximum return is provided or gained. Hegemony of capital through the urban geography has lead to the development of invested areas on the one hand, and the underdevelopment of the rest on the other.

Similarly with the other economic sectors, retailing has started to change radically together with the new emerging socio-economic circumstances. Especially metropolitan cities of the country have been witnessed a number of large investments by national and multinational retail firms. The intentions through the integration into the world economy have led retail geographies to a rapid change concluding with the integration to the international market as of modern retail environments and overall retail activity. However the transformations, serving some segments of the population more than others, have inevitably created spatially disintegrated and divided urban regions enhancing social divisions and inequality.

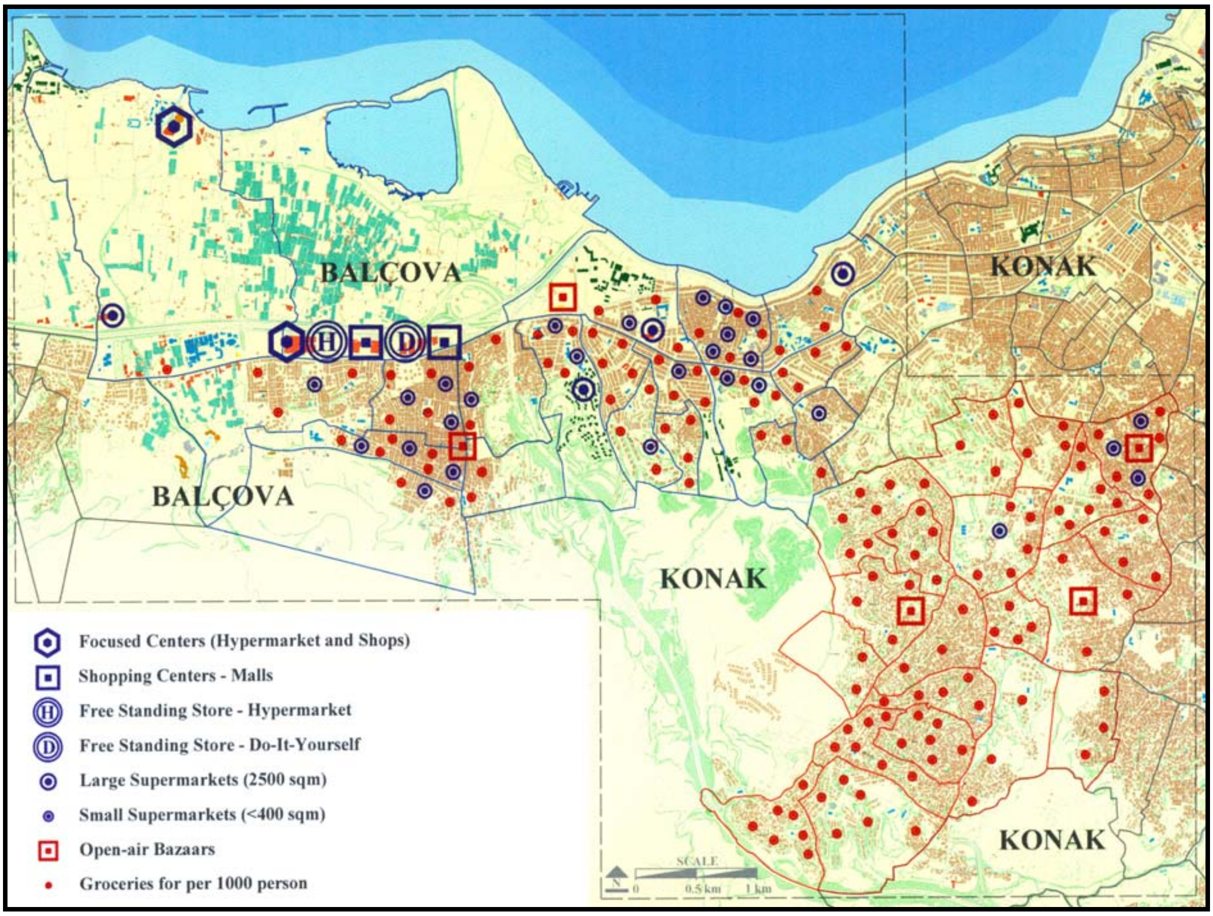
The disintegrative effects of western type of retail developments are more visible especially at the scale of larger retail developments, which of those have already developed western type of consumption culture. As Erkip (2005) states high-level of income groups have constituted the basis of a new consumer culture and lifestyle; *"higher levels of personal mobility-more car ownership, more foreign holidays and newly-introduced cellular phones-have been matched by a greater awareness of other cultures, with more international coverage on domestic television (including satellite TV), and more exposure to other lifestyles… eager to consume international brands, in shopping malls, as they have seen in Hollywood movies and in foreign countries".* These certain social groups, mainly at the high-level of income and education, have integrated to western type of shopping culture and have got used to spend their leisure within the activities that the centers include; while the other social groups, especially at the low-level of income and education, have been excluded from the integration process. As Şengül (2002) states, the traditional retail outlets serve all income groups formerly, while today's shopping centers attract its own consumer group who can afford for being there. The western type of consumption spaces could not provide the basic needs for the low-level of income groups; on the contrary, they encourage the social segregation by excluding them. In other words, modern large-scale retail developments have increased the polarization between various social groups, which have dissimilar socio-economic characteristics by affecting their accessibility to all retail activities.

