

## Open-air Market

### A Morphological Study on the Open-air Market of Caruaru (Brazil) in the Space of the Town in 1992 and in 2007

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#### **Keywords**

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#### **Abstract**

*The open-air market of Caruaru occupies an area of 154,440 square meters and has attractions that no other market has. These include craftwork in clay, a wide range of clothes, a large variety of fruit and vegetables. People flock to it from various regions of Brazil in order to make purchases and simply to visit it. As a complex urban phenomenon, it has had direct repercussions on the space of the town. By using Space Syntax as a theory and a tool, this paper explores an analysis of the morphological structure of this informal commercial space at two different points of time: 1992 and 2007. In other words, there has been a strong relationship between the open-air market and the space of the town ever since the period during which this trade was at the core of the town's activities, that is from the time when it was arranged linearly in the streets, to its transfer to the 18th of May Park, where it occupies a convex area. As a reflex result of this change, some conflicts have arisen, for example, the process of the internal emptying of the park or how people leave it. The traders would like the internal space of the market to have more direct contact with the surrounding streets. In addition, this paper shows that the grid of the open-air market, as a factor, has had an essential role in the formation of this spatiality, has had and still has much impact and influence on the urban space. This paper concludes by proposing an attempt to strengthen the present internal use of the 18th of May Park by prompting a reconfiguration of its grid.*

#### **Introduction: the open-air markets in city spaces**

An open-air market is a public area, usually uncovered, where bartering, selling and the trading of goods take place. As open-air markets play a constantly decreasing role in public life in towns and cities today, their survival seems to be running against the tide, yet they provide a meeting-place, establish new relations and valuable cultural interchange. Just like the old Iranian bazaars studied by Nejad (2005), open-air markets are not just commercial hubs in towns and cities, but also centers of cultural, social and even political activities. When it is a commercial activity, an open-air market is, above all, about forming a survival strategy for the informal sector, and is thus part of the tertiary field of the urban economy. On the other hand, Cross (2000) defines this street-trading as a prosperous and growing phenomenon of the global economy and a potential source of development.

The importance of open-air markets to towns and cities is not only a regional or even national phenomenon, it is possible to identify places that have become cultural reference points in numerous cities around the world, such as Portobello Road, in London, the Porta Portese and Via Sannio open-air markets in Rome, all of which are frequented by many tourists, traditional housewives, modern youngsters with an alternative lifestyle and townspeople, or they are like the outdoor market of the agricultural producers in Toronto, etc. These cities, by trying to bring consistent activities to their public areas, have been regularly using open-air markets to transform streets, squares, and parking lots into 'people places', thus attracting vitality and trade back to the public area in the center of cities and neighboring areas (Spitzer and Baum 1995, 1).

According to a Ford Foundation study (2003), one of the most obvious methods, even though probably one of the least understood ones, of increasing social integration in public areas and encouraging the growth of mobility are open-air markets. They are located and/or created in public places within the community, besides being recognized as 'magnet' and 'anchor' activities because they act as the 'heart' and 'soul' of the area and because they bring movement and dynamism to wherever they happen, since they stimulate other economic activities in the neighborhood (Lyons and Mbiba 2003, 7). Thus, this is the visible aspect of open-air markets – the creation of an inviting, dynamic and very often surprising place which attracts all kinds of people. As an effective locality where people mix, open-air markets become a place where people interact easily and countless activities of the community take place.

The presence of open-air markets is one of the most important characteristics of towns and cities in Northeast Brazil, because the population of this region regards them as having great economic and cultural relevance. There are countless reports on the evolution of towns the beginnings of which were signaled by commercial activity and the presence of an open-air market, because they were either on trade routes or in advantageous geographical situations. Many of these open-air markets were located mainly in town and city centers, thus constructing a symbiosis between commerce and local social life, just like happened in Caruaru (PE), where the open-air market established itself as a strategic point and consolidated one of the major functions of the city as a place of bartering and services, where multiple characters established the greatest diversity of social relationships (Condé 1960, 51).

A similar event also still occurs in many other open-air markets, like that of Arapiraca or even of Campina Grande in neighboring states, two of the largest such markets together with Caruaru in Brazil. In all of them, people leave rural areas and other smaller towns and get ready to go shopping there, which makes these markets an important meeting point of the region. Costa (2003) highlights in a similar way how the social relations in Campina Grande open-air market were organized, for the 'in 1980 barbers still put up their stalls on an unoccupied plot on the banks of the Canal das Piabas (...). And, at that time, it was still common to have the presence of children and adults at the entrances to the market (...) as well as paper bag sellers, whose presence was guaranteed throughout the open-air market'.

So, marketplaces bring about many consequences to the space, which include both benefits as well the emergence of conflicts, such as, for example, the appearance of residences and brothels inside the physical space of the market. All this occurs due to the power markets have of attracting large numbers of people and of entailing actions and activities inherent to their relationship with the space of the town.

Therefore, it is important to know that open-air markets become important to the towns in which they are located and that, using them as a starting point, the local dynamics can be balanced and the importance of areas which daily depend on them can be maintained. Thus, this paper sets out to give a new perspective, among the many already existing ones, on how it is possible to intervene in the framework and spatial configuration of such a market in order to solve some existing conflicts and offer better accessibility to the area. This will be achieved by using some concepts taken from the Theory of the Social Logic of Space which will be exploited in later sections of this study.

