

# The Meaning and Design of Farmers' Markets as Public Space:

## An Issue-Based Case Study

Mark Francis and Lucas Griffith

**ABSTRACT** This is the third in a series of articles in this journal on the use of the case study method for landscape architecture. The first article presented the method and proposed three types of case studies— place-based, issue-based and teaching-based (Francis 2001). The second article reported on a place-based case study of the Village Homes community in Davis, California (Francis 2002). This article presents an issue-based case study on the meaning and design of farmers' markets in public space. The article reviews the literature on the history and meaning of farmers' markets, briefly summarizes the landscape context of the "most-popular" markets in the United States as determined by an online survey conducted by the American Farmland Trust, and presents four physical realms of the market place—the *promenade*, the *working market*, the *market landscape*, and the *market neighborhood*—as a conceptual framework to better understand the socio-spatial ecology of farmers' markets and as a means to assess the landscape features and spatial patterns of five selected farmers' market cases. We then present four design principles— *permanency of design*, *flexibility*, *wholeness*, and *social life*—as a means to further inform the planning and designing of farmers' markets in public space.

**KEYWORDS** Farmers' markets, public space, case studies, design, meaning

### INTRODUCTION

*"Farmers' markets are the new public square in America."*

—Michael Pollan, National Public Radio,  
August 21, 2009

Urban open spaces have expanded significantly to include new types and forms of community space. Community gardens, green streets, water reclamation gardens, skate parks, and ecological parks along with farmers' markets are now considered part of the increasingly diverse public realm of cities. They reflect innovative open space systems and offer new domains for landscape architectural research and practice. Farmers' markets today can be found in a variety of settings including in parking lots and vacant lots, in commercial buildings and shopping malls, on sidewalks and waterfronts, and in hospitals, parks, and plazas. They are increasingly being used as programmatic and spatial anchors of economic revitalization in larger cities and small towns. As farmers' markets become more

commonplace in the American landscape, they signal a return to civic life and an opportunity to reinvigorate public space with social and cultural vitality. The recent resurgence of farmers' markets in the United States also raises questions about contemporary public space and presents challenges and opportunities for the practice of landscape architecture and urban design.

### A Market Renaissance

In the past two decades, farmers' markets have grown dramatically in number and popularity within the United States. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (2009a) reported 1,755 farmers' markets operating in 1994. Fifteen years later in 2009, the total grew three-fold to 5,274 markets (Figure 1). This resurgence of farmers' markets will likely continue with new legislation supporting development of markets, mandates for healthy eating, and the recently established White House Garden and Farmers' Market by the Obama Administration.

Markets have enjoyed a long and rich history embedded in the life and development of towns and cities around the world (Braudel 1992). Places of commerce and social life, they have historically been the center of urban life. Passage of the Direct Marketing Act of 1976 by the United States Congress brought about a more modern version of the agora and the number of farmers' markets began to surge. The markets of the 1970s were economic experiments operated as temporary events in leftover spaces. Often disassociated from the planning of official public open-space systems, these vernacular markets rarely fell under the auspices of landscape architecture or urban design. Located in parking lots, on streets, under freeways, and in abandoned lots, many markets were, and remain today, vulnerable to displacement from development pressures and the high cost of urban lands (Figure 2). O'Neil argues, "preserving the market means preserving its use and its ecology. Markets require constant vigilance and protection from exploitative forces like rising real estate values and politics" (1990, 93).

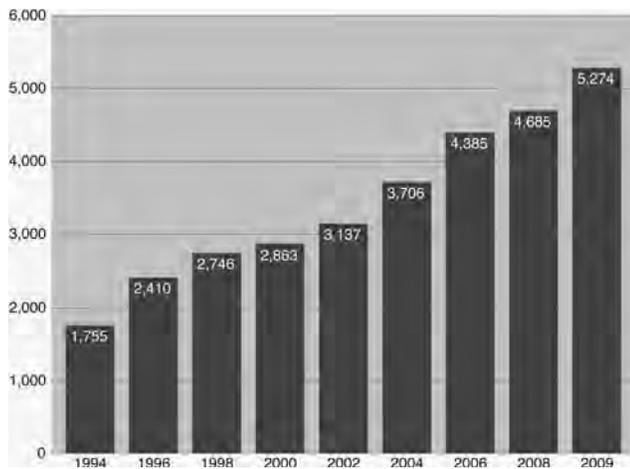


Figure 1. The number of farmers' markets operating within the USA has greatly increased from 1994 to 2009 (USDA-AMS Marketing Services Division 2009).

### Farmers' Market Defined

There are many conceptualizations of what constitutes a farmers' market. For our purposes, Allison Brown's definition is particularly useful: "Farmers' markets are generally considered to be recurrent markets at fixed locations where farm products are sold by farmers themselves" (2001, 658). Today, farmers' markets also sell value-added products and food items. Some of these markets are much more than outlets for produce; they function as restaurants and grocery stores. Reflecting the seasonality and distinctiveness of the regional landscape and climate, farmers' markets are inherently ephemeral in time and place. Most markets evolve over time as the number of vendors and products shrink and expand with the seasons. These temporal aspects exemplify what Seamon called "place ballet"—an ever-changing event in which the market is transformed into a convivial space (Seamon and Nordin 1980). Accordingly, a farmers' market is both a place of economic exchange and a socially transactive place where people interact to varying degrees and formulate meanings for themselves and as a group.

Farmers' markets under the Direct Marketing Act of 1976 are formally approved by the USDA or other institutions and are operated and managed by specialized nonprofit organizations. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Pacific Coast Farmers' Market Association and California Farmers' Markets Association together manage more than 60 different farmers' markets. In New York City, the GrowNYC Greenmarket program hosts over 50 separate markets. Despite these advances, municipal

governments have been slow to realize the civic quality of farmers' markets and integrate them into their permanent open space systems. As a result, most markets are not included as open space on city maps or in official documents.

In 2009 the American Farmland Trust (AFT) performed an online survey for "America's Favorite Farmers' Markets" (American Farmland Trust 2009). While the results from the AFT survey do not represent a scientific sample of all markets in the United States, they contextualize the North American farmers' market. We categorized these 60 farmers' markets by type, distinguishing between buildings and open-air pavilions, parks and plazas, and streets and parking lots (Table 1). Of the 60 markets, 36 operate as temporary programmatic events within the asphaltic landscape of the street and parking lot.<sup>1</sup>

Similar to community gardens and other unplanned, publicly appropriated spaces, farmers' markets struggle for permanency (Francis, Cashdan, and Paxson 1984; Hou, Johnson, and Lawson 2009). Recently though, city officials and planners have begun to recognize the larger economic, social, and ecological values of markets (Feenstra 2007; Groc 2008) and are using markets as a catalyst for community development and other revitalization strategies.

### Research Questions

We consider farmers' markets as public spaces when the market is operating in a designed, open, accessible, and non-vehicular space where people come to buy locally or regionally produced goods and engage in community life on a regular basis. Examples include markets located in parks, plazas, and promenades where permanent features create a hospitable environment during market times and serve as multiple-use facilities during non-market periods. These spaces might contain shade trees, protective structures, an assortment of seating arrangements, and play space for children (Figure 3). Markets designed and operating in parks and along promenades, in plazas, and under pavilions

Figure 2. The Alemany Farmers' Market originally began in the heart of San Francisco on Market Street but development pressure forced the market to relocate to the southern periphery of the city in a space that is today surrounded by asphalt and a major highway interchange (Photograph by Griffith 2006).



serve as the subject for our detailed issue-based case study on the meaning and design of farmers' markets in public space.

Farmers' markets located within parks, along pedestrian promenades, and in plazas frequently result from careful planning and design (Corum, Rosenzweig, and Gobson 2001). Increasingly, landscape architects and other design professionals are designing these facilities and integrating them into the greater public realm. This study seeks to understand how best to plan and design farmers' market as lasting public spaces. It focuses on the explicit design of farmers' markets in parks, pavilions, and plazas.

