

FROM ANONYMITY TO PUBLIC SPACE:  
Exploring the Role of Farmers Markets in Los Angeles' Public Realm

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Bachelor of Architecture  
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Science in Architecture Studies  
at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
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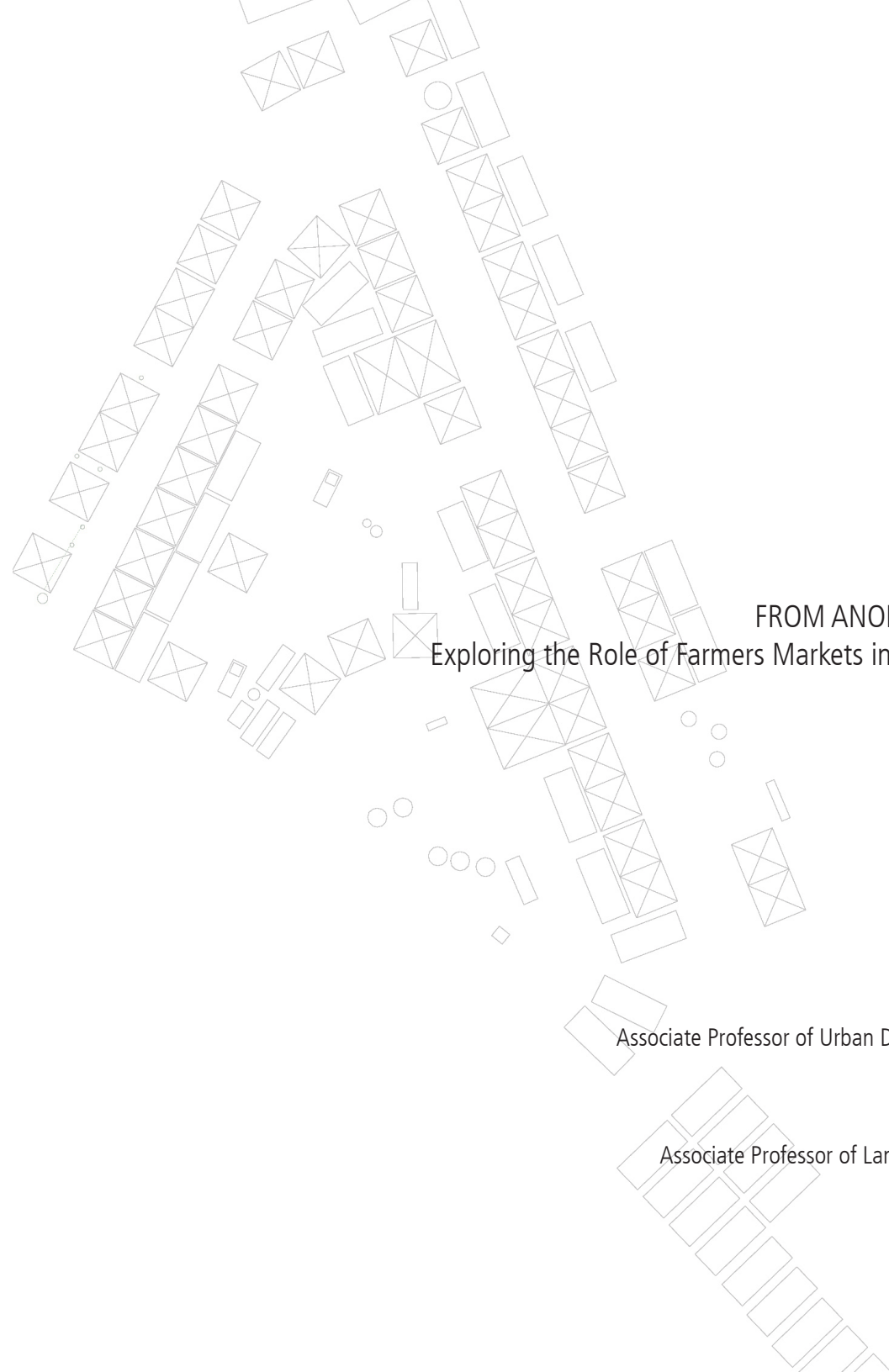
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 20, 2010, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Architecture Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

## ABSTRACT

Los Angeles serves as a model of a city that evolved without traditional concerns of centrality and a coherent public realm. As Robert Fogelson points out, Los Angeles is "a city hooked on growth, deeply divided socially, and perhaps too fragmented to generate the kind of public life that could override the destructive consequences of maximizing private profit." Indeed, the City of Los Angeles does not have a cohesive policy on public space and users often transform existing areas in the public domain into public space by re-appropriating their use, irrespective of their makers' intent. The recent growth of farmers markets provides an opportunity to explore the complexity of a specific typology of public space that is both intentional and appropriated, and supported by both public and private efforts and funds.

Farmers markets are a current national phenomenon in the urban United States. Their numbers have risen dramatically from 1,755 in 1994 to 5,274 in 2009, with 124 Certified Farmers' Markets in Los Angeles County alone. While much of the literature about farmers markets focuses on the socio-economic benefits, little exists on the socio-spatial impact on society and the urban condition. This

thesis will explore the contribution of farmers markets to Los Angeles' immediate public sphere and to the identity of their respective neighborhoods over time by analyzing the socio-spatial qualities of the markets at multiple scales. As a means for public activity, farmers markets provide space for a variety of social interactions; by virtue of their repetitive nature, they also act as catalysts for change of more permanent urban conditions over time. Through an analysis that uncovers how social and urban frameworks are influenced by the spatial properties of the markets allowing for the intersections of a multitude of interests, movements and scales of activities, I aim to understand how farmers markets can better engage with public, non-profit and private interests, social frameworks, their immediate context, the city and the greater region. Accordingly, public space emerges not as an abstract concept, but rather a concrete spatial expression of overlapping social, political and economic agendas.

Thesis Supervisor: Julian Beinart  
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FIG i: SILVERLAKE FARMERS MARKET SITE, January 16 2010  
During market operation (above);  
and during regular operation (below).

## INTRODUCTION

*Our tendency is to think of space as an abstract, metaphysical context, as the container for our lives rather than the structures we help create.<sup>1</sup>*

Los Angeles is largely perceived as a spatially homogenous and privatized city. As Robert Fogelson points out, Los Angeles is “a city hooked on growth, deeply divided socially, and perhaps too fragmented to generate the kind of public life that could override the destructive consequences of maximizing private profit.”<sup>2</sup> Rapid and unplanned growth has resulted in an abundance of unprogrammed, underused and undervalued spaces in the city. The dominant typologies of residual spaces are parking lots, awkward street intersections and less trafficked streets. It is within these urban gaps that people can appropriate space and reinvent its use. **(see FIG 1)** Users often transform existing areas in the public domain into public space by re-appropriating their use, irrespective of their makers’ intent. However, the concept that public space is either an authoritative creation or a purely grassroots usurpation creates a false binary.

Within this dominant image of Los Angeles, and having lived in the city for over two decades, I became interested in exploring the lived experience of its public domain. The recent growth of farmers markets provides an opportunity to explore the complexity of a specific typology of public space that is both intentional

1 Ross, Kristin. 1988. *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune*. Minneapolis: university of Minnesota: 8.

2 Fogelson, Robert. 1967. *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850 - 1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press: xxi.

and appropriated, and supported by both public and private efforts and funds. The thesis explores these issues through the socio-spatial and spatio-temporal qualities of the markets at multiple scales.

Farmers markets are a current national phenomenon in the urban United States. Their numbers have risen dramatically from 1,755 in 1994 to 5, 274 in 2009,<sup>3</sup> with 124 Certified Farmers’ Markets in Los Angeles County alone. Farmers markets are cited for both their economic and community benefits. While the latter implies that farmers markets provide successful public space in their respective communities, few sources specifically analyze their spatial properties. With most of the literature focusing on the socio-economic benefits, there is little emphasis on the socio-spatial impact on society and the urban condition. This thesis will explore the contribution of farmers markets to Los Angeles’ public sphere and to the identity of their respective neighborhoods over time.

Contrary to their informal appearance and seemingly spontaneous manifestation, farmers markets are organized enterprises realized through the partnership of public, private and non-profit bodies. Furthermore, their existence would not be possible without specific legislation at the federal, state, county and municipal levels. The experience of the farmers markets is a result of the intentions of their organizers, the effects of their physical context and the precise use by vendors and users in each instance. Farmers markets are a means for public activity, providing space for a variety of social interactions. By virtue of their repetitive nature, they also act as catalysts for change of more permanent urban image

3 [www.ams.usda.gov](http://www.ams.usda.gov) 10/05/2009; and “While the volume of produce sales via farmers’ markets is small—less than 2 percent of U.S. sales overall - the number of farmers’ markets in the U.S. has increased by 79 percent since 1994.” (USDA Report – [www.ers.usda.gov](http://www.ers.usda.gov))

DIFFERENT STRANDS OF INQUIRY INTO THE FUNCTION AND CHARACTER OF FARMERS MARKETS

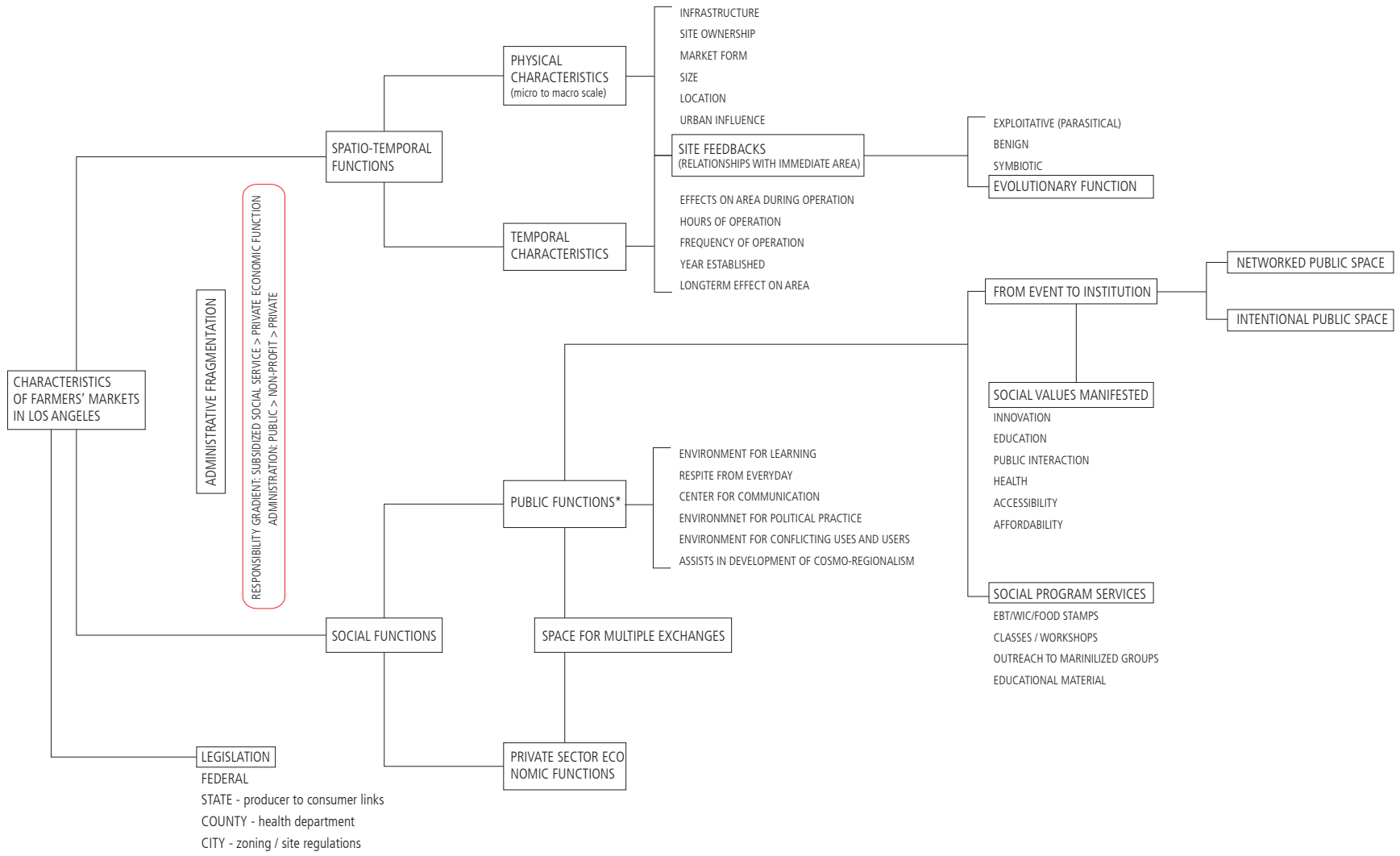


FIG ii: CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM OF FARMERS MARKETS CHARACTERISTICS

and conditions over time:

*For the past 18 years, the Hollywood Farmers' Market (HFM) has been known as "the front porch of Hollywood," a place where neighbors shop and socialize on Sunday mornings. Regular customers visit the market almost religiously, and it is not uncommon to hear the market referred to in almost reverential terms, as if a spiritual kinship is made there among the farmers and the community. The frantic energy on a busy market day can be likened to that of a small village on the day of a great holiday or celebration; everyone is outdoors in the street, searching out friendly familiar faces.<sup>4</sup>*

Through an analysis that uncovers how social and urban frameworks are influenced by the spatial properties of the markets allowing for the intersections of a multitude of interests, movements and scales of activities, I aim to understand how farmers markets engage with the social framework, their immediate context and the city.

The thesis does not endeavor towards a comprehensive understanding of farmers markets in Los Angeles; rather it aims to posit the phenomenon as a discrete program equally dependant on the physical spatial condition of the city and the social networks that activate it. **(see FIG 2)** As such, the thesis provides a specific perspective on the function and characteristics of a largely ephemeral phenomenon of public space that largely contrasts with the conventional operation of the city. Figure 2 begins to demonstrate some of the multiple ways in which to read farmers markets through different lenses. The thesis analyzes

the phenomenon primarily through spatial documentation and the interaction of users within the particular spaces. However, the farmers markets are also urban artifacts along a historic line of city markets and other spontaneous commercial and public activities. The greater context of the phenomenon provides the background for how these instances are a product of a particular time and society. In addition, their ephemeral nature greatly contributes to their character, and when the physical space is read through time, or the temporal nature of their operation, their urban function emerges as a dialogue between individual markets and their surroundings.

For instance, in Figure 2, this strand of inquiry begins from the "Spatio-Temporal Functions" and leads to an understanding of the "Evolutionary Feedbacks" of the markets. The analysis of the thesis reveals that the negotiations of markets with the city are not simple, nor benign, but over time reveal evolve and change and inform their surroundings, while being mutually influenced by their fluxuating environment. Furthermore, the users that participate in the farmers markets reveal something about the elusive needs and desires of urban citizens, particularly in a city dominated by the automobile and perceived as generally devoid of robust public spaces. In Los Angeles, the phenomenon of farmers markets reveals a general desire that establishes these instances of public activity on a scale beyond their direct influence. For instance, the Los Angeles Times includes a weekly section devoted to various markets in Los Angeles County, and the Saturday market in Santa Monica is part of a weekly program on the local public radio station.

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4 SEE-LA 2008-09 Annual Economic Report: 8.

## METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the thesis uses analysis towards informing a synthesis of the general characteristics of farmers markets. The analysis derives from field observations, photography, informal conversations with vendors and market patrons on site, interviews with market managers and spatial documentation of the market layout and its relationship with its surroundings. I will analyze eight case studies according to their spatial and social operations that transcend the strictly economic effects. These functions are loosely divided as spatial negotiations and social interactions.

While all farmers markets largely occur in consistent spatial typologies including streets, parking lots and park parking lots, the spatial adaptation in each case reveals complexities beyond the strict formal definition of the space. Spatial Negotiations occur as a result of the imprecise boundaries that delineate a farmers market. This results in unexpected spatial sharing between market space and private properties or public zones not intended for market use. The use of space is a primary method in understanding the character of the market as an open system of urban interaction.

Social Interactions are the main non-economic “products” of the markets. These happen spontaneously. Through their agglomeration over time, they lead to high levels of public activity and a multitude of random social exchanges in spaces otherwise lacking such activity.

Farmers markets emerge as evolutionary urban elements comprising the complexity of beneficial and contentious relationships found in the city itself.

Through the analysis, a greater understanding can be gained of the characteristics of a city progressing through means of fragmented public bodies, the still powerful market system, community organizations and non-profit and non-governmental coalitions. Furthermore, the rise of farmers markets is a direct manifestation of the changing social values and ideals of a consumer society displaying a desire for public space with civic tendencies.

## STRUCTURE

The thesis is structured in three parts. In Part One I contextualize farmers markets within (A) the historic framework of American and international city marketplaces; (B) the legislation that enables the current development of farmers markets; and (C) the urban setting of Los Angeles. In Part Two, I trace (A) the emergence of city- and nonprofit operated farmers markets in the city through two examples; and (B) document and analyze the social and spatial function of eight case studies. In Part Three I synthesize the analysis in the previous parts towards defining a particular perspective on the phenomenon.





## PART 1 - CONTEXTUALIZING FARMERS MARKETS

A: Historic City Markets and Contemporary Periodic Markets

B: Laws and Legislation of Farmers Markets

C: The Context for Farmers Markets in Los Angeles

PART 1

A: HISTORIC CITY MARKETS AND PERIODIC CONTEMPORARY MARKETS



FIG 1.1: WATERCOLOR BY LEWIS MILLER, 1831.  
Market master siezes under-weight butter in York marketplace.  
(The York County Heritage Trust, PA; image from Tangiers, 2003: 10.)

## CONTEXTUALIZING FARMERS MARKETS

Through different times, geographies and cultures, marketplaces in cities have functioned under a variety of different names. “Farmers markets are generally considered to be recurrent markets at fixed locations where farm products are sold by farmers themselves.”<sup>1</sup> Certified Farmers Markets are authorized by specific state legislation in the United States, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

*Although other sites, such as “public” or “municipal markets, “terminal markets,” “farms hops,” “farm stands,” “curb” or “tailgate markets,” “flea markets,” and “swap meets,” may at times be called “farmers markets,” at a true farmers market some, if not all, of the vendors must be producers who sell their own products.*<sup>2</sup>

Farmers markets are part of a long history of marketplaces<sup>3</sup> in cities. The history is not linear, however, and even as domestic marketplaces declined, international periodic markets flourished. While present day farmers markets in Los Angeles are different from their predecessors in various ways, they also continue certain threads, beginning with 19th century city markets in America through late 20th century international periodic markets. The social values of citizens, as reflected

<sup>1</sup> Brown, Allison. 2001. Counting Farmers Markets. *Geographical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (Oct., 2001), pp. 655-674: 658

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 658.

<sup>3</sup> “Farmers markets are generally considered to be recurrent markets at fixed locations where farm products are sold by farmers themselves.” According to the place and time, farmers markets have been also known as market places, bazaars, periodic markets, city markets, public markets, municipal markets, tailgate markets, farm stands. Brown, Counting Farmers Markets, 2001: 658-59 has a good discussion of the definition of a farmers market. Present Certified Farmers Markets must have certified producers as the majority of vendors selling. For clarity, I will use the term of city-market to describe the 19th century phenomenon, periodic markets for international examples and farmers markets for present day examples.

through policies and legislation, continue trajectories of a civic nature. In other words, the legislation that enables present day farmers markets in Los Angeles has its roots in the history of nineteenth century city markets. However, current farmers markets exist within an urban typology characteristic of many globalized metropolises, whose geographic footprints have exploded especially after World War II; the decentralized urban form, centralized profit-based economy and resulting spatial segregation and economic marginalization, create a spatio-political situation in which farmers markets cannot occupy the same social, political or spatial landscape as their historic counterparts. Thereby, farmers markets emerge as a hybrid entity between the historic precedent and current international examples. The similarities with the former result from the social value-based structure that has continued in American society.<sup>4</sup> The similarities with the latter reflect the reaction and adaptation to spatial and economic gaps in current urban structures. Thereby, farmers markets are reactionary enterprises to current conditions. Even so, as the phenomenon increases, it also shifts from elements occupying marginal positions, to a movement that begins to impact the urban condition.

<sup>4</sup> See PART 3 of this thesis for the role of current social values in the emergence of farmers markets.

## HISTORIC CITY MARKETS

*Over the years, the market has been stoutly defended by those who see in it old-fashioned virtues of individuality and direct connection with Mother Earth, has been attacked by those who see in it an unwarranted subsidy of inefficiency in small-scale distribution, is fondly remembered by those who think it no longer exists, and is faithfully patronized by those who prefer the quality of freshness over quantity, or even over price.<sup>5</sup>*

Nineteenth century city markets in America were a central part of the city's civic structure and significantly influenced city design. Earlier markets have not been as well documented, but were a self-evident entity in the function of a city and "the first market of record in the English colonies was established in Boston in 1634 by an order of Governor John Winthrop, and a wooden building was erected there in 1658."<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, most city markets came about through philanthropic donation or municipal funds and functioned as central to a city's food distribution and social space for gathering. Thereby, even though often periodic in operation, a permanent structure architecturally signified their importance.

The city markets were often linear in form and located in the center of major thoroughfares in the city. **(see FIG 1.2)** The streets, sometimes aptly named

<sup>5</sup> Pyle, Jane. 1971. Farmers' Markets in the United States: Functional Anachronisms. Geographical Review. pgs. 167-197: 197.

<sup>6</sup> Founding dates of markets frequently are open to question, partly because street markets were not graced with the name and partly because the market was so taken for granted that nobody paid much attention to its establishment. Pyle, 1971: 197; Morris L. Sweet: History of Municipal Markets, Jouitr. of Hotising, Vol. 18, 1961, pp. 23 7-247; reference on pp. 238

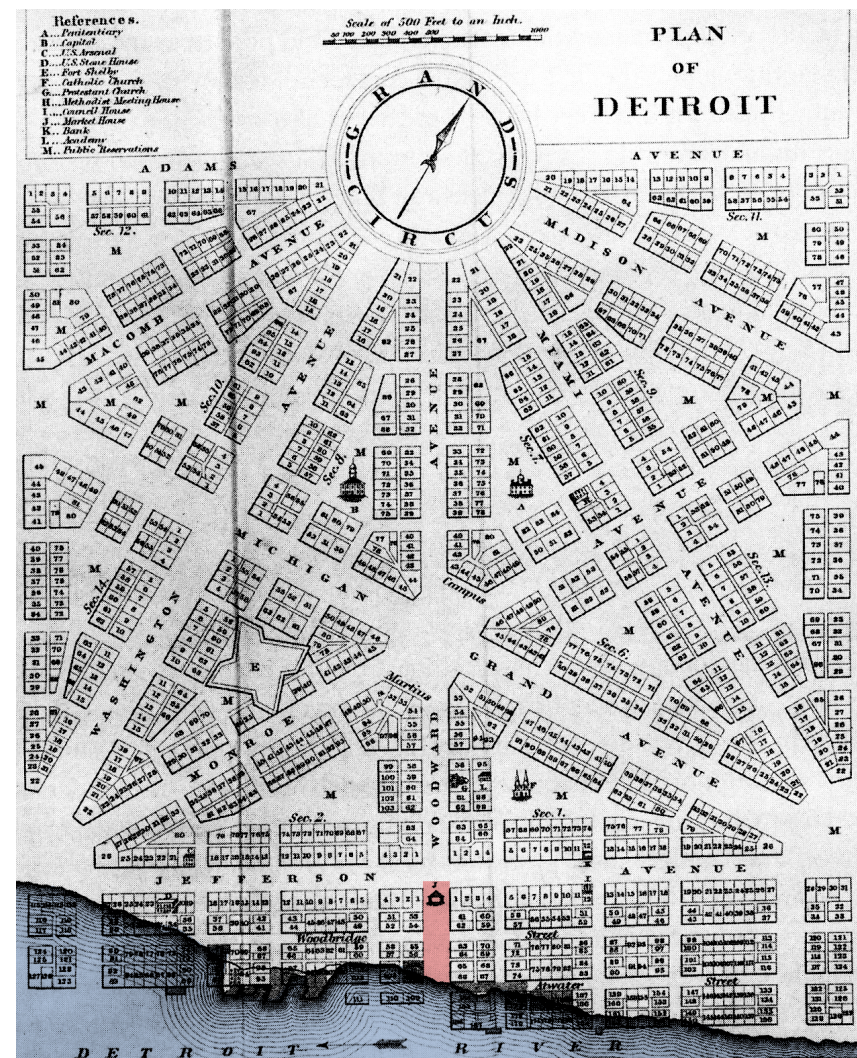


FIG 1.2: DETROIT MARKET LOCATION (highlighted), adjacent to river, 1807. The street is wide enough to allow traffic around the market. The plan was designed with the market as an essential component of the city.

“Market Street,” were designed to be wide enough to allow traffic flow to continue around the centrally located city market. Additionally, city markets were often in close proximity to a main water body that provided nautical access and an easy method for waste disposal.

City markets, such as the Washington DC Markethouse, Philadelphia’s High Street Market, Boston’s Faneuil Hall Markets, the market in Detroit, and others were located by the river or on the floodplain since the planners understood the dangers of extending the urban fabric to the river edge. (see FIG 1.3-1.4) The more compact design, and generally smaller scale, of cities characteristic of the nineteenth century, allowed for the centralized location of one city market that was relatively accessible to everyone. Furthermore, although the city markets occurred only once or twice every week, the markethouse was a permanent building, consisting of a roof supported by pillars. Nineteenth century city markets occupied a central, self-evident position in the city.

The permanence of the structure of periodic city markets, often funded by the municipality or public-private partnerships, signifies its importance within the civic framework of the city. The public viewed the government as responsible for establishing equitable places for the purchase of daily needs, such as meat and vegetables.<sup>7</sup> The city markets also provided a place of work for the less privileged, such as street vendors who could not afford a stall in the proper markethouse.

The city markets were places of equitable economic transactions. One of the most praised examples, High Street Market in Philadelphia, was also viewed as a

<sup>7</sup> Tangiers, Helen. 2003. *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press

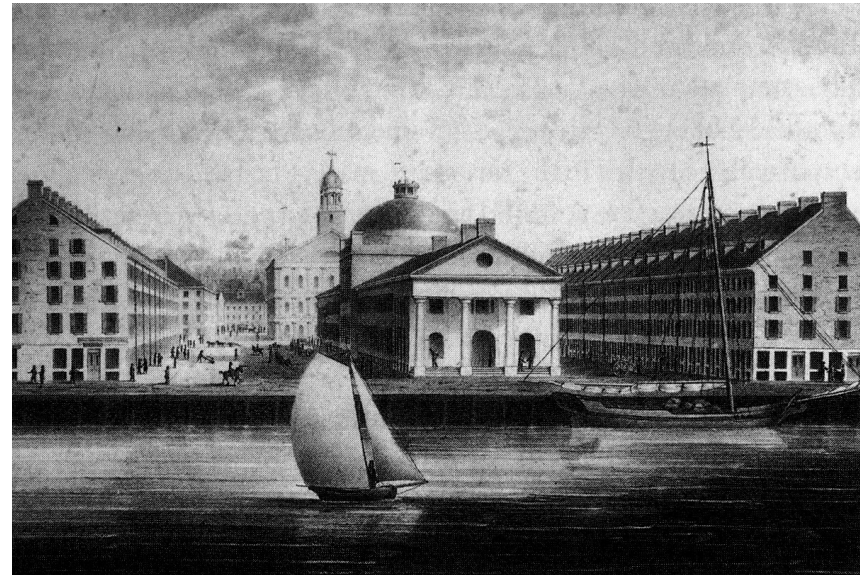


FIG 1.3: FANEUIL HALL MARKET, BOSTON, 1827. (Lithograph by John Andrews. Tangiers, 2003: 41.)



FIG 1.4: HIGH STREET MARKET, PHILADELPHIA, 1838. (Lithograph by J.C. Wild. Tangiers, 2003: 30.)

model of civic behavior (see FIG 1.5):

*Attributing it to Quaker morality, J. P. Brissot de Warville wrote that 'these people are composed and orderly in everything they do, even in the way the produce wagons and horses are lined up in the neighboring streets in order of their arrival... to maintain order in a market of this size in France you would need three or four police officers and a dozen soldiers. Here, law needs no muskets; education, morality and habit do everything.'*<sup>8</sup>

The markets fused economy with civic behavior and displayed the "persistence of moral economy despite the disruptive effects of a capitalist market economy in nineteenth-century America."<sup>9</sup> Patrons were encouraged to buy products from street vendors not only out of need but to support people earning honestly. As such, they serve as an example of how social values can be integrated with economic concerns.

Through the funding and maintenance of the market infrastructure, as well as their function as a social service for the disenfranchised who could work to earn a living, nineteenth century markets were "more than just public spaces for buying and selling food, public markets were civic spaces."<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, since "at no time did the market have a monopoly on food distribution, though the establishment of markets seemed to follow the establishment of cities in the South and Midwest, and municipal ordinances sometimes went so far as to forbid open sale of competitive products during market hours," their operation

<sup>8</sup> Tangiers, 2003: 12.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.: xvii.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.: xvi.



FIG 1.5: HIGH STREET MARKET, PHILADELPHIA. The illustrated orderliness of the market house displays the perceived civility of that society. Seen as "the best regulated [city market] on the continent," the marketplace was seen as a social and architectural representation of the public. Most city markets, however, did not achieve such standards upheld by lengthy regulations that dictated, among other things, the precise placement of each vendor; but it is notable to remark the perceived ideal. (Lithograph by William and Thomas Birch, 1798 - 1800. Tangiers, 2003: 13.)

existed beyond strict economic concerns.<sup>11</sup>

City markets declined in the United States in the twentieth century for two reasons that mutually reinforced each other. Firstly, the post-war rise in suburban growth patterns created low-densities that could not as easily support city markets with a centrally located markethouse in the urban core. For instance, Philadelphia's prominent market was demolished in 1859 and replaced by thirty-five or forty separate buildings at scattered locations.<sup>12</sup> Thereby, the flight out of the city proved detrimental to the central city market.

Accordingly, the popularization of supermarkets, by the use of the automobile, made convenience the main factor in choosing where to purchase. In her study, Jane Pyle notes that "the pattern of declining importance of city produce markets followed, with several notable exceptions, the improvement of transportation, the growth of cities, and the specialization of agriculture."<sup>13</sup>

As the automobile allowed for the large amounts of goods purchased to be easily transported, the one-stop-shop replaced the previous repertoire of smaller enterprises that catered to specific products. The produce, then, formerly available at the city market, could easily be purchased along with other household goods at one location with abundant supplies of parking.

While city markets declined in established cities, they did not have a history in the Western United States: "in the Far West development was only just

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11 Pyle, 1971: 196.

12 Ibid.: 179.

13 Ibid.: 176.

beginning, and markets were virtually nonexistent."<sup>14</sup> Even in the rare cases that city markets existed in the West, they did not hold a central economic or urban position, as evidenced by their meager size alone, in comparison to the general city population: "The Los Angeles municipal market, which opened in 1914 for retail business, was reported to have places for no more than fifty vendors."<sup>15</sup>

According to Allison Brown's study regarding the growth of farmers markets in the United States during the past two centuries, their numbers decline from the post World War II era until the beginning of the 1970s. As the occurrence of markets began to, once again, increase, their function was no longer that of a city market supplying amenities of daily needs or civic ideals. Rather, during the 1970s and 1980s marketplaces became tourist attractions instead of integral components of everyday urban life:

*The popularity of festival marketplaces such as Faneuil Hall in Boston and Baltimore's Harborplace only reinforced my assumption that real public markets were doomed to extinction, being slowly replaced by imitations designed primarily to attract tourists.*<sup>16</sup>

Without a critical volume of residents in the city, farmers markets drew crowds on the basis of spectacle, rather than as a service integrated within the daily routine of residents. Convenience and affordability dominated consumer choice.<sup>17</sup> The

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14 Ibid.: 179.

15 Ibid.: 180.

16 Tangiers, 2003: xv.

17 It is interesting to note that, in real terms, Americans spend less on food today than they did in the past. It is important to note that, as the food industry and increasingly free markets made food seemingly more affordable, the invisible costs to the health of both the population and the environment are responsible for the current turn towards the historic function of local produce, slow food and the city market, reinvented

city market, as an integral part of its urban context, became obsolete.

In the nineteenth century, the volume of markets was not as great as in present times due to their greater hierarchy in the urban landscape. The smaller scale of cities was well served by one centralized market. Currently, the urban condition of Los Angeles cannot be well served by any centralized program, whether one central business district, one airport or one grand farmers market. Even as the number of markets ebbed and flowed, but grew overall in the twentieth century, they did not function according to the civic agenda exemplified by the city markets of the nineteenth century.

The convenience of the supermarket stripped away the fundamental function of the city market as a primary place to purchase produce. The even greater systemization of the food industry and the overall decline of agricultural land in California in particular, during the real estate booms responsible for the first beginnings of suburbanization, increased the spatial distance between agriculture and the city.

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within the certified farmers market. Michael Pollan, in interviewing a farmer notes the following dialogue on organic food being inherently elitist due to its higher price. Joel of Polyface Farms declares that; "Whenever I hear people say clean food is expensive, I tell them it's actually the cheapest food you can buy. That always gets their attention. Then I explain that with our food all of the costs are figured into the price. Society is not bearing the cost of water pollution, of antibiotic resistance, of food-borne illnesses, of crop subsidies, of subsidized oil and water – of all the hidden costs to the environment and the taxpayer that make cheap food seem cheap... you can buy honestly priced food or you can buy irresponsibly priced food." Pollan, 2006: 243.

## CONTEMPORARY PERIODIC MARKETS

Even as city markets' urban presence declined in the United States, informal markets, or periodic markets, flourished in other countries. To understand some pertinent insights from such a vast history of international marketplaces I will use two relevant studies on the subject. The exploration by David Dewar and Vanessa Watson provides a good survey of informal marketing throughout South-East Asia and Asia and its social and economic functions.<sup>18</sup> The second study, by the Netherlands Geographical Studies Department of Amsterdam, focuses on the function of periodic markets in one city, Bombay (Mumbai), India.<sup>19</sup> Within the study of international periodic marketing, the focus will be on salient elements that contrast or correlated with present day farmers markets in Los Angeles. Periodic markets, in view of the organized, rational and sanitized mechanisms of the food industry and the market economy, were primarily viewed as pre-modern entities, soon to be obsolete. However, the economic mechanism has marginalized such a high percentage of population groups worldwide that their economic necessity proved overwhelming. Furthermore, periodic markets, much like Los Angeles' farmers markets, provide social functions beyond the economic impetus that engage both the individual and the collective community.

Of the economic theories seeking to explain the persistence of informal marketing, Walter Christaller's central place theory and Loschian's spatial demand curve are the two main views. Subscribing to the former, in 1962, Stine was the first to propose a theoretical framework asserting that "periodic marketing is the result

18 Dewar, D., & Watson, V. 1990. *Urban Markets: Developing Informal Retailing*. London: Routledge.

19 Dirrix, L. J., Grimmius, T. K., & Van Der Veen, P. (1986). *The Functioning of Periodic Marketes in the Bombay Metropolitan Region*. Amsterdam: Netherlands Geographical Studies.

of the struggle for viability in a situation of low effective demand."<sup>20</sup> Proponents of the latter, including Hay, believe that "periodic marketing strategy may be prompted by either achieving viability, gaining excess profits or forestalling competition by reducing the retail price of a commodity."<sup>21</sup> Stine's expansion of the central place theory places geography and density as the crucial factor while Hay looks towards the economic environment. Both theories complement each other and are not mutually exclusive. However, while not discounting economic theories the authors of the Bombay metropolitan area conclude that "exchange patterns can be conceived as systems consisting of interacting social relationships, which bind society together."<sup>22</sup> In a complementary fashion, Dewar and Watson's studies observe that informal markets are beneficial in the "alleviation of problems of poverty and unemployment"<sup>23</sup> and that market spaces should be provided in the city "as essential forms of urban infrastructure."<sup>24</sup> In no small way, the political situation facilitates or disrupts the efforts at work, although at a certain scale, while informal markets are hindered, they continue to persist. When space is not provided, the social and economic forces work through means of spatial appropriation to secure the desired function. Thereby, the informal marketing sector includes the confluence of the geographical, economic and social enabled by spatial provision for such activities.

In the 1940's and 1950's policy makers regarded informal selling as the "declining remnant of pre-capitalist economies."<sup>25</sup> Thereby, city planners excluded many

20 Stine quoted in Dirrix, Grimmius, & Van Der Veen, 1986: 15.

21 Hay quoted in Dirrix, Grimmius, & Van Der Veen, 1986: 17.

22 Ibid.: 20.

23 Dewar & Watson, 1990: xi.

24 Ibid.: xii.

25 Ibid.: 1.

informal enterprises from the city, especially from residential areas, as they were seen as unhygienic and un-modern. However, it is notable that, even in situations where a market is formalized by modern standards and operates in a permanent structure, the complex urban networks at work require flexibility that cannot be accommodated by rigid structures. (see FIG 1.6) For instance During the same time in America, urban renewal projects sought to clean-up areas perceived as slums. Social networks, intertwined within the urban fabric were dissipated, as in the example of Boston's West End that replaced mostly immigrant housing with luxury residential towers. However, as social networks have risen in the awareness of planners as important, policy makers now regard them as a crucial factor often preceding urban form.

Thereby, decades after urban renewal, farmers markets, with the informal, messy character of periodic markets, have increased exponentially in urban America as a means to reinstate absent public networks. As theories oscillate between the importance of social networks versus physical space, observers of international periodic markets assert that "the most appropriate level of intervention is the minimum necessary to ensure market success and to allow opportunities to trade to as many people as possible."<sup>26</sup> Markets rely on location and internal organization and "the success of markets is profoundly affected by the way in which they are located, structured, and administered."<sup>27</sup> The provision of market infrastructure in the form of permanent stalls or structures should not precede the need for a market in a particular location. Furthermore, permanent market infrastructure has little correlation with market success; informal market require support in the

26 Dewar & Watson, 1990: xxi.

27 Ibid.: xi.



FIG 1.6: HONG KONG MARKETPLACE; The vendors have turned their backs on the formal market in response to higher population flows on the street outside the market. (Dewar, 1990: 27)

primary form of space and permanent structures are secondary. (see FIG 1.7-1.8) The market then, takes advantage of an opportune location and creates the necessary social support systems for its functioning. Consequently, informality is not pre-modern, but an intrinsic component of spatio-social networks as well as a catalyst for further physical development.

Furthermore, the informal is often complimentary to the formal in what it sells and the space or experience provided; it supplements what is lacking and does not seek to take over. In the study of informal marketing, the authors observe that the recreational component is important to the functional mix of markets especially "in low-income communities particularly, the success of markets is strongly related to the degree to which they become a community social focus."<sup>28</sup> Distinct zones within the market allow for a variety of community needs to be addressed.<sup>29</sup> In addition, spatial organization of discrete areas helps consumers with their image of the market, and would also help other functions, such as those of recreational value thrive and serve as complementary uses; otherwise an amorphous monoculture of non-hierarchical uses would emerge.

Unlike the central business district of a centralized city, periodic markets are often decentralized in the metropolis, even as they become local centers for adjacent communities. The equitable distribution of periodic markets works to the advantage of otherwise marginalized areas and populations. While centrality

<sup>28</sup> Dewar & Watson, 1990: 31.

<sup>29</sup> On internal specialization, organization zones (food zone, craft zone, etc) are very important for success: 1. assists comparative buying; 2. affects image of market for consumers – helps identify; 3. different goods have different functional (loading, etc.) requirements; 4. different external qualities – smell, etc. and thereby danger of cross-contamination without spatial differentiation; 5. different display requirements, lighting, stall design, etc. Dewar & Watson, 1990: 31-34.



FIG 1.7: BANGKOK MARKETPLACE. Despite lack of permanent structures, the market is successful. (Dewar, 1990: 20)

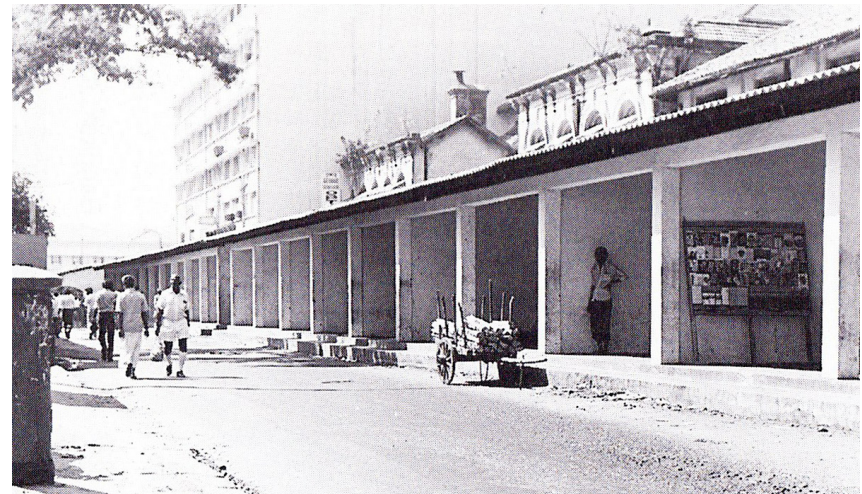


FIG 1.8: COLOMBO MARKETPLACE. The provision of structure does not compensate for the unsuitable location of the market, and so it remains largely empty. (Dewar, 1990: 22)

initially seems opportune as the same infrastructure can serve more vendors, and consumers have more options, over time the plan loses efficiency:

*Initially, centrality generates rapid growth. Because the favoured (sic) point is by far the most desirable location, distributors and suppliers seek it out and the induced growth increases its centrality and desirability. Over time, however, problems inevitably set in. One of the most serious is traffic congestion... As congestion increases, severe const increases are experienced by both distributors and suppliers.<sup>30</sup>*

Thereby, as periodic markets do self-regulate and organize to a certain degree, policy can ensure equitable growth patterns by adhering to an understanding of the long term effects. When congestion requires the disbursement or relocation of a market that has overgrown the infrastructural capacity of its current environment, the re-location often happens to the disadvantage of the poorer stakeholders. Conversely, when the location itself is redesigned to accommodate the larger needs, the higher rentals that result have the same effect in marginalizing those who cannot afford to pay. In addition, the perceived higher quality of the new structure rarely justifies the investment:

*The economic success of markets rests primarily on their location and their environmental quality. That quality is defined by 'vibrancy', colour, hygiene, and the spatial experiences of users. It is not necessarily related to the level or type of infrastructure. Indeed, some of the least successful markets found in Asia occur in extremely expensive, highly serviced, formal market buildings... as levels of infrastructure increase,*

30 Dewar & Watson, 1990: 75.

*there are increasing tendencies to price out smaller, more vulnerable, traders a desire to increase infrastructural levels may at a point, conflict with the social purpose of a positive market policy (which is creating trading opportunities which are equitable for all). In fact, almost nowhere do fully serviced market buildings, serving low-income communities, pay for themselves.<sup>31</sup>*

The authors suggest that "lower income areas should therefore be well provided with markets which occur in a decentralized rather than centralized form... [since] low (residential) densities actively promote centralization of economic activity"<sup>32</sup> to the ultimate disadvantage of both consumers and producers. Thereby, as profit is the ultimate motive of the private sector, public agencies, with motives of social equity, have a responsibility for the facilitation of periodic markets through policy and other incentives.<sup>33</sup>

The economic and urban existence of periodic markets can be interpreted as either parasitic in using the urban infrastructure, space and densities at strategic points to their advantage, or as neutral in impact, as they only lightly affect their surroundings, and often complement the functions found in existing conditions.

In their study, the authors conclude that a relationship between formal and informal cannot be generalized as either "benign or exploitative relationship."<sup>34</sup> Even as Tokoman claims that the relationship often depends on the strength of

31 Dewar & Watson, 1990: 54.

32 Ibid.: 27.

33 "In Bombay, India, the needs of vendors are considered, in part, by the practice of reserving the last carriage of every train for vendors' wares." Dewar & Watson, 1990: 75.

34 Tokoman quoted in Dewar & Watson, 1990: 6.

the subordination and the room for “evolutionary growth,”<sup>35</sup> the relationship does not exist in a one to one ratio. (see FIG 1.9)

There appears to be a correlation between the extent of informal trading and underemployment and poverty; in the studies Bombay has the largest informal sector, while Singapore has the smallest.<sup>36</sup> The example of the national growth of farmers markets in the United States does not support the apparent correlation. It is important to keep in mind that the international markets studied are indeed legally informal, while the American phenomenon is only spatially informal. However, as one of the last remaining vestiges of cash based transactions, blurred boundaries between public and private ownership, and the general image of informality, farmers markets share many similarities. While the varied reasons as to the existence, function and growth of farmers markets will be further developed in the thesis, it is important to note for this study that the main similarity with their international contemporary counterparts is the spatial opportunity to develop and sustain social networks.

The study on the Bombay markets suggests that “markets contribute in an important way to the transmission of ideas, information and innovations.”<sup>37</sup> Planners in America largely regard farmers market as a way to build community in addition to any economic agendas. In this way, farmers markets continue the trajectory of nineteenth century city markets intended as civic places as well as places of civic pride.