### **Caruaru and its open-air market: a short historical background**

Throughout the urban evolution process of a town there are structural elements that nurture this growth. In the case of the original township of Caruaru, they were generated by three basic factors: the geographical situation of Fazenda Caruaru, owned by José Rodrigues da Cruz, with its corrals next to the river Ipojuca; the caminho das boiadas ('cattle trail') and the farm as a support point and place to spend the night; and, as a stronger element, the construction of a chapel (Ferreira 2001, 105). On account of this formation of the layout, there arose a small street for trade, in front of the chapel, of manufactured leather goods and food, which came to be called the Feira de Caruaru (the Caruaru Fair), thus establishing a large range of human and urban relations in the center of the town.

During this period, weak formal commercial establishments were set up in the central area and started to benefit from the pull and very large flow of people that the open-air market exercised on the whole of the geographical region in Pernambuco known as the *agreste*, thus strengthening the symbiosis of formal commercial and informal open-air market trading.

As a result, there was a strong surge in the transformation of the use of land in the town center, where some dwellings were turned into stores which sold products complementary to those sold in the market, which Hillier (1999) calls a 'live centre'. This interdependence of formal-informal commerce is revealed by Condé (1960) when he claims that people could barely walk on a 'street choc-a-bloc with people, horses, stalls and merchandise. From the doors of the stores, bales of cheap printed cotton of all colors flutter like pennants on feast days'.

In the early 90s, due to the growing number of spatial and socio-spatial conflicts downtown, such as traffic jams, insalubrity and the poor mobility for pedestrians, for instance, the population started demanding the removal of this commerce, which led to its being transferred in 1992 to a completely different area from where it was then located. Thus, the evolution and growth of the Caruaru Fair in the town space happened at different moments over very many years, with echoes of this mutual experience continuing today, thus providing a means for analyzing events which took place in periods that demonstrate the spatial relationship of the open-air market and town.

### **The city and the open-air market: a spatial analysis in 1992 and in 2007**

From the concepts obtained from Space Syntax (Hillier and Hanson 1984), it was possible to show throughout the undertaking of this study work that the spatial aspects, within the temporal limits established (1992 to 2007), had a heavy influence on the economy of the town and vice-versa and that such a process is dynamic. Hillier (1999) argues for this influence using two theories: natural movement and movement economy, which can be applied to the dynamic of the relationship of the open-air market and town in Caruaru.

The first theory lays down that the configuration of the urban framework 'influences patterns of movement, since the movement generated by the configuration of the street grid is [...] basic' (Medeiros 2006, 507). For him it is not an invariable phenomenon, but rather 'it assumes its own characteristics according to the cultural scope which generated it, an effect which is that of the form in which the street layout is organized and laid out. Nevertheless, some features are held to be constant, such as the tendency to concentrate certain activities in specific areas. What might be invariable is the logic which connects the spatial configuration to the generation of movement'. (Medeiros 2006, 507).

In that case, the use of land by any type of activity such as commerce, for example, tends to affect the pattern of movement, since it acts as a multiplier by 'transforming a linear relation between spatial integration and pedestrian flows in mono-functional residential areas, into an exponential relation in mixed use areas' (Penn 2005, 31). Therefore, the result is an emergent correlation between the use of land, the movement of pedestrians and the configuration.

The second theory (movement economy) (Hillier 1999, 02), arose from the theory of natural movement. It is characterized as being the link between the spatial configuration and the flow of movements of people, thus providing the logic for the availability of the use of land. This is what happens in trading in every open-air market, where the arrangement of stalls, for instance, changes the direction and the number of people who pass through a certain area.

Therefore, from these concepts, it was possible to analyze the open-air market to town relationship, with regard to two distinct periods of time during which it occupied the urban space, i.e. in 1992 and in 2007.

#### **In 1992**

In that year, the growth of Caruaru was evident, as was the influence exercised by its commerce, as Table 1a below shows. The local economic 'thermometer' was the Feira de Caruaru (Caruaru Fair),

which was embedded in three different spatial areas of influence: in local markets, of Caruaru and neighboring towns; sub-regionally, covering the state of Pernambuco; and regionally, throughout the Northeast region. Using 1976 data as a sample, it can be seen how intensely Caruaru had demonstrated itself to be a natural commercial hub and how many people, in absolute terms, were attracted by this trade. Table 1b shows how there arose the gradual increase of the occupation of the center by market stall-holders, who were attracted by the growth of the economic coverage, as shown in Table 1a.

<u>MARKET</u>	<u>Population served</u>	<u>% of Caruaru sales</u>
<u>Local</u>	432,170	78.51
<u>Sub-regional</u>	622,891	66.21
<u>Regional</u>	1,323,575	39.73

**Table 1a**

*The coverage of the Caruaru town market – 1976*

*Source: Jornal Vanguarda (1977)*

YEARS	1964	1970	1986
NUMBER OF MARKET TRADERS	3,000	4,000	5,000

**Table 1b**

*Report of the number of traders per year in the Center of Caruaru.*

*Source: Veras (1964, 01); Jornal Vanguarda (1986); Rodrigues (1992, 05)*



**Figure 1a**

*Global Integration of Caruaru – 1992*

When the spatial structure of Caruaru is analyzed using Space Syntax, some peculiar situations were verified in relation to the activity of an open-air market of the magnitude that exists in the spatial configuration of Caruaru (Figure 1a). In order to do so, it is observed that global integration

(Figure 1b), based on the axial map of Caruaru, is high in the town center, and decreases from the center to the outskirts. The Caruaru Fair was located in one of the most integrated lines of the area with the greatest global integration in the system. This structure extends from the center to the north, east and west, and follows the course of the River Ipojuca and, necessarily, the road grid mentioned previously (Figure 1c).