Within these market settings, this article explores the spatial qualities that make farmers' markets significant and enduring public spaces. We examine markets as places of social interaction that foster a community of diverse people and explore the larger role of markets as mixed-life places (Francis 2011). Mixed-life spaces are those settings, designed or natural, that support a diversity of people, experiences, and meanings. They are public spaces where a variety of people feel safe and comfortable "hanging out" and are the hallmark of good and healthy urbanism. We explore the social ecology and meaning of farmers' markets as designed in the context of the park, the pavilion, and the plaza. In these settings, we identify four market realms to organize the

constitutive parts of farmers' markets and explore the landscape features and spatial patterns that inform each market. Using an issue-based case study method, we attempt to answer the question of how best to organize design features and spatial patterns of farmers' markets in public space and contribute to the structuring of a socially interactive and meaningful space.

#### **FARMERS' MARKETS AS MIXED-LIFE PLACES The Social Ecology And Meaning Of Farmers' Markets**

The rise in number and popularity of markets is reflective of social values that go well beyond the simple conceptualization of a market as an economic opportunity for small farmers to sell locally or regionally produced fruits and vegetables. Within the United States, the current farmers' market movement marks a return to an historical means of food distribution and a rediscovery of the value of locally or regionally produced foods. The farmers' markets movement parallels the increased concern for healthy organic foods, the resurgence of culinary arts and slow food, and the rise in popularity of urban and community gardening (Francis and Hester 1990; Pollan 2008).

The surge in the number of markets is also due in part to the growth of the local, sustainable food

Table 1. Analysis of the Sixty “Most Popular” Farmers’ Markets

Name of Farmers’ Market	City	State	Market in Building	Market in Park	Market Pavilion in Park	Market in Plaza	Market in Street	Market in Parking Lot	Market in Vacant Lot	AFT Rank	AFT votes
<b>Small Market (30 vendors or less)</b>											
Collingswood Farmers’ Market	Collingswood	NJ						•		1	1031
Rue and Gwen Gibson Farm Market at Fresno State	Fresno	CA	•							2	948
Smart Markets at Mason	Fairfax	VA				•				3	369
Crossroads Farmers’ Market	Takoma Park	MD		◦			•			4	189
The Farmers’ Market at the Williamsville Mill	Williamsville	NY		◦				•		5	148
City of Virginia Beach Farmers’ Market	Virginia Beach	VA			◦			•		6	146
Bloomington Farmers’ Market	Washington DC	DC		◦			•			7	130
Winters Farmers’ Market	Winters	CA		◦				•		8	121
The Historic Eastern Market	Lancaster	PA						•		9	115
Point Reyes Farmers’ Market	Point Reyes Station	CA						•		10	96
West Chester Growers’ Market	West Chester	PA						•		11	88
Pearl Farmers’ Market	San Antonio	TX		◦				•		12	83
Urban Oaks Organic Farm	New Britain	CT	•							13	81
Amherst Farmers’ Market	Amherst	MA		◦			•			14	79
New Baltimore Farmers’ Market	New Baltimore	NY		◦			•			15	69
Dallas Farmers’ Market	Dallas	GA		◦				•		16	64
Beaches Green Market	Jacksonville Beach	FL		•						17	63
Gloucester City Farmers’ Market	Gloucester City	NJ								18	54
Boyerstown Farmers’ Market	Boyerstown	PA						•		19	50
Burlington County Farmers’ Market	Moorestown	NJ			•			•		20	49
<b>Medium (31–55 vendors)</b>											
Williamsburg Farmers’ Market	Williamsburg	VA				•				1	725
Capitol Market	Charlestown	WV	•							2	566
Farmers’ Market at Minnetrista	Muncie	IN		◦				•		3	323
Historic Lewes Farmers’ Market	Lewes	DE		◦				•		4	318
Franklin County Farmers’ Market	Franfort	KY		◦	◦			•		5	211
Mount Pleasant Farmers’ Market	Mount Pleasant	SC		◦	•	◦				6	150
Historic Roanoke City Market	Roanoke	VA	•		◦		◦	◦		7	142
Yorktown Market Days at the River	Yorktown	VA		•			◦			8	132
Westfield Farmers’ Market	Westfield	NY		•						9	128
Concord Farmers’ Market	Concord	CA		•						10	113
Emporia Farmers’ Market	Emporia	KS					◦	•		11	100
Red Stick Farmers’ Market	Baton Rouge	LA						•		12	97
Market Square Farmers’ Market	Knoxville	TN				•	◦			13	89
Saratoga Farmers’ Market	Saratoga Springs	NY		◦	•					14	89

movement, and a growing concern for regional food security (Franck 2005; Horwitz 2004; Pollan 2008). This resurgence reflects a greater awareness of the regional landscape and practice of sustainable agriculture (Berry 1997; Mougeot 2006; Viljoen 2005). The large number of advocacy organizations associated with markets

is further evidence of the farmers’ market movement (Robinson and Hartenfeld 2007; Sommer 1980). These advocacy groups include nonprofit organizations concerned with public health, the preservation of regional agriculture, the promotion of civic space, and the economic vitality and cultural practice of regional farming.

Table 1 (continued)

Name of Farmers' Market	City	State	Market in Building	Market in Park	Market Pavilion in Park	Market in Plaza	Market in Street	Market in Parking Lot	Market in Vacant Lot	AFT Rank	AFT votes
Poulsbo Farmers' Market	Poulsbo	WA							•	15	88
Morgantown Farmers' Market	Morgantown	WV						•		16	85
SKY Regional Farmers' Market	Bowling Green	KY						•		17	84
Prosser Farmers' Market	Prosser	WA					•			18	83
Goochland Farmers' Market	Goochland	VA						•		19	80
Rehoboth Beach Farmers' Market	Rehoboth Beach	DE		○				•		20	79
<b>Large (55 vendors or more)</b>											
Davis Farmers' Market	Davis	CA	○	•	○					1	3064
Ithaca Farmers' Market	Ithaca	NY	○	•						2	550
Downtown Farmers' Market	Salt Lake City	UT		•			○			3	533
St. Paul Farmers' Market	St. Paul	MN			○			•		4	430
Downtown Lawrence Farmers' Market	Lawrence	KS						•		5	367
Sunset Valley Farmers' Market	Sunset Valley	TX						•		6	275
Memphis Farmers' Market	Memphis	TN			•	○				7	167
Bloomington Community Farmers' Market	Bloomington	IN			○			•		8	162
Downtown Phoenix Public Market	Phoenix	AR	•					○		9	161
Lancaster Central Farmers' Market	Lancaster	PA	•							10	157
Portland Farmers' Market	Portland	OR		•			○			11	151
Ferry Plaza Farmers' Market	San Francisco	CA	○			•	○	○	○	12	149
Dane County Farmers' Market	Madison	WI		○		•				13	146
North Union Farmers' Market Shaker Square	Cleveland	OH		○			•			14	145
Durham Farmers' Market	Durham	NC		○	•					15	139
Chicago Green City Farmers' Market	Chicago	IL		○				•		16	122
Cache Valley Gardeners' Market	Logan	UT		○				•		17	121
Carrboro Farmers' Market	Carrboro	NC		○	•					18	118
Austin Farmers' Market	Austin	TX		○			•			19	116
Marin Civic Center Farmers' Market	San Rafael	CA						•		20	110

Note: solid black dots indicate primary designation of market type while hollow dots indicate secondary type(s). The markets selected for further study are indicated in gray. The 60 "most popular" farmers' markets were determined by an online survey conducted by the American Farmland Trust in 2009.

Such organizations include the Project for Public Spaces (Project for Public Spaces 2003a, 2003b, 2003c) and Farms to Schools Associations.

Studies conducted by environmental psychologists and agro-economists have documented the social, economic, and environmental benefits of farmers' market (Hinrichs, Gillespie, and Feenstra 2004; Sommer 1989; Sommer, Herrick, and Sommer 1981). There is empirical evidence that markets have significant economic benefits (Feenstra 2007) and contribute directly to social and environmental justice (Fisher 1999). The farmers' market resurgence also exemplifies the city landscape as space

for leisure, relaxation, and community development. Farmers' markets are recognized as important contributors to healthy cities (Franck 2005; Horwitz 2004; Project for Public Spaces 2003a; Sommer 1980).