35 Tokoman quoted in Dewar & Watson, 1990: 6.

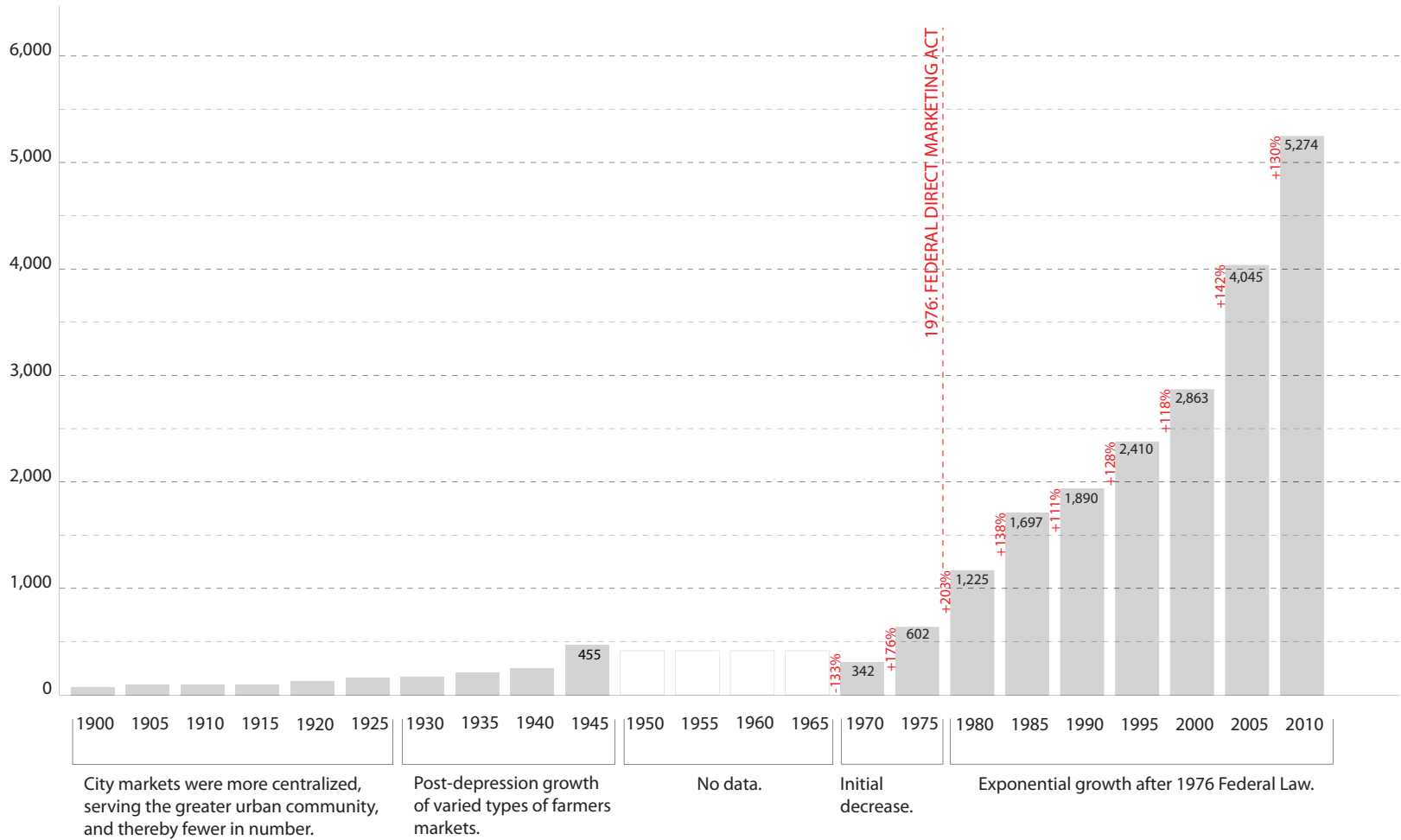
36 Dewar & Watson, 1990: 85.

37 Dirrix, Grimmus, & Van Der Veen, 1986: 28.



FIG 1.9: BANGKOK MARKETPLACE is integrated into the street life and urban fabric of the city without disrupting city functions, but rather in a symbiotic dialogue with the conventional city. (Dewar, 1990: 55)

PART 1  
 B: LAWS AND LEGISLATION OF FARMERS MARKETS



1900 - 1990 DATA FROM A. BROWN, 2003, 667.  
 1995 - 2010 DATA FROM USDA AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE - FARMERS MARKET GROWTH ([www.usda.gov](http://www.usda.gov))

FIG 1.10: GROWTH OF FARMERS MARKETS FROM 1900 - 2010

## ENABLING LEGISLATION: Farmers Market Laws

The first step in the creation of present day farmers markets was the Federal Farmer-to-Consumer Direct Marketing Act of 1976, adopted as “a bill to encourage the direct marketing of agricultural commodities from farmers to consumers.”<sup>38</sup> It was from the 1970s to 80s that farmers markets experienced the greatest growth up until that time; since the Act was passed, they have continued to increase in number. (see FIG 1.10) While farmers have sold produce directly to consumers through multiple methods throughout the history of the United States, it was not until this recent federal legislation legitimized the practice that farmers markets began to occupy a distinct place in the geography of cities. (see Appendix A) The legislation allows farmers a venue into urban conditions previously difficult to negotiate without the use of a middle-man. Thereby, farmers markets are largely an urban phenomenon.<sup>39</sup> (see FIG 1.11, Appendix B, Table A) Their presence in cities addresses the urban-rural divide on a regional scale by providing a space for the confluence of both urban and rural interests and exchanges.

In California, the State of Agriculture proposed a similar bill the following year, and in 1978, Governor Jerry Brown signed the Direct Marketing Act authorizing Certified Farmers Markets (CFM) in the state.<sup>40</sup> The act enables small farmers to sell produce by two methods previously unauthorized, and consequently,

38 Sponsor: Rep Vigorito, Joseph P. [PA-24] (introduced 10/22/1975) Cosponsors (23) Latest Major Action: 10/8/1976 Public law 94-463. (see Appendix A)

39 USDA, 2009, 81, 99.

40 “The Certified Farmers’ Markets epitomize the California Department of Food and Agriculture’s Buy California Initiative. The campaign was created by the California legislature to ‘to emphasize California’s strong ties to the land and to our neighbors; to restore pride in our homegrown products and our work; and to help our economy and our Californian way of life.’” Department, 2002, introduction.

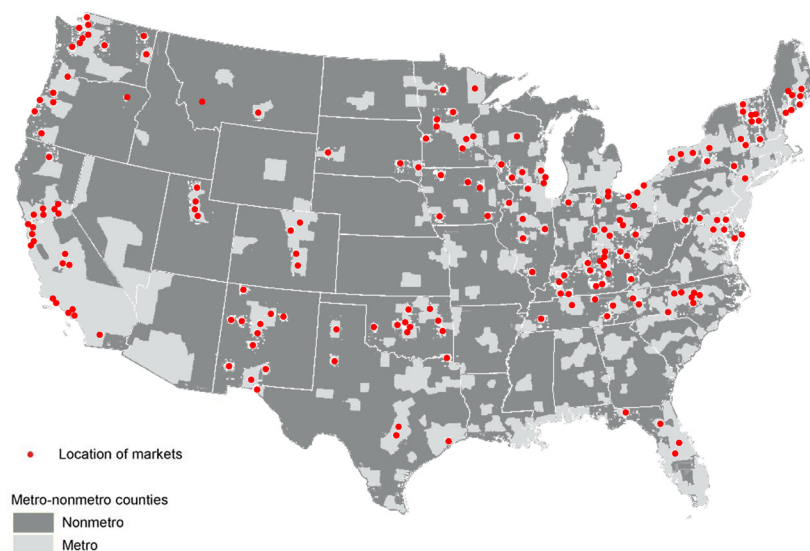


FIG 1.11: LOCATION OF 210 FARMERS MARKETS IN THE UNITED STATES, 2002. The distribution indicates that farmers markets are largely an urban phenomenon, with the highest agglomerations in the larger cities. (USDA Study 2002: 3; www.usda.gov)

unavailable. Functionally, the law allows greater autonomy for farmers in how they package, distribute and charge for their produce:

Until 1977, regulations required farmers to properly pack size, and label their fresh fruits, nuts, and vegetables in standard containers to transport and sell in markets anywhere other than the farm site. Certified farmers markets in 1977, by Department regulations, exempted farmers from packing, sizing, and labeling requirements.<sup>41</sup>

The economic implications are notable for small farmers without the means to produce products in the standard quantities often required for their sale in supermarkets. (see FIG 1.12) However, the laws ensuring the quality and integrity of the products as produced by the stated primary producer are stringent. In addition to consumer discretion, the Department of Agriculture visits the farms and farmers markets to ensure the integrity of all products sold. Since the main difference in the Act allows for different quantities sold by farmers, many smaller enterprises have benefited, helping to fill in the economic gaps created by the centralized industrial food system.

Among the smaller farmers, it is significant that over 11% of farmers markets vendors belong to minority groups, in contrast to only 4.8% of the general farming population. According to the USDA, “farmers markets appear to represent a particularly important marketing channel for minority growers, perhaps because of the low cost of market entry or the volume of product needed to participate, or because the specialized merchandise they grow lends itself well to direct

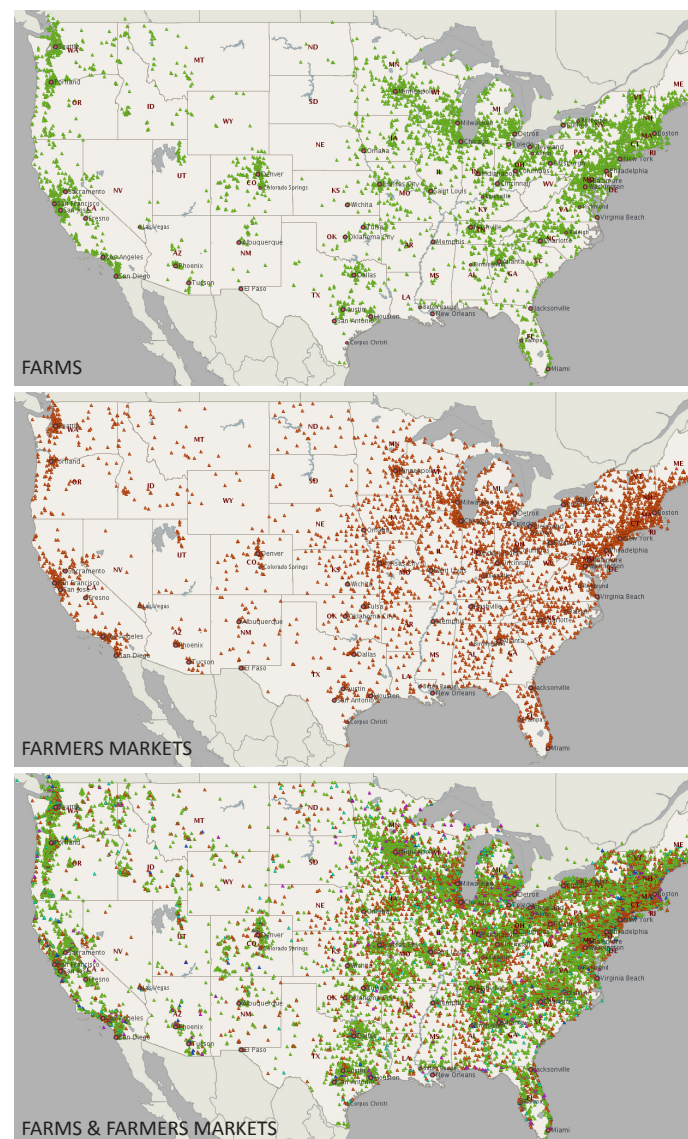


FIG 1.12: SMALL FARMS (green) and FARMERS MARKETS (red) LOCATIONS IN UNITED STATES. The spatial proximity enables farmers markets that largely engage only “local” farmers, within a pre-determined food shed. (USDA Study 2009; www.usda.gov)

41 Certified Farmers Market Program: [http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/is/i\\_&\\_c/cfm.html](http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/is/i_&_c/cfm.html)

sales outlets.”<sup>42</sup> Indeed, consumers at farmers markets of nationalities other than American are often surprised to find produce they had not encountered since migrating from their place of origin. Thereby, the functional methods of packaging and quantity that have marginalized non-industrial producers are being mitigated.

The second function of the law is the spatial implication of providing a place in the city where farmers are free to bring and sell directly to consumers. It is interesting to note that while the Federal Act focused on the economic benefits for small farmers, the State Direct Marketing Act emphasizes farmers markets as places of mutual benefit for both rural and urban populations:

The Direct marketing of agricultural products through CFM’s benefits the agricultural community and consumers. CFMs provide a flexible marketing alternative without disrupting other produce marketing systems. The high quality and fresh produce brought to the CFM’s by its’ producers creates a diverse market and also provides the consumer with opportunity to meet the farmer and learn how their food supply is produced.<sup>43</sup>

Consequently, a space, with the program of a CFM, is provided for the newly authorized interaction between rural farmers and urban shoppers.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the legislation hints at the opportunity for informal relationships to develop between vendors and consumers regarding food production, nutrition and other topics. In addition, at a farmers market, the consumer has the opportunity to

42 2002 Census of Agriculture, Volume 1, Chapter 2: State Level Data; as noted in USDA, 2009, 1.

43 Certified Farmers Market Program: [http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/is/i\\_&\\_c/cfm.html](http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/is/i_&_c/cfm.html)

44 While this is a generalization, it is important to note that the creation of CFMs had this particular relationship as an agenda and result.

see unexpected products and learn about them. Thereby, while the financial imperatives are on one level fundamental, especially for the farmers requiring the markets for their livelihood, the State Act acknowledges non-economic elements such as the amenity of space that also facilitates social interactions as valuable functions of farmers markets.

Furthermore, farmers markets are often expected to be subsidized during their growth period since economic sustainability may require two to five years depending on the location of a market. **(see Appendix B, Table B)** Therefore, the economic imperative, while structurally necessary after a certain time, are not the only function of farmers markets.

According to law, farmers markets are not intended as economic enterprises in their own right, but rather as serving the economic livelihood of the vendors, primarily imagined as small primary-producers of certified agricultural products. As such, farmers markets can only be operated by “one or more certified producers, by a nonprofit organization, or by a local government agency.”<sup>45</sup> Since they cannot be operated by strictly private interests, lawmakers have distinguished farmers markets as economically apart from their grocery store or supermarket counterparts.

It is important to note the paradox that, in order to safeguard the economic viability of the vendors, the farmers market itself cannot be run for profit. The legislation creates a philosophy of operation that runs counter to the usual

45 CA Code of Regulations; Title 3. Food and Agriculture; Division 3. Economics; Chapter 1. Fruit and Vegetable Standardization; Subchapter 4. Fresh Fruits, Nuts and Vegetables; Article 6.5. Direct Marketing; § 1392.2. (a) CFM definition.

procedures of a free-market system; government legislation, then, mitigates a market-system within which these small vendors are marginalized. However, even as farmers markets are not designed to be profitable according to typical economic standards, most markets reach economic sustainability, as “nearly half (46.5 percent) of surveyed market managers reported their markets were economically self-sufficient and depended exclusively on vendor fees to pay the market’s operating expenses.”<sup>46</sup>

Significantly, as governance against exploitation of small farmers characterizes the initial mode of operation of these markets, so other non-economic programs and exchanges are enabled. Thereby, even as farmers markets are defined by the County of Los Angeles as a “food facility,”<sup>47</sup> some market organizers<sup>48</sup> use the definition of a “community event:”

*An event that is of a civic, political, public, or educational nature, including state and county fairs, city festivals, circuses, and other public gathering events approved by the local enforcement agency.*<sup>49</sup>

Thereby, as Federal Law enabled the existence of present-day farmers markets, State Law helped define their role as both an economic enterprise and a public service spanning urban and regional dimensions. At the County level, the County Health Department holds the primary role of controlling the sanitation

46 USDA, 2009: 53.

47 CALIFORNIA UNIFORM FOOD FACILITIES LAW (CURFFL) Article 6. General Sanitation Requirements; 113975.

48 Hollywood CFM, Watts CFM, Crenshaw CFM, among others.

49 CALIFORNIA UNIFORM FOOD FACILITIES LAW (CURFFL) Article 6. General Sanitation Requirements; 113750.1

of all products sold. Within Los Angeles County, municipal legislation regarding farmers markets varies widely from examples such as Santa Monica that fully supports, operates and advertises the four farmers markets in its jurisdiction, to the City of Los Angeles that limits its involvement to use-permits (the Department of Public Works and the Bureau of Street Services) when markets are on publicly owned land.<sup>50</sup> In Los Angeles the fragmented political landscape exemplified by over 114 to 157 neighborhoods and communities according to different sources and neighborhood council districts with contentious overlaps in jurisdiction render a cohesive public space policy in the city both impossible, and potentially irrelevant for the metropolis.

As laws pertaining to farmers markets reached local levels, the focus of lawmakers for these enterprises broadened to include elements beyond the economic, such as quality of life, nutrition, affordability and the creation of public space. Within each CFM, the market manager has ultimate jurisdiction in the regulation and implementation of market rules. **(see Appendix B, Table C)** Furthermore, the legislative focus on non-economic exchange broadens the reach of farmers markets beyond the consumer based enterprise to create a varied section of stakeholders. On the regional level, farmers, otherwise at a disadvantage, benefit from a space to conduct business. On the urban scale, two aspects of the phenomenon engage under-represented populations. Firstly, the flexible, temporal makeup of the markets along with their limitation on private ownership allows for their distribution in areas otherwise not fiscally attractive. Secondly, the recent growth of state and federally funded nutrition benefit

50 The only comprehensive municipal laws regard Fire Department regulations for fire in case of emergency evacuation, and fire-proof canopy materials and height restrictions for food prepared on site.



FIG 1.13: LOS ANGELES' FOOD SHED REACH. The general distribution of primary produces ranges, with some commuting two to three hours.

programs greatly increase the affordability of market produce for people of all income levels.

Historically, the West lagged behind the rest of the country in the establishment of markets.<sup>51</sup> According to USDA studies, the Far West, which includes California, has some of the highest percentages of attendance on a weekly average. **(see Appendix B, Table D)** The majority of farmers market vendors are local farmers defined as within the state. The food shed for farmers markets in Los Angeles County are typically within 200 miles and many are located within Los Angeles County. **(see FIG 1.13)**

51 Pyle, 1971: 197.

## CONCLUSION

The legislation enabling the existence of farmers markets render them open to influence from the public and private sectors, even as various intentions support one primary function over another. Thereby, each market has a specific agenda drawing from the desire to support small local farmers, to provide fresh produce to an underserved area or to create a space for social gathering at various scales. Farmers markets changed with the socio-economic culture. As they became more fragmented, correlating with the decentralized, low density urban conditions, they continued to survive, although marginalized and not viewed as integral to the bulk of food distribution in cities. Within the gaps, there was a place for them:

*Long after the supermarket was an established form, agricultural agents recommended use of a city retail farmers' market, pointing out that producers near urban centers, in spite of the increasingly high costs of production, "are frequently able to take advantage of the consumers' desire for fresh produce of high quality and to capitalize on any other real or assumed advantage of dealing directly with the producer."<sup>52</sup>*

While farmers markets are precarious in their initial establishment, it is the social structure of consumers that sustains their existence: Perhaps it is merely as Sir Halford Mackinder once wrote, "among geographers it is a commonplace that no human settlement is more difficult to supplant than an established market."<sup>53</sup>

52 Ibid.: 197.

53 Ibid.: 196.

53 Ibid.: 196.

PART 1  
C: THE CONTEXT FOR FARMERS MARKETS IN LOS ANGELES



FIG 1.14: AERIAL VIEW OF LOS ANGELES

## THE CONTEXT FOR FARMERS MARKETS IN LOS ANGELES

The State Legislation that establishes the authorized existence of farmers markets enables groups external to the municipal government to create spaces of activity in the public domain. Unlike the adjacent cities of Santa Monica, Pasadena or Beverly Hills, the City of Los Angeles does not involve itself in the phenomenon, beyond obtaining site fees or procuring the necessary permits. In *The Next Los Angeles*, the authors note that:

*To understand Los Angeles ultimately requires understanding the origins and evolution of its social movements, of its rich traditions of community activism, and of its alternative cultural life, which has often been marginalized or ignored.*<sup>54</sup>

Farmers markets are not created by city government and exist as an adjunct to the conventional city workings. Within the laissez-faire governance of the city, farmers markets emerge as yet another instance of small and complex factors at work the “city of improvisation.”<sup>55</sup> The spatial development of the city, largely regarded as one lead by the real estate industry, has created the current city of marginalized and underused spaces. And it is within these gaps that farmers markets establish

Indeed, the vision of the Southern Californian lifestyle hinged on an idealized image of quiet, private village life, with the twist of continuous growth achieved through the multiplication of detached single family homes. Los Angeles was

<sup>54</sup> Gottlieb, R., Vallianatos, M., Freer, R. M., & Dreier, P. (2005). *The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 2.

<sup>55</sup> Gottlieb, Vallianatos, Freer, & Dreier, 2005: 2.

not envisioned as a suburb, but as a community-oriented village metropolis. Accordingly, the population of Los Angeles did not see the need for a singular center:

*[They envisioned] a federation of communities co-ordinated into a metropolis of sunlight and air. By 1930, however, residential dispersal and business decentralization had transformed LA into the fragmented – not the co-ordinated – metropolis.*<sup>56</sup>

However, the reality of the single family house triumphed over the notion of community. The idea that the private home provides urbanites an ideal existence within its closed bounds was strongly advocated at the turn of the twentieth century:

*Dana Bartlett argued that Los Angeles showed signs of becoming a ‘city of homes, without slums,’ where the poor could ‘live in single cottages with dividing fences and flowers in the front yard, and often times with vegetables in the backyard.’*<sup>57</sup>

While Angelinos of the late 19th century prioritized private space and believed that the detached single family house was the key to village life, current trends reveal a longing for active public space. Farmers markets provide a category of activity reminiscent of the concept of the village life that initially catalyzed the growth of the city. However, the focus has shifted from the idealized private realm, to the public.

<sup>56</sup> Fogelson, 1967: 163.

<sup>57</sup> Gottlieb, Vallianatos, Freer, & Dreier, 2005: 13.

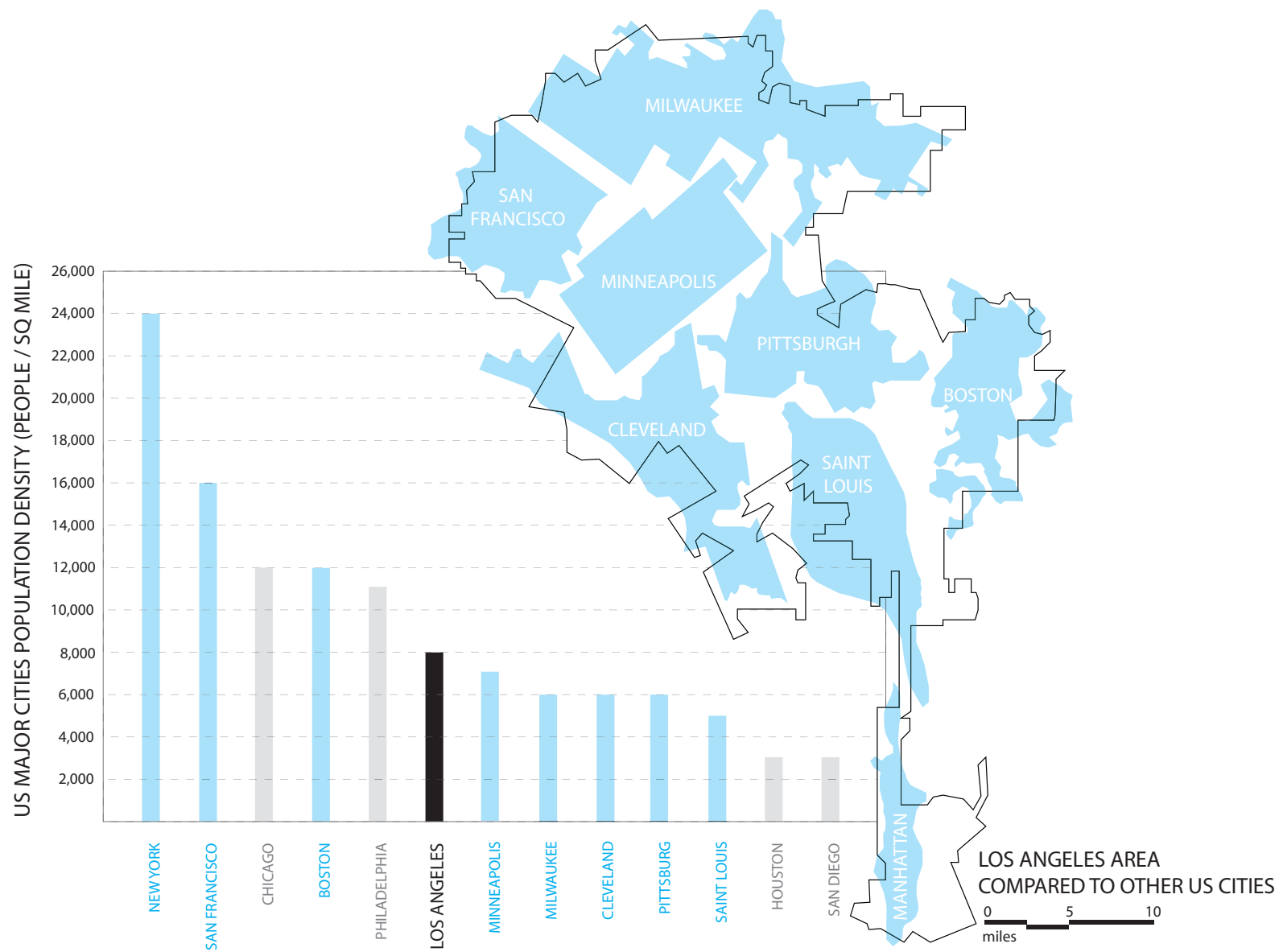


FIG 15:RELATIVE SIZE AND DENSITY OF LOS ANGELES IN RELATION TO OTHER US CITIES

The dimensions of the city includes a large area of relatively low density. **(see FIG 1.15)** As the scale of the city cannot accommodate one center, modest centers emerge over time within the relatively low densities characteristic of the detached single home landscape. Within this geography, farmers markets are nimble enough to permeate.

#### A SHORT HISTORY OF LOS ANGELES

*As immigration to Southern California gained in momentum, it perpetuated the very conditions which attracted the newcomers.*<sup>58</sup>

Founded by the Spanish in 1781 and largely managed by Rancheros, the United States annexed El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora la Reina de los Angeles de Porciuncula, or LA, in 1848 as part of its Western conquests. The taxes, regulations and deed demands imposed by the American government resulted in subdivision of ranch lands and the delineation of the town at twenty-eight square miles. Subsequently, farming was transformed from a self-sufficient enterprise to a market economy in order to survive in America's capitalist society. While agriculture continued in the plains of California, land speculation proved to be the most lucrative enterprise for the city.

Despite some commercial and industrial activity, Los Angeles grew with the single family house. In 1930, the city had the highest percentage of people living

58 Fogelson, 1967: 75.

in single family homes (93.9%)<sup>59</sup> in America. Accordingly, the detached single family house is the building block of Los Angeles. It seemed that the house could serve as the individual center with the front lawn as the public space for the Angelino citizens.

Since Los Angeles lacked the economic advantages of Eastern and Midwestern cities to entice migrants, the town's leaders mobilized to "create these attributes themselves."<sup>60</sup> In addition to winning key battles in the industry sector, such as the Los Angeles Port at San Pedro and the railway connection from San Francisco en route east, Los Angeles grew because of its marketed image as a "well-rounded" place to live. Accordingly, "more than any other American metropolis – and with remarkably few misgivings – LA succumbed to the disintegrative, though not altogether undesirable forces of suburbanization and progressivism."<sup>61</sup> The priority rested with the sanctity of the private domain.

The captivating concept of a "well-rounded village-life" surrounded by space and nature strongly marketed by developers and those interested in the growth of the city, seduced fiscally secure Americans to relocate from the crowded, polluted and hectic Eastern and Midwestern cities. Thereby, newcomers that prioritized a "well-rounded life more than a remunerative occupation"<sup>62</sup> prized the utopian ideal of Los Angeles that was "epitomized in the residential suburb – spacious, affluent, clean."<sup>63</sup> With the "waning of the agrarian myth and the Protestant

59 Fogelson, 1967: 52.

60 Ibid: 43.

61 Ibid: 2.

62 Ibid: 144.

63 Ibid: 145.

ethic,"<sup>64</sup> migrants to Los Angeles freely pursued "the legitimate comforts of life."<sup>65</sup> Unlike migrants to other American urban centers, people attracted to Los Angeles consciously chose the city for its lifestyle benefits and not out of financial necessity. Most of the migrants to Los Angeles were Americans without anxieties about starting a new life in a new country. Since "self-interest and civic pride dictated that [the new residents'] anticipations justify their actions,"<sup>66</sup> newcomers pursued the type of life that they envisioned. Their vision turned out to be rather exclusive socially and superficial spatially.

The spatial character of the city is a direct result of the two contradictory goals held by Angelino citizens and officials for the burgeoning metropolis: continuous growth and the autonomy of the single family home as a somewhat misguided attempt towards a small-town lifestyle.<sup>67</sup> However, village life has a certain spatio-temporal balance that cannot survive the ambitious scale of the emerging metropolis focused on continuous expansion. Furthermore, perennially nascent developments prompted many residents to perpetually move from one promising, "though no less homogenous and rustic"<sup>68</sup> neighborhood to another. Ungrounded residents did not form ties with their neighbors, and few people joined the community organizations sponsored to ease migrants' transitions to the new area. Taken out of context, the autonomous dwelling unit located on a spacious lot superficially afforded the promised village-lifestyle of space and privacy. However, the combination of single houses on subdivided lots across a

64 Fogelson, 1967: 71.

65 Ralph Waldo Trive quoted in Fogelson, 1967: 70.

66 Ibid: 21.

67 Ibid: 23.

68 Ibid: 146.

vast region failed to form the communal aspect of the equation.

The utopian dream of the detached single family house excluded migrants to Los Angeles that differed in race and income from the relatively affluent and Caucasian-dominant population. Deed restrictions, serving as the first "building-codes," prevented home-ownership of many who could financially afford to move outside the apartment houses in Downtown and East Los Angeles. Large scale segregation efforts were not subtle. In the 1930s, Los Angeles vied with Chicago as the most segregated city in America;<sup>69</sup> South Central Los Angeles continues to be the largest African American ghetto in the nation. City officials and decision-makers were not concerned with social equity or public amenities. Speculative developers driven by fast turnovers of property "shaped the town's layout as well as its land-use"<sup>70</sup> and had little patience for long-term urban planning, with exceptions of very affluent areas such as Palos Verdes. The spatial homogeneity of the city remains the dominant image of Los Angeles, with stark adjacencies between the natural features hailed by Reyner Banham, the detached single family residences and the industrial landscape:

*A very different kind of American metropolis was now taking shape, one in which the oil derrick, the automobile, the airfield, the movie studio, the beach and mountain community, the immigrant labor camp and factory town, and the all purpose tourist resort both stretched the urban fabric and pinned it down in an extensive multiplicity of urban places and experiences.<sup>71</sup>*

69 Fogelson, 1967: 140.

70 Ibid: 139.

71 Soja, E. and Allen J Scott. 1996. Introduction to Los Angeles: City and Region in Soja, E. and Allen J. Scott (eds) 1996. *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth*

In many ways, Los Angeles is like any other city. It is comprised of buildings, streets, blocks and districts. However, in large part due to the lack of density and the use of the private automobile, in Los Angeles, most people do not have to enter the public realm unless they choose to do so. Cities of higher densities or smaller scales offer up the public on one's doorstep. Few people can walk out into the urban spaces of New York or San Francisco without encountering "the public." The mundane path to work of people in "traditional cities" deploys them directly into the public spaces of crowded streets and public transportation. In Los Angeles, the private automobile offers a buffer of mobile private space against potential public interaction. Largely, the semi-private capsule allows seamless travel from the private home to the private office unimpeded by any exterior interactions. The option of home offices, home entertainment and home deliveries of everything from produce to shoes can further diminish the presence of the public space in people's daily lives. While various communities do rely on the public space of the streets for shelter and others for their livelihood as vendors, especially in Downtown LA, or the marginal offer of public transportation, it is notable that, for most people, placing one's body into the public space in Los Angeles is entirely a matter of choice, and not necessity.

Accordingly, many view Los Angeles as a highly privatized city. The street is often regarded as one of the key components of a city's public space. The continuous space offered by LA's street grid offers few enticing options with which to engage as evidenced by the mundane rhythm of walking past single family residences. Although homogenous physical form and lack of varied activities indirectly

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Century, p 6.

discourage walking in parts of the city, some areas actively discourage pedestrian activity. For instance, while the city of Beverly Hills takes great pride in arranging all sidewalk trees in symmetry, security patrol men question pedestrians as to their whereabouts if anyone desires to stroll amongst the perfectly tree-lined streets.

Public space, then, requires more than the physical entity. Aesthetics, activity and comfort level are necessary qualities to signify a street as desirable public space. Few people live in walking distance to active streets that provide a desired public experience. Accordingly, most people must drive to desirable streets to bask in the sought-after public space. In addition to the drive, usually ranging in time from ten minutes to an hour, but averaging twenty minutes,<sup>72</sup> the public space seeking driver must park her or his private automobile. This can add either twenty minutes or up to twenty dollars to the effort of seeking public space. The result is that while entrance into the public realm is not a prerequisite of survival in Los Angeles, many Angelinos exert a great deal of effort to be in public space. There is a general, civic longing for robust public spaces.

Public space in Los Angeles is increasingly becoming about multiplying choices within various elastic centers of closeness. These spaces result in a multiplicity of services, programs and users that are flexible, adaptable and often ad-hoc. As people long to participate in nodes of public activity, the current phenomenon of farmers market provides an opportunity to understand the resulting interactions.

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<sup>72</sup> The twenty-minute drive is the popular, but often incorrect, time it takes to get anywhere in Los Angeles.



## PART 2 - DOCUMENTING LOS ANGELES' FARMERS MARKETS

### A: The Emergence of Farmers Markets

City Operated Markets

Nonprofit Operated Markets

### B: Case Studies - Eight Los Angeles Farmers Markets

ONE Hollywood CFM

TWO Santa Monica CFM

THREE Beverly Hills CFM

FOUR Silverlake CFM

FIVE Larchmont CFM

SIX Crenshaw

SEVEN Watts CFM

EIGHT City Hills CFM

PART 2

A: THE EMERGENCE OF FARMERS MARKETS: City and Nonprofit Operated Markets



FIG 2.1: HOLLYWOOD FARMERS MARKET

## THE EMERGENCE OF FARMERS MARKETS IN LOS ANGELES

According to State legislation, certified farmers markets can only be opened, operated and managed by “one or more certified producers, by a nonprofit organization, or by a local government agency.”<sup>1</sup> The markets in the greater Los Angeles area predominantly fall into one of the two latter categories. Within the City of Los Angeles, the markets are operated by non-profit organization at varying ties with city departments, while many of the smaller cities within Los Angeles County operate their own markets. **(see FIG 2.2)** The purpose and character of a market, in both the initial phases of operation as well as

1 CA Code of Regulations; Title 3. Food and Agriculture; Division 3. Economics; Chapter 1. Fruit and Vegetable Standardization; Subchapter 4. Fresh Fruits, Nuts and Vegetables; Article 6.5. Direct Marketing; § 1392.2. (a) CFM definition.

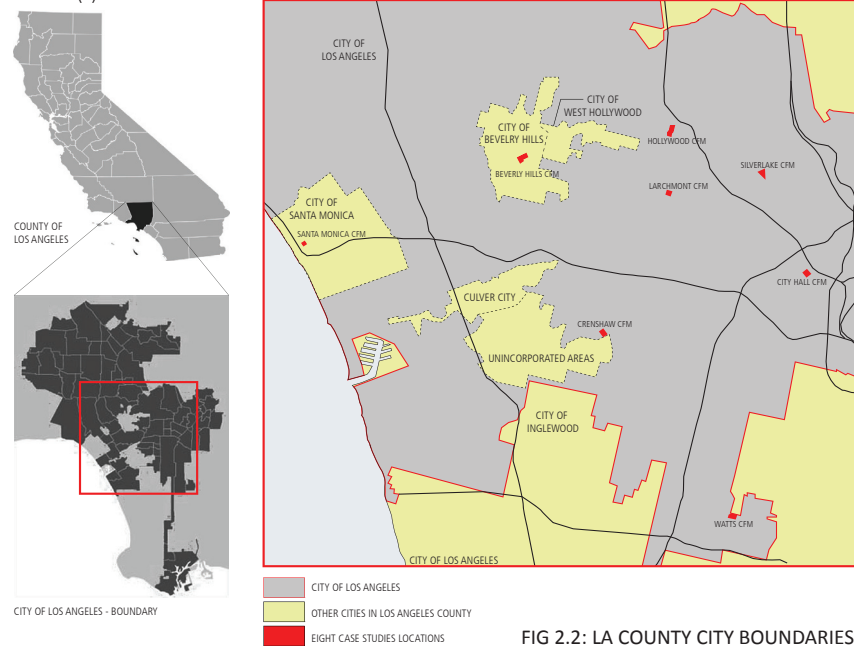


FIG 2.2: LA COUNTY CITY BOUNDARIES

its continued growth over time, varies according to its operating body. These similarities and differences are illustrated through a history of the emergence of two of the oldest markets in the area, one operated by a city government, and the other by a nonprofit organization.

### CITY OPERATED MARKETS

Established in 1981, the Santa Monica Certified Farmers Market (CFM) is one of the earliest examples of a farmers market in Los Angeles County.<sup>2</sup> Santa Monica Mayor Ruth Yannatta Goldway (1979-83)<sup>3</sup> developed the idea of a farmers market to provide fresh produce for the city’s large senior citizen population<sup>4</sup> and to promote walkability for the neglected business district. Mayor Goldway saw the farmers market as a way to create her ideal of a livable city: “If you are fortunate to live in a city that is connected with water and that has a beautiful environment, the best thing you can do overall in planning is to make sure that people have a chance to meet one another and to experience their environment in the simplest, most straightforward way.”<sup>5</sup> In addition, the Mayor had volunteered with CETA<sup>6</sup> and viewed the farmers market, along the same lines, as a public service.

2 The City of Gardena established the first farmers market in Los Angeles County in 1979, one year after the State Direct Marketing Act. The market began with four certified producers.

3 Mayor of City of Santa Monica 1979-1983; “Goldway was part of the countercultural slow-growth, rent-control forces that somehow wrested control of the seaside city from developers who intended to make a coastline of high-rises (men with an “edifice complex,” she called them). Her goal was to create an open, accessible, people-friendly, “low-rise,” livable-neighborhood city.” Huneven, 2003: 2.

4 “Goldway’s support base included the large senior-citizen population, a constituency that would appreciate access to high-quality, low-priced food.” Huneven, 2003: 2.

5 quoted in Huneven, 2003: 2.

6 The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (or CETA, Pub.L. 93-203) is a United States federal law enacted in 1973 to train workers and provide them with jobs in the public service; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comprehensive\\_Employment\\_and\\_Training\\_Act](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comprehensive_Employment_and_Training_Act)

As the legislation for farmers markets was still young, the State Department of Agriculture was eager to help with implementation. Mayor Goldway's efforts were sustained by State support towards recruiting farmers as well as providing funds to promote the market through programs such as free giveaways. From its inception, the farmers market was fully supported by the City of Santa Monica, and the support continues presently through proactive efforts at advertising and personalized support as the current mayor also shops at the market.<sup>7</sup> On opening day, over one thousand residents visited the market and spent over ten thousand dollars.<sup>8</sup> Currently, the market typically grosses over one hundred thousand dollars and twice that amount on the Wednesday before Thanksgiving, so that its economic stability no longer depends on external subsidies.

Even as Mayor Goldway viewed the market as a public service, she also recognized the economic potential of using the farmers market as a catalyst to activate an area with the introduction of otherwise absent public activity. In the early 1980s, many businesses in the district were closing, including JC Penny, Woolworth's and Kresge, while the smaller shops failed to attract people. The particular location for the market was chosen by the mayor in order to revitalize the center of the business district, the Third Street Mall.<sup>9</sup> Located on Arizona Street, the farmers market intersects the Third Street Promenade creating a confluence between the two discrete zones. Although the market only drew crowds on Wednesday mornings, the high volumes of people helped re-focus attention to the neglected retail zone.<sup>10</sup> Another relationship that has developed

<sup>7</sup> conversation with Santa Monica CFM manager Laura Avery on 03.24.10

<sup>8</sup> Huneven, 2003: 2.

<sup>9</sup> conversation with Santa Monica CFM manager Laura Avery on 01.27.10

<sup>10</sup> conversation with Santa Monica CFM manager Laura Avery on 01.27.10

is the reliance of restaurants on produce bought at the farmers market. Indeed, restaurateurs travel from all over Los Angeles County, and even Orange and Ventura Counties, to purchase produce. Within the farmers market spectrum, the market manager has a great deal of influence upon the market function and character. Santa Monica's manger since 1981, Laura Avery, has committed to allowing only certified agricultural products, in contrast to markets that allow vending of cooked food and arts and crafts. Her effort ensures that patrons' budgets are not diluted away from helping the small farmers. The character of the market, then emerges as a serious enterprise focused on providing quality produce. Accordingly, the public space created has a particular agenda, and is not an abstract idea. Consequently, the farmers market has developed stakeholders in both the business and resident communities. The market, then, brought in people to the zone, effectively creating a public space where patrons feel a sense of ownership and where none had previously existed.

Currently, the affect of the market on the business activity and general quality of life of the area is evident in a couple ways. On the business side, the Bayside District, a non-profit, city sponsored authority that coordinates activity, exchanges and land-use in Santa Monica's business district, currently hired a consultancy firm to help decide the character, necessary functions and opportunities in the area. After a three-moth long anthropological study, in which associates observed, interviewed and even eavesdropped on street conversations, the company determined that Santa Monica's business district should not be envisioned as a shopping zone, as the city had assumed, but rather as a community district.

Thereby, Bayside District was encouraged to use the farmers market as a central example of the type of street activity in character with people's desires.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the overwhelming affinity towards the market was also reported, from the residents' side in a 2002 survey reporting that eighty-five percent of residents attended a farmers market in Santa Monica.

In addition to helping local farmers, farmers markets operated and funded by city governments are often created to improve the quality of life of residents by providing fresh produce and a community gathering space. In 1981, the primary purpose of the market was to provide the community service of fresh produce in a public setting for the large section of elderly citizens in the city. Currently, the Santa Monica Certified Farmers Market caters to a large section of residents as well as restaurants across county lines. In addition to its own economic sustainability, the farmers market is fully integrated within the social and physical framework of the city, despite its impermanent character. Unlike private enterprises, the networks created through the market include public and private support and interest that have established it as an institution in the city. It is significant to note that the market was a top-down effort that extended itself to the private interests of the farmers as well as to the individual desires of residents.

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11 conversation with Santa Monica CFM manager Laura Avery on 03.24.10

## NON-PROFIT OPERATED MARKETS

The Hollywood CFM began as a top down effort to revitalize a Los Angeles neighborhood struggling to attract business and residents. The idea of using a farmers market as a revitalization strategy occurred suddenly when a working example of one was introduced to city officials. In 1990, souvenir shops and a gritty image fed by undesirable activities dominated the locality of Hollywood, even as its association with the film industry continued to captivate outsider attention. Unlike the City of Santa Monica, the City of Los Angeles, perhaps due to its much larger size, its fragmented political landscape or fears of liability, did not support the creation of farmers markets through any governmental authority. However, due to their potential impact to neighborhoods, their location on public land, and the general economic difficulties requiring financial support in order to establish, various people within the City of Los Angeles factored into the creation.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Pompea Smith helped lead renewal efforts in Hollywood through such projects as façade improvements through the Hollywood Economic Revitalization Effort (HERE), a community program funded by the City of Los Angeles' United Community and Housing Development Corporation (UCHDC). The organization was also in close communication with District Councilman Michael Woo who assigned Carole Joseph to collaborate on HERE projects. In addition to government liaisons, HERE also cooperated with interested business men from the area. One of these business men suggested that Pompea and Carole meet him at the Santa Monica Farmers Market since he saw it as a potential project for HERE. Immediately seeing the potential, with

Pompea, a native of Italy familiar with public marketplaces and committed to helping the economic sustainability of small farmers, the concept of a Hollywood Farmers Market was introduced to Michael Woo. With the councilman's support, HERE worked to establish the market. Thereby, the inspiration for the Hollywood Farmers Market was the working example of another.

However, while Santa Monica CFM was the catalyst, the existing physical and socio-political conditions, the formative agenda and the development of the two markets differ greatly. While Santa Monica CFM began a decade earlier and enjoyed an affluent resident base in close spatial proximity, Hollywood was mostly visited by tourists unlikely to spend their vacation budget on produce, no matter how novel the setting. Although in both cases, the desire to revitalize an area existed, the Santa Monica Farmers Market was established to provide fresh produce to the large senior population; the public activity was a desired, but secondary incentive. For Hollywood, the farmers market was intended to bring residents back to the area, especially from the two flanking residential communities in the Hollywood Hills to the north, and Hancock Park to the south. Subsequently, HERE began the establishment of the market in a political situation that differed entirely from its Santa Monica counterpart, which enjoyed the full support and funding of its city government.

With the political support of Councilman Woo, the two necessary elements for establishing the market were finding the farmers and the location. An upcoming farm conference two hours south in San Diego provided HERE with budding contacts in the small farm population. However, unlike Santa Monica CFM that

restricts vending to agricultural products, from its inception, the Hollywood CFM allowed food vendors and artisans to sell. The decision supports the effort to attract more people into the area by appealing to diverse needs, as well as providing a means for small entrepreneurs to entering the restaurant or retail market without the large funds required for starting a traditional business in a permanent structure.

