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BEBEK, ISTANBUL

PAGE
FOR REFERENCE

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

SHIFTS IN RETAIL TRADE (A STUDY OF RETAILING IN SITES)

MITHAT ALAM

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Faculty of
the School of Business Administration
and Economics

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I. Introduction

A. Factors Leading to the Development of Sites

Istanbul is a relatively large city with a population of three million. As this city grew, at first the central parts of the city got crowded, then the population started to spread to the outskirts of the city. The movement towards the outskirts shows an important originality with respect to the residential units built in these areas. The regular apartment houses that are seen in the central parts of the city lost their popularity to the kind of housing projects called multi-unit dwellings. These types of dwellings that are seen in the suburbs of Istanbul are mostly in the form of "sites". A definition of "site" is needed for the purposes of this study. A "site" will be defined in terms of location and size. For a multi-unit dwelling to be called a site, it should firstly be located on the outskirts, or suburbs, of the city. Secondly, it should have at least two blocks, and the number of flats in these two blocks should be at least forty. Actually, the sites that are seen on the outskirts of Istanbul have 2 to 72 blocks, and the number of flats in them range from 40 to 1620. Some of the sites have no other residential areas near them whereas some are surrounded by other residential units like normal sized apartment houses, etc.

After defining sites, let us go back and study the main factors leading to their development in greater detail. Urbanization is the phenomenon which starts a chain of reactions. Urbanization creates housing problem in cities, as a result of which suburbization occurs, and sites are developed as the residential areas of suburbs.

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The Scientific American¹ defines urbanization as "the proportion of the total population concentrated in urban settlements". By this, it means that urbanization is not just an absolute growth of urban population but a relative growth of urban to total population.

According to the Turkish State Statistics Bureau, urban population consists of people living in cities and counties (ilçe), and the rest of the population is regarded as rural. This is an administrative definition which is criticized by some Turkish economists and statisticians. Among them, Ruşen Keleş says that the concept of urbanism includes not only a large amount of people, but that this group of people should also have a high degree of complexity of division of labour and specialization serving different functions.² This high level of division of labour and specialization need a population of a minimum of 100,000. Therefore, any city, county or town can be accepted as urban as long as it has a population of 100,000 or above. The table below, showing the distribution of urban and rural population in Turkey, is prepared according to this last definition of urbanism.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN TURKEY³

Year	Total Pop.	% of urban		% of rural	
		Urban Pop.	Pop.	Rural Pop.	Pop.
1927	13,648,270	2,236,085	16.4	11,412,185	83.6
1935	16,158,018	2,684,197	16.6	13,473,821	83.4
1940	17,820,950	3,214,471	18.0	14,606,479	82.0
1945	18,790,174	3,441,895	18.3	15,348,279	81.7
1950	20,947,188	3,883,865	18.5	17,063,323	81.5
1955	24,064,763	5,328,846	22.1	18,735,417	77.9
1960	27,809,831	6,967,024	25.1	20,842,807	74.9

¹The Scientific American, Sept. 1965, Vol. 213, No: 3, Kingsley Davis, 'Reurbanization of the Human Population.'

²Ruşen Keleş, Türkiyede Şehirleşme Hareketleri, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, Ankara, 1961, p. 68.

³Op. cit.

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Analyzing Table I, it is evident that the ratio of urban population to total population is increasing, while the ratio of rural population with respect to total population is decreasing. In other words, each year the percentage of urban population is getting higher and the percentage of rural population is getting lower. Also, it can be seen that the rate of increase in urban population accelerates especially after 1950.

I will discuss neither the reasons of urbanization, nor its results except for the one which is directly related to this study. The result which will be discussed is the housing problem. Starting from 1950, the housing problem made itself known especially in the larger cities of Turkey. Thus, Istanbul, the city that was studied for this paper, experienced this problem most seriously. High residential density, increase in rents, and the excessive need for new dwellings are indicators of the housing problem. Residential density measured in number of persons per room has increased in all big towns. Results of the 1955 population census show that the incidence of persons per room is greater than one. 42% of workers in Istanbul share their rooms with another person.¹ The same census shows that 30.7% of families in Istanbul live in one roomed dwellings.² The index of rent can be cited as another example of the housing problem. The index of rent, which was 88.05 in 1955, became 165.95 in 1960, showing an increase of 95% only in five years' time.³

¹Istanbul İsgücü Anketi, 1958, p. 46.

²Ruşen Keleş, Türkiyede Şehirleşme Hareketleri, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, Ankara, 1961, p. 68

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As a city grows, first its central parts get densely occupied, and often, when space in the central city is exhausted, suburbization offers itself as a solution to the housing problem. So, suburbization can be said to be at least partly the result of urbanization. In general, the term "suburb" refers to the relatively small but formally structured community adjacent to and dependent upon a large central city. Suburban areas are primarily residential areas which are farther away from the center of the city than urban neighbourhoods but closer than rural neighbourhoods. Since they are the dwelling places of people who work in the central city, they serve as dormitory towns.

In Istanbul, the development of suburbs has accelerated after 1950, a period which coincides with the acceleration of urbanization. This correlation confirms that urbanization and the resulting housing problem are mostly responsible for the development of suburbs.

Suburbization in Istanbul can be easily traced by examining the distribution of population among the districts (ilçes). The population of the districts which include the suburban areas of the city shows a high rate of increase after 1950.

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TABLE II

POPULATION OF ISTANBUL DISTRIBUTED TO ITS ILÇES¹

<u>İlçes</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>
Adalar	15,405	16,347	19,834	15,246
Bakırköy	42,596	107,142	102,617	168,243
Beşiktaş	73,432	84,791	93,647	104,905
Beykoz	37,152	48,674	58,317	67,411
Beyoğlu ²	279,337	208,853	216,425	218,433
Eminönü	123,056	141,323	134,852	141,220
Eyüp	44,938	91,860	180,011	165,945
Fatih	226,853	284,621	300,599	348,526
Gaziosmanpaşa	----	----	63,986	106,377
Kadıköy	77,993	103,033	131,328	190,777
Karlıyer	31,240	60,254	48,990	52,024
Şişli		125,772	181,402	269,554
Üsküdar	72,425	92,693	111,821	133,883
Çatalca	48,346	64,522	60,944	62,381
Kartal	29,832	40,779	68,462	97,016
Silivri	28,328	28,604	33,231	35,436
Şile	16,196	16,989	18,175	18,020
Yalova	22,255	26,684	33,011	37,217
Zeytinburnu			88,341	90,064
Total	1,169,384	1,542,941	1,882,092	2,302,438

¹The figures for the populations of "ilçes" are extracted from the publications of Başbakanlık, Devlet İstatistik Bürosu for years 1950, 1955, 1960 and 1965. Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası.

²The population of the district of Şişli is included in the population of Beyoğlu in the 1950 census.

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It is observed from Table II that while districts like Beyoğlu and Eminönü which cover the central parts of the city have experienced a very small increase in population, districts like Şişli and Bakırköy have gone through a high level of population increase. In Beyoğlu, population increase from 1955 to 1965 is around 10,000 while, during the same period, in Şişli, which includes suburban areas like Etiler and Levent, the population increase is 80,000.

The aspect of suburbization that we are interested in is the type of housing project it leads to. As was pointed out in the beginning of this section, multi-unit dwelling and the site, which is the best example of multi-unit dwelling, is the type of housing project that is mostly observed in the suburbs. The concept of economy of space, which gained strength after the urbanization process, seems to be the main factor in the emergence of sites.

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B. Purpose of the Study

This study is concerned with the changes in retail trade due to the emergence of sites. Many of the sites are built with their own retail shops within the blocks. It is logical that retail trade follows people, but it is still interesting that it follows consumers with this approximity. The existence of some retail shops in the sites provides a certain degree of self-sufficiency to the site.

The aim of this paper is to provide information on the retail establishments of sites, to find out to what degree site has become a self-sufficient unit in terms of retail establishments, and finally to throw some light on the shopping behaviour of the site inhabitants.

To provide some information on the retail establishments of sites, an analysis is made which covers the types of retail stores that are present in the site, their sequence of arrival to the sites, comparison of site stores and other retail shops located in different parts of the city in terms of price and business volume, and some information on the policies and functions of site stores.

To evaluate self-sufficiency, the extent of use of the existing site stores is examined: To what degree and why site households purchase from a site store. If households buy from a store that is outside the site, then why they choose to do so, their preferred shopping places, and what they purchase.

The buying behaviour of a site household is mostly studied with respect to demographic characteristics of the site families and with respect to some of the physical characteristics of the site.

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The findings of this study may be helpful to retailers in providing some information as to what kind of retail establishments are the most desirable and what types are least desirable according to the consumers of the site. Some general rules could be laid to show that in a site having certain characteristics, certain retail shops could be opened. Also, the answers to the question of why the inhabitants do not purchase from some site stores could be used in improving those site stores.

The scope of the subject is very wide and time limitation makes it impossible to give a very detailed picture. All the same, this study provides some information on the marketing aspects of sites, a kind of information which was not available in Turkey up till now. The findings of this study can be used as preliminary knowledge for studies of bigger scope.

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II. Methodology

A. Situation Analysis and Informal Investigation

In preparing this paper, the basic marketing research procedure was followed as closely as possible. The first step of the research was the Situation Analysis. This was made to obtain a background knowledge of the problem and to acquire a broader information on the subject. At this stage, data of every kind relating to the subject were sought for. Unfortunately, being a very new phenomenon, there was nothing written about the sites that could be of any help. Foreign sources provided some information on the multi-unit dwellings of the suburbs of some big cities of the world. Though these dwellings are not the exact duplicates of the Turkish site, this information was helpful. 'Scouting expedition' which was used as a means of informal investigation provided some practical information as to where the major areas of sites are. It was found out that Mecidiyeköy, Etiler, Levent, Okmeydanı, and Ataköy are the districts containing the majority of the sites of Istanbul. Sites located in these areas were explored to obtain a general idea about the size and age of each site and the types of retail establishments available in them. Informal interviews were made with the owners of the site stores. All this information was later used in preparing the formal research project and in determining the sampling procedure.

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B. Type and Source of Data

After the informal investigation, the next step was planning the formal research project. At this stage, the types and sources of data collection were decided upon.

Four types of data collection methods were used to provide general information on the retail establishments of sites; observational data were used to determine the types of stores that are present in the sites, historical data were used to estimate a pattern for the sequence of arrival of the site stores, and spot check was used for comparison of site stores with retail stores located in different parts of the city in terms of price and business volume. Lastly, some informal interviews were made to learn about the points of view of the shop owners of sites.

Most of the data for this study were obtained through survey method. All the data on the buying behaviour of the site inhabitants and the extent of use of site stores were provided by this method. In the survey methods, the data are collected by interviews. It was decided that interviews should be carried out with the person who does more than half of the shopping in each household. In all cases, this person was the housewife of the family. Interviews can be made with or without the help of a questionnaire. In this case, a questionnaire was used.

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C. The Questionnaire Design¹

A mixture of structured and unstructured questionnaire was used in this study. The part of the questionnaire that deals with the demographic characteristics of the site families requires factual information and thus is composed of straight forward questions. In the other parts of the questionnaire, use of more qualitative, open-end questions is made as well.

At the beginning of the questionnaire, there are a number of questions which provide background knowledge about the site, the families of which would be interviewed. Through these questions, some basic information about the site such as its location, age, distance to the city-center, other sites in its neighbourhood and their distance from the site is obtained. This preliminary part is filled by the interviewer before going in for the interviews. The information provided by this part of the questionnaire was useful in explaining some parts of the purchasing behaviour of the site inhabitants.

The first part of the questionnaire deals with the demographic characteristics of the household and other information about the family. The first question of part one asks the name of the interviewee for purposes of getting familiar with her. Question 2 provides some information on the demographic characteristics of the family: the household members, their age, occupations and the districts where they work. The answer to this last part of the question can throw some light on the buying patterns of the family by showing whether the members of the family patronize retail shops located in the districts where they work. Question 3 asks whether the family owns the flat

¹Refer to Appendix III.

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they live in or not. Question 4 supplements the preceeding question by asking how much they have payed for the flat if they own it and if they do not own the flat, then what is the rent they pay. This question is put forward to make it possible to have some broad estimate of the income level of the family. A more direct question about the monthly or yearly income of the family is also asked, but this question is left to the end of the interview because it was thought that if asked at the beginning, the interviewee might get irritated and refuse to answer the other questions or might lose enthusiasm in answering the rest of the questions.

Question 5 inquires about the means of transportation that the family makes use of. The answer to this question can provide information on the buying patterns of the family. If, for example, the family owns a car, then it is assumed that the family's purchases outside the site would be greater than if they had no car. It can also be assumed that the family using "dolmuş" would be purchasing outside the site more frequently than a family using only buses as its means of transportation. Another advantage of this question is that it shows if the family owns a car or not, and this knowledge can also be useful in arriving at a broad estimate of the family's income level.

In the last two questions of part one, the place of residence of the family before coming to the site, and the year of their arrival at the site are asked. These questions can be helpful in finding possible reasons for the loyalty of the family. If the family favours a shop which is very far from the site, then this shop can be one that is located in the family's old residential area.

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The second part of the questionnaire deals with the extent to which site stores are used, and there are some questions relating to the buying behaviour of the site consumers. This part of the questionnaire is prepared with the assumption that the site has at least a grocery, butcher, and a greengrocer. The reason for assuming that these three stores are present in the site is that these are the most common types of retail shops present in any of the sites according to the informal investigation made previously. Also, it was decided that the weight of the study of self-sufficiency of sites would be on the food consumption of site inhabitants.

The first two questions of the second part ask which stores were present when the family first moved to the site and which stores were added later on. Question 10 asks, "Who makes the purchases when a site store is patronized?" Question 11 throws some further light on the purchasing behaviour of the site families by asking how many days a week, on the average, they purchase vegetables, fruit, meat, and grocery items.

Questions 12 to 15 are designed to estimate the relations of the site housewife with the site grocery. Question 12 asks, "To what extent do you use the site grocery?" The alternative answers provided for this question are: always, most of the time, sometimes, very little, never. In question 13, the reasons of buying from the site grocery and those for buying from an outside grocery are asked, whichever is the case. Some alternatives for the answers of this question are: cheapness, quality, convenience, an old grocery that is trusted and accustomed to, and others. This question also welcomes qualitative explanations. Question 14 requires a list of items that

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are most usually bought from outside groceries. Question 15 is directed to housewives who have indicated that they buy from outside sources: "From where do you purchase, when you purchase from an outside grocery?" Alternative leads for this question are: from Migros, from a grocery in a nearby site, from a grocery that is located in the central part of the city, from a grocery that is located in the nearest shopping area to the site, and others. Question 16 asks, "Who makes the purchases when a grocery inside the site is patronized?"

Questions that are asked in relation to the site grocery are repeated for the cases of the site greengrocer and the site butcher.

Question 27 inquires whether the family has a credit account at the site grocer, butcher, and greengrocer. In part (a) of question 28, it is asked if the existence of a credit account influences the purchasing behaviour of the family, and in part (b) the date when the credit account is closed is asked.

Question 29 gives a list of all possible retail establishments that offer goods and services. This list includes hardware store, haberdasher, electrical appliances store, bookstore, pharmacy, cobbler, dry-cleaner, pastry shop, ironing and starching shop, hairdresser, barber shop, and pork-butcher shop. The interviewer checks if these shops exist or not before going into the site. If the shop exists, then it is asked to what extent the family uses it, why and from where the family purchases if it does not use the site stores. The alternatives to the "why" part of this question are: I use it, I sometimes use it, I don't use it. Qualitative answers were also welcome.

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If the shop does not exist, the family is asked to what extent they would use it if it were present. The answers to this question were required in explanation form.

Question 30 provides the same list as in question 29 and asks, "Since when have you been using these shops?" Alternative answers are: since we have moved to the site, since the shop is opened in the site, since some other time, I do not use it at all. If the interviewee chooses the third alternative and says that the family started to use a certain shop at some time later than their arrival at the site, or some time after the opening date of the site shop, then she is asked the place where the family bought these goods and services until the time they decided to switch to the site store and the reasons for changing the original place of purchase.

The remaining part of the questionnaire deals with the effects of distance on the buying behaviour of site households with respect to shopping and the effects of distance on recreational activities.

Question 31 provides a list of shopping articles including men's shoes, women's shoes, hosiery, boy's pants, etc. Then the question asks from where the family used to buy these goods before moving to the site, from where they buy them after coming to the site and the reasons for patronizing the districts where they shop after coming to the site. It is assumed that there will be some changes in the shopping districts that were patronized when the family moves to a site which is at a greater distance from the center of the city than the former place of residence. The family could start patronizing some shopping districts which are smaller in size but nearer to the related site.

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Question 32 asks, "When you go shopping, do you come back immediately after finishing your shopping or do you combine shopping with some other activity?" This question and the one following try to determine if the distance factor hurts the family's recreational activities.

Question 33 asks, "Does the family go to the same number of movies, restaurants, theaters, etc. after arriving at the site as it did before?"

As was pointed out earlier, this questionnaire emphasizes the buying behaviour of the site inhabitants relating the site grocer, butcher and greengrocer. Only one site out of the eight in which interviews were made did not have any shops. The same questionnaire was used in this site but with one minor revision. The questions related to the extent of use of the site grocer, butcher, and greengrocer were not asked.

At the end of the questionnaire, the interviewee is told that since now she knows more or less what the study is about, she can add any other information or remark that she thinks is relevant to the subject and that can be beneficial to the interviewer.

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D. Pilot Study

A pilot study was made with the aim of testing the prepared questionnaire. Four housewives were interviewed for this purpose. The pilot study necessitated some minor revisions of the old questionnaire.