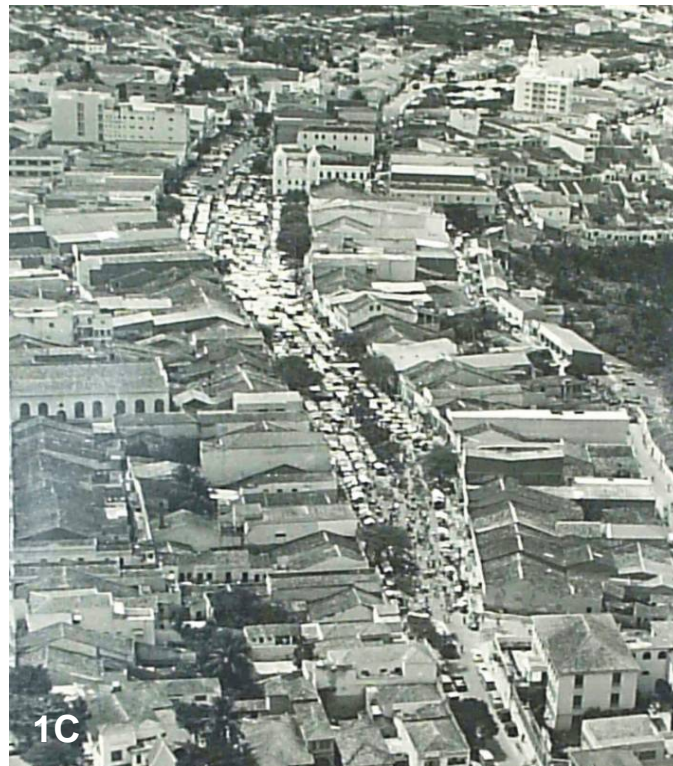
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**Figure 1b**

*Global Integration core – 10% of the most integrated lines of the system – 1992, with the area of the market in distinction*

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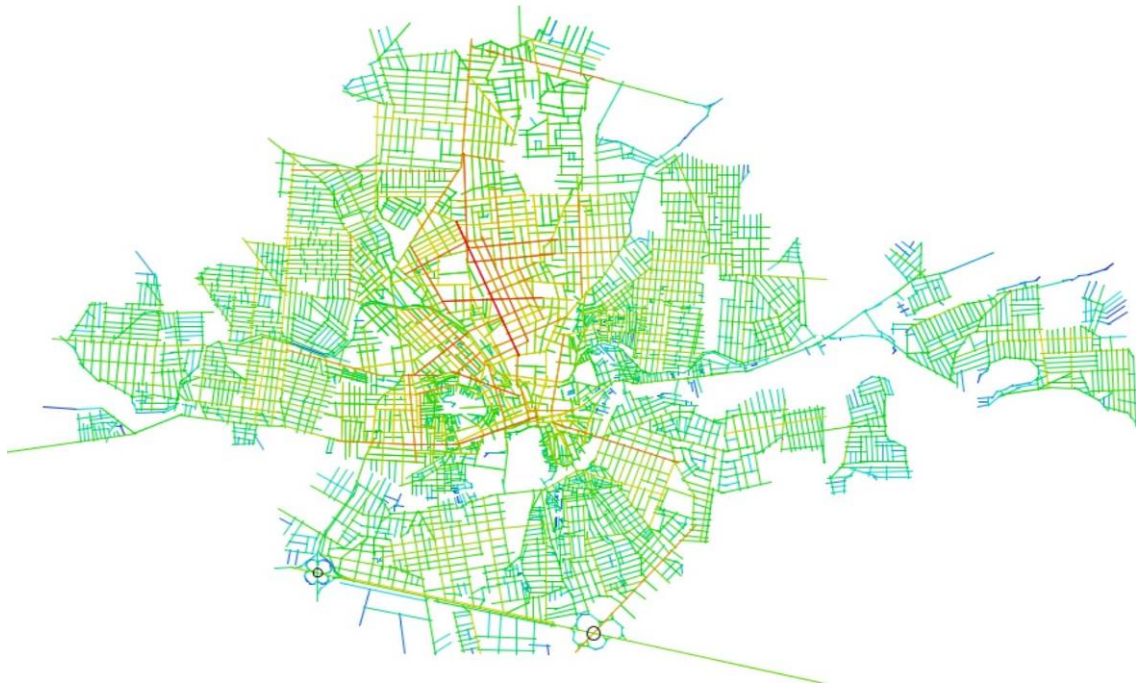
**Figure 1c**

*Picture of the open market in the streets of the centre. Source: Jornal Vanguarda*

Now, the local integration of the town (R3) extends from the area occupied by the market in the town center up to the BR-104 highway, although many districts of the town are in areas less

accessible locally. However, the Fair is in the best possible location, with ease of access to the whole system, and thus is well served globally and locally.