One of the most recognized intersections in the world, Hollywood and Vine was also one of the most unsafe in the early 1990s. Geographically, it is also centrally located within Hollywood. For all of these reasons, HERE hoped to locate the farmers market in close proximity. Ivar Street emerged as an ideal choice being one block west of Vine and much less trafficked. In addition, the Hollywood Public Library, located midblock on Ivar Street, could serve as a mutually beneficial supportive civic program. The library itself, designed by Frank O. Gehry, failed to welcome foot traffic, as Mike Davis observes:

*Gehry's baroquely fortified Frances Howard Goldwyn Regional Branch Library in Hollywood (1984) positively taunts potential trespasses 'to make my day.' This is undoubtedly the most menacing library ever built... With its fifteen-foot security walls of stucco-covered concrete block, its anti-graffiti barricades covered in ceramic tile, its sunken entrance protected by ten-foot steel stacks, and its stylized sentry boxes perched precariously on each side... Gehry accepted a commission to design a structure that was inherently 'vandalproof.'... The Goldwyn Library relentlessly interpellates a demonic Other (arsonist, graffitist, invader) whom it reflects back on the*

*surrounding streets and street people.*<sup>12</sup>

Rather than combating undesirable activities by gating off “safe zones” against exterior threats, the creation of the farmers market took a Jane Jacobs approach to safety by providing “eyes on the street.” At least for one day out of the week, loitering would not only be allowed, but encouraged. Despite Davis’ view of the aggressive formal position portrayed by the library, its program nevertheless stands for the public, if only in theory. While some ideas of using a publicly owned parking lot for the market surfaced, HERE determined to integrate the market as much as possible with the neighborhood; a parking lot location would create an isolationist separation from the public realm of the street and would set finite dimensions to the growth of the project. Furthermore, since in recent years the City of LA has sold that same lot for development, the street remains the only reliable space for the perennial use of a public service providing few monetary incentives for the city. Thereby, choosing a site was a matter of balancing “workability and walkability,”<sup>13</sup> and the street emerged as the ideal location for locating a farmers market aimed at revitalizing the neighborhood.

The city does not involve themselves with the markets; their main concerns are in zoning and collecting fees when the market is on publicly owned land. Some market organizers find it beneficial to involve the city, and as Pompea Smith, CEO of SEE-LA, asserts, “we make them aware.”<sup>14</sup> In the City of Los Angeles, non-profits engage the city government regarding the public domain, often accomplished by using public land. For instance, Smith prefers to use public land

<sup>12</sup> Davis, 1990: 239,240.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Pompea Smith, 01.13.10.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Pompea Smith, 01.13.10.

because it more easily lends itself to serve public needs and “the market should be supported publicly as a public service.”<sup>15</sup>

In order to ensure the favorable acceptance of the proposition by city departments, HERE invited the Los Angeles Fire Department and the Bureau of Street Services, a branch of Public Works, to walk the neighborhood together with the prospect of choosing a site. The hesitation by city officials in approving such an endeavor lies in the fear that residents will favor the enterprise, making it difficult to terminate if it is later deemed obtrusive. HERE, however, asked these departments to help choose the best suited site, and they agreed on the same location. Thereby, even before its inception, the market developed ties with public departments, businessmen in the area, homeowners groups and the private interests of the vendors. Councilman Woo’s discretionary funding, a small grant from the Community Redevelopment Agency Los Angeles (CRA-LA) and other government funding provided the financial support. The process of starting the market lasted over a year and a half.<sup>16</sup>

As the market has grown from twenty-six vendors to include almost one hundred and fifty occupying an four times the size of the original, new relationships have also been formed on a socio-political level. Five years after HERE established the market, Councilman Woo, Pompea Smith and other instrumental in the project formed the nonprofit organization Sustainable Economic Enterprises Los Angeles (SEE-LA). The farmers market became a central focus of the organization, instead of one project among other types of efforts. Thereby, the market became the

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Pompea Smith, 01.13.10.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Carole Joseph, 03.28.10.

catalyst and point of political and spatial confluence to launch other programs and partnerships. Notable liaisons include the relationship between the community supported Hollywood Court, which began a community program to help the homeless with nutrition amenities in exchange for clean-up efforts at the market. Another volunteer agency, RSVP Senior Corps, have a strong presence at the Hollywood CFM.<sup>17</sup> Most notably, the efforts led by SEE-LA with wide implementation, distribution and popularization of the Electronic Transfer Benefits (EBT) engage lower income sections of the population.

Currently, many markets nationwide are adopting EBT to facilitate transactions of government supported nutrition benefits including food stamps, Women Infants Children (WIC) programs and Seniors Farmers Market Nutrition Program Coupons (SFMNP). The relationship between the market and the district councilman is significant. For Michael Woo, the project became the legacy he left for the city. While successor Jackie Goldberg did not involve herself with the farmers market, current councilman Eric Garcetti has been instrumental in issues such as right-of-way issues the market had when the LA Film School moved into an adjacent building. As the area changes new spatial negotiations develop; while some developments such as Space Fifteen-Twenty, the Urban Outfitters' retail and art gallery project supports the market and welcomes the Sunday activity, Café Etc on the corner of Cahuenga and Selma resent the sidewalk imposition by artisan vendors.

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17 Other partnerships include: California Department of Health Services Nutrition Network, Community Food Security Coalition, Community Redevelopment Agency/LA, LA Clean & Green, Los Angeles Coalition to End Unger & Homelessness, LAUSD (Los Angeles Unified School District) Nutrition Network, UCLA School of Public Health, USDA Community Food Project, etc.

It took the market three years to reach economic sustainability, effectively allowing it to survive on the income generated by vendor fees. However, government grants, foundation grants and other support continue to enable the introduction of spin-off programs. Programs include The Farmer's Kitchen<sup>18</sup>, a community nutrition program and "farm fresh café" that "functions as a culinary exchange for the Hollywood community," and located on the ground level of a new development adjacent to the farmers market.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the economic success of the Hollywood CFM allowed SEE-LA to establish six other farmers markets, including Watts CFM and Crenshaw CFM used as case studies in this thesis.<sup>20</sup> All new markets continue to require the socio-political integration into local social networks. For instance, Watts CFM resulted from collaboration between the Health Clinics in the area as well as the Department of Parks and Recreation among other community groups. The success of Hollywood CFM allows for a "systemic approach" to implementing new markets in less economically viable areas, thereby furthering the equitable distribution of both produce and proactive public space amenities.

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18 Launched with a 2004 USDA grant of \$225,000

19 Other programs include: Good Cooking/Buena Cucina Program (2000) continued support from Kaiser Permanente Hospitals with a \$80,000 grant in 2006, Farm to Table Program (2001) with a three-year implementation grant from California DHS Nutrition Network, Farm to Table – "Bring the Farmer to your School" Education Program.

20 Other farmers markets include Atwater Village CFM, Hollywood Lemon Grove CFM, Echo Park CFM, Central Avenue CFM, with South Central CFM, supported by District Councilwoman Jan Perry recently opened in February 2010.

## CONCLUSION

New farmers markets emerge by example of existing markets. **(see FIG 2.3)**As more farmers markets exist to act as models, even more people along the varied section of the public-nonprofit-private spectrum become inspired to introduce the enterprise in their own area. The three main instigators of a new market are a local government, a nonprofit organization or neighborhood coalition of residents.

The formal messiness, due to its temporal character, and the myriad appropriations and unintended uses that occur lend the farmers markets an image of informality. It is important to keep in mind that, unlike informal street vending or even large informal markets in other countries, farmers markets in Los Angeles are highly regulated and organized. Thereby, the practice of everyday urbanism exists in relation to top-down efforts toward revitalization observed in such instances as farmers markets.



FIG 2.3: MARKET GROWTH DIAGRAM

PART 2  
B: CASE STUDIES: Eight Los Angeles Farmers Markets



FIG 2.4: FARMERS MARKET PRODUCE

## METHODOLOGY OF DOCUMENTATION

Face-to-face interactions, random activities and casual relationships characterize farmers markets. They are a ritual practice of public space by the regular vendors and regular customers. While the newcomer is welcome, several visits reveal the deeper structure of the space and interactions. Even as business is conducted, the informal relationships developed between vendors and market patrons form a significant part of the experience. I quickly realized that this informality translates to my documentation. At the first market I visited, I printed surveys for both vendors and buyers. However, after surveying a few vendors, I quickly learned that I would learn more through fluid conversation rather than orchestrated questions; it felt contrived to walk up to someone with my pen and paper poised. Instead of staged interviews, the formation of relationships proved more productive. I thereby began to learn through observation, informal conversation and the experience itself. While in documenting, describing and analyzing the farmers markets I consistently address the same issues for each case<sup>1</sup>, the specific condition of each individual farmers market requires more or less discussion depending on the notable features.

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<sup>1</sup> The particular issues addressed: suitable aspects about THE NEIGHBORHOOD that relate to the market; FIELD OBSERVATIONS noting the immediate impressions formed on site; MARKET HISTORY detailing aspects of its formation, operation and relation to other case studies that illuminate important themes regarding its spatial configuration, current experience and future potential; SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS particularly analyzes the impact of space, both publicly and privately owned, and the urban condition on the market experience; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS analyzes the ephemeral experience of social relationships that result from the provision of space.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS

In addition to legislative laws to which each market adheres, individual markets adopt specific regulations defined by the governing municipality or nonprofit organization. Whether the market is operated by a city or a nonprofit, a manager is enlisted to be accountable. The market manager interprets and implements all of these rules in cooperation with the vendors and in indirect ways, with the market patrons. As a market grows, so do its stakeholders, so that, the sentiment of rights and ownership extends to both market goers and vendors; both react to any change in design or operation. Design additions to markets regarding elements such as furniture for social interaction have either been suggested by market patrons, or introduced by the market manager after repeated appropriation of space for gathering.

## A TYPICAL MARKET DAY

The Watts Farmers' Market commences every Saturday at ten in the morning, rain or shine. I arrived at 8:30 and most of the tables and canopies were already set up. All infrastructure is provided by the vendors, while the organizer, in this case SEE-LA, provides signs and elements to delineate the space of the market.

At 9:15am, the vendors wish each other "Feliz Ano!" as it is the first market of the new year. A latecomer, South Central Farms Co-op arrives. It takes about seven minutes to setup a canopy (**see FIG 2.5**); collapsible tables materialize just as quickly, and people begin shopping before all the produce is out on the table. By 9:25am, the tents, tables and tablecloths are already set. Eddy, one of the farmers, helps the South Central Farms women attach their sign to the top of the tent structure. Seeing the quick set up renders the idea of a permanent structure economically superfluous. All elements pack up so well that they occupy minimal space in the vendors' trucks, vans and cars.

Towards the end of the market day, at the Hollywood Farmers Market, I observe the cleaning up process at the main intersection and gathering space. The process takes about two hours from when the first vendor departs, until the last. Almost immediately, the atmosphere in the market changes. Residents begin walking their dogs through the market; county health regulations have expired. Many of the farmers start smoking as they pack up their canopies and wares. This is the time when relationships between vendors can be observed. The goat-cheese

vendor is last to leave because she collects any unwanted vegetable scraps from other farmers to feed her livestock. The relationships between market and city also become more apparent. In the Hollywood example, a coalition geared towards feeding the homeless provides food for those in need that help with market clean-up. The market, officially ending at one in the afternoon, has left no trace by three o'clock. (**see FIG 2.6**)



FIG 2.5: SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION  
 Watts CFM: farmers market canopies take less than seven minutes to set up



FIG 2.6: SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION  
 Hollywood CFM: market breakdown takes from one to two hours, leaving no traces

## CASE STUDIES: DISTRIBUTION IN LOS ANGELES

Part 2 of the thesis documents the spatial and social characteristics of eight markets in Los Angeles. The 124 markets in Los Angeles County are widely distributed across a variety of spatial conditions and socio-economic zones. The analysis samples case studies to reflect the diversity. Farmers markets began as largely a middle and upper class phenomenon, however, they are beginning to also have a presence in lower income communities, especially facilitated by governmental subsidized food affordability programs. Accordingly, the case studies reflects the general distribution and includes 3 markets in upper class, 3 in middle class and 2 in lower class neighborhoods. **(see FIG 2.7)**



FIG 2.7: CASE STUDY LOCATIONS - EIGHT OF LOS ANGELES' FARMERS MARKETS

## CASE STUDIES: SPATIAL TYPOLOGIES AND CONTEXT

In addition to their varied location in the city, the farmers markets typically exist in one of three spatial situations: (1) public street; (2) parking lot; (3) park parking lot. There are a few variations; City Hall CFM, for instance, is located in a park-like urban plaza. The size of the market and impact on the neighborhood bears some correlation with its spatial conditions. The largest markets are found in public streets, while the smaller ones are in park parking lots. This results from the ability of the former to more easily grow along the urban grid, whereas a parking lot has fixed dimensions.

The analysis of the market environment uses an eight-hundred by eight-hundred foot grid (or sixteen-hundred foot length for the larger markets) in order to determine the impact of the surroundings on the market, as well as the impact of the market on the surroundings. **(see FIG 2.8)** These diagrams will be shown in greater detail for each case study. The diagrams investigate the ownership of the site, the physical enclosure as shown in the figure ground, the dominant zoning, the internal program of the market, especially any discrete areas used particularly for social interactions, and the public access available.

As the farmers markets locate in the optimum areas to ensure market success, they also act as indicators of zones in the city particularly fertile for heightened use and public exchange, such as happens at farmers markets, but not necessarily limited to only the program of a farmers market. These opportunities, taken together, are explored in Part 3 of this thesis.



FIG 2.8: EIGHT CASE STUDIES IN ORDER OF SIZE AND SPATIAL CATEGORY

CASE STUDY ONE:  
Hollywood Certified Farmers Market

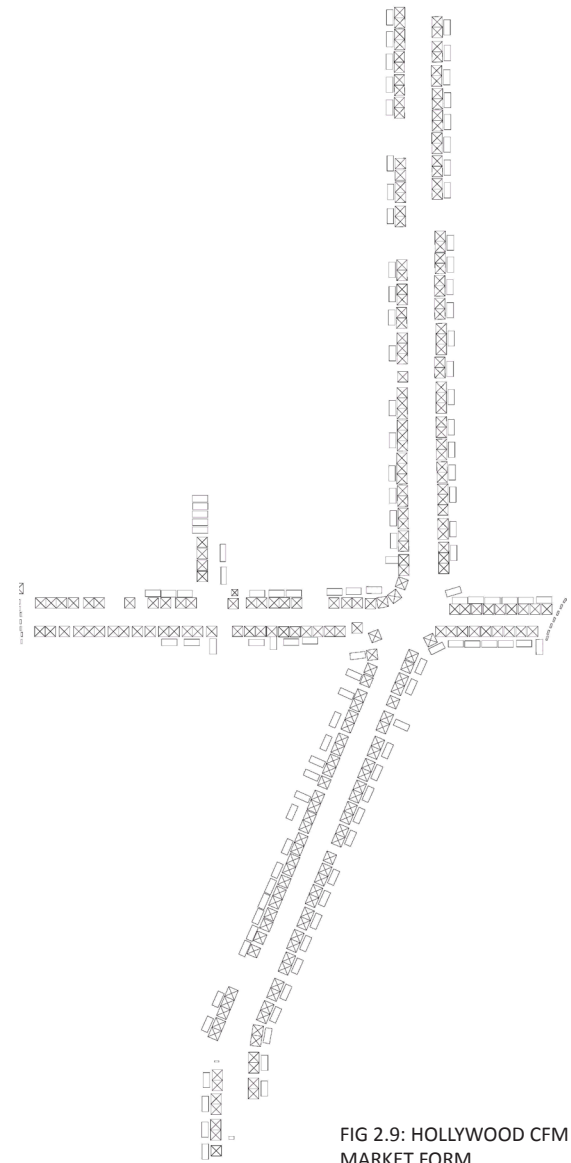


FIG 2.9: HOLLYWOOD CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## HOLLYWOOD CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: private – SEE-LA  
funding: public and private  
purpose: to create community; to revitalize area  
affordability: EBT; WIC; SFMNP

### TIME

year established: 1991  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Sunday  
time of operation: 8am – 1pm

### SPACE

form: cruciform; public street  
size: 81,525 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 150  
site ownership: public - City of Los Angeles

location in area: central to Hollywood  
location: Ivar Street and Selma Street  
previous locations: none

landmark adjacencies: civic – Hollywood Public Library;  
private – Kodak Theatre, Hollywood Boulevard  
fabric adjacencies: commercial  
public transport: buses - .1 miles, or more, from market; metro - .1 miles  
from market  
parking amenities: paid, negotiated with local businesses and parking lots

## MARKET SUMMARY

Hollywood Certified Farmers Market is one of the biggest farmers markets in Los Angeles County. Since 1991, it has become an “institution,” and as such a destination for the many regulars frequenting the market early Sunday mornings. The location of the market on a public street has allowed it to grow with both popularity and the changing urban condition. The intersection of Selma and Ivar Streets provides a facile space for overlapping programs and interactions. Internally, the market supports educational and non-market uses from over twelve organizations. (Ask the Dietician, Culinary Historians of Southern California, UC Cooperative Master Gardener & Food Preserver programs, Champions for Change, Project Angel Food, Girl Scouts, Retired Senior Volunteer Program, Food on Foot, Hollywood Beautification Team – Million Tree Giveaway, Cedar Sinai Blood Drive, Food Not Bombs and Chabad Russian Immigrant Program and Synagogue. (SEE-LA Annual Report 2008-09: 8) ) The emerging social spaces of the market, thereby, include educational components and political activity in addition to typical gatherings and meetings between patrons. The success of the market has enabled its organizers to fund development of other civically minded programs such as farmers markets in less economically viable areas, Bring the Farmer to Your School Program and, most recently, The Farmers’ Kitchen. These by-products illustrate the evolutionary nature of the market.



800' x 1600' AREA AERIAL - HOLLYWOOD CFM



OWNERSHIP:

SITE OWNERSHIP: PUBLIC  
 MARKET SITE: STREET



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

CFM AREA: +/- 81,225 SF  
 CFM PERIMETER: +/- 3,193  
 No. OF VENDORS: +/- 140  
 EDGE ENCLOSURE: 70%  
 URBAN TYPOLOGY: INFILL MARKET

FIG 2.10: HOLLYWOOD CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



**(E) ZONING:**

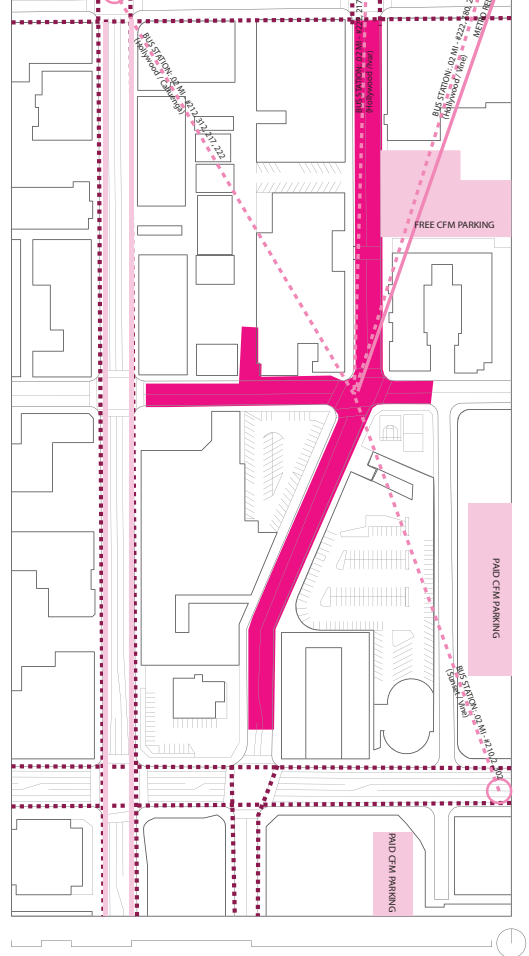
- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- INSTITUTIONAL
- OPEN SPACE

**DOMINANT ZONING:**  
COMMERCIAL



**PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:**

- ARTS&CRAFTS: 10%
- FARMERS: 70%
- COOKED FOOD: 12%
- SOCIAL GATHERING: 8%
- PARKING: --



**MARKET ACCESS:**

- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS YES
- BICYCLE LANE NO
- BUS STATION 10/1
- CAR - PARKING YES



FIG 2.11: MARKET VIEW ON SELMA STREET

## HOLLYWOOD CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>2</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Hollywood is the most recognizable neighborhood in Los Angeles. In the past fifteen years, revitalization has transformed it from a sightseer's haven saturated with kitsch souvenir shops into a district engaging a mixture of resident groups as well as remaining a tourist destination. In developing a richer fabric and culture, Hollywood grew beyond its infant character created on the dual pillars of the film industry and residential real estate. Currently, the neighborhood includes the complexities of a mature city not reducible to singular descriptions. Perhaps the most telling example of its ability to function as a city is the district's attempt to secede from Los Angeles in 2001.

### THE MARKET – field observations

*Regular customers visit the market almost religiously, and it is not uncommon to hear the market referred to in almost reverential terms.<sup>3</sup>*

*While I myself observe the people, I am suddenly aware of the traffic signal overhead that just changed from yellow to red, and I am reminded that I am on a public street in Los Angeles. This is not a permanent pedestrian boardwalk; in a matter of hours, Los Angeles' infamous traffic will have hold of the space once more.*

*The farmers market emerges as an urban destination of social*

<sup>2</sup> Visited on 01.10.10, 01.17.10, 03.28.10.

<sup>3</sup> SEE-LA 2008-09 Annual Economic Report: 8.

*dimensions, beginning as early as eight twenty-five on Sunday mornings. Shopping accessories including wheeled vegetable carts, large woven baskets and bags of all materials and sizes are the first means of knowing that the Hollywood Certified Farmers Market is a destination. Formal shopping attire, however, implies that people are here to observe each other. While Los Angeles has a reputation as having casual dressing conventions in public space, some shoppers come to market as though it had a dress code. Throughout the day, as I document the experience, I notice others with professional cameras using the market space for inspiration.*

### MARKET HISTORY

The Hollywood Farmers Market was established in May 1991 by Hollywood Economic Revitalization Effort (HERE) with city funds through the United Community and Housing Development Corporation (UCHDC). In 1996, Pompea Smith launched Sustainable Economic Enterprises of Los Angeles (SEE-LA) to manage the market and any expanded programs. SEE-LA currently organizes seven Certified Farmers Markets as well as The Farmers' Kitchen, the Farm to Table Program and Bring the Farmer to Your Classroom Program.

### SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

Walking through the market, I weave in and out from the central lanes, to the backstage of the booths, or the sidewalks. Without cars dominating the roads, the spatial makeup of the urban condition is inverted. **(see FIG 2.11)** The sidewalks, the usual domain of the pedestrian are, during market hours, the backstage area of the vendors, and indeed their parking lots. There are a couple exceptions.

When an adjacent program such as a coffee shop engages the sidewalk, the sidewalk space, perceived as belonging to both coffee shop and market patrons, integrates into the market domain effectively blurring the lines between the typical urban condition and the event. An example of this occurs with Café Etc on the corner of Selma and Cahuenga Streets. Another instance of this occurs when vendor cars are not parked on the sidewalks and market patrons appropriate these spaces, relatively protected from market crowds. (see FIG 2.12)

For markets located on public streets, the existing urban condition exists in often intriguing relationships with the market. The market has developed with the changing urban condition, and has grown or retracted in size accordingly. (see FIG 2.13) The market can either mask undesirable urban elements by its frenzied activity, or it can be an opportunity to enhance the existing context. The central intersection of the market provides an example of the former. A fresh seafood stand turns the corner east, and the SEE-LA Information Tent turns the corner south towards Sunset Boulevard and the southern branch of the agricultural section of the market. Between these three stands, fragments of the urban fabric are visible. In this case, concrete blocks painted gray and topped off by barbed wire peak through. The jarring juxtapositions in Los Angeles are so ubiquitously that they have become mundane and hardly noticeable.

A significant by-product of the Hollywood farmers market is the recently opened Farmers Kitchen4 that provides “a community space that will extend the once-

4 SEE-LA's most ambitious project, the Farmer's Kitchen, opened for operation on May 17, 2009...Aimed toward reducing food insecurity and unemployment, and located at the heart of one of the CRA/LA's redevelopment zones, The Farmer's Kitchen is a new local hub for economic development, sustainable agriculture, and healthy, fresh food. Its strategic location in the center of new housing and commercial developments and public transportation hubs place it in an ideal position to link farmers to a diverse urban population. SEE-LA's

week presence of the Farmers' Market.”<sup>5</sup> The notable characteristics are that a permanent “brick-and-mortar” urban element has resulted from the otherwise ephemeral and seemingly informal existence of the farmers market. In addition, the new urban element continues the public service agenda of the market.

According to the agenda of the market, one of the most notable ongoing contributions to the urban landscape is the example it provides for the development of public space:

*As the neighborhood surrounding the market undergoes massive revitalization and development, the HFM is becoming ever more vital as a community gathering place. Over 6 million square feet of new residential and retail space is scheduled for construction within a 1.5 mile radius of the market. As planners and developers work to make Los Angeles more community-centered, walkable, and sustainable, they can look to the HFM as a model of the type of safe, social, outdoor experience Angelenos are yearning for.*<sup>6</sup>

Also ubiquitous in Los Angeles are the surface parking lots. In the case of the Hollywood Farmers Market, four parking lots flank the market at different locations. With the rising land development in Hollywood, these areas are underutilized by market standards. As the market acts as “the front porch of Hollywood” for many residents, the question of how to develop these parcels arises.

principles of sustainability are embodied in the Farmer's Kitchen: connecting with our small local farmers, shortening the food distribution chain, job training and economic development, access to healthy foods, and education about food and nutrition. (SEE-LA), Annual Report , 2008-2009; pg.9

5 www.see-la.org

6 (SEE-LA), Annual Report , 2008-2009; pg. 9

↗ PUBLIC-PRIVATE EXCHANGES BLURS BOUNDARIES OF OWNERSHIP

- A. Private-public realm of coffee shop aims to extend into market-space.
- B. Public Realm extends into exterior and interior space of permanent Market / SEE-LA funded public-private community kitchen / nutrition center.
- C. Public Realm and market exchange extended into commercial court.

△ ENTRANCES INTO ADJACENT ESTABLISHMENTS

- E1. Cafe Etc.
- E2. Big Wangs Restaurant / Bar
- E3. Soi 56 - Thai Restaurant
- E4. Farmer's Kitchen - Cafe and Educational Community Program
- E5. Space 15 twenty - Retail: Urban Outfitters / Hennessy&Ingalls / Gallery
- E6. Fast-Food Outlet - Jack in the Box

○ SUPPORT SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCUTRE

- 1. Shared Restroom and Produce Washing Facilities at Theatre

▲ SPATIAL APPROPRIATION - LOCATION AND IMAGES

- 1. Sidewalk used by cafe and market users.
- 2. Sidewalk and strip-mall low wall appropriated by market patrons.
- 3. Driveway clearance space appropriated by market patrons.
- 4. Side street appropriated by market patrons.
- 5. Driveway clearance space appropriated by market patrons.
- 6. Sidewalk appropriated by market patrons.
- 7. Market exchange extended into exterior / interior space of Farmer's Kitchen.
- 9. End of market appropriated by outside vendors, political activists and market patrons.

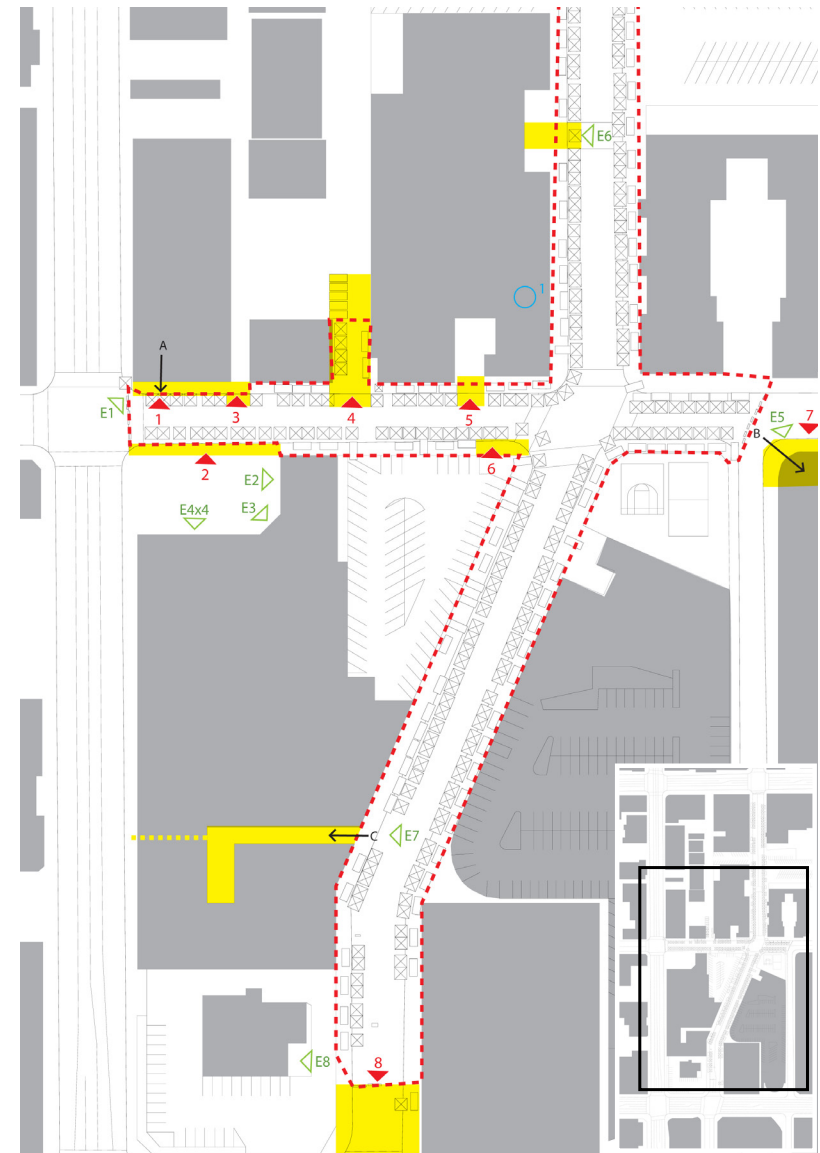
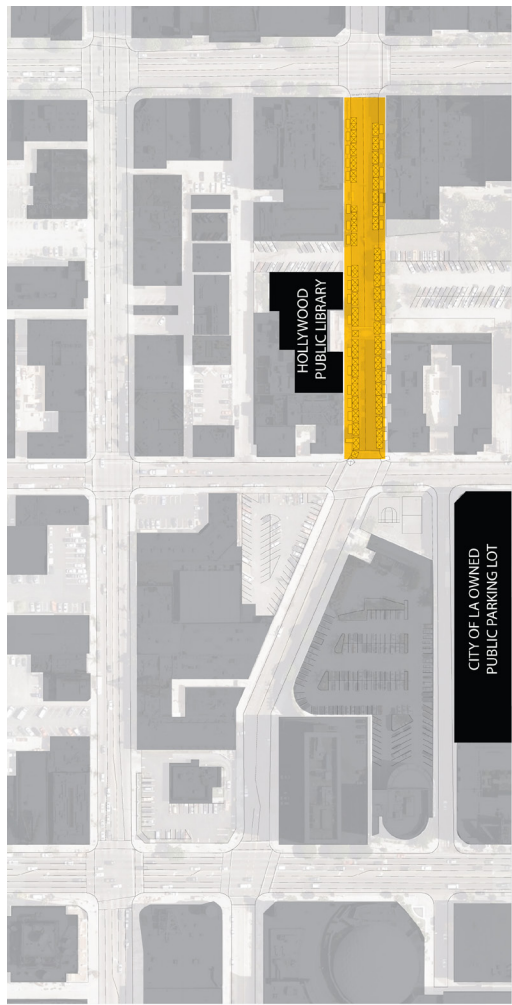
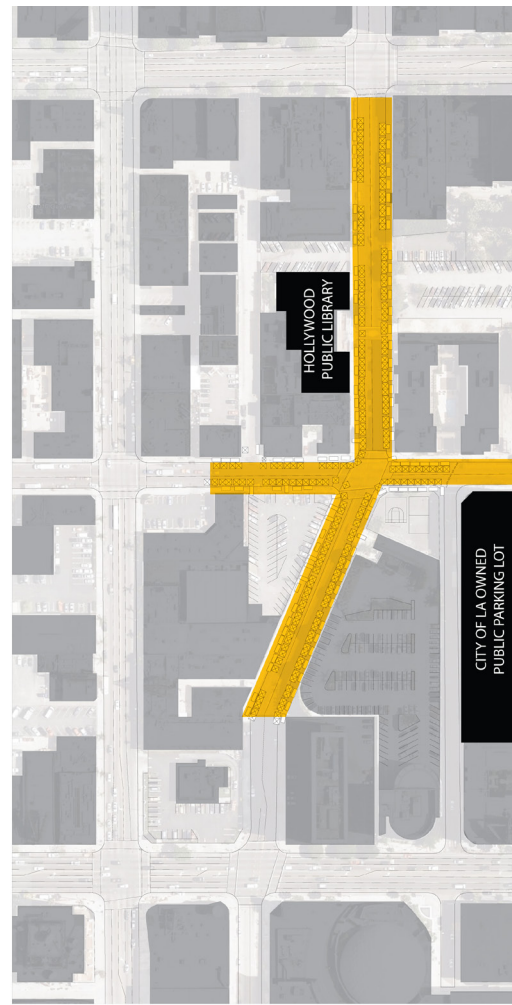


FIG 2.12: HOLLYWOOD CFM PLAN OF SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

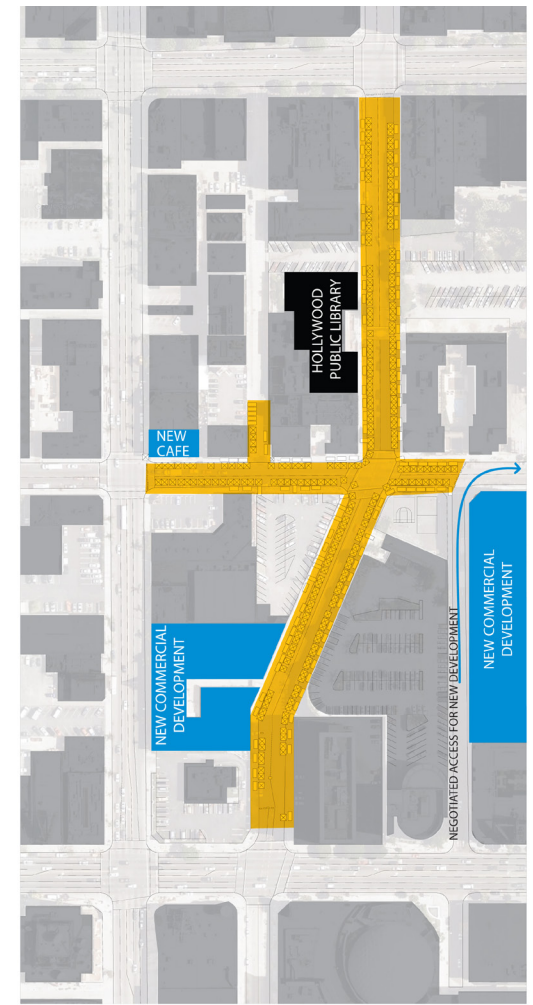
LOCATION MAP



HOLLYWOOD CFM - DEVELOPMENT PHASE I



HOLLYWOOD CFM - DEVELOPMENT PHASE II



HOLLYWOOD CFM - DEVELOPMENT PHASE III

FIG 2.13: THE GROWTH OF HOLLYWOOD CFM IN THREE PHASES FROM 1991 - 2010  
The market adjusts to changing urban conditions over as it grows in size and popularity.

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

One of the unique features of farmers markets are the conversations occurring between vendors and shoppers. These are sustained over time by the ritualistic nature of markets occurring at the same time every week. These casual relationships are spatially reinforced by the fixed locations of the vendors in the market. **(see FIG 2.14 - 2.17)** In fact, market patrons often inquire at the information booth if they cannot find a particular vendor. While market patrons converse with each other and with vendors throughout the market, areas designated for public gathering provide a space for interaction for its own sake. These areas, developing with the growth of the market over time, are an extension of the informal conversations that occur while shopping. Thereby, market goers know where to find a particular vendor, or use the social space to set up a meeting with friends. The spatial organization of the market, with vendors in their fixed locations and an area or two for social interactions, provides a separation of uses that facilitates orientation even during crowded times.

The two main areas of social interaction at the market are the street crossroads of Selma/Ivar and Selma/Cosmo. The former is characterized by dynamic exchange while the latter example invites leisurely gathering. Neither of these areas was part of the original market, but rather developed, as needed, over time. Smaller pockets of space appropriated for social use revolve around these bigger nodes, or other social program such as music stands. The provision of space and elements facilitating social interaction exists in continual feedback between market patrons and market operators. As the former creatively use undesignated

space to serve their needs, the market organizers adapt the market design to include some infrastructure, such as tables, chairs or simply space, to facilitate social exchange.

The sitting area, along Cosmo, an alley-sized street, perpendicular to Selma at the exact point the market booths transition from cooked food to the artifacts section, provides a gathering area removed from the dynamic movement of the market, but still visually connected. There are two long tables with plastic chairs that might sit eight to ten people. However, most people sit on the red-painted curb, or on the sidewalk, despite splattering of food from earlier patrons.

As one of the most visible areas of the market and a point of orientation, the intersection of Selma and Ivar effectively serves as the center of the market. And this center is predominantly a gathering space. As I observe the scene, a man eating by himself in the center of the market has just recognized his neighbors; the two women, stopping to talk, have just discovered that he is a set designer, and continue a conversation they evidently did not engage as mere neighbors. The market is a stage for spontaneous meetings; it is also a place for more deliberate communication. Political issues, film screenings, people in waiting, children at play, crowds at the information booth and unprecedented foot traffic for this street all meet at the center. The intersection reveals social interactions in a space layered with competing activities supplied or appropriated for non-market exchange that also lend themselves as effective platforms for public communication.

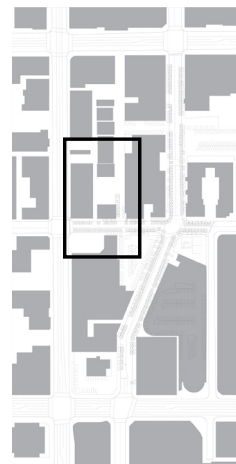
## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

1-2

The ends and entrances of markets often provide space for social interaction since booths are not as tightly spaced affording space to linger while still remaining part of the market. In the case of this entrance into the Hollywood CFM, the area overlaps with urban fabric that enhances the opportunity of social interactions.

3-5

Cosmo Street is only wide enough to accommodate booths on one side. Market patrons appropriate the remaining space on the other side for eating, sitting, lingering and gathering. Tables reveal that market organizers recognize the social character of this area, that is largely still defined by the users appropriating the existing urban fabric. The set up changes weekly, and sometimes includes social program, such as a live bands.



LOCATION MAP



FIG 2.14: HOLLYWOOD CFM PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

1. Cars do not park on the north side of Selma since the corner cafe uses the sidewalk for outdoor tables. Space is thereby created, and market goes gather.

2. The car free sidewalk and low wall provides space that is appropriated by market goers or their belongings. Space at the market is a high commodity; space to rest or gather is often left over and rarely part of the frontage.

3. The corner of Selma and Cosmo, between the artisan and cooked food booths has been appropriated as the main area to sit, eat, gather and meet. While some tables have been introduced by market organizers, most people sit where they can irrespective of sidewalk conditions. The same corner, on a different Sunday, is used by a band that shares the space with patrons eating and conversing.

4. Cosmo Street, looking south towards Selma, stretches the boundaries of the market by people moving to the periphery to find a place to rest and gather.

5. A booth advertizing job opportunities is aptly located in an area of the market where people tend to linger and gather; non-market uses, such as political or educational enterprises do not work as well placed along with the produce where they interrupt the rhythm of shopping. Placed in one of the two main market areas designated for social interaction, the success level in reaching more people increases.



FIG 2.15: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

6

Markets on public streets must keep booths clear of certain driveways in case of any emergency need. These places are often appropriated by market goers.

7-8

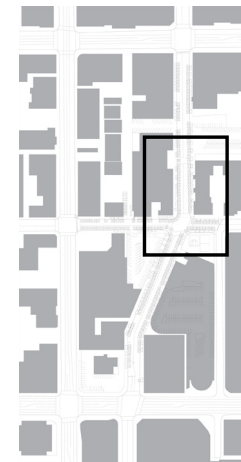
The sidewalks are often the back of markets and used for utilitarian needs such as parking, set up and storage during market hours. The sidewalks left free and close to other areas of non-market activities are usually appropriated by market patrons.

9-10

The main element for social interaction provided by the central intersection is space itself. Most non-market booths are also located around the intersection adding to an area of non-market exchange.

11

The street in front of the entrance to the public library, a civic support system for the market, is kept either open or used for a non-market station such as live music.



LOCATION MAP

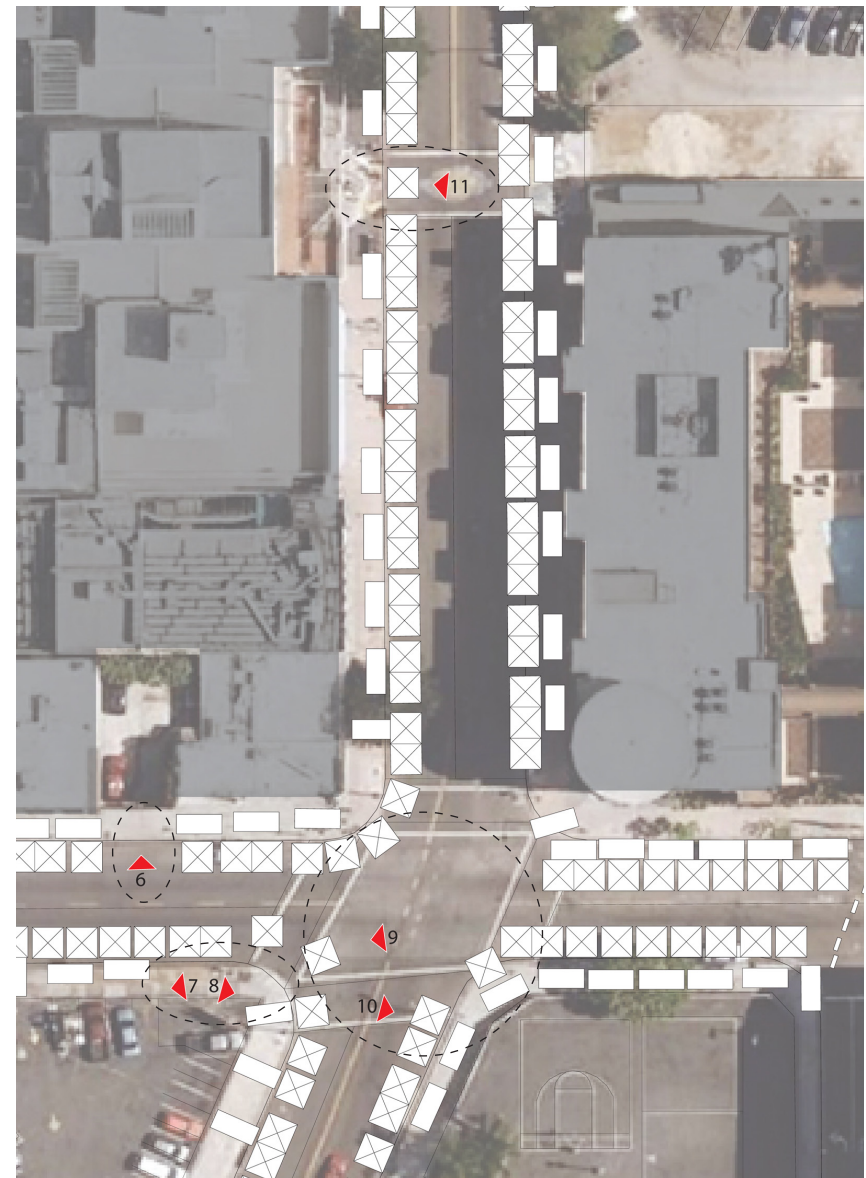


FIG 2.16: HOLLYWOOD CFM PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

6. Market patrons use clear driveway and gate as a picnic ground.

7. The back of the market, typically the sidewalk, provides children with free areas for “urban nature” play and exploration.

8. An unoccupied sidewalk corner, close to prepared food booths and the main market intersection, has been transformed into a picnic area.

4. Children activities create additional reasons for people to gather in the central area.

5. The market information booth is located close to the central intersection adding to the elements of social and educational exchange.

