**The Role of the Physical and Experiential Characteristics of
Farmers' Markets in the Revitalization Process: An Ontario Perspective**

by

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Bachelor of Arts

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
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of the requirements for the degree of

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**“The Role of the Physical and Experiential Characteristics of
Farmers’ Markets in the Revitalization Process: An Ontario Perspective”**

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**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

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Abstract

The farmers' market continues to make an important social and economic contribution to city life and is increasingly being viewed as an effective tool for both economic and community revitalization in urban areas. This thesis evaluates existing urban farmers' markets using a multi-dimensional approach, examining the physical and experiential characteristics to determine the role of farmers' markets in creating successful revitalization. Within the physical dimension, three features are examined using case study farmers' markets in Ontario: visibility, transportation and parking, and synergy. Within the experiential dimension, three features are examined which contribute to farmers' markets unique sense of place: sense of well-being, sense of community, and imageability. The conclusion drawn is that there is a symbiotic relationship between the physical and experiential dimensions of urban farmers' markets, and that both aspects must be considered, particularly when assessing their role in revitalization.

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Downtown has historically been the focal point of the city, a centre not only for the exchange of goods, but also the exchange of ideas and the building of relationships. Before World War II, most downtowns served as their community's primary commercial hubs and an important part of their social life. In the past 50 years, downtowns have changed significantly. The creations of highways and the subsequent growth of suburban communities have transformed the way in which we live, work and spend leisure time. With improved transportation routes, people found it easier to travel longer distances to work or shop. Roads that once connected neighbourhoods to downtown now carried residents to outlying shopping strips and regional malls. Commercial businesses especially suffered from changing retail patterns and shopping habits as downtown businesses closed or moved to malls and people's reliance on the downtown core began to dwindle. Downtown was starting to be defined in some people's minds by neglected buildings, boarded-up storefronts and empty trash-strewn streets, reinforcing the perception that they should be avoided. Where downtown development did continue, cities sometimes turned their backs on the streets: suburban-style indoor malls, office buildings, and hotels ended up cut off from the street by pedestrian tunnels and bridges. Once vibrant main streets often fared poorly when faced with competition from suburbia. It was a competition largely won by the ubiquitous shopping centres, malls, mega grocery stores, strip commercial areas and major discount centres of the urban periphery. In short, cities were losing their traditional focal point. Without this focus, the community's centre weakened, and as a result, it sometimes became difficult to get support for downtown projects and activities, causing further deterioration. Additionally, downtowns were seen as urban vacuums. There was seen to be a lack of active public space in the

urban core, meaning a loss of places where people could comfortably interact. Downtown's primary users, employees of urban companies and businesses, were operating on the same daily time schedule, entering in the morning and leaving after working hours, creating urban areas that were devoid of street activity for much of the day. This long process of decay eventually produced a reaction. People began to recognize how important their downtown and its historic commercial buildings were in reflecting their community's unique heritage. For almost three decades now, municipal and senior level governments have spent enormous financial and human resources in both studies and then actual projects attempting to stimulate investment, to re-create a vibrant atmosphere and to bring people back to shop, work and live in historic downtowns. Some downtown communities have indeed succeeded in regenerating their older areas while others have failed to realize their goals, leading to a continuation of deteriorating buildings and empty stores. There are several reasons downtowns remain a focus of revitalization after so many failures. Spatially, downtowns are at the centre of urbanized areas, and thus exert an inherent locational centrality and focus. Downtown also represents the economic core of most urbanized regions. Finally, downtowns have traditionally been the centre of community activity, and still present the principal image of a city. Revitalization is so important because in many ways, healthy downtowns represent healthy communities.

Organizations involved in revitalization have recognized that a multi-dimensional approach is the most effective way of revitalizing downtown. A successful revitalization project does not only address one aspect, as has been done in the past with a focus on just the physical. Effective revitalization project must address three different aspects:

creating dynamic places, stimulating economic opportunity, and instilling community spirit and cultural exchange. In other words, revitalization is concerned with creating 'people places,' where people feel secure and comfortable regularly spending time and money in the area. Healthy communities need vibrant public spaces, where people have a reason to use these spaces during all times of the day. The decline of public life, particularly in relation to street activity, leads to people searching for other places to find some form of "togetherness." To facilitate revitalization, a public space must encourage its users to interact in a positive and casual manner, creating public trust and connectedness.

During this process of recognizing the importance of creating "people places," farmers' markets became one of the tools used in revitalization strategies, because of the innate sense of community that defines a successful and vibrant market. Cities continue to see the value of regularly scheduled markets as a tool of the revitalization process and have invested in them as a method of enticing people back onto the street and injecting a sense of community back into the urban neighbourhood.

It has been over 20 years since markets in Ontario were first used as a part of revitalization strategies, but several markets have not fulfilled their goals, and communities such as Kitchener and Hamilton are re-evaluating how to incorporate markets into their downtowns as part of overall revitalization projects. In these and other situations, markets are fully functioning and popular commercial ventures, but that does not mean that the surrounding community has been revitalized. If farmers' markets are to continue to be used as one of the tools for revitalization, then not only must the market be successful, but there must be a sense of energy and excitement in the surrounding

community. These communities have not given up on the potential of farmers' markets as a tool for downtown revitalization, but obviously there must be something more than simply operating a market. In general, it appears that, as tools for revitalization, markets have been used without an understanding of what it is that makes them part of an effective strategy.

Much research has been done on other aspects of farmers' markets, particularly focusing on the economic impact of farmers' markets on the community. Research on physical characteristics has focused on market buildings themselves, as opposed to an examination of the interaction between farmers' markets and the physical elements that affect markets. There has been a great deal written about the potential of farmers' markets to contribute to community revitalization, but not in terms of examining the specific physical and human features that compose markets. Farmers' markets are an effective tool for urban revitalization in situations where they have successfully combined the physical and human dimensions of urban life. In this thesis, I have not evaluated the success of markets themselves, but the success of markets as a tool for revitalization, using a multi-dimensional framework. Specifically, this thesis examines some of the key physical elements that contribute to the definition of the farmers' market, including visibility, transportation and synergy. Many of these markets have survived both physical and human changes to the community and to the markets themselves, and are therefore interesting examples of the interaction between farmers' markets and the urban landscape. Secondly, I examine the human dimension of the farmers' market. There is a unique sense of place that occurs at the urban farmers' market, made up of a sense of well-being, sense of community and an imageability. In an age of electronic

communication, people are hungry for personal experiences and interactions. Markets provide an opportunity for people to experience a sense of place that does not frequently exist in today's public spaces and retail environments.

Methodology

The case study farmers' markets were chosen based on a series of constants, designed to limit the scope and range of markets to be examined here. The first constant was that all markets were located in Ontario, in order to narrow the necessary historical and contemporary information. Secondly, the study was limited to urban markets, as opposed to towns or country markets. Urban markets are particularly interesting because of the interplay between seemingly contradictory concepts – urban modernity versus rural traditional practices. They have a rich history of helping define the physical form of the city and of significantly enhancing the social life of its citizens. Finally, urban markets are included here because I have always lived in the city and attended urban markets regularly, and therefore it is the urban markets from which my interest was generated.

The study was also restricted to those urban markets that are administered by municipal governments, which held the jurisdictional variable constant for this study. Municipal governments are responsible for urban planning, and therefore they have direct control of the urban design features that affect markets. This is a significant variable that might imbalance this study if markets administered by other owners and managers including Vendors Associations, and Chambers of Commerce that vary considerably in organization and structure, were included. The final constant is that the markets have an average of at least 30 vendors during a regular market day, which makes up 49.0% of all urban farmers' markets in Ontario. These boundaries still allow for a range of markets to

be studied, including indoor and outdoor markets; markets from different regions in Ontario; markets of a variety of sizes, from an average of 30 to 200 vendors; markets that are located in cities with a variety of populations sizes; and markets that are not consistent in their operational structure.

Out of the 117 markets listed in the 2001 Farmers' Market Ontario Directory¹, fourteen markets fit into the above criteria: Barrie Farmers' Market; Belleville Farmers' Market; Brampton Farmers' Market; Brantford Farmers' Market; Cambridge Farmers' Market; Guelph Farmers' Market; Hamilton Farmers' Market; Kingston Public Market; Kitchener Farmers' Market; Orillia Farmers' Market; Ottawa By Ward Market; Port Colbourne Farmers' Market; St. Catharines Farmers' Market; and the St. Lawrence Farmers' Market in Toronto. A survey of these markets was completed before deciding on the case studies to be included in this thesis. The markets selected for this case study are those in Kingston, Ottawa, Hamilton, Orillia, and Kitchener, as examples of markets at various stages of downtown revitalization. These case studies indicated the value of farmers' markets in the revitalization process, by highlighting how the markets have been impacted by the specific physical characteristics in their downtowns. The Ottawa By Ward Market is included as an example that fulfills the majority of physical and experiential criteria and is located in a highly energized and active area. Kingston and Orillia are examples of markets that do not necessarily fulfill all these criteria, but remain as a part of a vibrant downtown. Hamilton and Kitchener are examples of markets that do not meet most of these criteria and have been unsuccessful in their attempt to be used as a tool for revitalization.

¹ See Appendix 1 for a survey of all Ontario farmers' markets, adapted from the 2001 Farmers' Markets Ontario Directory.

This thesis uses the available literature on farmers' markets, including the 1999 University of Guelph's Economic Impact Study of Ontario's Farmers' and Public Markets; the 2001 directory of Ontario farmers' markets from Farmers' Market Ontario (FMO); historical information from the respective cities; a photograph survey of the markets to be used as case studies; municipal Official Plans and City By-Laws provided by the municipal planning departments; and information from the Province of Ontario on markets. These farmers' markets were examined using categories adapted from the site selection criteria developed by the City of Kitchener, and the book *Public Markets and Community Revitalization*, in conjunction with contemporary theories on urban planning and retail site selection.

The City of Kitchener is currently in the process of moving their farmers' market for a second time since 1869, and developed site selection criteria to guide them in proposing a new location. Kitchener's site selection criteria were based on public consultation with the residents of Kitchener, which took place from January to May 2001, culminating with a report to Council. The Urban Marketing Collaborative (UMC), along with Green Scheels Pidgeon and Snider Reichard March, were contracted by the City of Kitchener in January 2001, "to conduct an extensive public consultation process for the New Kitchener Market. The mandate sought to use a variety of methods to gauge the public's reaction to a new market and to seek input on the function, form, ownership, and operation of the new market."² This process "sought out contribution from key stakeholders, including the City of Kitchener, both staff and elected officials, market staff, market vendors, private developers, tourism officials, and the Kitchener Downtown

Business Association members (downtown retailers) as well as ordinary citizens (employees and residents).”³ The process involved Town Hall meetings, display boards, a web site, roundtable discussions, and design charettes.

The categories of analysis developed in this thesis were applied to existing markets in Ontario as a research framework, to evaluate how effective physical criteria are as success indicators of revitalization. These categories are not intended to be a comprehensive list of site assessment criteria for municipalities, as there are other factors to consider when choosing a new location for a market, such as site availability and financial issues, as well as individual elements depending on specific city details. These categories are intended to represent some of those physical elements that may contribute to the identity of the market, and create a framework within which these markets can be examined within the urban landscape. Within the physical characteristics of markets, the categories of analysis used here are: visibility, transportation and parking, and synergy.

The human dimension of markets is explored through criteria based on personal observations regarding the special qualities unique to farmers’ markets. The physical characteristics have a significant impact on how people feel about a place, but in the end, it is the attitudes and emotional reactions evoked by the space that will result in return visits. The human dynamic offers a layer to the urban landscape that has often been overlooked, especially in regards to revitalization. Current theory on the concept of sense of place was used as a framework for understanding the experiential dimension of markets. Sense of place was divided here into three categories: sense of well-being, describing the feeling of freshness and safety specific to markets; sense of community,

² Green, Scheels, Pidgeon Planning Consultants Limited, *The New Kitchener Market: Public Consultation Process*, (Kitchener: City of Kitchener, April 2001)1.

relating the feelings of belonging and interaction existing at markets; and imageability, which explains the lasting image that markets are able to create in the minds of their users. These categories were developed to help to grasp the complexity of feelings associated with farmers' markets and to begin to understand what is important to the users about the experience.

³ Ibid 1.

Chapter 1: Theoretical and Historical Framework

The marketplace is the original human gathering place, and remains one of the most central commercial institutions to people in all parts of the world. In ancient times, it was the open space to which farmers and craftsmen brought their products for barter. Today in the western world, the traditional marketplace has nearly been replaced in urban centres by shopping malls and mega grocery stores, but the market continues to make an important contribution to city life, drawing people to the sometimes derelict downtowns. The farmers' market has turned out to be an effective tool for economic revitalization of downtown areas, and a means of injecting a sense of community back into the urban neighbourhood.

This chapter provides a general theoretical and historical framework for farmers' markets. It begins with an exploration of urban planning and revitalization, and the place of farmers' markets within this evolution. This section leads into a general historical overview of farmers' markets in Canada, and the contemporary situation in Ontario. There is an exploration of modern definitions of the urban farmers' market, using the typologies and methodologies used to explain markets in general. Several typologies are examined, leading to the categorizations that are used throughout this thesis. This chapter concludes with a section on the general operational details of markets, including administration, physical form, and customer profile.

1.0 Theoretical Framework

Using farmers' markets as a tool for revitalization is part of a new way of looking at urban revitalization in the late twentieth century. In the 1950s and 60s, many urban planners approached the city as one-dimensional – that is from a physical perspective,

and with clear boundaries regarding types of uses. Downtowns were neglected and rundown from years of migration to the suburbs, and the singular approach was redevelopment. Revitalization was initially the approach of heritage conservationists and others in the 1960s and 70s who saw the city as multi-dimensional, and who looked to the past for clues on healthy urban life rather than to some imagined future utopia. Today, planners have begun to adopt this multi-dimensional approach as they realize that healthy cities thrive on overlapping uses and activities, making mixed-use areas popular in urban society. Jane Jacobs was part of this evolution in thinking, advocating diversity and mixed-use in the urban fabric in her influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. She split from traditional thinking in regards to redevelopment, believing that continuing low-rise, high-density concentrations of people in the downtown could provide a strong basis for economic growth and prosperity.

The introduction of the concept of cultural landscapes also accompanied this trend in the late twentieth century towards a general broadening in perspective and a more holistic view of the environment. Cultural landscapes represent those places with a significant history of human use, and recognize the complex patterns that result from human interaction with environment. Cultural landscape theory gives emphasis to the social and not solely the physical characteristics of an area, and provides a useful tool for examining urban environments. UNESCO has adopted a cultural landscape approach in the last ten years as part of its program to protect places of international significance under the World Heritage Convention.¹

The Main Street Program, operated by the National Trust in the United States and

¹ *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value: Components of a Global Strategy*. ed. Bernd von Droste, Harald Plachter, Mechtild Rossler. New York: Gustav Fischer, 1995.

Heritage Canada in this country, has been part of this multi-dimensional trend in urban planning and revitalization. This program has been working with communities across North America since 1980 to revitalize their historic or traditional commercial areas.²

The approach was developed to save historic or traditional commercial architecture and the fabric of community's built environment, and has become a powerful economic development tool as well. The Main Street program developed a four-part approach:

- **Design:** Enhancing the physical appearance of the commercial district by rehabilitating historic buildings, encouraging supportive new construction, developing sensitive design management systems, and long-term planning.
- **Organization:** Building consensus and cooperation among the many groups and individual who have a role in the revitalization process.
- **Promotion:** Marketing the traditional commercial district's assets to customers, potential investors, new businesses, local citizens and visitors.
- **Economic Restructuring:** Strengthening the district's existing economic base while finding ways to expand it to meet new opportunities – and challenges from outlying development.³

This framework recognizes the multi-dimensional nature of a place, by including both physical and human aspects. In its early days, the heritage movement assumed that revitalization meant solely improving the physical characteristics of a place – fixing up old buildings, redoing facades etc. The Main Street Program recognized that it was important to address people's perceptions of main street, in order to put it back as a key landmark in people's image of the city. In other words, it was as important to revitalize the human experiences and rituals as it was the physical characteristics of a place. The revival of parades and other downtown festivals, for example, was seen as a critical component of urban revitalization.