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**Figure 2**

*Local Integration (R3) of Caruaru – 1992*

The constant growth and expansion of the Fair brought in its wake a great flow of people and capital to the city, and the number of traders increased to 5,000. But, as time went on, severe consequences appeared, such as a constant increase in the number of conflicts – traffic jams, a sharp decline in mobility and the quality of the infrastructure to hold the Fair. Therefore, this led to thought being given to removing the Caruaru Fair to another space, more suited to its functioning and closer to the central core. Rodrigues (1992), with regard to this need, argues that the 'corrosive force of new times assumed the responsibility for changing, compulsorily, the course, the objective and the character of a traditional street market, in an almost untouchable way. [...] All that will happen is a gesture. Deep down, we know: transference has become a reality. It is a necessity. Urgent. From Commerce Street to the 18th of May Park'.

### **A necessary transition period...**

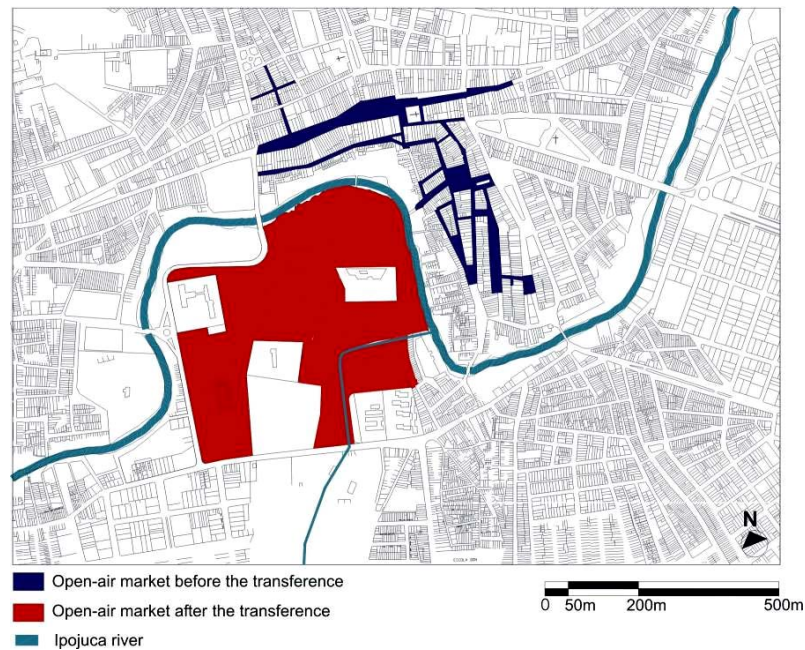
Normally, open-air markets are inserted in the center of the original urban fabric. Such a phenomenon happens due to the vitality of these areas, the streets of which are much more suited to the existence of commercial areas. However, in some towns the planned places emerge as a response to difficulties arising in the process through which open-air markets occupy central areas.

Accessibility has always been essential to the survival of the central area of Caruaru and since this was a far from comfortable occurrence for shoppers and residents, the municipal government decided to relocate the Caruaru Fair to a larger site closer to the center, today called Parque 18 de Maio (18th of May Park). Every kind of support and back-up was given to this site, by providing it with the necessary infrastructure such as water and sewage, toilets, paving and wider corridors between the stalls, which makes moving around for both pedestrians and emergency cases easier. Also included in this project was the preservation of the neighborly relationships among traders from the most diverse areas (some had been maintained for over 30 years), with areas following the boundaries that had already been laid down in the center. This new site housed the Caruaru Fair, which displayed a linear structure and occupied an area in

the town center of 22,760m<sup>2</sup>. It held 1,861 stalls, and around 4,000 traders. The Park is approximately seven times larger, as it covers 154,440m<sup>2</sup> (Rodrigues 1992, 05), as Figure 3 shows. This aroused such curiosity that Rodrigues (1993) went so far as to describe this site as a 'new theater' because of the grandeur of the space.

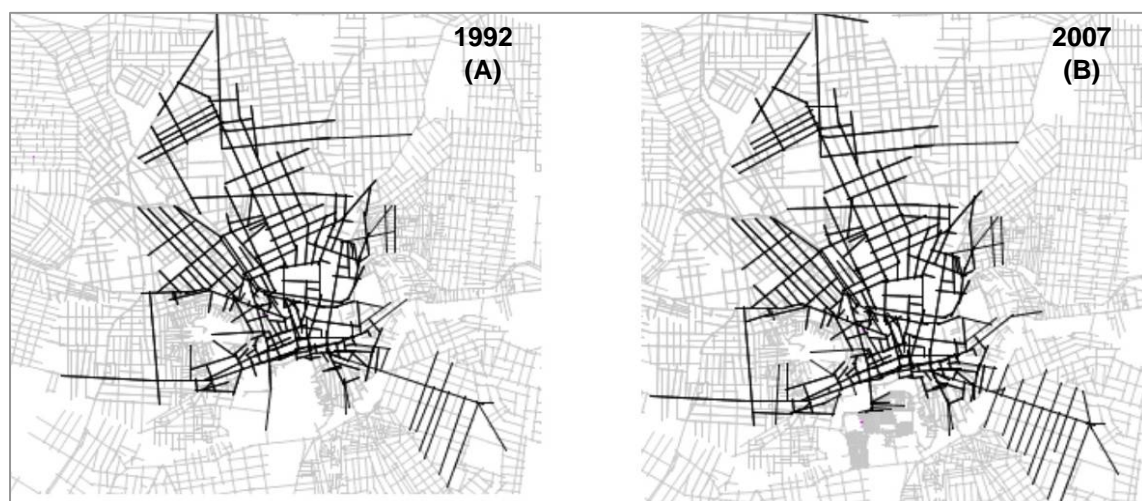
One of the purposes of removing the Fair was the urban regeneration of the center, so it could 'breathe' and regain the vigor of a central area, since, as the streets were occupied, this had not been happening. Therefore, the two main factors which influenced the relocation of the Fair were

- a) lack of space for expansion, and;
- b) consequently, the emergence of conflicts, such as occupation of the streets and traffic jams, which prompted a decline in the ability of the urbe to work.