6. Three market patrons gather on the library crosswalk, marked by a terrazzo mosaic.



FIG 2.17: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

CASE STUDY TWO:  
Santa Monica Certified Farmers Market

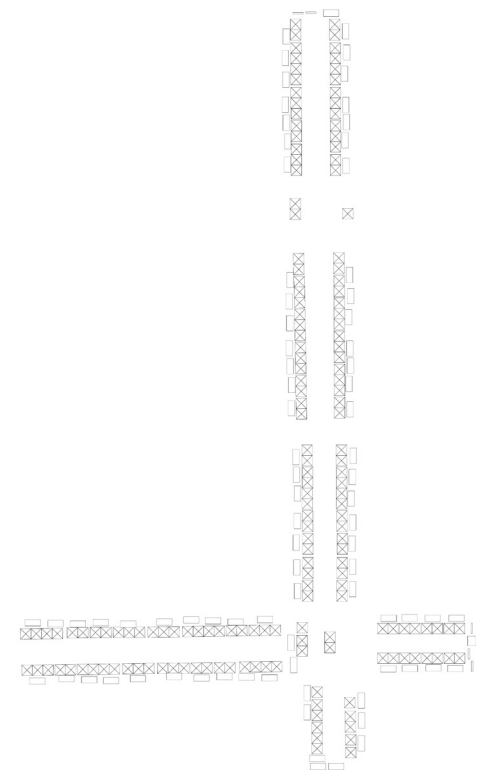


FIG 2.18: SANTA MONICA CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## SANTA MONICA CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: public – City of Santa Monica  
funding: public  
purpose: to create community; healthy food for elderly community  
affordability: EBT; WIC; SFMNP

### TIME

year established: 1981  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Wednesday  
time of operation: 8am – 1pm

### SPACE

form: grid; public street  
size: 45,273 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 50  
site ownership: public

location in area: central to City of Santa Monica  
location: public street  
previous locations: none

landmark adjacencies: retail – 3rd Street Promenade  
fabric adjacencies: commercial and single and multi-family residential  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market  
parking amenities: public parking in adjacent structure – paid; street parking  
– free or metered

## MARKET SUMMARY

The Santa Monica CFM does not allow any but primary producers to sell, excluding both artisans and prepared food vendors. Its commitment to providing produce began with its establishment when Mayor Ruth Yannatta Goldway established the market in 1981 to provide healthy food to the large elderly community of Santa Monica. Currently, one of the only sections specifically designed for social interaction comprises of 12 – 14 chairs where, mostly seniors, sit, observe and converse. The Santa Monica CFM is, economically, the most involved in city networks. Not only individuals, but many restaurants from throughout Southern California depend on its produce. In addition, its location was chosen to stimulate activity on the then unremarkable Third Street Mall, now the Third Street Promenade one of the most popular shopping and pedestrian malls in the greater Los Angeles area.

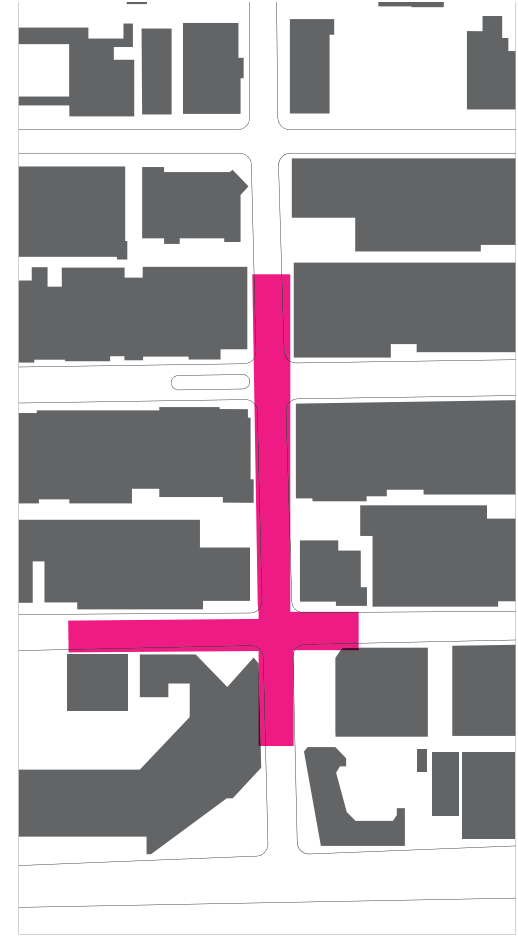


800' x 1600' AREA AERIAL - SANTA MONICA CFM



OWNERSHIP:

SITE OWNERSHIP: PUBLIC  
 MARKET SITE: STREET



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

CFM AREA: +/- 62,500 SF  
 CFM PERIMETER: +/- 2,547'  
 No. OF VENDORS: +/- 75  
 EDGE ENCLOSURE: 55%  
 URBAN TYPOLOGY: INFILL MARKET

FIG 2.19: SANTA MONICA CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



(E) ZONING:

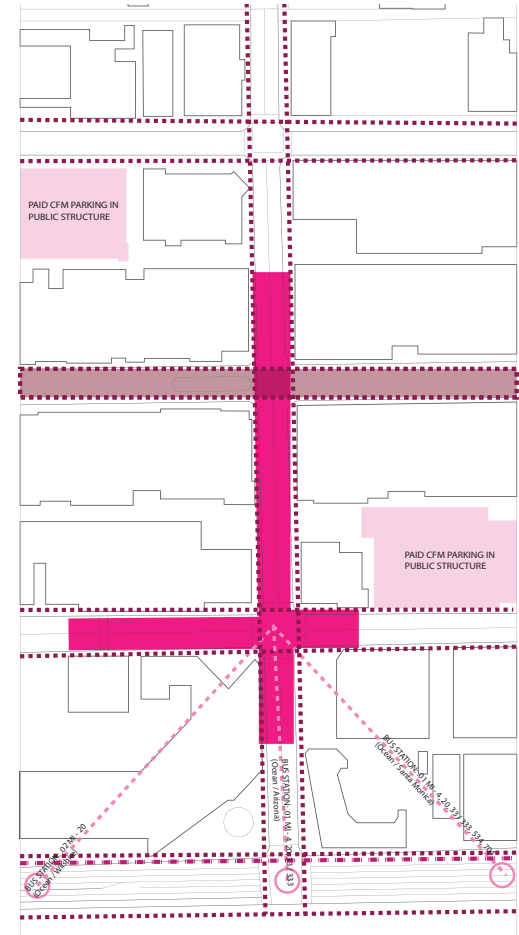
- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- INSTITUTIONAL
- OPEN SPACE

DOMINANT ZONING:  
COMMERCIAL



PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:

- ARTS&CRAFTS: 0%
- FARMERS: 88%
- COOKED FOOD: 2%
- SOCIAL GATHERING: 10%
- PARKING: --



MARKET ACCESS:

- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS YES
- BICYCLE LANE YES
- BUS STATION 5/0
- CAR - PARKING YES



FIG 2.20: MARKET IN FOREGROUND OF ARIZONA AND 2ND STREET INTERSECTION

## SANTA MONICA CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>7</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The image of the City of Santa Monica revolves around the natural and the commercial. The beach stretching along the Pacific Coast Highway seems quite disparate from the economic activity of the Third Street Promenade. Indeed, the bluffs create a natural separation of over sixty feet in height between the two worlds. The history of Santa Monica has often times been at odds with its neighbor, the City of Los Angeles, especially in economic endeavors as evidenced by the battle over the Port location.<sup>8</sup> Refusing to be annexed by the greater City of Los Angeles, the City of Santa Monica has developed a comprehensive and integrated policy on the relationship between government involvement in the life of the city. As such, even seemingly small support services such as publicly operated parking structures to serve the shops of the business district attest to the support. Accordingly, it was a city mayor that created the city operated farmers market.

### THE MARKET – field observations

*Walking along the bluffs on Ocean Avenue, I turn onto Arizona Street towards the biggest farmers' market in the greater Los Angeles area.<sup>9</sup> At 8:30 in the morning, the market begins in full swing, while many of the retail shops and restaurants along*

<sup>7</sup> Visited on 01.27.10, 03.24.10.

<sup>8</sup> Santa Monica "lost" the battle when the Port located in San Pedro after its annexation to the City of Los Angeles, instead of in Santa Monica harbor, as desired by the latter. For a thorough account, see Fogelson, R. 19

<sup>9</sup> While the Hollywood Market includes more vendors in general, Santa Monica has the largest number of farmers that sell at the market.

*the Promenade have yet to open. By 11 am, the market is still bustling with over 70% regular customers, while a few tourists perambulate the Promenade. While the touristic retail spine of the Promenade physically intersects with the location of the farmers' market, the two remain otherwise discrete socio-spatial practices. In experience, the market seems to occupy a parallel world in comparison to the 3rd Street Promenade.*

### MARKET HISTORY

In 1981, the primary purpose of the market was to provide the community service of fresh produce in a public setting for the large section of elderly citizens in the city. Currently, the Santa Monica Certified Farmers Market caters to a large section of residents as well as restaurants across county lines.

The symbiotic relationship between the farmers' market and the restaurant and retail sectors has been intended since the establishment of the market. The particular location for the market was chosen by Mayor Ruth Yannatta Goldway<sup>10</sup> in order to revitalize the 3rd Street Mall.<sup>11</sup> While the market only drew crowds on Wednesday mornings, the formerly neglected retail zone has flourished into one of the most financially successful retail zones with the farmers' market as a significant contributing factor.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Mayor of City of Santa Monica 1981 - 1983

<sup>11</sup> conversation with Santa Monica CFM manager Laura Avery on 01.27.10

<sup>12</sup> conversation with Santa Monica CFM manager Laura Avery on 01.27.10

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

Indeed, even the market design and physical regulations are more stringent; the fire-lane, painted in black so as to not distract drivers on non-market days, must be adhered to by the vendors to the inch. I walk around with Laura and the Fire Chief to ensure that this regulation is followed.<sup>13</sup> The Fire Chief, in fact, has arrived because one of the flower vendors is blocking an access alley by about five feet. Laura, the Fire Chief and the vendor discuss the matter for several minutes and finally determine the need for her to move by only a couple feet. The fire lane requirements determine many of the spatial characteristics of all markets, although not all are rigorous in their implementation. One of the main factors not allowed, however, are any coverings across the aisles of the markets.

Like all street markets, Santa Monica CFM follows the street grid and exists as an infill condition to the existing urban pattern. **(see FIG 2.21)**



FIG 2.21: SPATIAL CONFIGURATION: MARKET FOLLOWS EXISTING STREET GRID

<sup>13</sup> Hollywood Farmers' Market, among others, is more lenient on this issue

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

The Santa Monica Certified Farmers' Market has grown over the past 29 years<sup>14</sup> to include two street intersections serving as gathering spaces along the main spine of the market. The first intersection, at 2nd Street and Arizona, includes a coffee stand, the Information Booth with various brochures on recipes, community events, an old battery collection tube and food stamps, and on this particular Wednesday, the Sustainable Works stand "promoting sustainable practices in the urban environment."<sup>15</sup> The second intersection is at the famous 3rd Street Promenade; it includes a booth ran by Ernest Miller of Preserve Nation aimed at educating market goers on food preservation, and a booth offering prepared food featuring a different local restaurant each week.

While many of the social interactions at Santa Monica CFM occur on the go, the two major intersections provide spaces to meet and gather. Furthermore, as in many other markets, these are also the zones that lend themselves to the use by people such as political activists and others searching for areas of high public activity to distribute information on various concerns. On the edge of the markets, just outside the perceived market bounds, other vendors and musicians establish to take advantage of the pedestrian flows. **(see FIG 2.21)**

Unlike other farmers' markets allowing exchange of hot food and arts and crafts, Santa Monica permits only primary producers of produce-related goods to sell at market. Many of the loyal customers of the market are in fact restaurants whose employees come from all over Southern California to purchase fresh and

specialty produce. Currently, sixty "preferred chefs" from the greater Los Angeles area hold passes to the adjacent parking structures for convenient access to the market. While most markets might disappoint its patrons' by missing a week, the Wednesday market in Santa Monica would in fact affect the operations of a significant number of restaurants throughout the Southland. As such, the market holds a certain element of seriousness in its exchange practice unique among other markets.

<sup>14</sup> The Wednesday Santa Monica CFM was first held in July 1981.

<sup>15</sup> Sustainable Works motto as written on business card; [www.sustainableworks.org](http://www.sustainableworks.org)

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

1-3

The intersection of Arizona and 2nd Street provides location of the information booths and other non-market booths, as well as space for meetin and gathering.

4-5

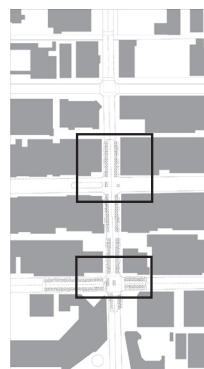
The intersection of Arizona and 3rd Street Promenade shows the meeting between the resident dominated market and the tourist dominated retail strip.

6-7

Most social interactions occur at the vendor booths.

8

The space just outside the market boundaries provides opportunities to engage market patrons without technically being part of the market. Other vendors and performers appropriate this zone.



LOCATION MAP



FIG 2.22: SANTA MONICA CFM PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

1. In affiliation with the City of Santa Monica, the 'Sustainability' booth provides information for patrons regarding energy saving methods.

2. The only space in the market specifically intended for social interactions is the senior sitting booth where plastic chairs allow people to sit, talk and observe. This is reminiscent of the elderly population initially engaged in the creation of the market.

3. A group of four advertises a product via a performance at the main intersection.

4. A non-market booth on 'food preservation.'

5. Tourists and residents converge at the 3rd Street intersection.

6. Most social interactions occur at vendor booths as people shop.

7. Most chance encounters happen on the busy market street.

8. A performer just outside the market boundaries.



FIG 2.23: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

CASE STUDY THREE:  
Beverly Hills Certified Farmers Market

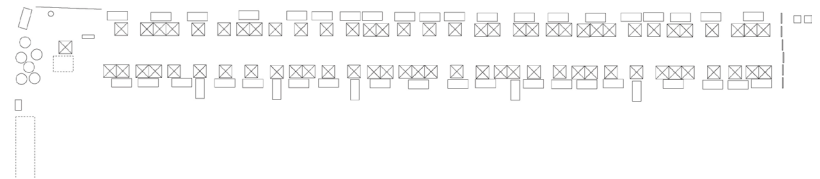


FIG 2.24: BEVERLY HILLS CFM - MARKET FORM

## BEVERLY HILLS CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: public – City of Beverly Hills  
funding: public  
purpose: to create community  
affordability: EBT machine pending

### TIME

year established: 1981  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Wednesday  
time of operation: 8am – 1pm

### SPACE

form: grid; public street  
size: 45,273 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 50  
site ownership: public

location in area: central to City of Beverly Hills  
location: public street  
previous locations: Wells Fargo Parking Lot

landmark adjacencies: civic – Beverly Hills Public Library, Police Department and Civic Center  
fabric adjacencies: commercial and single family residential  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market  
parking amenities: free street parking

## MARKET SUMMARY

Focused on creating a safe space for community outings, the Beverly Hills Farmers Market has re-located away from any threatening traffic, currently operating on Civic Center Drive. As such, the market provides an abundance of space, with eight feet between each booth, and mores support services than most other markets, including water and sinks for washing, wheeled carts and electricity city station. There seems to be nothing to affect – at least from the business side, since all the offices operate only on weekdays, and little in the surrounding context with which to engage; the market emerges as its own secluded, ephemeral world. The social space of the market is highly developed and includes eight round tables with chairs and different forms of entertainment such as performances and a petting zoo and pony ride. The market, city run, on a street relatively without weekend activity, buffered from traffic by a wide easement and enjoying a generous amount of space, presents the atmosphere of a outing to a rural fair.

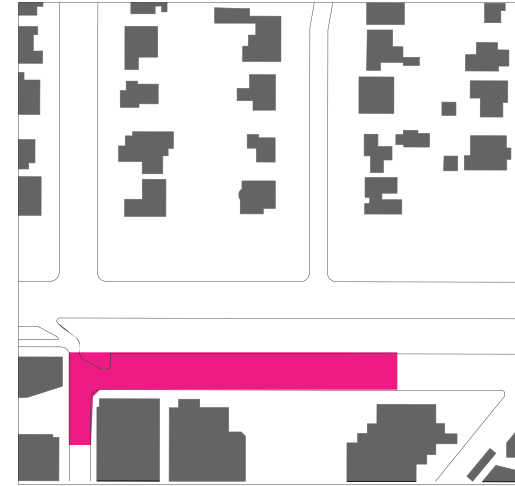


800' x 800' AREA AERIAL - BEVERLY HILLS CFM



OWNERSHIP:

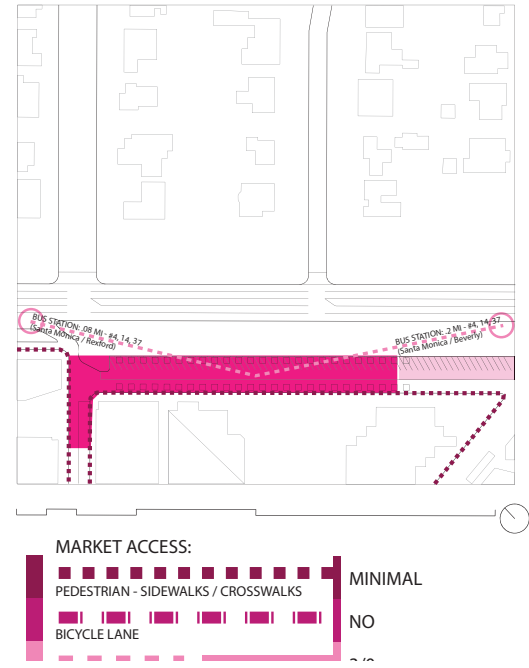
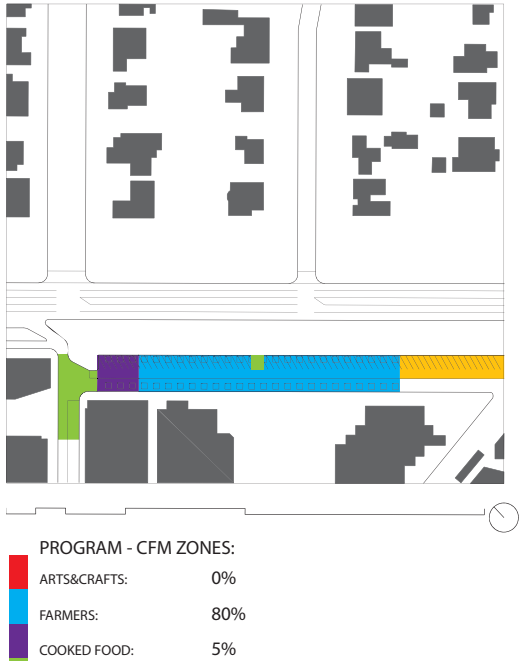
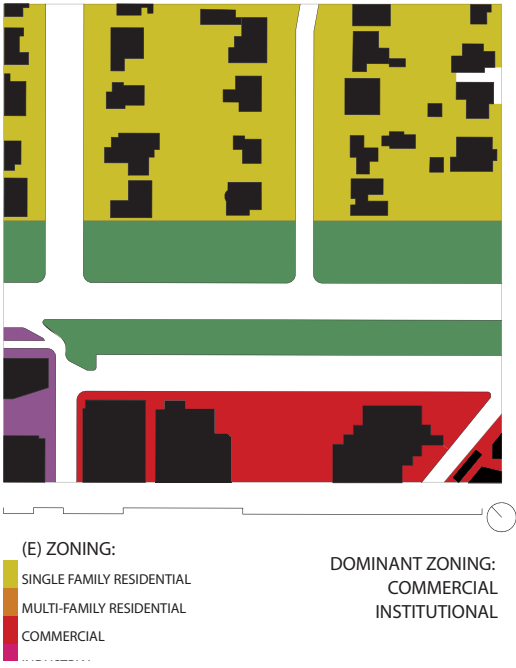
SITE OWNERSHIP:	PUBLIC
MARKET SITE:	STREET



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

CFM AREA:	+/- 34,969 SF
CFM PERIMETER:	+/- 1,373'
No. OF VENDORS:	+/- 50

FIG 2.25: BEVERLY HILLS CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



## BEVERLY HILLS CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>16</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The City of Beverly Hills is characterized by images turned clichés from sources real and imagined. Driving through the city, I am mainly aware of expanding space all around me, as if the scale of reality is slightly off. Streets and sidewalks are wider, and privacy hedges hide vaster spaces beyond. While the demographics of the city continue to change and diversify, and a surprising sixty percent of residents are renters, the city continues to be defined by an atmosphere of leisurely organization of its vast space, where all space is in its place, just like all street trees are symmetrically planted to subtly define the aesthetic.

### MARKET – field observations

*I arrived at the Beverly Hills Certified Farmers Market at ten in the morning. I turned off the main road, and before I could even think of searching for a parking space, I found one. I had never found a closer spot more quickly. Stepping out onto Civic Center Drive, the Civic Center of the City of Beverly Hills, the pressures of space dissipated. I walked from my car the entire length of the market. Like most markets on public streets, the market takes on the shape of the city grid. The market does not, however, fill the street; the booths float in the space around them since neither adjacent booths nor the existing context provides an anchor. This light engagement makes the market feel even more ephemeral. The market*

<sup>16</sup> Visited on 01.17.10.

*feels loose and temporary in its street vessel, a couple sizes too big; unlike markets that transform the existing context by usurping all attention away, the Beverly Hills market exists alongside its context like an acquaintance. In the midst of the farm stands, the typical hustle and bustle is instead a leisurely, although enthusiastic stroll; an appreciation for being out of doors. Looking north, across the easement and towards Santa Monica Boulevard and the hills, I could be on rural farmland watching the traffic of an interstate. The market does not have the urban urgency characteristic of dense city situations in which both time and space are money. All these sign point to the fact that the market is here as a choice, and not out of necessity.*

### MARKET HISTORY

Established in 1995 by the City of Beverly Hills, the purpose of the market was to act as a “community meeting spot” for the residents of Beverly Hills. According to the market manager, Greta Dunlap, residents continue to meet at the market and “see their neighbors’ children grow up.” However, despite the leisurely atmosphere characteristic of markets not focused on the bottom line, the welfare of equitable trade for farmers are of high concern. The administration charges farmers 6% of sales while the prepared food vendors pay 10%; only farmers sold at the market when it began, but due to customer demand, prepared food was also introduced. Arts and Crafts booths are not allowed to protect the farmers. According to Greta, customers arrive with a certain amount of money to spend, and the administration prefers that the farmers receive the money

instead of other endeavors.<sup>17</sup> The market does not, however, service only Beverly Hills; residents from West Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Woodland Hills, Cheviot Hills and Beverlywood also frequent the market. Surprisingly, Greta is in the process of obtaining an EBT machine, as several customers over the past few months have inquired about the potential of using food stamps at the market. While this seems paradoxical in a city as affluent as Beverly Hills, surveys Greta conducted in a six mile radius of the market have shown a significant number of people on welfare to make it worthwhile for the market to provide the service.<sup>18</sup> The civic aspirations of farmers market culture regarding equitable food distribution may prompt many managers to broaden their customer base, even in areas as affluent as Beverly Hills.

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

On weekdays, the North side of the street serves as the parking for the offices on the South. Saturday and Sunday, the street lies empty as the offices on its south side are closed, and the north side, separated by an easement from the busy Santa Monica Boulevard thoroughfare, retains a quite buzz from the muffled noise of traffic. **(see FIG 2.26 - 2.27)** Without the market, the street on weekends is effectively deserted; but during operating hours the market injects activity to Civic Center Drive.

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<sup>17</sup> It seems like many city-run markets share this sentiment; Santa Monica is a big example; must also keep in mind that arts&crafts booths are usually charged more, and make more money for the market.

<sup>18</sup> Over 60% of Beverly Hills is a renter community as many people move to the area for the high quality public school system. [www.beverlyhills.org](http://www.beverlyhills.org)

Spatially, the Beverly Hills Market is the most generous I have visited. The street is divided into two discrete zones: half the street serves as parking and the other as the market. The length of the street is more than adequate for free Sunday meter parking and for the market, which has doubled in size since its beginning, to include over 50 vendors. Neither function puts undue stress on the street's capacity; at fifty-five feet in width, Civic Center Drive could accommodate two rows of market booths. The central market space is eighteen feet with booths spaced at about eight feet apart from each other, which is unprecedented compared to other markets that would infill the surplus space with more vendors.

Perhaps metaphorically, the Beverly Hills farmers' market suffers from excess space without enough uses to fill it or active neighbors to engage. The entire length of the north side of the street receives no cross traffic due to the easement, and the south side is lined by a civic and business district operating strictly on a weekday schedule. The south-side sidewalk is largely unencumbered by market cars or stands. Since the market does not have existing activity with which to engage, many support services are supplied by the market itself, such as the portable toilet facilities on the east end of the market. It is possible, however, to use the facilities in the near-by Beverly Hills Public Library. Market management also sets up a sink station for any necessary washing accessible to both buyers and sellers. Electricity is accessed on the north side of the market from a publicly owned station. Beverly Hills CFM, through the City of Beverly Hills, provides more support services than most other markets. The vendors appreciate the services, and in this case it does not affect the rent of farmers kept at a low constant since community service and not profits is the concern of the market. Profit-based

markets usually pass on infrastructure fees to the vendors.

Indeed, the market does not step on anyone's toes, nor does it complicate any existing traffic or business patterns since it finds itself in a space almost entirely devoid of other activity. The market used to function in a more active location a few blocks south in the Wells Fargo parking lot. However, since the infamous accident at the Santa Monica CFM, it reconsidered the safety of its location in respect to traffic patterns and congestion.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, the physical location of the market is secluded and spacious.

It's location, while visible from Santa Monica Boulevard, is effectively separated both spatially by the easement in chain-link defense, as well as by the high traffic speed of the thoroughfare, causing the market to quickly disappear from view and mind. Unconcerned with profits, the market has grown at a leisurely pace with a customer base focused on the prospect of a Sunday outing consisting of social interaction while helping small farmers, and not a necessary ritual of gathering a week's worth of resources.

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

The market, established to facilitate community camaraderie, is sensitive to the needs of its patrons. **(see FIG 2.28 - 2.29)** Accordingly, the management of the market is focused on the wishes of the community. An information booth, centrally located along the north row of stands, provides wheeled shopping carts

<sup>19</sup> West Hollywood CFM is another example of a market location influenced to move after the 199x Santa Monica Accident – get article source here.

along with the typical brochures and information. A stand alone poster, much like advertising the daily specials at a restaurant, promotes the market activities of the month. January is "Beet Month" and includes activities that range from the environmentally conscious to the child-friendly and educational: Electronic-Waste and Used Battery Disposal Station, Cooking Kids Classes and a Petting Zoo and Live Entertainment. A security officer ensures peaceful gathering, although according to the manager, his services have never been needed. The market's location is a matter of choice and a desire for the perceived security afforded by a street without weekend traffic. Perhaps due to the secluded nature of its location away from urban activity, I did not observe any people there for reasons other than market exchange.

The long axis of farmer stands culminates in eight round tables for socializing and consuming the prepared food on site; the tables were requested by the patrons. All tables are full and visitors seem settled in. At the bend in the road, various events provide entertainment; on the Sunday of my visit, three Capueira Performers entertained those seated, and a pony-ride, camel and mobile petting zoo presented an unexpected scene for children. Between the petting zoo and the Capueira Zone, a booth advertising Census Jobs proclaimed the seventeen dollar per hour work opportunity. The spatial qualities that never allowed the market to reach peak densities endow the market with a rural feel, away from typical urban stresses of exchange.



FIG 2.26: UNDERUSED SPACE AROUND MARKET : Especially the city-owned easement on the north buffering it from Santa Monica Boulevard and residential fabric to the north



FIG 2.27: MARKET VIEW NORTH TOWARDS SANTA MONICA BOULEVARD



FIG 2.28: BEVERLY HILLS PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: locations

1-2

As the road turns, the area is devoted to children’s activities, such as a petting zoo, and other non-market uses.

3-6

The intersection marks the largest area provided for social interactions apart from buying and selling.

7

The market street also serves as space for face-to-face interactions as patrons shop.

8

The information booth is centrally located in the middle of the markets street.

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

1. Pony rides and petting zoo promote visits as a family outing.
2. Non-market booths include the Census Job promotion.
3. Curb used for sitting.
4. Groups of people gather in central area.
5. Tables provided by management for eating, sitting and socializing.
6. Entertainment for market patrons changes weekly; capueira dancers are shown.
7. The market street, wider than most at the Beverly Hills CFM.
8. The information booth provides shopping accessories such as bags and carts in addition to information and recepies.



FIG 2.29: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

CASE STUDY FOUR:  
Silverlake Certified Farmers Market

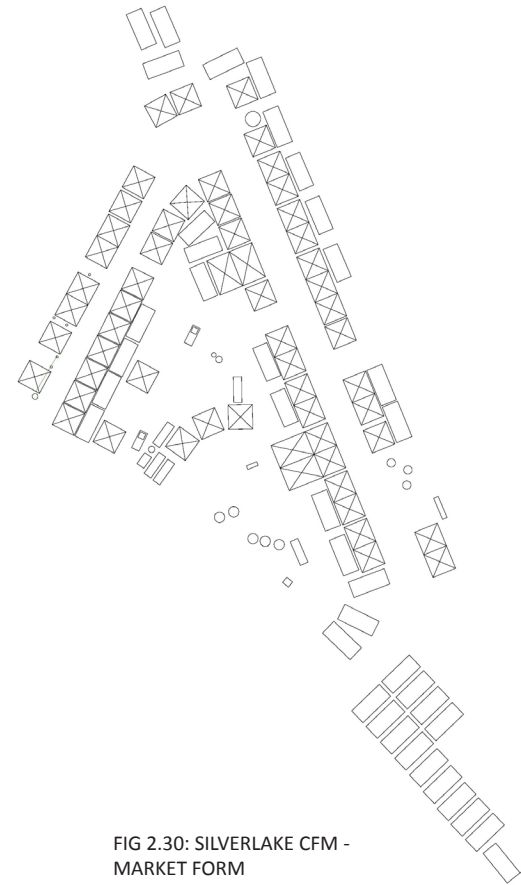


FIG 2.30: SILVERLAKE CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## SILVERLAKE CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: private – Sunset Junction  
funding: public  
purpose: to create community; to provide economic stimulus for small farmers, artisans  
affordability: food stamps, WIC,

### TIME

year established: 2002  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Saturday  
time of operation: 8am – 1pm

### SPACE

form: grid; public street and park  
size: 45,273 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 25  
site ownership: public

location in area: central to Silverlake  
location: public street  
previous locations: none

landmark adjacencies: civic – public school; retail – Sunset Boulevard  
fabric adjacencies: commercial and single and multi-family residential  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market  
parking amenities: street parking

### MARKET SUMMARY

While Silverlake Certified Farmers Market is relatively small, it provides one of the most robust experiences of social interaction and integration into the physical and social network of the neighborhood. The market has been administered by the adjacent public school as a youth program, and still maintains those ties, especially as the market manager, Edwin, graduated from the program and high school. The aptly named Triangle Park was created by and maintained with market proceeds. This is a permanent improvement to the neighborhood that has occurred as a direct result of the market. This area is specifically dedicated to social interaction, as well as dog-friendly zones. The market creates and maintains relationships between customers, vendors and adjacent neighbors. There is no information booth because the manager prefers informally helping and being around with the farmers. Restroom facilities are negotiated from an adjacent coffee shop and auto mechanic. In addition to a fee it receives, the coffee shop also enjoys the space to set out some outdoor tables on the public street during market operations. In the Silverlake CFM, there is a blurry line between market and context.



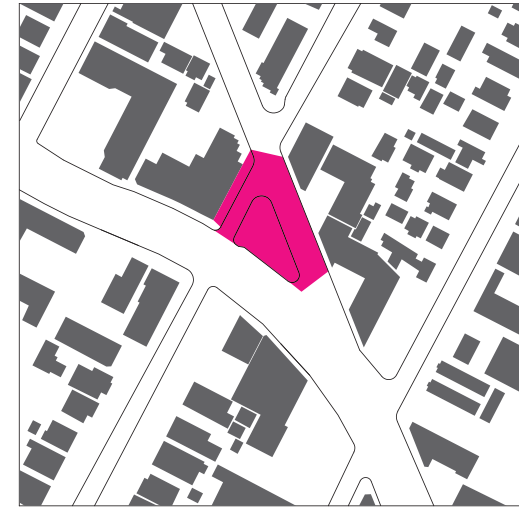
800' x 800' AREA AERIAL - SILVERLAKE CFM

FIG 2.31: SILVERLAKE CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



OWNERSHIP:

<p>SITE OWNERSHIP:</p> <p>MARKET SITE:</p>	<p>PUBLIC</p> <p>STREET / PARK</p>
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CFM FIGURE GROUND:

<p>CFM AREA:</p> <p>CFM PERIMETER:</p> <p>No. OF VENDORS:</p> <p>EDGE ENCLOSURE:</p> <p>URBAN TYPOLOGY:</p>	<p>+/- 24,336 SF</p> <p>+/- 631'</p> <p>+/- 32</p> <p>48%</p> <p>INFILL MARKET</p>
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**(E) ZONING:**

- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- INSTITUTIONAL
- OPEN SPACE

**DOMINANT ZONING:**  
COMMERCIAL  
RESIDENTIAL



**PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:**

- ARTS&CRAFTS: 20%
- FARMERS: 30%
- COOKED FOOD: 15%
- SOCIAL GATHERING: 35%
- PARKING -



**MARKET ACCESS:**

- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS YES
- BICYCLE LANE YES
- BUS STATION 3/0
- METRO STATION YES
- CAR - PARKING YES



FIG 2.32: MARKET VIEWS (top) looking north from Sunset Boulevard; (middle) looking west from Sunset boulevard; (bottom) looking south From Griffith Park Boulevard

## SILVERLAKE CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>20</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

An open reservoir<sup>21</sup> and hills with sharp turns on narrow streets characterize Silverlake, one of the oldest residential neighborhoods in the city. Walking its streets is an exercise in discovery as bridges across sunken courtyards introduce down-slope homes, all recesses serve storage purposes and stairways slice through to streets of higher or lower elevations. Perhaps the challenging topography engaged those settling in the area to build houses that did not waste land; forty-five degree slopes cannot accommodate the front lawn. While the dream of the single-family home was not killed by Silver Lake's terrain, it was modified. Richard Neutra, Rudolph Schindler and Gregory Ains all took advantage. As demographics continue to change, Silver Lake's geography breeds residents with an understanding of the value of innovation in claiming useable space.

### THE MARKET – field observations

*I arrived at 9am at the Saturday market. Uncertain at first if I wanted to remain long, I ended up staying over four hours until the end. The intriguing messiness of the activity slowly revealed the spatial negotiations for territory, use and infrastructure. The Silverlake Certified Farmers' Market takes full advantage of its surrounding context. Some first impressions stood out. The art and craft booths use the windowless, mullioned wall of El Conquistador Restaurant as a backdrop for spatial definition*

<sup>20</sup> Visited on 01.16.10.

<sup>21</sup> Silver Lake is one of the original ten open-reservoir communities. [www.cityplanning.cityofla.org](http://www.cityplanning.cityofla.org)

*and visual display. The outdoor tables from Mornings-Nights coffee shop spill into the street mingling with market wares and blurring the line between market and non-market uses. A whole new parking lot is created on market days on the sliver of undefined street space just north of Sunset Boulevard. Unlike other markets that seem to follow invisible borders in claiming their territory, the Silverlake CFM spills out into every physical nook and cranny afforded by adjacent buildings and traffic safety.*

### MARKET HISTORY

The Silverlake Certified Farmers Market falls within the Central Region of the City of Los Angeles, the Silverlake-Echo Park-Elysian Valley Community Plan and is in the Silver Lake Neighborhood. The Sunset Junction Neighborhood Alliance established the market in 1996. The market charges farmers 8% of their earnings, 12% for prepared food vendors and a flat rate of 35 dollars for craft vendors. The profits from the market are used for several programs, including maintenance of Triangle Park and working to provide programs for city youths at six local public schools without any more city funding.<sup>22</sup> However, contrary to its bustling appearance, the market has only recently begun to earn enough to pay city fees, which had been waived the first five years of its enterprise. The recent legislation passed by the City of Los Angeles Public Works will raise fees for farmers' markets using publicly owned land for their function. Thereby, the apparent success of the market, based on the large crowds it draws weekly, does not ensure its continued function.

<sup>22</sup> [www.sunsetjunction.org](http://www.sunsetjunction.org)

In Silverlake, the primary purpose of the market is to help the community in any way possible.<sup>23</sup> This is the only market I have seen selling used books; another vendor displays rock'n'roll collectibles. Such vendors, unable to afford the rent of a traditional brick and mortar store benefit along with the farmers. Edwin, the market manager, currently allows people to sell clothes and crafts that they did not produce in order to earn some money during the recession. Some vendors that cannot afford to sell within the market bounds have started selling clothes, music and incense outside the market on Sunset Boulevard, intercepting the market crowds. And so, an informal sector is building.

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

The market has evolved into three distinct zones that have clearly fashioned themselves according to the site. Presently the market includes two side streets, Edgecliffe Drive and Griffith Park Boulevard, intersecting with Sunset Boulevard at odd angles, and defining a triangular patch of formerly unused land. The wider Griffith Park Boulevard, the original market zone, includes the farmer booths currently mingling with two coffee shops on the north; Edgecliffe Drive holds the arts and crafts booths, and the intersection of the two streets culminates in a prepared food area and a DJ booth. The third market area, the triangular park marked by a central fountain, comprises some clothing racks, a sunglass stand, a jewelry booth, a face painting booth and a long table for prepared food patrons.

One mutually beneficial negotiation happens between the market and the Morning-Nights coffee shop. Market management pays a small fee, and market patrons are allowed to use the restroom facilities of the coffee shop, while the coffee shop is allowed enough space to spill onto the street during market operation. The sidewalk on this stretch of Griffith Park Boulevard is so tight, that pedestrian must walk on the street when the coffee shop has even one row of table on the footpath. Restroom facilities are also available in Enrique's Auto Parts; both coffee shop and auto shop benefit from the exposure, and market patrons are saved from using portable facilities.

Other discoveries occur on the north side of Griffith Park Boulevard. A five story brick apartment building, located several feet above street level, defines a picturesque courtyard. Undoubtedly a private court, market patrons nevertheless venture in. While the public benefits from the private sector, in this case extending the courtyard's function into the public domain, private enterprises take advantage of the gathered crowds. A tucked away shop displays its sign on the heavily trafficked Sunset Blvd sidewalk to attract business. **(see FIG 2.33 - 2.34)**

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<sup>23</sup> Farmers' markets like those in Santa Monica, regard non-farmer booths as interfering with the primary purpose of operation focused on providing fresh produce to residents.

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Social interactions and spontaneous conversations are abundant. **(see FIG 2.35 - 2.38)** Only 30% of patrons are regulars according to the market manager, so the area is ripe for fresh interactions. I discover that the scarves on sale are hand-made by the vendor who promises a potential customer to knit one of a particular color and bring it the following week. Walking down Griffith Park Boulevard towards the intersection of the farmer and craft sections, I step outside the limits of the market, delineated by traffic barriers and am instantly approached by Green Peace activists. Although they are allowed to approach people within the market, they have found that it works better to intercept people as they walk back to their cars.

As in most markets, however, people eat where they can; in this case, boulders, lawn and tree trunks all serve as chairs and tables. Many markets have elements catering to social gathering such as tables within the market zone; markets that create a distinct area for social interaction often separate it to a fault by separating it too much from the action. Silverlake is unique in that the area of social interaction is integrated within the overall experience of the market, while being treated on equal footing with its own distinct space. The different spatial elements promote more varied and prolonged activities than I have observed at other markets. People make use, often creatively, of the space provided for sitting, eating, conversing and playing. People sit and eat all around the tile base of the fountain. Others read on the boulders. A woman tutors a child in English; they each have their individual rock to sit and write on. Some people don't buy

things, but simply come to hang out; others only buy prepared food and sit in the park to partake of brunch with friends.

Many patrons come with children and the small park area allows a place for them to play. Three boys in fact played hide and seek in the park, but also used the U-Haul of a vendor as a hiding spot. No one interfered with their unorthodox play. Dogs, usually outcasts in traditional farmers' markets by virtue of the County Health Department, are allowed in the park and art and craft areas of the Silverlake market.

In the Silverlake Market there is no information booth with brochures, pamphlets and recipes; the market manager, Edwin, prefers to be out among the farmers, helping when the lines get too long. I found him, after a couple inquiries, behind a farmer's tables helping put away produce as the market prepared to close.

The interactions between buyers and sellers are of one nature, and their space is provided by the interface of the canopy, table and product sold. Other types of social communication require space as well. Most social interactions in the market occur where there is space for them, whether that space is provided or residual, in-between booth gaps.

↗ PUBLIC-PRIVATE EXCHANGES BLURS BOUNDARIES OF OWNERSHIP

- A. Public Realm extended on Private Steps of salon.
- B. Public Realm of market visually extended onto private wall.
- C. Public Realm extended onto Private Bench.
- D. Private Realm extended onto Public Street.
- E. Public Realm extended into Private Court of apartment building.

△ ENTRANCES INTO ADJACENT ESTABLISHMENTS

- E1. El Conquistador Restaurant
- E2. Fandango Salon
- E3. Enrique's Auto Repair
- E4. Apartment building
- E5. Mornings Nights Cafe
- E6. Vegetarian Cafe
- E7. Strip Mall
- E8. Salon

○ SUPPORT SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

- 1. Shared Restroom Facilities at Enrique's Auto Repair
- 2. Shared Restroom Facilities at Mornings Nights Cafe

▲ SPATIAL APPROPRIATION - LOCATION AND IMAGES

- 1. Sidewalk outside market lines appropriated by non-market vendors.
- 2. Private restaurant bench appropriated by market patrons.
- 3. Private apartment building court used as public strolling space during market hours by market patrons.
- 4. Sidewalk outside market lines appropriated by non-market vendors.
- 5. Private cafe sign displayed inside "market territory" to attract business.
- 6. Public sign-post appropriated as bike rack.
- 7. Private restaurant wall appropriated by vendors as booth backdrop.
- 9. Curb appropriated by vendor as display shelf.

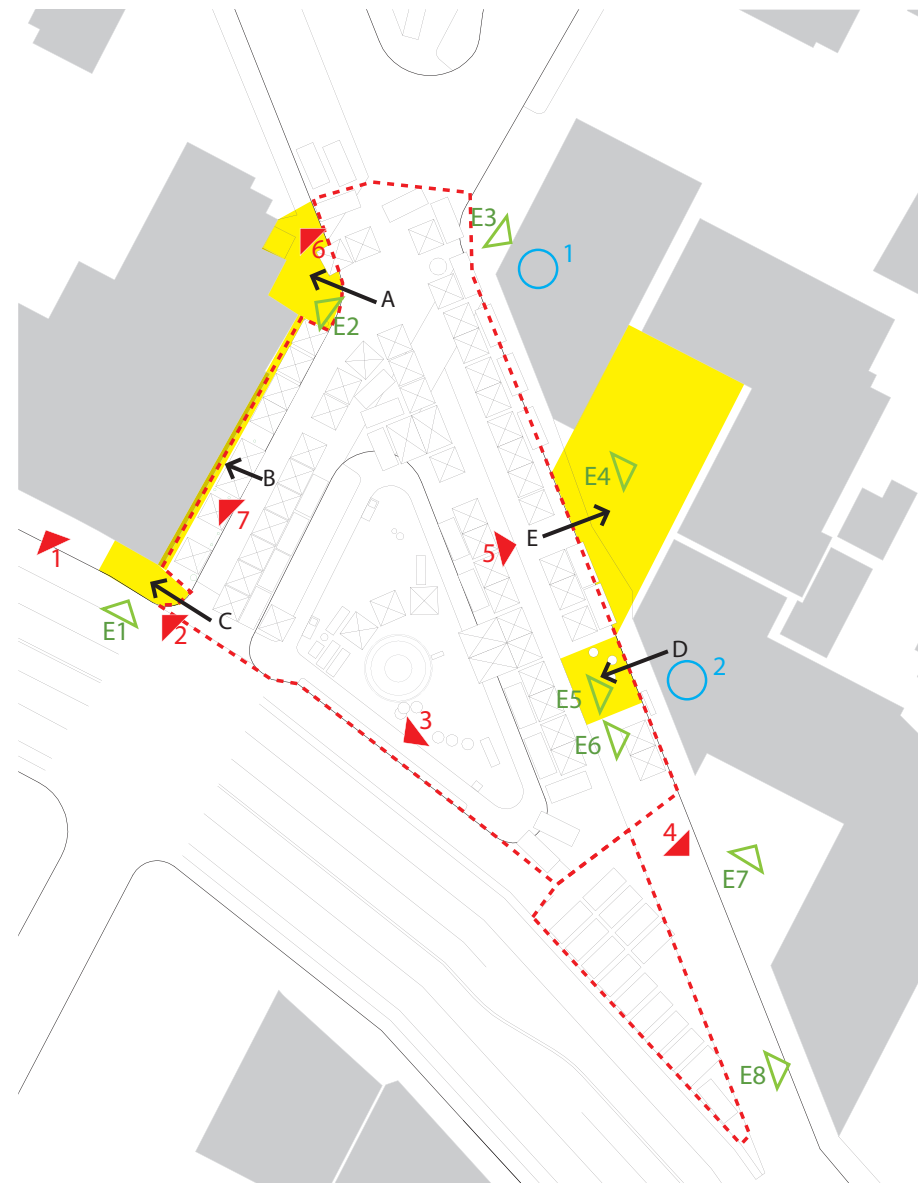


FIG 2.33: PLAN OF SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS



FIG 2.34: IMAGES OF SPATIAL APPROPRIATIONS BY USERS



FIG 2.35: SILVERLAKE CFM PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

1

The areas immediately outside the market provide space to talk with people without interrupting their time at the market. Activists for political and humanitarian causes, like Green Peace, use this area in engaging market patrons.

2-4

The loose distribution of market booths at the intersection of the two market streets provides space for interaction. In close proximity to the prepared food stands, the music stand, and with informal space for sitting, people gather here.