Markets today also reflect a demand and appetite for new types of civic space (Shaftoe 2008; Tangires 2003). They offer opportunities for social interactions that are less prevalent in contemporary public space and bring a diversity of people together in public space. Markets serve as a new setting for local protest, celebration, and personal and cultural expression (Low, Taplin, and Scheld 2005).



Figure 3. Tall mature trees shade the central space within Portland Farmers' Market in the South Park Blocks (Photograph by Griffith 2005).

#### Four Realms of the Farmers' Market Landscape

The integration of the social meanings of farmers' markets into the built environment results from a combination of policy, program, planning, design, and management. We present here four physical realms of the market place—the *promenade*, the *working market*, the *market landscape*, and the *market neighborhood*—as a conceptual framework to better understand the ecology of farmers' markets and their larger landscape. This framework is also informed by previous design experience with and research on farmers' market by both authors.<sup>2</sup>

**The promenade.** Fundamental to any market is a central movement corridor where patrons and visitors stroll past products on display and mingle. While not necessarily hierarchical, there is a sequence of pedestrian flow from the entrances to the market center. As the primary circulation corridor, the promenade typically varies from 12 to 40 feet and is enclosed on both sides by colorful displays of goods offloaded onto tables or displayed on the back of trucks. More intimate promenades typically reduce the aisle width to create a socially interactive atmosphere where people rub elbows and neighbors say hello to one another (Figure 4). Another advantage of reduced aisle width is comparative shopping where patrons can see both sides of the aisle. The promenade may lose its linear quality when

the width expands beyond a certain threshold and becomes more of a plaza than a promenade.

The orientation of the promenade establishes the fundamental spatial quality of the market. The linear quality of the promenade can be configured into a variety of geometries symbolized by the following alphabetic shapes: the linear "I," the angled "L," the looped "O," and the gridded "E" and "B." Some market managers prefer circulation patterns that cycle patrons repeatedly through the market, a technique also employed in the design of retail centers. Regardless of configuration, most promenades have a beginning and end and an entry and exit sequence marked by subtle transitions or formal gateways.

As the circulatory space, the promenade also serves a central social function as a primary social space of the market. The promenade is the space where strangers occupy a common space. Repetitive landscape features such as pedestrian lights, tree plantings, and outdoor furniture enhance the sequential aspect of the promenade and punctuate the moments along the way. Paving patterns also contribute to this sequence of events.

**The working market.** The pragmatic considerations of farmers' markets are reflected in the realm of the working market and include a variety of vending spaces and associated backstage areas. The vending space for most farmers' markets is most commonly laid out as a 10-by-10 foot grid of vending plots arranged around the

Figure 4. Farmers' markets bring a diversity of people and cultures together in one public place and create a distinctive mixed-life place (Photograph by Griffith 2006).



Figure 5. A parked truck frames the "backstage" at the Heart of the City Farmers' Market in United Nations Plaza in San Francisco, California (Photograph by Griffith 2006).



main circulatory pattern or 'promenade.' Bountiful displays of fresh farm produce separate the working market from the promenade. These displays also serve as advertisements for each vendor. Behind these displays is a 'backstage' area for loading and unloading (Figure 5). Public health standards govern the regulatory aspects of the working market and influence the spatial

distribution of vendors within the market. The working market is a delineated space with distinctions between prepared foods, value-added products, arts and crafts, and fruits and vegetables.

An important consideration in the planning of any market is vehicle access for loading, unloading, and parking. Vendor parking and access to electricity and



Figure 6. The Central Lawn at Davis' Central Park and Farmers' Market exemplifies the market landscape as a mixed-life place (Photograph by Francis 2005).

water are important aspects for a properly functioning market (Project for Public Spaces 2003b). Additional overflow parking for customers is an important consideration for any market but need not be located within the actual market space (see *market neighborhood* below). The working market also includes storage for chairs, tables, and benches as well as signage specific to public health regulations and general market information. Other functional elements of the working market include the provision of public restrooms, informational kiosks, waste, composting and recycling programs, and bicycle parking.

A well-balanced working market also includes performance space for music and theater, as well as food courts and other open areas for social programs. Food courts and other programmable spaces are typically located at the end of a promenade away from the fruit and vegetable core. Open-air pavilions provide practical solutions for shelter from summer heat and winter rain or snow while also accommodating other programs such as art shows, dog-training classes, and community festivals on non-market days.

**The market landscape.** The market landscape is composed of the open space adjacent to the working market and the promenade and provides additional opportunities for leisure and relaxation not always associated with buying and selling (Figure 6). Successful markets frequently provide a variety of comfortable spaces for people to relax as well as actively participate in public life (Carr et al. 1992). Similar to the design principles

associated with good urban spaces, a successful market landscape provides benches, movable chairs, and other seating provisions in the form of steps, seat walls, and lawn areas (Marcus and Francis 1997; Whyte 2001). The market landscape expands the market into a larger public landscape by including children's play areas, thematic gardens, and other landscape features.

**The market neighborhood.** Another physical realm of the market place is its larger urban context or neighborhood (Peters 2008). Successful markets respond to the surrounding neighborhood in their planning, design, and operation by integrating community groups and their culture into the market. In some cases, adjacent civic institutions and retail activities connect to the market through well-planned pedestrian walkways, bicycle routes, and open space networks. Other neighborhood attributes to be considered in planning a market include regional transportation systems, public transit, overflow parking, and other relevant aspects of the regional landscape.

## THE CASE STUDY METHOD

This study examines the design and planning of farmers' markets through a multi-method, issue-based case study. Unlike place-based case studies that document and critically evaluate only one place, an issue-based case study looks across multiple closely related cases to determine common qualities and characteristics. As Yin (1994) and Flyvberg (2006) have pointed out,

multiple cases also have the benefit to build new theory, identify larger patterns, and inform future actions. The case study methodology emanates from the Landscape Architecture Foundation's (LAF) Case Study Initiative (Francis 2001; Francis 2003; Hou, Johnson, and Lawson 2009). This study evaluates the various landscape features and spatial patterns of farmers' markets as designed for and operating in public space. It summarizes these findings through the previously discussed market realms—promenade, working market, market landscape, and market neighborhood.

We selected five larger, more well-established markets from the 60 most popular American Farmland Trust markets and examined the relationship between physical landscape features and spatial patterns of markets operating within public space. Each of the five markets existed as a programmatic event in public space, as a recurring event over a number of years. Each of the five market programs also eventually materialized into a physical place designed explicitly as a farmers' market. Through the interpretation of scaled aerial photography and architectural plans the defining spatial attributes of each market—the presence of significant landscape features such as pavilions, stages, fountains, gardens, and play areas—were recorded for each case in relation to the four market realms. The analysis also noted land use character, circulation patterns, and other significant landscape features within the neighborhood. We also performed unscripted qualitative interviews with market managers and environmental designers to better understand each case. Other methods include behavioral observations at several markets.

## FINDINGS

### The Meaning and Design of Market Realms

The findings for each case illustrate market meaning and design in relation to the market realms. While each market is unique in layout and geography, there are several commonalities to all markets studied. For four of the five cases, the two fundamental realms of the farmers' market, the promenade and the working market,

were located along the periphery of the public space and in so doing, provided an inward orientation to what we refer to as the market landscape (Figure 7).

For each of the five cases, we present the four realms of farmers' markets: the promenade, the working market, the market landscape, and the market neighborhood. Incrementally scaled from interior to exterior and from promenade to neighborhood, these realms represent the most important considerations in the planning and design of these farmers' markets as public spaces. The four realms are presented in more detail in Table 2.