² Heritage Canada administered the Main Street Canada Program from the early 1980s until the late 90s.

³ <http://www.mainst.org/AboutMainStreet/msapproach.htm> (18 Apr 2002)

The reconsideration of farmers' markets is part of the same trend towards understanding cities in a somewhat different way than had been done in the post World War II period. Farmers' markets originate with the growth of cities, as urban residents were no longer able to grow their own produce, and had to purchase it through a market system, which was the only option at that time. The decline in farmers' markets followed the trend in urban planning to abandon traditional patterns of the downtown core and focus on new, and more suburban, models. During this time, markets that did endure became a low-cost alternative to grocery stores for the inner-city residents who could not afford to move to the suburbs. With renewed interest in downtowns in the late 70s and 80s came the parallel resurgence in farmers' markets. Today, markets have become a trendy alternative to the local grocery store, and as a result prices have risen with the income of its primary customers. This gentrification of markets was perhaps unavoidable as the unspoken truth of revitalization is that it means enticing higher-income people to use the areas that they had abandoned in the past. This is not to say that markets do not attempt to be inclusive, but their primary target customers, as with any commercial venture, are those who can spend the most.

2.0 History of Farmers' Markets in Canada

The first urban trading in Canada for farmers was with merchants and shopkeepers in the nearest village or town, who would take the farmers' grain, potatoes, eggs, butter and meat in exchange for store merchandise. The first formal markets in Canada appeared in the 19th century in garrison and government towns, such as Kingston and Toronto.⁴ A town had to be of sufficient size to have a marketplace, and other towns

⁴ Linda Biesenthal, *To Market, to Market The Public Market Tradition in Canada*, (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1980) 24.

throughout Upper and Lower Canada established their own markets once their populations reached about 500 and when the local farmers were producing enough of a surplus to consider selling it.⁵

Historically, the sites adapted for commercial ventures originally served other purposes, such as communal meeting places, where ceremonies of a political and religious nature were held. These sites evolved into town squares and became the place where artifacts, food and other goods were bartered, because people were more likely to be in this central location than anywhere else in the community. Frequently, this bartering or trading function eventually began to overshadow the religious, governmental or social functions of the town square, and it became known as the marketplace, which would evolve into "downtown."⁶ This was the most convenient location for both buyers and sellers, as it was near the town's business centre and the town's main arteries.

Early Canadian markets were based on the European model, meaning that they were open-air markets, occurring along major thoroughfares, where farmers united to sell surplus produce to city dwellers. Eventually stalls were constructed to protect the vendors and their goods, as well as the customers, from the weather. These open stalls gave way to large market buildings that were built on land often donated to the farmers by the city or by a wealthy citizen.⁷ Into the nineteenth century, market buildings became the preferred form of market because vendors and customers wanted a permanent arrangement that enabled them to do business regularly, and avoid changes in weather. Cities would construct and regulate the use of the market building, and in turn collect

⁵ Biesenthal 25

⁶ Richard L. Nelson, *The Selection of Retail Locations* (New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1958) 3.

⁷ Robert Sommer, *Farmers Markets of America: A Renaissance* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1980) 20.

taxes and rents from the vendors for the use of their stalls. The construction of the market buildings meant that the municipality had to manage them, which allowed the local government to enforce rules and regulations that were previously nonexistent. Regulations also offered improved health standards, which reflected positively on the local government.⁸

Markets were scheduled events from the beginning, because people needed a regular schedule to come in from the countryside. A daily market was practical for dairy products, poultry, fish, fruit and some vegetables because they spoil quickly, especially before refrigeration became prevalent. A daily market was too frequent for other goods because farmers, who needed to tend to their farms, could not afford the time to make daily journeys to the market.⁹

There were two types of market buildings that were typically constructed in the nineteenth century: the street market building and the market block building. Street market buildings were built in the middle of the street, and it became common practice in the layout of communities to have at least one wide street where the market would be located. By locating the market building in a street, city officials were able to avoid buying expensive building sites on a city block. The local market committee had to locate those buildings on streets wide enough to allow horse and cart traffic, and later vehicles, to pass on both sides of the market structure. These buildings were “modest, functional, long rectangular buildings, with butchers’ stalls down one side and tables set

8 James M. Mayo, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993) 4.

9 Mayo. 3.

up for the country people along the other side,"¹⁰ often between twenty-five and thirty feet in width and as much as three hundred feet in length.¹¹

In the mid-nineteenth century, market block buildings became prevalent, and often replaced street market buildings. As cities became more industrialized, streets were required to carry commercial trucking and public transportation, which resulted in the demise of many of the street market buildings. As the name suggests, market block buildings were constructed on city blocks, as a part of the regular layout of the city. Market block buildings were significantly wider, and often at least doubled the floor space from the former type.¹² These buildings were seen as more permanent, and therefore city officials were more willing to invest in these markets.

Many markets shared quarters with the town council, the post office, the jail, and the library, as there was often only one public building in town.¹³ The first floor was typically used for market purposes, whereas the second floor of the larger market buildings was often used as community meeting places. By combining other public facilities with the market, city officials strengthened the common notion that the public market was the local community centre.¹⁴ The market flourished as towns expanded; the market became the most important economic and social centre of urban life and a dominant feature of the townscape. According to MacRae and Adamson,

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the market in Ontario towns of any size was still a social as well as a commercial affair. The wares displayed for sale had become more interesting as the trains brought manufactured goods and out-of-season produce into Ontario's heartland. News was exchanged at the market,

10 Biesenthal 26.

11 Mayo 4.

12 Ibid 13.

13 Biesenthal 26

14 Mayo 6.

political problems sifted and bargains of many kinds struck around the counters, both inside and outside the town hall.¹⁵

Aside from reinforcing the social role of markets, McRae and Adamson suggest that by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, railways had introduced a new dynamic into food shopping, making it possible for fresh produce, as well as dry goods, to travel distances to markets, forecasting the change that was to come in the twentieth century. Food marketing was about to be revolutionized by transportation technology.

At the beginning of the 20th century grocers began drawing customers away from the markets because they offered variety, credit, home delivery and eventually canned goods, with which the market vendors could not compete.¹⁶ Market activities had to adjust to meet new demands. The advent of refrigerated transport removed the need for farmers to regularly visit the market, and the introduction of the automobile decreased the demand for long established market businesses like the saddleries and carriageworks.¹⁷ As well, the growth of cities brought new health and sanitation regulations. As the older market buildings often could not meet these standards and land in the downtown was at a premium, they were often demolished, as it was more economical to tear them down than to renovate since markets were not as profitable as they once were, and it was felt the land could be put to better use.

By the end of World War II, farmers' markets went into steady decline and by the 1950s, many markets could no longer support themselves. The post-war society was a progressive society that wanted new and modern choices, and no longer wanted to rely on

15 Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, *Cornerstones of Order: Courthouses and Town Halls of Ontario, 1974 – 1914* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1983) 213.

16 Biesenthal, 29

17 Julian S. Smith et al., "Byward Market Heritage Conservation District Study." (Sep 1990) C-16.

the traditional and old-fashioned ways. Residential trends were towards suburban living, and downtowns lost much of the residential quality that previously defined them. As a result, grocery stores in the suburban areas became more popular than central farmers' markets. Shopping malls and mega grocery stores all but replaced the traditional marketplace, even in urban centres. Markets lost so many vendors that rent from the stalls often failed to cover the costs of operating them.¹⁸ During the urban redevelopment movements in the 1960s and 1970s many market buildings continued to be demolished, because they were not valued as historical buildings. The growth of suburbs and shopping malls, reliance on the automobile, the development of frozen foods and the nationalization of food production and distribution are all contributing factors to the decline of farmers' markets.

The situation in Ontario parallels the rest of the country. In Ontario, the numbers of farmers' markets was dropping steadily during the mid-twentieth century, to approximately 60 Ontario markets in the 1980s. In the early 1980s and 1990s, farmers' markets enjoyed a revival as their popularity began to grow again. The rejuvenation in farmers markets began in the late 1980s through initiatives of the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA). In July 1987, OMAFRA hired two Northern Ontario Marketing Specialists, one of them being Robert Chorney, who quickly recognized the marketing opportunities presented by farmers' markets. During 1988 and 1989, Chorney helped organize 15 new farmers' markets in Northern Ontario increasing the number of markets in that region to 22. By 1994, their total gross sales exceed \$5 million. By 1990 and 1991, Chorney was assisting groups throughout Eastern and

18 Biesenthal 29.

Central Ontario. In the period covering 1988 to 1995, Chorney helped organize 70 new farmers' markets across the province.

By 1990, an Ontario network of farmers' markets, the Ontario Public/Farmers' Markets Association (OPFMA), was created with the financial assistance of OMAFRA. In June of 1992, the complete OMAFRA Farmers' Market Program was turned over to the OPFMA, and Chorney joined OPFMA as its Executive Director. Also in 1992, the OPFMA changed their name to Farmers' Markets Ontario (FMO), and developed a mission statement: "We are the dynamic network and voice of Ontario's Farmers' Markets and their traditions, committed to leadership, development, management, promotion and representation."¹⁹

3.0 Current Situation

Farmers' markets have continued to endure through varying degrees of success and popularity. While it is unlikely that farmers' markets will ever be re-instated as the predominant retail practice for the urban resident, it is increasingly being viewed as a complement to modern shopping practices. In Ontario, the number of farmers' markets has grown to almost 120 markets, which is an increase of 58% since 1980. In the winter of 1998, the FMO engaged the University of Guelph School of Rural Planning and Development to conduct a provincial Economic Impact Study of Ontario's Farmers' and Public Markets, which was funded on a 50-50 basis with Agricultural Adaptation Council (CanAdapt). In the summer-fall of 1998, 4,603 shoppers; 250 Market vendors; 20 Market managers; and 150 local businesses were interviewed extensively to gather information for the provincial study. Economically, the survey reported that in Ontario:

- Over 25,000 people work in the sector;

¹⁹ <http://www.fmo.reach.net>

- Farmers' markets generate about 1 million shoppers a year;
- Annual sales at all farmers' markets across Ontario exceed \$500 million;
- The Impact on Ontario's economy is over \$1.5 billion.

The impact of farmers' markets has not gone unnoticed by the provincial government. In the fall of 2001, Healthy Futures for Ontario Agriculture (HFAO), a program of the OMAFRA, entered into an agreement with FMO, where HFAO agreed to provide nearly \$700,000 to FMO and its members. The investment amounts to 70 per cent of the almost one million dollar Project IMPACT, with the balance of funds provided by FMO. According to a pamphlet produced by FMO, "Project IMPACT will allow FMO and its member Farmers' Markets to undertake a concerted, sustained effort to increase consumer interest in and patronage of Farmers' Markets across Ontario and achieve gains in revenue by increasing the total traffic draw to Farmers' Markets and by increasing the amount spent per shopper."²⁰ More specifically, OMAFRA stated:

Project IMPACT aims to increase consumer interest and attendance in farmers' markets through a multi-media marketing campaign and by providing farmer-vendors with marketing, merchandising and product presentation training. The project will also introduce a farmer-vendor identification program that ties the vendor to the specific Ontario farm supplying the product to assure consumers of the authenticity of their purchase.²¹

Under the program, member markets are reimbursed for 50% of the costs of print and radio advertising, production of banners, highway signage, and signage on city buses. Member markets also have free access to a catalogue of customizable camera-ready ad designs. Other elements of the program include market research, product presentation seminars for vendors, development of an extensive new website with low-cost individual

²⁰ Farmers' Markets Ontario. *Project IMPACT "Innovative Market Partners Attracting Consumers Together."* (2001/2002)

²¹ Government of Ontario - Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs, *Ontario Invests in Promoting Farmers' Markets*, Press Release (25 Aug 2001) (<http://www.gov.on.ca/OMAFRA/english/infores/releases/082501.html>)

sites for member markets, and production of customizable plastic shopping bags with the FMO and Foodland Ontario logos.²² In short, this project aims to increase consumer spending and attendance at markets across Ontario, through such initiatives as a multi-media marketing campaign, as well as marketing, merchandising and product presentation training for vendors, perhaps helping to guarantee a long-term future for farmers' markets in Ontario.

4.0 Defining the Contemporary Farmers' Market

Today, the term "farmers' market" has grown exponentially from its traditional usage to include the diversity of settings, goods, owners and vendors that define the modern marketplace. In 1971, Pyle wrote that to identify or define a farmers' market is "no easy task; for everything that is called a farmers' market may not be one, and other names are given to meetings that have the form and function of a farmers' market."²³ Over thirty years later, this ambiguity remains. Today, the term public market is often used interchangeably with farmers' market to describe any type of informal retail activity, and has even been deliberately commandeered to describe practices that no longer include the farmer at all, because of its association with freshness and community spirit. The range includes festival marketplaces that focus on commercial goods and entertainment, to modern grocery stores, including the chains "MarketFresh" and Loblaw's Markets, which have adopted the term as a marketing tool because of the associated connotations. Even restaurants have chosen to use the word, such as

22 Bart Hawkins Kreps, "Project IMPACT seeks to enhance success of farmers' markets," *The Independent*. [East Northumberland] 9 Aug 2001:

(<http://www.eastnorthumberland.com/news/news2001/newsAugust2001/IMPACT08292001.html>)

23 J. Pyle, "Farmers' Markets in the United States: Functional anachronisms," *The Geographical Review* 61 (1971): 167.

Movenpick's "La Marche." The discrepancy between the original meaning and today's convoluted assortment of what is referred to as a market require the concept to be examined to understand the meaning of the farmers' market in modern society.

Neuwirth describes "farmers' markets" as a generic term that refers to the direct sale of produce and goods. It can be located anywhere, operating once a week, several days a week, all year round or seasonally, and may have any type of shelter from temporary stalls to a permanent market hall. Under the heading of "farmers' market", Neuwirth identifies three categories, according to the primary beneficiary, which is based on the goods sold. The true *farmers' market* offers the opportunity for farmers to directly buy and sell agricultural goods to retail and wholesale customers. The market is structured so that the farmer is the primary beneficiary, as both vendor and consumer. The *public market* sells mixed goods, including fresh produce, as well as candy, flowers, and packaged foods. The public market sells specifically to the retail public, and therefore, according to Neuwirth, primarily benefits the public as the consumer. The *festival marketplace* has the feeling of a farmers' market, but contains vendors who are commercially oriented to the public, usually selling solely commercial mixed goods, not agricultural goods.²⁴ The primary beneficiaries of the festival marketplace are the public and the merchant, who is a middleman between the producers and the consumers.

Public markets have a complex system of beneficiaries and while this is an important consideration, primary beneficiary is not the ideal method of defining contemporary urban markets in this case. The primary beneficiary is not easily defined, as there are so many that are significantly impacted by a market. Public markets benefit

24 Roanne M. Neuwirth, "New Interest in an Old Idea – The Rebirth of Farmers Markets," 8th *International Conference on Making Cities Livable* (Siena, Italy, June 1990) 2-3.

the farmer who earns income, the public who is able to buy fresh produce, and even the surrounding merchants who benefit from increased numbers of people in the vicinity. Additionally, the primary beneficiary is difficult to determine because there are alternatives for these people. For example, the farmer has the option to sell at a market where he has more control over pricing, but selling to a grocery store may be a steadier source of income. In this case, the farmer may not necessarily benefit more or less from choosing to sell his produce at a market. As well, the public chooses to spend money at a market, which may be less convenient and offer fewer options than a grocery store, but does offer a sense of place that cannot be obtained elsewhere. Finally, surrounding merchants may benefit from a nearby market because of increased pedestrian traffic, but also may lose some business when the market is operating, as well as losing available parking for their own customers. While the system of beneficiaries is an important element that can be used to explore markets, it will not be used here to define markets, and therefore it is necessary to go further to understand modern farmers' markets.