5-6

Market booths are rarely found on the sidewalk, as they are in the Silverlake CFM. In general, sidewalk have more impediments against the efficient location of the maximum amount of booths. However, the option is used when a street is too narrow for a double-loaded market aisle. Between arts and crafts booths where existing sidewalk conditions, such as trees, require space between stands, the left over space is often appropriated by market goers, especially during busy times.

7-8

Sidewalks not used by market booths, storage or parking are often appropriated for use by market patrons. The west side of Triangle Park allows space for dogs, sitting and, with nothing else occupying the sidewalk, for creating picnic zones, as needed.



SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

1. Green Peace activists approach people just outside market lines.
2. Market goers play and gather at the street crossing.
3. People appropriate the curb for sitting and the stop sign for a bike rack.
4. People sit and gather at curbside between booths; in the background, market goers sit on the steps of a private salon.
5. Sidewalk space between booths is creatively used in this instance for public art.
6. Other openings between booths provide space for talking and lingering.
7. A free sidewalk is appropriated as a picnic area.
8. Booth-free zones allow a gathering space for pet-owners.



FIG 2.36: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS



FIG 2.37: SILVERLAKE CFM PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

9-12

Triangle Park provides a particular area for social interaction both distinct and connected to market activities. On the east side of the park, the Face-Painting booth caters to children, while the permanent park furniture and temporary communal tables provide ample space to socialize.

13

Space left between booths for the overlap of private use of space by the adjacent coffee shops blurs the lines of the market; the social interaction in this zone blends market space with the existing urban condition.

14

The market booths themselves allow space for non-market dialogue and informal education between market patrons as well as between patrons and vendors. The traditional Farmers Market branch has less space for non-market interactions; the space provided for Morning Nights Café creates a blurry boundary between market and non market space and patrons. Certain products sold at the market, such as the potted orchids, lend themselves to informal conversations.

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

9. People use Triangel Park to sit and talk; the park is especially important for pet-owners whose dogs are not allowed into the produce section of the market.

10. Children use the park as a playground; these children had their faces painted at the adjacent face-painting booth.

11. The centrally located fountain of Triangle Park is also used for sitting and gathering. Some of the people here have come specifically for the public space created, with the market taking a secondary role to the social.

12. A mother and child sit in Triangle Park doing homework. The space provided allows this type of non-market activity.

13. Coffee shop tables are allowed on the public street only during market hours allowing for exchange between market and coffee shop patrons.

14. A mother and daughter discuss flowers at the orchid booth illustrating an instance of informal education.



FIG 2.38: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

CASE STUDY FIVE:  
Larchmont Certified Farmers Market

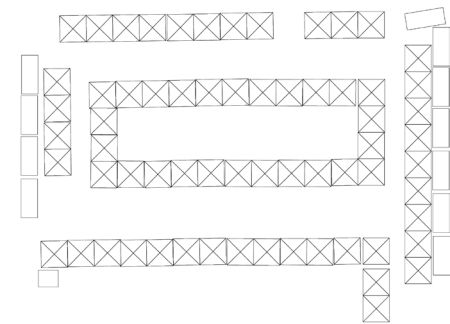


FIG 2.39: LARCHMONT CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## LARCHMONT CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: private – Raw Inspiration  
funding: public  
purpose: to provide healthy food  
affordability: none

### TIME

year established: 2001  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Sunday  
time of operation: 9am – 1pm

### SPACE

form: grid; public parking lot  
size: 15,625 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 45  
site ownership: public

location in area: central to Hancock Park  
location: public parking lot  
previous locations: none

landmark adjacencies: retail – Larchmont Street retail zone; hospital  
fabric adjacencies: commercial and single and multi-family residential  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market  
parking amenities: public parking in adjacent structure – paid; street parking  
– free or metered

## MARKET SUMMARY

An infill situation restricts the Larchmont Certified Farmers Market, impairing any further growth. The market, already over capacity spills into the street. As such, there are no areas dedicated to social interactions, sitting or space to gather. Although the market is perhaps the only example that does cater to spaces for social interactions or community buildings, over 70% of its patrons are regulars, according to the manager. The market was situated in its present location to introduce weekend activity to an existing area formerly only frequented during the week. The spatial constraints of the market create a bazaar atmosphere, but without any surplus space that can be used for gathering, eating or other social interactions, few non-market exchanges can develop. More problematic, perhaps, is the fact that it simply can no longer grow.



800' x 800' AREA AERIAL - LARCHMONT CFM



OWNERSHIP:

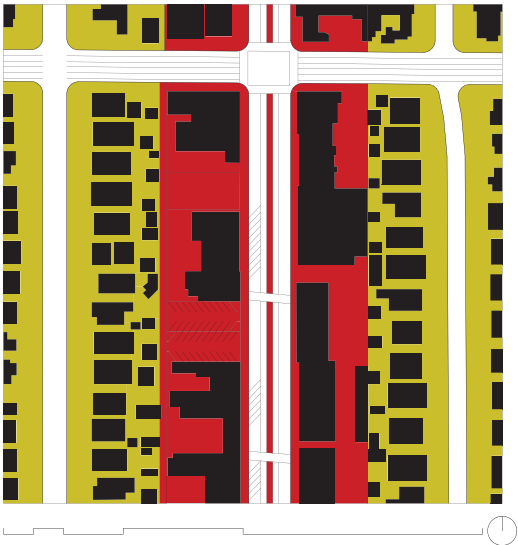
SITE OWNERSHIP: PUBLIC  
 MARKET SITE: PARKING LOT



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

CFM AREA: +/- 15,625 SF  
 CFM PERIMETER: +/- 513  
 No. OF VENDORS: +/- 60??  
 EDGE ENCLOSURE: 80%  
 URBAN TYPOLOGY: INFILL MARKET

FIG 2.40: LARCHMONT CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



(E) ZONING:

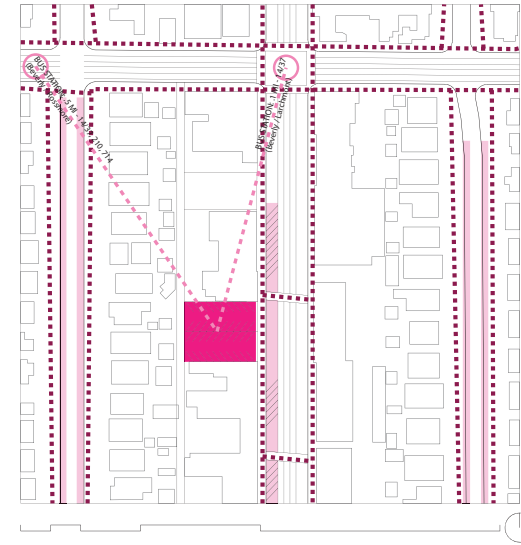
- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- INSTITUTIONAL
- OPEN SPACE

DOMINANT ZONING:  
COMMERCIAL  
RESIDENTIAL



PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:

- ARTS&CRAFTS: 13%
- FARMERS: 70%
- COOKED FOOD: 15%
- SOCIAL GATHERING: 2%
- PARKING: --



MARKET ACCESS:

- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS: YES
- BICYCLE LANE: NO
- BUS STATION: 4/0
- METRO STATION: YES
- CAR - PARKING: YES

## LARCHMONT CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>24</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Larchmont Village is located in the affluent, historic Hancock Park that, according to guide books, is “best toured by car [as] the local security services are apt to be suspicious of anyone on foot.”<sup>25</sup> However, the village located on Larchmont Boulevard promotes a human scale focused on pedestrian activity.

### THE MARKET – field observations

*I visited the Larchmont Certified Farmers’ Market<sup>26</sup> immediately after its Beverly Hills counterpart. The spatial distinction was striking. While Beverly Hills seemed to lounge amidst the abundant space at its leisurely disposal, the Larchmont Market made use of every inch of the city parking lot it inhabited. Located on a lot of modest dimension in an infill condition, the site is restricted by a utilitarian alley on the west side and blank parti-walls on both north and south sides, and opens on the east side onto the commercially busy Larchmont Boulevard. The street-front of the market, including all sidewalk area, is densely occupied by vendors; market patrons have to walk quite away from the market if they wish to sit or gather. Stalls spill out onto the sidewalks in both directions from the midblock parking lot barely avoiding encroachment into the right of way of street traffic.*

<sup>24</sup> Visited on 01.17.10.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Fiennes, 2007: 65.

<sup>26</sup> The Larchmont Certified Farmers’ Market is administered by the non-profit Raw Inspiration running seven-teen markets in greater Los Angeles.

## MARKET HISTORY

The Larchmont CFM is situated less than two miles from the successful Hollywood CFM with the same operating day and hours. Operated by nonprofit organization Raw Inspiration, founder Jennifer McColm notes that:

Though it has only been open for a few weeks, the Larchmont Village Farmers Market has been so successful that interested vendors are now piling up on a waiting list to participate.<sup>27</sup>

It took three years for Hollywood CFM to gain economic self-sufficiency when it opened in 1991. As the Larchmont CFM was established a decade after Hollywood CFM, it engaged a population already accustomed to the farmers market routine and experience. This illustrates that public demand is not only instrumental in the market’s success, but also that is cultivated over time, and once a certain level of familiarity is reached, people seem apt to patronize.

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

However, certain awkward situations do present themselves. I overheard several families complaining about having no place to eat their just bought prepared food. The Mexican Food vendor was alone in providing a table for a quick sit down meal; this table was tightly fit within the boundaries of the allotted canopy space. Walking towards the back of the market, a couple canopies seem to overlap creating a situation of seemingly less than three feet to squeeze by to the

<sup>27</sup> Doyle, 2001

other side. Ironically, one of the conditions similar with the Beverly Hills Market is the portable restroom facilities, a requirement of the Health department. While in Beverly Hills there was simply nothing close enough open that could share its facilities with the market, in Larchmont a portable facility is placed in the back alley. However, after discussing the matter with the imported balsamic vinegar vendor, I discovered that a neighboring restaurant unofficially allowed patrons discrete use of its washroom. Perhaps the market benefited from the exposure as it was not at all crowded. However, there seems to be little attempt on the part of the administration to partner with the thriving surrounding businesses for any partnerships in spatial sharing, as happens in the Silverlake example. One of the only stipulations on which the market and the commercial strip has discussed is to ensure that vendors do not sell any competing products. In this way, the market remains a complementary, and not a competitive element.

While all markets are different and serve the particular needs of individual communities, the Larchmont example exemplifies some of the operational sacrifices that result from a compromised site. **(see FIG 2.41 - 2.42)** Since the market has outgrown its initial location, like a potted plant, the experience is stifled from growing and developing according to customer demand. Both the expansion of vendor booths and the provision of discrete areas for social interactions cannot be accommodated on the current site.

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

All social interactions at Larchmont occur on the go, as people shop or meet each other through the perennial crowds. **(see FIG 2.43 - 2.44)** Initially, the social interactions resemble those of the Santa Monica CFM; however, people socialize while moving at the Santa Monica CFM because there are no cooked food booths that require consumption on site, thereby encouraging the market patrons to linger in one spot as they eat and talk. Conversely, the Larchmont example offers all types of goods including cooked food and arts and crafts booths, but there is no room for sitting or unoccupied space to be appropriated for eating, sitting, conversing or other types of non-market, social activity.

While the tables provided at the Hollywood CFM and the Silverlake CFM cannot accommodate all market patrons, those markets' location on public streets allow for enough spatial variety within market boundaries, such as unimpeded driveways, unoccupied sidewalks and curbs to easily be appropriated by users. There are two places for sitting and gathering provided by vendors. The Mexican Food booth provides a table for four within its allotted canopy space. The second example is a space for music and children's entertainment, complete with child-sized chairs, occupies one booth space. The latter is the only example in the market of a booth not based on commercial exchange.

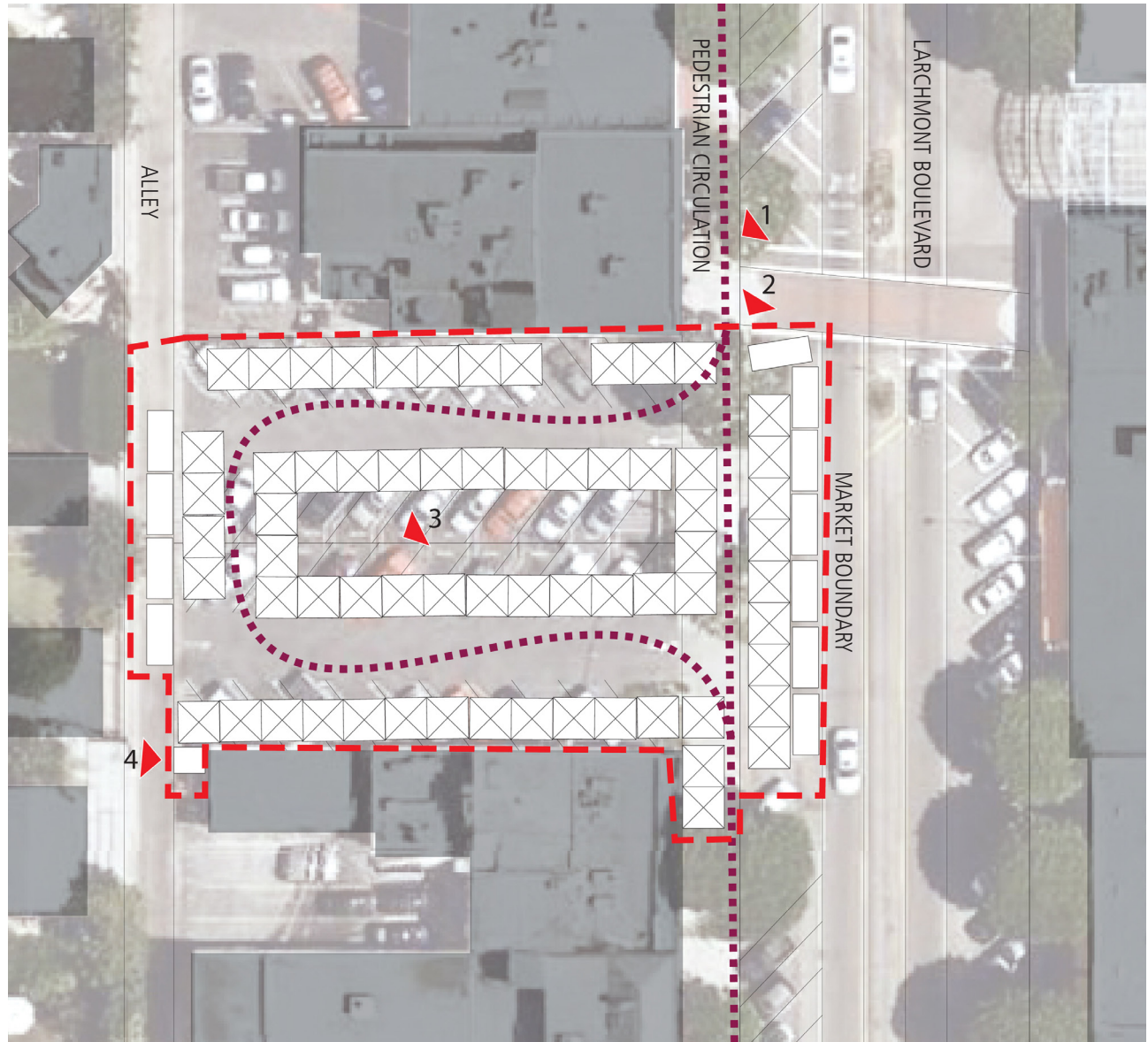


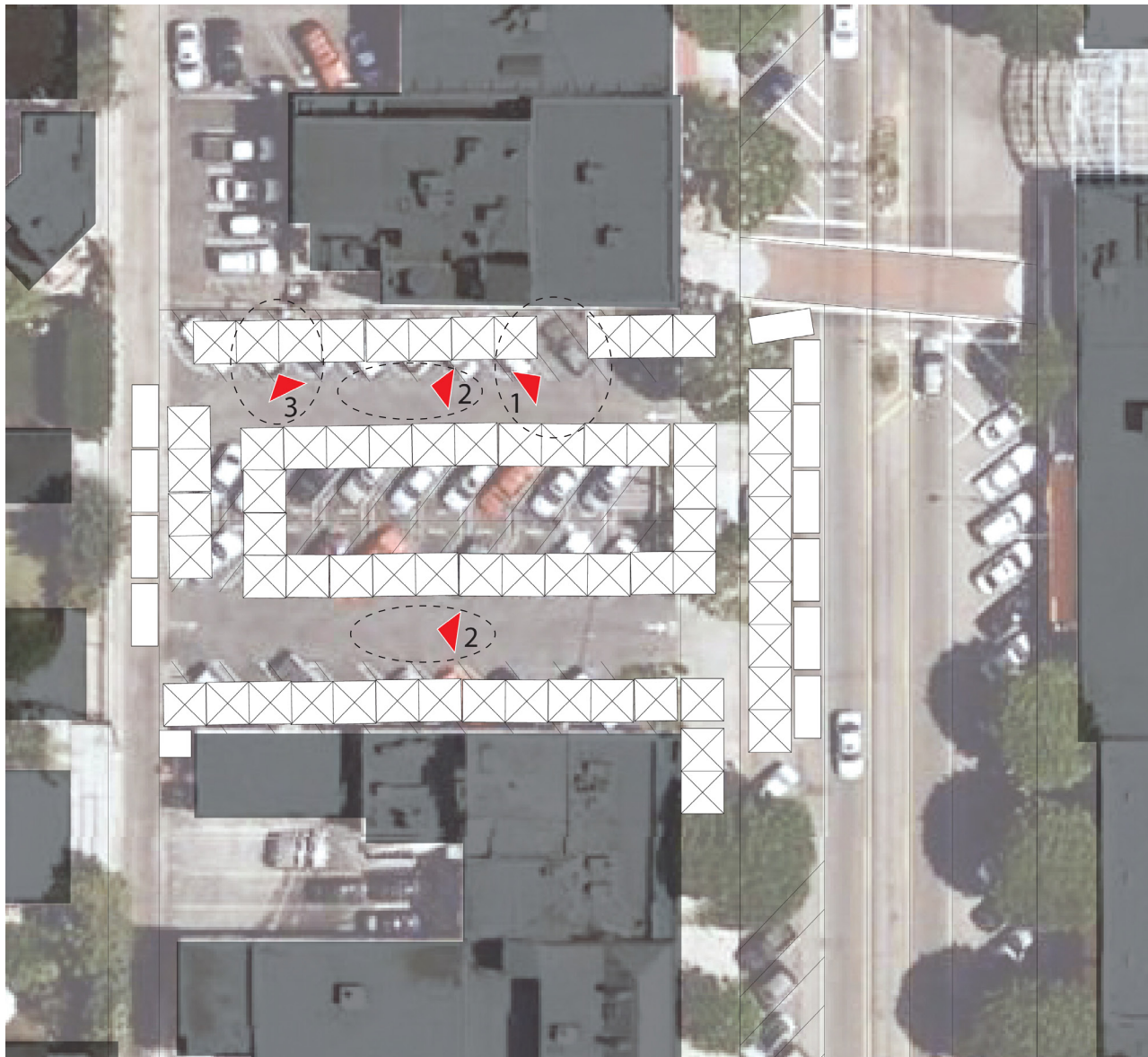
FIG 2.41: MARKET BOUNDARIES AND SITE CIRCULATION

## SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND MARKET BOUNDARIES

1. Market activity spills in front of the adjacent restaurant.
2. Makeshift street parking for market vendors. The Larchmont CFM spills onto the street and fully engages the sidewalk so that pedestrians automatically walk through the market.
3. The interior of the market is tightly packed to make use of all the available space on the tight site.
4. The alley is used for vendor parking. Restroom facilities located in the utilitarian alley are rarely used by market patrons.



FIG 2.42: SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS



SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

1

The booth for childrens entertainment has space for people to gather and sit.

2

The market aisles provide the most instances of social interaction as people walk and shop.

3

One of the cooked food booths provides a table for sitting an eating.

FIG 2.43: LARCHMONT PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

1. Family gathers to sit and play.
2. People meet in crowded market aisles.
3. Patrons purchase cooked food; this booth provides a table for sitting beneath its canopy.



FIG 2.44: IMAGES OF SOCIAL APPROPRIATIONS

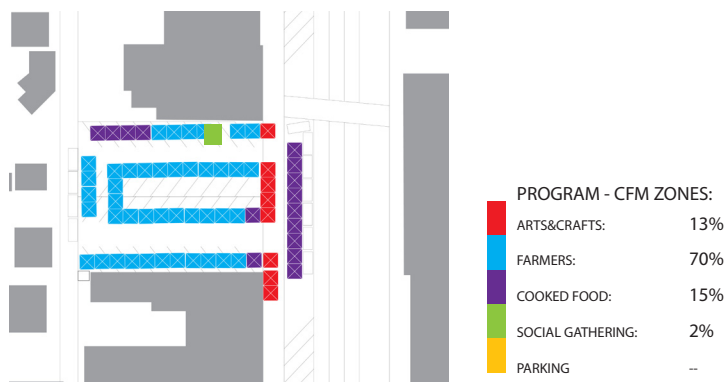


FIG 2.45: PROGRAM PLAN

CASE STUDY SIX:  
Crenshaw Certified Farmers Market

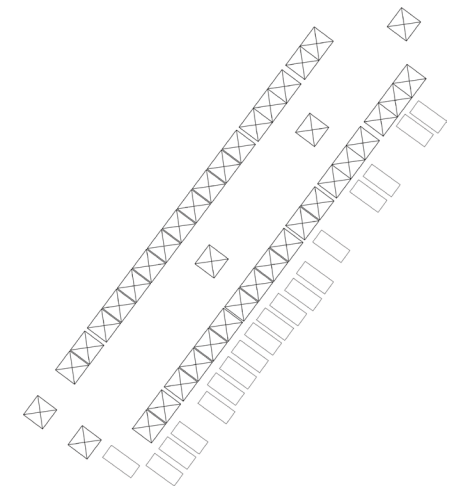


FIG 2.46: CRENSHAW CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## CRENSHAW CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: private – SEE-LA  
funding: public and private (find more info)  
purpose: to create community; to provide healthy food  
affordability:

### TIME

year established: 2005  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Saturday  
time of operation: 10am – 3pm  
affordability:

### SPACE

form: linear; parking lot  
size: 12,457 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 30  
site ownership: private – check on zimas

location in area: central to Leimert Park, Baldwin Hills and Crenshaw  
location: Baldwin Hills Mall Parking Lot  
previous locations: Leimert Park

landmark adjacencies: retail – Sears, Wal Mart, Bank of America  
fabric adjacencies: commercial and single family  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market  
parking amenities: provided by administration

## MARKET SUMMARY

The Crenshaw Certified Farmers Market exhibits the tensions between the roles of the market as simultaneously providing a public service, while also achieving economic sustainability. The market moved in October 2009 to gain greater visibility and relinquished its space in the historic Leimert Park. While the park had several desirable features to support the markets civic objectives, the location proved fiscally difficult. The new space occupied by the market reveals the impact of context and spatial qualities on the character and operation of a market, even when administration, patrons and vendors remain relatively unchanged.



800' x 800' AREA AERIAL - CRENSHAW CFM

FIG 2.47: CRENSHAW CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



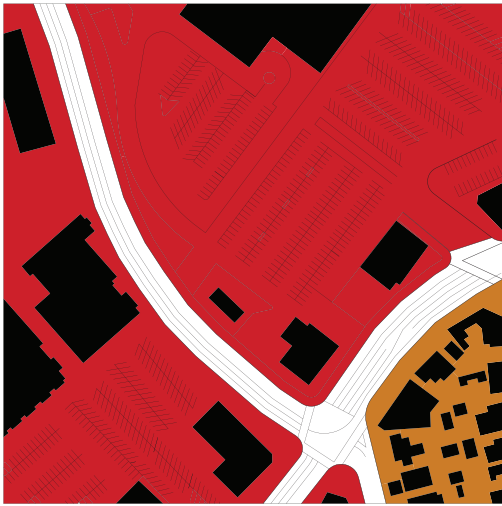
OWNERSHIP:

SITE OWNERSHIP: PRIVATE  
 MARKET SITE: PARKING LOT



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

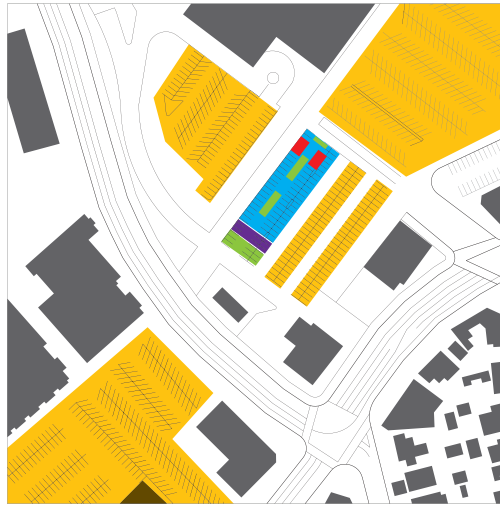
CFM AREA: +/- 15,554 SF  
 CFM PERIMETER: +/- 578'  
 No. OF VENDORS: +/- 20  
 EDGE ENCLOSURE: 0%  
 URBAN TYPOLOGY: OBJECT MARKET



(E) ZONING:

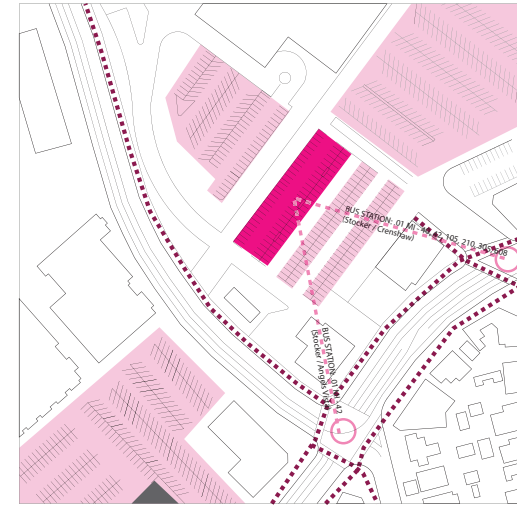
- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- INSTITUTIONAL
- OPEN SPACE

DOMINANT ZONING:  
COMMERCIAL  
RESIDENTIAL



PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:

- ARTS&CRAFTS: 5%
- FARMERS: 70%
- COOKED FOOD: 10%
- SOCIAL GATHERING: 15%
- PARKING --



MARKET ACCESS:

- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS YES
- NO
- BICYCLE LANE
- BUS STATION 6/0
- METRO STATION YES
- CAR - PARKING

## CRENSHAW CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>28</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The Crenshaw district, built in the 1920s to support a largely immigrant European-American community,<sup>29</sup> attained its present appearance during the massive street improvements carried out for the 1932 Olympics held in Los Angeles. The palm-trees continue to tower above the single family homes that are the dominant fabric of the area. Just north of South Los Angeles, the Crenshaw District has a predominantly African American population that settled the area after the Eastern-European community of the 1930, and the Japanese of the 1950s located to other areas. Notably, the only Wal-Mart<sup>30</sup> in Los Angeles is in the district, and shares its location in the Baldwin Hills Shopping Center with the Crenshaw Certified Farmers Market. Leimert Park,<sup>31</sup> colloquially known as “the Black Greenwich Village,” borders Crenshaw to the West and served as the initial location of the farmers market in the area.

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<sup>28</sup> Visited on 01.09.10, 03.27.10.

<sup>29</sup> Eastern Europeans and European Jews were the dominant demographics; deed restrictions, later deemed unconstitutional, prevented African Americans and other groups to purchase homes in the area.

<sup>30</sup> Like McDonalds, Wal-Mart represents the multi-national type of corporation that, in economic, political and social practice, serves as the opposite type of enterprise when compared to a farmers market.

<sup>31</sup> Developed by Walter H. “Tim” Leimert (for whom it is named) beginning in 1928 and designed by the Olmsted brothers, Leimert Park was one of the first comprehensively planned communities in Southern California designed for low- and middle-income families, and was considered a model of urban planning for its time: automobile traffic near schools and churches was minimized, utility wires were buried or hidden from view in alleys, and densely planted trees lined its streets. ([www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com))

## THE MARKET – field observations

*While sitting at the Information Booth, a very enthusiastic and proactive woman, who was also a first comer due to her previous ignorance of the market’s existence, gave market manager Matthew and I advice on how to “spread the word.” She advised that hiring a few highschoolers to pass around flyers throughout the adjacent single family neighborhood whose residents currently shop at Pavillions, Whole Foods or Trader Joe’s was a huge market that we (the farmers’ market) were entirely neglecting. We agreed, and as she began to leave, she paused, turned around and picked up another flyer declaring her intention to make copies of it and distribute some herself to her neighbors.*

*The woman’s enthusiasm for the market cannot be explained by just the availability of fresh produce. Since she shopped at permanent markets like Whole Foods, she had options at her disposal. If one of the motivating values of her enthusiasm was that of health, then it surpasses the individual to include community health. Her support was directed at helping to sustain an endeavor she perceived to hold values that corresponded with her own; these shared values were presumably not shared by permanent enterprises such as Whole Foods.<sup>32</sup>*

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<sup>32</sup> One of the most popular high-end supermarket that offers organic and locally grown produce among other specialty items.

## MARKET HISTORY

Despite its youth, a main focus of the Crenshaw CFM has been social interaction.<sup>33</sup> Its previous location in Leimert Park explored this by programming spaces for social interaction with music and places for sitting and even outdoor cooking; the experience of the previous location is captured by University of Southern California staff reporter, Paul Newly:

*Every Saturday, a small parking lot in Leimert Park Village transforms itself into a farmers' market. A handful of stalls are set up and people gather to have a good time under a big tent in the center...the music begins. It's usually jazz. And it's always terrific. The day I stumbled upon the market, there was a band of skilled musicians, along with a choir from a church in Inglewood. I'd gone to pick up a box of strawberries, but I ended up staying for two whole hours...As the day wore on, more chairs had to be brought in to accommodate the growing crowd. Almost everyone I spoke with was a musician or an artist, and those who weren't knew how to appreciate it. Everyone seemed to know everyone else. That's what gives Leimert Park its close-knit, homey feel. Before I knew it, two hours were gone, along with my strawberries, and my camera's memory was full.<sup>34</sup>*

The Crenshaw CFM was established in 2005 by See-LA and mainly funded by the establishment's profits from the Hollywood CFM. This is an example of the

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<sup>33</sup> Areas for designated specifically for social interactions usually occur with public demand as a market grows over time, although this is evidently not always the case; both Crenshaw CFM and City Hall CFM are exceptions.

<sup>34</sup> Newly Paul – Staff Reporter; <http://blogs.uscannenberg.org/neontommy/2009/02/leimert-park-farmers-market.html>

potential network of active public for furthering its creation in areas otherwise not immediately viable economically. As such, the enterprise reaffirms its objective as a public service. The market was originally located in Leimert Park. The parking lot, in which it was located, however had both advantages and disadvantages. The benefitted the local businesses by drawing attention to the otherwise sparsely populated street. The close location to residences also allowed easy access to seniors with limited mobility. Unfortunately, the small scale of the parking lot made expansion difficult without expanding onto the public streets. And so, the market probably could not grow too much beyond the 12 farmers and 10 food vendors with which it began. The bigger problem, however, was the lack visibility. Without critical traffic in the market sight lines, it failed to attract enough business to make it economically sustainable. Most farmers could not sell enough to cover their gas cost.<sup>35</sup> **(see FIG 2.48)**

The balance between social and economic sustainability is delicate and often favors the latter. The location on the main commercial street in Leimert Park allowed for the potential symbiotic development between a historic neighborhood center focused on walkability, especially in regards to the senior population. However, the main concerns in locating a market, namely visibility, parking facilities and room for growth, required for its relocation. And so, while the market helped liven up the area to the benefit of some of the adjacent businesses, the area, lacking density, failed to sustain the market. In October, 2009, SEE-LA moved the Leimert Park Village Farmers' Market from Leimert Park to the Baldwin Hills Shopping Center parking lot, and renamed it the Crenshaw Farmers' Market.

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<sup>35</sup> vendor from South Central Farmers Co-Op Produce Stand

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

Currently, the market exists as an object of public activity in a parking lot sea. The space of the market is a “fenced-off” zone from the rest of the parking lot, using the same barricades found at concerts and rallies. The middle zone between stalls measures at around 16 feet with a several tables effectively placed to allow for social interaction in the center of the market. The information booth, located at the entrance of the market, offers information on market activity, vendors and recipes. On axis with the information booth, live music provides a terminus at the end of the market. Bathroom facilities are in an empty restaurant space for lease steps away from the formal market boundaries. Although still nascent, the new location, while lacking aesthetic appeal, is a great marketing tool in visibility.

One of the most important aspects for the ongoing success of the farmers market is its connection to the neighborhood beyond its physical boundaries. **(see FIG 2.49 - 2.50)** While some connections are facilitated by spatial proximity, organizations through neighborhood and metropolitan institutions work to establish the market as an asset for the neighborhood.<sup>36</sup> However, the immediate spatial characteristics determine the success of the actual activity of the market. Thereby, as connections with various groups and institutions ensure the market’s integration into the social networks of the neighborhood, the flexible nature of the market allows it fluid mobility to search for the optimum geographic location.

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<sup>36</sup> “LPVFM hosted health fairs with Crystal Stairs and Organizing for America’s “National Health-care Day of Service”. The health fairs provided free screenings and referrals. Local public libraries presented storytelling for the youth once a month; the market hosted The Isaac Smith Orchestra, “Destiny” The Harpist, community choirs, essay readings, kick boxing classes, line dancing for exercise and cooking demos, using market fresh produce. LPVFM also hosted the annual Leimert Park Village Bookfair making it a more exciting day at the market.” (SEE-LA), Annual Report , 2008-2009; pg.13

The most salient aspects that determine the success of the market based on its location are support programs, whether civic or retail, available parking, room for growth, safety and security, visibility and aesthetic appearance.

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

I arrived in the parking lot at 12:30 and observed, shopped and sat at the information table with Market Manager Matthew until 2:30. During this time, I saw firsthand the benefits of the market’s more visible location. Several visitors happened in because they noticed the characteristic tents of the market from where they had parked to shop at Wal-Mart, Sears, Macy’s or the Bank of America. Although many of them lived in the area, they had been unaware of the market before. Indeed, word of mouth and the chance encountering of the market itself are the main forms of advertizing. **(see FIG 2.51 - 2.52)**

I did speak to a couple shoppers who came specifically for the market, with no other business in the area. One woman commented that she enjoys the community feel, supporting small farmers and primary producers and that overall the produce, especially the organic variety, includes more diversity and is more affordable than at supermarkets. The vendors at the South Central Farmers’ Co-op did note that, while more customers in general frequent the market in the new location, many of the senior citizens who benefited from the convenient access of the previous location cannot mobilize to the new location.



FIG 2.48: MARKET LOCATION CHANGE



FIG 2.49: MARKET BOUNDARIES AND PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION



FIG 2.50: VIEW OF MARKET ENCLOSED BY TEMPORARY FENCES

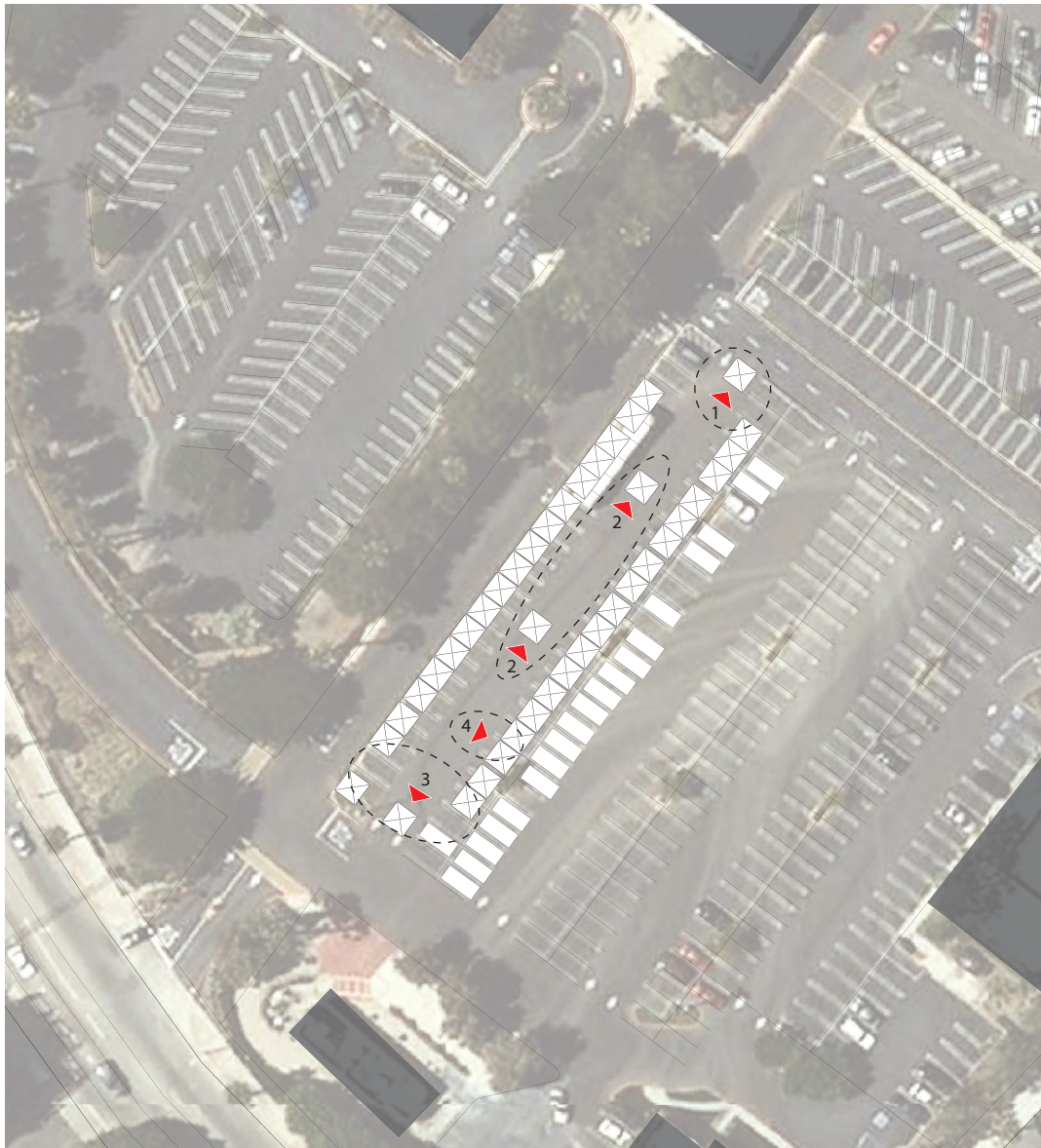


FIG 2.51: PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

1

The location of the Information Booth at the entrance of the market engages many visitors, especially since the location of the Crenshaw market is relatively new and many people have questions about its purpose, products and operation.

2

The wide space of the central aisle allows room for organizers to set up central tables protected by canopies, at which market-goers can sit, eat and talk together. The tables, sitting ten people, provide the opportunity for interactions with strangers.

3

The live music band, on axis with the information booth, provides an endpoint for the market. Programmatically, the market progresses from the information artisan booths, to the traditional farmers, to prepared food and the live music.

4

The market booths themselves allow space for non-market dialogue and informal education between market patrons as well as between patrons and vendors. While the market has more than enough space for a market its size, it has yet to attract enough people to begin to appropriate different spaces for non-market uses.

SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: experience

1. People gather around the information booth for a variety of reasons including the use of food stamps and other subsidized nutrition programs, to learn about the market and to provide suggestions about market operations.

2. The tables provided by the market were in almost continuous use, even when the market was less crowded. Often lingering at the tables even after finishing their food, people listened to the music talked and observed.

3. The band at the terminus of the market provides a program and space for non-market uses where some market goers gather.

4. The booth shown, from South Central Farmers Co-op, is a not-for-profit initiative - information they readily provide to market patrons. Most vendors, especially at smaller markets before high demand and popularity bring in vendors of a more market-driven orientation, happily offer the story behind their operation and purpose in selling at the market. Many market patrons come specifically for a particular vendor and are disappointed at that vendor's absences, as happened that day with the raw honey producer.



FIG 2.52: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

CASE STUDY SEVEN:  
Watts Certified Farmers Market

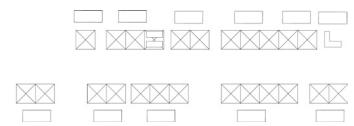


FIG 2.53: WATTS CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## WATTS CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: private – SEE-LA  
funding: public and private (find more info)  
purpose: to create community; to provide healthy food  
affordability: WIC, EBT and SFMNP

### TIME

year established: 2007  
season of operation: year-round, rain or shine  
day of operation: Saturday  
time of operation: 10am – 2pm

### SPACE

form: linear; park parking lot  
size: 11,843 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 14  
site ownership: public - City of Los Angeles

location in area: central to Watts  
location: Ted Watkins Memorial Park, Central Ave and 103rd St

previous locations: further away from street in same park

landmark adjacencies: civic – Ted Watkins Memorial Park, Watts owns  
fabric adjacencies: light retail and single-family residential  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market; metro - .6 miles  
parking amenities: provided by administration; street parking

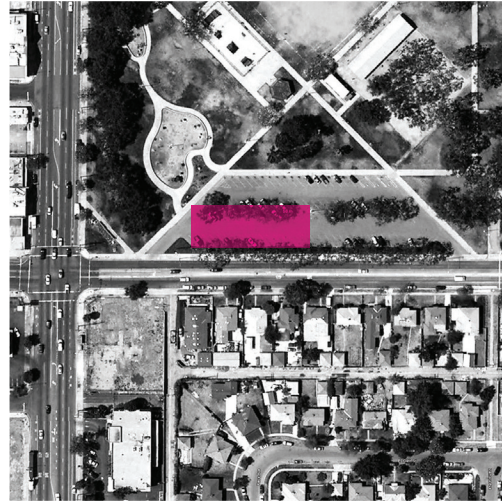
## MARKET SUMMARY

While Watts CFM is one of the youngest and smallest markets, it has already begun to provide a heightened sense of safety and security for its neighborhood. In fact, the move the market made from the interior of the park to the street edge provides both increased visibility and the message that the market is part of the public – street – life of the neighborhood, and not a secluded park function. More than most markets, Watts engages community patrons through affordability programs such as WIC, EBT and SFMNP.



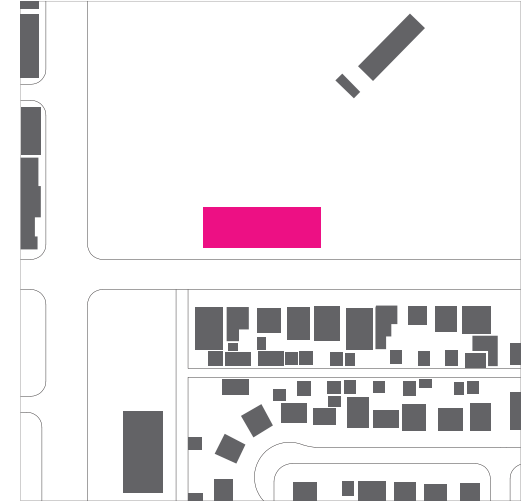
800' x 800' AREA AERIAL - WATTS CFM

FIG 2.54: WATTS CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



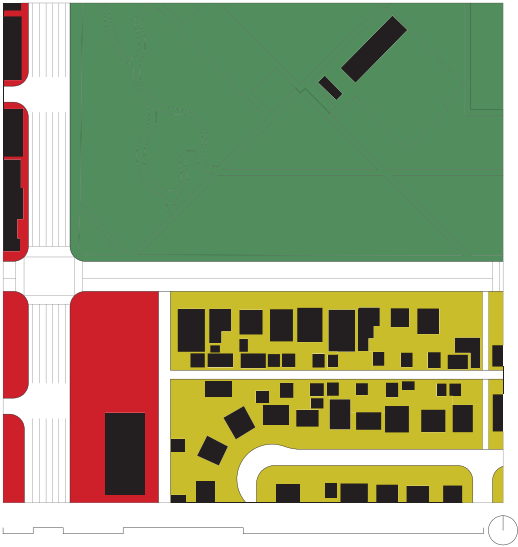
OWNERSHIP:

SITE OWNERSHIP: PUBLIC  
 MARKET SITE: PARK PARKING LOT



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

CFM AREA: +/- 11,881 SF  
 CFM PERIMETER: +/- 501'  
 No. OF VENDORS: +/- 16  
 EDGE ENCLOSURE: 0%  
 URBAN TYPOLOGY: OBJECT MARKET



**(E) ZONING:**

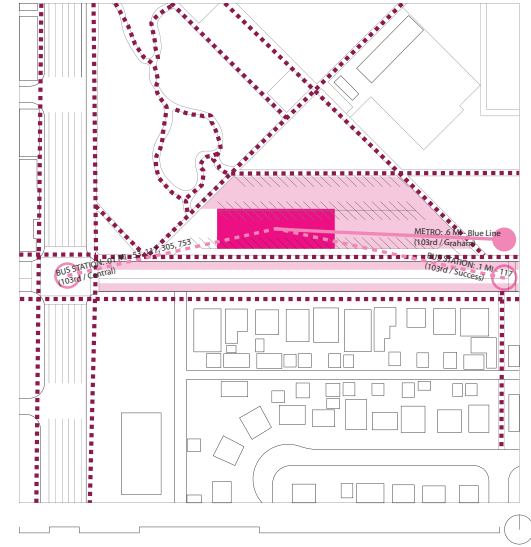
- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
- COMMERCIAL
- INDUSTRIAL
- INSTITUTIONAL
- OPEN SPACE

- DOMINANT ZONING:**
- OPEN SPACE
  - RESIDENTIAL
  - COMMERCIAL



**PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:**

- ARTS&CRAFTS: 5%
- FARMERS: 80%
- COOKED FOOD: 10%
- SOCIAL GATHERING: 5%
- PARKING --



**MARKET ACCESS:**

- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS YES
- BICYCLE LANE NO
- BUS STATION 5/1
- METRO STATION YES
- CAR - PARKING YES

## WATTS CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>37</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Watts is probably best known for the Watts Riots of 1965. The neighborhood is still not safe. Currently, visitors, if they do venture into the area, limit their wanderings to the Watts Towers, a neighborhood and city landmark. Security, both real and perceived, is one of the biggest impediments to the image of Watts and its opportunities for development.

