“Experience” Farmers’ Markets: Conduct Determines Performance

By

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January 27, 2004

Preliminary draft for presentation at the Eastern Economic Association Meeting
Washington, February 21, 2004

This research was supported by a sabbatical grant from Elon University and by income from an endowment funded by Jefferson Pilot Financial. Thanks to Dr. Jayoti (Tina) Das of Elon University and the many farmers and market managers who took time to speak with me.
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The number of farmers’ markets has grown greatly in recent years. *The New York Times* reported a 79% increase in the number of markets between 1994 and 2002 [13], while *The Wall Street Journal* reported that there was a 9% increase between 2000 and 2003 [19]. In August 2003, a USDA website listed 57 markets in Maine, 84 in North Carolina, 269 in New York and 365 in California [29]. The website claimed that there were over 3100 markets nationwide and 19,000 farmers who sold only at farmers’ markets.

Newspapers and city and regional magazines have reported on farmers’ markets in recent years, telling a story of fresh, seasonal, gourmet produce raised by local farmers. An article in *The Wall Street Journal* recounts the experience of a shopper at the Farmers’ Market in Evanston [IL]: “Lynda O’Connor remembers the week she missed the zucchini blossoms [19].” *The New York Times* reports “Westchester’s suburbanites, increasingly, are happy to have farmers’ markets at which they can search for fiddlehead ferns, Swiss chard and organic watermelon radishes [15].” *The [Raleigh] New & Observer* reports that “Lynn Hayes of Durham left with a bag of arugula and two-star lettuce” in an article about the Fearrington [NC] Farmers’ Market [20]. Academics also often imply that all farmers’ markets are places where the fanciest foods are readily available. Cross, writing about informal markets generally, like the journalists cited above implies that all American farmers’ markets offer these experiences, describing them as markets “that sell high priced vegetables and fruits to consumers willing to pay more for organic foods or the assurance or at least belief that their produce is fresh [11,p. 39].”

In reality, not all 3100 farmers’ markets offer the goods or experiences of the markets written about in the popular press. American farmers’ markets cover a wide range of places to buy food. As early as 1992, Tunbridge recognized that Canadian farmers’ markets covered a range [28]. Andreatta and Wickliffe state that “Different markets have their own character, depending on … the type of farmers who use them and the products they sell, and the clientele they serve [1, p. 168].” At one extreme of markets in the United States is the Pike Place Market in Seattle, a place where seven days a week you can buy fresh produce from the farmer who grew it, but also fresh fish, fruits and vegetables from around the world, t-shirts, a cappuccino, sit at a bar for a drink, buy posters, used books, jewelry, and many other items. At the other is the Tarboro [NC] farmers’ market in the parking lot outside the extension office. There, on Tuesday and Friday mornings from March through November, you can buy old-fashioned, seasonal produce from two retired school teachers who have small farms on the edge of town. The USDA does not define farmers’ market; the USDA’s Agricultural Marketing Service website includes markets covering the whole range.

This paper focuses on those farmers’ markets in the United States that do offer goods and experiences like those described above, markets that are labeled “experience” markets. These markets vary in size, but share other characteristics. They exist in many parts of the country, but not every area has one. While they are grower only markets, requiring
that vendors produce everything they have for sale, not all grower only markets offer these goods and experience. The greatest interest to economists is that these markets differ from other markets both in structure and conduct, as well as performance.

These are markets that offer “experiences” as well as food. As Pine and Gilmore have stated, “Experiences represent an existing but previously unarticulated genre of economic output [24, p. ix].” These markets “…engage customers, connecting with them in a personal, memorable way [24, p. 3].” Experience markets offer a different mix of goods and operate under rules that discourage participation by either part-time and large-scale growers, but allow fill-time, small scale growers to earn a living and encourage innovation in both growing methods and new product offerings. In essence, the growers at experience markets recognize what Pine and Gilmore urge firms thorough out the economy to recognize, that there is “…an escape from the all-to-easy practice of competing on the basis of price. While customers love a sale, businesses perish from low prices as a means of hawking their offerings [24, p. ix],” and that escape is to provide a memorable experience to go with their produce.