As a consequence, the traditional retail structure mainly based on small-scale, independent retailers and periodic markets (open-air bazaars) keep the spatial presence providing basic, low-order needs for a large number of low-level of income groups, especially in the peripheral areas of the cities. Despite all the negative effects of large-scale retail developments across to the traditional retailers, they still persist in almost all neighborhoods of the metropolitan areas. For instance, in İstanbul, the number of periodic markets has more than tripled since the early 1980s (Dokmeci et. al., 2006). Moreover, in İzmir, 85 periodic markets in 70 various neighborhoods have been establishing weekly (Greater Municipality of İzmir, 2006).

This dual retail structure is valid for the İzmir metropolitan area as introduced before: large-scale retail developments on the one hand; and traditional small-scale retail outlets, especially groceries, and periodic markets, on the other. The spatial effects of the western type of retail developments are quite evident. Emerging in the last decade, shopping centers -malls, hypermarkets, supermarkets with their large building sizes and multi-purpose functions and activities have changed the existing retail hierarchy, nearby land uses, road patterns, traffic loads as well as social and spatial pattern of retail activity and shopping culture.

The most of the modern retail developments have located in the highly populated wealthy neighborhoods clustering and agglomerating along the sea and major arterials through the outer district centers and sub-centers in İzmir. This led to the appearance of spatially and socially disintegrated urban regions as in Balçova and peripheral regions of Konak. The recent large-scale retail developments in the West axe of the metropolitan area, have transformed the retail structure in Balçova along the seacoast integrating certain social groups with the western type of consumption. On the other hand, peripheral regions of Konak (constituted of low-level income neighborhoods and illegal settlements) have remained without any or inadequate modern retailing investments and have continued traditional retail activities.

The comparison of these dissimilar urban regions (both of them included 20 neighborhoods) with locational observations shows explicitly the disintegrative spatial aspects of large-scale retail developments (Map 8). In the region of Balçova and the seacoast of the Konak, which has 163.592 total population (Population Census, 2000), there are 28 supermarkets, 2 focused centers, 2 shopping centers, 1 hypermarket and 1 specialty store as well as 582 groceries and two periodic markets; whereas in the region of peripheral areas of Konak, which has 119.373 total population, there are 4 small supermarkets, 547 groceries and 3 periodic markets.



Map 8: Disintegrative Spatial Aspects of Large-Scale Retail Developments: A comparison of Dissimilar Urban Regions
Source: Ministry of Finance, list of taxpayer groceries and addresses in İzmir, 2004; Outlet address lists of each retail chain, surveyed in 2004.

CONCLUSIONS

The economic, social and physical transformations that the country has experienced bring many problems within the urban areas. As being one of the most leaping economic sectors, retailing has also introduced many spatial and social shifts in retail environments and traditional retail activity especially in the metropolitan areas. In many cases urban consumption spaces have altered through the large-scale retail environments however much traditional retailers keep surviving today.

Surely, the organized retail establishments are at the initial level of development, and in the following decades, the retail structure will continue changing rapidly as in past decades. The profound effects of rapid transformations and developments through the large-scale retailing are yet to come just as the spatial and social disintegrative effects of the retail change. On this account, the study examined the spatial dimensions of the ongoing retail structure and hierarchy change in İzmir Metropolitan Area in a descriptive manner; discussed integrative and disintegrative spatial aspects of large-scale retail developments; and evaluated disintegrative spatial effects of large-scale retail developments comparing with detailed locational characteristics of two dissimilar regions.

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