### THE MARKET – field observations

*At 9:40am, 20 minutes before the market officially begins, I sit down to eat a pupusa at the Salvadorian stand; the woman doesn't speak much English, but she has already poured me two cups of coffee and made me a traditional breakfast, and then refused to charge me. While flipping a pupusa on her portable stovetop, one of the South Central Co-op farmers comes to her stand to borrow some plastic gloves she has forgotten. It feels like they are all preparing for a grand production or performance.<sup>38</sup>*

*As I eat my breakfast, a man comes up to me and asks me if I have seen the peanut man. I tell him that I do not know and that it is my first time at this particular market. He tells me he comes on the way to his church five minutes away (by car) on South Central Avenue and 87th Street. He receives a \$20 dollar voucher for purchases at the market since he is a senior.*

<sup>37</sup> Visited on 01.09.10.

<sup>38</sup> The same notion repeats the next day at the Hollywood Market as it winds down and lets loose as the curtain lowers over the market.

## MARKET HISTORY

The Watts CFM was established in 2007 by SEE-LA and mainly funded by the establishment's profits from the Hollywood CFM. This is an example of the potential towards a network of active public space and its creation in areas otherwise not immediately viable economically. As such, the enterprise reaffirms its objective as a public service. Dr. Maxine Liggins, director of public health at Watts Public Clinic, initiated the desire to bring a farmers market to the neighborhood in 2004. She approached Pompea Smith, CEO of SEE-LA, to partner in establishing a market.

In order to establish the market, various organizations including "community groups, health clinics and agencies, and funding from Kaiser Permanente and Children's Hospital of Los Angeles, the market has successfully continued to embody its mission of health and wellness in the community."<sup>39</sup> **(see FIG 2.55)** The market started as a collaboration between SEE-LA, the County of Public Health through Watts Public Clinic and Kaiser Permanente through Watts Counseling and Learning Center and the Children's Hospital. The core group has grown to include the support of neighborhood churches that help distribute services for affordable food. The Ted Watkins Memorial Park serves as an ideal site in proximity to the Clinics that support and helped found the market, as well as being located in a highly visible corner of two highly trafficked streets.

The use of federally subsidized programs for affordable food such as Food Stamps / Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) cards, Women Infants Children (WIC)

<sup>39</sup> (SEE-LA), Annual Report , 2008-2009; pg.12

and Seniors Farmers Market Nutrition Program Coupons (SFMNP) have been instrumental in engaging people who otherwise might not be able to afford fresh produce.<sup>40</sup> In this small way, the equitable distribution of food begins to reach underserved communities regarded as being in a “food desert.”<sup>41</sup>

For a predominantly single-family neighborhood like Watts, increased face-to-face activity is an asset in itself. The market is an example of the establishment working to create public activity, and public space, where no activity previously existed. Furthermore, the increased public activity provides the opportunity for community advocacy,<sup>42</sup> and neighborhood safety. While some elements of farmers markets add to the physical urban condition, some derivatives are less tangible. In Watts, the market has already contributed to an increased sense of security in the open public realm that is often associated with danger and lack of security. As such, even a modest successful public venture is an important addition to the neighborhood.

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

Opened in 2007, Watts CFM is a young market. In the first hour of operation, I have seen less than twenty people walk through the market. Many of them were in pairs or small groups. A near-by senior resident came with his son. He often walks in one of two parks in Watts, but ensures he comes to this one on

40 Fast food facilities, currently discouraged from opening in lower income areas in Los Angeles, provide unhealthy, but filling food at low cost; usually, one can purchase two hamburgers for a lower cost than one head of broccoli at a regular supermarket. Furthermore, according to the market manager, market patrons do not complain about the prices of produce. The quality and availability competes with supermarket or grocery store options.

41 A food desert is a district with little or no access to foods needed to maintain a healthy diet but often served by plenty of fast food restaurants. (definition: [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org))

42 Interview with market manager Ashley Heistand; 01.09.10

Saturdays to also stroll through the market. The market mainly attracts customers by word-of-mouth and uses only its presence to advertise itself. For this reason, it moved a parking aisle south closer to 103rd Street in order to increase its visibility, although its previous location connected it more to the park.

The market exists as an object in the park parking lot, relatively disconnected from its urban environment, due mainly to that environments’ lack of shape and density. **(see FIG 2.56 - 2.57)** However, the market’s location has advantages. It is surrounded by a large residential base, even though the mostly single-family fabric does not have high densities. Both 103rd Street and South Central Avenue are primary roads that carry a lot of traffic, thereby increasing the market’s potential visibility, access and draw.

Spatial relationships extend into the perception of place. For instance, South Central Avenue has been immortalized in both rap songs and city vernacular as thoroughly unsafe. Any points along the long route that dispute such strong negative perceptions are beneficial. Additionally, the market is less than a mile from the main landmark in Watts, the Watts’ Towers.<sup>43</sup> Geographically, then, the market has a central position. As a public service, the potential exists but its contribution and engagement with the neighborhood will become more apparent over time.

43 Watts Towers are a collection of metal and tile cone structures, built by an Italian Immigrant, Sabato Rodia, “in his spare time over a period of 33 years, from 1921 to 1954.” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Watts\\_Towers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Watts_Towers)

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

The social interactions at Watts CFM revolve around the market information booth and a couple of the other stands, especially the prepared food that includes a couple tables for eating. (see FIG 2.58 - 2.59) The market is still in its infant stage and does not yet attract crowds large enough for more complex or expanded social interactions. However, certain connections are already apparent in how the market can connect to larger social frameworks. The space afforded by the market enables connections with city-wide endeavors, such as Tree People who give free fruit trees for planting, and were able to reach the neighborhood through the farmers market.<sup>44</sup>

Some market patrons frequent the market to or from church since they receive nutrition vouchers from those institutions. Two of the vendors, out of sixteen, sell at the market because they grew up in the neighborhood and hope to “give something back,”<sup>45</sup> although neither live in the neighborhood currently. The enthusiasm to improve the area exists from within and without; the farmers market provides a space for such potential endeavors.

As I sit at the information stand with market manager Ashley Hiestand, people approach the stand consistently to receive EBT, WIC or Senior Stamps. In addition, the information stand offers an array of multi-colored recipe ideas to help inspire shoppers of how they might use their fresh, and potentially new, produce. The importance of the information stand in engaging people and expanding their awareness about market affordability is evident at a small market.

<sup>44</sup> Tree People donated fruit trees at Watts CFM on 01.17.10

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Belva, Big Bel's Pies, and Ronald Jackson, artist; 01.09.10.

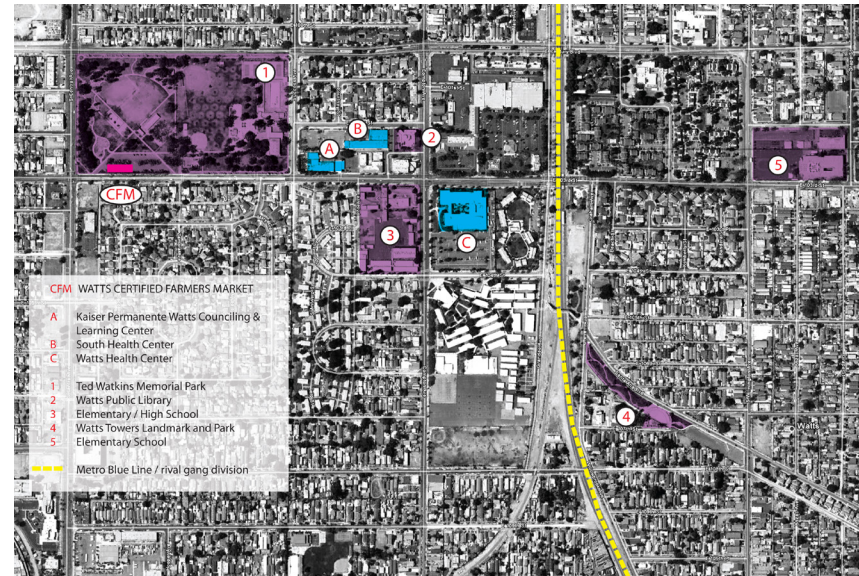


FIG 2.55: NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH FACILITIES IN SUPPORT OF CFM; CIVIC PROGRAM AND WATTS CFM

Many markets require a couple years to create a profitable customer base that helps to develop the enterprise integrating it into the neighborhood. Watts has the added impediment of existing in the public space of an area not perceived as safe by residents. According to a couple of vendors, however, the market aids the sense of security for the area. The market develops at a gradual pace.



FIG 2.56: MARKET BOUNDARIES AND PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION



FIG 2.57: MARKET VIEW FROM 103RD STREET

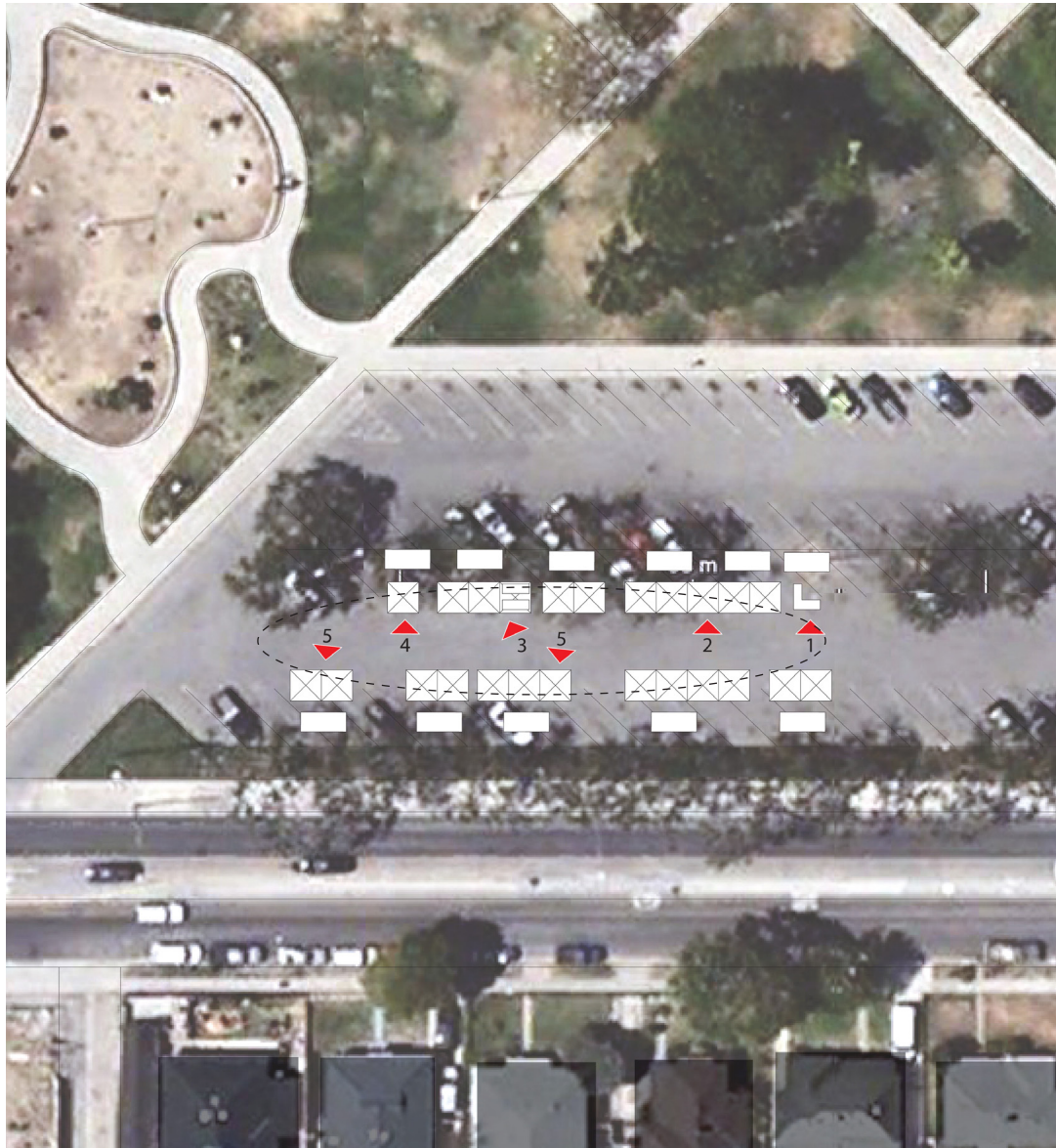


FIG 2.58: PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

### SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

At Watts CFM, all social interactions are located at vendor booths along the market aisle since the market is too small for differentiated areas for specific social purposes. Nevertheless, even in such a small market, the information booth facilitates more conversation, as well as the prepared food booth, having supplied tables.

With the proximity of the park, patrons have the opportunity to expand their market experience. However, such cross activity does not occur much, according to vendors and the market manager. This is probably the case since market patrons come with a particular purpose, and only stop to socialize if the opportunity arises.

### SOCIAL INTERACTIONS - experience

1. One of the two artisan booths, Roland's booth engages customers to discuss his art, especially as Watts is his childhood home.
2. The information booth engages most people especially on issues of affordability, nutrition and recipes for produce bought at market.
3. The pupusa vendor has supplied two small tables under a canopy, the only market area in which to sit. Both customers and other vendors make use of them throughout the day.
4. The vendors of Big Bel's Pies also grew up in Watts. They are very enthusiastic in speaking to customers about their products, among other topics.
5. Market talk, as shown at a produce and berry stand, is the most typical type of social interaction at smaller markets without enough people to create particular areas to gather.



FIG 2.59: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

CASE STUDY EIGHT:  
City Hall Certified Farmers Market

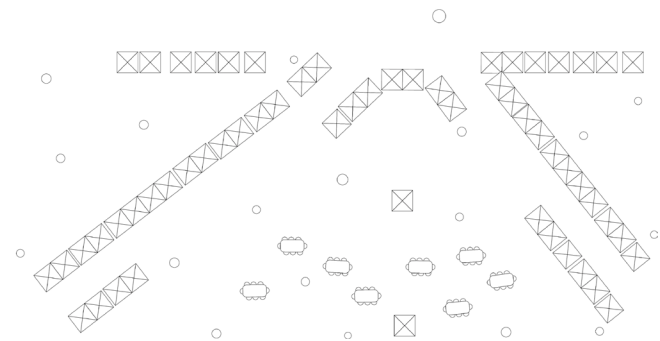


FIG 2.60: CITY HALL CFM -  
MARKET FORM

## CITY HALL CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET

### ADMINISTRATION

public / private: private – Friends of the Los Angeles River  
funding: public and private (find more info)  
purpose: to create community  
affordability: food stamps

### TIME

year established: 2005  
season of operation: year-round; no market on rainy days  
day of operation: Thursday  
time of operation: 11am – 3pm

### SPACE

form: triangular; park  
size: 38,770 sq.ft.  
number of vendors: 35  
site ownership: public – City of Los Angeles

location in area: central Downtown Los Angeles  
location: City Hall park on Main Street  
previous locations: Arts District – Rose Street; Little Tokyo – Pedestrian Mall

landmark adjacencies: civic – City Hall, Police Department, LA Times,  
fabric adjacencies: office / civic  
public transport: buses - .01 miles, or more, from market; metro - .6 miles  
parking amenities: n/a

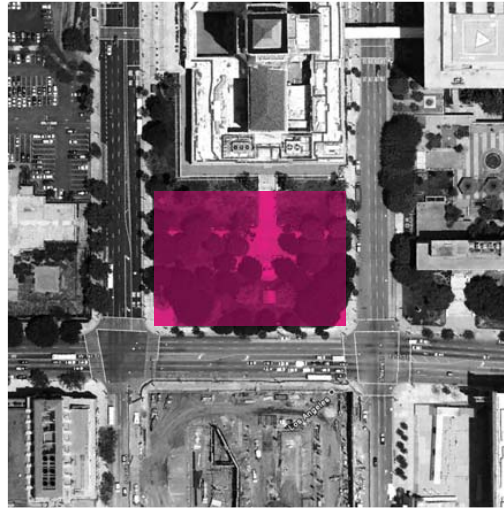
## MARKET SUMMARY

The Arts District / Little Tokyo Certified Farmers Market at City Hall is the only market located in a park setting, where the aesthetic quality of its surroundings is intentionally maintained. Market vehicles are stored off-site and the market has an uncharacteristically generous area for social interaction, especially since the market is not administered by a public body. The market has relocated three times and carries the baggage of its previous locations in its name. With each move, the changes in the surrounding context and demographics reflect in the market; at its current location the market caters to the office and government workers, citizens on jury duty and schools of day-care children.



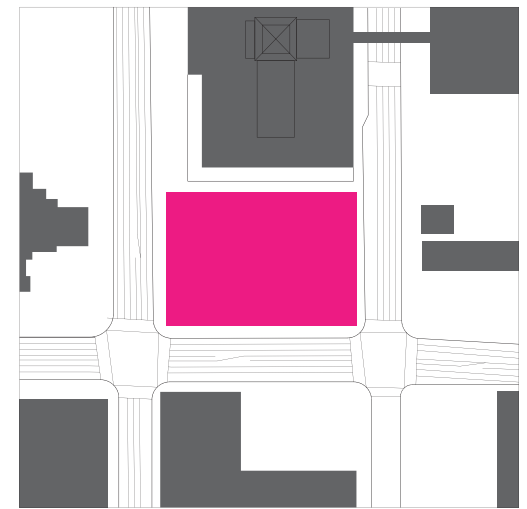
800' x 800' AREA AERIAL - CITY HALL CFM

FIG 2.61: CITY HALL CFM - MARKET AND CONTEXT



OWNERSHIP:

SITE OWNERSHIP:	PUBLIC
MARKET SITE:	LAWN



CFM FIGURE GROUND:

CFM AREA:	+/- 38,809 SF
CFM PERIMETER:	+/- 855'
No. OF VENDORS:	+/- 45
EDGE ENCLOSURE:	30%
URBAN TYPOLOGY:	SEMI-INFILL MARKET

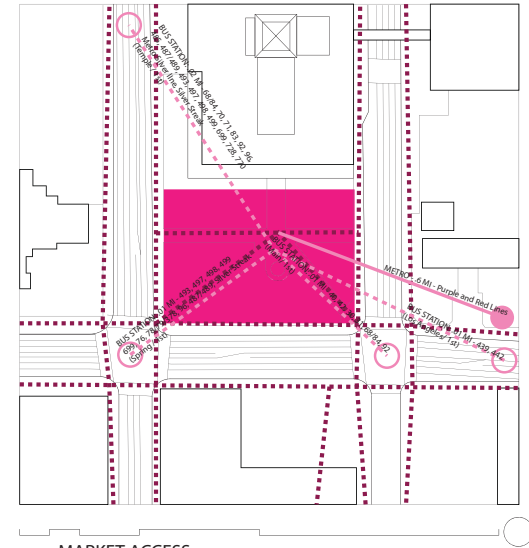


- (E) ZONING:**
- SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
  - MULTI-FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
  - COMMERCIAL
  - INDUSTRIAL
  - INSTITUTIONAL
  - OPEN SPACE

**DOMINANT ZONING:**  
 INSTITUTIONAL  
 COMMERCIAL



- PROGRAM - CFM ZONES:**
- ARTS&CRAFTS: 10%
  - FARMERS: 20%
  - COOKED FOOD: 10%
  - SOCIAL GATHERING: 60%
  - PARKING: --



- MARKET ACCESS:**
- PEDESTRIAN - SIDEWALKS / CROSSWALKS: YES
  - BICYCLE LANE: NO
  - BUS STATION: 15/2
  - METRO STATION: NO
  - CAR - PARKING: NO



FIG 2.62: MARKET WITH CITY HALL IN BACKGROUND

## CITY HALL CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET<sup>46</sup>

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Many architects and urbanists who study Los Angeles begin with Downtown Los Angeles. In physical form, it is the densest part of the city, includes high-rise buildings indicative of a central business district and embraces the greatest number of freeway interchanges and means of public transportation. Historically, it is where the city began. And Downtown is home to the Civic Center of the city. However, in many ways Downtown is yet another neighborhood among hundreds in the metropolitan area.

Downtown Los Angeles has not served as the center of the city for decades. While in the 1950s Angelinos traveled, sometimes by rail, to frequent the Downtown Theatres, today the ornamented facades and terrazzo floor mosaics of the theatres remain in disrepair, while their interiors serve as storage spaces for the jewelry, toy and fabric districts. Dealing mostly in wholesale, they average more capital turnover than Rodeo Drive despite the ad-hoc appearance. Thereby, the conception that few Angelinos step foot downtown does not apply to all people and all areas of Downtown.

However, as is true of many American city centers, the decentralization of both homes and work no longer requires that the majority of citizens converge in the center. While this is not in itself a problem, the marginal public amenities, including lack of supermarkets and areas for social interaction, arises as a problem for the people that do use the area for either work or residence. The lack

<sup>46</sup> Visited on 01.14.10, 03.25.10.

of public activity is especially apparent in the areas surrounding civic institutions such as City Hall due to lack of residential fabric.

Numerous projects in the past decade address the desire by planners to introduce programs to Downtown that serve as destinations. Completed projects include multiple loft rehabilitations, the Staples Center and Disney Concert Hall, while the Brand Avenue rehabilitation and the new design for a park linking the Music Hall to City Hall are proposed.

### THE MARKET – field observations

*The City Hall Certified Farmers Market is located on City Hall's lawn that serves as a park and a means of circulation towards the civic structure. Before entering the market at the south-east corner of Spring Street, a political activist engaged me regarding the upcoming election determining the lawfulness of gay marriage. A signature and a couple stickers later, I made my way through the market. Two day care supervisors lead twelve children along the east branch. For those unfamiliar, children, especially in groups, are a rare sight in Los Angeles. A couple jury volunteers emerge from the grill smoke signaling the cooked food section. Holding pupusas, an Ecuadorian fare, they weave their way around the children towards the tables on the lawn. While the market branches and the food sections are confusingly crowded, the expanse of white tables set amidst trees on City Hall's lawn provides respite.*

## MARKET HISTORY

The City Hall CFM is officially named the Arts District / Little Tokyo Certified Farmers Market at City Hall, bearing the names of its preceding locations. The market, opened in a street location on Rose Street in the Arts District, moved to the privately-owned Weller Court in Little Tokyo, and two years later to its current location at City Hall. **(see FIG 2.62)** Although all three locations are within one mile of each other, the character of the market changed significantly with each relocation. Susan Hutchinson, the market manager, had the idea to start a farmers market in 2005 in order to bring fresh produce into the underserved Arts District where she lived.

The neighborhood, located on the west bank of the Los Angeles River, is the last district before crossing the river into East Los Angeles. Not knowing where and how to begin the endeavor, Hutchinson visited numerous farmers markets in the Los Angeles area and obtained guidance from the manager of the Torrance Farmers Market. Hutchinson partnered with the local nonprofit organization, the Los Angeles River Artists and Business Association (LARABA), and opened a street market that operated on Saturdays from nine to three in the afternoon. After recruiting vendors from other markets, with great difficulty, the farmers market did not produce a high level of interest from residents since “people in the Arts [District] don’t buy veggies.”<sup>47</sup> The market only operated from July to December of 2005.

While the market did not seem successfully located in the Arts District due to

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with Susan Hutchinson, 03.25.10.

lack of enthusiasm for the produce offered, USDA studies and various anecdotes show that a market usually requires an average of two years to build a strong customer base and influence the shopping patterns of potential constituents. Usually, five years are necessary before a farmers market attains self-sufficiency.

However, due to the bleak outlook, Hutchinson accepted the proposition from the owner of Weller Court just a few blocks away, to hold the market on their property. The intent of Weller Court stakeholders was to increase foot traffic for the surrounding businesses. While the market may redirect some business away from existing establishment during market hours, market visitors often return on other days to shop and eat at businesses they saw during the market visit.<sup>48</sup> However, although the owner had invited the farmers market onto his property, many of the adjacent businesses resented the perceived competition. And so, one year into its second location, the market sought its third site.

The City of Los Angeles did not concern itself with the market for the first two years of its existence. Pending its third location, Councilwoman Jan Perry<sup>49</sup> began supporting the market in its efforts to relocate onto City Hall’s south lawn. Through her efforts, she helped secure the current location during a three month long process. Some of the opponents included the Ground and Streets Department and the Department of Parks and Recreation since they feared incurred damage on site from increased activity. Furthermore, departments feared that the potential public success of the market would render it difficult to

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Raw Inspiration Market Coordinator, Melissa Farwell, 03.27.10.

<sup>49</sup> District 9 Councilwoman Jan Perry; also instrumental in supporting the South Central CFM operated by SEE-LA; Perry helped enact restrictions on fast food restaurants in her district. As part of a larger campaign to combat high obesity rates, she has also funded public parks to promote outdoor activity and supported incentives to encourage more grocery stores to open within her district.

move, once established. In fact, the latter is a legitimate fear; a successful market bears the advocacy of all customers that often view themselves as entitled stakeholders in the design and operation of the market.

The relationship between the farmers market and City Hall has developed from one of apprehension on the side of the latter, to a mutually beneficial association. The market provides a unique type of social interaction for City Hall employees, among others, and, in addition to the location, City Hall provides storage space for the dozen tables and chairs used by the market. The market manager could not have provided as many amenities for social interaction without the support of space and advocacy from City Hall. After three location changes, the farmers market, began with the intentions of bringing fresh produce to the area, has transformed into a social venue for Downtown Los Angeles office workers with few options for gathering spaces during lunch time.

## SPATIAL NEGOTIATIONS

The farmers market is located in what is essentially the front lawn of Los Angeles' City Hall. The market benefits from optimum visibility as it opens onto streets on three sides. Although not on a street itself, and physically separated from the surrounding structures, the market exemplifies an infill situation within the street network of the area. **(see FIG 2.63 - 2.64)** While all other infill markets documented are located in streets, the spatial proximity between the market and the surrounding buildings of a greater scale augments the fact that it is in fact divided by the street grid.

Two diagonal paths from each street corner traverse the park and meet just below City Hall's steps; Flint Fountain<sup>50</sup>, a civic landmark, marks the intersection. The produce vendors are located on these branches of the market, with the cooked food section around the central fountain, and arts and crafts booths aligned across the top. The arrangement of the different types of vending sections, determined by the market manager in discussion with representatives from each group, work together to provide the best marketability for each type of booth; since the lunch time crowd seeks out the cooked food, it acts as an anchor to draw people, through the other branches of the market, towards the center. Furthermore, the branches of the market help define the large sitting area. It is important to note that along these diagonal paths, the booths are located on only one side so as to face the sitting area, and be visually connected. The space for social interaction faces Spring Street and is defined by the two diagonal branches of the market.

## SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Unlike most markets in the city, almost all market patrons walk to the City Hall CFM. Thereby, there is no need to provide parking, which is a difficult thing in the area. The patrons coming to the market include employees from City Hall, California Transportation Authority (CalTrans), the Fire Department and other adjacent civic and business towers. **(see FIG 2.65 - 2.66)** In addition, with the proximity of the court, those on jury duty often come and are surprised by the

<sup>50</sup> Flint Fountain, a civic landmark on the South Lawn of City Hall, is dedicated to and honors former U.S. Senator Frank Putnam Flint whose efforts at the beginning of the Twentieth Century helped bring water to a burgeoning city, most notably through his support in Congress in favor of building the Los Angeles Aqueduct system and bringing water from the Owens Valley to Los Angeles. (<http://www.allbusiness.com/government/government-bodies-offices-regional/6153606-1.html>)

activity. The market also serves as an outing for the many children in day cares. Although there is a large senior community within a mile of the location, they have yet to patronize the market, and the market manager and other volunteers are looking into ways to outreach to that demographic.

City Hall market patrons spend more time socializing at the tables provided in the park-like setting than at the market. While this seems to pose a problem for the vendors, it indicates the necessity of spaces for social interaction previously missing from the area. A band, on axis with Flint Fountain, plays on the lawn for those sitting. While many market patrons sit and talk here, some City Hall employees make use of the steps leading up to the building, and entertain themselves by observing the market from closer propinquity. As a result, another musician has located on the steps. According to the market manager, the area for social interaction has facilitated interesting relationships between various employee groups over time. People attend the market for the potential of chance encounters as well as the typical commercial aspect. Thereby, the social area, which is out of proportion with the area for vending, in comparison to other markets, serves the needs of the working lunchtime community. The market form, then, is both a result and a reflection of those needs. In these ways, the City Hall CFM is a reversal of the typical model of a farmers market sited in a parking lot for optimum convenience; this market provides an aesthetically pleasing area to gather with the market as an underlying facilitator.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The market manager has made attempts to extend the market hours of operation beyond five in the afternoon in order to allow employees to shop fresh produce. Currently, employees do not purchase items that need to be refrigerated or require more storage than is available to them at their office. However, the perceived increase in traffic congestion prevents the market from extending its hours through rush hour.



FIG 2.63: MARKET VIEW WITH NEW FIRE DEPARTMENT BUILDING ACROSS SPRING STREET

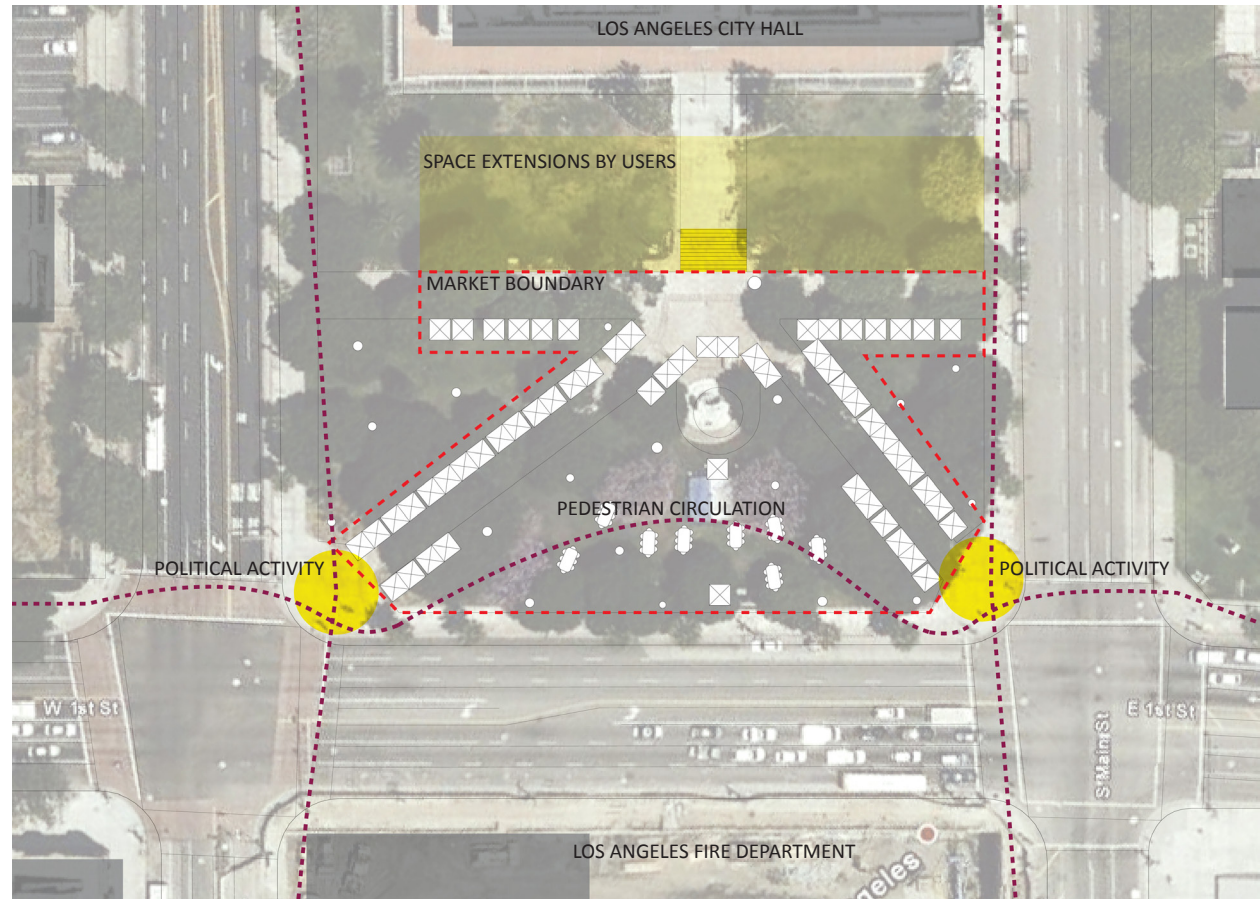


FIG 2.64: MARKET BOUNDARIES AND PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION

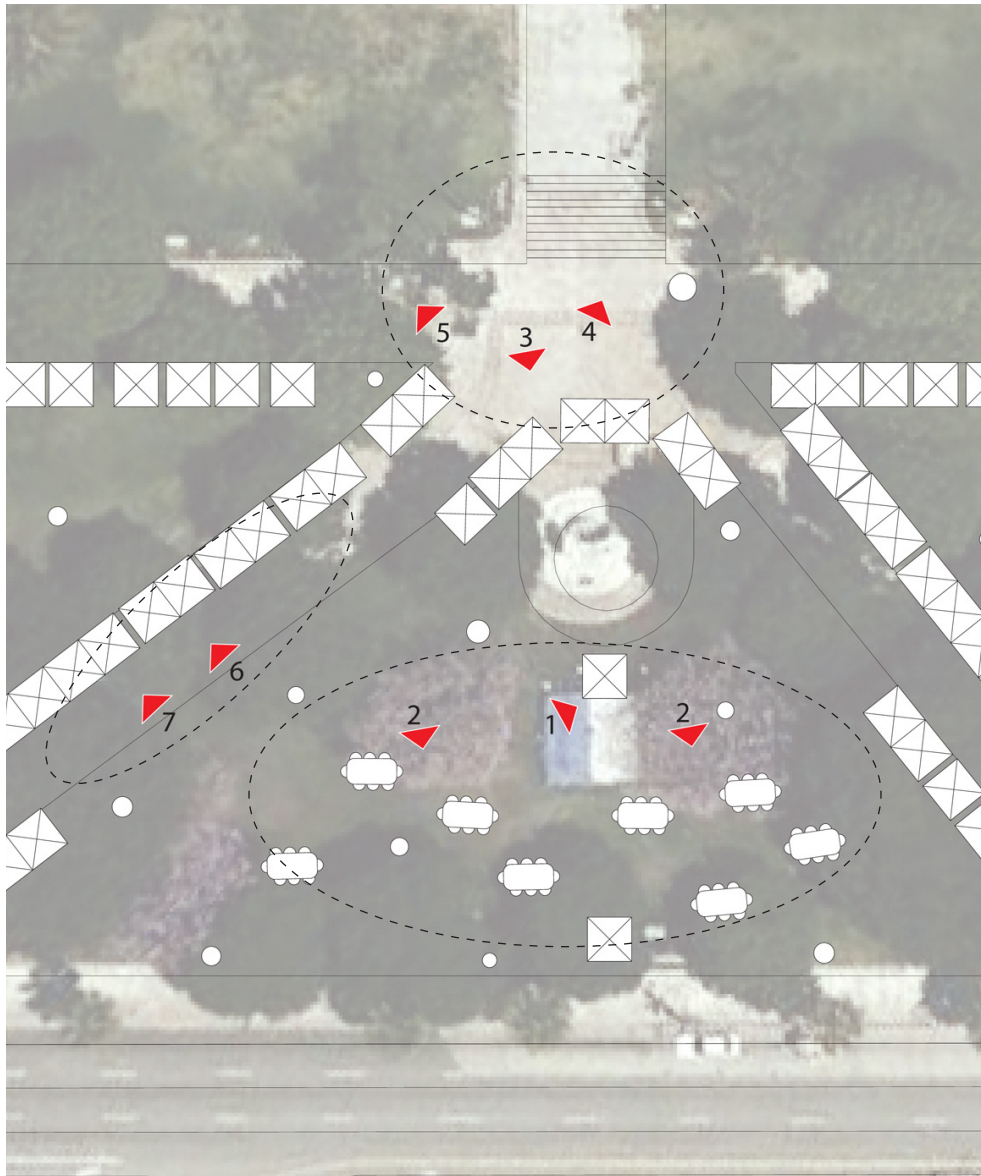


FIG 2.65: PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

#### SOCIAL INTERACTIONS: location

1-2

The main lawn, anchored by the central fountain and information booth, provides numerous tables for market patrons.

3-5

The intersection of the two market branches is on axis with the City Hall steps, providing a confluence of multiple paths of circulation. The cooked food section, the main draw of the lunch-time market, are located in this area.

7-6

The market branches themselves help define the central park area as the booths are located only on one side in order to face the social interaction zone.

#### SOCIAL INTERACTIONS - experience

1. The information booth is centrally located next to the monumental fountain on the lawn at the apex of the sitting area.
2. The sitting area attracts people to linger, even serving as a lunch spot for those not shopping at the market.
3. The cooked food booths are located at the intersection of all market paths and is, thereby, the most crowded area in the market.
4. Market goers sit on the steps of City Hall; as a result, a musician has begun performing in this zone.
5. The extraneous areas of the market, such as the lawns and benches, are appropriated by users, whether shopping at the market or not.
6. Children from local day-cares use the farmers market as an outing.
7. The market branches are accessible to all users, including the elderly and patrons with disabilities.



FIG 2.66: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS



## PART 3 - SYNTHESIZING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMERS MARKETS IN LOS ANGELES

### The Planned Framework of Farmers Markets

(1) Market Organization and Operation

(2) Market Form and Location

### The Unplanned Activities of Farmers Markets

(3) Spatial Activation

(4) Adaptability

(5) Neighborhood Identity Creation

(6) Equitable Distribution

(7) Spaces of Altruism

PART 3  
THE PLANNED FRAMEWORK OF FARMERS MARKETS  
THE UNPLANNED ACTIVITIES OF FARMERS MARKETS



FIG 3.1: HOLLYWOOD CERTIFIED FARMERS MARKET  
January, 24 2010

In Part 2 of the thesis I documented and analyzed the spatial and social qualities of eight farmers markets in Los Angeles. Part 3 of the thesis synthesizes the spatial and social characteristics and role of farmers markets in the city. The eight case studies demonstrate the wide variety of farmers market types. **(see FIG 3.2)** These are widely distributed throughout the city. They exist in different zoning conditions, income levels and spatial locations. Some are government operated, while others are operated by nonprofit organizations. The management's purpose for the establishment of each farmers market differs. The types of vendors selling also vary. Source examples address pedestrian access, while most cater to automobile transportation. The phenomenon cannot be distilled down to any singular hypothesis; rather it exists as an experience comprised of a multitude of changing spatial, social, economic and operational factors.

Farmers markets are part stable and part spontaneous. The stable layer of farmers markets results from *(1) Market Organization and Operation* and *(2) Market Form and Location*. The operation and location of the markets provide a dependable, but flexible framework that facilitates unexpected activities, relationships and programs. Within the variety of random activities, six generalities characterize the unplanned aspects of farmers markets, as follows: *(3) Spatial Activation*; *(4) Adaptability*; *(5) Neighborhood identity creation*; *(6) Equitable distribution*; *(7) Spaces of Altruism*; and *(8) Symbiotic and Parasitic Markets*.

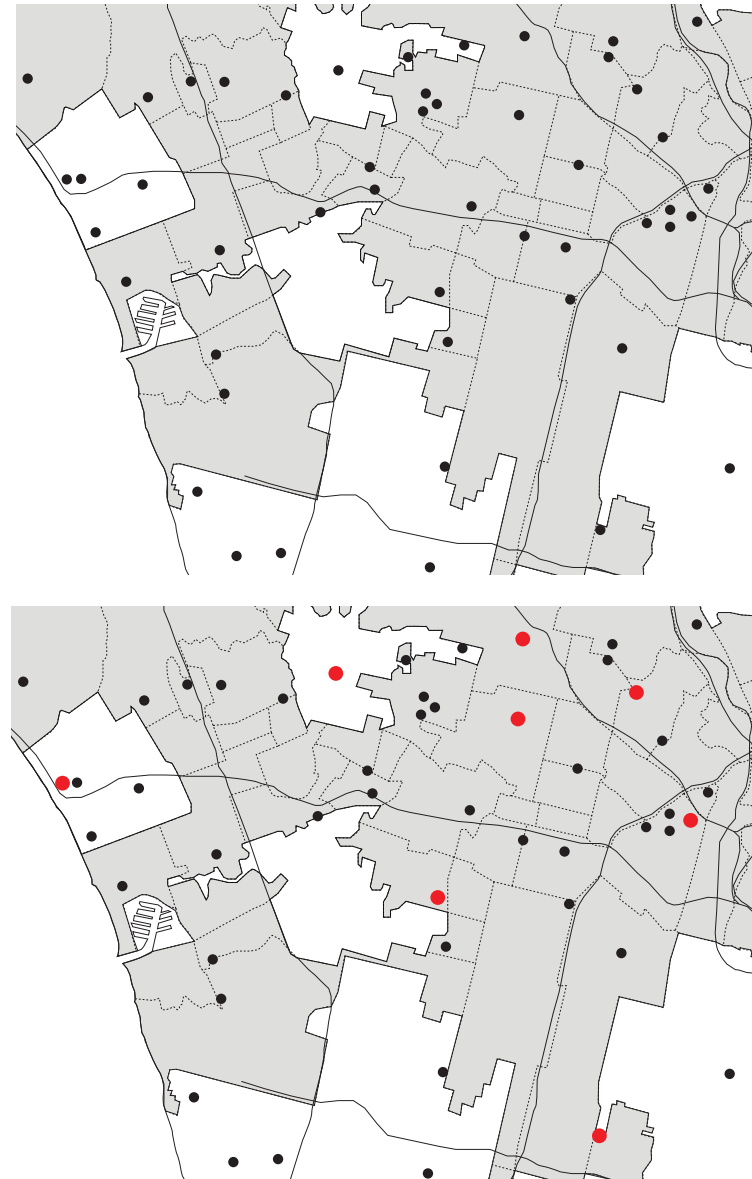


FIG 3.2: FARMERS MARKETS DISTRIBUTION IN LOS ANGELES STUDY AREA;  
All CFMs in black, Case-study CFMs in red.

## THE PLANNED FRAMEWORK OF FARMERS MARKETS

### (1) MARKET ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION

Contrary to their informal appearance and seemingly spontaneous manifestation, farmers markets are highly planned enterprises. Unlike Los Angeles' sidewalk vendors or informal markets in other areas of the world, farmers markets are authorized by legislation at multiple scales from the federal level to the local.<sup>1</sup> These laws define the primary purpose of farmers markets as an alternative means of food distribution, divergent from the dominant centralized industrial food system. They are not a private venture separate from government involvement since they can only be operated by "one or more certified producers, by a nonprofit organization, or by a local government agency."<sup>2</sup>

The operation and role of farmers markets cannot be neatly delineated. In fact, they demonstrate a democratic approach towards an urban project as involved parties represent public, private and nonprofit interests. Furthermore, the need for community support, including markets begun through community initiative, illustrate the process as neither purely top-down or bottom-up. Even as farmers markets are non-profit in operation, they facilitate the private interests towards financial livelihood of the sellers. Non-private interests are evident through the involvement of governmental agencies. Two of the eight case studies are operated by city governments, and are therefore under a public authority. The remaining six case studies, operated by nonprofit organizations, all include partnerships at

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1.2 Enabling Legislation

<sup>2</sup> CA Code of Regulations; Title 3. Food and Agriculture; Division 3. Economics; Chapter 1. Fruit and Vegetable Standardization; Subchapter 4. Fresh Fruits, Nuts and Vegetables; Article 6.5. Direct Marketing; § 1392.2. (a) CFM definition.

various levels with governmental departments.

Political support is instrumental in conflicts that arise. As the markets operate on a temporary basis within the perceived space of the existing businesses, conflicts over space, infrastructural usage, especially parking, or even personal noise complaints from residents sometimes occur. For instance, with the changing urban condition around the Hollywood CFM, the Los Angeles Film School purchased an adjacent building and resented that they could not access one of their driveways during market hours. The strong relationship between the market and the councilman helped augment the issue with the private complainant. Nevertheless, good relationships with the local residents and business owners are also essential in minimizing potential issues. Currently, the Hollywood CFM and the newly opened Café Etc are negotiating the space of the latter's outdoor sitting area, and the space for market booths. However, such relationships can be symbiotically beneficial as in the case of the Silverlake CFM and its use of restroom facilities from a couple of a neighboring auto shop and café.