American Farmers’ Markets

Sixty-one farmers’ markets in seven states were visited during the summer of 2003. While some effort was taken to find markets that would fit the glowing descriptions of markets quoted in the first section, above, the selection of markets visited was more a result of going to a part of the country the author knew, consulting lists of farmers’ markets from the USDA website, other websites, and local publications and mapping out a circuit of markets that could be visited in a day or two with a reasonable amount of driving. Because these markets are open only one or two days a week, markets that were reasonably close together and open on the same day were often chosen. The markets visited were centered in Chapel Hill and Charlotte, NC; St. Louis and Fulton, MO; Madison, WI; and Belfast, ME. A number of markets in New York City were visited during a three day visit to the city with a group of undergraduates. Pike Place Market in Seattle was visited during a family vacation.

Fifty four were “grower only” markets where vendors sold goods they had produced themselves: mostly produce, but often some processed foods, and occasionally crafts as well. Most of the grower only markets, thirty-seven of them, were dominated by part-time growers selling locally grown, but standard varieties, of seasonal produce: red slicing tomatoes, red potatoes, sweet corn, green beans, strawberries, and regionally peaches, kohlrabi, pecans, etc. Elsewhere, these have been called “indigenous” markets [27].

Only seventeen, fewer than half of these grower only markets, offered the kind of shopping experience described in the popular press. These markets, “experience markets,” are a separate industry from the other farmers markets. Tunbridge, in his article about Canadian markets, describes the Canadian equivalent of these markets as “adapted to more sophisticated produce requirements” and having “a focus on leisure
activity [28, p. 280].” In the language of the experience economy, these are markets where the customer “…pays to spend time enjoying a series of memorable events [24, p. 2],” though at experience farmers’ markets, the customer pay for the experience indirectly.

Experience markets as a separate industry: Structure

Shoppers at experience markets are tied to the season and connected to the growers, giving shoppers the experience of going to the market to see what there is to cook rather than going to the market with a shopping list. Many of the experience markets promote the idea that a shopper buys his food directly from a local seller, and part of the experience is knowing the grower. Markets with slogans promoting this kind of experience include Carrboro [NC] with “Locally grown, Nationally known,” Belfast’s [ME] “Quality Products From People You Know®,,” and the Saturday Farmers’ Market at Crystal Spring Farm [Brunswick, ME], “Put a Face to Your Food!” The connection between the buyer and grower is an important part of the experience that these markets provide.

Grower only markets of either type are a separate industry from those markets dominated by resellers of food purchased wholesale. The grower only markets handle only local, seasonal foods and retail customers buy directly from the producer. They are outside of the normal distribution chain for produce and minimally processed foods. Grower only markets are typically open for three or four hours on one or two days a week and only during the local growing season, while other farmers’ markets are open for longer hours six or seven days a week, and often year-round. Few of the producers present at a grower only market are big enough to meet the sizing and packing standards of the normal produce distribution chain, so cross elasticity of supply is between grower only and other markets is very low.

Within grower only markets, there are few growers who sell at both indigenous and experience markets. Though the growers at both types of markets are small, few growers at indigenous markets are full-time farmers while many, if not most, of the growers at experience markets depend on small scale farming as their main source of income. The goods offered for sale also differ, with experience markets offering a much wider selection of kinds of produce and varieties of the kinds sold at both indigenous and experience markets. Most experience markets have events like live music, cooking demonstrations by local chefs, and tastings, and the markets are usually livelier with larger crowds and more shoppers wandering from stall to stall. The season at experience markets is usually longer, beginning earlier in the Spring and extending later in the Fall. Experience markets sell more than food as a commodity. They also sell a memorable experience.

Customers at indigenous markets are different from customers at experience markets. They tend to be older and more price conscious, coming to the farmers’ market as much to get a good price as to get fresher produce. Few of them linger at the market; they drive up, walk to the vendor they like, buy what they came to get, and head back to their car.
They often buy in bulk, taking home a few dozen ears of corn or a bushel of beans to freeze for the winter.

Another way experience markets differ from other farmers’ markets is that the vendors are largely small-scale farmers who depend on the market as their main source of income. While the scale varies some from place to place, the scale is always small. Few of the growers at the Carrboro [NC] Farmers’ Market actively cultivate more than four acres at a time, though most rotate their annual crops and keep another few acres in soil- and nutrient-building cover crops. The full-time farmers at the Dane County [WI] Farmers’ Market often plant and harvest ten or twelve acres, with more land in cover crops. Those at the New York City Greenmarkets are larger: vegetable farms range from four to 394 acres with a median size of 68 acres, but only a few could be called large farms [10]. While these farmers may be efficient given their scale, they cannot grow fruits and vegetables at costs as low as large scale growers in places with ideal conditions for vegetable and fruit production like the Central Valley in California, or with low labor costs like Mexico and other Latin American countries. These farmers must receive prices at or above retail for their goods in order to survive. They cannot cover the full costs of production if they produce at low prices like they would receive on the wholesale market or if they sold at indigenous markets. Almost all of the farmers grow a wide variety of goods. Though one may be known for having the best peppers or lettuces, or be the only one who successfully grows arugula in the area, he will also have tomatoes, cabbages, some bedding plants, flowers, and a full range of other produce in season. There is little monocrop agriculture represented at an experience farmers’ market.