**Figure 3**

*The open-air market before and after the transference to 18th of May Park – 1992*



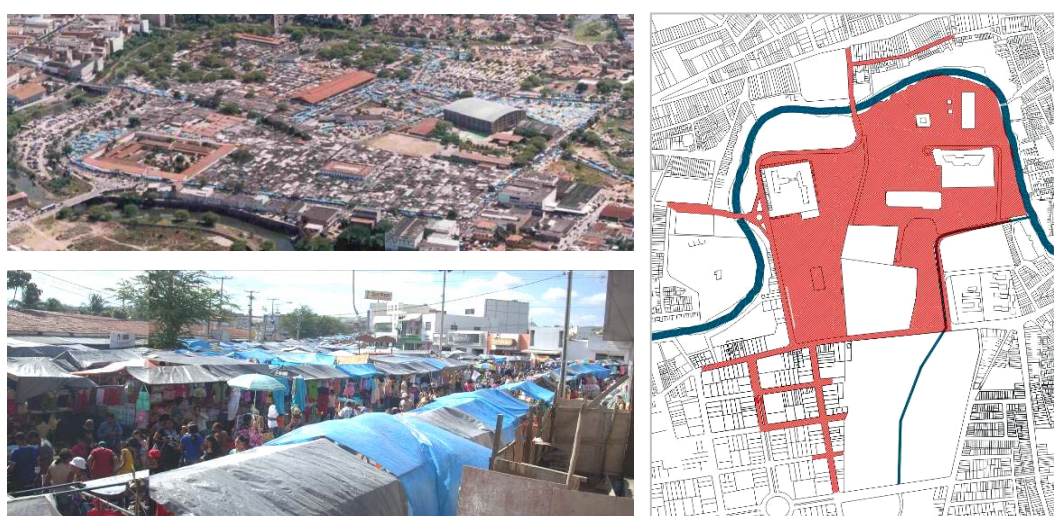
**Figure 4**

*Comparison between the global integration of Caruaru in 1992 and in 2007*

In terms of Syntax, moving the Caruaru Fair to 18th of May Park made very little difference to the global integration map of the town as can be seen in Figure 4, as a result of the comparison between maps A and BIII, because the areas segregated globally in one keep on being the same in the other. The difference between them is that in B, the axial lines of 18th of May Park 'pull' from the global accessibility to themselves a little more, but without changing the syntactic pattern of the town.

### An open-air market once again looking for the town?

The period from 1992 to 2000 was distinguished by the full occupation of the new space, and by the spatial and commercial consolidation of the Fair in 18th of May Park. From 2000 until today, however, it has been expanding into the streets next to the Park (Figure 5). This event has occurred due to the perception of the vendors that trading on the streets is more visible and allows a greater interface with people, and turns over huge sums of money, as shown in Table 3. Handicrafts alone turn over an average of 20 million reais in the low season (approximately 8.7 million dollars), and the Sulanca (flea market)<sup>4</sup>, 22 million (close to 9.5 million dollars), by attracting up to 100,000 people in June and December. Thus, the flea market has become the main economic reference for the Caruaru Fair at this moment, and has great power to attract capital and shoppers.



**Figure 5**

*Territorial occupation of the tents in the 18th of May Park and surrounding streets – 2007*

*Sources: Roberto Silva e Gustavo Miranda*

<u>TYPE OF COMMODITIES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF TRADERS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS</u>	<u>SUMS OF MONEY COMMERCIALIZED IN 2006 (US\$/ AVERAGE)</u>
<u>FRUIT AND VEGETABLES</u>	5,900	20,000/ per week	1.3 million/week
<u>FLEA MARKET</u>	12,000 + 10,000 interlopers	100,000/open-air market in season 35,000/open-air market out of season	9.5 million/week
<u>HANDICRAFTS</u>	400	10,000/per week	8.7 million/ out of season 17.4 million/ in season

**Table 3**<sup>5</sup>

*Data from Fruit and vegetables, Sulanca (Flea Market) and Handicraft markets - 2007*

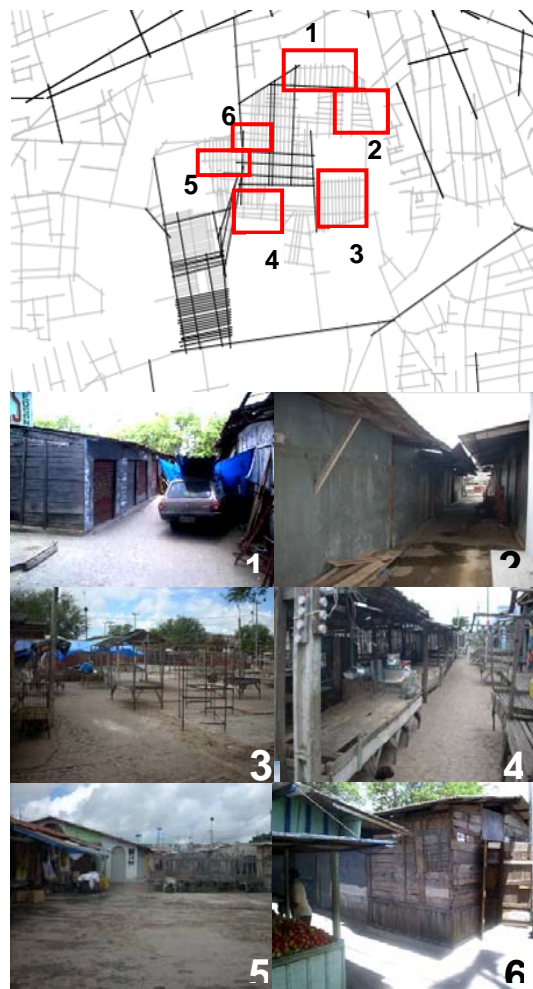
*Source: Coord. de Comunicação – PMC, Associação dos Sulanqueiros e dos Feirantes de Artesanato de Caruaru*