The pilot study was helpful in providing some new alternative leads to some questions. For example, in the original questionnaire, the alternative answers to the question "To what extent do you use the site grocery?" were: I always use it, I sometimes use it, and I never use it. In the pilot study, two housewives said that they could not fit their answers to those suggested, and as a result, two more alternatives were added. These are "most of the time" and "very little". The question asking the reasons for buying from the site grocery or from an outside grocery, whichever the case, gained some new alternative leads through the help of housewives in the pilot study. The alternatives "because I have an old store which I trust" and "there is no variety of brands in the site grocery" were suggested and thus added to the list of alternative leads. Pilot study helped in providing other alternatives in some other cases as well.

The questionnaire that is presented in the previous section contains the revisions made as a result of the pilot study.

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E. Sampling Procedures

It was not possible to find a complete list identifying the members of the universe, that is, a list of sites that exist in Istanbul. The interviewer tried to learn about the universe through informal investigation and was quite successful due to the fact that sites are conglomerated in certain areas. The decision regarding the sampling procedure of households was made as follows: First of all, it was decided that time limitations would not allow more than 35 interviews, and also, 5 interviews in each site was considered enough to represent the relevant site. Thus, 7 sites were to be chosen as the sample with 5 interviews in each of them. The above decisions go in line with the two-stage area sampling procedure which allows the selection of representative sites without knowing the complete universe.

Then came the problem of how to select the 7 representative sites. If the complete universe were known, quota sampling could be used, but in the present situation, since it was impossible to use the exact quota sampling procedure, it was decided that a mixture of quota and convenience sampling should be used. Another requirement was that the sample sites should be of different ages containing varying numbers of stores. These are the control characteristics as defined by quota sampling. This procedure dictates that the universe should be reduced to cells on the basis of control characteristics and that this allocation should be proportional. But since the number of sites constituting the complete universe is not known, this method could be carried out only in an approximate way. Sites were classified according to age groups as follows: 1 to 2 years, 3 to 7 years, 7 years and above.

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It was decided that from each age group, one, three, and three sample sites would be chosen respectively. This allocation of the sample is not strictly proportional to the universe, but still it more or less reflects the distribution of the universe. After deciding that 3 sites would be sampled from the age group of 3 to 7 years, there was still the problem of choosing these 3 sample sites. The problem was solved by selecting as sample sites any two sites that belong to the required age group. This means that convenience sampling was used. All the same, it was not exactly a convenience sampling because while choosing the sample sites in each group, it was assured that each site of the group had different number of retail establishments.

The last step of the sampling procedure was the process of choosing the sample of households in each site. For this purpose, at first random numbers were going to be made use of. But this plan could not be followed since to many of the households the interviewer was not admitted, or there was nobody at home, or in some cases the interviewer was not able to finish the interview. As a result, interviews were carried out on a convenience basis and only with those families willing to answer questions.

Convenience sampling causes bias, and the magnitude of this bias is not known. One cannot tell if the five households interviewed in each site are the real representatives of all the site households or not.

For the part of this paper that deals with the analysis of the retail establishments of sites, nearly all of the sites known to the researcher were included. 14 sites were observed to estimate the types of retail

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shops that are present in sites, and 10 sites were studied for estimating a pattern for the sequence of arrival of retail shops to sites (Appendix I). The size of these samples was quite large and the observations consumed a lot of time.

As was pointed out earlier, spot check was used to compare site stores with other retail shops located in different districts of the city in terms of price and business volume. Stores that are compared are groceries, greengroceries and butchers. 15 items were chosen representing types of meat, vegetables, fruit, and grocery, and prices of these were compared through 9 sites and 10 different districts. To see the difference in the business volume of site and city shops, such measures as the number of employees in the store, the existence of telephone and delivery service were used. These measures can give only approximate estimates of the business volume of a store, but they are used all the same because shop owners refused to give the actual turnovers of their shops.

One possible source of bias should be recognized here. When comparing a butcher in Nişantaş with a butcher in a site, it is assumed that the butcher in Nişantaş is a good representative of all butchers in the district in terms of price and business volume. This may not be the case since the butcher in Nişantaş that was observed may represent an extreme case rather than an average example for the district. Although this possible source of bias is known, nothing can be done about it, because finding out if the specific shop represents an average for the district requires a complete study on its own being out of the scope of this paper.

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Convenience sampling was used lastly in making interviews with owners of retail shops. Interviews were carried out only in some of the sites and in that only with some shop owners. The decision of having an interview or not depended on the presence of some responsible personnel in the shop who could give the required information and on the importance of the shop for this paper as judged by the interviewer.

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F. Interviews

35 interviews were made with the housewives in sites. At each call, the interviewer briefly explained the purpose of the study before asking to be invited in. Some of the housewives refused being interviewed because they were busy. All of them tried to understand if there were any personal questions before deciding to answer or not. Once they made sure that there was nothing personal and that it was only a school study not to be published anywhere they became more hospitable. Although the interviewer was invited in by most of the housewives, a few suggested that they answer the questions at the door.

Each interview took 25 to 50 minutes depending on the willingness of the interviewee to talk. Some housewives gave only the required answers to the questions while others were more helpful, giving extra information on the subject. In some cases, towards the end of the interview, housewives got very much involved and gave lengthy lectures on their marketing ideals for their particular sites.

For the sake of getting better and more correct information, the interviewer tried to be as friendly as possible. The importance of the contribution of housewives to the study was emphasized and they were asked to give much thought to what they said. In trying to humour the housewives, the interviewer sometimes had to put up with family problems as well. When questions about the members of the family were asked, four or five housewives started telling stories about their sons and daughters abroad and about their own loneliness. Some even brought the photographs of their children to the interviewer. Friendly housewives usually suggested at the end of the interview

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that they take the interviewer over to other friends living in the same site. On the whole, once asked in, the interviewer had excellent cooperation from the housewife.

Interviews with shop owners in sites were much easier to carry out. All the shop owners or the responsible personnel who were asked if they could answer some questions were helpful in providing the material needed. Especially those who were not happy with their business in the site went to great lengths in explaining their troubles.

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III. Findings of the Study

A. Retailing Structure of Sites

1. Lines of Retail Trade: To come to a general understanding about the existing lines of retail trade in sites, an investigation was carried out in 14 sites.

TABLE III
LINES OF RETAIL TRADE EXISTING IN SITES
(14 sites observed)

<u>Line of Ret. Trade</u>	<u>No. of sites having the indicated line of retail trade</u>	<u>% of sites having the indicated line of retail trade</u>
Grocery	10	70 %
Greengrocery	9	64 %
Butcher	8	57 %
Hairdresser	5	35 %
Haberdasher	4	28 %
Starching and Ironing shop	4	28 %
Hardware shop	3	21 %
Cobbler	3	21 %
Electrician	2	14 %
Pharmacy	2	14 %
Pork Butcher	2	14 %
Dry Cleaner	2	14 %
Pastry shop	2	14 %
Bookstore	1	7 %
Barber shop	1	7 %
'Yufkacı'	1	7 %
'Cigerci'	1	7 %

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It can be deduced from the table above that grocery, greengrocery, and butcher are the most frequently found three types of retail shops in sites, 70 % having a grocery, 64 % having a greengrocery, and 57 % having a butcher. The next most frequently observed group of retail shops consists of hairdresser, hardware shop, haberdasher, and starching and ironing shop. 35 % of sites include a hairdresser, 28 % include a haberdasher and a starching and ironing shop, and 21 % of sites include a hardware shop and a cobbler. Stores representing the remaining lines of retail trade are only occasionally observed in sites. Only 14 % of sites has an electrician, pharmacy, pork-butcher's shop, pastry and dry-cleaner's shop, and 7 % of sites has a bookstore, a barber shop, a 'yufkaci' and a 'cigerci'.

It is evident that the retail shops that are most frequently encountered in sites are those that are related to food consumption. But the interesting point is that the next most frequently observed shop is that of the hairdresser.

2. Number of Retail Shops: The proceeding observations reveal a rough idea as to the number of retail shops existing in sites, but in this section, a more direct approach will be made to show how many shops there are in sites.

TABLE IV

CLASSIFICATION OF SITES AS TO THE NUMBER OF SHOPS

Group 1: Sites having no shops	4
Group 2: Sites having 1 to 3 shops	4
Group 3: Sites having more than 3 shops	6
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Total no. of sites observed	14

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As can be seen in Table IV, sites are divided into three groups with respect to the number of shops they have. The first group consists of those sites that have no shops at all. The second group of sites have 1 to 3 shops. The shops of the second group are those that are most frequently observed in sites, that is, groceries, greengroceries, and butchers. The third group of sites has 3 to 16 types of retail shops.

To understand why each group has different number of retail shops, we will analyze the characteristics of sites falling into each group. Each group of sites has some common characteristics. The analysis of common characteristics will be made only in terms of physical properties of sites such as their location, size, neighbouring residence areas, and ages. The buying behaviour of site consumers is not taken as a factor that influences the existence of retail establishments, because the initial decision of opening a shop in the site is always taken without considering the buying behaviour of the consumers. This fact is deduced from the informal interviews with shop owners. They all said that what influenced their first step was the physical aspect of the site mentioned above. The purchasing behaviour of site inhabitants only affects the later operations of some retail shops in increasing or decreasing the lines of products, etc.

Examining the common characteristics of the first group, sites that include no retail shops, we see that all of the sites are small in size and are near some crowded district of the city which has an abundant number of retail shops. The characteristic of being small in size is shared by all of the four sites. This group of sites have 1 to 3 blocks with 41 to 100 flats. Three of

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the four sites with no retail shops share the characteristic of being located in a crowded district of the city. As can be seen from Appendix I, sites Fulya, Emel and Hülya are located in rather crowded outskirts of the city such as Etiler and Mecidiyeköy and within 500 meters of each site, many kinds of retail shops can be found. The fourth site in the first group, İstiridye Site, is at a greater distance from the closest shopping area which is Etiler, but there is another site within 300 meters of it with 10 types of retail shops.

The age of these sites do not play any role in their having no retail shops. As can be seen from Appendix I, all of the sites that have no retail shops, with one exception, are at least three years old, and it will be shown in later parts of the analysis that three years are more than enough for a site to have retail shops. So, it can be concluded that sites which are small in size and are located very near to areas where retail shops can be found have no retail establishments of their own.

The second group includes sites with one, two or all of the most common three retail store types, namely the grocery, the greengrocery and the butcher. From Appendix I one can see that this group includes Ulus Site, Basın Sitesi, Mobil Sitesi, and Uçaksavar Sitesi. In terms of size, there is no significant difference between this and the previous group. Sites of this group have 56 to 90 flats while sites of the previous group had 41 to 100. But still it can be observed from Appendix I that sites of this group are more on the 90 side of the range while sites of the preceeding group are on the 40 side of the range.

Analyzing this group of sites in terms of location,

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it is observed that this group is further away from shopping areas than the previous one. Three sites of this group, Uçaksavar, Ulus, and Mobil, are located at least 1 km. away from any area with retail shops. This fact is enough inducement for retailers to open shops which offer goods related to food consumption which constitute the foremost need of human beings. The forth site in this group is not a typical example of it. This site, Basın Sitesi, is only 100 meters from another site which has 10 types of retail shops. Thus, the inhabitants of Basın Sitesi made use of the shops of the neighbouring site for their immediate consumption needs.

Another common characteristic of the second group of sites is that each of these sites has some "gecekondu" area within a distance of 500 to 1000 meters to it. Informal interviews with the owners of retail shops of these sites showed that the inhabitants of these gecekondu also make use of these sites. In fact, these shops sell 40-50 % of their goods to gecekondu consumers.

The last group of sites consists of those which have more than three types of retail establishments. These sites are I.E.T.T. Sitesi, Site Ataköy, Subayevleri Sitesi, Yıldız Site, Petrol Sitesi, and Gayret Sitesi. To make generalizations about the characteristics of this group is quite hard. With respect to size, it is seen that the number of flats in them range between 88 and 1620. With respect to location, again it is seen that there is no definite pattern for the group. Some sites of the group are more than 5 km.'s away from any shopping area, while some other sites have nearby shopping areas. Each site in this group has different reasons for possessing a high number of retail shops. For example, I.E.T.T. Sitesi and Site Ataköy

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have a good number of retail stores because their size is big. They have respectively 1620 and 600 flats, and the nearest shopping area to these sites is at least 2 km. away. In the case of Site Ataköy, the nearest shopping area is Bakırköy which is 4 km. away. For I.E.T.T. Sitesi, it is Şişli, at 2 km.'s distance to the site.

Site Ataköy represents the most developed kind of all sites and therefore requires some more attention. This site has the following types of retail stores and services: grocer, greengrocer, butcher, starching and ironing shop, haberdasher, hairdresser, electrician, dry-cleaner, cobbler, hardware store, pastry shop, pork-butcher's shop, pharmacy, and bookstore. All of these shops exist in different sites, but such a wide variety of shops all together is seen only in Site Ataköy. I.E.T.T. Sitesi also manifests a wide variety of retail shops and services but with the exceptions of a barber, electrician, and bookstore. But in its turn this site has two shops that are not seen in any other site, namely a 'cıgerci' and a 'yufkacı'.

Site Ataköy is also unique in having a men's shoe shop, a boutique, and an 'American Bazaar' shop. Lastly, Site Ataköy is the only one which offers recreational activities to its inhabitants. It has a discotheque, a restaurant, and a club. In short, it is the one site that has come closest to the criterion of self-sufficiency.

Subayevleri Sitesi, which belongs to the last group of sites, has only 5 types of retail stores even though it is one of the biggest sites with 846 flats. The location of this site seems to be the main factor influencing the number of stores it has. It is located between Beşiktaş and Mecidiyeköy, both of which districts are abundant

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with every type of retail store. So, it can be concluded that there was no particular attraction for retailers to open shops in this site.

Some of the sites in this last group, like Gayret Sitesi and Yildiz Sitesi, are neither large in size, nor are they far from shopping areas, yet still include many shops and services within their blocks. Gayret Sitesi has 7 shops while Yildiz Sitesi has 11. The existence of so many types of shops in these sites cannot be explained by the physical properties mentioned so far. The main reason for the variety of retail shops in these sites seems to be the existence of nearby sites. Both Gayret Sitesi and Yildiz Sitesi have two nearby sites each at a distance of 200-1000 meters from them. Some shop owners in Yildiz Sitesi confirmed this point by admitting that their motives in opening their shops were influenced by the fact that there were no shops in nearby sites. Their preliminary considerations turned out to be correct since 10 to 60 % of their sales are being made to consumers from nearby sites.

3. Number of shops that a given line of retail trade has in a site: In most of the sites, each line of retail trade is represented with only one shop. But there are some exceptions to this rule. As can be observed from Table V, in some sites there are more than one example of a given line of retail trade.

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TABLE V

THE NUMBER OF SHOPS THAT A GIVEN LINE OF RETAIL TRADE HAS
IN A SITE AND THE NUMBER OF SITES THAT HAVE MORE THAN ONE
SHOP OF A GIVEN LINE OF RETAIL TRADE

<u>Line of Retail Trade</u>	<u>No. of shops that the given line of trade has in a site</u>	<u>No. of sites that have the indicated no. of retail shops</u>
Grocer	2	4
Greengrocer	2	2
Butcher	2	1
Hairdresser	2	1

Table V shows that only four lines of retail trade are represented in sites with more than one shop. We can read from the above table that in four of the sites there are two grocers, in two of them there are two greengrocers, in one there are two butchers, and in one there are two hairdressers. I.E.T.T. has two grocers and two butchers. Uçaksavar and Subayevleri have two grocers each and Gayret Sitesi has two greengrocers.

How can two grocers or two butchers survive in a single site? Can they make profits or not? To answer such questions, we should again look for the physical properties of sites having two shops of a given retail line. Studying the physical properties, we see that there are different reasons for sites to have more than one shop of a given line of retail trade.

The main reason for Gayret Sitesi and Yıldız Sitesi to have more than one shop of a given line of trade is that both of the sites have some nearby sites or residence areas. Informal interviews with the owners of the greengrocers of Gayret Sitesi revealed that the survival of their shops

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is due to the existence of nearby sites. One of the green-grocers said that 90 % of his goods are sold to Gayret Sitesi inhabitants while the other greengrocer said that only 50 % of his goods are sold to the consumers of Gayret Sitesi and the rest to consumers coming from nearby apartments or from Emel Sitesi which is adjacent to Gayret Sitesi.

In the case of Uçaksavar Sitesi, we see that there is a gecekondü area which is about 500 meters away. One of the grocers in Uçaksavar Sitesi said that only 30 % of his sales go to site consumers while 70 % of his sales are bought by gecekondü inhabitants. On the other hand, the other grocer said that 95 % of his sales is made to site consumers. As suggested in the examples above, in most of the cases, one of the grocers (or greengrocers, or butchers) makes most of his sales to site consumers and the other grocer (or greengrocer, or butcher) makes most of his sales to consumers coming from nearby residence areas.

The same kind of reasoning can apply to Subayevleri Sitesi and I.E.T.T. Sitesi in their having more than one grocer and butcher. But their size also plays an important role. They have respectively 846 and 600 flats and two grocers can easily survive in a site of this size.

4. Comparison with city structure:

a. Comparison of site store with stores in different districts of the city in terms of price: Comparison of site and city stores is made only for the three most frequently observed lines of retail trade, the grocer, the greengrocer, and the butcher. Are the prices in the re

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lated site stores higher or level with respect to prices in the city stores? To answer this question, an understanding of the general price level in site stores is necessary and to attain this, site stores should be compared among themselves. This comparison can be made with the help of Table VI which gives the results of the spot check for 15 food items in 9 different sites. From the table, we can see that the price differential among various site stores is not of a great magnitude, especially when we consider price differentials among stores in different regions of the city which are given in Table VII. For example, the price of cauliflower ranges between 2.25 TL and 3.50 TL in different site stores, whereas the price range of cauliflower in different districts of the city is from 1.50 TL to 4.50 TL.