In *Public Markets and Community Revitalization*, Spitzer and Baum use the term public market as a comprehensive term that describes any type of informal retailing, including farmers' markets, flea markets, and crafters markets. They state that "at their most basic, markets include vendors or merchants who meet regularly at the same location; a sponsoring entity that holds legal and financial responsibility and that oversees operations; and in some cases, the structure or facilities in which the market activity is held."²⁵ Spitzer and Baum examined markets more specifically, identifying three

²⁵ Theodore Morrow Spitzer and Hilary Baum, *Public Markets and Community Revitalization*. (New York: Project for Public Spaces and the Urban Land Institute, 1995) 1.

common characteristics that they believe distinguish public markets from other types of related retail activity:

- Public Goals – all public markets must have goals that are of benefit to the greater community, such as attracting people downtown, affordable retailing opportunities, preserving farming or farmland in the region, or activating the use of a public space.
- Public Space – the market uses a public space within the community that is accessible by all people
- Locally owned, independent business – the market must be locally owned and operated, which offers local flavour and a distinctive shopping experience.²⁶

These characteristics do not include markets administered by private organizations, or festival marketplaces, which are usually not primarily concerned with public goals.

While markets could be considered public space in some instances, such as open-air markets, other times markets are private buildings that are closed when the market is not operating, therefore eliminating public access. While Spitzer and Baum's basic definition of a public market is valuable, their characteristics do not comprehensively apply to all markets, and therefore further elements must be examined to uncover the defining features of farmers' markets.

Tunbridge (1992) describes all markets as farmers' markets, classifying them based on a continuum of goods sold: traditional markets, recognizable farmers' markets, public markets and festival marketplaces. At one end are *traditional markets*, which are farmers' markets that sell purely farmers' goods, such as seeds, fertilizer, and machinery. This type of farmers' market is usually found in smaller urban centres and is very traditional in its appearance, often making it the most distinctive. *Recognizable farmers' markets* are more open than the former, and commonly found on the city margins in

²⁶ Spitzer and Baum 2.

larger structures, or in market squares. The third category, the *public market*, is a large market containing different types of goods and is more likely linked to revitalization projects, rather than traditional market activity. Finally, there is the *festival marketplace* that has a large proportion of commercial goods. Festival marketplaces are a modern development project that is directly related to the revitalization movement, as they are built with the distinct purpose of rejuvenating the surrounding area. While often including farm produce, the festival marketplace is closely tied to conventional retail activity, primarily targeting tourists, as well as local residents.²⁷

Tunbridge's classifications are based on the fact that the origin of the modern market is the traditional farmers' market, and as such, assumes that the new forms have evolved from it, while remaining true to the original form. While traditional farmers' markets are undoubtedly the original form of market, it is more precise to say that markets have metamorphasized from this initial form into new distinct forms. These new forms cannot be classified under the term "farmers' market" as they bear little resemblance to the original form, despite an attempt to re-create the sense of place that is associated with the traditional farmers' market. A festival market cannot be considered a type of farmers' market because they have become completely unrelated. The festival marketplace has evolved from the farmers' market, but it no longer makes sense to call it a type of farmers' market, when it is more closely associated, in appearance and financial expectations, to a more formal retail organization, such as a shopping mall.

Sommer on the other hand refers to all markets as "public markets," which better explains the variety of forms that markets take. This structure has farmers' markets and

²⁷ John E. Tunbridge, "Farmers' / Festival Markets: The Case of By Ward Market, Ottawa." *Canadian Geographer* 36.3 (1992): 282-283.

festival markets at opposite ends of the public market continuum. The term *public market* does not refer to ownership or access, but according to Sommer is a generic term to describe “a place where a variety of goods, invariably including produce and other foodstuffs, is sold on a periodic basis by numerous small private vendors.”²⁸

According to Sommer, a *farmers’ market* “is a pure type of public market, restricted to produce and other basic foodstuffs sold by growers to consumers. It is a form of direct marketing that prohibits participation of peddlers who purchase food for resale.”²⁹ It provides the opportunity for the direct sale of goods from the farmer to the consumer and emphasizes the sale of fresh fruits and vegetables by the people who have grown them. It is rare in modern society to find a pure form of farmers’ market, as most markets combine fresh produce with crafts and pre-made foods, such as pies and candy, especially in the case of year-round markets where there is a marked decrease in the availability of fresh produce in the winter months.

A *festival market*, according to Sommer, “is specially designed to combine retail sales with recreation and entertainment activities. Such markets are often constructed around a theme related to a period, site, architecture, or previous functions, giving rise to the alternative term theme market.”³⁰ Festival markets seldom have fresh produce and farmers are not usually involved. There is a feeling of a farmers’ market, with stalls and a variety of vendors, but the merchandise tends to be prepared foods, souvenirs, fast food, crafts and apparel, and is often aimed at the tourist trade.³¹

28 Robert Sommer, “Farmers Markets as Community Events,” *Public Places and Spaces*, ed. Irwin Altman and Ervin H. Zube. (New York: Plenum Press, 1989) 58.

29 Ibid 58.

30 Ibid 58.

31 Neuwirth 3.

The terms that are used in this thesis are based on the definitions of Sommer, Tunbridge, and Neuwirth, but are restructured in a way that makes sense to this author for an urban setting. "Public market" is used as a comprehensive term to describe all markets. In general, public markets are an informal community of small vendors, who work within a common goal and within the same operational parameters, such as operating days and times, and a management organization. The operative word in this definition is informal, therefore excluding shopping centres and grocery stores, which may fit into the other aspects of the definition. The term public market does not necessarily refer specifically to markets owned by municipalities, but all markets regardless of ownership. Within this comprehensive definition are several categories on a spectrum, with farmers' market and festival market at opposite ends, and hybrid forms falling between, depending on their characteristics.

Farmers' markets are a specialized form of public market where the majority of sales and activity involves fresh produce, sold by the people who harvested it. Farmers' markets have a traditional atmosphere, and a sense of camaraderie and community. The main beneficiaries are both producer and customer in a symbiotic relationship, as traditionally existed in the marketplace. Farmers' markets are not defined by their location, or frequency, and they exist in a multitude of forms. The defining feature of farmers' markets is that the people who grew it sell the produce.

At the other end of the spectrum are festival markets, which are a complex form of public market that include several types of usually commercial goods and retailers, as well as providing entertainment to attract customers. They are usually owned and operated by a private organization and function like a shopping mall, but physically set

up like a market with stalls and aisles. The products are more likely to be mass-produced for the consumer, but often give the appearance of being handcrafted. In contrast to a traditional farmers' market, festival markets are highly concerned with creating a sanitized atmosphere. Festival markets have enjoyed much success in recent years, but they have a different purpose than the farmers' market, as they are not primarily concerned with local business. They are discussed at this point to provide an understanding of the hybrid types of markets, which fit in between the farmers' market and the festival market.

Hybrid markets, which combine fresh produce with homemade and commercial goods, are a far more common type of public market than these two pure forms. Including a variety of vendors attracts a greater number of customers, who can use the market for a range of purposes. Spitzer and Baum identified 5 different categories of vendors that may be involved in public markets. Hybrid forms are made up of any combination of these types:

- Farmers are “individual or families who produce or raise the products they sell.”
- Crafters are “individuals who design and make by hand all the items they sell.”
- Fresh food merchants are “business owners who sell mainly fresh, but also processed food that have been produced by others.”
- Prepared food vendors are “vendors who sell food that is ready to eat at the market or to take home.
- Flea vendors are “individuals who sell used or new mass-produced items.”³²

The public markets discussed in this thesis are hybrid forms, having features of both farmers' and festival markets, but are more closely related to the former than the latter, and therefore are referred to throughout as farmers' markets. These hybrid markets

³² Spitzer and Baum 4.

are not farmers' markets in the true form, as many include a variety of vendors and goods, but fresh produce and direct sales from farmer to consumer remain as the common primary thread. The 1999 University of Guelph study of the economic impact of farmers' markets in Ontario stated that 80% of all markets in Ontario have hand-crafted products such as clothing, wood products, jewelry, and knitted products, in addition to fresh produce.³³ According to this study, markets are often forced into this hybrid form of market because of a lack of available local produce, particularly in the winter months for year-round markets. It indicates the reality of markets for Ontario's farmers:

Some Market organizers attempt to maintain the market purely as a producers market that supports local growers. Other markets rely on local producers and producers across the province. Some Markets use a combination of local and provincial growers with resellers. Resellers are typically brought into the Market to enhance the selection and variety of produce. For some Markets, the irregularity or shortness of the local growing seasons requires they supplement the Market with produce from outside the region. If the Market is unable to attract growers, the organizers sometimes resort to invited resellers in order to maintain and/or enhance the selection.³⁴

5.0 The Farmers' Market in the Urban Context

Downtown urban markets are different from other types that exist in rural areas, where many have been able to remain a 'farmers' market' in the pure sense. Urban farmers' markets are generally retail only, and do not sell to wholesalers. Markets are an effective way to support local economic development and small business in their own cities, as well as offering variety to consumers. In fact, farmers' markets can be one of the most successful tools for strengthening or regenerating downtowns of any size.

Markets contribute to the local economy because the money stays in the community rather than going to national or international conglomerates. Additionally, the generation

³³ [http://www.agrinewsinteractive.com/features/farmers markets/farmersmarkets2.html](http://www.agrinewsinteractive.com/features/farmers%20markets/farmersmarkets2.html) (Oct 16, 2001) 9.

of pedestrian traffic not only stimulates local economy but also creates safer, vibrant public spaces in the downtowns.

Downtown urban markets are more often older markets with an historical presence in the city. This does not necessarily mean that they are in the same location as they have always been, but there is a history of a marketplace within the community. Of the 117 markets listed with the FMO, 51 of those are located within urban areas.

Farmers' markets in urban areas are more likely to have existed for over 100 hundred years, as 35% of urban farmers' markets were established in 1900 or earlier, compared to only 11% of rural farmers' markets. This is likely because in the past, farmers had to bring their surplus produce to the cities to trade or sell, and could not viably sell their goods within their own rural communities. One hundred years ago, there would not have been a large enough population base to support a rural farmers' market. As well, in rural areas, those residents would have likely grown or raised their own food, rather than buying from their neighbours.

Additionally, urban markets tend to serve pedestrian or transit-dependent populations more often than rural markets. Downtown urban farmers' markets are also more likely to operate year-round, depending on their facilities,³⁵ and tend to operate on permanent sites with significantly larger budgets than their rural counterparts. There is often a permanent staff member who is responsible for the administration of the market.

There are unique challenges associated with urban farmers' markets, such as neighbouring businesses that sell many of the same products, and the greater options available to urban residents that compete with the farmers' market, such as massive chain

34 [http://www.agrinenewsinteractive.com/features/farmers markets/farmersmarkets3.html](http://www.agrinenewsinteractive.com/features/farmers%20markets/farmersmarkets3.html) (Oct 16, 2001) 3.

35 Neuwirth 4.

grocery stores and ethnic grocers. The size of cities is also an issue because people often have to travel further to get to the downtown market. This may result in fewer customers from the suburbs, and may require further parking facilities and public transportation to draw these customers. This is particular important because the majority of market customers are over 45 years old, meaning that they can be dependent on transportation modes, especially the elderly. Finally, because many permanent facilities are not owned by the market, but rented, fees are often higher for both the management and the vendors in urban markets than for rural markets.

6.0 Operational Features of Farmers' Markets

Operational features are the functional characteristics of a farmers' market, including the physical form that the market takes, the ownership and operation, and finally their frequency. While markets should not be defined solely by their operational characteristics, they should be examined to gain an understanding of the diversity that exists in Ontario. The information used here was gathered from the 2001 FMO Directory and the 1999 University of Guelph study.

6.1 Administration

Markets in Ontario are administered by a variety of types of organizations, and reflect the individuality that exists in each market. Administration includes such tasks as the regulation of the market activities, establishment and enforcement of market policy, the setting and collection of stall fees, the recruitment of new vendors, and the organization of special events and promotions. The majority of farmers' markets are administered by Vendors Associations and community service clubs, which are typically run by volunteers. Vendors Associations are made up of the vendors themselves, in

partnership with other community groups. A Board of Directors is usually elected by the vendors association to oversee the routine operation of the market. The administration of markets operated by community service clubs is usually handled by a special subcommittee of the service club, and performs the same type and range of tasks that are associated with Vendors Associations. The annual budget associated with both Vendors Associations and community service clubs varies depending upon the degree of volunteer activity and the amount of resources that are donated in kind (land, buildings, utilities, etc). Of the 51 urban farmers' markets in Ontario, 53% are operated either solely by Vendors Associations or community service clubs, or in cooperation with other organizations.

City Corporations, Business Improvement Associations, and Chambers of Commerce administer the remaining markets. These markets are usually handled by a subcommittee of the City, BIA or the Chamber, and have a more complex organizational structure than the volunteer boards. Markets operated by city corporations are more likely to operate year round, on permanent sites and with significantly larger budgets, often allowing for paid staff. In Ontario, 47% of the farmers' markets located in cities are run by City Corporations, often in cooperation with other organizations. In Ontario, other groups such as Lions Clubs, Chamber of Commerce or private organizations operate 16% of urban markets. Often markets are administered by more than one organization, which explains the discrepancy in the percentages.

6.2 Physical Form - Shelter

Farmers' markets can range from temporary seasonal tents to year-round permanent facilities with the space to shelter hundreds of vendors. According to the

University of Guelph study, the majority of markets are situated on streets/downtown (39.4%). Other locations include parking lots (18%), market squares (3.3%), city/town halls (5.7%) and malls (3.3%). There was no available information regarding the breakdown of indoor and outdoor markets in Ontario.

The climate is a determining factor in the form, especially in Canada, as the market should create an atmosphere that is comfortable for both the trader and the customer. Extreme climate often means that open-air markets take place seasonally, and often only meet once or twice a week. This is an inexpensive form of market as there are few to no site improvements necessary to maintain this market. All traces of the market are removed at the end of the day, and the vendors are responsible for their area. This type of market occurs in an open space within the city, often a plaza, street or parking lot. This is most likely to be a true form of farmers' markets, as there is little expense to be recovered by the administration, and therefore there is less need to have a variety of vendors.

The second category is shed-roof structures, which offer their vendors some overhead protection from the weather, but retain an open-air atmosphere. There is some sense of permanence because the structures remain in place, even if the market operates only occasionally. Stalls are almost always provided by the market organization, and personalization is often encouraged, especially in the case of ethnic or seasonal products.

Public halls or enclosed buildings are the final category, and describe markets whose property is completely devoted to the market activity. They may operate everyday, or more periodically, depending on the demand. Merchants typically hold long-term leases for their stalls, as some often require display cases, refrigeration units or

cooking facilities. These types of markets often offer space to part-time vendors for short-term use as a way of allowing vendors who cannot commit to a lease and who require flexible, inexpensive retailing space. These types of markets are large enough to include a variety of goods and vendors and are expensive to administer, and therefore are rarely pure farmers' markets.