Political and financial support also results in partnerships with other nonprofit and private companies. For instance, Watts CFM, operated by the nonprofit organization, SEE-LA, also benefits from subsidies procured from the success of the SEE-LA operated Hollywood CFM, and politically and financially from the County Health Clinic and the privately-owned Kaiser Permanente Hospitals. Meetings and partnerships with neighborhood groups are also instrumental in securing a strong customer base and community support. With neighborhood support, farmers markets are secure in their location; for this reason, the initial

choice of a market site does not happen easily. As in the case of the City Hall CFM, the Parks and Recreation Department was reluctant in allowing the market to operate on the chosen site in front of City Hall since they were aware that once market patrons approve and support the project, they would be unable to easily relocate it, in case they found they disfavored the site. As farmers markets gain greater popularity, neighborhood groups are beginning to approach various nonprofits to help in the creation of farmers markets.

While farmers markets do not exist outside the legal system, they do work within the gaps of dominant economic and urban systems.<sup>3</sup> Farmers markets exist within undervalued spaces in the city. Their temporal nature allows them to operate on sites intended for other purposes, such as less trafficked streets and parking lots. While zoning traditionally separates urban uses, planners currently hail mixed-use projects as a means towards achieving urban revitalization. Farmers markets contribute by providing a space for overlapping uses and a mixture of users from the cross section of the urban and regional population; they infuse spaces with different activities than prescribed by the predominant zoning.

Basic transactions show how they function outside the economic system. Farmers markets operate strictly on cash based exchanges. The precision typical of transactions in supermarkets does not exist at farmers markets. Vendors work with whole numbers in money and in product weight; the price for goods will

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<sup>3</sup> Regulations established by laws and by the market management largely pertain to standards of health and the integrity of products sold. Inspectors from the California Department of Agriculture spontaneously inspect the vendors to ensure that they sell only the items they themselves grow or produce. The City Fire and Health Departments also make inspections to ensure that a clear fire lane is maintained, and pets and other unsanitary elements are not at the market. Outside of these enforceable regulations, the market practices self regulation between market management, vendors and consumers.

never be \$2.18, but rather two dollars even. As relationships develop between vendors and consumers, the former will often hold a desired product for a regular customer, if supplies are running low. While bartering is not typical, vendors often add products to a purchase, especially for regular customers. Furthermore, vendors and the management operate on a cash-based honor system in collecting vendor fees.<sup>4</sup> The vendors use worksheets and are trusted by the management to pay honestly. The Hollywood CFM market manager believes that from over one hundred and fifty vendors, no more than ten each week dishonestly report earnings. According to the City Hall CFM market manager, the vendors self regulate so that, if one is consistently known to under-report earnings, then that vendor's reputation will be compromised.

The particular function of each market is initially influenced by the intentions of the operator, which can include any or all of the following motivations: (a) providing space for community and/or civic activity; (b) providing healthy and/ or affordable food for residents; (c) supporting small farmers and/or preserving farmland. Thereby, farmers markets emerge as a small scale public service to provide opportunities and amenities otherwise marginalized by the dominant market system. Most markets also include booths with non-market purposes. **(see FIG 3.3)** The management of six of the eight case studies provides an information booth to engage market patrons and provide educational material regarding seasonal and local produce, health and diet information, recipes, information on market sponsored events and workshops and sometimes, material

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<sup>4</sup> Vendor fees are determined by the market management and range from 5.5% to 10% of total sales, sometimes including a base fee; fees also differ depending on the products sold, and are higher for cooked food and arts and crafts vendors than for farmers. The city operated markets often charge lesser fees.



FIG 3.3:  
NON-MARKET BOOTHS AT FARMERS MARKETS

on sustainability efforts regarding energy and water conservation, composting and waste disposal, and general information about vendors. Seven of the eight case studies use the information booth to facilitate market affordability with Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) services. And seven of the eight case studies include other educational or nonprofit booths that may be of interest to residents, such as gardeners, dieticians, food preservers and work opportunities. Thereby, while the foundation of farmers markets is economic, the inclusion of non-market booths can generate experiences beyond purely commercial transactions.

The external factors contributing to the character of farmers markets include the site ownership, spatial configuration and the context. These factors contribute to the physical space of the market. **(see FIG 3.4)** The site ownership of the case studies is often public. The spatial typology of the street corresponds to the form of the market as an infill condition in the city. This has a direct correlation with market size as it is easier to expand when located in a public street. Furthermore, a street location provides the opportunity to engage more people including residents and businesses and form relationships that ensure ongoing market success.

The internal operations of the markets, whether city or nonprofit run, all include some form of an area for social interactions. This testifies to the importance of public gathering in addition to commercial practice. The products sold, as influenced by the administration, do not correlate to the amount of public space, but there is correlation with the character and type of social interactions that emerge. **(see FIG 3.4)**

## (2) MARKET FORM AND LOCATION

Successful farmers markets are self-sufficient with an established presence in a neighborhood and regular customers that consider themselves stakeholders. The existence or potential of other commercial activities in an area, as determined by zoning, establish an established framework within which a farmers market can engage. Thereby, the larger markets are found in commercial areas. These areas also typically have greater access to public transportation services. However, while the markets act as a center of activity during their operation, there is no relationship between their location at the center or periphery of a neighborhood. This testifies to the neighborhoods as delineated by political jurisdictions that do not correspond to the lived experience within the city. **(see FIG 3.6)**

Of the many criteria involved in establishing a farmers market, from finding sources of funding, political support and procuring the appropriate vendors for an area, the physical location of the market is one of the main determinants of a market's enduring success. The most significant factors to consider in market location include:<sup>5</sup> (a) available land and ownership; (b) visibility; (c) available parking; (d) safety and security; (e) proximity of retail program; (f) proximity of civic program; (g) aesthetic experience. **(see FIG 3.7)**

(a) Available land and ownership: Seven of the eight markets studied are located on public land, which lends to their public service agenda. Pompea Smith, CEO of nonprofit organization SEE-LA,<sup>6</sup> maintains that public land helps facilitate

<sup>5</sup> While public transport is not one of the most important features for the success of a farmers market in Los Angeles, the future of the particular's site ability to be integrated in neighborhoods relies on access by means beyond the private automobile.

<sup>6</sup> SEE-LA operates seven markets in the Los Angeles area.

relationships with city departments and neighborhood groups, thereby allowing the farmers market to engage with social networks on the city and district level.<sup>7</sup> Such support helps sustain a market's operation. Furthermore, private land has less tenure, and potential for development, resulting in market eviction.<sup>8</sup> Based on the concept of markets as networked sites and programs, farmers markets located on public streets have the greatest potential of contributing to lasting effects to the public space of a neighborhood. Streets allow for the maximum level of circulation and activity between a multitude of users. They are in close proximity to businesses that can benefit from increased public activity and allow for growth flexibility as the market can contract and expand as needed. In this way, they do not exist as an isolated object, but rather as an urban experience woven within the physical and social fabric of the city.

(b) Visibility: Most markets rarely have funds for advertisement; word of mouth and their physical presence are usually the main factors in attracting patrons. Three of the eight case studies relocated in order to improve their visibility. Watts CFM moved within the same park parking lot to be closer to the street, although its initial location enjoyed proximity to park services, such as spaces for sitting and restroom facilities. City Hall CFM moved from its original location to the front lawn of City Hall. Crenshaw CFM relocated from a neighborhood parking lot that resonated with the adjacent shops and the elderly population of the area, to a higher trafficked shopping complex parking lot.

(c) Available parking: The relocation of Crenshaw CFM was also determined by

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Pompea Smith, 01.13.10.

<sup>8</sup> While public land is also sold for development, a strong constituent base has a greater chance of halting the selling of public land, than of private where the owner's property rights are autonomous.

the greater availability of parking provided by its current site. Seven of the eight markets studied provide parking for market patrons, or are located in areas with enough available parking. Parking is not an issue for City Hall CFM since the operation time caters to office workers within walking distance. When Hollywood CFM initially located on Ivar Street, a city-owned parking lot, and the relatively low development of the surrounding area ensured enough parking. However, twenty years later, that parking lot has been developed into a shopping center, and the general rejuvenation of the district requires that the farmers market provides a detailed description of parking options: "Cinerama Dome: \$2 for first 2 hours with Market Validation (entrance at Ivar & DeLongpre). Metered Parking: Check Parking Enforcement signs. Some meters FREE until 11AM on Sundays. Doolittle Theatre: Limited free parking. LA Film School: \$2 parking; at NE corner of Ivar & Sunset."<sup>9</sup>

(d) Safety and security: Farmers markets can provide a heightened sense of security for an area or neighborhood by infusing otherwise desolate spaces with a version of Jane Jacob's "eyes on the street." Interestingly, the markets most concerned with safety issues are either the very rich or the very poor. In Watts CFM market vendors assert that in the two years of operation, vendors and customers have become more at ease being in the public park of an area largely perceived as unsafe and wrought with gang activity. For markets in more affluent areas such as Beverly Hills and Santa Monica the main safety issues revolve around traffic safety. Beverly Hills CFM moved to an isolated street location after the Santa Monica CFM incident in which "an 86-year-old local man named

9 <http://www.farmernet.com>

Russell Weller, who may have mistakenly jammed his foot on the accelerator instead of the brake of his 1992 Buick Le Sabre, causing it to blast, at freeway speeds, through two and a half blocks of Arizona Street while the pavement was completely jammed with stalls and hundreds of shoppers."<sup>10</sup> As a result, traffic safety officers continually patrol the Santa Monica CFM, and the city plans to install vehicle safety nets, such as found at airports, to prevent the occurrence of a similar incident. Thereby, as the safety of an area increases from active public space, so that area needs to be safeguarded.

(e) Proximity of retail program: Existing successful retail districts, with existing population flows help bring customers to a farmers market. However, of the eight case studies only one, Crenshaw CFM, aligned itself with a shopping center to draw on the existing pedestrian flows. Four of the eight markets, however, located in areas that had the potential of retail activity, as permitted by land use zoning. In the case of Santa Monica, Hollywood and Silverlake CFM, some adjacent businesses existed, but the entire district required revitalization. The Santa Monica CFM was located at the intersection with the Third Street Mall in order to bring in foot traffic to a blighted retail strip. Hollywood CFM located adjacent to Hollywood and Vine in order to bring residents to an area dominated by tourists and souvenir shops.

In both of the cases, the markets have developed along with developments of the surroundings. In the case of Larchmont CFM, the successful shopping strip only began weekend operations after the establishment of the market that drew enough people to make an extension of business hours profitable. Over time, the

10 Fremon, 2003: <http://www.laweekly.com/2003-07-24/news/market-massacre>

proximity of retail districts and farmers markets complements each other as part of a multitude of small urban moves towards the revitalization of an area.

(f) Proximity of civic program: It is notable that five of the eight case studies are located in close spatial proximity to civic or institutional programs. Hollywood CFM located close to the Hollywood Public Library; Silverlake CFM located adjacent to the public school whose youth program the market helps support; Beverly Hills CFM located on Civic Center Drive in the heart of Beverly Hills' civic core; Watts CFM located in a public park and in close proximity to the private and county health clinics that supported its establishment and healthy diet programs; and finally, City Hall CFM located on the front lawn of Los Angeles' City Hall. Support from such structures, whether libraries, parks, schools or health clinics supports the endeavor of markets to act as a public service for a neighborhood, thereby functioning as civic markets. It is notable, that more markets align with civic than retail program.

(g) Aesthetic appearance: The aesthetic appearance of a site is probably the least important factor in determining a market location. The market creates its own aesthetic experience over time, but the primary function of the market as a place to buy and sell produce preclude the necessity for settling on a site for its aesthetic benefits. The exception to the rule is City Hall CFM. This is largely due to the creation of the market as a place where office workers can have lunch outdoors; for this reason, then, the location in a park-like setting held greater priority. However, the appearance of the naked site is not as crucial since a market transforms the space during its operation.

According to all these factors, the form of farmers markets greatly depends on their location since they mold themselves to the physical urban condition. As such, the form of farmers markets is either an *infill* or an *object*, depending on the existing urban condition. **(see FIG 3.4 - Urban Condition)** Object markets are on open sites, usually parking lots, and have no physical anchors into the city fabric. Two of the case studies, Crenshaw and Watts CFM fit this description. These markets exist in spatial isolation from the surrounding urban condition and natural pedestrian flows. Infill markets are often located in streets or within an infill site in the urban fabric. These markets, due to spatial proximity, have the potential to propagate fluid pedestrian circulation between the market and the surrounding conditions. The category of a market as either object or infill determines the *potential* pedestrian activity between it and its surroundings since many markets are introduced into areas that lack public activity.

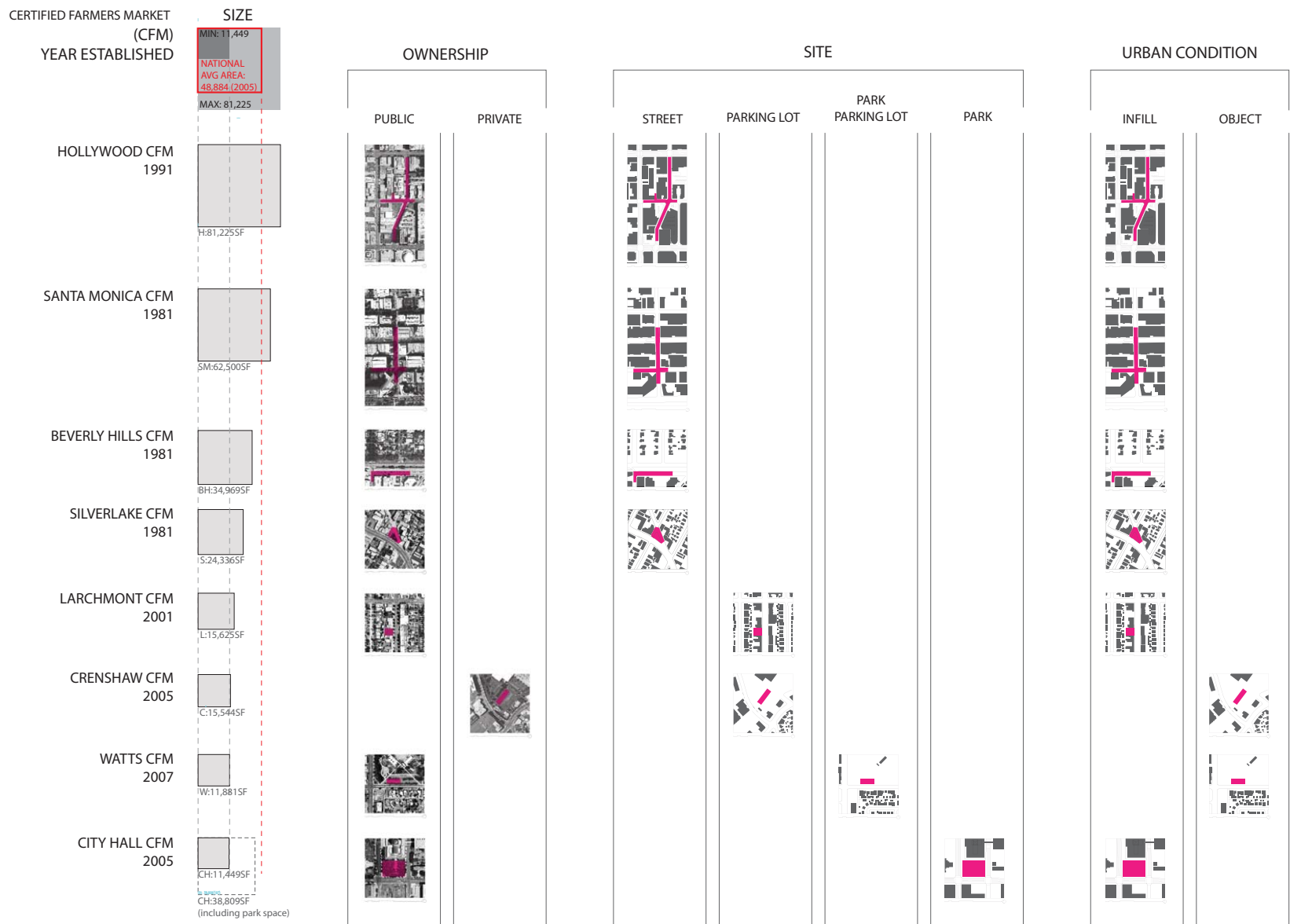


FIG 3.4: EXTERNAL CONDITIONS OF FARMERS MARKETS LOCATIONS

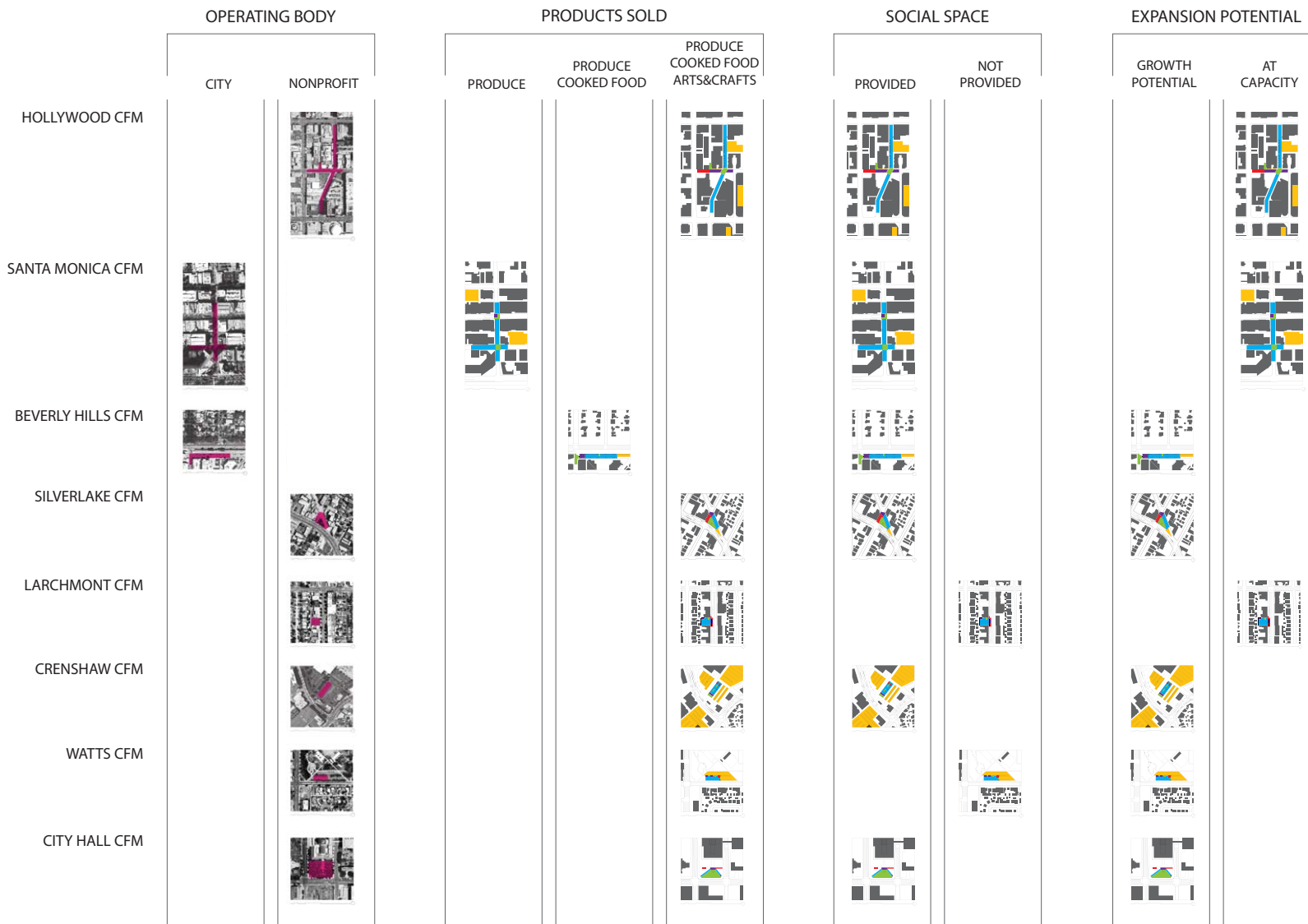


FIG 3.5: INTERNAL OPERATION OF FARMERS MARKETS

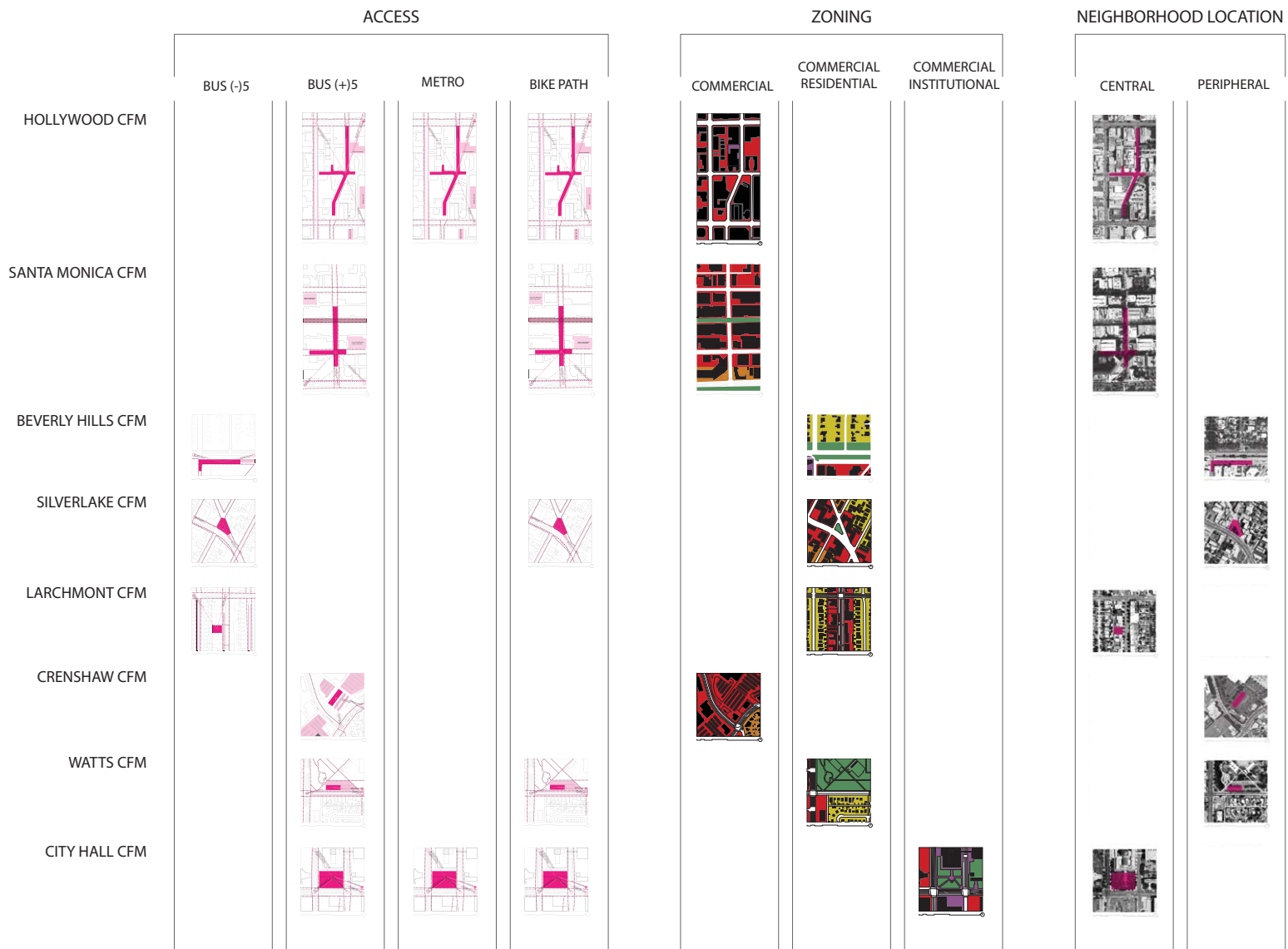


FIG 3.6: THE GREATER CONTEXT

FACTORS DETERMINING CFM LOCATIONS



FIG 3.7: FACTORS DETERMINING FARMERS MARKETS LOCATIONS

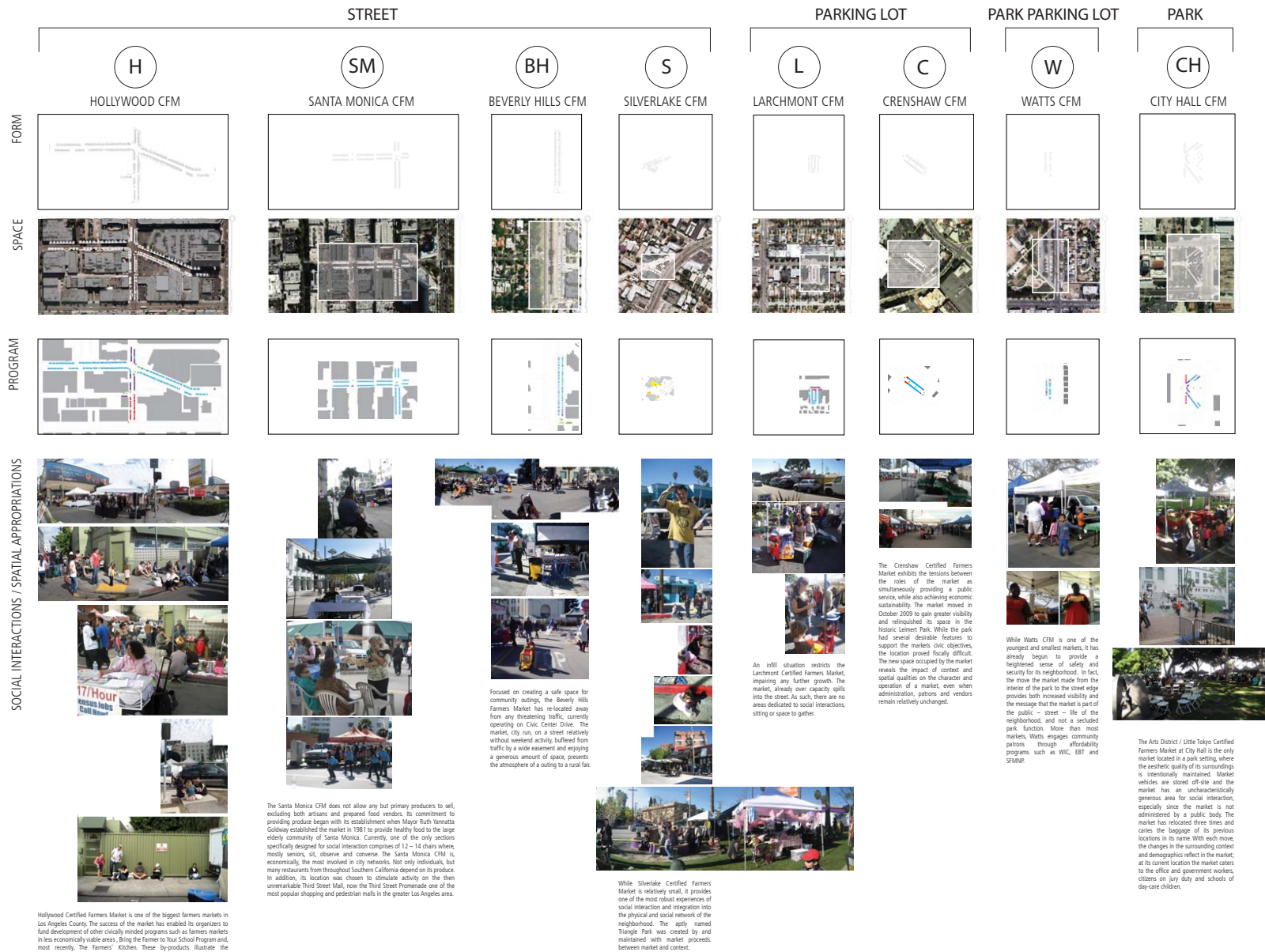


FIG 3.8: SOCI-SPATIAL MATRIX OF FARMERS MARKETS - SPACES FOR SOCIAL EXCHANGE

## THE UNPLANNED ACTIVITIES OF FARMERS MARKETS

### (3) SPATIAL ACTIVATION

The analysis of the eight case studies demonstrates that farmers markets contribute to the public space of Los Angeles. **(see FIG 3.8)** In its most elemental definition, public space is space that is open and accessible to people separated physically and in function from the domestic sphere. However, there is no clear or singular definition of public space. The creation of public space and its use includes a multitude of overlapping and sometimes conflicting uses and users.

*(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a single object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or “ideal” about it as compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams... Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge. 11*

In an analysis of the public/private dichotomy, Jeff Weintraub provides several ways of understanding the “public” realm. He describes one of the “roles” as the “civic perspective, which sees the ‘public’ realm (or ‘public sphere’) in terms of political community and citizenship, analytically distinct from *both* the market and the administrative state.”<sup>12</sup> City markets of the nineteenth century

11 Lefebvre, 1974: 73.

12 Weintraub & Kumar, 1997: xii.

encompassed ideals of a “civic perspective” as they were “more than just public spaces for buying and selling food, public markets were civic spaces.”<sup>13</sup> However, much like farmers markets today, they were enabled by government bodies to exist. Continuing the trend of altruism, farmers markets provide a public service within the gaps of a capitalist economy, for both marginalized farmers, and increasingly for disenfranchised urban populations. As farmers markets are set up through laws and both government and private funds and efforts, the farmers markets are created by the “market and the administrative state.” The ensuing social, civic and political public activities exist as a result. However, within the framework constructed by public and private authorities, public space emerges and has characteristics that are separate from the “market and the administrative state” that initially created the space. For instance, while a supermarket is also in the public realm it is not conducive to spontaneous social activities characteristic of farmers markets. In this way, the public spaces of farmers markets embody a “fluid and polymorphous sociability, distinct both from the structures of formal organization and the ‘private’ domains of intimacy and domesticity.”<sup>14</sup>

Random public activities by a wide array of users are prevalent at farmers markets. Political activists lobby to procure signatures, nonprofit organizations try to distribute information or secure donations; restaurants, shops, salons and other businesses within close proximity hand out flyers to promote their services by setting up signs on market grounds; those who cannot sell within the market, set up shop just outside its formal bounds; children play hide and seek; people sit

13 Tangiers, 2003: xvi.

14 Another of Weintraub’s definitions as “the approach, exemplified in different work of Aries and Jane Jacobs.” Weintraub & Kumar, 1997: xii.

and read newspapers; the homeless peddle; people meet; people talk.

Farmers markets allow for spontaneous activities to occur within the spatial and programmatic framework established by laws and management regulations. People often shop in pairs or groups at farmers markets. Regular patrons visit the market as a destination, evidenced by the various shopping equipment. **(see FIG 3.9)** In addition, farmers markets are places where people not only observe, but also photograph and document for their own use. **(see FIG 3.9)** This is another way farmers markets diverge in practice from their supermarket counterparts. The market serves as a social experience beyond the mundane or the economic. Chance encounters flourish at markets, and are easily observable. Conversations between consumers and vendors are initially facilitated by the curiosity of the former as to the products they purchase. People inquire about the growing season, the growing location and potential recipes, especially with unfamiliar items, or variations in type with familiar produce.

Many immigrant shoppers come across produce they have not seen since leaving their native country. As customers sift through various booths, they develop preferences for products and vendors. Thereby informal relationships begin to form, and are sustained by regular trips to the market. The development of relationships is also facilitated by the regular location of vendors each week. Even though the market is temporal, a routine is achieved by the spatial consistency of booth placement. As farmers markets occur in the same spatial layout on a weekly cycle, they achieve a level of permanence, akin to a ritual.

Through the spontaneous social interactions and spatial appropriations

discernable at farmers markets, over time the stakeholders in the markets increase to include the operating body, the vendors and the consumers. Thereby, the feeling of ownership extends to people without legal rights to the establishment. Even if the management of a market could not continue operations, an established market would simply find new management and continue. This happened in 2009 with the Pasadena CFM after the local nonprofit relinquished the venture.

A successful farmers market attains the custody of its constituents, largely defined as the consumers. Thereby, the market becomes an institution rather than a temporal event or periodic market. The transition over time from an economic enterprise, to a public service, to an institution, aligns present day farmers markets to American nineteenth century city markets that were "more than just public spaces for buying and selling food, public markets were civic spaces."<sup>15</sup>

Sociologist Lyn Lofland categorizes the specific functions of the public realm by focusing on the social aspects: the public realm includes spaces that provide an environment for learning, respite from the everyday, a center for communication, a space allowing the practice of politics and of conflicting uses and users and that assists in the creation of cosmopolitanism.<sup>16</sup> While a general definition of public space is beyond the scope of this thesis, farmers markets provide an example of a type of public space with particular characteristics and can be categorized as follows: (a) Face to face interactions; (b) Space for overlapping users and uses, including civic and political activity; and (c) Respite from the everyday.

<sup>15</sup> Tangiers, 2003: xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Lofland, 1998.



THE MARKET AS A DESTINATION - This is illustrated by the prevalence of shopping equipment  
FIG 3.9: IMAGES OF UNPLANNED ACTIVITIES

THE MARKET AS INSPIRATION -  
People taking photos

(a) Face-to-face interactions

Farmers markets increase face-to-face interactions between people. This is an asset, in itself, for a city like Los Angeles dominated by the automobile. In the commercial model, "as face-to-face exchange became rare business began to act as though markets are made up of demographic sectors not human beings."<sup>17</sup> While the interactions are initially facilitated by commerce, relationships develop that elevate exchange beyond the monetary. When management provides tables for sitting and eating, these usually accommodate at least six people and are in high demand; and so, strangers often sit at the same table. These interactions are usually between market patrons and are greatly facilitated where space is provided either by design or user appropriation. Well developed spaces for social interaction are often a sign that the market has a strong consumer base and is economically self-sufficient. **(see FIG 4 – Social Space)** However, there are examples like Crenshaw CFM and City Hall CFM where people participate in the social aspect of the market even during the initial phases of the economic development.

(b) Space for overlapping users and uses

At farmers markets, users of the space include vendors, consumers, the market manager, peddlers, musicians and performers, political activists and private shop owners promoting their services. The urban-rural and private-public interests and users intersect in the same space. This can be seen as facilitating social tolerance among disparate groups of the population, or what Lofland calls

*metropolitanism*. In addition to the chance encounters, these interactions can reach greater scales of involvement and act as spaces for community or civic gathering. Lofland notes that:

*perhaps the most frequently encountered of cityphile rationales is the assertion that the great city is, in and of itself, as settlement form that generates cosmopolitanism among its citizenry; it is a settlement form that produces – by its very nature – a populace that is far more open to and accepting of human variability, far more inclined to civility and less to fanaticism and smug parochialism than are the residents of more homogenous and intimate forms like tribe, village, or small town.*<sup>18</sup>

Spaces for community and civic gathering are especially important for marginalized neighborhoods lacking strong political advocacy.<sup>19</sup> The openness of the space and its dominant existence on public land renders farmers markets as equitable spaces of engagement for all people, unlike privately owned outdoor malls such as The Grove that regulate who uses the space.<sup>20</sup> The space then exists even for "the inappropriate users: the homeless, drug dealers, loitering youth – and, not inconsequentially, political activists protesting in front of city hall, marching in the streets, or rallying in parks and squares."<sup>21</sup> Although people certainly choose with whom to engage, the user is exposed to everyone on site.

18 Lofland, 1998: 231.

19 Interview with Watts market manager Ashley Hiestand who, with nonprofit SEE-LA, hopes to use the farmers markets as a community forum regarding neighborhood concerns; interview with Pompea Smity, CEO of SEE-LA; South Central CFM, located in the parking lot of the new neighborhood Civic Center, and politically supported by Councilwoman Jan Perry, hopes to also use the market as a space for community gathering and "empowerment."

20 According to the rules

21 Mitchell, 2003: 2.

17 Bakshi, 2009: 13.

Furthermore, as the space is open to everyone, it also has the opportunity to be affected and “improved by all,”<sup>22</sup> thereby establishing the public as stakeholders in its continued existence and operation.

Similarly, the space is used for multiple functions. Primarily, the farmers market transforms the existing street or parking lot from its usual use. Subsequent uses result from users appropriating space. The space for different users can overlap, but is also organized. The market aisles often serve the function of commerce and circulation. The spaces just outside the market bounds, or at cross-roads where vending is at a minimum, include the highest degree of overlapping uses. Social interactions, whether as people gather in groups or sit to eat or observe, also happen at a short distance from the market aisles. Political activists usually congregate away from vending so as to not intrude too much, but establish themselves at the points of highest circulation. Private shop owners promoting their business follow the same paths.

Greater overlap between public and private property occurs when market activity mingles with the perceived private space of a coffee shop or restaurant with outdoor seating. The space provided for overlapping uses and users allow an opportunity for discussion of competing views and agendas. This occurs at several levels between public and private domains. In the immediate space, discussion can occur between users, vendors and organizers. For instance, changes in markets have been made by suggestions from all three groups. At the neighborhood scale, community organizations, public departments and various groups and coalitions can influence the activity and purpose of a market.

22 Bakshi, 2009: 15.

#### (d) Respite from the everyday

The farmers markets occur on a weekly cycle and transform existing urban conditions. **(see FIG 3.10)** Unlike the more permanent structures of cities, the markets exist in an ephemeral state. The public density achieved at farmers markets differs significantly from the rest of the city, often viewed as an antisocial metropolis with few opportunities for pedestrian activity and face-to-face interactions. The weekly event provides an opportunity apart from the typical workings of the city largely constructed with detached single family residences. Across the perceptively mundane landscape of single use zoning, the farmers markets provide a unique space for the confluence of multiple interests and desires. It is both a spectacle and a dependable event.

As established in this thesis, farmers markets transcend strict economic roles. Michel de Certeau suggests that “We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization.”<sup>23</sup> As markets mainly act to activate certain spaces, rather than entirely appropriating the existing conditions, their flexible framework allows for users to make creative use of the space for their own social interactions. One of the dominant functions is the spatial activation by users that results, especially in areas previously lacking public activity. This is a particularly great benefit for a city like Los Angeles, dominated as it is by automobile culture.

23 de Certeau, xiii



FIG 3.10: SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION - Silverlake CFM

#### (4) ADAPTABILITY

Farmers markets adapt to different locations and changing urban conditions, both physical and socio-economic. (see FIG 3.11) As the surroundings inform the character and experience of an individual market, so the farmers market can affect its environment. It exists in an ongoing dialogue with the urban situation. This is especially true when farmers markets reach the level of a neighborhood institution, that at least during operation, acts as a center of public activity. The multiple stakeholders involved including both residents and adjacent business owners are equally involved in creating and sustaining the operation. Infill markets, often existing on public streets, embed themselves in the fabric of the city and are especially adept at facilitating active exchanges. The temporal and spatial dialogue with urban conditions can be termed *evolutionary feedbacks*.

The flexibility of farmers markets is made possible by efficient temporary structures that take less than ten minutes to set up. For the vendors, the flexibility of the market infrastructure allows them to sell at multiple locations in order to maximize their profits. In addition, they are not spatially bound to any location allowing production to be located as many as three hours away; most vendors travel less than two hours to a farmers market. For the urban condition, the same kit-of-parts can be tailored to a wide variety of spaces, neighborhoods and socio-economic needs. The same vendors with the same equipment and merchandize create a completely different market in a new location. Crenshaw CFM is an example of this when it changed locations, retained the same vendors, but nevertheless became a different experience.

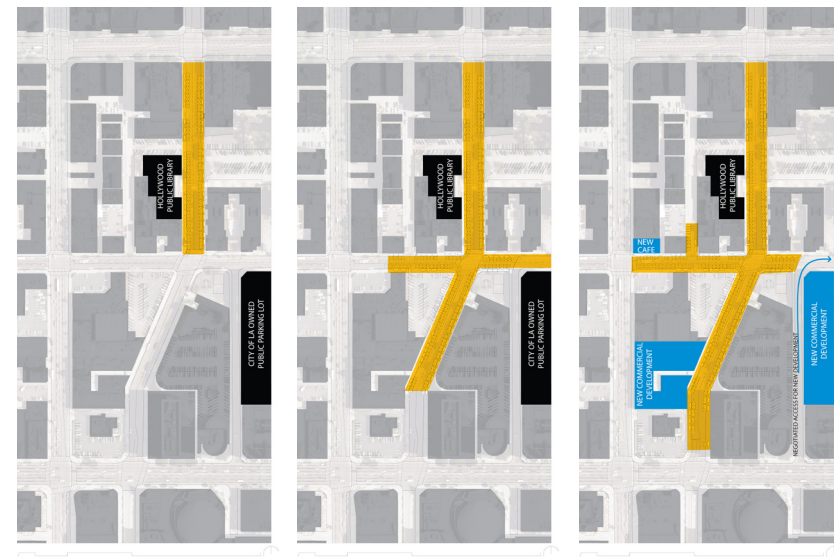


FIG 3.11: GROWTH OF HOLLYWOOD CFM FROM 1991 - 2010

The relatively low investment necessary for creating farmers markets allows for urban experimentation. Commerce and public activity can be introduced to areas otherwise not deemed suitable for larger investments. Often times these are underserved neighborhoods with the greatest need. Additionally, flexibility allows for easy relocation in case of urban friction with existing conditions. When social relationships are made between market and neighborhood organizations, coalitions, health bodies and governmental bodies, the market can move to different spaces within a neighborhood without severing these established social networks. These support networks can work to politically support the market's existence. City Hall CFM and Crenshaw CFM illustrate how the change

to an improved site was facilitated by connections previously established. Consequently, neighborhood councils and those working in urban policy view farmers markets as an inexpensive way to foster community in neighborhoods.

In addition to their civic or governmental connections, farmers markets complement and support shops and businesses. Anecdotally, even if a restaurant is likely to lose some revenue during market hours, users are likely to notice it a return at a later date. Farmers markets are not in competition with businesses as they often provide supplementary or complementary products. Businesses in close proximity often use the markets to advertise either through personnel distributing flyers, placing signs along trafficked areas of and around the market, or by providing support services for the markets such as lavatory facilities or prepared food. In the case of Larchmont and Beverly Hills CFM, public activity was introduced on weekends to areas formerly active only during the week. In the case of Hollywood CFM, the market has existed over twenty years, and most of the developments that now define its streets did not exist at its inception. This leads to interesting negotiations from minor instances of residents requesting that musicians move away from their windows or the Hollywood Film School resenting the lack of access to one of its driveways. However, some businesses use the activity of the market to their benefit even during market operation. The new Urban Outfitters shopping and art gallery center has an internal courtyard that is used for selling arts and crafts during the operation of the farmers market. The Hollywood CFM leaves an open space at the Urban Outfitters entrance; signs directing customers to the arts and crafts are on farmers market property.

Although temporary, farmers markets can have a physical impact on the urban condition. In the case of Silverlake CFM, market funds were used to create Triangle Park, formerly an awkward intersection resulting from the convergence of streets at odd angles. **(see FIG 3.12)** The park remains after the market leaves and is an amenity to the neighborhood. The Hollywood CFM has recently opened a community restaurant with market funds and other grants that is open throughout the week. **(see FIG 3.13)** While these seem to be isolated instances, they reveal the opportunity to capitalize on successful market operations and extend public service agendas beyond operation hours. As new programs are leveraged through market funds and networks, these by-products and spin-offs can become independent of the farmers market, illustrating its evolutionary character.

The nodes of activity created contribute to the unplanned market functions: when people come together in one place, the opportunity for engaging in new and different activities arises. Although farmers markets do not exist in a permanent structure, the cyclical nature of their operation creates a sense of permanence in the dependability of the event. As such, many farmers markets over five years old are regarded as institutions. Some of these are within the imagination of the city, such as Hollywood and Santa Monica CFM, while others are specifically important for their neighborhood, such as Silverlake, Beverly Hills and Larchmont.



FIG 3.12: TRIANGLE PARK AT SILVERLAKE CFM CREATED BY MARKET FUNDS



FIG 3.13: FARMERS KITCHEN AT HOLLYWOOD CFM CREATED BY MARKET FUNDS

## (5) NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY CREATION

Farmers markets reflect the identity of a neighborhood. Community needs are evident in a farmers market. For City Hall CFM, the office workers needed a space to gather during lunchtime. For Watts CFM, the market helps increase a sense of security in the public domain. This also acts as a civic space for community gatherings in a neighborhood traditionally lacking public advocacy and often neglected by city officials. Both Crenshaw and Watts CFM provide healthy food options for underserved communities. Through food-stamps, produce becomes available and accessible. In addition, the information provided about the health benefits of a healthy diet provide the neighborhoods with knowledge they may not have. The Hollywood and Silverlake CFM provides gathering space for family and residents that otherwise absent from the area. While the Santa Monica CFM allows only produce to be sold, which appeals to both residents and the many restaurants that shop the market, Hollywood CFM also provided cooked food and arts and crafts to cater to residents and tourists. Beverly Hills CFM has the largest area designated for family sitting and interacting; it provides a space for neighbors to meet. In small ways, then, resident desires and needs are addressed. In these ways, farmers markets pick up the DNA of their respective neighborhoods contributing to a continuing engagement between market operation and neighborhood needs. Thereby, farmers markets can provide a new means by which to read the city or the neighborhood.

## (6) EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION

Most economic endeavors tend towards centralization in order to maximize use of infrastructure and efforts, creating market efficiency. The centralization, however, often marginalizes people or uses that do not contribute to the dominant vision. Furthermore, in a city like Los Angeles, without one center, decentralization becomes the optimum mode for equitable distribution of goods, services and public amenities. As Los Angeles does not have a comprehensive city policy on public space since it is fragmented politically, with over one hundred and fifty neighborhoods that have their own local political or advocacy body, the adaptability and small scale of farmers markets are able to exist throughout the city.