The differences in prices in site stores are largely due to the income levels of site inhabitants. Studying the price ranges given in Table VI, we see that in most of the cases, the lower limit of the range is supplied by a store in a site whose families are of a relatively low income level, while the upper limit is supplied by a store belonging to a site with families of a relatively high income level. For example, Uçaksavar Sitesi, which is a site of relatively low income level, offers goods at the lower limit of the price range (spinach at 1.50 TL), on the other hand, Yıldız Sitesi, a site of relatively high income level, offers goods at the upper limit of the range (spinach at 2.00 TL). Site stores are not expected to sell their goods at identical prices, and price differentials that are observed are explained. All the same, it can be said that site stores offer goods at more or less uniform prices. Average prices are calculated for each good of the spot check offered in site stores and these are used to compare price differences between site stores and stores in various

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districts of the city. The price level in site stores is of such a nature that it is higher than that in some districts of the city while it is lower than the price level in some other districts. Prices in site stores are definitely higher than prices offered in stores of such districts like Kadıköy, Lâleli, Aksaray and Eminönü. For Example, the average site price of bananas is 7.90 TL. and when compared to the price of bananas in the above mentioned districts, this price is found to be much higher (comparisons can be followed in Table VI and VII). Upon repetition of the banana example, for other goods of the spot check, similar results would be found.

TABLE VI
PRICES OF 15 FOOD ITEMS IN 9 SITES

	<u>Yıldız</u>	<u>Ulus</u>	<u>Mobil</u>	<u>Gayret</u>	<u>Petrol</u>
	<u>Sitesi</u>	<u>Sitesi</u>	<u>Sitesi</u>	<u>Sitesi</u>	<u>Sitesi</u>
Cauliflower	3.50		3.50	3.50	2.50
Spinach	2.00		2.00	2.00	1.75
Banana	7.50				8.00
Orange (Washington)	2.50	3.00	2.00	2.50	2.25
Cucumber	1.25	1.00	1.00	1.25	1.00
Apple (Amasya)	3.00		2.50	2.50	2.50
Beef (nuar)	16.00		14.00	15.00	14.00
Lamb (chops)	16.00		15.00	16.00	15.50
Veal (Bonfile)	20.00		17.00	20.00	18.00
Chicken	15.00			14.00	15.00
Chickpea	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Kaşar Cheese	22.00	22.50	22.00	22.00	21.00
White Cheese	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
Rice (Bersani)	5.00	4.75	5.00	5.00	5.00
Bean (Dermason)	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00

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TABLE VI (continued)

	<u>Uçaksa- var Sitesi</u>	<u>I.E.T.T Sitesi</u>	<u>Ataköy Sitesi</u>	<u>Subayevleri Sitesi</u>
Cauliflower	2.50	2.25	2.50	3.50
Spinach	1.50	1.50	1.50	2.00
Banana		8.50	8.00	7.50
Orange (Washington)	2.00	2.00	2.25	2.50
Cucumber	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.25
Apple (Amasya)	2.00	2.50	2.75	3.00
Beef (nuar)	15.00	14.00	15.00	14.00
Lamb (chops)	15.00	16.00	15.00	16.00
Veal (Bonfile)	18.00	17.00	18.00	19.00
Chicken			15.00	15.00
Chickpea	3.50	3.00	3.00	3.00
Kaşar Cheese	20.00	20.00	22.00	22.00
White Cheese	11.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
Rice (Bersani)	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Beans (Dermason)	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00

	<u>Price Ranges</u>	<u>Average Prices</u>
Cauliflower	2.25 - 3.50	2.95
Spinach	1.50 - 2.00	1.75
Banana	7.50 - 2.00	7.90
Orange (Washington)	2.00 - 3.00	2.35
Cucumber	0.75 - 1.25	1.05
Apple (Amasya)	2.00 - 3.00	2.60
Beef (nuar)	14.00 -16.00	14.60
Lamb (chops)	15.00 -16.00	15.60
Veal (Bonfile)	17.00 -20.00	18.30
Chicken	14.00 -15.00	14.80
Chickpea	3.00 - 3.50	3.05
Kaşar Cheese	20.00 -22.50	21.60
White Cheese	11.00 -12.00	11.80
Rice (Bersani)	4.75 - 5.00	5.00
Beans (Dermason)	No price difference	5.00

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TABLE VII

PRICES OF 15 FOODS ITEMS IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS OF THE CITY

	<u>Kadıköy</u>	<u>Lâleli</u>	<u>Aksaray</u>	<u>Kapalıçarşı</u>	
Cauliflower	51.50	2.50	2.50	2.00	
Spinach	2.00	2.00	1.75	1.25	
Banana	6.50	7.50	7.00	6.00	
Orange (Washington)	1.75	2.50	2.00	1.75	
Cucumber	0.75-1.00	0.75	0.75	0.75	
Apple (Amasya)	2.00	2.25	2.50	2.25	
Beef (nuar)	16.00	15.00	13.00	13.00	
Lamb (chops)	17.00	16.00	16.00	16.00	
Veal (Bonfile)	20.00	20.00	20.00	19.00	
Chicken	14.00	15.00	14.00	13.00	
Chickpea	3.00	2.80	3.00	2.50	
Kaşar Cheese	20.00	20.00	22.00	19.00	
White Cheese	11.00	12.00	11.00	11.00	
Rice (Bersani)	4.75	5.00	4.60	4.50	
Beans (Dermason)	4.75	5.00	4.80	4.75	
	<u>Şişli</u>	<u>Bebek</u>	<u>Nişantaşı</u>	<u>Harbiye</u>	<u>Rumelihi sar</u>
Cauliflower	4.50	3.90	3.50	4.00	3.00
Spinach	2.00	2.00	2.50	2.00	2.00
Banana	10.00	10.00	11.00	10.00	8.00
Orange (Washington)	3.00	3.25	3.50	2.80	2.00
Cucumber	2.00	2.00	1.75	2.00	1.00
Apple (Amasya)	3.00	3.00	2.70	3.00	2.75
Beef (nuar)	16.00	15.50	16.00	16.00	15.00
Lamb (Chops)	16.50	16.00	18.00	18.00	16.00
Veal (Bonfile)	20.00	22.00	22.00	24.00	20.00
Chicken	15.00	16.00	15.00	15.00	15.00
Chickpea	3.00	3.50	3.15	3.50	3.50
Kaşar Cheese	24.00	22.00	22.00	22.00	22.00
White Cheese	12.50	12.00	12.00	11.50	11.00
Rice (Bersani)	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.25	4.80
Beans (Dermason)	5.00	5.00	6.00	5.50	5.00

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TABLE VII (continued)

	<u>Price ranges</u>
Cauliflower	1.50 - 4.50
Spinach	1.25 - 2.50
Banana	6.50 - 11.00
Orange (Washington)	1.75 - 3.25
Cucumber	0.75 - 2.00
Apple (Amasya)	2.00 - 3.00
Beef (nuar)	13.00 - 16.00
Lamb (chops)	16.00 - 18.00
Veal (bonfile)	19.00 - 24.00
Chicken	13.00 - 16.00
Chickpea	2.50 - 3.50
Kaşar Cheese	19.00 - 24.00
White Cheese	11.00 - 12.50
Rice (Bersani)	4.50 - 5.25
Bean (Dermason)	4.75 - 6.00

Comparing the prices in site stores with those in districts like Nişantaş, Bebek, Harbiye, Şişli, and Rumelihisarı, it is seen that the former are lower than prices offered in these districts, or in some cases they are equal.

To continue our example of bananas, we observe that the average site price of bananas, 7.90, is lower than those in Nişantaş, Bebek, Harbiye, and Şişli, and equal to the price of bananas in Rumelihisarı.

Kadıköy, Lâleli, Aksaray, and Eminönü are districts where lower middle income group families live, while families in Nişantaş, Şişli, Harbiye, and Bebek have relatively higher income levels. Because most of the site families do not wish to disclose their monthly incomes, measures like car ownership and rent levels are used to determine their income levels. About half of all site

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families own a car, and the rents they pay are around 800-1000 TL, with the exception of one site where the rents are around 500 TL. With the help of these measures, it can be said that most of the site families belong to the higher middle income group. Income level groups that are discussed so far seem to be the main reason of price differentials in stores of different districts of the city and in site stores. Prices in site stores are lower than those in stores located in expensive districts where high income families live, but they are higher than prices in stores of cheaper districts inhabited by lower middle income families.

b. Comparison of site stores with stores in different districts of the city in terms of business volume: Again, this comparison will be made only for grocers, greengrocers and butchers.

As was explained in the sampling procedure, comparison of the business volume of site and city stores is made with the help of some objective measures like the number of employees working in a store, existence of telephone, and home delivery service. Appendix III gives the results of the spot check for stores of different districts of the city and for site stores. The information in Appendix III is summarized in Table VIII showing how site stores, stores located in cheaper districts and those located in expensive districts stand with respect to the above mentioned measures.

Site stores seem to be uniform with respect to the number of employees they have. In all of them only two or three personnel work. Uniformity of site stores is 100 % in view of their policy regarding the service of home delivery, that is, they all have home delivery services. Lastly, it is seen that most of the site stores do not

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have a telephone. Only 30 % of grocers, 25 % of butchers and 22 % of greengrocers own telephones.

After this analysis of site stores, let us compare them with stores in different districts of the city. Stores in different districts will be divided into two as was done in the previous section; those that are located in cheaper districts and those that are located in expensive districts. Comparing site stores with stores in expensive districts like Nişantaşı, in terms of their number of employees, we see that there are fewer employees in site stores. While two or three employees work in site stores, the number of those working in the stores of expensive districts ranges from three to five. On the other hand, there is no difference in the number of employees working in site stores and in the stores of cheaper districts. These results show that site stores cannot afford to hire the number of personnel in the stores of expensive districts. It is also possible that two or three personnel are sufficient to manage business in site stores which is usually limited to the number of inhabitants in the site and nearby sites.

In terms of telephone ownership, site stores are again similar to the stores in the less expensive districts of the city. In these districts, only 25 % of grocers, greengrocers, and butchers have telephones. This percentage is very close to that of site stores having a telephone. These percentages are 30 %, 25 %, and 22 % for site grocers, butchers, and greengrocers respectively. On the other hand, 80 % of the greengrocers and butchers, and 100 % of the grocers that are located in expensive districts have telephones.

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Although in respect of number of employees and telephone ownership site stores are more alike stores in the cheap districts of the city, in respect of delivery service, they resemble stores located in the expensive districts. As was pointed out before, all site stores provide delivery service. Similarly, all of the stores observed in the expensive districts also provide delivery service. On the other hand, only 25 % of grocers and greengrocers, and 50 % of butchers located in the cheaper districts have delivery service.

It is interesting that even though the number of employees in site stores is equal to that in stores located in cheaper districts, the policies of the two groups regarding delivery service do not coincide. This is because a store located in a cheaper district with two employees needs both of the employees to direct and manage the business within the store. Since delivery service takes time and the store probably cannot be managed with a single employee, the store owner cannot afford this service. On the other hand, a site store with two employees can easily provide delivery service. One employee can manage the shop while the other is making deliveries because the time needed for this purpose is too short.

If we assume that a store with a large number of employees, a telephone, and a home delivery service has a big volume of business, then in the light of the above discussions it can be said that the business volume of site stores is lower than that of stores in expensive districts and equal to the business volume of stores in less expensive districts. It should be repeated that even though objective measures of business volume are used, still they may not provide the most proper bases for com-

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parison. All the same, a rough idea can be obtained as to the standing of a site store with respect to its business volume when compared with stores located in different districts of the city.

TABLE VIII
COMPARISON OF SITE STORES WITH STORES IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS
OF THE CITY IN TERMS OF BUSINESS VOLUME

	<u>Site Stores</u>	<u>Stores in Cheaper Dis- tricts</u>	<u>Stores in Expensive Districts</u>
<u>Grocer</u>			
No. of employees	2 or 3	2 or 3	3 to 5
Telephone ownership	30 %	25 %	100 %
Home delivery	100 %	25 %	100 %
<u>Greengrocer</u>			
No. of employees	2 or 3	2 or 3	3 or 4
Telephone ownership	22 %	25 %	80 %
Home delivery	100 %	25 %	100 %
<u>Butcher</u>			
No. of employees	2 or 3	2 or 3	3
Telephone ownership	25 %	25 %	80 %
Home delivery	100 %	50 %	80 %

5. Functions, policies, and assortments of site stores: As was done in the previous section, site store functions and policies will be analyzed for grocers, greengrocers and butchers. In the preceding section, much information was provided on the functions and policies of site stores. It was seen that 75 % of site grocers and greengrocers, and 50 % of site butchers do not have a telephone, but all of these stores have home delivery services. It can

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be easily deduced that the presence of home delivery service compensates for the lack of telephone in stores. Most of the site stores send a personnel to each flat twice a day to inquire if anything is needed. In the informal part of the interviews with site housewives, it was found out that if the housewife required something urgently, she either calls to the store through the window or sends the doorkeeper to fetch the things she wants. Thus, in practice, it does not matter much whether the store has a telephone or not.

In most of the site stores, the owner actually works in the store and there is a boy who is sent to flats for delivery or for inquiring about the needs of households. Stores doing better business have three personnel working, in which case two boys are sent to the flats while the owner stays in the store.

All site stores that were observed allow credit accounts to their customers. Shop owners think that the existence of credit accounts provides encouragement to site consumers to buy from the site stores, but none of the site housewives have mentioned that they have credit accounts.

The assortments presented in all site stores are normal with the exception of the assortment of one grocer which is located in Gayret Sitesi. This grocer has the most original assortment in that goods that are totally unrelated to grocery items are sold here. Among these goods, there are men's and women's stockings, eau de cologne, all kinds of Turkish sweets, thread, and make-up creams for women.

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Families living in Gayret Sitesi are very happy with the assortment presented by their grocer, and the owner of the store is just as happy with his sales. It is interesting that such an assortment is seen only in a site which is not big in size and which is located at a very short distance from shopping areas. The only reason that can be given for this assortment to be successful is the attitude of the families of the site. They give importance to the self-sufficiency of their site and purchase nearly all of their requirements from site stores. The grocer in this site saw that the consumers favour his store, and started to widen his assortment when he realized that his policy was successful by gradually adding all the unrelated items mentioned above.

6. Time and sequence of arrival of site stores:
To study the pattern of development of sites' retailing, we have to analyze the sequence of arrival of site stores and their time of arrival to the sites concerned. Appendix I which gives this information can be helpful in following the analysis. When information as to the time of arrival was sought, arrival times could be obtained only in terms of seasons and a more exact date such as the specific month of the year could not be obtained. This fact prevented a finer comparison of time and sequence of arrival of site stores.

When we look for a pattern of order of arrival, we see that the grocer, the greengrocer and the butcher are the first to arrive. As it is shown in Table IX, these three shops share the first position with respect to their order of arrival. When a site becomes habitable, these three shops are the first to arrive. We cannot distinguish the order of arrival among these shops because the exact dates of their arrival could not be obtained. But in only

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It can be concluded from the above analysis that stores that are most closely related to food consumption are the first ones to arrive at a site and that they come within 4 months after the site becomes habitable.

The next shop that arrives is surprisingly the hairdresser. In 3 out of 5 sites that have a hairdresser, it was observed that this shop is the fourth to arrive at a site. The time of arrival of the hairdresser does not show a significant pattern. It ranges from a season to 5 years after the site becomes habitable.

ORDER AND TIME OF ARRIVAL OF SITE STORES (10 sites observed)

<u>Line of</u>	<u>No. of</u>	<u>Order of</u>	<u>No. of</u>	<u>Time of</u>	<u>No of sites</u>
<u>retail</u>	<u>sites</u>	<u>arrival</u>	<u>sites</u>	<u>arrival</u>	<u>where indi-</u>
<u>trade</u>	<u>with the</u>		<u>where gi-</u>		<u>cated time</u>
	<u>given</u>		<u>ven line</u>		<u>of arrival</u>
	<u>line of tr.</u>		<u>occupies</u>		<u>is seen</u>
			<u>indicated</u>		
			<u>order</u>	within first	
Grocer	10	1	10	season	9
Butcher	8	1	8	11 "	7
Greengrocer	9	1	8	"	7
Hairdresser	5	4	3	no significant	--
				pattern	

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As can be deduced from Appendix I, the other retail shops do not show any significant pattern for order of arrival. The only generalization that can be made is that if a site has two grocers, then in most cases, the second grocer arrives at least one year later than the first one.

Time of arrival of the rest of the stores also does not show a definite pattern. A generalization that can be made is that 3 years is the limit for a store to arrive at a site, that is, stores arrive any time during the first three years after a site becomes habitable but not later than that.

In most of the sites, after 3 years that they are inhabited, there are no unoccupied stores left. The only way for new stores to arrive in these sites is by means of the addition of new blocks. This is what happened in one site. After 5 years that the site became habitable, a new block was added providing space for new stores which did not fail to appear soon.

In a few sites that are more than 3 years old, there are still empty stores. It is observed that the stores existing in these sites do not operate profitably. This fact explains why there are no new arrivals. Probably a retailer who is interested in opening a shop in a site talks with the owners of shops that already exist in that site and decides accordingly. In these cases, any retailer who is willing to open a shop is discouraged when he learns that the other shops in the site operate poorly.

So, it can be concluded that in sites which are 3 years old and have no empty stores, retailing can be further developed only with the addition of new blocks, but sites

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which are already 3 years old and have no vacant stores will most likely stay with the number of shops that they have acquired up to that time.

B. Evaluation of Present Structure

Up to this section we have studied the present structure of sites. From here on, we will analyze and evaluate the degree to which the present structure fulfills the needs of site consumers. Where grocers, greengrocers, and butchers are concerned, the housewives are asked the extent of their use of site stores, the reasons for it, the items they buy most frequently from outside sources, and the places of purchase they patronize when not using site stores. For the rest of the lines of retail trade, only the extent of use, reasons for it and places of purchase when not using site stores will be analyzed.