6.3 Number of Vendors

There is also a range of the number of vendors at each farmers' market. The smallest is three vendors, at the Kakabeka Farmers' Market located in the village of Kakabeka Falls in Northern Ontario, to a maximum of 350, at the Waterloo Farmers' Market. The largest group of markets (28.7%) has between 11 and 15 vendors, followed by markets with less than 10 vendors (18.8%). Markets with over 30 vendors, which is the sample that has been chosen for this thesis, make up only 31.6% of all the 117 farmers' markets across Ontario, including both urban and rural markets. Within cities exclusively, markets with 30 or more vendors make up 49.0% of the 51 urban farmers' markets. This is likely because there is a large enough customer base to support bigger markets.

6.4 Customer Profile

The University of Guelph study consistently found that a higher percentage of females than males regularly attend markets across Ontario. The combined provincial results of the 19 markets reveals that 65% of the customer base is made up of women.³⁶ It also revealed that the largest single age category for market customers is 45 to 54 years, which represents fewer than 25% of the customer base. The next largest age category is 55 to 64 years with just over 20% of the customer base. Close to 70% of the total

customer base is in the age range of 45 years of age or older.³⁷ This has raised concern in the market community about the loss of customers due to natural aging, and new promotions are being considered to attract a broad range of age groups, making it more of a family event. Additionally, the survey found that 32% of customers reported an income of \$40 000 or more. While less than 50% of the respondents provided income data, this information does appear to indicate that customers at farmers' markets are from at least the middle-income bracket, reinforcing the concept of the gentrification of markets.

36 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

37 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

Chapter 2: The Farmers' Market as Place

The last third of the 20th century was marked by increasing numbers of complaints about the dehumanization of the urban landscape, as cities were seen to be becoming more car-oriented, sterile and impersonal. In response, new methods of revitalization were considered and have continued to evolve. Farmers' markets have been extensively used as a catalyst for downtown revitalization projects, to help promote a pleasing urban landscape in and around the market. Farmers' markets contribute to downtown revitalization by occupying existing urban space, either by preserving existing historic buildings in the downtown core or by using vacant land. Farmers' markets buildings often have particular historical and architectural significance, and their preservation offers a sense of continuity and tradition to the contemporary urban centre, as is the case in Ottawa. Where the traditional market structures have not been preserved, other buildings in the urban core may be adapted to fit the flexible needs of the market. Vacant buildings tend to decay due to lack of use, and therefore adapting them to the flexible needs of a market allows for the building to be preserved. Other markets use vacant land in the downtown core, either by constructing new market buildings, such as in Kitchener and Hamilton, or by using open spaces such as parking lots that may not be occupied in the business district on Saturdays and Sundays, as is the case with in Kingston and Orillia.

Unfortunately, farmers' markets are not always successful in re-charging a community, and creating revitalization. A farmers' market may be successful in its own right, but without a vibrant surrounding district, it becomes a single destination, where people do not linger. Customers may come to the area because of the market, but should feel comfortable to use the area as a whole – creating a business, shopping and entertainment district, and thus a revitalized

urban centre. Urban planners cannot manufacture vitality and vibrancy by inserting the correct physical characteristics into the city. But they can induce it by planning for more than pleasant appearances.

This thesis examines the connection between farmers' markets and downtown revitalization, examining not the commercial success of the farmers' market, but its role in the revitalization process. Good urban design can humanize the physical world and can make the urban environment more about the people that inhabit the city and less about the structures by themselves. Understanding some of the principles of urban design assists us in comprehending what makes some places appealing and inviting, and why others are uninteresting and uncomfortable. In this chapter, we examine the urban physical elements that affect the role farmers' markets play in the revitalization process. Farmers' markets are examined in the context of three variables: visibility, transportation, and synergy. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to look at all 117 markets in Ontario, so Ottawa, Kingston, Orillia, Kitchener and Hamilton have been chosen as representative urban farmers' markets.

1.0 Location and the Urban Farmers' Market

Physically, markets were often one of the first public spaces in the city, and have endured through major changes in urban design as cities expanded and evolved. This often meant that the market changed locations, moving from its original location to a new space that better suited the city at that time. But it seems that the most vibrant markets have a sense of permanence about them that does not necessarily have to do with their location. Most of the long-standing markets in Ontario can claim relative permanence as a defining feature. The Ottawa By Ward Market has this sense of consistency, as it has remained in and around the same location and has been of a

similar type since it began in 1840. There have been three previous buildings constructed on or near the current location. The first market building, which was oriented along a George/Sussex/St. Patrick streets axis with the market building on George Street, was constructed as part of Ottawa's first county complex in 1840-42.¹ In 1875, a new market building was completed in the area between Clarence and York Streets after the swamp in the George / York St. block in the centre of Lower Town was drained. This building was complemented in 1875 by the construction of a second market structure directly facing the first across York St.² The current structure, located between George and York, and Byward and William streets, was built in 1927, after the former buildings were destroyed by fire. This sense of consistency and permanence also exists in Orillia, where the farmers' market actually predates the founding of the village in 1867. The market area was bounded by the present Tecumseth, Lacie, Canice and Brant Streets. In 1872, Goldwin Smith donated half an acre on the North West corner of Mississauga and West Streets to the city to be used as a market square in perpetuity. The Opera House was constructed on the land in 1895, but the market continues to operate within the boundaries of the Opera House parking lot during the summer, and in the winter it operates from the indoor Market Room at the rear of the Opera House.³ Both the Orillia and Ottawa markets have a relative permanent location in one neighbourhood, and have survived changes in building and exact location and street relationship, creating a sense of tradition and consistency within the community. While the city changed around them, they were able to retain their traditional location.

The Kingston Public Market also has a sense of permanence, as while it has changed

1 Smith et al. C-10.

2 Smith et al. C-9.

from an indoor to an outdoor market, it has remained in the same general location since 1789, making it Canada's oldest organized market. The Magistrate of the Midland District was permitted to establish a market by an act in 1801. A major fire destroyed the waterfront buildings in 1840, including the farmers' market. In 1843-44, the city council constructed a 'contemplated City Hall,'⁴ meaning that the council chambers would be placed on the second floor, and the open ground floor would be used as a market.⁵ At that time, the Market Square was much larger than it is today, spreading from Clarence Street over to Brock Street, and from King Street down to the waterfront. The north block of the Market House burned in 1865 and was only rebuilt to part of its original size. Market facilities continued to occupy it for some time, although they gradually moved out into the open square itself. The butcher's stalls were eliminated from the building in the 1890s, and early in the 1900s the last green market tenants inside the building were replaced by the police and other city offices.⁶ The Kingston Public Market continues to operate as a year-round open-air market in the parking lot of City Hall, "comprised of that area of the Market Square to the west of the City Hall building, bounded by the inside of the sidewalks on King Street and Brock Street, the west wall of the City Hall building and the centre line of Market Square, except for the distance on the north side of Market Street from the intersection of King Street and Market Street easterly..."⁷ While the market has evolved from a predominately indoor to predominately outdoor character, the location has remained fairly constant, creating an air of permanence.

3 <http://www.orilliaedc.on.ca/town.htm>

4 Lily Inglis et al., "The Market Square, A Heritage Conservation Study." (July 1978) 7.

5 Inglis et al. 8.

6 Inglis et al. 8.

Other markets have had what appear to be more significant location moves. What seems to set these apart is not necessarily that they moved long distances, but that they moved to a non-traditional facility. When Hamilton received a rudimentary form of incorporation in 1833, it immediately set about to establish a market shelter. The Hamilton Farmers' Market was originally founded in 1837, at the corner of York and James Streets, when the city accepted a gift of land from some local citizens. Andrew and Mary Miller transferred a small parcel of land to the President and Board of Police of the town of Hamilton, to be utilized specifically for a Market.⁸ Shortly after the town hall and market building had been completed, the donor went bankrupt, leaving the legal status of the buildings in doubt. Hamiltonians apparently continued to patronize the market and to attend concerts in the hall above it. It was not until 1849, three years after full incorporation, that the city was allowed to buy the land – thus securing its hall and market.⁹ In 1885, a new Market Hall was built, with steel shelters lining one side of the open space. Fire consumed the building in 1917, and makeshift shelters were erected in 1922. By the 1950s, the conflict between cars and the market came to a head, and slowly the street stalls around the market began to close. In 1958, City Council voted to clear the market space completely, and build a parking garage, shrinking the market from 350 stalls to 160. In 1980, the City of Hamilton attempted to use the farmers' market as a catalyst for downtown revitalization, and constructed a new market building and public library at 55 York Blvd, as part of a mini-city with offices, shops, cinemas, hotels and an arena, all enclosed in a climate-controlled atmosphere, leaving no space for an outdoor presence. The City is currently considering moving

7 City of Kingston. "By-Law No 20) p 2.

8 <http://www.city.hamilton.on.ca/ThingsToDo/market/default.htm>

9 MacRae and Adamson, 76.

Figure 1 Area Map of Downtown Hamilton

the farmers' market to a higher profile location as part of its new downtown revitalization strategy.

The tradition of the Kitchener Farmers Market began in the early 1830s when the local Mennonite community began to sell their surplus goods and produce at informal outdoor markets in the village of Berlin (now Kitchener).¹⁰ An organized market has been in continuous operation in downtown Kitchener since 1869, when the town council approved the proposal put forth by Jacob Shantz to build a two-story multi-use facility that included both the council chambers and post office on the second floor and a farmers' market on the first.¹¹ This building was the first of four different structures to house the Kitchener Farmers' Market over the years. In 1872, a long low market was erected directly behind the council chambers building and operated in this location for the next 35 years.

10 Mary Ann Horst, *Our Wonderful Kitchener Farmers Market*, (Kitchener: Pennsylvania Dutch Craft Shop, 1985) 22

11 *Public Consultation Process*, 4.

By 1907, larger quarters were again required and another market building was built at the corner of Frederick and Duke Streets, and this served as the farmers' market until 1973.¹² It is this market that is remembered as the famous Kitchener Farmers' Market. During the downtown redevelopment movement that was sweeping across Canada, the citizens of Kitchener narrowly decided by referendum in 1971 to demolish the market building and sell the city-owned land to a developer.¹³ In 1974, the new Market Square shopping mall was built on the original City Hall / Farmers' Market site. The mall included an area to house the Kitchener Farmers' Market, located in the basement and parking garage.

Currently, the City of Kitchener is in the process of moving its farmers' market, as a catalyst for downtown revitalization. This process has involved the development of a set of criteria based on a series of public consultations that have assisted the City in determining the best location for its new farmers' market. The result of the public consultations was strong community support for the City's plan to move forward on developing a new market in Downtown Kitchener. The community values the market, seeing it as an asset to their city. Relocation is seen as a way of ensuring its long-term viability in the community, and there are very few who object to moving the market. The City of Kitchener considered eight potential sites for the new farmers' market, indicating that they made the assumption that physical location is a vital aspect to the success of an urban market. The major criteria for site selection included¹⁴:

- Downtown location
- Adequate parking or opportunity to create adequate parking
- High profile location
- Permit Market to have a distinct visible identity

¹² *Public Consultation Process*, 4

¹³ Jack Pasternak, *The Kitchener Market Fight* (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, Hakkert & Company, 1975) 3.

¹⁴ See Appendix 2 for the complete site evaluation criteria from the City of Kitchener.

Ultimately, the King Street East/Eby Street/Cedar Street/Duke Street site was chosen as the

best site for the following reasons:

- Located in the traditional market area
- Supported by the Municipal Plan, which characterizes the area as having a market-like atmosphere and a rich diversity of ethnic and cultural resources
- Supported by Retail Action Plan for Downtown Kitchener, which suggests the market move to a location on King and/or Duke Streets
- Eliminates two unwanted building uses
- Provides a retail anchor for the east end of downtown
- Retail shops along King Street would blend in with the existing retail in the area
- Significant residential and office population nearby
- Indoor and outdoor market is possible.¹⁶

Figure 2 Proposed new Kitchener Farmers' Market site

Both the Kitchener and Hamilton markets have undergone a great deal of change since their inceptions, as major pawns in the downtown redevelopment / revitalization movements.

While both of these markets are fully functioning and vibrant entities in and of themselves, they do not appear to have fulfilled their goal of reviving the surrounding neighbourhood. This time around, both cities hope that moving the location one more time may help in finally injecting a sense of energy and community back into their downtowns. This of course remains to be seen.

¹⁶ Public Consultation Process, 8.

around, both cities hope that moving the location one more time may help in finally injecting a sense of energy and community back into their downtowns. This of course remains to be seen. They both need to be conscious of what it takes to use farmers' markets as a tool for revitalization.

Urban Farmers' Market Assessment

2.0 Visibility

Visibility is concerned with the visual interaction of the market within its larger urban context. Why would visibility be important to markets involved in the revitalization process? Visibility creates an identity within the community. It allows people to be aware of the site, even when it is not functioning as a market. Additionally, markets are important in attracting new customers and one-time customers such as tourists and visitors. Here, visibility includes such elements as outdoor presence, signage, and traditional architecture, each of which must be evaluated in terms of the revitalization process.

An outdoor presence, whether it is an additional feature of a market building, or the entire form of a farmers' market, seems to be an established or expected feature of these markets and one of the important ways that markets contribute to revitalization. Outdoor farmers' markets are active places and encourage people to leave their cars and use the public spaces where the market is located, thus resulting in more people circulating on the streets. Outdoor activity can range from an open-air market to simply having large doors that open into the streets, allowing the sights and sounds of the market to spill out into the community. A significant street presence can create interest and curiosity about the farmers' market, drawing people inside the market building, as well as creating human activity on the streets. In contrast to a mall, where customers

must go inside to see what is available, a market, especially one with a significant outdoor presence, presents its goods for all to see. Having the market seen by large numbers of people, from the street, sidewalk and other significant locations in the downtown core can increase the awareness of the market, leading to more people regularly attending the market. Additionally, according to Jane Jacobs, “the sight of people attracts still other people.”¹⁷ The more visible a market is, the more people will be drawn in and want to attend.

Traditional appearance is also a significant physical element, and can be tied to the element of outdoor presence. Traditional architecture is significant in identifying the market, although there is not a single type of architecture commonly associated with markets. Throughout the United States, farmers’ markets are often a part of adaptive re-use projects in an attempt to save historic buildings within the community. It seems that in people’s minds, because farmers’ markets are a traditional form of commerce, so should be the facilities that house them. Many successful markets have buildings that exhibit traditional brick or stone detailing and street level awnings. It is perhaps the outdoor stall, however, that is the most common image associated with farmers’ markets. Outdoor stalls, especially those that are temporarily constructed by the vendors are not always visible to the public, therefore making them an important visibility feature when the market is open, but not otherwise. In other words, a traditional appearance can include any feature that people would commonly associate with markets. Temporary features are not necessarily less important, but do not play a role in consistently reminding people of the presence of the market.

Signage can also be an important factor in creating a highly visible location. It is a significant feature in attracting first-time customers and in reminding repeat customers of its

¹⁷ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1961) 37.

presence, and is of particular importance to a new market. In contrast, signage may not be as essential once a market is strongly entrenched in the community and has attracted an established clientele. These customers are aware of the presence of the market, and signage is not necessary. Additionally, the market building itself can be seen as a piece of signage, as many are familiar with traditional market architecture, and therefore the building becomes a sign for itself.

Vibrant and active markets tend to successfully combine a variety of elements of visibility. Such is the case with the Ottawa By Ward Market, which is particularly successful in using visibility as a method of attracting people. The City recognizes the importance of visibility as a mitigating force in the identification and popularity of its landmarks, and as such, includes the By Ward market as a significant Ottawa landmark, along with Parliament Hill, that is worthy of protection and enhancement.¹⁸ From Sussex Street, the two wide streets George and York give the market area a particularly strong visual presence. Additionally, within the city plan, York Street has been designated as a “distinctive street, entrance to, and promenade through the By Ward Market.”¹⁹ These streets are specifically designed to enhance the visibility of the By Ward Market.