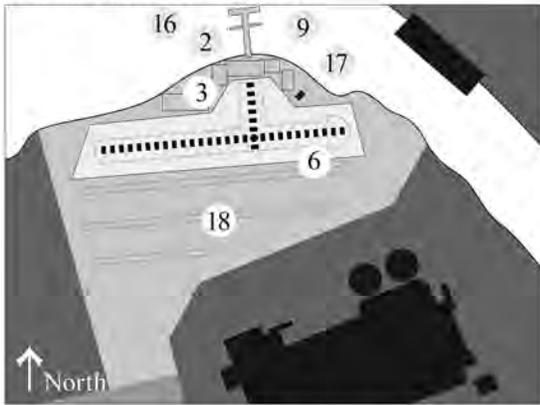
***Ithaca, New York.*** The Ithaca Farmers' Market operates within a gracious wooden pavilion measuring 475 feet in length with an 80-foot perpendicular cross axis at the center. The market pavilion is located along the shore of Cayuga Lake on a landfill site leased from the city. A double-loaded aisle with vending space on both sides and perpendicular parking space behind each vendor forms the working market realm. This configuration, measuring approximately 70 feet in width, is the most common configuration for markets operating in parking lots and street right-of-ways. The Ithaca Farmers' Market, however, builds upon this basic unit by housing the working market within an open-air pavilion and using a wooden boardwalk to emphasize the 20-foot wide promenade. The pavilion, built entirely from volunteer labor between weekly market days, has evolved with the market and has responded to and reflected the needs of the greater market community. The market landscape includes a small wooden harbor and a series of stone retaining walls, planting areas, and social gathering areas along the shore of Cayuga Lake behind the market pavilion. The waterfront open space system forms the major feature of the market (Figure 8).

***Salt Lake City, Utah.*** The Downtown Farmers' Market operates within the historic Pioneer Park, measuring 700 feet by 700 feet (Figure 9). The working market operates on the periphery of the park along two walkways inset from the curb towards the park interior

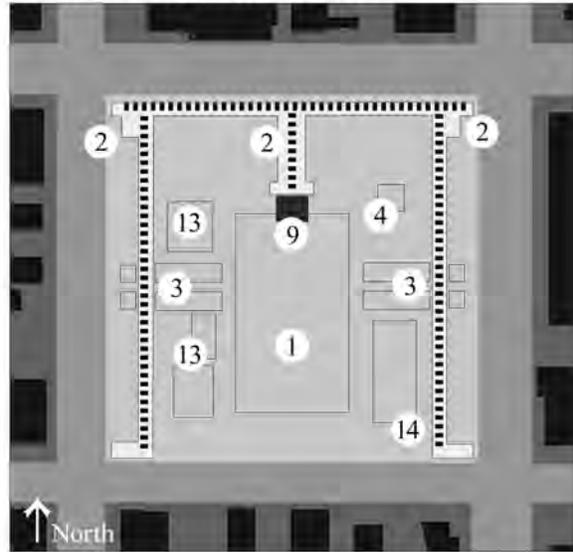
Table 2. Four Realms of Farmers' Market Based on Case Study Sites

	Promenade	Working Market	Market Landscape	Market Neighborhood
Ithaca Farmers' Market Ithaca, New York	The 20-foot wide promenade is an I-shaped configuration within the pavilion with a perpendicular secondary axis that connects the pavilion to the water front.	The working market surrounds the central promenade and operates along the periphery of the open-air pavilion. Vendor parking is adjacent to their vending space. Windscreens are often added along the north facade of the pavilion to protect against cold winter winds.	The market landscape includes a market garden, picnic area, wooden dock, children's play area, performance space, a generous provision of benches with a view towards the water, and well landscaped parking lot with bio-swale planting medians.	The market neighborhood includes a five-mile bike trail along the shores of Cayuga Lake and a large boat harbor across the inlet as well as a waste water treatment facility.
Downtown Farmers' Market Salt Lake City, Utah	The 25-foot wide promenade has a U-shaped configuration along three sides of the park square with an additional promenade towards the center of the park.	The vending space is oriented along the boundary of the park. Several paths provide vehicle access to the vending spaces not immediately adjacent from the street.	The market landscape includes heritage gardens, a bell tower, volleyball court, basketball court, children's play area, fenced area for dogs and large central lawn picnic area with bandstand.	The market neighborhood includes downtown retail land uses, the Amtrak train station, the historic Rio Grande Depot, City Hall, the main library, and the Delta Center.
Dane County Farmers' Market Madison, Wisconsin	The 13-foot wide promenade has an O-shaped configuration along the eight-block perimeter of the Wisconsin State Capital.	The vending plots are located between the street and pedestrian walkway. The vending plots are grouped in sets of three between the large mature trees. Special paving has been added to prevent soil compaction and protect tree health.	The market landscape is largely composed of the civic landscape of the Wisconsin State Capital. There are several formal staircases for informal seating. Pedestrian lights, bollards, and benches separate the promenade from the pastoral lawn of the Capital Square.	The market neighborhood includes the Monona Terrace Community and Convention Center (designed by Frank Lloyd Wright), Overture Center for the Arts, Madison Public Library, Madison Children's Museum, University of Wisconsin, and the natural landscape of Lake Mendota and Lake Monona.
Durham Farmers' Market Durham, North Carolina	The promenade is configured as an 'L' within the pavilion. There is an additional single-sided promenade along the street and park pathway that forms an O-shaped promenade.	The working market has a small storage facility within the open-air pavilion. Vendor parking is immediately adjacent to the vending plot.	The market landscape includes an art garden, circular plaza, an arbor, butterfly garden, nature trail, a restored creek, a great central lawn, an arts pavilion, bandstand, and skatepark.	The market neighborhood includes Duke University, a convention center, an historic baseball stadium for the Durham Bulls, a senior center, several art collectives, and a wealth of community organizations.
Davis Farmers' Market Davis, California	The 14-foot wide promenade has an I-shaped configuration within the pavilion. The promenade extends past the pavilion to accommodate seasonal market expansion.	The working market makes use of angled parking along adjacent streets and provides small storage facility for market signage, an information kiosk, and an open-air pavilion with lighting and utility connections. Sunscreens have been added along the west side of the pavilion for protection from the after noon glare. Restrooms are also provided on site.	The market landscape is composed of children's play area, great central lawn, rose and butterfly gardens, a mature sycamore grove, a historic carousel, a raised wooden deck encircling a heritage oak tree, and teen center.	The market neighborhood includes the University of California Davis, the University Arboretum, the Davis Commons, Aggie Village, the historic town center of Davis with a moderately-scaled retail land-use density with restaurants and cafes.

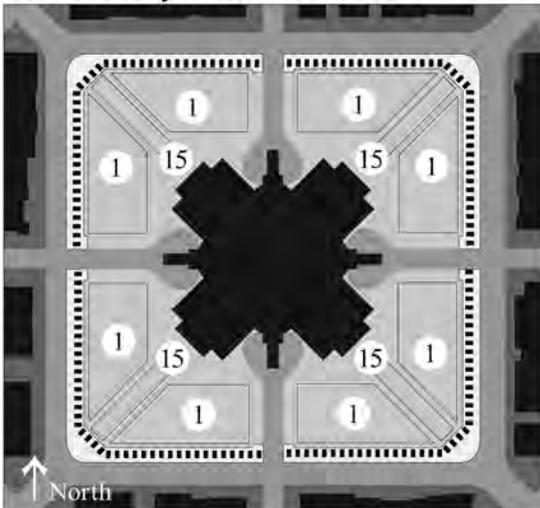
### Ithaca Farmers' Market



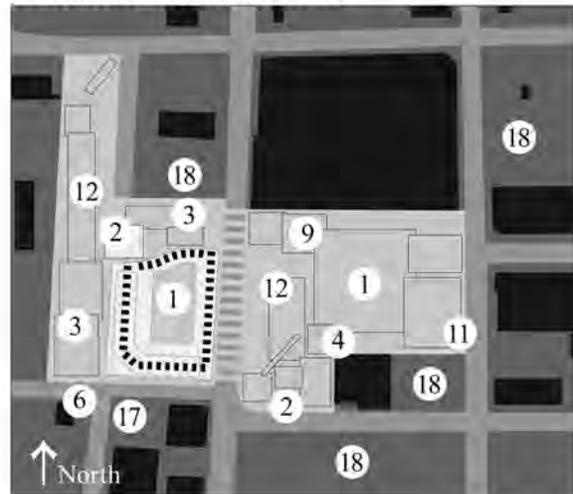
### Downtown Farmers' Market



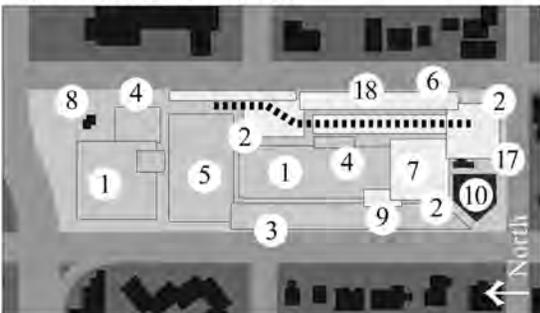
### Dane County Farmers' Market



### Durham Farmers' Market



### Davis Farmers' Market



### Legend

..... Promenade	1 Lawn	7 Fountain	13 Active Recreation
□ Working Market	2 Plaza	8 Restrooms	14 Dog Area
■ Market Landscape	3 Garden	9 Performance Space	15 Capital Pathway
■ Market Neighborhood	4 Play Area	10 Teen Center	16 Harbor
■ Street	5 Grove	11 Skate Park	17 Storage
■ Building	6 Pavilion	12 Nature Trail	18 Parking

Figure 7. The four realms of farmers' markets are depicted here for the five case studies (Illustration by Griffith 2011).