1. Grocer:

Extent of use: Table X gives the extent of use of grocers by housewives. The alternative "always" means that 100 % of purchases are made from the site grocer; the alternative "most of the time" is chosen if the family uses the site grocer for about 75 % of the time; if the family uses the site grocer for half of its purchases, then the alternative "sometimes" is chosen; if the purchases of the family from the site grocer is about 25 % of their total grocery purchases, then the alternative "very little" is chosen; and finally if the family never uses the site grocer the alternative "never" is chosen. These approximate percentages are offered to the housewife to help her in choosing the category she belongs to. The answers reveal that the most popular alternative is "sometimes". 12 out

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of 35 housewives pointed out that they use it only "sometimes", while the next popular answer was "very little" as given by three housewives. "Always" and "most of the time" alternatives were the next favoured choices; 7 and 5 housewives respectively chose these alternatives. The "never" alternative was chosen by only 3 housewives.

TABLE X
THE EXTENT OF PURCHASE FROM THE SITE GROCER

	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Always	7	20 %
Most of the time	5	14 %
Sometimes	12	35 %
Very little	8	23 %
Never	3	8 %
	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 100 %

Reasons: The reasons for extent of use of site grocers are given in Table XI. In many cases, housewives gave more than one reason.

The 7 housewives who said that they "always" purchased from site grocers gave two reasons for doing so. Five of them said that they buy from the site grocer because it is more convenient, and two said because it offers goods of higher quality.

All of the housewives who "most of the time" purchase from the site grocer, maintained that they do so because it is more convenient. Three of them also mentioned that they made their purchases from the site grocer to help it to survive. Actually these housewives do not see themselves as benefactors, but want the site grocer to survive

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because of the convenience it offers. All of the housewives who purchase "most of the time" from the site grocer said that they purchase from an outside grocer only if they cannot find the goods they need in the site grocer. The goods that cannot be found in site grocers are things like sausages, Blue Cheese, and similar items which are regularly sold in pork butcher's shop but which can often be found in most of the grocers. These housewives said that they do not go down town for the special purpose of purchasing the above mentioned items but only buy them if they happen to be in town for other purposes.

TABLE XI
REASONS FOR THE INDICATED DEGREES OF EXTENT OF USE OF
SITE GROCERS

<u>Extent of Use</u>	<u>No. of families</u>	<u>Reasons for Using the Site Grocer</u>	<u>Reasons for Using an outside source</u>
Always	7	Convenience 5 Quality 2	
Most of the time	5	Convenience 5 Want grocer to survive 3	Not finding the goods needed in the site grocer. 5
Sometimes	12	Convenience 12	Cheapness 8 Quality 5 Presence of an outside grocer accustomed to 4
Very little	8	Convenience 8	Not finding the goods needed in the site grocer 3 Quality 4

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TABLE XI (continued)

<u>Extent of Use</u>	<u>No. of families</u>	<u>Reasons for Using the Site Grocer</u>	<u>Reasons for Using an Outside Source</u>
			No variety of brands in the site grocer 5
Never	3		Cannot get along with the site grocer 3

The housewives who purchase "sometimes" from the site grocer have different reasons for doing so. In some cases, the housewives cited more than one reason. The most common statement was; "I buy from an outside grocer because the goods offered there are both cheaper and are of better quality." The most important consideration for those who purchase "sometimes" from an outside grocer is the cheapness of the good. 8 out of 12 housewives said that they buy goods like rice, sugar, margarine, and olive oil from an outside source (a cooperative, for example) because they are cheaper. Because there are no price differences, they make their rest of their purchases from the site grocer as well as for the fact that it is more convenient. 5 of the housewives who gave cheapness as the main reason for purchasing from an outside grocer said that they also consider the fact that the quality of goods is higher in the outside sources. Lastly, 4 housewives mentioned that they sometimes buy from an outside grocer because they know an old grocer whom they trust and are accustomed to. Every time they go downtown, they patronize their old grocer. This happens twice or thrice a week. These housewives do not mind the burden of carrying the goods.

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The reasons given by housewives who purchase "very little" from the site grocer differ from some of those that we have seen so far. 5 housewives said that they purchase from an outside grocer because there is not variety of brands in the site grocer. They said that they cannot find a specific brand of detergent, or of chocolates that they are looking for. These housewives also mentioned that some goods like eggs and biscuits are not fresh in the site grocer causing them to purchase these from an outside source. A third reason given by the "very little" category was that some of the goods could not be found in the site grocer. The best example of goods that are not found in site grocers is alcoholic beverages.

A housewife looking for a particular brand of good becomes frustrated if she cannot find it and shifts her patronage from the site grocer to another source. When she goes outside to buy it, she also buys other goods that can just as well be found in the site grocer. One housewife said, "While I am here, I might as well buy other things also because I don't know if I can find them in the site grocer." Thus, not trusting the site grocer, the housewife buys most of the things she needs from an outside source, and the site grocer loses in excess of the profit of that particular brand of good that he could have offered. The same kind of reasoning is relevant for the housewife who buys from the outside grocer because she is not content with the quality of some of the goods in the site grocer.

Housewives who purchase "very little" from the site grocer, use it only for items like bread, tea, water, newspapers, Coca Cola, etc., which are standard in terms of price and quality. Thus, they do not have to be

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carried from an outside grocer.

The reasons given by 3 housewives for "never" purchasing from the site grocer are the same. They all said that they could not get along with the site grocer and that is their sole reason for not purchasing from the site grocer.

So far, the reasons for different degrees of extent of use were analyzed separately for each group. In Table XII, all of the reasons for buying and for not buying from the site grocer are summarized.

TABLE XII
SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR USING THE SITE GROCER AND FOR
USING AN OUTSIDE GROCER

<u>Reasons for Using an</u> <u>Outside Grocer</u>		<u>Reasons for Using the</u> <u>Site Grocer</u>	
Quality	9	Convenience	30
Cheapness	8	Want the site grocer	
Not finding the goods		to survive	3
needed in site grocer	8	Quality	2
Variety of brands	5		
Presence of an outside			
grocer which is trusted			
and accustomed to	4		
Cannot get along with			
the site grocer	3		

It can be said that convenience is the sole reason for purchasing from the site grocer. 30 housewives indicated that when they purchase from the site grocer convenience is the only consideration. The concern for the

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survival of the site grocer and quality are not important reasons for purchasing from the site grocer.

On the other hand, the main reasons for buying from an outside grocer are cheapness, quality, and not finding the desired goods in the site grocer.

Items that are bought from outside sources: Table XIII gives the list of goods that are most frequently bought from outside sources and the reasons for buying them from these places.

TABLE XIII
THE LIST OF GOODS THAT ARE MOST FREQUENTLY BOUGHT FROM
AN OUTSIDE GROCER

	<u>No. of housewives buying the given items from an out- side grocer</u>	<u>Main reasons for purchasing from an outside grocer</u>
Cheese types	14	Quality
Margarine, olive oil	10	Cheapness
Rice	10	Cheapness
Eggs	9	Quality
Butter	9	Quality, variety of brands
Soap	9	Cheapness, variety of brands
Delicatessen items	9	Non-existent in site grocer
Beans	8	Cheapness
Sugar	8	Cheapness
Canned vegetables	8	Variety
Canned fruits	8	Variety
Detergent.	7	Variety

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TABLE XIII (continued)

	<u>No. of housewives buying the given items from an out- side grocer</u>	<u>Main reasons for purchasing from an outside grocer</u>
Alcoholic beverages	6	Non-existent in site grocer
Non-alcoholic "	6	Non-existent in site grocer
Biscuits	5	Variety, quality
Chocolate	5	Variety, quality
Onions	3	Cheapness
Potatoes	3	Cheapness

Cheese leads the items that are bought from outside grocers. 14 out of 25 housewives indicated that they buy white cheese and "kaşar" cheese from an outside grocer. The items that are next most frequently purchased from outside sources are margarine, olive oil, and rice with eggs, butter, soap, and delicatessen items following. Other items that are mentioned are beans, sugar, canned vegetables and fruit, detergents, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, biscuits, chocolates, onions, and potatoes.

The reason for buying cheese, eggs, butter, biscuits and chocolate from an outside grocer is that they are of poor quality in the site store. Butter, biscuits, and chocolate are bought from an outside grocer also because they lack variety in the site grocer. The same is true for soap, canned vegetables and fruit, and detergents of which there are not enough number of brands. Margarine, olive oil, rice, beans, sugar, onions, and potatoes are bought from outside sources because they are cheaper in

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these places. Lastly, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages are bought from an outside grocer since they usually do not exist in the site grocer.

Place of purchase patronized when site grocers are not used: The answers of 28 housewives who purchase from outside sources at varying degrees are shown in Table XIV. In a few cases, housewives gave more than one place of purchase.

TABLE XIV
PLACES OF PURCHASE PATRONIZED BY HOUSEWIVES WHEN SITE
GROCERS ARE NOT USED

<u>Places of Purchase</u>	<u>No. of Housewives Buying from the Indicated Source</u>
Migros trucks	10
Nearest Migros store	4
A grocer in the nearest shopping area	5
A certain store in the core of the city	9
A cooperative	3
A grocer in a nearby site	2
"Hal"	2

Migros is the most popular place of purchase for grocery items that are bought from an outside source. 10 housewives indicated that they buy from the Migros truck while 4 said that they buy from the nearest Migros store. Thus, a total of 14 housewives favour Migros. This means that 50 % of the housewives who buy from an outside grocer select Migros as their preferred place of purchase. The housewives who purchase from Migros are mostly those who

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had indicated that they purchase from an outside source because of the cheapness and better quality of goods in these places. Some others who purchase from Migros think that this establishment offers a wider variety of goods.

The next popular places of purchase are grocers located in the core of the city. 9 housewives go to grocers located in districts like Nişantaş and Şişli for some of their purchases. These housewives are mostly those who are loyal to their old grocer or those who want to purchase delicatessen items like sausages or Blue Cheese which cannot be found in the site grocer.

3 housewives said that they purchase some grocery items from the cooperative they belong to (such as O.R.K.O. which is a cooperative offering goods at cheap prices to military personnel), and 2 housewives said that they purchase from "hal". The reason for purchasing from a cooperative or "hal" is the same, namely cheapness.

Finally, 2 housewives admitted that they buy from the grocer in a nearby site. Approximity to this site plays the most important role in their decisions.

So far we have analyzed the relations of site housewives with the site grocer in great detail. To summarize and to give the main points of the discussion, it should first be noted that 69 % of site housewives use the site grocer for at least half of their purchases. The evaluation of this percentage is quite subjective, but I maintain that this is a very low percentage signifying that site grocers do not satisfy the needs of site housewives. I had pointed out that the major reasons for not buying from the site grocer are high prices, bad quality of goods offered, and

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the fact that many of the goods needed by housewives are lacking in the site grocer. Elimination of these deficiencies can increase the sales of the site grocer to the site consumers and thus increase the self-sufficiency of the site. But the problem is how to eliminate these deficiencies. At this point, the argument given by some of the site grocers should be presented. They complain of the fact that they are forced to be content with a low business volume because the site consumers do not purchase from them. One grocer said, "When I cannot sell one brand of biscuits, why should I offer several different brands?" Grocers also claim that even though they buy very small amounts of certain goods, these cannot be sold in the expected time, and thus they lose their freshness. The same grocer said, "Why should I buy new amounts of a good when I cannot sell what I have in hand? Any way, I do not have the money to buy the extra amount." Although the site grocer is right in his argument to some extent, this does not prevent the consumer from buying some bad quality good, or getting angry with the grocer for not finding a certain good and cutting her purchases to a very low limit. The situation is a vicious circle. The consumer does not buy because of poor quality and lack of variety of goods, and the grocer cannot provide variety and quality because he does not have the necessary funds which could be brought in by site consumers purchasing from his store. This vicious circle can best be broken by the site grocer. The recommendable strategy of the site grocer is to find the funds somehow or other and to offer goods of high quality with a variety of brands. Later on, his efforts can pay him back. Then all of the site housewives who are using outside sources for their purchases for reasons of quality and variety and for not finding the desired items would switch to the site grocer.

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This would mean that 57 % of housewives will "always" buy from the site grocer, and 35 % will buy at least "sometimes" from there. In other words, 92 % of site housewives will be using the site grocer for at least half of their purchases. So it can be seen that even without a change in their price policy, the site grocers can increase their sales to consumers with just an initial investment. So far the picture looks optimistic, but the grocer should calculate if the additional investment is worth the increase in sales or not.

2. Greengrocer:

Extent of Use Table XV gives the extent of use of site greengrocers by site households. The results are more gloomy for the site greengrocer than for the site grocer.

TABLE XV
EXTENT OF PURCHASE FROM THE SITE GREENGROCER

	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Always	4	11 %
Most of the time	6	17 %
Sometimes	7	20 %
Very little	8	23 %
Never	10	29 %
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	35	100 %

"I never use the site greengrocer" and "I use the site greengrocer very little" are the most popular answers. 29 % of housewives admitted that they never use the site greengrocer while 23 % said that they use it very little.

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20 % of site housewives use the greengrocer for half of their purchases. 17 % of site housewives use it all the time.

Reasons: Table XVI gives the reasons for each degree of use of the site greengrocer.

TABLE XVI (a)				
REASONS FOR THE INDICATED DEGREES OF USE OF SITE GREEN- GROCERS				
<u>Extent of Use</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Reasons for Using Site Greengrocer</u>	<u>Reasons for not Using Site Green- grocer</u>	
Always	4	Convenience 4 Want the site greengrocer to survive 4		
Most of the time	6	Convenience 6 Want the site greengrocer to survive 4	Cheapness 6	
Sometimes	7	Convenience 7	Cheapness 4 Quality 3	
Very little	8	Convenience 8	Not finding the goods needed in site greengrocer 5 Quality 3	
Never	10		Not finding the goods needed in 5 Quality 5	

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The 4 housewives who always make use of the site greengrocer said that they do so because of convenience and because of the fact that they want it to survive.

All of the 6 housewives who purchase most of the time from the site greengrocer said that they buy from outside greengrocers only if they are out of the site for some reason other than shopping and happen to be passing by a greengrocer which offers cheaper goods than can be found in the site greengrocer. Otherwise, these housewives use the site store because of the convenience and the fact that they want it to survive within the site.

4 out of 7 housewives who claimed that they "sometimes" purchase from the site greengrocer said that they preferred an outside greengrocer because of the cheapness of its goods. The remaining 3 housewives purchase from an outside greengrocer where they can find goods of better quality. These housewives complained of the fact that the goods available in the site store are not fresh, for example, cauliflowers and cucumbers in the store are 3 or 4 days old.

All of the housewives purchasing "sometimes" from the site greengrocer said that they would always purchase from an outside greengrocer if they had the time. But because of time shortage, they find it more convenient to purchase from the site greengrocer.

Housewives purchasing "very little" or "never" from the site greengrocer have common reasons for preferring an outside greengrocer. 5 of the housewives who purchase very little from the site greengrocer said that they could not find the fruits and vegetables they need in the site

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store. For example, they cannot find the type of oranges called "Washington" in the site greengrocer. The result is that they get frustrated and shift their loyalty to an outside source for the main bulk of their purchases. These housewives buy from the site greengrocer only when something is needed urgently. One housewife said, "When somebody comes unexpectedly to lunch, and there is no fruit in the house, I purchase a kilogram of apples from the site greengrocer. But when I have the time, I never patronize the site greengrocer." The remaining 3 housewives who purchase very little from the site greengrocer said that quality is the guiding element for their behaviour like other housewives. These housewives also purchase from the site greengrocer only when something is needed urgently.

Lastly, 5 of the 10 housewives who never purchase from the site greengrocer said that they do so because they can get fruits and vegetables of better quality elsewhere. The other 5 housewives purchase from an outside source since they cannot find the goods they need in the site store.

Summarizing the reasons of all housewives using the site greengrocer at different degrees, we see that, as was the case with the site grocer, the main reason for using the site greengrocer is convenience. These reasons are shown in Table XVII. 25 housewives indicated that they purchase from the site greengrocer because of the convenience it offers. 8 housewives also mentioned that they want the site greengrocer to survive. The interesting observation is that the housewives who want the site greengrocer to survive are those who always or most of the time make their purchases from that source. Housewives who purchase from the site greengrocer only sometimes or very

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little do so for the sake of convenience but do not care much whether it survives or not since they are not content with it anyway.

TABLE XVII
SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR USING AND NOT USING THE SITE
GREENGROCER

<u>Reasons for Using the Site</u> <u>Greengrocer</u>		<u>Reasons for not Using the</u> <u>Site Greengrocer</u>	
Convenience	25	Quality	11
Want the site green- grocer to survive	8	Cheapness	10
		Not finding the goods needed in the site greengrocer	10

The reasons for not using the site greengrocer are the same as the more important reasons for not using the site grocer. These are quality, as indicated by 11 housewives, cheapness, as for the case of 10 housewives, and not finding the goods needed in the site greengrocer, as also indicated for 10 housewives.

Items that are mostly purchased from an outside green-grocer: Table XVIII gives the list of fruits and vegetables that are mostly purchased from an outside source, and the reasons for buying them from these places. This list gives an idea as to the kinds of fruits and vegetables that are not offered for sale in the site greengrocer or those that are of poor quality. Bananas and grapefruits are those fruits that are most frequently purchased from an outside source, because these two kinds of fruit are not available in site greengrocers. Since they are rather expensive fruits, site greengrocers think that there are not enough customers to buy them, and hence do not offer them in their stores.