Such events took place due to the huge turnover of money, which led many people to seek to own stalls in this market. Consequently, many of the booths did not have enough space inside the 18th of May Park, and so shoppers sought out the next most accessible place to shop that is most visible to everyone and which has all the vitality of the town: the street.

According to van Nes (2005, 01) 'sellers seek for an optimal location in order to reach as many customers as possible with the purpose of profit maximizing'. Hence, the traders established inside the Park also left it and joined up with those already located on these by-ways: there are more than 10 thousand in the high season, which causes, obviously, the hold-up of vehicular traffic, and a sharp decline in accessibility and mobility in the area surrounding 18th of May Park. In other words, this caused the same conflicts that there had been up to 1992. The access ways which are frequently obstructed by these 'interloper' traders have great importance, both as a link between the center and the adjoining neighborhoods as well as for access to the Fair itself, which, to some extent, harms traders and residents of that area.

On account of the huge movement of money and of attracting customers and new traders, formal commerce, therefore, took advantage and set itself up in buildings next to the areas occupied by the Fair traders, thus modifying the use of many buildings, which range from dwellings to commercial properties, if the periods of 1992 and 2007 are compared. The commercial symbiosis generated a process of invasion-succession especially in the areas close to the Park, to the east and to the south, in places which had a direct interface with the stalls that lie outside the bounds of the Caruaru open-air market.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 6**

*Detail of the axial lines of the local integration core (R3) of the open market of Caruaru, resulting in underused places – 2007, 1) Tents used as brothels 2, 3, 4 e 5) Tents with no use 6) Tent used as house*

On such modification of use in spaces which were essentially commercial, Penn (2005, 27) argues that the 'the network of routes [...] creates unequal flows of people in different segments'. Therefore, this inequality of flows creates places with greater and lesser opportunities for vendors to trade their products. In the Caruaru Fair, the inequality of flows is such that many areas have become underused or even 'dead' pockets, on account of the low use that is made of them, which results in a distortion of the function of these spaces due to the appearance of uses of buildings different from the originally intended ones, such as warehouses, brothels and 'residences', areas 1 to 6 in Figure 6. This process is called, locally, internal emptying, a result, for among other reasons, of the migration of traders from places with low local accessibility and movement of people so they can trade on the surrounding streets.

All this comes about because the 18th of May Park creates in the urban space of Caruaru another zone with high local integration, besides the existing one on the main avenue of the town, because the lay-out of the stalls brought new ways which cross on a local basis, and this results in high accessibility to the area. Formal commerce now has a more local scale, directly linked to the Fair and not to the day-to-day activities of the town. However, internal emptying occurred in the areas with the least local integration and where the flow was clearly less.

So, the syntax analysis conducted in this study only confirms a recent dynamic in 18th of May Park: the renewed search for the urban fabric of the town by the Caruaru Fair, since it has the vitality necessary to make this trade happen, unlike what is being established within the Caruaru Fair itself. Therefore, in order to make it possible for there to be a difference in the dynamic functioning of the Fair and so that this might have spatial effects, what will be sought is a new way of looking at the space of the Fair through the possible inclusion of new connections (axial lines) in the current fabric of 18th May Park, so as not to lose the characteristics of its being a hub that attracts and generates jobs and income throughout the region, besides enabling the burgeoning of urban and commercial relations.

### **A fresh look at the space occupied by the open-air market**

The proposal is to take a fresh look at this matter. It has arisen from the need to understand some means by which the open-air market of Caruaru would not suffer from so many spatial conflicts and avoid its internal emptying by changing the spatial configuration of the 18th of May Park. However, this is a simple experiment in intervention on a part of the Caruaru urban fabric which aims to generate a system which might integrate all the areas surrounding the market, increasing 'the predictability of movements from all places to all places' (Amorim 1995). Yet, according to Amorim, 'as an experiment, it does not take into account the conditions for the use of land, expropriation, the nature of the buildings or even the financial cost of the proposed spatial modifications'.



**Figure 7**

*Axial in red as result of simulation proposed in the mesh of the open-air market of Caruaru – 2007*

Similarly, the main initiative has been the inclusion of two new paths which cut through the Park from north to south, thus 'feeding' the space of the market with a higher flow of people through new access routes, and so modifying the prior natural movement. There is also an association of the existing axial routes with others crossing from east to west (Figure 7) in order to improve the flow of users in spaces which are underused, as pointed out above.

All those actions are to supply this informal commerce with a larger number of customers, to make their circulation easier, and to enable greater accessibility to the interior of the Fair and a greater range of movement within this area. Consequently, this will raise the potential for more permanent uses and diminish the temporality of the functioning of 18th of May Park.