Farmers markets allow for decentralization, increasing the equitable distribution of healthy and affordable food and public space. (see FIG 3.14 - 3.15) Their wide urban distribution has the potential to address marginalized spaces, social groups and economies. The health, economic and spatial consequences of over-centralization of food production imply that

*the public market will continue to be vital in sustaining agriculture, biodiversity, and a healthy relationship between urban and rural populations, economies and production... valued as remedies for the social and economic deterioration of urban centers.<sup>24</sup>*

Many studies have shown that fresh produce does not exist in equal quantity,

<sup>24</sup> Tangiers, 2003: xv.

quality and variety in lower income areas. Although modest in size, farmers markets contribute to the options of available nutrition for marginalized communities. Farmers markets engage the distribution and awareness of food affordability, including food stamps, EBT, WIC and SFMNP.

Many markets began in more affluent areas since the higher cost of produce made these areas more amenable to small farmers unable to provide products at the lower prices reached by large factory-farms practicing mass-production and government subsidies or low-cost international imports enabled by lower wages in production. As Councilwoman Jan Perry<sup>25</sup> successfully lobbied to halt any more fast-food restaurants from establishing in South Central Los Angeles, so farmers markets begin to address the distribution side and provide healthy food. Federally funded food-accessibility programs provide the financial means by which to purchase healthy food.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Los Angeles District 9 Councilwoman

<sup>26</sup> In the same way that large multinational farm-factories and food distribution agencies receive government subsidies in order to achieve a profit margin that enable them to provide lower-cost items to consumers, so individual geared subsidies by federally funded food stamps, WIC and SFMNP make produce at farmers markets financially accessible to lower income patrons. While produce at farmers markets is perceived as more expensive, even produce at traditional markets cannot compete with the low cost of fast food that seems to offer greater value for the purchasing price. The value, however, is short sighted, as numerous recent studies suggest, since the link between health and healthy food becomes more apparent. Diabetes, among other diet-related health conditions, provides an empirical and quantitative means by which to measure the effects of an unhealthy diet. "Amid worries of an obesity epidemic and its related illnesses, including high blood pressure, diabetes and heart disease, Los Angeles officials, among others around the country, are proposing to limit new fast-food restaurants -- a tactic that could be called health zoning. The City Council will be asked this fall to consider an up to two-year moratorium on new fast-food restaurants in South L.A., a part of the city where fast food is at least as much a practicality as a preference.

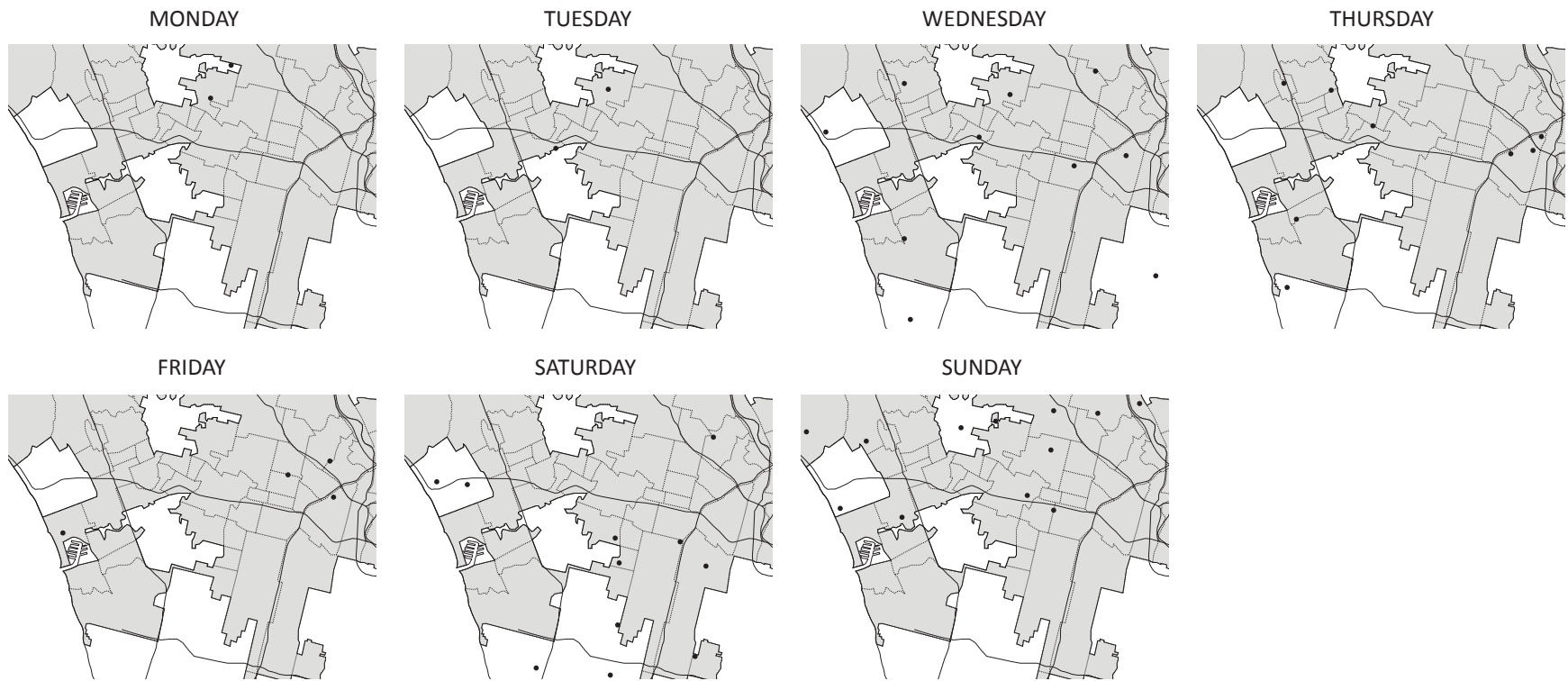


FIG 3.14: LOS ANGELES CFM DISTRIBUTION BY DAY

WEEKDAY FARMERS MARKETS



WEEKEND FARMERS MARKETS



FIG 3.15: LOS ANGELES CFM  
DISTRIBUTION BY WORK-WEEK / WEEK-END

(7) SPACES OF ALTRUISM - social values and farmers markets

*Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, the eighteenth-century gastronome, drew a useful distinction between the alimentary activity of animals, which “feed,” and humans, who eat, or dine, a practice, he suggested, that owes as much to culture as it does to biology.<sup>27</sup>*

When asked why they shop at farmers markets, consumers responded in a variation of the same three answers: the quality of the produce; to support small, local farmers; for the farmers market experience. The support of farmers markets, especially by regular customers, reveals something about the motivating values that contribute to their success both economically and as a social activity. As Manuel Castells notes:

*Social movements tend to be fragmented, localistic, single-issue oriented, and ephemeral... People increasingly organize their meaning not around what they do but on the basis of what they are, or believe they are.<sup>28</sup>*

People shopping at farmers markets believe that they are contributing to a positive effort. This is especially true in the middle to upper class markets where people have other options to purchase healthy and quality produce. The

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“The people don’t want them, but when they don’t have any other options, they may gravitate to what’s there,” said Councilwoman Jan Perry, who proposed the ordinance in June, and whose district includes portions of South L.A. that would be affected by the plan.” (LA Times: A Strict Order for Fast Food; September 10, 2007; Tami Abdollah, Times Staff Writer)

<sup>27</sup> Pollan, 2006: 7.

<sup>28</sup> Castells, 1996: 3.

altruism extends from the community to the individual as people perceive to be participating in a wholesome activity they enjoy, much like hiking through nature for rejuvenation. In addition, the notion of connecting to the farmer, the source of the food to be consumed, emerges as a motivating theme. In his book, Michael Pollan captures the popular desire to connect to nature:

*Different as they are, all food chains are systems for doing more or less the same thing: linking us, through what we eat, to the fertility of the earth and energy of the sun. It might be hard to see how, but even a Twinkie does this – constitutes an engagement with the natural world. As ecology teaches... it’s all connected, even the Twinkie.<sup>29</sup>*

Eating is a ritual performed by all people, and so food has the potential to connect people to nature. Since packaged, processed, well-traveled, outsourced food obscures the link between food and nature, and, thereby, us and nature, farmers markets seem to have the potential to connect people to nature beyond the unpackaged, unprocessed chemical-free, no chemical fertilizers, no harmful insecticides, natural growing conditions, naturally grown, healthy farming practices used, no-spray, sustainably grown, authentic, free-range, pastured, grass fed, no antibiotics or hormones, organically inclined, transitional, local food, good bugs at work here and “ask me how I grow this” (USDA) catchphrases. However, as Laura B DeLind states that:

*while locavores may be pointed in the right direction, their commitment is too often superficial and insufficient. It lacks the sacrifice and embodied experience of living and negotiating*

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<sup>29</sup> Pollan, 2006: 7.

*the daily demands of a particular place... Raising, selling, or eating a local cabbage, however worthy and delicious, is not inherently a civic act. Neither is bicycle riding, or voting. Of themselves, they are far too instrumental.*<sup>30</sup>

In the case of farmers markets, the perception of civic action is stronger than the reality. And perhaps the current desire that populates market, will in time transform into deeper action. Laura B DeLind notes the following regarding pushing the practice of farmers' markets beyond the consumer / producer established roles:

*Farmers\_ markets and CSAs, for example, still struggle with (and are a long way from solving) the class-based nature of their construction... Those who attend farmers' markets are identified as either shoppers or vendors. Few other sorts of relationships are recognized... We feel that there are other equally valid and potentially powerful relationships that are needed to give rise to a civic culture, in particular, a shared sense of place and place-based identity.*<sup>31</sup>

In the same way that an informal conversation can transform a consumer into a citizen, so the involvement with the market creates stakeholders in its operation. In this way, farmers markets extend the perception of ownership:<sup>32</sup>

*Locke offers us a notion of property as a commodity that can be traded at will. But Hegel's concept of continuing ownership, in which property cannot be reduced to a commodity, allows*

30 DeLind, 2008: 128, 130.

31 DeLind, 2008: 128.

32 Interesting discussion in infrastructural city: Roger Sherman – Counting (on) Change: Property pg 178 - 205

*us to consider the idea of "cultural property."*<sup>33</sup>

The farmers market belongs to the community, and not just to the nonprofit that operates it. As some of the street located markets show, public use of private property often occurs during market hours. The city then, at least for a small portion of time, opens up to admit trespassing and loitering, activities largely feared and frowned upon in typical situations.

Federal and State legislation was designed to provide farmers the opportunity to sell directly to consumers in urban areas. Supporting local farmers is an overwhelming reason people shop at farmers markets. In this way, they display the altruism of nineteenth century city markets where patrons were encouraged to buy products from street vendors not only out of need but to support people earning honestly.<sup>34</sup> This also exemplifies a mode of commercial exchange that broadens the understanding of supply and demand to include social values. At least in theory, people want to know where the products come from and what resources, whether human labor or natural systems are being employed. The concern is especially true with food, the basic commodity of human sustenance. Civic values and economic agendas collapse into each other.

Farmers markets provide a space where civic, political and altruistic agendas exist alongside capitalist ventures and commercial interests. These social functions are not separate, and at farmers markets, neither is the space. In recent time, the market system has separated commerce from both the public and the domestic spheres: "commerce had been celebrated [in western Europe] as a

33 DeLind, 2008:131.

34 Tangiers, 2003: xvi.

gentle 'civilizing' agent that fostered prudence, probity, industriousness and punctuality."<sup>35</sup> The simple act, then, of a space for the overlapping of otherwise separate functions, has the effect to broaden both the operation and conception of what is of public interest and what is of private interest. In a modest way, they show that there is an alternative to the "Free Market." With the formation of relationships through the acknowledgement of a value system that operates alongside strict economic agendas, both consumers and vendors are transformed into citizens. Consequently, private interests are not solely at the mercy of supply and demand, but are open to include non-economic value systems.

The values of the public, regarding security, public space, health and nutrition, the support of local economies, engagement with issues of sustainability and community or public engagement are apparent in farmers markets. The high level of social interactions imply that "exchange of goods and services comes second to the need to gather"<sup>36</sup> since people, especially in affluent areas, have the option to purchase similar products at high end supermarkets that provide great variety and organic and locally grown products. The typical farmers' market has been characterized by liveliness and a certain measure of "controlled disorder."<sup>37</sup> Farmers' markets can be seen as ephemeral space "where people come to play, where the conventions of retailing are suspended, and where the participants come to engage in and produce theatre, performance, spectacle, and laughter."<sup>38</sup> In a study of the behavioral ecology of farmers' markets and

35 Bakshi, 2009: 20.

36 Bakshi, 2009: 11.

37 Gesser, 1995: 5.

38 Gregson and Crewe quoted in Holloway and Kneafsey 2000, 300 quoted in Hung, 2004.

supermarkets, Sommer et al. (1981) found that, although there were a similar number of perfunctory interactions in both places, there were a greater number of social and informational exchanges at the farmers' market.

The same study examined the potential for social interactions in terms of whether people arrived alone or in groups— they found that more than three-quarters of all supermarket shoppers arrived alone, whereas at the farmers' market, more than three-quarters of all customers arrived in groups.<sup>39</sup> These experiences constitute ideals that override former values of efficiency as propagated by the mega store, the one-stop shop and the non-stop market. These continue to exist, and play important roles in society, and farmers markets simply add to the options people have to shop and engage with how, where, in what way and for what reason they purchase. The claim towards a civic agenda based on face to face interactions provided at farmers' markets lies outside the dominant cultural values of speed and convenience deemed modern and progressive. In a small ways, farmers markets begin to allow the values of relationships and experiences to also exist as an adjunct to the rigid market exchanges for generating profit associated with progress.

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39 Hung, 2004.

## CONCLUSION

Farmers markets have a role in cities beyond the economic function of commercial exchange. Currently, a modest, although productive phenomenon within its bounds, farmers markets exist within the gaps of urban space, mainstream society and economic practice. It is within these gaps that an alternative mode of operation emerges and illustrates a different perspective on the use of space within a city. These spaces are both temporal and small in scale. They rarely leave any physical traces. But for short periods, they achieve a level of public activity, heightened use value of land and the intersection of disparate stakeholders and participants; it is within these periods of time that a glimpse is caught of their effect. And while temporal, the event, occurring every week, sometimes grows into an institution, with effects beyond its spatial and temporal limits.



FIG x.1: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

## EPILOGUE

### A NOTE ON THE TRAJECTORY OF FARMERS MARKETS

As discussed in this thesis, the origins of city markets in the United States reveal a civic trajectory of regulated conduct and tendencies towards altruism. Similarly, Los Angeles' farmers markets contrast informal markets in developing countries, which advantageously use highly trafficked urban conditions as a facile method for selling goods, and are thereby seen as initially parasitic programs<sup>1</sup> in that they use existing population densities to their advantage. While the term parasitic here, refers only to the action of siphoning off potential customers from existing conditions, it does not imply that these markets do not in fact provide a crucial urban function. Indeed, they often help the livelihoods of both vendors and consumers by providing goods and services at more affordable rates or convenient locations than found in the formal systems. However, in Los Angeles, with its history of marginal public space and the food deserts characteristic of many lower income zones, the farmers markets often create public activity where none or little previously existed.

In fact this is one of their main contributions to the city's general inventory of public space. As such, many emerge as symbiotically beneficial programs. However, the close relationship between public, non-profit and private interests that intersect in the creation and sustenance of these markets do not always result in markets geared towards public service. Some markets are created by parasitic means, similar to their informal market counterparts across the world.

<sup>1</sup> The term is used from Dewar & Watson, 1990; See Part 1.A of this thesis for a more detailed discussion.

There are generally two types of methods employed in which markets establish in a situation that more easily allows for their economic success. In the first case, parasitic markets establish against the "spatio-temporal synchronization"<sup>2</sup> ideal, in which new farmers markets separate themselves from existing markets, either by maintaining a critical spatial distance or by operating on a different day than an established and successful market. Larchmont CFM was instituted less than two miles from the successful Hollywood CFM with the same operating day and hours. Operated by nonprofit organization Raw Inspiration, founder Jennifer McColm notes that:

*Though it has only been open for a few weeks, the Larchmont Village Farmers Market has been so successful that interested vendors are now piling up on a waiting list to participate.<sup>3</sup>*

It took three years for Hollywood CFM to gain economic self-sufficiency when it opened in 1991. As the Larchmont CFM was established a decade after Hollywood CFM, it engaged a population already accustomed to the farmers market routine and experience. One of the most difficult aspects of creating a successful farmers market is the adaptation of residents to the temporal operation of a farmers market, contrasting the convenience afforded by a supermarket that is always open. Many markets require two to five years to achieve economic sustainability.<sup>4</sup> (**see APPENDIX B, Table B**) With the area residents fully aware

<sup>2</sup> Dewar & Watson, 1990 show that informal / periodic markets are arranged in space and time to minimize competition amongst themselves, while providing equitable distribution of goods and services.

<sup>3</sup> Doyle, 2001

<sup>4</sup> "As one might expect, farmers markets that have been in business longer tend to be more financially secure than younger markets; only 32 percent of markets fewer than 5 years old consider themselves to be economically self-sufficient, compared with 59 percent of markets in business 20 years or longer." USDA, 2009: 53.

of the operation of a farmers market, it is easy to understand the immediate success of Larchmont CFM, rendering it parasitic as it has drawn on a population eager to patronize a farmers market.

Another example of a parasitic market regards farmers markets funded by sources external to the vendors, government or non-profit based systems.<sup>5</sup> The source of funding often determines essential spatial and social considerations in the operation of a market. However, since markets can receive funds from a variety of sources supplementing each other and changing over time until the market gains self-sufficiency, the influence exerted from backing by private enterprises becomes diluted among the other financial stakeholders. Funds from a multitude of sources can include private interests without impeding public services provided. However, when a market's funding is derived entirely from a private corporation, the character of the farmers market is compromised in several ways. **(see FIG x.2)** An example of this typology is Gigi's Farmers Market, located within the Americana shopping complex where one can "experience the ultimate in shopping, dining, entertainment and luxury living at The Americana at Brand in Glendale, CA."<sup>6</sup> Firstly, such markets are often on privately owned, regulated and controlled land, thereby preventing their appropriation as open public space accessible to all sections of the population. Accordingly, Gigi's Farmers Market is located on the privately owned Caruso Avenue, named after the developer of the Americana, Rick Caruso. Secondly, the exclusive partnership between the market and the sponsor prevents the future detached self-sufficiency of the former;

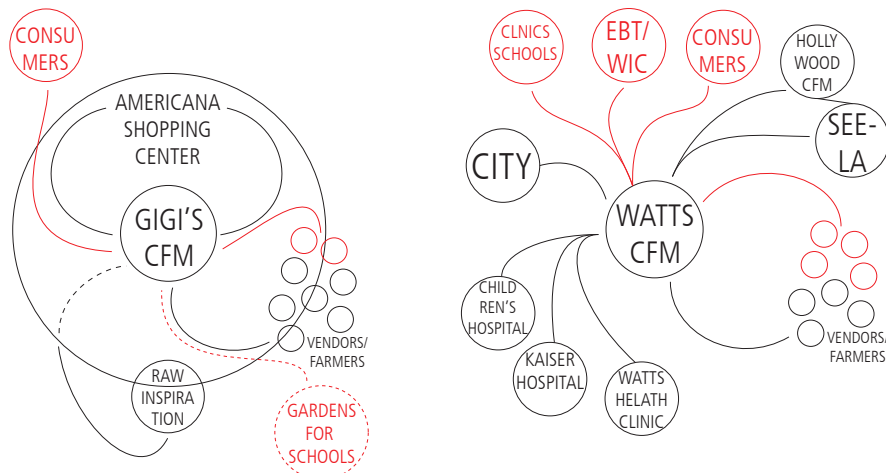
5 "The top three funding sources for farmers markets that were not self-sufficient were vendor fees, city or county governments, and non-profit organizations." USDA, 2009: 53.

6 <http://www.gigisfarmersmarket.com/the-americana-at-brand/>

the farmers market will always be under the jurisdiction of its private interest. Thirdly, the location of the market within a mega-structure separated from both the physical and social networks of its surroundings prevents the integration of the market within its district. Fourthly, the image of the market is synthesized with its location; in the case of the farmers market at the Americana, the image becomes that of a corporate entity rather than of the farmers or the immediate neighborhood. Lastly, the autonomy of the farmers themselves is compromised. While the initial intention of legislation enabling the existence of farmers markets removed the necessity of a middle-man allowing for the control of produce by the primary producers, the micro-management of the corporate sponsor undermines the authority of both individual farmers and of the non-profit that operates the market.<sup>7</sup> In most instances, the market manager has the greatest authority in coordinating the functions and experience with the vendors. **(see APPENDIX B, Table C)** In the case of privately funded markets, the authority shifts to the hands of the sponsor; at Gigi's Farmers Market<sup>8</sup>, the Americana provides the infrastructure including the matching canopies, table cloths, small chalk-board signs for the display of prices, baskets to hold produce and vases for the flowers. The precision of the aesthetic resembles branding efforts undertaken by such franchises as Starbucks and McDonalds. **(see FIG x.3)** This direction in the development of farmers markets undermines their existence as alternative to the centralized market system; in essence, they are re-absorbed into the very entity that the enabling legislation sought to supplement.

7 It is important to note that a corporate / private sponsor still requires a non-profit to operate the farmers market.

8 It is also important to note that the name of the market does not reflect its area; all other farmers markets are named after their location. Furthermore, the logo of the market also includes the name of its corporate sponsor, the Americana.



PARTNERSHIP EXCHANGES AT WATTS CFM  
 FUNDS TO MARKET: \_\_\_\_\_  
 FUNDS FROM MARKET: \_\_\_\_\_

PARTNERSHIP EXCHANGES AT WATTS CFM  
 FUNDS TO MARKET: \_\_\_\_\_  
 FUNDS FROM MARKET: \_\_\_\_\_

FIG x.2: PARTNERSHIPS DEVELOPED BY FARMERS MARKETS - DIAGRAM



FIG x.3: IMAGES OF GIGI'S FARMERS MARKET AT THE AMERICANA SHOPPING CENTER, GLENDALE; (note the chandelier in the background)

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

*Rarely have contemporary urban historians acknowledged the persistent role that public markets continued to play in the evolving politics and urban landscape of the American city.<sup>9</sup>*

In many ways farmers markets are antithetical to the urban monument that exists as an autonomous artifact. Marketplaces can only exist if the population supports them. As farmers markets engage people from the rural producers to the urban consumers, they provide a window into the workings of the city and act as a microcosm of the urban condition.

I began my thesis with an interest in Los Angeles' public space. I spent my youth living in a neighborhood just east of Hollywood and travelling each summer to Bucharest, Romania, where I was born. I was continually struck by the rich street life of the latter in comparison to my adopted city. After getting a car, the quintessential rite of passage for most Angelinos, I marveled at how many people, in fact, drive to walk. People seek out the seemingly isolated instances in the city and brave traffic and frustrating parking conditions to walk along busy retail streets, new popular outdoor malls modeled after idealized European streetscapes, or to hike in the hills overlooking the city. In the search for public space, I encountered the relatively undocumented phenomenon of farmers markets. They exist as small instances of concentrated public activity contrasting the dominant image of a privatized and homogenized city. With a desire to evaluate the phenomenon, I sought to categorize the markets by a communal factor such as physical form, size, years in existence or the surrounding

<sup>9</sup> Tangiers, 2003: xvi.

demographic condition. This proved futile as each market has its own individual qualities that cannot be reduced to simple factors. Despite their apparent physical similarities, no two markets are alike. Like a microcosm of the greater city, farmers markets are created by a series of small decisions and exchanges, interwoven and continually changing over time. In the same way that all cities have streets, districts and landmarks, so all farmers markets are comprised of a regular kit-of-parts: canopies, tables, vans and vendors. However, the reality of the experience is richer than its discrete parts. The experience of dense public activity is significant for a city dominated by the automobile.

A farmers market is influenced almost entirely by its context. Two markets, comprising the same vendors and located within a mile of each other, would still be completely different experiences. They are as fluid as water in molding themselves to their environment. In turn, the market activates the area and exists as a concentrated version of its surroundings; a site reaches its highest use value, marked by density of people and exchanges, during market operation. The market is also open to influence; loosely delineated by porous boundaries, it is rarely an autonomous object in the city. Enclosed within a building or artificially separated on a private site, the market would lose its ability to integrate into the city and catalyze unexpected exchanges.

Farmers markets do not have designated spaces of their own in the city. They appropriate the existing urban condition and infrastructure for their use. However, they do not consume city resources; nor do they replace any functions. They temporarily activate a space without leaving any discernable traces. Often

times, these are underused, undervalued or residual spaces. While they do not permanently affect the physical city, they activate its social structure. Unlike their informal counterparts in other areas of the world, farmers markets do not feed off of existing population densities; rather they create activity where none previously existed. Los Angeles generally lacks the density to sustain daily markets, and so the weekly occurrence appropriately serves the spatial distribution of people in the city. Over time, due to the cyclical nature of their operation, farmers markets transcend their temporal limits and become an institution. They are paradoxically both ephemeral and dependable, securing perennial tenure in space and time without the traditional permanence of a physical structure. Their porous character allows for a myriad of connections that secure them into an alternative spatio-temporal structure of the city existing in tandem with the conventional city.

Accordingly, farmers markets are a small rebellion against the conventional operation of the city. For a few hours each week they create an inverted reality where the street becomes the domain of pedestrians and the farmers' vans park on sidewalks. Loitering, otherwise feared as a threat to civic safety, is encouraged. And the gathering of people creates an environment largely perceived as wholesome. Each participant adds to the negotiations, rather than following set regulations. The experience results from the accumulation of individual transactions based on trust. Farmers save coveted produce for their regular customers, and while bartering is not practiced, an extra tomato or pear is sometimes added to the purchase. In turn, the market manager expects the vendors to honestly pay the market fee, a percentage of daily earnings, without any formal method of checking the balance. These transactions are not precise;

and there are few instances of strict standards. Since both vendors and consumers perceive themselves as stakeholders, transactions reveal nuanced compromises. The lack of authoritative hierarchy lends to the democratic practice of internal market operation.

Consumers largely imagine their engagement at farmers market as positively contributing to both their and the environment's general health; in this way, market exchange transcends the economic, and consumers and vendors are transformed into citizens. The perception of altruism is significant. Whether the local, organic or slow-food movements indeed have significant ramifications for the greater economic or ecologic environment is irrelevant. It is enough that people engage with the market because of this perceived motivation.

Although I was initially open to the idea of improving farmers markets by design, after documenting eight case studies, I realized that farmers markets cannot be designed. They reveal the confluence of multiple stakeholders as they are enabled and sustained by government, nonprofit, private and resident interests. This creates a stable but flexible framework within which spontaneous and random activities can thrive. Their strength lies in the confluence of multiple stakeholders and their decentralized, and thereby, equitable distribution throughout the city. Although modest, farmers markets should be systemically perceived as a public service city-infrastructure since they are largely a beneficial enterprise. This is important especially in less economically viable areas that do not have a strong history of successful social programs. While farmers markets began as a high to middle class enterprise, recent growth shows an increase for lower income

communities. It is significant that most accept food stamps and EBT programs, and promote their use in order to attract lower income residents. To a certain degree, farmers markets self-organize, especially in finding the optimum site for successful operation. However, they should be supported as open spaces of negotiation between the bodies that operate them, as well as for the people that participate in them.

While my initial inquiry focused on how farmers markets contribute to the public space of Los Angeles, other significant impressions have resulted from the research. Taken together, they supply a new lens through which to read the city; on an individual basis, farmers markets bring into the imagination of people an overlooked area, and reveal its potential. As they point to community needs and desires, they could be leveraged to expand their scope. As Silverlake CFM used market funds to create and sustain a permanent community park, and Hollywood CFM used funds to operate a permanent community kitchen, the location of a market might reveal opportunities for programs not initially apparent. On a fundamental level, they create the type of social interactions associated with a nostalgic past, hitherto marginalized or rendered pre-modern, and thereby obsolete. However, they also reveal the needs and desires of inhabitants disillusioned by the dominant mode of operation of a market system that transforms people into statistics. Farmers markets curiously lack negative associations; (for the participants, they emerge as a utopian remedy against the commoditization and privatization of goods, people and space.) The perceived authentic character of farmers markets as embedded in local systems and created for the benefit of local communities – the small farmer and the resident, and not

the tourist – creates a moral platform in direct opposition to the impersonal market system.

The ephemeral nature of these farmers markets signify the potential of suspending a typical mode of operation in creating urban interventions, where meaning results from an urban artifact and the property line is undisputedly sovereign in any project. On the contrary, farmers markets reveal the opportunities of mixed use on a temporal basis, and extend the perception of ownership for multiple stakeholders on a site that otherwise curtails any trespassing across perceived lines dividing public and private.

This thesis used the city as a laboratory towards an understanding of a particular type of public space. The research demonstrates that there is no singular formula towards its achievement; rather, with the spatial opportunities afforded on site, and the social-economic factors embedded in the context, a multitude of uses in dialogue with each other and the city create successful public activity. These include both retail and civic agendas, which are not mutually exclusive. As shown in the case studies, the commercial layer of farmers markets have civic tendencies, and the desire of communities to gather is significant, across the socio-economic spectrum. Farmers markets, then, emerge as a notable category of public space in Los Angeles demonstrating the layered nature of the urban condition. While small, their growing numbers and the ensuing connections made, render them a phenomenon intrinsic to the lived experience of the city. In other words, their existence opens up a new interpretation of a city dominated by the automobile and perceived as lacking successful public space; through these small instances,

the image of the city changes.

Furthermore, farmers markets demonstrate the necessity of applying both a top-down and bottom-up approach in the development of a city. Usually, the top-down approach to urbanism focuses on the quantitative, which leads opponents to criticize the lack of awareness of the everyday life when statistics dominate reports. On the other hand, the bottom-up approach focuses on the anecdotal and the qualitative aspect of cities and communities. The analysis focused on both of these approaches and highlights the importance of understanding a phenomenon in both quantitative and qualitative ways. The analysis consciously includes both of these approaches and highlights the importance of understanding a phenomenon in both quantitative and qualitative ways, as demonstrated in the case studies.

Through this investigation I have learned how a planned framework can facilitate unexpected activities. Many inquiries, however, still exist. Especially relevant is the connection between the rural production location and the urban site, the lines of transportation of goods, and the greater potential of efficiency and equitable distribution throughout the city. On a local urban-site scale, a fertile area for further exploration is the ways in which the understanding of farmers markets can be leveraged towards improving a site, as well as implementing change in a neighborhood that is sensitive to the context and takes advantage of the opportunities elucidated by reading the area through the lens of public activity created by a farmers market.

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FIG 2.63: CITY HALL CFM - MARKET VIEW  
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FIG 2.65: PLAN OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS  
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FIG 2.66: PHOTOS OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS  
*photos by author*

### PART 3 - SYNTHESIZING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMERS MARKETS

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FIG 3.14: FARMERS MARKETS DISTRIBUTION  
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FIG 3.15: FARMERS MARKETS DISTRIBUTION  
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### EPILOGUE

FIG x.1: IMAGES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS  
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FIG x.3: DIAGRAM OF FARMERS MARKETS PARTNERSHIPS  
*by author*

## APPENDIX A - Federal, State, County and Municipal Legislation Regarding Farmers Markets

### Federal, State, County and Municipal Legislation Regarding Farmers Markets

The following laws and regulations from different scales of governing bodies demonstrate the high level of control intended for farmers markets. As such, these enterprises are intentional and regulated, and not conceived, nor allowed, as spontaneous enterprises. In this, farmers markets distinguish themselves from their informal counterparts in other countries<sup>1</sup>, as well as mobile street vending found throughout Los Angeles.<sup>2</sup> However, as the thesis has shown, much of the activity at farmers markets emerges as random public activity that develops as a result of the particular type of informal-temporal spatial environment created, the cash-based economic transactions and the relationships that grow between vendors and customers. The legislative framework focuses on health and economics and the proper integration of a farmers market within the existing political network of a locality. The last point in particular allows for an emerging social framework to grow from an enterprise well founded, at least in theory, into the deep socio-political structure of its neighborhood.

I have selected the most pertinent points in the corresponding laws, as follows:

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1 see chapter xx for more on this

2 see chapter xx for more on this; see also (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009)

### FEDERAL LEGISLATION

*The first step in the creation of present day farmers markets was the Federal Farmer-to-Consumer Direct Marketing Act of 1976.*

*Title: A bill to encourage the direct marketing of agricultural commodities from farmers to consumers.*

*Sponsor: Rep Vigorito, Joseph P. [PA-24] (introduced 10/22/1975) Cosponsors (23)*

*Latest Major Action: 10/8/1976 Public law 94-463.*

*SUMMARY AS OF: 9/13/1976--Conference report filed in House.*

*Farmer-to-Consumer Direct Marketing Act - States that it is the purpose of this Act to foster and promote, through appropriate means and on an economically sustainable basis, the development and expansion of both traditional and innovative approaches to direct marketing of agricultural commodities from farmers to consumers.*

*States that for purposes of this Act, the term "direct marketing from farmers to consumers" means the marketing of agricultural commodities at any market place (including, but not limited to, roadside stands, city markets, and vehicles used for house-to-house marketing of agricultural commodities) established and maintained for the purpose of enabling farmers to sell their agricultural commodities directly to individual consumers, or organizations representing consumers.*

## STATE LEGISLATION

*Certified Farmers Market Program: 1220 N Street, Sacramento, CA 95814 • (916) 445-2180 FAX (916) 445-2427 • [cfm@cdfa.ca.gov](mailto:cfm@cdfa.ca.gov)*

*Until 1977, regulations required farmers to properly pack size, and label their fresh fruits, nuts, and vegetables in standard containers to transport and sell in markets anywhere other than the farm site. Certified farmers markets in 1977, by Department regulations, exempted farmers from packing, sizing, and labeling requirements.*

*The Direct marketing of agricultural products through CFM's benefits the agricultural community and consumers. CFM's provide a flexible marketing alternative without disrupting other produce marketing systems. The high quality and fresh produce brought to the CFM's by its' producers creates a diverse market and also provides the consumer with opportunity to meet the farmer and learn how their food supply is produced.*

*CFM's provide a great opportunity for small farmers to market their products without the added expenses of commercial preparation. This increases their net income and makes it possible for them to stay in business. There are approximately 520 certified farmers markets and approximately 2,900 certified producers. Of these markets, 51% are year-round markets and the balance is seasonal. In a typical year, the majority of the seasonal markets operate from April through October of each year.*

*113745. "Certified farmers' market" means a location certified by the county agricultural commissioner and operated as specified in Article 6.5 (commencing with Section 1392) of Title 3 of the California Code of Regulations.*

### CA Code of Regulations

*Title 3. Food and Agriculture; Division 3. Economics; Chapter 1. Fruit and Vegetable Standardization; Subchapter 4.; Fresh Fruits, Nuts and Vegetables; Article*

## *6.5. Direct Marketing*

### *§ 1392.2. Definitions.*

*(a) Certified Farmers' Market. A location approved by the county agricultural commissioner of that county where agricultural products are sold by producers or certified producers directly to consumers. A certified farmers' market may be operated by one or more certified producers, by a nonprofit organization, or by a local government agency.*

*(n) Nonprofit Organization. An organization which qualifies for nonprofit status for California income tax purposes.*

*(o) Market Manager. A person or persons empowered to implement the rules, regulations, policies, and directives of the governing body of a certified farmers' market.*

*(p) Market Rules. A set of written rules or regulations approved by each certified farmers' market. The rules and regulations may be more stringent than established state regulations, provided they do not violate or conflict with any state law or regulation governing their activities.*

### *§ 392.4. Conditions of Direct Marketing.*

*(a) Except as provided in subsection (f) below, producers or certified producers may sell or offer to sell only agricultural products which they have produced to consumers at a certified farmers' market. The certified producer's immediate family or employee(s) may also act for and sell the certified producer's agricultural products. No certifiable agricultural products may be sold at a certified farmers' market unless such products are listed on the certified producer's certificate.*

### *§ 1392.6. Certification Requirements of a Certified Farmers' Market.*

*(a) A county agricultural commissioner may issue a certified farmers' market certificate, which specifies a location where agricultural products may be sold or offered for sale. The certificate shall indicate that the marketplace is a certified farmers' market.*

*(c) The county agricultural commissioner shall not issue a certificate for a certified farmers' market when notified that a permit for the operation of such market has been denied by an agency of local government.*

*(e) The governing body of a certified farmers' market has authority to establish specific rules and regulations for any market(s) under its control which regulate the:*

*(1) Type and number of producers and certified producers admitted.*

*(2) Type and number of certified and noncertifiable products admitted.*

*(3) Methods of selling certified and noncertifiable agricultural products.*

*(f) The certified farmers' market's rules and regulations shall contain a clause, which states that the governing body and its designated agents shall implement and enforce all rules and regulations pertaining to the operation of a certified farmers' market in a fair and equitable manner.*

*(g) A current copy of the certified farmers' market's rules and regulations shall be sent to the Department of Food and Agriculture, Fruit and Vegetable Quality Control -Standardization, and to the agricultural commissioner of the county in which the certified farmers' market is located.*

*§ 1392.9. Direct Marketing, Compliance Requirements for the Operator of a Certified Farmers' Market.*

*(a) The operator of a certified farmers' market shall ensure that each person participating in the sale of agricultural products in the area designated as a certified farmers' market: (1) Is a producer, certified producer, or their immediate family member or employee.*

*(c) No person shall operate a certified farmers' market unless he or she has in his or her possession a current, valid certified farmers' market certificate issued by the county agricultural commissioner for that market.*

## COUNTY LEGISLATION

*Cities can promote the accessibility of healthy foods in these areas through grants, zoning regulations, and other initiatives that support the establishment of grocery stores and Farmers Markets which provide fresh locally grown produce. (County of Los Angeles Public Health Report; Office of Health Assessment and Epidemiology. Preventing Childhood Obesity: The Need to Create Healthy Places, A Cities and Communities Health report October 2007; pg 7)*

*(g) Notwithstanding Section 113895, temporary food facilities may be operated as a separate event adjacent to, and in conjunction with, certified farmers' markets that are operated as a community event by a nonprofit organization or a local government agency. The organization in control of the event at which one or more temporary food facilities operate shall comply with Section 114314.*

### *113745. Certified Farmers' Market*

*"Certified farmers' market" means a location certified by the county agricultural commissioner and operated as specified in Article 6.5 (commencing with Section 1392) of Title 3 of the California Code of Regulations.*

### *113750.1 Community Event*

*"Community event" means an event that is of a civic, political, public, or educational nature, including state and county fairs, city festivals, circuses, and other public gathering events approved by the local enforcement agency.*

## MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION

*Certified Farmers' Market means a location certified by the County Agricultural Commissioner and operated as specified in Article 6.5 (commencing with Section 1392) of Title 3 of the California Code of Regulations. (113745)*

### FARMERS MARKETS LEGISLATION (varies)

*1. A certified farmers' market is a food facility, as defined by CURFFL, and shall not be open for business without a valid health permit. The health permit shall be posted in a conspicuous place at the CFM. (113785 (a) (3); 113920)*

*2. Only agricultural products may be sold or offered for sale at a CFM. (113745; CCR 1392.4)*

*The California Uniform Retail Food Facilities Law requires that all food at a certified farmers market be obtained from approved sources. The following agencies regulate the growing or processing of the indicated food products. Acceptance of an approved source is up to the local environmental health agency.*

- 1. County Agricultural Commissioner*
- 2. California Department of Health Services, Food and Drug Branch*
- 3. California Department of Fish and Game*
- 4. California Department of Food and Agriculture, Meat and Poultry Inspection Branch*
- 5. California Department of Food and Agriculture, Bureau of Milk and Dairy Foods Control*
- 6. United States Department of Agriculture, Food Safety and Inspection Service*

## *7. Local Environmental Health Agency*

*Producer vehicles, tables, and overhead shades must be maintained and used in a safe manner. Legs must be firmly locked into place on the shades. Tables must have smooth edges and remain stable when loaded with produce. Shades must be tied down or weighted. Tarp poles must not obstruct traffic flow and care must be taken when setting up or taking down displays. By determination of Market Management, removal of canopies may be required at any time during Market hours due to windy conditions. Canopy removal shall take precedence over sales activities.*

*Frame assemblies may remain in place as long as they are securely' tied down.*

*All Producers must comply with the following safety rules:*

*No display tables filled over carrying capacity.*

*Product arrangements are stable and not ready to fall.*

*Legs of tables are secure and not caving in.*

*All connecting rods of the shade set-ups are secure in their fittings.*

*Canopy assemblies are tied or weighted down.*

*No pets.*

## APPENDIX B - United States Department of Agriculture Farmers Markets Information

TABLE A: FARMERS MARKETS DISTRIBUTION IN METRO AND NON-METRO AREAS

Rural-urban continuum code		U.S.	Markets open less than 7 months	Markets open for 7 months or more	Markets open year-round				
Counties in metro areas of 1 million population or more	1	32.2	27.9	43.0	51.3				
Counties in metro areas of 250,000 to 1 million population	2								
Counties in metro areas of fewer than 250,000 population	3								
Urban population of 20,000 or more, adjacent to a metro area	4	8.1	9.2	6.0	2.5				
Urban population of 20,000 or more, not adjacent to a metro area	5								
Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, adjacent to a metro area	6								
Urban population of 2,500 to 19,999, not adjacent to a metro area	7								
Completely rural or less than 2,500 urban population, adjacent to a metro area	8								
Completely rural or less than 2,500 urban population, not adjacent to a metro area	9								
						2.3	2.7	0.0	1.3
						2.8	3.1	2.0	0.6

Source: author work with information from the USDA National Farmers Market Survey 2006, May 2009, pg. 81, 99.

TABLE B: NUMBER OF VENDORS, CUSTOMERS AND SALES, BY YEARS IN OPERATION

(Source: www.usda.gov)

	All markets	Less than 5 years old	5-9 years	10-19 years	20 years or older
Average number of vendors	31	22	27	32	44
Average number of customers per week	959	430	558	985	1,944
Percentage of vendors that generate gross revenues of \$10,000 or more per year	15.0	8.7	13.7	17.0	23.3

TABLE C: REGULATION AUTHORITY AT FARMERS MARKETS  
 (Source: www.usda.gov)

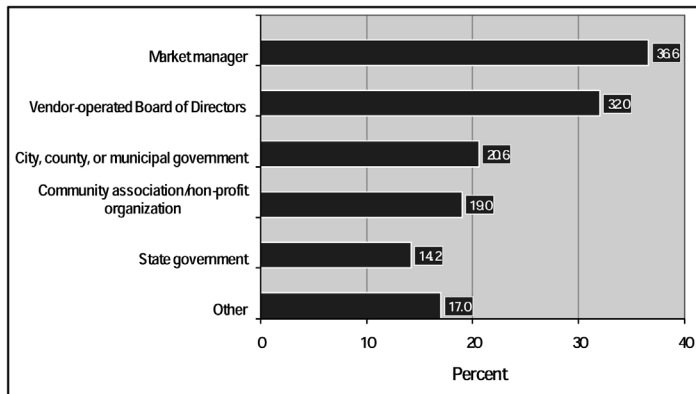
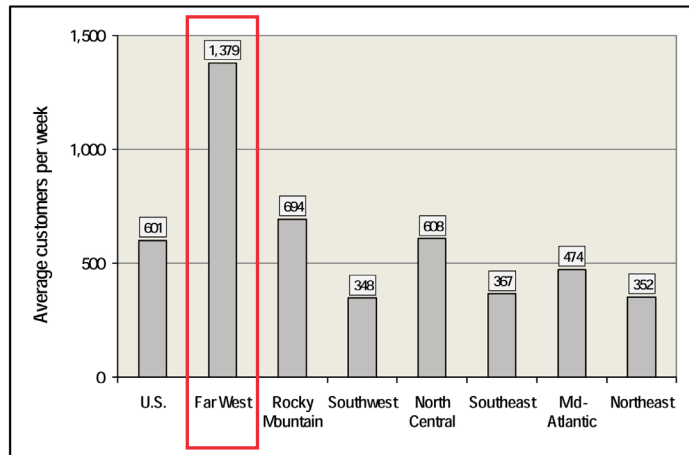


TABLE D: AVERAGE WEEKLY CUSTOMER COUNTS, 2006.



Source: author work with information from the USDA National Farmers Market Survey 2006, May 2009, pg. 35.

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Beverly Hills CFM: 01.17.10; Greta Dunlap, Market Manager, City of Beverly Hills

Silverlake CFM: 01.16.10; Edwin Gomez, Market Manager, Sunset Junction Neighborhood Alliance

Larchmont CFM: 01.17.10; Jennifer Smith, Market Manager, Raw Inspiration Nonprofit Organization; 03.27.10; Melissa Farwell, Market Coordinator, Raw Inspiration Nonprofit Organization

Crenshaw CFM: 01.09.10; Matthew Bachler, Market Manager (Hollywood CFM, Barnsdall CFM, substituting at Crenshaw), SEE-LA

Watts CFM: 01.09.10, 03.24.10; Ashley Hiestand, Market Manager, SEE-LA

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Raw Inspiration (Larchmont CFM): <http://rawinspiration.org/>

Sunset Junction Neighborhood Alliance (Silverlake CFM): <http://www.sunsetjunction.org/>

Sustainable Economic Enterprises Los Angeles(Hollywood, Crenshaw, Watts CFM): <http://www.see-la.org/>

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Santa Monica CFM: <http://www.smgov.net/>

Certified Farmers Market Program: [http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/is/i\\_&c/cfm.html](http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/is/i_&c/cfm.html)

California Department of Agriculture: <http://www.cdfa.ca.gov/>

United States Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Marketing Services: <http://www.ams.usda.gov/>