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TABLE XVIII

THE LIST OF FRUITS AND VEGETABLES THAT ARE MOST COMMONLY
PURCHASED FROM AN OUTSIDE GREENGROCER AND THE REASONS FOR
BUYING THEM FROM THESE SOURCES

<u>List of Fruits and</u> <u>Vegetables</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u> <u>Buying the Indicated</u> <u>Items from an Out-</u> <u>side Greengrocer</u>	<u>Reasons for Pur-</u> <u>chasing from an</u> <u>Outside Source</u>
Banana	15	Not offered in site
Grapefruit	11	" "
Spinach	10	Quality
Cauliflower	9	"
Parsley	6	Not offered in site
Dill	6	" "
Turnip	6	" "
Orange	6	Quality
Celery	4	"

10 housewives said that they buy spinach from an outside greengrocer and 9 housewives said that they do the same for cauliflower. The main reason for buying these vegetables from an outside source is that they are of inferior quality in the site greengrocer. One site housewife said, "Yes, they call it cauliflower in the site greengrocery, but it is not cauliflower, it is garbage. God knows if it is a week old or two." There might be a certain degree of exaggeration in her statement but it gets across the general feeling of the site housewife for some of the vegetables and fruits offered in the site greengrocer. Parsley, dill and turnip were indicated by 6 housewives as items being purchased from an outside greengrocer, the reason being that they are not available in the site greengrocer. Lastly, oranges and celery are bought from an outside source because

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housewives are not content with the quality available in the site greengrocer.

Places of purchase patronized when the site greengrocer is not used: Table XIX gives the list of places of purchase favoured by housewives when they do not use the site greengrocer.

TABLE XIX
PLACES OF PURCHASE OF HOUSEWIVES WHEN THEY DO NOT USE
THE SITE GREENGROCER

<u>Places of Purchase</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
The nearest shopping area	15	50 %
Migros truck	9	30 %
A greengrocer in the central parts of the city	7	20 %
	<hr/> 31	<hr/> 100 %

50 % of the housewives said that they patronize certain greengrocers located in the nearest shopping area when they do not use the site greengrocer. 30 % of the site housewives purchase from Migros trucks and 20 % from a greengrocer located in the central districts of the city. It is observed that Migros, which is the most popular place of purchase for grocery items, is not as popular for purchasing fruits and vegetables. The main reason for the preference of housewives in purchasing from greengrocers located in the nearest shopping area is that there is the possibility of comparing the goods and buying that which is the freshest and cheapest. It is possible

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that on a certain day, fruits and vegetables needed by the housewife may not be available in Migros. Also, the quality of goods cannot be compared with that in the site greengrocer.

To summarize the discussion about site greengrocers, we can say that they are even less successful than site grocers in terms of satisfying the needs of consumers. 52 % of site housewives purchase either very little or never from the site greengrocer.

The main complaint of these housewives is that they cannot depend on the site greengrocer. One housewife said, "If you are going to cook something, you can never rely on the site greengrocer. For example, if you need parsley for a certain dish, it is highly likely that you will not find it in the site store, and the whole dish will be spoilt. Therefore, I go out to buy the fruits and vegetables that have a good chance of not being sold in the site greengrocer, and once I am out of the site, I purchase other fruits and vegetables as well." This long explanation of a site housewife reflects the general view that prevails about the site greengrocer. Thus, even a simple vegetable like parsley may cause the site housewife to buy everything else from an outside source.

Site housewives also object to the fact that site greengrocers never sell a fruit or vegetable that has very recently come to the Istanbul market being newly in season. For example, if spinach starts to be available in city greengrocers at a certain date, it is offered in the site a week or two later.

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Now let us see some counter arguments presented by site greengrocers. Like site grocers, they said that they cannot increase their business volume to a point where they can offer all kinds of fruits and vegetables because site households do not purchase from them regularly. They also pointed out that some expensive goods, like bananas, are not offered because the chances that they will be sold before they rot are very slight. Finally they maintained that they cannot provide fresh fruits and vegetables every day because of the distance to the city. But, they added that if the site housewives purchased regularly from them, their stock would be finished at the end of the day and they would have to renew it the next day.

Again we see that the whole thing is a vicious circle, and that it can best be broken by the greengrocers. Locations of sites are such that they all have some nearby shopping areas that can be patronized by site housewives as well as the Migros truck which visits sites regularly. Thus site housewives are not disturbed enough by the inefficiency of their site greengrocer to attempt to break the vicious circle. The best strategy for site greengrocers to adopt would again be to make the necessary investment in order to offer every kind of fruit and vegetable of the best quality. Remembering that only 30 % of site housewives do not patronize the site greengrocer, the remaining 70 % will start buying always from him once the above strategy is followed, and the 30 % who regard cheapness as an important factor will at least "sometimes" patronize the site greengrocer. Following this strategy, site greengrocers may at first incur some losses, but as soon as the site housewives make sure that they can rely on their greengrocer, they

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will start patronizing it and the initial loss will turn to profit. This prediction is based upon the successful relationships of site greengrocers and households. For example, in Gayret Sitesi, housewives are highly content with their greengrocer. They say that every kind of fruits and vegetables of good quality is offered in their site, and when the factor of convenience is added, there is no reason for patronizing any other shop.

3. Butcher:

Extent of use: The question "To what extent do you use the site butcher" was asked to 30 housewives in this case, because one of the sites in which interviews were carried out did not include a butcher shop. The distribution of answers as given in Table XX shows that site housewives are more satisfied with their butcher than their grocer or greengrocer.

TABLE XX
EXTENT OF PURCHASE FROM THE SITE BUTCHER SHOP

	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Always	0	0 %
Most of the time	17	57 %
Sometimes	3	10 %
Very little	3	10 %
Never	7	23 %
	<hr/> 30	<hr/> 100 %

The interesting thing about the distribution of answers is that no housewife has indicated that she "always" purchases from the site butcher. On the other hand, 57 % of housewives said that they purchase "most of

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the time" from the site butcher. 10 % of housewives said that they purchase "sometimes" while another 10 % admitted that they purchase "very little" from the site butcher. The percentage of housewives who "never" buy from the site butcher is very high, especially when compared to the percentage of housewives who "never" purchase from the site grocer or greengrocer. 23 % said that they never purchase from the site butcher. It is evident that the attitudes of site housewives are concentrated around two extreme views. They either patronize the butcher or not. "I sometimes use it" which was a very popular answer in the case of site grocers and greengrocers, is given only 10 % of the time with site butchers.

Reasons: Table XXI shows the reasons for using and not using the site butcher.

TABLE XXI				
REASONS FOR THE INDICATED DEGREE OF USE OF SITE BUTCHERS				
		<u>Reasons for Using</u>	<u>Reasons for not Using</u>	
		<u>the Site Butcher</u>	<u>the Site Butcher</u>	
Always	0			
Most of the time	17	Quality 15 Convenience 17	Not finding the type of goods needed in the site butcher	10
Sometimes	3	Convenience 3	Quality	3
Very little	3	Convenience 3	Quality	3
Never	7		Presence of an old butcher that is trusted and accustomed to	3 4
			Quality	

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Nearly all of the housewives who "most of the time" purchase from the site butcher gave two reasons for doing so. They said that they patronize the site butcher because of the convenience as well as for the good quality of the meat. 10 out of 17 housewives who most of the time patronize the site butcher purchase from an outside butcher only if they cannot find the goods they need in the site butcher. The remaining 7 housewives said that in some cases they purchase from a butcher they have known before moving to the site who is trusted and accustomed to. These housewives added that they do not go out of their way to make their purchases from their old butcher, but only do so if they happen to pass by it.

All of the 3 housewives who said that they "sometimes" buy from the site butcher claimed that when they purchase from an outside butcher, the sole reason is the better quality of the meat. Usually the butcher that is patronized is located in the nearest shopping area, and the housewife buys from this butcher if she has gone there with the main purpose of buying other things. These housewives said that they would always purchase from an outside butcher if they had the time, but the convenience offered by the site butcher forces them to make half of their purchases within the site.

The 3 housewives who purchase "very little" from the site butcher have exactly the same reasons for their behaviour as the housewives who purchase "sometimes" from the same source. They said that they prefer buying from an outside butcher because of the better quality of meat that they can find, and that they purchase from the site butcher only when something is needed urgently.

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3 of the 7 housewives who "never" purchase from the site butcher said that they had an old butcher whom they trust. These housewives have never even tried the site butcher. The remaining 4 housewives said that they don't purchase from the site butcher because of the extremely poor quality of the meat.

Reasons for using the site butcher and those for using other butchers are summarized in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII
SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR USING AND NOT USING THE SITE
BUTCHER

<u>Reasons for Using the Site</u> <u>Butcher</u>		<u>Reasons for not Using the</u> <u>Site Butcher</u>	
Convenience	23	Not finding the type of goods	
Quality	15	needed in the site butcher	10
		Quality	10
		Presence of an old butcher	
		who is trusted and accus-	
		tomed to	10

Convenience plays the most important role in patronizing the site butcher. But an interesting observation is that quality is also given as a reason for purchasing from the site butcher. Housewives had not mentioned quality as a factor influencing their patronizing the site grocer or greengrocer. Thus we can conclude that the quality of goods in the butcher shops of sites is much higher than that of goods in site grocers or greengrocers.

Analyzing the reasons for patronizing an outside

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butcher, we see that no housewife has mentioned that she purchases from an outside butcher because goods are cheaper there. This shows that when purchasing meat, housewives do not consider the price factor at all, and that their main consideration is quality. Housewives patronize outside butchers also because they cannot find the type of meat that they need in the site butcher, or because they have an old butcher whom they trust. A last observation is that housewives are much more loyal to their old butcher than their old grocer or greengrocer. While no housewife indicated that she patronized her old greengrocer, and only 10 % of housewives mentioned that they patronize their old grocers, 33 % of housewives indicated that they still make their purchases from their old butcher.

Items that are mostly purchased from an outside butcher: Table XXIII gives the list of items that are most frequently purchased from an outside butcher and the reasons for buying them from an outside source.

TABLE XXIII
LIST OF ITEMS THAT ARE MOSTLY PURCHASED FROM AN OUTSIDE BUTCHER AND THE REASONS FOR BUYING THEM FROM AN OUTSIDE SOURCE

<u>Items</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u> <u>Buying the Indicated</u> <u>Items from an Out-</u> <u>side Butcher</u>	<u>Reasons for purchasing</u> <u>Indicated Items from an</u> <u>Outside Source</u>
Liver	13	Not offered in the site butcher
Brain	11	" " "
Kidney	11	" " "
Chicken	10	" " "

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Liver, brain, kidney, and chicken are the items that are most frequently bought from an outside butcher, because they are not offered in the site butcher. Housewives who purchase "most of the time" from the site butcher are the ones to buy the above items from an outside source. Housewives who purchase only "sometimes" or "very little" from the site butcher indicated that when they purchase from an outside butcher, they do not look for any specific item, but just purchase whatever the needs of the day are.

Places of purchase when an outside butcher is patronized: Table XXIV shows the place of purchase when the site butcher is not patronized.

TABLE XXIV
PLACES OF PURCHASE OF SITE HOUSEWIVES WHEN THEY DO NOT
USE THE SITE BUTCHER SHOP

<u>Places of Purchase</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
A butcher shop in the nearest shopping area	18	60 %
Migros shop	5	17 %
A butcher shop in the central part of the city	5	17 %
The butcher shop of a nearby site	2	6 %
	<hr/> 30	<hr/> 100 %

It is observed that 60 % of housewives purchase from a butcher that is located in the nearest shopping area to

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their site. These housewives are mostly those who "most of the time" purchase from the site butcher and only go out to buy goods like liver and brains which cannot be found in the site butcher.

Migros, which was quite popular for purchasing grocery items is not that popular as a place of purchase of meat. Only 17 % of site housewives indicated that they buy their meat from a Migros shop. These are the housewives who never use the site butcher.

17 % of housewives indicated that they buy their meat from butchers located in the central districts of the city. These are the housewives who have an old butcher they trust and are accustomed to.

Finally, 6 % of housewives said that they purchase from the butcher of a nearby site. They think that the quality of meat in the neighbouring site is excellent.

Comparing the site butcher with the site grocer and greengrocer, we can say that it is definitely more successful than the site greengrocer and a little bit better off than the site grocer in satisfying the needs of the site consumers. 57 % of housewives purchase most of the time from the site butcher, whereas the corresponding percentages for housewives purchasing most or all of the time from the site grocer and greengrocer are 34 % and 27 % respectively.

Some strategies were offered to the grocer and greengrocer for increasing their sales. To find a strategy for the site butcher is not easy. This is because 30 % of housewives purchase from an outside butcher just be-

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cause they are loyal to him and not because they have any complaints about their butcher in the site. Shifting this loyalty is a difficult problem. Providing extra services can be a solution to this problem, but most of the site stores allow credit accounts and have delivery services. It can be predicted that as time passes, site housewives will get more used to the idea of purchasing from the site butcher.

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4. Other Lines of Retail Trade

The critical evaluation of the extent of use of site stores other than the three previously discussed ones will be handled on a smaller scale because there are not many sites which have stores representing the other lines of retail trade.

Hairdresser: Twenty housewives belonging to 4 sites were asked about the extent of use of their site hairdresser, and their reasons and place of other hairdressers they patronize when they do not use the site hairdresser. Table XXV gives the results of all these questions. It can be deduced that the site hairdresser is not very successful in serving the site housewife. 35% of the site housewives do not use the site hairdresser, and 40% only sometimes use it.

The site housewives who do not use the site hairdresser say that their reason for doing so is that they have an old hairdresser which they have been patronizing for many years and that they have been accustomed to. Most of these housewives added that they did not even think of trying the site hairdresser. The hairdresser of one of these housewives is located in the shopping and residential area nearest to the site. Hairdresser of the remaining 6 housewives who do not use the site hairdresser is located in one of the central districts of the city like Çişli or Nişantaş.

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TABLE XXV

RELATION OF SITE HOUSEWIVES WITH SITE HAIRDRESSER

<u>Extent of use</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Place of other hair- dresser(s)</u>
Always use the site hairdresser	5 25% Convenience	-----
Sometimes use it	8 40% Convenience	A hairdresser in the nearest shopping area.4 A hairdresser in the core of the city.4
Do not use it	7 35% An old hair- dresser which is preferred	A hairdresser in the nearest shopping area.1 A hairdresser in the core of the city.6
	20 100%	

The housewives who travel to Nişantaş or Şişli for their hairdo do not care for the distance they travel because in most of the cases they have some engagements to attend after the hairdresser.

The housewives who sometimes use the site hairdresser say that they use the site hairdresser because it is convenient. These housewives say that if the occasion demands an ordinary hairstyle then the site hairdresser can be sufficient, but if the occasion demands a more fancy hairstyle, then they have to go to an outside hairdresser, one which they trust and patronize for a long time. When an outside hairdresser is used, 4 out of 8 housewives go to a hairdresser, located in the central districts of the city and the other 4 housewives go to a hairdresser located in the nearest shopping and residence area. The housewives of the sites that are

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scattered around Etiler, for example, go to a hairdresser located in Levent and Etiler, which became the nearest shopping and residence areas.

Only 25% of the site housewives are loyal to their hairdresser and use it all the time. These housewives think using their site hairdresser is very convenient. They say that they do not have to wait in the hairdresser shop wasting time. They make their appointments beforehand and go down to the hairdresser at the time they have their appointment. Here it should be pointed out that 4 out of 5 housewives that use the site hairdresser live in Site Ataköy which is the site having the longest distance to the core of the city. The interpretation of this fact can be that most of the sites are not sufficiently far enough from the central parts of the city to force the housewives living in them to use the site hairdresser. Thus as the location of sites gets farther away from the central parts of the city, the number of site housewives who will be using the site hairdresser will increase.

The owners of the hairdresser shops are optimistic about their business. They say that all the time, the number of their customers are increasing. This shows that the site housewives are getting used to patronizing their site hairdresser. Even the owners of the two hairdressing shops that are located in the same site do not complain about the condition of their business. But the main reason for this is that the site that is mentioned has 2 neighbor sites which provide many customers. In fact, the owners of these 2 hairdressers said that the customers coming from the further away sites are even more numerous than the customers coming from their own site.

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Haberdasher: The extent of use of the site haberdasher is to be analyzed again from the answers given by 15 housewives belonging to 3 sites. The site haberdasher proves to be among the most successful of all the site stores in fulfilling the needs of the site housewife. All of the 15 housewives that were interviewed said that whenever they need an item that can be found in a haberdasher store they first look for it in the site haberdasher. The housewives also said that their site haberdasher has nearly all of the items that should be included in a haberdasher shop assortment.

The interesting thing is that even though the site housewives patronize their site haberdasher, the owners of these shops, except one, are not satisfied with the volume of their sales and profit level. The site haberdasher that is satisfied with the volume of his sales is the one located in Site Ataköy which has the biggest size among all sites. The other haberdashers say that they know that the site housewives patronize their shops when something is needed, but the number of households is not high enough to provide a satisfactory business volume leading to a good profit level. They say that, most of the time, they operate at equilibrium level, without any profit or loss or with only small profits.

Starching and Ironing Shop: Starching and ironing shops of the sites are more or less in the same situation as the site haberdasher. The site housewife who makes use of this service always prefers the site ironing and starching shop, but the trouble is that the number of housewives who make use of this service is not high enough to provide a good earning for the owners of site ironing and starching shops. 20 housewives belonging to 4 sites which has ironing and starching shop were interviewed and 9 of these housewives said that they do the ironing at home and do not need starching.

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for the clothing items of the household. This means that 45% of the site housewives do not need the services of an ironing and starching shop in the site. 55% of the housewives who require this service, use the site ironing and starching shop. These housewives said that the quality of service in this shop is high enough and also that it is very convenient to use the site shop. Therefore they do not see any reason to patronize an ironing and starching shop outside their site.

The owners of the site ironing and starching shops say that they earn some profits but they are not satisfied with it.

Hardware Shop: The extent of use of the site hardware shop resembles the situation of the site haberdasher and site ironing and starching shop. 15 housewives belonging to 3 sites, all claimed that they are very happy to have a hardware shop in their sites and whenever they need an item sold in a hardware shop they purchase it from the site hardware shop. The owners of the hardware shops are not satisfied with this situation. As in the case of the haberdasher, the owner of the hardware shop in Site Ataköy is quite happy with his sales but the owners of the other 2 shops claim that they have little or no profit from their operations.