The search for an alternative analysis arose from three relevant reasons and ones which would reinforce greater use of the area of the Caruaru Fair, whether on market days or not. First, because after the recent Listing of the Caruaru Fair as a Brazilian Immaterial Heritage site, it was assumed that the Park space could not be modified. However, this listing does not prohibit spatial modifications. On the contrary, it encourages them, but they must be in order to develop or maintain the authenticity of the site as a cultural asset.

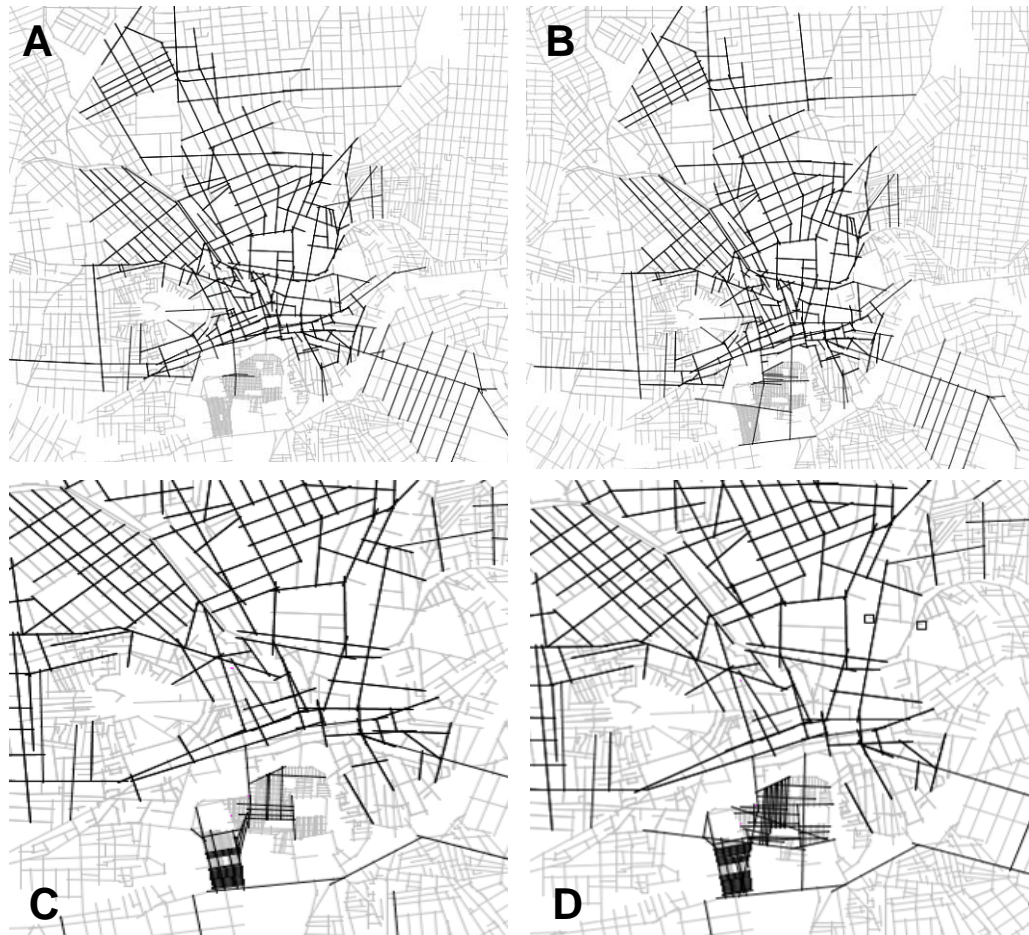
Later, Amorim (1995) justifies such interventions on account of the economic bias in similar speculation in Recife (the State capital), where new axials were added to the existing urban grid in order to breathe new life into the run-down urban core. So, it was expected that some empty areas would receive a greater flow of people because of the integration of the existing grid with such proposals, because, so Amorim believes, 'empty areas possessing an infrastructure mean a waste of resources', which also applies to an area as vast as the Caruaru Fair, which does not work on approximately three days a week, if all the periods of the week in which it does not have any sort of activity are added up. Finally, and still according to Amorim, the 'relationship of the use with the syntactical properties of the grid is another argument which should be used when drawing up an urban rehabilitation project'.

So, this simulation aims to show that certain areas which today do not have a specific function or activity can play another role in the Caruaru open-air market, since the movement on this modified grid relative to the original one allows commercial activities to benefit from the flow of people and to increase sales. This would allow the 18th of May Park to host other activities such as farm animal shows or cultural events, at times when the market is not working. This is because, especially at night, this area falls completely empty and is not used, which attracts illegal activities, such as drug dealing.

The modification of the spatial arrangement basically changed the global integration of the Fair, a site in which accessibility to the entire system had been low, but which now saw accessibility to the area of the Fair being greatly increased (Figures 8 A and B). As an example, the axis route of greatest local integration of the entire system is the diagonal that crosses the entire open-air market, which has a syntax value of 4.8124. In terms of numbers, it is almost 7% higher than the axis which provides greatest integration in the current fabric, this being 4.4759.

Comparing Figures 8 C and D, this speculation significantly alters the local integration of the Caruaru Fair, thus balancing a little more the syntax ratio of 18th of May Park with the town, because the new axials attract to themselves the local integration of the town, by irrigating the areas previously seen as underused with a larger natural flow of people, because there will be more possibilities of moving around from one point to another in the Fair. In absolute values, if we compare the main access line to the Fair before and after the simulation, the value also displays a significant change, since it increases from 3.2123 to 3.7730, an increase of almost 18%.