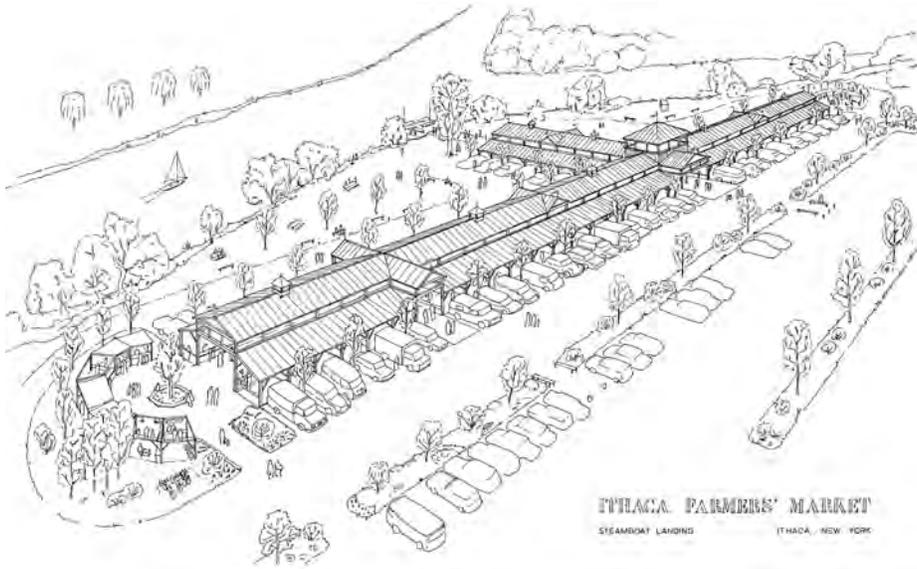


Figure 8. The Ithaca Farmers' Market in New York is housed within a long linear wooden pavilion located along the shores of Lake Cayuga (Courtesy of Stephen Gibian 2010).

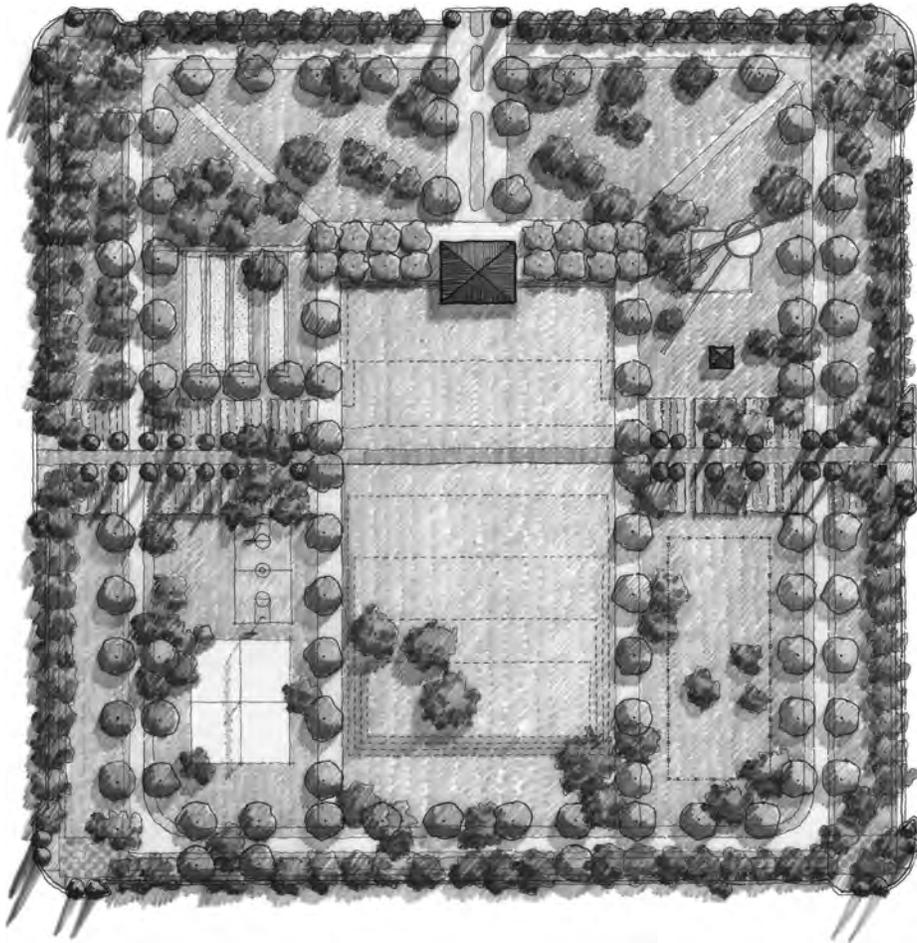


Figure 9. The Downtown Farmers' Market in Salt Lake City, Utah operates on the periphery of the historic square along pathways lined with trees (Courtesy of DesignWorkshop 2010).

Figure 10. The mature trees set within a granular paving between the two pathways provide a protective canopy and frame the market space of the Salt Lake City's Downtown Farmers' Market similar to a pavilion (Courtesy of DesignWorkshop 2010).



(Figure 10). The mature trees and granular paving between the walkways create a gracious 25-foot wide promenade with a park atmosphere. The wide promenade also allows vehicle access and accommodates the working market without compromising the market landscape. Avenues measuring well over 100 feet in width surround the park and further reinforce the inward orientation of the space. The recently redesigned park emphasizes the market landscape structured around a large central lawn, which in the future phases of construction will be adjoined by a variety of programmed spaces including active recreation facilities, a dog park, a children's play area, and a heritage garden.

**Madison, Wisconsin.** The Dane County Farmers' Market operates within the civic open space of the Wisconsin State Capitol. The Capitol Square, originally composed in the late 19th and early 20th century and recently restored, measures about 750 feet by 750 feet and is a superblock of sorts—four contiguous blocks within Madison's rectilinear street grid. The farmers' market operates along the eight-block perimeter of the Capitol Square as a single-loaded 13-foot wide promenade with a 15-foot wide tree planting area between the curb and the promenade. The vendors are arranged in groups of three between the large mature trees along the street. A running decorative chain and metal bollards frame the other side of the promenade. Pedestrian lighting and the occasional bench further define the walkway. The market functions as a linear promenade

measuring more than a half-mile in total length and has a visual connection to the state capital lawn.

The large mature trees along the street and within the civic landscape provide a pastoral atmosphere to complement the formal neo-classical architecture of the State Capitol building and provide a natural open space respite from the downtown atmosphere. Market patrons appropriate the stairs arranged around the Capital Square Market as spontaneous gathering space and thus claim the civic landscape as part of the market landscape.