Cobbler: The services of a cobbler located in a site are mostly welcome to the housewives of those sites. 15 housewives belonging to 3 sites are asked if they use the site cobbler in their site or not. 14 of the housewives answered that they use the site cobbler, while only one of the housewives said that she has an old cobbler in Nişantaş which she still uses.

Among all of the site stores and services discussed so far, it is seen that the site cobbler is best able to satisfy the needs of the site household. Fortunately in this case

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the site cobblers are also satisfied with their earnings. But one reason for their being satisfied is the presence of residential areas surrounding the sites which have the cobblers.

Electrician: All of the 10 housewives belonging to 2 sites which have electrician shops claimed that they make use of the site electricians when required and that they are satisfied with their services.

The electricians of both of the sites are happy with their earnings. One of the electricians also serves a nearby site and some nearby residential areas, the electrician in Site Ataköy has only the site to serve but it keeps him busy enough.

Pharmacy: Two of the biggest sites have pharmacies of their own. 10 housewives belonging to these 2 sites said that when needed they purchase only from their site pharmacy. The owners of these pharmacies are also satisfied with their profits.

Pastry: The same two biggest sites having pharmacies, include pastry shops in their blocks. The 10 housewives belonging to these two sites are extremely happy that their sites have pastry shops of their own and they say that they make use of their pastry shops all the time. The owners of the pastry shops are also satisfied with their profits.

Pork-Butcher's Shop: The two biggest sites that have pastry shops and pharmacies in their blocks also have pork-butcher's shops. In this case also, both the housewives and the owners of the pork-butcher's shops are satisfied with each other.

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Dry Cleaning: The condition of dry cleaning service in sites is more like the condition of site hairdressers. 10 housewives belonging to 2 sites that have dry cleaning shops make use of their dry cleaning service at different degrees.

TABLE XXVI

RELATION OF SITE HOUSEWIVES WITH THE SITE DRY CLEANING SHOP		
<u>Extent of use</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Place of other drycleaners used by site housewives</u>
Always use it	4 40% Convenient	-----
Sometimes use it	3 30% Convenient	A drycleaner in the central parts of the city.
Do not use it	3 30% Quality	A drycleaner in the central parts of the city.
	10 100%	

Shown in table XXVI, 40% of the housewives use the site dry cleaner because it is more convenient. These housewives say that quality is also important but their first consideration is convenience.

30% of the housewives sometimes use the dry cleaners in the sites and sometimes use a dry cleaner which is located in the nearest central districts of the city like Şişli or Nişantaş. The reasons given by these housewives are very similar to the reasons given by these housewives who sometimes use their site hairdresser and sometimes use another hairdresser. The housewives say that whenever a less important piece of clothing needs dry cleaning then they do not take the trouble of carrying it to a drycleaner in the city and they just give it to the site dry cleaner,

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but when a more valuable piece of clothing needs dry cleaning then they take it to their dry-cleaner that is in the city.

30% of the housewives do not use the site dry cleaner at all. 20% of these housewives say that they have tried their site dry cleaners and have not been satisfied with them and 10% said that they have heard that the site dry cleaner does not provide first degree service and therefore they did not even try it. All of these housewives use the services of dry cleaners that are located in the central districts of the city. From the facts that 30% do not use the site dry cleaner and that 30% only use it sometimes, it can be easily guessed that site dry cleaners are not happy with their operations. The 2 site dry cleaners said that their profits are just enough not to close the shops.

Bookstore: Only site Ataköy has a bookstore and all of the 5 housewives interviewed in this site said that they use the site bookstore and that they can find most of the books or magazines that they want to buy. The owner of the bookstore is also happy with his profits.

"Yufkacı" and "cigerci": These are 2 typically Turkish shops. "Yufkacı" sells flour products and "cigerci" sells some parts of the lambs like head, brain, kidney, liver etc. which can not be found in smaller butcher shops. The things that are offered by those 2 shops can not be included among the most necessary food consumption items. On the average people buy these items once a week or so, therefore it can not be expected that a "cigerci" and a "yufkacı" located in a site can normally survive. But the site that has a "yufkacı" and "cigerci" is surrounded by other residence areas. Because of this reason the "yufkacı" and "cigerci"

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of the site are happy with their sales and profits.

The housewives of this site are also glad that they have these shops in their sites and that they do not go to more crowded parts of the city to find a "yufkacı" or "cigerci"? All of these housewives said that whenever needed they only make use of the "yufkacı" and "cigerci" that are located in their site.

Barber shop: Only one site, site Ataköy, has a barber shop. Out of the 5 housewives interviewed in that site, one said that her husband and children go to the barber in the site, and 2 housewives said that their husbands go to barbers which they had been going before they moved to the site. The remaining 2 housewives did not have any idea as to which barber shop their husbands and children use.

Summarizing the condition of the shops that were discussed in this section it can be said that the site consumers are content with all the stores and service except the services of hairdressing and dry cleaning. But the shop owners that are not content with their profits are not only the ones that own the hairdressing and dry cleaning shops. The owners of haberdasher shop, hardware shop, and ironing and starching shop are also not satisfied with their earnings. It is observed that the common problem of these shop owners is the smallness of site sizes; the number of households in their sites are not sufficient enough to make it possible to establish a high business volume leading to satisfactory profits. The owners of the pork butcher's shops, pastry shops, bookstores, pharmacy, "yufkacı" and "cigerci", electrician shops, and cobbler shops are all satisfied with their earnings, but it should be remembered that their shops are either located in sites of bigger size or in sites that are surrounded by residential areas. Thus it can be

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predicted that if these shops were located in sites of smaller size or in sites that are isolated from other residential areas, then their owners would not be as satisfied as they are at present.

"To what extent would you use the site hairdresser if it were present in the site?" This question and questions concerning other types of shops were asked to the housewives that do not have those shops in their sites. The answers given indicate that the extent of use of site stores that would have been made by housewives who do not have these shops in their sites is consistent with the way of action of the housewives who do have these shops in their site. Concerning haberdasher, hardware, cobbler, electrician, pharmacy, pastry, pork-butcher's, "yufkacı", "cigerci" shops and bookstore, the site housewives claimed that they would use these shops as long as the things they need existed in these shops.

Out of 15 housewives who do not have a hairdresser in their sites, 6 said that they would be very glad if their site had a hairdresser and they would use it even if it is a hairdresser of mediocre class. 5 housewives said that they would try the site hairdresser if it existed but that they would not use it unless it completely satisfied them. The remaining 4 housewives said that they have a hairdresser they trust and are accustomed to, and they wouldn't even try the site hairdresser. So it is seen that these answers are consistent with the actual behavior of housewives who have hairdressers in their sites. This similarity of answers to the hypothetical question and the actual way of behavior is also seen for the dry cleaner and ironing and starching shop.

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14 out of 25 housewives belonging to sites that have no dry cleaner said that if their site had a dry cleaner, they would use it unless the services are extremely poor. 9 of the housewives said that they would use this site dry cleaner only if the quality of its services were equal to their present dry cleaner. Most of the housewives in this category use the services of a dry cleaner that is located in the central parts of the city even though there are some dry cleaners located in districts that are nearer to a site. This fact shows that the chance of the housewives using the site dry cleaner is really not big unless their services are of excellent quality. Lastly, 2 out of 25 housewives said that they would not even try the site dry cleaner because they are quite satisfied with their present dry cleaner.

4 out of 15 housewives belonging to sites that have no ironing and starching shop said that they never require the services of an ironing and starching shop, so it does not matter if their site has such a shop or not. The remaining 11 housewives said that if their site had an ironing and starching shop, they would use it unless services were extremely poor.

To summarize, the desired extent of use of stores when they are absent in the sites and actual extent of use when present are consistent. This consistency shows that site inhabitants have a definite store patronizing pattern which could be used for future planning of the retail plant of the sites.

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C. Buying Behaviour of Site Inhabitants:

This section of the study will analyze how the buying behaviour of the site families are influenced by some demographic characteristics and by some other factors. We will analyze buying behaviour mostly with respect to the extent of use of site stores. In other words, it will be investigated how the extent of use of site stores is influenced by factors like size of household, age of housewives, etc. The other aspects of buying behaviour do not show any variety among housewives to make comparison possible. For example, we could have analyzed if the size of the household or age of housewives influence the existence of a credit account. But such analysis is impossible because attitudes of site housewives regarding the credit account are uniform. All of the housewives that were interviewed indicated that they do not choose to have any credit accounts in the site stores. It could also be analyzed if size of household influences the person who makes the purchases in the family. This analysis is also not possible because all housewives that were interviewed indicated that they make the purchase themselves when a site store is patronized. 34 housewives indicated that when an outside grocer is patronized, still they are the ones who make the purchases. Only one housewife said that in such a case her husband does the purchasing. 33 housewives indicated that when an outside greengrocer or butcher is patronized, still they are the ones to make the purchases and housewives said that they share the purchasing activity with their husband.

Many housewives said that sometimes they send the door-keeper for buying urgently needed goods. Still, they make the decision of what to purchase. The above discussion shows that uniformity also exists with respect to the member of the family who makes the purchases, leaving no room for comparative analysis of this aspect of housewives' buying behaviour.

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Site housewives show uniform behavior also with respect to the time that they start patronizing site shops. Out of 35 housewives that were interviewed, all but one indicated that they start patronizing the site shops as soon as they arrive to the site or as soon as the stores are opened whichever happens first. This means that, for example, if a housewife is sometimes purchasing from the site butcher, then she has been doing so since she has arrived to the site or since the store is opened. Only 1 housewife indicated that for one year she did not even try the site butcher and hairdresser and patronized her old shops, but one year afterwards she started to patronize these site shops and now she is most of the time using these shops.

After presenting some cases of uniform behavior of site housewives that prevents comparative analysis of some aspects of their buying behavior, we can now study some of the factors that influence the buying behavior of site families with respect to their extent of use.

1. Size of Household and Buying Behavior:

The size of household can have some influence on the buying behavior of the site housewife. Here it will be analyzed whether the size of household influences the extent of use of some of the site stores and services to facilitate the analysis, households are classified into 3 groups with respect to their size; households of one or two persons, households of 3 or 4 persons, and households of 5 or more persons. The influence of the household size will be analyzed only with respect to stores and services: these are grocery, greengrocery, butcher, hairdresser, and dry cleaning. The other types of stores and services show no originality with respect to their extent of use, because these shops and services are always patronized by the house-

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wives. As can be followed from table XVII, in the sites having a grocery and a greengrocery, the number of households having 1 or 2 persons are only 2, the number of households having 3 or 4 persons is 28, and number of households having 5 or more persons are 4. Analyzing the extent of use of each group of household we see that the larger households make more use of the site grocery and greengrocery than the smaller households. The three households consisting of 1 or 2 people never make use of site grocery or greengrocery. On the other hand, households of 3 or 4 people show varying degrees of extent of use.

In the sites having a butcher, there are 3 households consisting of 1 or 2 people, 23 households consisting of 3 or 4 people, and 4 households consisting of 5 or more people. The extent of use of the butcher's services is also influenced by the size of household, because again we see that the 3 households consisting of 1 or 2 people are the ones which never make use of the site butcher while the 4 households consisting of 5 or more people are the ones which use the site butcher most of the time (no housewife had indicated that she always uses the butcher shop).

Size of household influences even the extent of use of site hairdresser and dry cleaner. In the sites having a hairdresser there are no households consisting of 1 or 2 people. 16 out of 20 households that were observed consist of 3 or 4 people and the remaining 4 households consist of 5 or more people. It is interesting to note that though the households consisting of 3 or 4 people show different degrees of use of the site hairdresser, the households consisting of 5 or more people are the only ones which always make use of the site hairdresser. Exactly the same pattern can be observed for the case of site dry cleaner. While the 7 households consisting of 3 or 4 people are the site dry

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cleaner in varying degrees, the 3 households consisting of 5 or more people are those who always make use of the site dry cleaner.

As shown in the above discussions, households of larger size make more use of site stores and services than households of smaller size. This result could well be expected because the time of a housewife who belongs to a household of 5 or more is more precious than the time of a housewife who lives alone or only with one other person. The former type of housewife does not have the abundance of time to spend in frequently going shopping outside the site, or to go to a hairdresser in Nişantaş, while the latter type of housewife has most hours of the day to herself so that she can go shopping more easily whenever she feels like it, and she can spend the whole afternoon in a hairdresser in Nişantaş.

TABLE XXVII

INFLUENCE OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE ON THE EXTENT OF USE OF SOME
SITE STORES AND SERVICES

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Extent of Purchase from Site Grocer</u>		<u>Extent of Purchase from Site Green-grocer</u>	
1-2 persons	3	Never	3	Never	3
3-4 persons	28	Very little	8	Never	7
		Sometimes	12	Very little	8
		Most of the		Sometimes	7
		time	5	Most of the	
		Always	3	time	6
5 persons or more	4	Always	4	Always	4

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TABLE XXVII. (continued)

<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Extent of Purchase from Site Butcher</u>	
1-2 persons	3	Never	3
3-4 persons	23	Never	4
		Very little	3
		Sometimes	3
		Most of the time	13

5 persons or more	4	Most of the time	4
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<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Extent of Use of Site Hairdresser</u>	
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1-2 persons	----	----	
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3-4 persons	16	Do not use it	7
		Sometimes use it	8
		Use it	1

5 persons or more	4	Use it	4
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<u>Size of Household</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Extent of Use of Site Dry-Cleaner</u>	
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1-2 persons	----	----	
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3-4 persons	7	Do not use it	3
		Sometimes use it	3
		Use it	1

5 persons or more	3	Use it	3
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2. Age of Housewives. and Buying Behaviour:

Does the age of site housewives influence the extent of use of site stores? To answer this question, firstly, housewives are divided into 3 groups with respect to their age. Housewives aged up to 30, those between 30 and 55, and housewives aged above 55 form the three categories. Table XXVIII shows the extent of use of some of the site stores and services by each age group.

TABLE XXVIII					
INFLUENCE OF THE AGE OF HOUSEWIVES ON THE EXTENT OF USE OF SOME OF THE SITE STORES AND SERVICES					
<u>Age of</u> <u>Housewife</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Housewives</u>	<u>Extent of Purchase</u> <u>from Site Grocer</u>		<u>Extent of Purchase</u> <u>from Site Greengrocer</u>	
Up to 30	10	Never	2	Never	4
		Very little	6	Very little	3
		Sometimes	2	Sometimes	2
				Most of the time	1
30 - 55	18	Never	1	Never	6
		Very little	2	Very little	5
		Sometimes	7	Sometimes	4
		Most of the time	4	Most of the time	2
		Always	3	Always	1
Above 55	7	Sometimes	3	Sometimes	1
		Most of the time	1	Most of the time	3
		Always	4	Always	3

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TABLE XXVIII-(continued)

<u>Age of Housewife</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Extent of Purchase from Site Butcher</u>	
Up to 30	8	Never	4
		Very little	2
		Sometimes	1
		Most of the time	1
30 - 55	16	Never	1
		Very little	1
		Most of the time	14
Above 55	6	Never	2
		Sometimes	2
		Most of the time	2
<u>Age of Housewife</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Extent of Use of Site Hairdresser</u>	
Up to 30	6	Do not use it	6
30 - 55	8	Do not use it	1
		Sometimes use it	5
		Use it	2
Above 55	6	Sometimes use it	3
		Use it	3

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TABLE XXVII (continued)

<u>Age of Housewife</u>	<u>No. of Housewives</u>	<u>Extent of Use of</u> <u>Site Dry-Cleaner</u>
Up to 30	3	Do not use it 1 Sometimes use it 1 Use it 1
30 - 55	5	Do not use it 2 Sometimes use it 2 Use it 1
Above 55	2	Use it 2

From the table, it is seen that the age of the site housewife does have an influence on the extent of use of the site grocer and greengrocer. Older housewives make more use of these two stores. For example, none of the housewives whose ages are below 30 make any purchases from the site grocer, while 3 housewives who belong to the age group of 30 - 55 always make use of the site grocer, and 4 of the housewives who are over 55 also always make use of the site store. On the other hand, none of the housewives who are over 55 have indicated that they never purchase from the site grocer, while 1 housewife belonging to the age group of 30 - 55 has indicated that she never purchases from the site grocer, and 2 housewives below the age of 30 have pointed out also that they never purchase from the site grocer. The same analysis can be repeated for the case of the site greengrocer. It is significant that in this case as well some of the housewives below the age of 30 have indicated that they always buy from the site greengrocer. Only 1 housewife belonging to the age group of 30 - 55 has indicated that she always buys from the site green-

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grocer. The remaining 3 housewives who have indicated that they always purchase from the site greengrocer are those of ages over 55.

From the above discussions, it can be concluded that the age factor influences the mobility of site housewives. Older housewives do not want to go out of the site for purchasing grocery items, or fruit and vegetables. They prefer the site grocer and greengrocer. Younger housewives are more mobile, making more use of outside grocers and greengrocers.

When we analyze the influence of housewife ages on the extent of use of site butchers, we see that the influences that were observed in the cases of the site grocer and greengrocer are absent in this case. There is no significant pattern in the extent of use of the site butcher indicating that the site butcher is patronized mainly by older housewives. While analyzing the relations of the site housewife with the site butcher in the previous section, it was shown that most of the housewives using an outside butcher did so because of quality reasons. It can be claimed that housewives, regardless of their age, want good quality. An older housewife who accepts the conveniences of the site grocer and greengrocer and purchases from these sources does not see the convenience of purchasing from the site butcher as sufficient reason to patronize that particular shop. So, when quality emerges as the main reason of purchasing from outside of the site, housewives of all ages who care for quality go outside the site to purchase meat.

Age of housewives influences their choice of hairdresser. From the tables, we see that all of the 6 house-

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wives whose ages are below 30 do not use the site hairdresser, while 3 of the housewives whose ages are above 55 sometimes use the site hairdresser, and the other 3 housewives above the age of 55 always use the site hairdresser. So, it can be concluded that younger housewives give more importance to their hair style and do not use the most convenient hairdresser which is naturally the one in the site. On the other hand, older housewives do not wish to spend much time in a hairdresser outside the site.