The By Ward Market appears to have all the visibility features discussed here. The By Ward Market building has been greatly altered over the years, but maintains the appearance of a traditional street market building, with two wide streets running along either side. The two-story brick building features pediments, arches and sloping canopies on all four sides. It also has a significant outdoor presence, as all the informal agricultural and craft vendors, who are traditionally associated with a farmers’ market, are located outdoors, down Byward and William

¹⁸ City of Ottawa. “Central Area” *City of Ottawa Official Plan*. 1.5.3 n

¹⁹ *City of Ottawa Official Plan*. 1.5.3 l

streets that run along the building. The outdoor farmers' market is a vibrant and lively aspect of the neighbourhood and the city as a whole, and acts as a symbol for the entire By Ward Market district, thus giving the farmers' market a presence, even when it is not functioning. People walking in downtown Ottawa recognize it as a market because it follows the traditional form of a market with outdoor vendors and stalls, attracting customers to both the outdoor farmers' market and the indoor commercial activities of the market building. While these stalls are removed daily, the building remains as a reminder of the presence of the market. There are signs located on either end of the building, but these are not particularly significant because of the identifiable architecture and significant outdoor presence.

While visibility appears to be an indicator of success in Ontario's farmers' markets, it appears that not all elements are necessary in creating vibrant activity in and around the market. For example, signage and an outdoor presence may compensate for a lack of traditional appearance, as is the case in Kingston and Orillia. The Kingston Public Market and the Orillia Farmers' Market are examples of open-air markets with no market building, or permanent outdoor stalls. These farmers' markets are located downtown, in the parking lots of major attractions within their respective cities, but on days when they do not operate, all physical indication of their existence must be removed. Outdoor presence and signage, reminding people of the market during non-market hours, seem to keep these markets as vibrant and contributing entities within these communities. This form of market is a more traditional format, but gives it less of a sense of permanence.

Neither the current Kitchener nor Hamilton Farmers' Markets have these visibility elements. Both of these markets were built in the 1980s, and do not have a traditional market

appearance, in either architecture or a significant outdoor presence. Both markets rely on signage to attract customers, rather than the more traditional forms of visibility. The only visibility element the Hamilton Farmers' Market follows is signage, which appears to be an attempt after the fact to increase the profile of the market. Typical of public buildings built in the 1980s, it is a modern concrete box, thus not architecturally identifiable as a farmers' market. The City has taken measures to increase the identity of the market by placing large signs on the exterior of the building, as well as signs on the lampposts along York Street. The modern structure offers all the amenities necessary for a fully functioning market, but in terms of visibility, it does not offer a high profile.

Figure 3 Hamilton Farmers' Market, as seen from York Street

At the current location, the Kitchener Farmers' Market is difficult to identify as a market because of its lack of traditional architectural features. It follows the mold of the typical suburban shopping mall, and except for the large exterior signs, one would have a difficult time recognizing it as a farmers' market. The current Kitchener market does have a minor outdoor presence in the summer along Scott Street, which does create interest and activity, but not

enough to support the market year-round.

Figure 4 Kitchener Farmers' Market, as seen from King Street

The City of Kitchener appears to be aware of the importance of visibility and plans on locating the new market in a high profile location, with a significant outdoor presence. The Kitchener survey found that participants were extremely concerned with making the new building identifiable as a market, and the majority of participants liked the idea of a traditional style building. Plans for the market building have not yet been finalized, but an indoor and outdoor market, a traditional style of building, and a high profile location along King Street were all deemed highly important during the public consultations. Additionally, the City of Kitchener would like to use the new farmers' market as an entrance feature to the downtown core, welcoming people to downtown Kitchener, as part of their overall revitalization strategy. These potential features make it obvious that Kitchener recognizes the importance of visibility in their site selection process, and are attempting to choose a site with high visibility in order to increase its potential success in the revitalization process.

Visibility is a factor in the success of vibrant and active markets in Ontario, but in varying degrees. For example, signage does not appear to be as valuable as traditional architecture or an outdoor presence. According to the University of Guelph study some markets have been more effective in attracting attention to the market via this method than others. In particular, the signage being used by year round markets does not appear to be having an impact on customers as it is with some seasonal markets. Additionally, signage is perhaps more important for modern structures, or new markets where they are not traditionally entrenched in the community, as a valuable part of promotion. Visibility is highly significant to markets, as it draws people to the market area, which is imperative when trying to revitalize a community. The more people can see that others are actively using an area, the greater their desire to use the area as well. It is human nature for individuals to want to be where the people are. It creates the notion that there is a reason to be there, and thus draws larger crowds on a consistent basis.

3.0 Transportation and Parking

The ease or difficulty with which prospective customers can get to the market from various parts of the urban area is another measurable physical characteristic that is an important concern in the revitalization process. One could assume that the safer and more convenient the access routes and the easier to enter, the greater number of people will use the facility, thus resulting in a more consistently used area and a breeding ground for new development. The issue of transportation causes a number of challenges for any downtown core, requiring an effective and balanced transportation network, including parking, roadways and walkways, as well as facilities for alternative form of transportation such as public transit and biking. As the automobile tends to dominate society, facilities for automobiles become a major concern for

urban planners, especially when trying to determine the ideal balance between facilities for vehicles, and promoting a primarily pedestrian environment in the downtown core.

The inclusion of a farmers' market can assist in creating an energized area where the major transportation concern becomes not the vehicle, but the pedestrian. In contrast to the automobile, which separates people from the environment and, consequently, each other, farmers' markets tend to invite leisurely walking and sociability among the customers in and around the market area, creating an intimate relationship between the pedestrians and the urban environment. This is especially true of markets with an outdoor presence. Making people feel safe and comfortable will encourage spending and repeat visits and therefore a pleasing pedestrian environment is essential in sustaining customers. The University of Guelph study found that 83% of the market customers in Ontario travel to the market by car, and only 13% of the customers walk to the market.²⁰ This is particularly interesting since the same survey found that the majority of customers live within ten minutes of the market,²¹ therefore making a pedestrian environment of utmost importance, especially in terms of creating a revitalized social environment. Shifting the focus of the streets, particularly on full market days, from the car to the pedestrian, can not only encourage people to use and stay in the area, but also create a social and interactive revitalized environment. Including "walkways that permit people to walk at varying paces, including most importantly a leisurely pace, with neither a sense of crowding nor of being alone, and that are safe, primarily from vehicles"²² can enhance the visitor experience.

20 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarkets3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

21 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarkets3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

22 Allan B. Jacobs, *Great Streets*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993) 3.

Despite the importance of the pedestrian, there also must be the infrastructure to support vehicular traffic, as the car continues to dominate civic life in most Canadian municipalities. Farmers' markets have the potential to draw customers from throughout the city because consumers generally will travel further to shop at a specialty store than they will to shop at a convenience store. Proximity to major arteries makes it easier for potential customers to access the market and encourages visits from the more remote reaches of the city, as well as adding to the market vitality by allowing vehicles to drive by and thus reinforcing the market in their consciousness. However, it seems to be more advantageous to be close to and visible from, but not directly facing onto, a high-speed artery. It is important to find an appropriate balance between the pedestrian-oriented environment and the road system, such that pedestrians are able to take a dominant role but cars can still penetrate the area. As all of these markets are located in their historic downtowns, it is not difficult to believe that all the case study farmers' markets are relatively close to major highways and streets within their respective communities. This is an important feature in supporting a market, and all of these cities appear to recognize that without an easy access route to the downtown core, there will not be revitalization. However, they also know that overemphasis on high-speed access was one of the features of redevelopment in the 1960s and 1970s that undermined healthy downtown living, and that more complex and multi-layer solutions work better.

Parking is a major concern for any downtown, but retail is particularly sensitive because of the numerous shopping options available to consumers. Downtown is often not a primary shopping choice for customers because there is limited parking and the available parking is offered at a premium rate. In Ottawa, there are a number of parking garages, and metered street

parking available to market customers throughout the downtown core, the most utilized being the above-grade parking garage to the east of the market, and the metered parking along York Street. In November 2001, the City launched “pay-and-display” parking on By Ward and William Streets. These parking spots are designated for one-hour parking – the idea is to encourage turnover so you can always find a spot to run in and pick up something quickly. During market season, these spots are taken over by the vendors.

Parking is a major issue in downtown Kingston. In Kingston, parking is prohibited on the Market Square between the hours of 5:00a.m. to 9:00a.m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays of each week. Any spaces that are unfilled by vendors after that time are free to the public. There is limited metered parking along all the streets in the downtown core. Parking is becoming a major concern in Kingston as there are extremely limited facilities in the immediate downtown area, especially with the farmers’ market taking over one of the main public lots during markets hours.

To deal with their parking issue, the Hamilton Farmers’ Market offers one hour free parking during market hours at the York Parkade on York Street. There are additional parking facilities at an underground parking lot, behind the market, adjacent to the Sheraton Hotel on King Street, and across the street from Copps Coliseum on Bay Street, but these facilities are shared with the other downtown amenities such as the library and the mall.

In Kitchener, parking is a major concern for the citizens and the market committee. In the current location, the market takes over the underground parking garage of the Market Square Mall, limiting the number of stalls available for parking, but offering them for free during market hours. Additional parking is limited to the neighbouring streets, and metered spaces. There also

their business.”²³ They do not want the design of the market to be car oriented, but they want parking to be considered important and to be in near proximity to the market for both vendors and customers. While most participants opted for less parking on the site in favour of more market activities, most agreed that sufficient parking needed to be provided to ensure the

Figure 5 Kitchener Farmers' Market Parking Map

success of the market's appeal to all Kitchener residents. In order to remain competitive and attractive to shoppers, they felt that the market must offer some suburban retail conveniences such as ample parking. However, some participants did offer some alternative solutions to alleviate the

²³ *Public Consultation Process*, 10.

success of the market's appeal to all Kitchener residents. In order to remain competitive and attractive to shoppers, they felt that the market must offer some suburban retail conveniences such as ample parking. However, some participants did offer some alternative solutions to alleviate the parking situation, including the addition of numerous bike racks, offering a shuttle bus to a parking lot nearby, offering discounts to those who park off-site, and providing more buses and bus stops in the area. If these opinions can be generalized to all market customers, then perhaps parking should not be a major concern for market planners. There should be parking for customers, but it appears that limited parking will not deter customers from coming to the market. Parking therefore, is important but not essential for a successfully revitalized area. If people want to be there, limited parking will not deter them.

The presence of an efficient public transit system and other alternative forms of transportation serving the target market can minimize the parking and traffic issues in larger communities. If customers are aware of these options, they may choose to use public transit to get to the market, rather than bring their car. Public transit is increasingly becoming a central concern of municipalities, due to growing environmental issues and traffic congestion. Despite the options offered by the participants in the Kitchener survey, alternative forms of transportation, including public transit, do not appear at this time to be a significant method of transportation for market customers. But these issues are becoming increasingly important to urban planners in managing the congested urban core and they have begun to prioritize reliable transit systems, facilities for bikes, and comfortable pedestrian environments in their downtowns. However, as few people who rely on their automobile will regularly use public transit or other

alternative forms of transportation to reach a destination, the market must continue to provide adequate facilities for vehicles. Ottawa is particularly effective in focusing on alternative forms of transportation as a method of avoiding congestion in the downtown core. As stated in the City of Ottawa Official Plan: "City Council shall support improvements to the transportation system which will increase the use of public transit, cycles and walking as the principle means of access to the Central Area..."²⁴ The By Ward Market area is not itself fully serviced by public transit, but there are two major transit stations within two blocks of the market. Both the Ottawa-Carleton and Hull-Gatineau transit services use these stations. To deal with pedestrian traffic within the market area, the city plans to enhance the pedestrian environment and circulation patterns throughout the market area.²⁵

In short, maximum visibility, intense population movement and accessibility are critical to farmers' markets because they are particularly sensitive to flows and concentrations of pedestrians and traffic. In terms of transportation and parking, all of the cities included here have dealt with these issues, likely because they are not issues that solely effect their farmers' markets, but their downtowns as a whole. Transportation and parking have long been a part of urban planning theory, and therefore are at the forefront of many urban strategies. Parking is the most significant issue that should be considered directly in reference to markets, because of the conflicting data. While most customers live near the market, they still appear to use their vehicles. But, if the comments made at the Kitchener public consultation can be generalized, most customers will not be deterred from the market by limited parking. Regardless, parking in some form should be a major consideration when trying to induce revitalization, because creating

²⁴ *City of Ottawa Official Plan*, 5.9.1.2 a

²⁵ *City of Ottawa Official Plan*, 1.5.3 i i&ii.

facilities to help keep people downtown is a valuable feature of any strategy.

4.0 Synergy

As the Main Street Program recognized, “a single project cannot revitalize a downtown or commercial neighbourhood. An ongoing series of initiatives is vital to build community support and create lasting progress.”²⁶ Effective revitalization, according to the program, involves a series of small incremental projects to slowly build a sustainable downtown. Accordingly, synergy may be the most important piece of the revitalization puzzle. Downtowns frequently have greater functional diversity than many of the newer centres being built on the city fringe. In many communities, downtowns still serve as a centre for retail stores, financial institutions, public agencies and local government offices, historic areas and cultural and educational institutions. This diversity gives downtowns a long-term strength. Revitalization is mainly involved with creating energy and activity in a designated area, and therefore, how markets interact with the other facilities and amenities in the immediate area is extremely important. The word 'synergy' is derived from synergism, the concept that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. In short, a cluster of attractions will have greater drawing power than if the same attractions were situated in isolated sites. A successful farmers' market should be located within an active and organized residential, business and entertainment district, thus promoting the area as a cohesive whole. The market is a single player in an overall network of integrated residential, business and social activities. Dewar and Watson believe that proximity to attractions is particularly important to markets because they are highly sensitive to flows and concentrations of pedestrians and traffic, and “markets therefore operate most successfully in central business districts and other formal commercial agglomerations, industrial concentrations, around public

transport terminals, central locations in

high-density areas.”²⁷ The most successful markets are those that are a part of a greater area. The more such attractions are situated in close proximity to one another, the stronger the overall customer draw to the area -- thus adding to the synergy of the area.

Urban markets are influenced strongly by the area around them; conversely, markets will exert a strong influence on their surroundings. Markets offer economic benefits to adjacent merchants, therefore enlivening and strengthening the urban core. (Sommer 1989, 1991; Spitzer and Baum, 1995) Surveys indicate that many people who go to a mall to shop do not buy anything, and many people who go to markets for other reasons wind up buying. According to Spitzer and Baum, in their most evolved state, markets become the centre of market districts and an economic zone for the city: “once the market activity has been established and people are drawn to the site regularly, complementary businesses such as restaurants, specialty food stores, and neighbourhood services located nearby, filling vacant storefronts and thereby renewing urban areas.”²⁸ The 1999 University of Guelph study interviewed over 100 businesses operating near farmers’ markets “in order to gain a fuller understanding of the economic and social impact that farmers markets have on the local community.”²⁹ Businesses seem to acknowledge the “market days generate considerably more customer traffic than non-market days, and many businesses indicated that they witnesses an increase in sales activity on market days during market hours.”³⁰ In the same study, close to 50% of customers surveyed stated that they stop at neighbouring

26 <http://www.mainst.org/about/approach.htm> (24 Oct 2001)

27 David Dewar and Wanessa Watson, *Urban Markets, Developing Informal Retailing*. (New York: Routledge, 1990) 23.

28 Spitzer and Baum 13.

29 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

30 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

businesses during their visit to the market.³¹ It is important to acknowledge that market hours, and neighbouring business hours, may not coincide, as many markets open several hours before regular business hours. This, however, offers an opportunity for markets and business owners to work together to find a strategy that is beneficial to both groups.