**Durham, North Carolina.** A catalyst for the renovation of Durham's Central Park, the Durham Farmers' Market exemplifies a more diverse market landscape (Figure 11). An open-air L-shaped pavilion with sides measuring 170 feet and 120 feet and a width of 30 feet forms the main element of the working market. The promenade and additional vending space continue beyond the pavilion to create a circular "O" working market configuration. The market landscape extends beyond the working market along a meandering trail with a mid-block crossing to central park. The sinuous trail unites a variety of adjacent public landscapes including restored portions of a creek channel, a butterfly garden, several themed groves, a children's play area, and an art pavilion. The market landscape also includes a central lawn and a skate park. In addition to the diverse market landscape, the market is well integrated into and reflects the surrounding neighborhood community. Artfully crafted bike racks and other metal works situated throughout

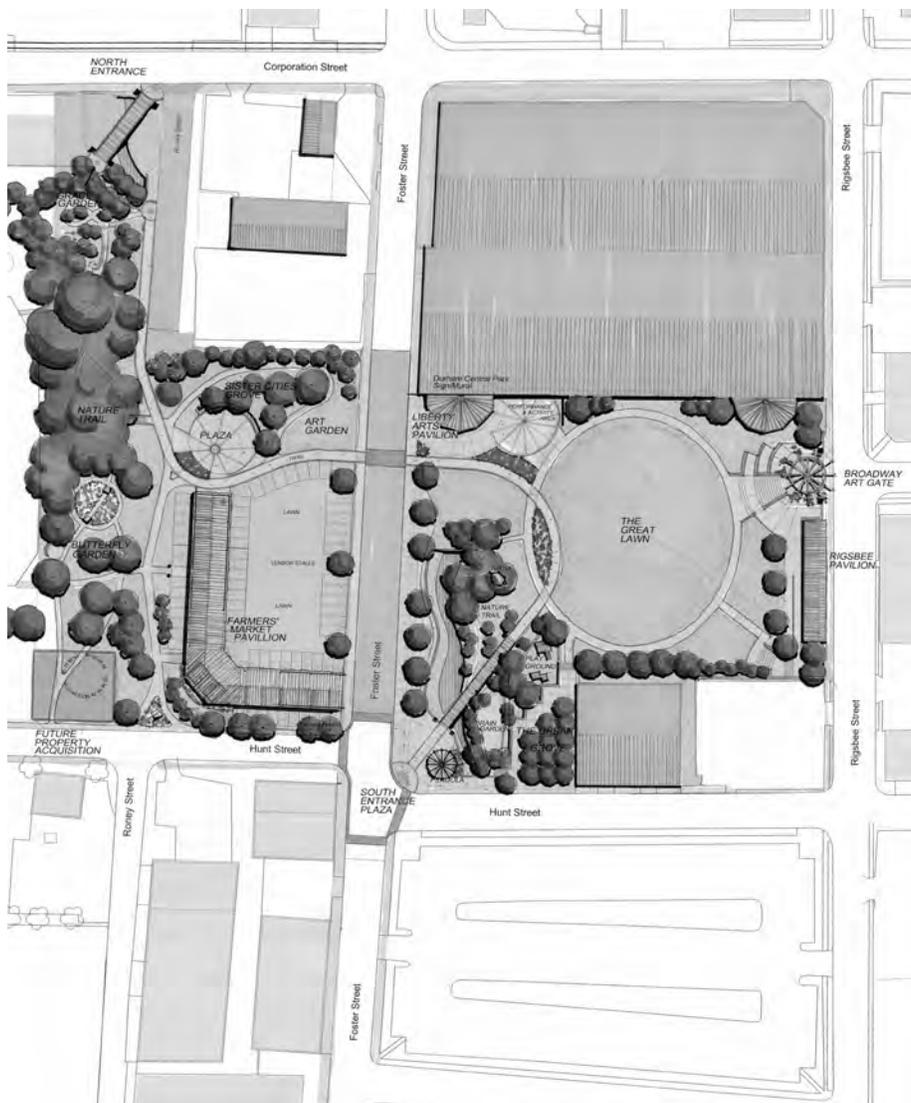


Figure 11. The Durham Farmers' Market operates within the L-shaped pavilion in the lower left portion of the Durham Central Park Master Plan, a plan that in many ways builds upon the social vitality of the neighborhood and connects the market with local community (Courtesy of Durham Central Park Inc 2006).

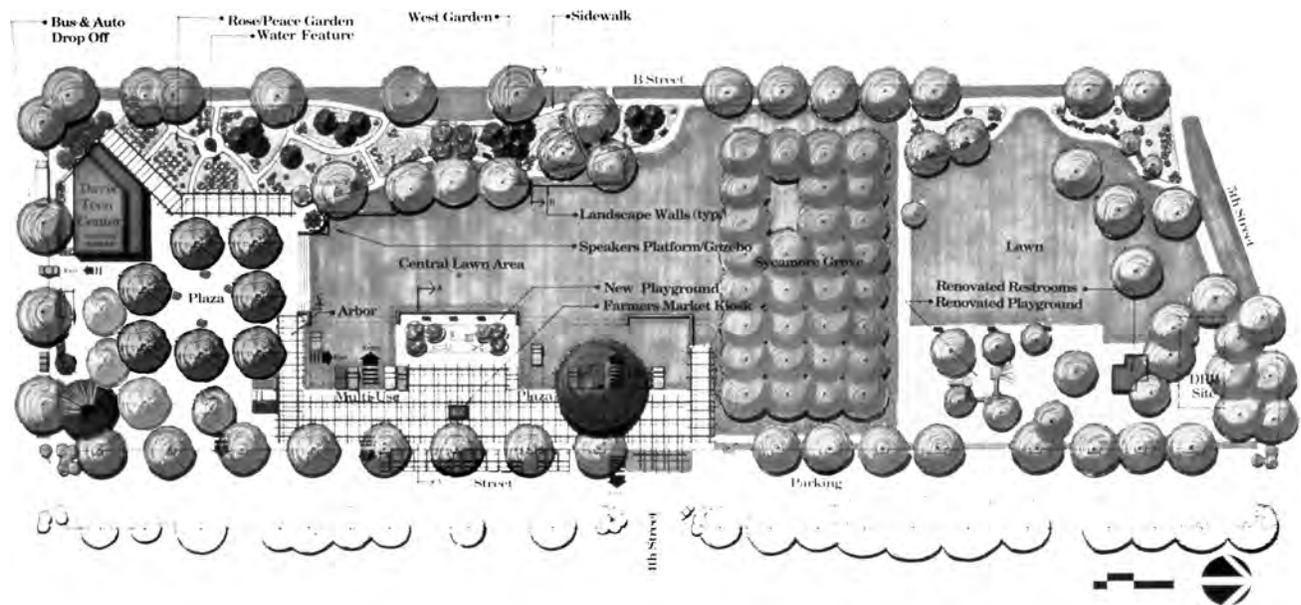
the market landscape come directly from the neighborhood. The market place functions as a diverse mixed-life space.

**Davis, California.** Designed as the first permanent farmers' market in a park in California and integrated into the design process for Davis Central Park, the Davis Farmers' Market exemplifies all four of the market realms. The Davis Farmers' Market, now over 35-years old, received the highest number of votes in the 2009 AFT survey and was awarded a Centennial Medallion from the American Society of Landscape Architects in 1999 "as a national landmark for outstanding landscape architecture" (Figure 12).

The main aisle within the pavilion forms a socially interactive promenade, measuring 14 feet in width (Figure 13). The working market provides socially interactive

entry plazas at both ends of the pavilion. Sycamore trees encircle another plaza and provide shade for adjacent tables and chairs during market days. This space includes 20 percent of all seating in the downtown area (Francis, Koo and Ramirez 2010), providing ample opportunities for dynamic group interaction with lots of people watching. After the Davis Farmers' Market moved from an adjacent street into the park, sales increased by 30 percent and reached over \$2 million annually—the working market is really working.

The market landscape includes a large public garden, teen center, two children's play areas, and a large central lawn and gathering place or what Hester calls the "civic meadow" of the small university town with a population of 75,000 (Hester 2006) (Figure 6). Over 4,000 people have been observed using the park on market days and the popular Wednesday night "Picnic in the



## CENTRAL PARK MASTERPLAN

CITY OF DAVIS · CALIFORNIA

Figure 12. The Master Plan for the Central Park unifies a diversity of programs within an urban park and provides a permanent home for the Davis Farmers' Market (Courtesy of CoDesign Inc 2010).