The age of housewives influences the extent of use of the site dry-cleaner only to a certain degree. It is seen that site housewives aged above 55 always make use of the site dry-cleaner, but the extent of use of site housewives belonging to the age group of '30 - 55' and 'below 30' does not show any significant pattern. So, for the case of the dry-cleaner, we can just say that age influences the mobility of housewives above 55 only.

Summarizing the above discussions, it can be said that the age of housewives influences the extent of use of the site grocer, greengrocer, hairdresser and to some degree the site dry-cleaner, but the extent of use of the site butcher is not influenced at all by the age distribution of housewives.

3. Rent Levels and Buying Behaviour:

Does the income level of site families influence the extent of use of site stores? Because most of the housewives did not answer the question about their monthly income, we can measure the influence of income on shopping behaviour in terms of rents payed by site families assuming that families paying higher rents have higher monthly income and

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those paying lower rents have lower monthly income. But the trouble is that out of 35 housewives that were interviewed, 24 indicated that they own the flat they live in. A small analysis is made for the 11 housewives who pay rent for their flats.

TABLE XXIX
RELATIONSHIP OF RENT LEVEL WITH THE EXTENT OF USE OF THE
SITE GROCER

<u>Rent Level</u>	<u>No. of Families Paying this Rent</u>	<u>Extent of Use of the Site Grocer</u>	
400-500 TL	4	Always	1
		Sometimes	2
		Very little	1
800-1000 TL	7	Always	1
		Most of the time	3
		Sometimes	2
		Never	1

As can be observed from Table XXIX, the level of rent paid by the family does not have any correlation with the extent of use of the site grocer. In other words, the extent of use of the 4 families paying rents between 400-500 TL does not significantly differ from the extent of use of the 7 families paying rents between 800-1000 TL. This much of information is not really enough to arrive at some conclusion, but we can say with caution that the income levels of families do not play an important role in the families' extent of use of the site grocer. The analyses for the site greengrocer and the site butcher also lead to the above conclusion.

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4. Car Ownership and Buying Behaviour:

Transportation facilities can also influence the extent of use of site stores. First, let us investigate if the ownership of a car influences the extent of use of site stores and services or not. Out of the 35 families that were studied, 18 of them owned a car. As can be observed from Table XXX, car ownership definitely does influence the extent of use of the site grocer and green-grocer.

TABLE XXX (a)
INFLUENCE OF CAR OWNERSHIP ON THE EXTENT OF USE OF SOME
SITE STORES AND SERVICES

<u>Car Ownership</u>	<u>No. of</u>	<u>Extent of Use of</u>	<u>Extent of Use of</u>
	<u>Families</u>	<u>Site Grocer</u>	<u>Site Greengrocer</u>
Families own-			
ing a car	18	Never 3	Never 9
		Very little 8	Very little 7
		Sometimes 5	Sometimes 1
		Most of the	Most of the
		time 2	time 1
Families not			
owning a car	17	Sometimes 7	Never 1
		Most of the	Very little 1
		time 3	Sometimes 6
		Always 7	Most of the
			time 5
			Always 4

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Studying the extent of use of site grocers by families that own a car, we see that 3 of these families never purchase from the site grocer, 8 of them purchase very little, 5 of the families purchase sometimes, and only 2 of the families purchase most of the time. On the other hand, families that do not own a car are those that sometimes, most of the time, or always purchase from the site grocer. The same observations can be made for the site greengrocer. For example, out of 10 housewives who have indicated that they never purchase from the site grocer, 9 belong to families which have cars and only 1 belongs to a family which does not have a car. On the other hand, all of the 4 families who always purchase from the site greengrocer belong to families who do not own cars. Also, out of the 6 families who have indicated that they purchase most of the time from the site greengrocer, 5 belong to families that do not own cars.

TABLE XXX (b)

<u>Car Ownership</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Extent of Use of the Site</u> <u>Butcher</u>	
Families owning a car	14	Never	5
		Very little	3
		Sometimes	2
		Most of the time	4
Families not owning a car	16	Never	2
		Sometimes	1
		Most of the time	13

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TABLE XXX (c)

<u>Car Ownership</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Extent of Use of the</u> <u>Site Hairdresser</u>
Families owning a car	13	Do not use it 4 Sometimes use it 6 Use it 3
Families not owning a car	7	Do not use it 3 Sometimes use it 2 Use it 2

The influence of car ownership on the extent of use of the site butcher is not as great as that on the extent of use of the grocer and the greengrocer. All the same, it does exist. Out of the 7 housewives that never use the site butcher, 5 belong to families who own cars and 2 belong to families with no cars. On the other hand, out of the 17 housewives who most of the time purchase from the site butcher, 4 belong to families which own cars while the remaining 13 belong to families with no cars.

As can be deduced from Table XXX (c), car ownership does not influence the extent of use of site hairdressers. Housewives who patronize a hairdresser outside the site do not care if they have a car or not. When they need a hair-set or hair-cut, they are willing to employ any means of transportation.

The extent of use of the site dry-cleaner, on the other hand, is influenced by car ownership. 3 of the families that own a car do not use the site dry-cleaner,

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while the fourth family that owns a car sometimes uses the site dry-cleaner. On the other hand, out of the 6 families with no cars, 4 use the site dry-cleaner and 2 sometimes use it.

TABLE XXX (d)

<u>Car Ownership</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Extent of Use of the Site Dry-Cleaner</u>	
Families owning a car	4	Do not use it	3
		Sometimes use it	1
Families not owning a car	6	Use it	4
		Sometimes use it	2

To summarize, it can be said that car ownership does influence the extent of use of the site grocer, greengrocer, butcher, and dry-cleaner, but it has no effect on the choice of hairdresser.

Car ownership also influences the frequency of purchases. Frequency of purchase is divided into 3 groups: purchasing every day, purchasing 4-6 days a week, purchasing 1-3 days a week. Table XXXI (a) shows that families that do not own a car purchase fruit and vegetables more frequently than those who own a car. It is observed that while 4 of the families owning a car purchase fruits and vegetables 1-3 days a week, all of the families who do not own a car purchase the same items at least 4 days a week. This result is interesting since it could be assumed that when a family owns a car, the frequency of purchase is

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greater because at any time, the car can be used as the means of transportation. This assumption does not hold true in this case because families who own a car have the advantage of making stocks of fruits and vegetables that will be needed. For example, they go out purchasing 3 times a week and get most of the fruits and vegetables that will be needed that week. The car makes it easier to carry all the goods.

TABLE XXXI (a)
INFLUENCE OF CAR OWNERSHIP ON THE FREQUENCY OF PURCHASES
OF FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

<u>Car Ownership</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Frequency of Purchase of Fruits and Vegetables</u>	
Families Own- ing a car	18	Purchase every day	10
		Purchase 4-6 days a week	4
		Purchase 1-3 days a week	4
Families not owning a car	17	Purchase every day	14
		Purchase 4-6 days a week	3
		Purchase 1-3 days a week	0

The same observation is made in the case of purchasing meat and other items sold in the butcher. While there are 3 families who do not own a car that purchase meat 1-3 times a week, 6 families that own a car purchase meat 1-3 times a week. A housewife belonging to a family with a car, explained this behaviour in these words, " We go to

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Küçükçekmece every Sunday. We have fun, and also purchase the weekly meat requirement of the family". Thus again car ownership enables the family to carry a large stock of meat and for these families the frequency of purchase of meat is lower.

TABLE XXXI (b)

<u>Car Ownership</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Frequency of Purchase of</u> <u>Meat</u>	
Families owning a car	14	Purchase every day	3
		Purchase 4-6 days a week	15
		Purchase 1-3 days a week	6
Families not owning a car	16	Purchase every day	4
		Purchase 4-6 days a week	9
		Purchase 1-3 days a week	3

5. Previous Residence Area of Site Families and Buying Behaviour:

Does the previous residence area of a site family influence its extent of use some site stores? To answer this question, families are divided into two groups with respect to their previous residence areas: families that came to the site from one of the central districts of the city, like Şişli, Nişantaş, Taksim, Beyoğlu, etc., and families that have arrived to the site from some suburban districts of the city. Then the extent of use of these two

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groups of families is analyzed.

TABLE XXXII (a)
INFLUENCE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE AREAS OF SITE FAMILIES ON
THEIR EXTENT OF USE OF SOME SITE STORES AND SERVICES

	<u>No. of</u>	<u>Extent of Use of</u>	<u>Extent of Use of</u>		
	<u>Families</u>	<u>Site Grocer</u>	<u>Site Greengrocer</u>		
Families coming		Always	1	Always	1
from central		Most of the		Most of the	
districts of the	23	time	1	time	2
city		Sometimes	11	Sometimes	3
		Very little	8	Very little	7
		Never	2	Never	10
Families coming		Always	6	Always	3
from suburban		Most of the		Most of the	
districts of the	12	time	4	time	4
city		Sometimes	1	Sometimes	4
		Never	1	Very little	1

Studying Table XXXII (a) we see that families coming to the sites from suburban areas make more use of the site stores than families coming from central parts of the city. For example, out of 7 families who always make use of the site grocer, 6 have come from suburban districts and only one has come from a central part of the city, and out of 5 families who most of the time make use of the site grocer, 4 have come from suburban areas and only one has come from a central part. The same observations can be made for the site greengrocer. For example, all of the 10 families who never made use of the greengrocer have come from central parts of the city and out of 4 families who always make use of the site greengrocer, 3 have come from suburban districts and 1 from a central part of the city. For the case of the

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	No. of <u>Families</u>	Extent of use of <u>litter</u>	
Families coming from central parts of the city	20	Most of the time Sometimes Very little Never	9 2 2 7
Families coming from the city suburbs	10	Most of the time Sometimes Very little	8 1 1

	No. of <u>Family</u>	Extent of use of <u>lite hairdresser</u>	
Families coming from central parts of the city	13	Don't use Sometimes Use	5 7 1
Families coming from suburbs of the city	7	Don't use Sometimes Use	2 1 4

Families coming	No. of Fam.	Extent of use of the Dry-Cleaner	
from central parts of the city	6	Don't use	3
		Sometimes	2
		Use	1
Families coming from suburbs of the city	4	Don't use	1
		Sometimes	1
		Use	2

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All the above discussions prove that families coming from central parts of the city make less use of the site stores than the families coming from suburban areas. This leads to the conclusion that site stores do not satisfy the needs of families that have come from central parts of the city.

Families coming from central parts of the city like Nisantasi and Şişli are mostly high income level families. These families are used to a collection of a wide variety and best quality of goods. It seems that site stores do not live up to their expectations and therefore these families prefer shopping from shops in their old districts. This is not very difficult for them because most of the high income level families own cars.

6. Duration of residence in sites and buying behavior :

This section will analyze whether the duration of residence influences the extent of use of site stores. Is it true that there is a pattern showing that families that have been living in the sites, let us say for 7 years make more use of the site stores than families that have been living in the sites for only a year or vice versa? To analyze the above question, firstly families are divided into 4 groups with respect to their duration of residence : Families residing in the site for up to 1 year, those residing since 1 to 2 years, those residing since 2 to 4 years and those residing for more than 4 years. Table LXXIII shows the extent of use of some site stores by each group of families. Studying the (a) and (b) parts of the table, we see that there is no pattern showing that duration of residence influences the extent of use of site groceries, greengroceries and butchers. If families find that the above mentioned site stores fulfill their needs only then do they purchase from the site stores. Thus families, which for example have been in the site for 7 years, do not increase their purchases from local

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stores after a time from their arrival to the site, just because they are more convenient, but only if the stores have improved their conditions and started to fulfill the needs of the families. Being in the same site for 7 years does not get the site consumer any closer to site stores unless his needs are fulfilled.

TABLE XXIII
DURATION OF RESIDENCE OF SITE FAMILIES AND EXTENT OF USE
OF SOME SITE STORES

a) Duration of residence	No. of Family	Extent of use of site grocers		Extent of use of site green-grocers	
Up to 1 year	3	Always	1	Always	1
		Sometimes	1	Most of the time	1
		Very little	1	Never	1
1 to 2 years	7	Always	2	Always	1
		Most of the time	2	Most of the time	1
		Sometimes	2	Sometimes	2
		Never	1	Never	2
2 to 4 years	8			Very little	1
		Always	1	Always	1
		Most of the time	1	Most of the time	1
		Sometimes	4	Sometimes	2
		Very little	1	Very little	3
More than 4 years	17	Never	1	Never	1
		Always	3	Always	1
		Most of the time	2	Most of the time	3
		Sometimes	5	Sometimes	3
		Very little	6	Very little	4
		Never	1	Never	6

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TABLE XXAIIII (continued)

<u>b)Duration of residence</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Extent of use of Site Butcher</u>	
Up to 1 yeat	3	Most of the time	1
		Sometimes	1
		Never	1
1 to 2 years	6	Most of the time	2
		Sometimes	1
		Very little	2
		Never	1
2 to 4 years	7	Most of the time	3
		Sometimes	1
		Very little	1
		Never	2
More than 4 years	14	Most of the time	11
		Never	3

All families that were interviewed come to their sites, at the time of the arrival of the grocer, greengrocer and butcher, or after these stores were established. This is not the case for the other retail shops which have arrived at the irregular times after the moving of the family to the site. Therefore the influence of duration of residence on the extent of use of other shops will not be analysed.

7. Distance and buying behavior:

In this section we will analyze how important the distance factor is in influencing the buying behavior of the site consumers.

Effects of Distance in Extent of use of site stores

First let us analyze if the relative distances of sites from the core of the city influences the extent of use of stores in these sites or not. To analyze the effects of distance, families are divided into 3 groups with respect to the relative distances of the sites they live in from

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the core of the city. As can be followed from table XXXIV the families are grouped as families living in sites which are located at 3 to 5 km's to the core of the city, families living in the sites that are located at 6 or 7 km's to the core of the city, and families living in the site which is located at about 10 km's to the core of the city. Analyzing the extent of use of site stores of each group of families we see that families that are living in the site that is located at 10 km's from the core are making greater use of the site stores than the families in the other two groups.

TABLE XXXIV
INFLUENCE OF DISTANCE ON EXTENT OF USE OF SOME SITE
STORES

	No. of Family	Extent of use site grocery	Extent of use of site grocery
Families living in sites that are located at 3 to 5 km's from core	10	Always 1 Most of the time 1 Sometimes 4 Very little 3 Never 1	Always 1 Most of the time 1 Sometimes 3 Very little 2 Never 3
Families living in sites that are located at 6 or 7 km's from core	20	Always 3 Most of the time 2 Very little 5 Never 2 Sometimes 8	Sometimes 4 Most of the time 3 Very little 6 Never 7
Families living in the site that is located at 10 km's from core	5	Always 3 Most of the time 2	Always 3 Most of the time 2

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TABLE XXIV (continued)

	No. of Family	Extent of use of site Butcher	
Families living in 10		Most of the time	5
Sites that are located		Sometimes	1
at 3 to 5 km's from		Very little	1
core		Never	3
Families living in 15		Most of the time	9
Sites that are located		Very little	2
at 6 or 7 km's from core		Never	4
Families living in the			
Site that is located 5		Most of the time	3
at about 10 km's		Sometimes	2
from core			

	No. of Family	Extent of use of site haird- dresser	No. of Family	Extent of use of site dry-cleaner	
Families living 5		Always	2	-	-
in the site that		Sometimes	2	-	-
is located at 3		Don't use	1	-	-
to 5 km's from					
core					
Families living 10		Sometimes	6	5	Sometimes 2
in sites that		Don't use	4		Don't use 3
are located at					
6 or 7 km's from					
core					
Families living 5		Always	3	5	Use 4
in the site that		Sometimes	2		Sometimes 1
is located at					
about 10 km's					
from core					

For example out of 5 families that are living in the site which is located at about 10 km's from the core, 3 always purchase and 2 most of the time purchase from the site grocery, greengrocery and butcher. So none of these families have indicated that they sometimes, very little, or never use their site stores.

The situation is same regarding site hairdresser and dry-cleaner of the site. The 3 of the families said that they always use their site hairdresser and the remaining

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2 said that they sometimes use it. Lastly 4 of the families always make use of the site dry-cleaner and 1 family sometimes make use of it.

Families living in sites that are located at 3 to 5 km's from core, do not significantly differ in their extent of use of site stores from the families living in sites that are located at 6 or 7 km's from the core.

These results show that the extent of use of site stores can be influenced by distance if it is great enough. It seems that 10 km's is considered by the site consumers as great enough a distance to force them to make more use of their site stores. On the other hand families living in sites that are located up to 7 km's from the core of the city are not troubled by these distances.

Effect of distance on Shopping Goods.

So far we have analyzed the buying behavior of site consumers with respect to convenience goods and with respect to some services. In this section, we will analyze how the distance factor influences the buying behavior of site consumers with respect to shopping goods. With the exception of Site Ataköy, none of the sites have any stores which sell shopping goods. Therefore the site consumers go out of the site for purchasing shopping goods which include such items like hosiery, men's and women's shoe shops, boys' and girls' clothings women's dresses etc. It will be analyzed here if the site consumer is still patronizing the shops that she was patronizing before arriving to the site or if she changed the shops that she patronized before and if there is a change, what is the role of distance in this change.

Out of 35 housewives who were interviewed 27 said that there has been no change in the shops they patronized. For example if a family living in Teşiktas purchases their shopping goods from Beyoğlu, it still goes there for pur-

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chasing shopping goods after moving to the site.

Only 8 of the housewives mentioned that they do not patronized the shops that they patronized before arriving to their site, but neither do they patronize shops which are located in districts which are closer to their site. These housewives are mostly the ones who were residing in districts like Sultanhamam or Beyazit. When the family has moved to a site which is located around Etiler, for example, the distance to its old residence and shopping areas has become too great preventing the members of the family from patronizing the shops in their old shopping area.