The majority of Ontario's urban farmers' markets are located near local attractions of some kind, including restaurants, shops, parks, or waterfronts. The attraction may also be the market building itself, such as in those cases that the building is a historical or cultural landmark. Additionally, as stated previously, the University of Guelph study found that the majority of Ontario market's customers live within ten minutes of the market. This means that while it is important to have nearby major arteries, it is perhaps more important to have an adjacent customer base, thereby increasing the number of regular market customers. Adjacent residential neighbourhoods or office buildings can be used to draw market customers. According to the University of Guelph study, the majority of market customers at least in the middle-income bracket, and therefore local housing should correspond with the needs of these people. Not only will this support the market, but also contributes to the goals of revitalization by bringing people with a higher financial means into the area. Many of the most popular and successful markets in Ontario are not just market buildings but thriving neighbourhoods.

The Ottawa By Ward Market is perhaps the most synergized area of those studied, having a multitude of neighbouring attractions and being considered a destination for tourists and residents alike. The By Ward Market, being located in the nation's capital, has the best example of adjacent historical and cultural attractions, such as Parliament Hill, the National Gallery of

31 <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarkets3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

Canada, the War Memorial and the Chateau Laurier Hotel, which attract not only Canadian tourists, but also international visitors. Additionally, the By Ward Market area has been designated a Heritage Conservation District, under Part V of the Ontario Heritage Act, "...in recognition that the area contains one of Ottawa's largest concentration of heritage buildings, which serve as a source and reminder of its original settlement."³² The farmers' market itself is the centre of an entire shopping and entertainment district in Ottawa, particularly for independent businesses. The farmers' market creates a bustling outdoor atmosphere in the area, making it an exciting and vibrant district that continues to attract people all year, even when the farmers' market is not functioning. Additionally, there is the Rideau Centre and the Hudson Bay Company to the south, which are the only major shopping malls in central Ottawa. Besides these cultural and retail attractions, the offices for the City of Ottawa have recently been relocated to Elgin Street, only a few blocks from the By Ward Market, creating another draw for local residents.

The City of Ottawa promotes residential areas in the downtown core, stating in their Official Plan that due to the importance of the market area, "City Council shall ensure the provision of predominantly residential uses on the northern edge of the By Ward Market, while promoting residential uses elsewhere in the Market area, consistent with other policies in this Plan."³³ Along with the existing residential area, there are new developments in the area immediately surrounding the By Ward Market, including the Daly Building, beside the Chateau Laurier, and the East Market Development on Cumberland. More people moving downtown will likely mean more people using the market itself.

Both Kingston and Orillia are located near historical attractions, as well as recreational

³² *City of Ottawa Official Plan*, 1.5.3 e

³³ *City of Ottawa Official Plan*, 1.5.3 c

attractions. The Kingston Public Market is located behind City Hall, which is a National Historic Site, whereas the Orillia Farmers' Market shares quarters with the Opera House in the winter, which is a historic landmark within the Orillia community, and in the summer remains on the grounds, in the adjacent parking lot. These are both the historic locations of the farmers' markets, thus maintaining that traditional link within the community, as well as creating an additional draw for tourists to the site. These markets are also located near their recreational attractions, creating a draw for both tourists and residents. Kingston Public Market is located near Lake Ontario while the Orillia market is on Lake Simcoe.

The area immediate surrounding the Kingston Public Market is mainly a commercial area, with some residential located above the storefronts, particularly on Princess Street. Queens University is located to the west of the market, within several blocks of downtown, creating a customer base in both the students and university faculty and employees. Additionally, there is an affluent residential area to the west of the market area. Orillia also has a downtown with a number of local services and businesses.

Again, neither Hamilton nor Kitchener seem to fulfill this physical criteria necessary for revitalization. Both of these markets are successful in their own right, but are not able to extend their vibrancy into the surrounding area. Downtown Hamilton is not an area that consistently draws residents and visitors, and therefore, while the market itself may be successful, people are not using the area as a whole. The market is a destination within Hamilton, but there are not enough facilities or services in the area to have people use it regularly. The Eaton Centre and Yorkdale Mall are adjacent to the Hamilton Farmers' Market. The Hamilton Farmers' Market is attached to the Hamilton Public Library, but this one of several branches within the city. Finally,

the market is located next to Copps Coliseum, but this cannot be considered a draw for the market because of their opposing schedules. There is not a major residential component in the downtown core, especially higher-end residential, which appears to the pool of residents from which most markets draw their customers.

The community has identified Kitchener's downtown as being in desperate need of revitalization. Despite the presence of a shopping mall, and various independent businesses in the area, there are no attractions that serve to draw people to the area. The Market Square Mall is not a shopping destination in Kitchener and is in decline. The area as a whole only attracts people during special events, such as Oktoberfest. Except for the farmers' market, there is nothing downtown that residents cannot get elsewhere in the city. While many residents use the market, they are not drawn to linger in the area surrounding the market, and do not regularly support the neighbouring businesses. The City of Kitchener is hoping to use the construction of a new market site to spawn revitalization in downtown core.

5.0 Summary

There are some general similarities or patterns among the markets studied, but these by no means guarantee the success of a farmers' market. In general, successful farmers' markets have the following characteristics:

- Located in a high-profile area;
- have a significant outdoor presence;
- are near, but not on, major arteries;
- have abundant and accessible parking
- offer a pleasing and safe pedestrian environment;
- have a local customer base, including residential and office spaces; and
- have a number of nearby attractions, including retail, entertainment and cultural.

A significant finding of this examination is that a permanent facility is not a prerequisite of

success, as there are many examples of open-air seasonal markets, such as in Kingston and Orillia, that are fully functioning and integrated parts of their respective communities. What appears to be the most valuable element in ensuring urban revitalization by means of a farmers' market is a significant outdoor presence. Outdoor farmers' markets in particular are active places and encourage people to leave their cars or office building and use the public space where the market is located. Unlike festivals and special events, markets actively use a public space on a regular basis, thus making the area safer and more comfortable for consistent use. In cases where there is a permanent facility, an outdoor presence draws customers to both the indoor and outdoor activities of the market. An outdoor presence connects the urban area to the market by allowing the market activities to spill out into the community. Permanent facilities should be distinctive or traditional in appearance and operate best if they are somewhat transparent or flexible in allowing an outdoor street presence. Temporary facilities work if they have a strong street presence during market days as there is no physical reminder of their existence during non-market days. The market should be able to attract attention to itself while operating and be in a high profile location that will draw people, even when they are not aware of its presence.

Ideally markets should not share permanent facilities with other urban amenities. While this does require further investigation, the evidence gathered here indicates that the farmers' markets that share space are not distinctive features within their downtowns and do not have their own independent identities. In Hamilton and Kitchener, which are the least integrated into the community, the farmers' markets share space in buildings constructed within the last 20 years. This does not mean that the market space cannot be used for other functions, such as a community centre, but the primary function should be the market. While in the past markets

often shared space, frequently with the City Hall, this does not appear to be as successful a relationship in the present. Nevertheless, relocating the market should not be the first priority of the market administrators because of the immense financial burden this will create. There are other steps that should be considered before relocation.

Transportation and parking are significant elements in rejuvenating downtowns, but most municipalities have addressed this issue, in varying degrees of success, over the years.

Transportation and parking issues have remained at the forefront of most urban planning theories, and therefore is a priority within most municipal governments. All of the markets discussed here have fully integrated and functioning transportation networks in their downtowns. The markets are all near major arteries, as well as highways, allowing for easy access not only within the city, but from outside the city limits. So, while transportation and parking is of extreme importance to farmers' markets, most cities are continually examining this issue within their downtowns. The city should evaluate their transportation plans in relation to their farmers' market when trying to use it as a tool for revitalization. Parking is a particularly important issue to farmers' markets as a majority of market customers use their vehicles to get to the market. There are creative and unique ways that cities can deal with this situation, such as free parking during market hours, or allowing vendors to validate parking stubs, which would in turn be covered by the market administration. This being said, the most significant transportation issue that specifically relates to farmers' markets remains creating a pedestrian-oriented environment. Most downtowns have evolved since the 1950s into a vehicle dominated space. In order to create a "people place," which is the goal of most revitalization strategies, it is central to create a safe and comfortable space where people want to spend time. A nearby residential area also

contributes to this pedestrian-oriented environment, thus revitalizing the area as a whole.

Research shows that the majority of market customers live within 10 minutes of the market. This indicates that markets without a major residential component cannot hope of becoming a successful and integrated part of the community. In short, the most important physical elements for cities that want to use farmers' markets as a tool for revitalization are a significant outdoor presence, a pedestrian-oriented environment, and a high level of residential units in the surrounding area.

Despite the fact that farmers' markets are deemed to be a potential core or heart of a vibrant community, they cannot create a revitalized community on their own, and can become an isolated destination within the otherwise sterile urban environment. Visibility, transportation and synergy are important in reinforcing the place of the market in the area. And even these physical elements, important as they are to maintaining a vibrant market and promoting revitalization within a community, do not fully explain the significance of these institutions to its users. There appears to be more to farmers' markets than their physicality. The physical characteristics by themselves do not seem to capture the landmark status that these places can have in the mental images of a city, as constructed by residents and visitors. It is important to move past the physical characteristics of farmers' markets to a consideration of their human characteristics.

Chapter 3: The Farmers' Markets as Experience

Sense of place is the intuitive impression of a physical place. It is made up of a variety of different feelings, images and experience, which become how people think and feel about a particular area. It may be a positive, negative or neutral feeling. Positive experiences are commonly linked to spaces where people feel stimulated, comfortable, and safe. Neutral places are ones that have no texture or, in other words, no interesting or unique identity. This is often the case in constructed neighbourhoods, particularly those in some modern suburbs. The people that live in these areas may have no personal connection to the area, and there can be a sense of transience as people move in and out of the area at frequent intervals. Experiences in some suburbs are analogous across North American, and the impression is that one can move between them without feeling too displaced. There can be little texture in these neutral places, despite attempts by today's planners to inject a personality into some of these communities. This sense of neutrality is also the case in some downtowns, which have gone through cycles of popularity, collapse and redevelopment. These cycles have often led to zones of neutrality, where people have no automatic reaction upon entering the space. While this does not necessarily deter people from being there, it simultaneously does not attract people. This can be just as detrimental to a place as having a negative association. An individual's sense of place varies, especially based on their relationship to the place. The first time visitor can experience the sense of place, but their relationship to the area will obviously not be as intense as the regular visitor or resident who has been there for decades and has built relationships with others in the area. But there is a sense of place that can be felt by all those who visit. Even a first time visitor can recognize the special quality of a particular area.

Sense of place develops as the people and society interact with a physical space. The sense of place at farmers' markets has evolved since their inception. The primary reason early customers regularly attended markets was because they had no other option. The market was the only choice for purchasing produce. With the advent of the store, there was a decline in market customers, but as the market was generally in the centre of town, it remained an active social environment where at one point or another, everyone would appear. With improvements to communication systems, people began to rely less on the town square, leading to an eventual decline in the necessity and popularity of farmers' markets. In modern times, people again feel the need for personal interaction, thus helping in a resurgence in farmers' markets. According to Sommer, "one of the most successful means for bringing large numbers of people to urban open spaces on a regular and predictable basis is the farmers' market."¹ Gesser goes further, saying that farmers' markets are an "effective tool for both economic revitalization of downtown area and as a means of injecting a sense of community back into urban neighbourhoods."² In other words, urban markets can be an interesting way of counteracting the diminutive sense of community, restoring the city to a more human form.

According to the City of Kitchener there is a "true sensory experience of what makes a market a good market."³ Good urban design contributes to this special quality, but an aesthetically pleasing environment does not guarantee a renewed sense of community. For this reason, we must consider the human dimension as being equally as important as the physical features and a vital part of the urban experience. It is interesting that several markets in Ontario

¹ Sommer (1989) 57.

² Margo Ellen Gesser, "Farmers' Markets in Urban Areas: A Means of Exploring their Contributions and Characteristics," M.A. Thesis (Halifax: Technical University of Nova Scotia, 1994) 3.

state that they were established pre-1900, but in reality have changed locations several times. This means that the market as a place may only be a couple of years old, but the market as a tradition in the community may date back at least one hundred years, indicating that it is the tradition that is valued in the community, and not necessarily the physical features or location. Once the human patterns have become entrenched in the farmers' market, even if the physical characteristics change, the mental image can survive and the market is still considered the same market even though it is in a new location.

Farmers' markets have a special quality that makes them more than their physical characteristics, and separates them from modern retailing practices. Why are farmers' markets a popular tool for revitalization strategies? Spitzer and Baum offer that "perhaps it's the informal environment, the shared interest in uncommon and beautiful varieties of fruits and vegetables, or the joyful mood created in bustling markets."⁴ Brandes Gratz believes that "farmers' markets are probably the most successful tool for strengthening or regenerating of downtowns of any size...The pulse of life draws people to markets...Always lively, full of human drama, rich in social interaction, and resplendent in changing color, markets offer vast opportunities for economic growth and entrepreneurial innovation."⁵ Brandes Gratz is articulating the revitalization process as more than the physical characteristics, extending to the experiences or sense of place that make up a market. The creation of a sense of place is innate to the revitalization process, and because farmers' markets are common "people places" which people

³ *Public Consultation Process*, 18.

⁴ Spitzer and Baum 31.

⁵ Roberta Brandes Gratz, "To Market, to Market," *Planning Commissioners Journal* 42 (2001) 8.

are drawn to regularly and where they are apt to interact, they can be valuable contributors to this process.

Shopping at farmers' markets often becomes a repeated behaviour that continues over years and decades, not because of obligation but because people want to be there. According to the University of Guelph study, market customers are very loyal to their local market, with approximately 64% of customers having shopped there for more than five years. This is because farmers' markets have a unique sense of place, which is based on feelings of health, security, unity and community, which creates a memorable image in the minds of its users. This chapter explores the collective sense of place at farmers' markets through an examination of the sense of well-being, sense of community, and imageability, briefly looking at the connection between sense of place and the Ontario markets discussed in the previous chapter. It focuses mainly on the experiences of the customers, with some attention paid to the vendors themselves. Obviously there are individual sense of places that are unique to each market, and therefore, it would be interesting in the future to study each of these individual experiences. Here, a collective sense of place is considered, to gather an understanding of the important experiential features that exist in farmers' markets as a group.

1.0 Sense of Well-Being

The first element in the sense of place created at farmers' markets is the sense of well-being that people get from attending and shopping at markets. Well-being describes being in a state of contentment and health. Market life represents life, health, abundance, and choice produce. Farmers' markets offer locally grown produce at a level of freshness and quality that is generally unavailable elsewhere in the city. Spitzer and Baum state that "as distributors of

needed goods and services, market merchants and vendors provide farm-fresh fruits and vegetables, ethnic foods, crafts, and personal services that often are unavailable elsewhere at the same level of quality [and] variety.”⁶ Especially at peak harvest times, the products’ freshness and nutritional value is much higher than for the same items in a typical supermarket.

Particularly with the increased interest in organic produce, people are returning to the marketplace in growing numbers due to the reliability of superior produce. Additionally, people generally tend to feel safe at farmers’ markets, which is especially important when attempting to use markets in the revitalization process. Personal security tends to increase the appeal of an area, thus attracting more people. The more people in the area, the safer it become due to an increased number of ‘eyes’ watching the local activities, thus resulting in lower incidences of crime, which is an important factor in revitalization.