Park” which offers food from local restaurants, music, events for children and youth, and opportunities for families to meet and relax (Podoll 2000). Central Park combines a lively bi-weekly farmers’ market and a town square where the community can gather in one place. The market neighborhood connects with downtown Davis, the University of California Davis, and regional greenway system.

### DISCUSSION

#### Design Principles For Making Farmers’ Markets As Public Space

The previous case studies examined the landscape features and spatial patterns of five landscapes designed specifically as a farmers’ market in public space and discussed the nature of the four market realms for each case. In addition to the spatiality of the four market realms, we offer here four design principles to aid in the creation of markets as social space. These principles supplement the spatiality of the market realms by emphasizing several critical process-related dynamics, integral for the realization of lasting, socially engaging farmers’ markets in public space. While not intended to be exclusive or extensive, these principles serve as a reference point for planning and designing farmers

markets as public space. When using these principles it is also important to reflect local conditions, culture, and the organizational needs of each market.

**Permanency of Design.** The permanency of program through the design of public space is an overarching principle for the preservation of farmers’ markets over time. Landscape features such as entry structures, bandstands, gazebos, fountains, market pavilions, mature groves of trees, socially interactive plazas, pedestrian-scaled lighting, and thematic gardens can establish the market’s permanency through design. Without the permanency of design, farmers’ markets remain as programmatic events in public space, vulnerable to displacement by other uses.

**Flexibility.** While the permanency of design is important, the design should also be flexible. A resilient market design must be adaptive and accommodating. Seeing the marketplace as a dynamic process is an essential aspect of any successful design and management process. The design should work with regional climate and allow the market to adapt to seasonal variation and fluctuations in market patronage. As the needs of the market change, so should the market space. Each of the five case studies continues to evolve with



Figure 13. The central promenade within the pavilion of the Davis' Farmers Market provides an intimate space for shopping and meeting friends and neighbors (Photograph by Francis 2000).

and reflect the market community. Ongoing evaluation and redesign is also a hallmark of long-lasting successful markets. Without flexibility, design can remain static and become outdated.

**Wholeness.** Most markets possess a wholeness or centeredness, a quality of being in place (Hester 2006). They typically include an inner market space that is simultaneously distinguished from and reflective of the adjacent urban context; the market landscape relates to and reinforces the market neighborhood. The patterning of the working market realm along the periphery of the market landscape is an important spatial consideration in the realization of this centeredness. The functioning market can also reinforce the wholeness of the park or open space, enhancing the prospects of the market neighborhood while emphasizing its refuge as public space. A participatory design process is essential to the realization of a market place that is whole and

centered and should engage adjacent communities in the identification of design values to be integrated into market's design program.

**Social Life.** Successful markets foster social interaction and support diverse social meanings (Francis 2003; Shaftoe 2008). Special design attention should be given to supporting socialization. The spaces of movement and social encounter, the interplay between the promenade and the market landscape, should be coordinated with the sedentary spaces of reflection. Social spaces should be provided for socializing where people do not feel compelled to buy things but rather encouraged to enjoy the market as a more spontaneous public space (Figure 6). Adequate seating of both the fixed and movable variety is critical for social interaction. A diversity of age, gender, and cultural background should be accommodated to assure an inclusive social space. Children's play and activity needs to be integrated into the design. Social programs in addition to the market function will further enhance the social life of the space and enliven the space with additional layers of social life. Again, a participatory design process can be helpful in meeting this goal.

## CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Our review of the most-popular farmers' markets in America reveals that first and foremost, markets are "places for people" (Gehl 2010; Whyte 2001). Markets bring people together and foster public life. Interaction, seeing and being seen, and informal conversation are frequently cited as the primary reason for their success ahead of buying and selling of fresh produce (Griffith 2007). It is clear that what makes markets meaningful and memorable is their unique role as social space.

With their recent growth in numbers and popularity, farmers' markets will continue to expand as an important type of public space. Design and planning guidelines, such as the market realms and design principles outlined in this article, can play an essential role in fostering social life and cultural expression in markets.

City officials, community developers, urban designers, and landscape architects have discovered that markets are an effective way to revitalize older and neglected public spaces and enliven new ones (Harnik 2010). Farmers' markets are being programmed and designed into new large parks such as the Cornfields Park by Hargreaves Associates and Orange County Great Park by Ken Smith in Southern California; the Railyard Park by Ken Smith and Mary Miss in Santa Fe, New Mexico; and the recent Minneapolis Riverfront Park Competition won by Tom Leader Studio (Czerniak and Hargreaves 2007). There is a tendency however for some landscape architects to treat markets as merely programmatic elements without understanding how to fully integrate them into designed public places. Some of these projects have used markets as "rolled out" programmatic carpets "photoshopped" onto design proposals to win competitions rather than a way of creating true mixed-life parks (Francis 2011).

In addition to good design, a combination of actions contributes to the making of successful markets. Design alone is not enough and may lead to overprogrammed and sterile markets. Successful markets have a spontaneous life of their own that create a unique sense of discovery, festivity, and enjoyment. The unique social ecology of farmers' markets is a result of a combination of public policy in support of markets, political commitment on the part of public officials, effective programming by market boards and manager, good land use planning, and market management (Morales 2011). A lack of concern for any of the above can lead to problems of misuse, economic failure, and displacement by other uses (Groc 2008). Markets by their very nature are temporal and ephemeral appropriations of space but effective design, policy, programming, and management can reduce the vulnerability of displacement. We have focused here on the importance of physical form and design factors, as they have been a neglected aspect to date in the literature on farmer's markets.

As farmers' markets continue to increase in number and popularity, they face significant challenges (Groc

2008; Stephenson 2008). These include the need for adequate amounts of locally produced food, protection from other competing land uses, and better integration and connection with the public realm. Safety, access, and conflict between users are other challenges. The number of small farms limits the expansion of farmers' markets in some regions (Walker 2004; Worthen 2010).

There is also the need to find better ways to integrate markets into land use planning and zoning. As public space, markets must be adaptive and responsive, accommodating new functions over time and continually reflecting community values. Continual evaluation and redesign is key to their ongoing success (USDA Agricultural Marketing Services 2009b; Willand and Bell 2006). We propose ongoing research to examine the use and civic function of markets as well as studies of land use and urban design strategies that can lead to their lasting success.

Research has an important role to play in the continued study of market function and design. There are many unanswered questions about successful markets and their relationship to sustainable design and economic planning. How can complementary but sometimes competing uses be best planned together? What are the management costs of various design strategies? How best can market vendors, users and managers participate in the design, planning, and management processes over time?

Like community gardens, markets are hybrid public spaces requiring fresh thinking beyond historical understanding of urban parks and open spaces (Hou, Johnson, and Lawson 2009). We also need to know more about why some markets fail and others succeed (Stephenson, Lev, and Brewer 2006). Additional case studies and design expressions of farmers' markets can continue to inform their emergence as successful and lasting public space. As our multiple case studies show, the social life of cities can be energized by well designed and permanently housed farmers' markets. They offer great promise to improve and enliven public space and enlarge the public realms of towns and cities.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Mike Madison, Bob Sommer, Rob Thayer, Daniel Iacofano, the anonymous reviewers and the *Landscape Journal* editors for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this manuscript. We would also like to thank the managers of the case study markets for the updated information they provided on their markets and designs.

## NOTES

1. Our larger analysis of the 60 American Farmland Trust most popular markets is available upon request from the authors.
2. Some of the case study analysis is based in part on one author's graduate thesis at UC Berkeley on the meaning of farmers' markets in California (Griffith 2007) and the other author's experience designing Davis Central Park and Farmers' Market, the first permanent farmers' market in a public park in California (Francis 1999).