Even though 77 % of the housewives claimed that the stores they patronized for shopping goods has not been changed after their arrival to their site, it is still not easy to conclude that distance does not play any role on the location of shops that are patronized. This is because most of the housewives who have indicated that the shops they patronized did not changed, have come to the site from one of the central districts of the city. For a family coming from Şişli to a site in Etiler the nearest shopping district is still Şişli so it is normal for the members of the family not to change the shops they patronized before. Therefore the answers of 23 % of housewives who have indicated that they changed the shops that they patronized after arriving to site may be more significant.

Effects of Distance on Recreational Activities

Lastly we will investigate if distance plays any role on the amount of recreational activities enjoyed by the families living in the sites. It can be assumed that because sites are located at greater distances to the core of the city, there may be a decrease in the amount of recreational

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activities enjoyed by the site families after their arrival to their sites. To understand if such a condition exists or not, two questions were asked to the site housewives. First it was inquired whether they combine their shopping activity with some recreational activity. It was assumed that if housewives were troubled with the distance to the core of the city, then when they go downtown they would combine many activities. Out of 35 housewives that were interviewed, 18 indicated that when they go downtown for shopping purposes they come back to their sites as soon as they finish their shopping. The remaining 17 housewives said that they specifically try to arrange a recreational activity alongside shopping, that is, after finishing their shopping they go to a cinema, or to a theatre or they make a visit etc. These results show that half of the site housewives regard the distance from their sites to the core of the city as time consuming factor and thus try to minimize the loss of time by combining several activities.

The second question analyzing the influence of distance on the amount of recreation activities enjoyed by the site housewives is a more direct one. In this question it is asked if the family members go to the same number of movies, theatres, restaurants etc. after arriving to the site as they did before. 69 % of the site housewives claim that the number of movies, theatres etc. that they go to did not change after coming to the site, and 31 % said that the number of movies etc. decreased after arriving to the site. These results show that distance does not play a very important role on the amount of recreational activities enjoyed by the site families. The families whenever possible try to minimize the effects of distance by combining recreational activities with other activities, but other than this consideration most of them do not regard the

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distance factor as important enough to decrease their recreational activities.

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IV. Conclusion

In the light of all the findings of the study, it can be concluded that sites of Istanbul have not become self-sufficient units in terms of their retail structure. The locations of present sites cause this fact. With the exception of Site Ataköy, none of the sites are far enough from the city to be forced to self-sufficiency. In other words, sites are not isolated enough from districts with shopping possibilities where site households can meet their needs. Distances to nearby shopping areas and to the center of the city are not big enough to prevent site families from going there. Thus the shopping behaviour and even the amount of recreational activities of site consumers are not influenced to an important extent. If sites were located at least at 10 km's distance to the core of the city, like Site Ataköy is, then this distance would force the households to patronize the site shops and services, and the retail plant would develop to be highly efficient as in the case of Site Ataköy.

The income level of the families living in sites also plays a negative role in the attainment of self-sufficiency of sites. Site families belong at least to the middle income level group. Thus, these families can easily afford to go shopping out of their sites frequently. A housewife, for example, does not mind going to a hairdresser in Nisantag twice a week when she could instead patronize the site hairdresser. Another factor that increases the mobility of site families, thus working against self-sufficiency, is the ownership of cars as was observed in 50 % of site families. It should also be mentioned that 65 % of families living in sites were previously residing in some central district of the city. These families still have ties with

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their old shopping areas. In some cases, these ties are very strong. People have habits that they do not want to give up. For example, if a housewife has patronized a certain shop for very many years, she does not want to break the habit by changing her place of purchase. Site families with such habits do not have to abandon them since the distances they have to travel are not so great as to deter them, and in any case, most of them have cars or enough money to spend in taxis.

Summarizing the discussion up to this point, we can say that none of the factors like distance, income level, previous residence area, and car ownership help to promote the self-sufficiency of sites' retail plant.

This fact explains why the number and types of retail stores observed in sites are not much. The most frequently seen stores in sites are those that are related to food consumption such as grocers, greengrocers, and butchers. All other lines of retail trade are only occasionally observed in sites. The interesting fact is that the most frequently observed stores are not the most successful ones. The most successful shops are those that sell standardized goods. Pharmacies, bookstores, hardware shops, and haberdashers are highly patronized by site consumers provided that they have a high degree of assortment. On the other hand, site stores and shops which do not offer standardized goods and services are not successful even though they are supported by a very important factor like convenience.

Convenience does influence the extent of use of these site stores but only to a limited degree, because housewives have other needs as well which are not satisfied by these stores. The site housewife represents the type of consumer

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who regards quality as the most important consideration in her purchasing decisions. Other than not meeting the quality expectations of site housewives, site stores also do not provide an assortment of a variety that is demanded by them. In short, convenience is a secondary or tertiary consideration influencing the extent of purchase from the site store.

In some few sites, it is seen that the stores have achieved the standard that is expected by the site consumer. In such sites, the extent of purchase from site stores is very high. Thus, it can be concluded that when convenience factor is supplemented by high standards of stores, then the extent of use of site stores increases to a satisfactory level.

I will conclude this study by presenting some strategies that can be helpful to retailers who have stores in sites or who think of opening such stores. If site grocers, greengrocers and butchers want to operate successfully, the main factors they should give importance to are quality and assortment. Provided that they offer goods of high quality and a wide assortment, they can be successful at sites of any size and in any location. The price factor is not as important as the other two. But grocers, greengrocers, and butchers that exist in sites which are surrounded by "gecekondu" areas or other residence areas should give importance to pricing if they want consumers of these areas to patronize their stores.

Hairdressers and dry-cleaners also can be successful in sites of any size and of any location as long as they can provide the high quality of service that is demanded by site consumers.

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Ironing and starching shops, pharmacies, haberdashers, hardware shops, bookstores, pastry shops, pork butcher's shops, electrician shops and cobbler shops can all be successfully operated in sites which are bigger in size and are surrounded by other residential areas.

It can be predicted that as sites get larger in size and move further away from the city center, their self-sufficiency will improve.

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APPENDIX I

Information About Sites With Regard to Their Location, Age, and Size

- Emel Sitesi : Location--Mecidiyeköy, surrounded by
other residential areas,
Age--1966,
Size--2 blocks, 100 flats.
- Fulya Sitesi : Location--Mecidiyeköy, surrounded by
other apartment houses,
Age--1966,
Size--3 blocks, 4 flats.
- Hülya Sitesi : Location--Etiler, 500 meters from the
main street,
Age--1964,
Size--approximately 60 flats.
- İstiridye Sitesi : Location--1 km. to Etiler, no residential
area within 1 km. except for another site,
Age--1968,
Size--2 blocks, approximately 40 flats.
- Xulus Sitesi : Location--1 km. to Etiler, no residential
area within 1 km. except for gecekondu,
Age--1960,
Size--5 blocks, 84 flats.
- Basın Sitesi : Location--about 600 meters to Etiler,
has a nearby site,
Age--1967,
Size--3 blocks, 90 flats.

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- ^xYıldız Sitesi : Location--about 600 meters to Etiler, has a nearby site,
Age--1967,
Size--3 blocks, about 90 flats.
- ^xMobil Sitesi : Location--700 meters to Mecidiyeköy, within 700 meters there are only sites and gecekondus,
Age--1963,
Size--2 blocks, 56 flats.
- ^xUçaksavar Sitesi : Location--about 2 km. to Etiler, has a nearby gecekondus area,
Age--1963,
Size--5 blocks, about 100 flats.
- ^xGayret Sitesi : Location--500 meters to Mecidiyeköy, has nearby sites,
Age--1962,
Size--5 blocks, 88 flats.
- Subayevleri Site.: Location--covers a large area between Mecidiyeköy and Beşiktaş,
Age--1962,
Size--72 blocks, 846 flats.
- ^xSite Ataköy : Location--Ataköy, 5 km. to the city,
Age--1965,
Size--70 blocks, 1620 flats.
- ^xI.E.T.T. Sitesi : Location--Okmeydanı, surrounded by other residential areas,
Age--1962,
Size--6 blocks, about 600 flats.

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Petrol Sitesi : Location--200 meters to Etiler, surrounded by other residential areas,
Age--1963,
Size--about 400 flats.

^xInterviews were made in these sites only, while these and all of the rest of the sites were used in collecting general information about retail establishments in sites.

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APPENDIX II

Sequence of Arrival of Stores to Sites

Ulus Sitesi (1960 Spring) : Grocer--1960 Spring
Greengrocer--1960 Spring
Butcher--1960 Spring (closed
after two years)

Gayret Sitesi (1962 Autumn) : Grocer--1963 Winter
Greengrocer--1963 winter
Butcher--1963 Winter
Hairdresser--1965 Winter
Cobbler--1965 Autumn
Greengrocer--1966 Spring
Starching and Ironing Shop--
1966 Spring

I.E.T.T. Sitesi (1962 Winter) : Grocer--1962 Winter
Greengrocer--1962 Winter
Butcher--1962 Winter
Pharmacy--1967 Spring
Starching and Ironing Shop--
1967 Spring
Pork Butcher's Shop--1967
Spring
Grocery--1967 Spring
Hairdresser--1967 Summer
Haberdasher--1967 Summer
Cobbler--1967 Summer
Butcher--1967 Summer
Pastry Shop--1967 Autumn
'Cigerci'--1967 Autumn
Hardware Shop--1967 Autumn

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'Yufkacı'--1967 Autumn

Mobil Sitesi (1963 Spring) : Grocer--1963 Spring
Greengrocer--1963 Spring
Butcher--1963 Spring

Uçaksavar Sitesi (1963 Summer): Grocer and Greengrocer--
1963 Summer
Butcher--1963 Summer (closed
in 1968, opened again
in 1969)
Grocer--1965 Winter

Subayevleri Site.(1963 Winter): Grocer--1963 Winter
Butcher--1963 Winter
Grocer--1964 Winter
Greengrocer--1965 Winter
Hairdresser--1965 Winter
Pharmacy--1965 Spring

Site Ataköy (1963 Winter) : Grocer--1963 Winter
Greengrocer--1963 Winter
Butcher--1963 Winter
Hairdresser--1965 Winter
Cobbler--1965 Summer
Haberdasher--1965 Summer
Pork Butcher's Shop--
1966 Winter
Barber Shop--1966 Winter
Starching and Ironing Shop--
1966 Winter
Dry Cleaner--1966 Winter
Pastry Shop--1966 Spring
Pharmacy--1966 Spring

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Hardware Shop--1966 Spring
Bookstore--1967 Summer
'American Bazaar' Shop--
1967 Summer
Restaurant--1967 Summer
Boutique--1967 Summer
Tailor--1967 Summer
Electrician's Shop--
1967 Summer
Men's Shoe Shop--1967 Summer

Petrol Sitesi (1963 Winter) : Grocer--1963 Winter
Greengrocer--1963 Winter
Butcher--1963 Winter
Haberdasher--1964 Winter

Basın Sitesi (1967 Winter) : Grocer--1967 Winter

Yıldız Sitesi (1967 Summer) : Grocer--1967 Summer
Greengrocer--1967 Summer
Butcher--1967 Summer
Hairdresser--1967 Autumn
Hairdresser--1968 Spring
Greengrocer--1968 Autumn
Grocer--1968 Autumn
Electrician's Shop--
1968 Autumn
Ironing and Dry Cleaning
Shop--1968 Autumn
Haberdasher--1969 Autumn
Hardware Shop--1969 Autumn

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APPENDIX III

Questionnaire used in the study

1. Name
2. Members of the Household Age Profession The Districts
they work
Wife
Husband
Children
Others
3. Do you own this flat or do you rent it? Rent - Owned -.
4. a) If rented - how much is the monthly rent ?
b) If owned - how much did you pay ?
5. What are the transportation means used by the family ?
6. Where did you live before coming to the site ?
7. When did you arrive to the site ?
8. Which stores were present in the site when you arrived to the site ?
Grocery - Greengrocery - Butcher - Hairdresser -
Ironing and Starching shop - and Others
9. Which stores arrived later ?
Grocery - Greengrocery - Butcher - Hairdresser - Ironing
and Starching Shop - and Others
10. Who makes the purchases when a site store is patro-
nized ?
Housewife - Husband - Sometimes housewife and sometimes
husband - Others

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11. On the average, how many days a week do you purchase vegetables and fruits, meat, and grocery items ?
Grocery -
Greengrocery -
Butcher -
12. To what extent do you use the site grocery ?
Always - Most of the time - Sometimes - Very little
Never -
13. What are your reasons for using or not using the site grocery whichever and whenever is the case ?
Reasons for using : convenience - others
Reasons for not using : cheaper outside - better quality
outside - no variety of brands
in the site grocery - can not
find the needed good in the
site grocery - an outside gro-
cery that is accustomed to -
Others
14. What are the items that you mostly buy from an outside grocery ?
15. From where do you make your purchases when you don't use the site grocery ?
Migros trucks - Migros shop - a grocery of a nearby site - A grocery located in the nearest shopping area to the site - Others -
16. Who makes the purchases when a grocery outside the site is patronized ?
Housewife - Husband - Sometimes housewife and sometimes husband - Others -

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17. To what extent do you use the site greengrocery ?
Always - Most of the time - Sometimes - Very little
Never -
18. What are your reasons for using or not using the site greengrocery, whenever and whichever is the case ?
(Alternatives)
19. What are the vegetables and fruits that you mostly buy from an outside greengrocery ?
20. From where do you make your purchase when you don't use the site greengrocery ? (Alternatives)
21. Who makes the purchases when a greengrocery outside the site is patronized ? (Alternatives)
22. To what extent do you use the site butcher shop ?
(Alternatives)
23. What are your reasons for using or not using the site greengrocery - whichever and whenever is the case ?
(Alternatives)
24. What are the goods that you mostly buy from an outside butcher ?
25. From where do you make your purchases when you don't use the site butcher ? (Alternatives)
26. Who makes the purchases when a butcher, outside the site is patronized ? (Alternatives)
27. Do you have credit accounts in the site grocery ?
" " " " " " " greengrocery ?
" " " " " " " butcher ?

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28. a) Does the existence of the credit account influence your purchasing behavior ?

b) When do you close the credit account ?

29. Retail Trade	Does it exist in the site	If it exists in the site:	If it doesn't exist in the site:
	Yes No	To what extent do you use it ?	To what extent would you use it, if it were present ?
	_____	_____	_____

Bookstore

Pharmacy

Electricien

Hairdresser

Cobbler

Dry Cleaner

Ironing and Starching

Shop

Barber

Hardware Shop

Haberdasher

Pastry

Pork - butcher's

Shop

30. a) Since when have you been using these shops and services ?.

Line's of retail trade	Since the family arrived to the site	Since the store was opened	Since some other time
_____	_____	_____	_____

Grocery

Greengrocery

Butcher

Bookstore

etc.(the stores in

question 29 are repeated)

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b) If "since some other time", then where did the family buy these goods and services before they decided to use site stores and what were the reasons for changing their place of purchase ?.

31. Shopping Goods	Which stores did you patronize for these shopping goods before arriving to the site	Which stores did you patronize after arriving to Site ?	Why did you change your place of purchase
Men's shoes			
Women's shoes			
Hosiery			
Little Girls' clothings			
Little Boys' pants and other clothings			
etc.			

32. When you go to shopping for the items listed in question 31, do you come back to your home immediately after finishing your shopping or do you combine shopping with some other activity ?.

33. Does the family go to the same number of movies, restaurants, theaters etc. after arriving to the site as it did before arriving to the site ?.

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APPENDIX IV

Results of spot check to determine the business volumes of grocers, greengrocers and butchers in different districts of the city in terms of number of employees, telephone ownership, the existence of home delivery services

	Cheaper Districts			
	<u>Kadiköy</u>	<u>Lâleli</u>	<u>Aksaray</u>	<u>Eminönü</u>
<u>Grocery</u>				
No. of employees	2	2	3	2
Telephone	No	Yes	No	No
Home Delivery	No	No	Yes	No
<u>Greengrocery</u>				
No. of employees	2	2	2	3
Telephone	No	No	Yes	No
Home Delivery	No	No	Yes	No
<u>Butcher</u>				
No. of employees	3	2	2	2
Telephone	No	Yes	No	No
Home Delivery	No	Yes	No	Yes

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APPENDIX IV (continued)

	Expensive Districts				
	<u>Şişli</u>	<u>Harbiye</u>	<u>Bebek</u>	<u>Nişantaşı</u>	<u>Rumeli-hisar</u>
<u>Grocery</u>					
No. of employees	3	4	4	5	3
Telephone	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>Greengrocery</u>					
No. of employees	3	3	3	4	3
Telephone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>Butcher</u>					
No. of employees	3	3	3	3	3
Telephone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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APPENDIX V

Results of spot check to determine the business volumes of site groceries, greengroceries and butchers in term of number of employees, telephone ownership, and the existence of home delivery service.

	<u>Subay- evleri</u>	<u>Yıldız Sitesi</u>	<u>Uçaksa- var</u>	<u>Ulus Sitesi</u>	<u>Gayret Sitesi</u>
<u>Grocery</u>					
No. of employees	3	3	2	2	3
Telephone	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>Greengrocery</u>					
No. of employees	2	2	2	2	3
Telephone	Yes	No	No	No	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>Butcher</u>					
No. of employees	2	2	2	-	3
Telephone	Yes	No	No	-	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes

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APPENDIX V. (continued)

	<u>Mobil Sitesi</u>	<u>I.E.T.T Sitesi</u>	<u>Site Ataköy</u>	<u>Basın Sitesi</u>	<u>Petrol Sitesi</u>
<u>Grocery</u>					
No. of employees	2	3	3	2	2
Telephone	No	No	Yes	No	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<u>Greengrocery</u>					
No. of employees	2	2	3	-	2
Telephone	No	No	Yes	-	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
<u>Butcher</u>					
No. of employees	2	2	3	-	3
Telephone	No	No	Yes	-	No
Home Delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes

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