The University of Guelph study reinforced earlier studies from the United States (Archer, 1978; Brooker & Taylor, 1977; Roy, Leary and Law, 1977; and Sommer and Wing, 1980): the primary reason customers in Ontario are attracted to shop at farmers’ markets is the availability of fresh produce, attracting over 90% of Ontario’s market customers.⁷ Over 99% of all respondents reported that they were satisfied with the quality of produce at both seasonal and year-round markets. Furthermore, 94% of customers had no food safety concerns at the market. People tend to trust the quality of produce at markets, and are less critical than they might be at the supermarket. In general, produce at farmers’ markets tends to change hands less frequently than at the grocery store, where it may be handled eight times prior to retail sale.⁸ In the United

⁶ Spitzer and Baum 1.

⁷ <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

⁸ S.R. Jumper, “Wholesale marketing of fresh vegetable,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. (1974) 64, 387.

States, double-blind flavour tests, in which neither the consumer nor the researcher knew the origin of the produce, showed the farmers' market produce was preferred over their supermarket counterparts.⁹ In particular, markets with an outdoor presence seem to be more closely associated with freshness. As a whole, farmers' markets are able to provide fruit and vegetables whose freshness and nutritional content cannot be surpassed.

Personal safety is another important aspect of well-being, as well as a significant feature of any revitalization project. According to Sommer, "one of the most successful means for bringing large numbers of people to urban open spaces on a regular and predictable basis is the farmers market."¹⁰ The generation of pedestrians not only stimulates the local economy, but also creates safer, vibrant public spaces in the downtowns. As Jane Jacobs has said "a well-used city street is apt to be a safe street."¹¹ While the inclusion of a farmers' market in a downtown area will not automatically result in a safer neighbourhood, especially in the evening, other activity that attracts people can eventually lead to increased levels of well-being.

2.0 Sense of Community

Urban farmers' markets have a rich history of significantly enhancing the social life of the city, as a political arena and community meeting place, and providing a focus for the downtown. According to Robert Chorney, community is a key factor in the success of farmers' markets: markets "are as much about people as about produce, about reconnecting the larger social and economic fabric of the country pulled apart thread by thread during the past 50 years

⁹ R. Sommer, M Stumpf, and H. Bennett. "Quality of farmers' market produce." *Journal of Consumer Affairs*. (1982) 16, 132.

¹⁰ Sommer (1989) 57.

¹¹ Jacobs 34.

of highway building and social atomization.”¹² In a society so often marked by divisions rather than commonalities, a positive thing happens at markets: people talk to each other. The ritual of going to the market restores the city to a more human form by re-establishing the connection between people within the community, as well between farmer and consumer. The pulse of life draws people to markets and that is what makes them successful. There is a spirit of community that is experienced in the opportunity to connect and interact with people, meeting old friends, and making new ones in a dynamic and social commercial environment. This sense of community took root from the beginning, as many markets were started because members of the community donated land to the city specifically for a farmers’ market. It has continued at every level, as members of the community participate as vendors, customers and administrators at their local markets.

Sense of community is multi-layered, involving a series of relationships and issues. The first relationship that contributes to a sense of community is the relationship between the customers. In Ontario, according to the University of Guelph study, the second most important reason people continue to frequent farmers’ markets is that it serves an important social function as a meeting place for the community. A meeting place is an important contributor to the social fabric, allowing people to feel connected to each other and their community. It provides a safe, pleasurable context for members of all groups to meet and to talk with others, and an activity that all generations may participate in on a regular basis. Markets remain an intense people-oriented environment that “generally attracts individuals who value interaction with the public and

¹² Robert Chorney, *Cambridge Farmers’ Market*. (April 1999) 11.

appreciate the communal sense among market vendors.”¹³ Participants in the Kitchener public consultation process used “a variety of terms, including ‘meeting place,’ ‘gathering place,’ ‘centre of activity,’ ‘cultural institution,’ but the same general sentiment emerged that the market is part and parcel of the community. Both rely on each other.”¹⁴ The idea of community was central to most participants and included wanting the new market to be a gathering spot for the community and creating a real market environment that focuses on downtown residents, rather than the tourist market.

According to Spitzer and Baum, “public markets are valued because they create common ground in the community, where people feel comfortable to mix, mingle, and enjoy the serendipitous pleasures of strolling, socializing, people-watching, and shopping in a social environment.”¹⁵ The University of Guelph study agreed, finding that customers at the market tend to linger and enjoy the experience. Over half of the respondents (55%) spend more than 25 minutes at the market.¹⁶ Interestingly, respondents to the University of Guelph study seem to hold a greater value in the social aspects of the seasonal markets than the year-round markets. Seasonal markets represent for some customers, “an occasion that marks the beginning of spring and an opportunity to reconnect with other members of the community.”¹⁷ Furthermore, according to the University of Guelph study, most customers (94%) visit the market by themselves or with one other individual. This is interesting as it means that people go to the market because of the sense of community, but they do not rely on their personal relationships for this sense of community. They know they can get personal interaction from the people that

¹³ Spitzer and Baum 31.

¹⁴ *Public Consultation Process*, 18.

¹⁵ Spitzer and Baum, 1.

¹⁶ <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarkets3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

are there, and do not feel it necessary to bring their “own people.” It is also important to note that the second person coming is likely a family member, and therefore the market creates an opportunity for a family outing, rather than a weekly responsibility. At markets, shopping is an event, not a chore. One participant of the Kitchener Public Consultation stated “going to the supermarket is boring, but going to the market is fun.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, grocery stores may feel more inclusive to some when you consider the gentrification of some farmers’ markets as discussed earlier. A sense of community, in any environment, develops over time, and while often markets appear to be more informal and welcoming, this is not always the case. People can only feel a sense of community when they are included in the larger group, and there will always be some groups that are not at ease in contemporary farmers’ markets. However, those markets with an active outdoor presence may provide a level of openness that is difficult to replicate in any indoor space.

Not only do farmers’ markets provide a place for interaction and communication among the local community, but also an opportunity for the farming community to interact with other community members. Farmers’ markets are arguably one of the few urban institutions able to diminish the separation between the urban and rural worlds. Markets bring the countryside – its people and products – to the city, giving urbanites direct contact with the land around them. They bring together individuals who would otherwise have no connection with one another, adding a human component to the buying and selling of products that has often been lost in conventional retail activities. The farmers’ market provides an opportunity for urban residents to meet the people who grow their food, and offers a setting where these two groups can come

¹⁷ <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarkets3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

together and gain a better understanding of each other on a personal level. At the grocery store, a customer has only one place to buy tomatoes, whereas at a market, there is the option to go from vendor to vendor to compare quality and price. This requires more interaction and conversation between the vendor and customer, whereas at the grocery store, a customer may never speak to their local grocer, let alone meet the person who actually grew the produce. Meeting face-to-face with consumers offers vendors the opportunity to talk with customers and get feedback on their products. It gives consumers a chance to interact with vendors and give feedback on their special needs. In fact, vendors' individual personalities are important reasons why customers are drawn to markets, as people that regularly frequent their local market tend to socialize with the vendors. The respondents to the University of Guelph study stated that they felt some level of loyalty for specific vendors, where they routinely purchased their products from the same vendor each time they visited the market (65%). Customers and vendors both commented on the special relationship formed over the years.¹⁹ The participants in the Public Consultation process in the City of Kitchener agreed, stating there was a relationship with the vendors that is based on trust. One participant stated "I hate supermarkets, there is trust built up with vendors. If my peaches were bad last week I would go back and tell him and he would give me another container – this is a trusted relationship."²⁰ This is a highly regarded feature of markets, as demonstrated by the University of Guelph study that found a high percentage of respondents (90%) indicated that they valued being able to support the local growers and craft vendors at their market.²¹ Administrations foster this relationship by establishing requirements allowing only producers

¹⁸ Public Consultation 18.

¹⁹ <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

²⁰ *Public Consultation Process*, 20.

²¹ <http://www.agricnewsinteractive.com/features/farmersmarkets/farmersmarekts3.html> (16 Oct 2001)

from the nearby rural communities to participate in the market. For example, in Kingston, there is a specific requirement stating that preference will be given to producers who live within a 100 km radius of the city. Rather than bringing in farmers from remote regions, these markets foster relationships between urbanites and the rural community in the immediate vicinity of the city, establishing an even deeper and more intimate urban-rural connection.

The third relationship is among vendors themselves. Many of these vendors have been selling at the market for years, sometimes generations, and have developed relationships with other vendors. There is a sense of camaraderie that comes with doing the same thing repeatedly over the years. Most often, the vendors are small family-run farms that are isolated from each other. The farmers' market provides them an opportunity to exchange information and develop friendships with like-minded individuals, while selling produce that allows them to keep their farms rather than selling out to the big corporate farms.

Administration is essential when using markets as tools for reestablishing a sense of community in the downtown core. Beyond the natural interaction that takes place at farmers' markets, some market administrations organize programmed events and activities as another way of involving the community in the market, and bringing the market atmosphere out into the community. Traditionally, many market buildings also had civic functions within the community, and therefore, in keeping with historical uses, sites have been used to accommodate other community functions and events that might be beneficial to the community as a whole. As the Main Street program found, organizing social activities in the area attracts customers to the area, as well as encouraging interaction between the farmers' market and the consumer. People will not only use the market for shopping, but as an activity. The Main Street program used

activities such as parades and community festivals, ideas that farmers' markets have draw on to link the market to the community. Regular events and activities, not just on summer weekends, but whenever weather permits are a significant way of attracting people to the downtown on a consistent basis. Farmers' markets often choose to relate their planned activities to the function of the market, that is direct marketing of produce. Scheduled events and activities cement the relationship between the community and the farmers' market by creating an inviting and stimulating presence in the community. Collaboration between other groups and institutions in the community on special events, regularly scheduled activities and publications can be used to further increase the profile of not just the farmers' market, but the community as a whole.

Cultural activities, such as concerts, plays, readings, arts and crafts for kids, have been logical place to start as downtown often represents the cultural centre of the city. Activities by some market communities include pumpkin carving in October, musical entertainment or buskers, a promotional cookbook consisting of recipes from selected vendors, gardening workshops, and Christmas tree decorating contests. The By Ward Market is particularly committed to having activities in and around the market area. In October, there is the annual Giant Pumpkin Weigh-Off; Bytowne Days, which are activities designed to celebrate Ottawa's 19th century history, held mid-September; the Festival of Scarecrows, held during early fall, in September and October; Christmas Caroling throughout the market, during last two weekends before Christmas; and finally Winterlude, the largest winter festival in North America, during which the By Ward Market hosts the Winterlude Stew Cook-Off and Volleyball on Snow tournament each February. The current Kitchener Market also includes activities designed to attract people to the market beyond the regular use. Once a month, the market holds a meeting of its Kids Club, free to all

children 12 and under. The program activities depend on the seasonal and include decorating cookies, carving pumpkins, creating Christmas crafts, listening to storytellers, and painting Easter eggs. Other events include cooking demonstrations by local chefs, held once a month, featuring ingredients from the market. According to the survey results, the residents of Kitchener also want their new facility to accommodate events with a music, art, and entertainment focus, as long as the market remained the main vision of the site.

3.0 Imageability

Based on Kevin Lynch's concept of imageability: "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer"²², this concept is linked to visibility, but "in a heightened sense, where objects are not only able to be seen, but are presented sharply and intensely to the senses."²³ Imageability considers the universal impact of physical urban features on the collective mental geography of the city, which is the image that is created in the minds of its users. Imageability is concerned with physical features, insofar that they allow people to understand and remember the site, and later to recollect its structure. But imageability is also connected to feelings and the creation of memories, being more concerned with what a place feels like than what it looks like. A market that helps create a distinctive positive image will be more easily located in people's memories, and thus will more likely result in repeat visits.

Overwhelming evidence indicates that it is the atmosphere that creates the image that people tend to associate with farmers' markets. The University of Guelph study found that customers suggested that the market is a key community icon that can serve to reinforce and help

²² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960) 9.

retain community identity. These views are especially strong in communities that have seasonal markets where the start of the market season is seen as a special occasion and is eagerly anticipated as an indicator of the arrival of spring.

Imageability is created by the rituals and experiences involved with a place. Rituals can be thought of as regularly repeated behaviours. In order for markets to create rituals, there must be the opportunity for patterns to build. This is again where market administration becomes an important part of building a sense of place. People depend on the market to be open at regular intervals, bringing the market experience into their weekly routine. In terms of the number of times a customer visits the market over the course of a month, the University of Guelph study found that this is partly related to the number of days the market is open during the month, or in other words, at least twice a week. In some locations where the market is open at least two days a week, customers often visit the market more than four times a month. Market administrations are aware that regularity is important in attracting customers and thus maintain regular market hours and days. Regularity does not necessarily mean that the market must be open year-round. As noted previously, the University of Guelph study found that customers felt there was a special quality to seasonal markets, marking the beginning of the season. Markets in Ontario vary as to when they are operational, from everyday to once a week, all year to seasonally. The University of Guelph study, which based its information on the 1997-98 FMO Directory, divided the markets into the number of hours per market day, number of market days per week and the number of months in a year. Just over a quarter of all markets (27.7%) are open for five hours during a market day. The minimum number of hours that a market is open is 2, and the

²³ Lynch 10.

maximum number of hours is 13 hours. The number of market days per week ranges between one and seven. The majority of markets (72.1%) are open only one day per week. The normal day of the week these markets are open is Saturday. The only markets that are open seven days a week are the Ottawa By Ward Market and the Ottawa Parkdale Market. About a third (33%) of farmers' markets in Ontario operate six months year. Year round markets represent the second largest category with 28% of all markets.

Customers also expect a level of regularity from the vendors and their products. While there can be variation, especially seasonally, customers like to know what they can get at the market. This does not mean that all the vendors must be there every market day, but the same type of produce should be available to customers regularly. People will not attend the market regularly if they cannot depend on it for their standard needs. This being said, it is important for vendors to commit to attending the market on a regular basis, particularly at smaller markets, where the absence of one or two vendors can make the market appear noticeably vacant. Additionally, the University of Guelph study found that most customers routinely purchase their products from the same vendors each time they visit the market, and therefore regular attendance will not only increase the overall attraction of the market, but increase the sales of individual vendors once they develop personal relationships with particular customers.

Furthermore, the programmed market activities discussed earlier are part of market rituals, reinforcing the place of the market in people's minds by creating a memorable market experience. Beyond just the produce, activities create an associated memory or feeling with the place and create another reason to attend the market. This is again where market administration becomes very important in the success of markets within the community.

The farmers' markets discussed in the previous chapter have individual senses of place, but are also representative of the universal experience at farmers' markets. The By Ward Market is by far the most integrated into the community, not just by its physicality, but as a unique Ottawa experience. The By Ward Market has such an intense imageability that the image of the market seems to linger, even when the outdoor vendors are not present. This may be partially due to the number of activities tied to this Ottawa landmark, creating an image not just of produce or crafts, but also entertainment and fun. The By Ward Market represents more than the market building, or its outdoor vendors, but the extended neighbourhood, which includes residential, recreational, and retail establishments. Very few markets will ever reach this level of centrality within the community, but it remains an example of a highly energized and active urban area that has used its market to the fullest in its revitalization strategies.

Kingston and Orillia, on the other hand, are popular markets themselves, but they have not graduated to the next level of representing the neighbourhood as a whole. This is not because of lacking any sense of place at these locations, but due to their temporary nature, making them more of an event rather than a cornerstone of the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, these markets create vibrancy and vitality in the area while they are open, which remain in the consciousness of its users, which should be the goal of any market. The memory is reinforced by the physical place, but it is the image that provides its unique character. It needs to be repeated that very rarely can one element successfully revitalize an entire area. The community does not solely depend on these markets for downtown activity, and involves other downtown features in their revitalization projects. There is an energy in the community as a whole, which the markets complement, rather than generate.