## REFERENCES

- American Farmland Trust. 2009. America's Favorite Farmers' Markets. Washington DC: American Farmland Trust. [http://action.farmland.org/site/PageNavigator/Americas-Favorite-Farmers-Markets/top\\_farmers\\_markets](http://action.farmland.org/site/PageNavigator/Americas-Favorite-Farmers-Markets/top_farmers_markets) [February 14, 2010].
- Berry, Wendell. 1997. *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture*, rev. ed. San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.
- Braudel, Fernand. 1992. *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th to 18th Century, Vol. I: The Structure of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brown, Allison. 2001. Counting farmers' markets. *The Geographical Review* 91 (4): 655.
- Carr, Stephen, Mark Francis, Leanne Rivlin, and Andrew Stone. 1992. *Public Space*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Czerniak, Julia, and George Hargreaves. *Large Parks*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 2007.
- Corum Vance, Marcie Rosenzweig, and Eric Gibson. 2001. *The New Farmers' Market: Farm Fresh Ideas for Producers, Managers, and Communities*. Auburn, CA: New World Publishing.
- Feenstra, Gail. 2007. *The Roles of Farmers' Markets in Fueling Local Economies*. Davis: University of California Sustainable Agriculture Program.
- Fisher, Andy. 1999. *Hot Peppers and Parking Lot Peaches: Evaluating Farmers' Markets in Low Income Communities*. Venice, CA: Community Food Security Coalition.
- Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2006. Five misunderstandings of case study research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12 (2): 219–245.
- Francis, Mark. 1999. Making a community's place: The case of Davis' Central Park and Farmers Market. In *Democratic Design in the Pacific Rim: Japan, Taiwan and US*, ed. Randolph T. Hester and Corrina Kweskin, 156–163. Mendocino, CA: Ridge Times Press.
- . 2001. A case study method for landscape architecture. *Landscape Journal* 19 (2): 15–29.
- . 2002. Village Homes: A case study in community design. *Landscape Journal* 21 (1): 23–41.
- . 2003. *Urban Open Space: Designing for User Needs*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- . 2011. Mixed-Life Places. In *Companion to Urban Design*, eds. Tridib Banerjee and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris. 432–445. New York: Routledge.
- Francis, Mark, Lisa Cashdan, and Lynn Paxson. 1984. *Community Open Spaces*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- Francis, Mark, and Randolph T. Hester. eds. 1990. *The Meaning of Gardens*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Francis, Mark, Jayoung Koo, and Stephen Ramirez. 2010. *Just a Comfortable Place to Sit: Davis Sittable Space Study, Final Report*. Davis: Department of Environmental Design, University of California, Davis. <http://lda.ucdavis.edu/people/websites/francis/Just%20A%20Comfortable%20Place%20to%20Sit%20Final%20Report.pdf> [May 10, 2010]
- Franck, Karen. 2005. The city as a dining room, market, and farm. *Architectural Digest* 75 (3): 5–10.
- Gehl, Jan. 2010. *Cities for People*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- Griffith, Lucas. 2007. *Meanings of Farmers' Markets*. Masters thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- Groc, Isabelle. 2008. Growers' gamble. *Planning* 74 (3): 34–37.
- Harnik, Peter. 2010. *Urban Green: Innovative Parks for Resurgent Cities*. Washington DC: Island Press.
- Hester, Randolph T. 2006. *Design for Ecological Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hinrichs, Clare C., Gilbert W. Gillespie, and Gail W. Feenstra. 2004. Social learning and innovation at retail farmers' markets. *Rural Sociology* 69 (1): 31–58.
- Horwitz, Jamie. 2004. *Eating Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hou, Jeff, Julie Johnson, and Laura Lawson. 2009. *Greening Cities, Growing Communities: Learning from Seattle's Urban Community Gardens*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Low, Setha, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld. 2005. *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Marcus, Clare Cooper, and Carolyn Francis. 1997. *People Places: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- O'Neil, David. 1990. A third life for the Reading Terminal Market. *Places* 6 (4): 93.
- Morales, Alfonso. 2011. Marketplaces: Prospects for social, economic, and political Development. *Journal of Planning Literature* 26 (3): 3–17.
- Mougeot, Luc J. A. 2006. *Growing Better Cities: Urban Agriculture for Sustainable Development*. Ottawa, ON: International Development Research Centre.
- Peters, Matthew J. 2008. *Locating Farmers' Markets: An Evaluation Methodology to Inform Site Selection for Farmers' Markets*. Master thesis, University of Washington.
- Podoll, Heather. 2000. *A Case Study of the Davis Farmers' Market: Connecting Farms and Community*. Davis: University of California Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education Program.
- Pollan, Michael. 2008. *In Defense of Food*. New York: Penguin.
- Project for Public Spaces. 2003a. *Public Markets and Community-Based Food Systems: Making Them Work in Lower-Income Neighborhoods*. New York: Project for Public Spaces.
- . 2003b. *Public Markets and Community Revitalization*. New York: Project for Public Spaces.
- . 2003c. *Public Markets as a Vehicle for Social Integration and Upward Mobility*. New York: Project for Public Spaces.
- Robinson, Jennifer M, and J. A. Hartenfeld. 2007. *The Farmers' Market Book: Growing Food, Cultivating Community*. Bloomington: Quarry Books.
- Seamon, David, and Christina Nordin. 1980. Market place as place ballet: A Swedish example. *Landscape* 24 (October): 35–41.
- Shaftoe, Henry. 2008. *Convivial Urban Spaces: Creating Effective Public Places*. London: Earthscan.
- Sommer, Robert. 1980. *Farmers' Markets of America*. Santa Barbara: Capra Press.
- . 1989. Farmers' markets as community events. In *Public Places and Spaces*, eds. Irwin Altman and Ervin H. Zube, 57–82. New York: Plenum.
- Sommer, Robert, John Herrick, and Ted R. Sommer. 1981. The behavioral ecology of supermarkets and farmers' markets. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 1 (1): 13–19.
- Stephenson, Gary, Larry Lev, and Linda Brewer. 2006. *When Things Don't Work: Some Insights Into Why Farmers' Markets Close, Oregon Small Farms Technical Report*. No. 25. Corvallis: Oregon State University Extension.
- Stephenson, Garry. 2008. *Farmers' Markets: Success, Failure, and Management Ecology*. Amherst, MA: Cambria Press.
- Tangires, Helen. 2003. *Public Markets and Civic Culture in 19th Century America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Viljoen, André. 2005. *Continuous Productive Urban Landscapes: Designing Urban Agriculture for Sustainable Cities*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Architectural Press.
- US Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Services. 2009a. *Farmers' Market Growth: 1994–2009*. [http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/ams.fetchTemplateData.do?template=TemplateS&navID=WholesaleandFarmersMarkets&leftNav=WholesaleandFarmersMarkets&page=WFMFarmersMarketGrowth&description=Farmers percent20Market percent20Growth&acct=fmrdirmt](http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/ams.fetchTemplateData.do?template=TemplateS&navID=WholesaleandFarmersMarkets&leftNav=WholesaleandFarmersMarkets&page=WFMFarmersMarketGrowth&description=Farmers%20Market%20Growth&acct=fmrdirmt) [December 15, 2009].
- . 2009b. *Opening a Farmers' Market on Federal Property: A Guide for Market Operators and Building Managers*. <http://www.ams.usda.gov/AMSV1.0/getfile?dDocName=STELPRDC5079490> [March 16, 2009].
- Walker, Richard. 2004. *The Conquest of Bread: 150 Years of Agribusiness in California*. New York: The New Press.
- Whyte, William. 2001. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. New York: Project for Public Spaces.
- Willand, Harry, and Dale Bell. 2006. *Edens Lost & Found: How Ordinary Citizens Are Restoring Our Great American Cities*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Worthen, Ben. 2010. Farmers' markets see risks from growth. *Wall Street Journal* February 11, 2010.
- Yin, Robert K. 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage Publications.

**AUTHORS MARK FRANCIS, FASLA, FCELA, is Professor Emeritus of Landscape Architecture at the University of California, Davis. Trained in landscape architecture and urban design at the University of California, Berkeley, MIT, and Harvard, he is author of several books including *The Meaning of Gardens, Public Space, Urban Open Space, and Village Homes*. His work is concerned with the design and meaning of public landscapes.**

**LUCAS GRIFFITH received a bachelor of science in landscape architecture from the University of California, Davis in 2000 and a master in landscape architecture from the University of California, Berkeley in 2007. He previously worked for the Office of Lawrence Halprin and The Presidio Trust in San Francisco. He is currently a doctoral candidate in urban design at the University of Stavanger, Norway studying post-industrial residential development and the appropriation of neighborhood space.**