This shows how a modification in the configuration of a space can reverse a characteristic of another site, which is extremely useful for new uses. As previously suggested, this can be introduced into the site at periods when the Fair is not open for its normal business. Such action would strengthen the interior of the Fair, by attempting to reverse the internal emptying process that has already been taking place in 18th of May Park and which seriously damages the dynamic of the relationship between the market and the town.



**Figure 8**

*Global integration core (10 % of the most integrated lines) before (A) and after simulation (B) of intervention in the open-air market of Caruaru; Local integration core (10 % of the most integrated lines) before (C) and after simulation (D) of intervention in the open-air market of Caruaru.*

Finally, this simulation aimed to take a fresh look at the problem of accessibility, whether global or local, to the space of the Caruaru Fair and aimed at showing that<sup>1</sup> concrete actions such as those of the simulation can be taken by the municipal government in order to give more value to this area,<sup>2</sup> to maintain the authenticity of informal commerce and <sup>3</sup> the natural process of growth and expansion of this informal commerce can be regulated.

### **The restoration of the open-air market-city relation**

We have seen the growth of the Caruaru Fair and the town have been closely linked for more than two centuries, which directly affects how the space is still used. For the coexistence and extreme symbiosis between them, this territoriality was essential. Taking into account the importance of the Fair, in its entirety, for the town, the different spatial occupations revealed distinct manners of what the relation between the Fair and the town has been like.

First, a general view was presented of how the Caruaru Fair arose and what its importance for the town's city growth and development was. Subsequently, the focus was the space syntax of Caruaru and its open-air market, subdivided into two periods which truly represent the current urban dynamic of Fair and town and how the new space relations currently take place. In between, there was a period when two periods intersected, which led to the market being moved from the center to 18th of May Park and the new needs and specific spatial relations which appeared from then on.

Secondly, it was clear that the open-air market is once again in an ample process of expansion and 'looking for' the town and its urban lay-out, since the street is the place where the town's vitality

is most noticeable. What is related to this movement, however, is the increase in the number of traders and customers, the emergence of conflicts and the emptying of the interior of the Park generated by several correlated factors, amongst which is the low level of local accessibility.

As a last step of this journey, a simulation was conducted of a new configuration arrangement for the area of the Fair in order to speculate on how the internal relations might be potentialized and value added to the existing activities in it. There was also an attempt to collaborate in solving internal spatial conflicts which merely degrade this Fair as they reinforce the influence of various axials which comprise the grid.

Therefore, this study has set out to analyze, above all, the relationship between Fair and town on the spatial sphere. However, it is known that this is not the only aspect which directly influences this relationship. Other factors (flows of people, 'magnet' activities, level of employment and conflicts, for example) are closely related to the economic process of movement. It can be affirmed, therefore, that it had and still has the power to generate patterns of movement throughout time, which influence the use of land and create as many multiplier effects of movement as a local grid which has been adapting itself to more intense development.

So, the Caruaru Fair results in numerous consequences for the space of the town and carries with it actions and activities inherent to its relationship with the urban space. Thus, an open-air market such as the one in Caruaru has the power to balance the local dynamics starting from its spatial configuration. This is an indispensable factor for the maintenance of a constant dialectical relationship between any open-air market and the urban space in which it is inserted.

## Notes

- 1 This caminho das boiadas (literally, 'the cattle trail') is considered by Neves (2003) as the initial route which generated the urban shape of Caruaru, by linking the coast to the interior of Pernambuco (sertão). This was called the matrix route by Cannigia and Maffei apud Loureiro and Amorim (1995). By definition, it is preexisted to the use of buildings on its borders, and has only one path, rectilinear, in order to make the passage shorter.
- 2 This neighborly relationship was maintained by the Town Hall in accordance with the physical proximity of the stalls to each other back when they operated in the town center, through interviews and registration. Many of these traders worked side by side for many years before being definitively transferred to the 18th of May Park, within the new configuration of the Caruaru open-air market. As Rodrigues (1992b) cites, in the 'transfer, the human factor was prioritized. From the beginning of the project there was a concern that the traders' neighborly relationship [some of more than 30 years standing] and to give value to this, by the sitting of each point of sale'.
- 3 It is worth noting that some areas were incorporated into the original fabric during the evolution of the town between these two periods, which contributed to the change in the area around the new Fair.
- 4 This segment arose in the 60s, by merchandising low cost popular products, from the use of fabric remnants (helanca, in Portuguese), which used to come from industries in the south ('sul' in Portuguese) of Brazil, which gave rise to the name Sulanca (here translated as flea market).
- 5 In season and out of season represent the periods when the sellers tend to have an increase or decrease on the sales. Thus, to them the in season period is São João (June, a month associated with St John) and the end of the year (December). All the other periods are considered out of season.
- 6 The process of invasion-succession is defined by Correa (1979, 108-109) as being associated, above all, with the residential issue, although it may affect tertiary and industrial activities. In areas near the business center, where the deterioration of property is greater, the fact is added that locally central activities not only prompted the flight of the high-income population, but also its spatial expansion from the center creates for property owners the possibility of waiting for the area to gain in value, and then to sell the residence or the land to companies that need a central location. The implication of the process of invasion-succession is in the changeable character of residential areas that comprise a town.

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