The Kitchener and Hamilton Farmers' Markets are not at the centre of any revitalized neighbourhood, despite continuing efforts at rejuvenation. These markets have been used unsuccessfully in the past as tools for revitalization. Both of these markets are highly popular and commercially successful markets in their own right, but do not stimulate activity in the immediate area. While some of the features of sense of place exist at these places, they are not successful at reviving the area because of the dependence on them to do so alone. Kitchener is again moving the market in an attempt to stimulate renewed interest in the downtown, but if it does so without concentrating on the non-physical features, the past may repeat itself. In Hamilton, the city is in the initial stages of considering the relocation of their farmers' market, and is watching the Kitchener situation very carefully. The current market is a modern and active place, but does not instill a memorable image on its users. Once the customers leave the market, they return to the sterile urban landscape, and the market images remain behind the doors. The impression of the market is not reflected in the surrounding area, and therefore cannot spawn other downtown activity.

4.0 Summary

The physical place, while assisting in identifying the farmers' market and creating a pleasant appearance, does not seem to create the sense of place that is central to what attracts people to public spaces. If it were purely the physicality of a place that attracted people, then it would be simple to replicate. Unfortunately, it is not that easy, as indicated by the inability of Kitchener and Hamilton to use their markets as a tool for revitalization. It is the sense of place that makes people want to return to markets, not just for the fresh produce, but for the image of belonging and unity. As society becomes increasingly isolated, the desire for interaction

intensifies. The market represents traditional values of community and trust, which we are lacking in other parts of our public lives.

Sense of place is valuable in attracting people to farmers' markets. People do not attend markets just because of the physical characteristics that specific markets have, but because of the feelings they develop the moment they arrive. The physical characteristics can contribute to a physical space appearing to be a more welcoming and inviting, but cannot themselves manufacture feelings. The sense of place is innate, and evolves, rather than being contrived. Physicality and sense of place are intertwined, with each contributing to the vitality of the whole.

Appendix 1: 2001 Ontario Farmers' Market Directory

(<http://www.fmo.reach.net/directory.html> October 2, 2001)

A	Location	Administered by:	Est.	# of Vendors
Algoma Farmers' Market	Sault Ste. Marie	Vendors Association in co-operation with City of Sault Ste. Marie.	1930	20
Almonte Farmers' Market	Almonte	Vendors Association in close co-operation with BIA.	1990	10
Argyle Farmers' Market	Port Loring	Vendors Association	1993	22
B				
Barrie Farmers' Market	Barrie	Vendors Association and The Corporation of the City of Barrie.	1878	50
Beaverton Farmers' Market	Belleville	The Corporation of the City of Belleville.	1999	15
Belleville Farmers' Market	Belleville	The Corporation of the City of Belleville.	1816	45
Bracebridge Farmers' Market	Bracebridge	Vendors Association	1987	30
Brampton Farmers' Market	Brampton	The Corporation of the City of Brampton.	1900	32
Brantford Farmers' Market	Brantford	City Clerk's Department, Corporation of the City of Brantford	1860	50 (summer) 30 (winter)
Brighton Farmers' Market	Brighton	Vendors Association.	1980	10
Brockville Farmers' Market	Brockville	Vendors Association.	1833	38
Burlington Mall Farmers' Market	Burlington	Burlington Nelson Lions Club	1959	48
C				
Caledonia Farmers' Market	Caledonia	Vendors' Association	1960	15
Cambridge	Cambridge	The Corporation of the City of	1850	35-45

Farmers' Market		Cambridge Property Division.		
Campbellford Farmers' Market	Campbellford	Vendors' Association	1991	19
Carleton Place Farmers' Market	Carleton Place	Vendors Association	1991	10
Carp Farmers' Market	Carp	Vendors Association	1990	45
Centre Mall Farmers' Market	Hamilton	Centre Mall	1958	30
Cloverbelt Country Farmers' Market	Dryden	Vendors Association.	1988	6
Clover Valley Farmers' Market	Fort Francis	1038881 Ontario Ltd.	1988	25
Cobden Farmers' Market	Cobden	Vendors Association	1991	15
Cobourg Farmers' Market	Cobourg	Vendors Association	1856	25
Cochrane Farmers' Market	Cochrane	Vendors Association	1988	15
Combermere Farmers' Market	Combermere	Vendors Association	1960	16-20
Creemore Farmers' Market	Creemore	Vendors Association	1997	15
D				
Dorset Outdoor Country Market	Dorset	Vendors Association	1992	7
Dundas Farmers' Market	Hamilton	Chamber of Commerce.	Re-est. 1960	15
Dunnville Farmers' Market	Dunnville	Town of Dunnville	1860	20
Durham Regional Farmers' Market	Whitby	Durham Region Farmers' Market Association.	1998	14
E				

Etobicoke Farmers' Market	Toronto	The Corporation of the City of Toronto / Etobicoke Region	1992	24
F				
Flamborough Farmers' Market	Hamilton	Waterdown District Lion's Club	1994	18
Flesherton & District Farmers' Market	Flesherton	Vendors Association	1991	19
G				
Gananoque Farmers' Market	Gananoque	Knights of Columbus	1972	8-10
Downtown Georgetown Farmers' Market	Georgetown	A Board of Volunteers.	1994	15
Glengarry Farmers' Market	Alexandria	Vendors Association.	2000	8
Goderich Farmers' Market	Goderich	Goderich BIA Board	1893	12
Gore Bay Farmers' Market	Gore Bay, Manitoulin Island	Manitoulin Farmers' Markets Association.	1989	10
Gravenhurst Farmers' Market	Gravenhurst	Gravenhurst Farmers' Market Co-operative Inc.	1992	60
Guelph Farmers' Market	Guelph	City of Guelph and Vendors Association.	1856	80
H				
Hagersville Farmers' Market	Haldimand	Town of Haldimand	1873	40-60
Hamilton Farmers' Market	Hamilton	The Corporation of the City of Hamilton.	1837	85
Horton Farmers' Market	St. Thomas	Vendors Association in co-operation with Downtown Development Board and City of St. Thomas.	1878	20
Huntsville Farmers' Market	Huntsville	Vendors Association.	1987	38

K				
Kapuskasing Farmers' Market	Kapuskasing	Vendors Association.	1988	10
Kemptville & Area Farmers' Market	Kemptville	Vendors Association	1991	7
Kingston Public Market	Kingston	The Corporation of the City of Kingston	1780	70
Kitchener Farmers' Market	Kitchener	The Corporation of the City of Kitchener	1869	100
L				
Lindsay Farmers' Market	Lindsay	Vendors Association	1859	25
Little Current Farmers' Market	Little Current, Manitoulin Islands	Manitoulin Farmers' Markets Association	1989	7
London Covent Garden Market	London	Covent Garden Market Corporation	1845	50 (indoor) 20 (outdoor)
M				
Magnetawan Farmers' Market	Magnetawan	Vendors Association	1989	15
Markham Farmers' Market	Markham	Vendors Association	2000	20
Massey Farmers' Market	Massey	Massey-Walford Horticultural Society.	2000	10
Metcalfe Farmers' Market	Metcalfe	Vendors Association	1993	30
Milton Farmers' Market	Milton	Vendors' Association and Chamber of Commerce.	1972	39
Mindemoya Farmers' Market	Mindemoya, Manitoulin Island	Manitoulin Farmers' Markets Association.	1989	10
Mitchell & Area Farmers' Market	Mitchell	Vendors Association.	1996	16

N				
Napanee Farmers' Market	Napanee	Town of Napanee.	1864	5
Nathan Phillips Square Farmers' Market	Toronto	Vendors Association.	1990	20
Newmarket Farmers' Market	Newmarket	Vendors Association	2000	20
New Tecumseth Village Market	Tottenham	Nottawasaga Community Economic Dev. Corp.	2000	12
Niagara Falls - Park Street Market	Niagara Falls	The Corporation of the City of Niagara Falls	1924	10
Niagara Falls - Sylvia Place Market	Niagara Falls	The Corporation of the City of Niagara Falls	1976	20
North Gower Farmers' Market	North Gower	Vendors Association.	1994	15
North Perth Farmers' Market	Listowel	Listowel Agricultural Society	1994	24
North Shore Farmers' Market	Blind River	North Shore Farmers' Market Association.	1996	15
North York Farmers' Market	Toronto	Vendors Association.	1994	12-15
O				
Oakville Civitan Farmers' Market	Oakville	Civitan Club of Oakville in co-operation with Hopedale Mall Management	1979	18
Orangeville Farmers' Market	Orangeville	Orangeville Business Improvement Area.	1991	20
Orillia Farmers' Market	Orillia	Farmers' Market Management Committee - City of Orillia	1872	50
Oshawa Centre Farmers' Market	Oshawa	Oshawa Centre Mall Administration	1959	30
Ottawa By Ward	Ottawa	The Corporation of the City of	1830	200

Market		Ottawa.		
Ottawa Organic Farmers' Market	Ottawa	Vendors Association.	1988	10
Ottawa Parkdale Farmers' Market	Ottawa	The Corporation of the City of Ottawa.	1927	20
Owen Sound & District Farmers' Market	Owen Sound	Vendors Association.	1845	40
P				
Pembroke Farmers' Market	Pembroke	Vendors Association.	1992	24
Penetanguishene Farmers' Market	Penetanguishene	Vendors Association.	1992	15
Perth Farmers' Market	Perth	Vendors Association and BIA	1992	35
Peterborough And District Farmers' Market	Peterborough	Vendors Association & incorporated as a non-profit organization	1892	100
Port Colborne Farmers' Market	Port Colborne	The Corporation of the City of Port Colborne.	1940	60
Port Hope Farmers' Market	Port Hope	Vendors Association.	1980	10
Powassan Farmers' Market	Powassan	Farmers' Market Association.	1988	15
Prescott Farmers' Market	Prescott	Town of Prescott	late 1800s	12
R				
Rainy River Farmers' Market	Rainy River	Vendors Association in co-operation with the Town of Rainy River	1989	9
Renfrew Farmers' Market	Renfrew	Vendors Association.	1972	10
Riverside Farmers' Market	New Liskeard	Vendors Association.	1988	15
S				

St. Catharines Farmers' Market	St. Catharines	The Corporation of the City of St. Catharines and Vendors Association	1868	30
St. Jacobs Farmers' Market	St. Jacobs	Mercedes Corporation.	1973	325
St. Lawrence Farmers' Market	Toronto	The Corporation of the City of Toronto.	1803	50
St. Marys Farmers' Market	St. Marys	Association of Vendors & Shoppers.	1992	10
Sarnia Farmers' Market	Sarnia	Incorporated & owned by shareholders/vendors	1953	20
Seaway Valley Growers' Farmers' Market	Cornwall	Vendors Association	1980	15
Sherway Gardens Farmers' Market	Toronto	Vendors Association	1993	22
Simcoe Farmers' Market	Simcoe	Vendors Association in co-operation with the Town of Simcoe.	1980	30
South River Farmers' Market	South River	Vendors Association	1988	15
Spanish & Area Farmers' Market	Spanish	Township of Shedden.	1991	10
Steeles West Farmers' Market	North York	Private.	1990	12
Stratford Farmers' Market	Stratford	Stratford and District Agricultural Society.	1885	50
Strathroy Farmers' Market	Strathroy	Vendors Association.	1978	18
Streetsville Farmers' Market	Streetsville	Streetsville Lions Club and Vendors Association.	1991	16
Square One Farmers' Market	Mississauga	Mississauga Central Lions Club.	1976	100
Downtown Sudbury Festival Farmers' Market	Sudbury	Sudbury Metro Centre (Business Improvement Association).	1988	25
T				

The Organic Farmers' Market	Toronto	Vendors Association	1994	8
The Village Market	Thornhill	Toronto Waldorf School.	1991	12
The Wednesday Farmers' Market	Peterborough	Peterborough Farmgate Sales Association. Privately owned	1997	12
Thunder Bay Farmers' Market	Thunder Bay	Vendors Association in co-operation with the City of Thunder Bay	re-est. 1989	
Thunder Bay Country Market	Thunder Bay	Vendors' Association.	1997	20
Tillsonburg Farmers' Market	Tillsonburg	Vendors Association in co-operation with Tillsonburg Craft Guild	1980	15
Timmins Country Market	City of Timmins	Vendors Association.	1988	15
Trenton Farmers' Market	Trenton	The Corporation of the City of Trenton.	1967	12
V				
Vankleek Hill Farmers' Market	Dalkeith	Vendors Association.	1998	10
W				
Walkerton & District Farmers' Market	Walkerton	Vendors Association.	1991	15-20
Waterloo Farmers' Market	Waterloo	Privately owned and operated.	1973	350
Welland Farmers' Market	Welland	The Corporation of the City of Welland	1919	60-70
Weston Farmers' Market	Weston	Weston Business Improvement Association.	1981	40
Woodstock Farmers' Market	Woodstock	Woodstock Agricultural Society.	1867	20-40

Appendix 2: The Kitchener Farmers' Market Site Selection Criteria

Strategic Planning

- Official Plan/Land Use Conformity: how well was the location supported in the official plan and other strategic plans (e.g. Kitchener Downtown Strategic Action Plan)?
- Retail Action Plan Support: did the site support the objective of the Retail action Plan for Downtown Kitchener?

Physical Criteria

- Potential for Alternate Uses on Site: were there other known potential uses for the site that would reduce the need or desire for the Farmers' Market to be location on the site and which may indeed create conflict over the site?
- Heritage Constraints: were there any buildings on the site with heritage significance that would restrict the development of a new facility?
- Indoor/Outdoor Market Space: Would the site support both an indoor and outdoor component of the Farmers' Market?
- Adequate Street Frontage: would the site permit the Farmers' Market to have a significant street frontage?
- Profile Location: good visibility – so the street address is easily recognized and it is exposed to good traffic?
- Entrance Feature: would the site permit the Farmers' Market to act as an entrance feature to the downtown, designated a change from one area to another and welcoming people into Downtown Kitchener?
- Sunlit Outdoor Market: was the site located as such that a Farmers' Market building could be constructed and the outdoor area could still be designed to take advantage of the morning sun in the east?
- Ease of access and egress: to accommodate shoppers
- Ease of access and egress: to accommodate vendors.
- Sufficient Area: was the site large enough to support the indoor/outdoor needs of the Farmers' Market and the spatial requirements of another compatible use?

Consumer Market Criteria

- Existing Customer Base: were there adjacent neighbourhoods, office buildings, attractions, or other sources of customers that the market could draw upon?

Financial Criteria

- Ownership/Ease of Assembly: number of privately and / or publicly owned properties required to assemble.
- Site acquisition/relocation costs are low.

Transportation and Parking Criteria

- Vehicular Access: would the existing road network permit reasonable traffic flow in and around the subject site on full market days?
- Transit Access: were there sufficient bus route servicing the site?

- **Sufficient Parking:** was there sufficient parking within the immediate area of the site?

Economic Development Criteria

- **Retail Anchor:** Catalyst for new, local development – will spin off from shopper traffic, etc.
- **Compatible Adjacent Retail:** were there adjacent retail locations that are compatible with the Farmers' Market and which would support the connection between the market and the surrounding community?
- **Multi-Purpose:** extra dimension – such as entertainment, education activities, special uses, e.g. concerts, theatre, etc.
- **Elimination of Unwanted Uses:** would the site provide the opportunity to eliminate or reduce land uses that are contrary to revitalization efforts in the downtown?
- **Elimination of Good Uses:** would development of the site for the Farmers' Market result in the loss of a land use or business that is good for the revitalization efforts in the downtown?

Operative Criteria

- **Seven Day Market Capability:** would the site be capable of supporting marchetta shops open seven days a week?
- **Truck traffic** can easily be accommodated

From "The New Kitchener Market Public Consultation Process." Kitchener: City of Kitchener, April 2001, 6-8.

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