These experience markets quickly became easy to identify. Goods were attractively displayed, customer traffic was steady and often heavy, a wide variety of goods were available, and many of the vendors displayed signs that their produce was organic or “sustainably” produced. One item, Sun Gold Cherry Tomatoes became a marker, a variety whose availability identified a market as an experience market. These tomatoes, described in Johnny’s Selected Seeds catalog as “Bite-size, ‘tropical fruit.’ A bright tangerine orange sweet cherry [tomato]. Sun Gold’s exotic taste makes it one of the most talked about Johnny’s items. High sugar, orange fruits have a yummy ‘tropical’ or ‘winey’ taste [18, p. 62],” were at every experience market visited during the tomato season, but were at only one or two of the other farmers’ markets, and then usually available from a grower who had a wider variety of goods than the rest.

**Conduct at Experience Markets**

How do the small-scale, full-time growers who are the vendors at experience markets conduct themselves and these markets so that their business does not become a commodity business with competition only on price? How do they maintain these markets so customers will remember to come during a narrow time window each week to choose only from what is in season locally rather than visit the grocery and be able to buy whatever they want at any time? How do they maintain conduct at these markets so that they offer an experience as well as food, so that customers are willing to shop at the farmers’ market and pay prices at least equal to grocery store prices?
Most experience markets are organized by an association made up of the growers themselves. Fifteen of the seventeen experience markets studied here are managed by a growers’ association. Many of these associations act rather like the European trade guilds of earlier times. To sell at these markets, a vendor must be a member. To be a member, a vendor must apply for membership, usually well before the season starts. Though the growers’ association does not own the space where the market meets, the association often contracts with another organization, usually a local government, to manage the market. Another of the experience markets was the Union Square Market in New York. At the New York City Greenmarkets, the growers do not run the market, but as *The New York Times* reports, “…no change is put into place without the approval of the Farmer Consumer Advisory Committee,” a group dominated by growers who sell at the large, experience-producing Union Square Market [17, p. D5]. The final market in the sample, the Clayton Farmers’ Market, is run by the Chef’s Collaborative, a group of local restaurants, which carefully screens the vendors.

Most of the growers’ associations allow only members to sell at the market. Most of the associations require that potential vendors apply for membership well before the market opens for the season and require that all members, new or continuing, attend an annual meeting of the association, usually held shortly before the market opens for the season. For example, The Carrboro [NC] Farmers’ Market, near Chapel Hill, requires that applications to sell in one season be submitted by February 28. The application goes on to warn, in bold type, “Applications received after February 28th will not be considered nor will they be retained for future openings. We do not maintain a waiting list [3].” The nearby Durham [NC] Farmers’ Market, which is newer and has room for additional vendors, has a similar though less strict rule that “Applicants must contact the Market Manager prior to coming to Market to sell.” Combined with another rule that “Farms or production sites of all new applicants must be visited by the Manager, a Board member, or the Agricultural Extension agent to verify eligibility” [23], this rules make it difficult, or impossible, for a casual seller who finds himself with an excess of tomatoes in August to sell them at marginal cost, driving the price of tomatoes below average total cost. The tale of a local dentist who came to the Davis [CA] Farmers’ Market with tomatoes from his backyard and sold them for 10c per pound, donating the proceeds to his church but undercutting local growers, is the kind of danger these membership rules prevent [9, p.145].

The rule that farms must be inspected before a grower can sell at a market helps the association enforce the rule that vendors can sell only what they have produced. These markets also require that vendors submit to an inspection on short notice if there is a complaint that they have sold goods that they did not produce. Typical is the rule of the Dane County Farmers’ Market:

**Inspection:** Representatives of the Market shall have the right to conduct an inspection of the production areas of those products sold by a vendor at the Market. No notification is necessary prior to inspection. [12, p. 14]
The Carrboro Farmers’ Market requires that “[T]he seller’s farm or business must be visited by representatives of the Chapel Hill-Carrboro Farmers’ Market, Inc. before his/her application will be considered for approval [3]” In addition, “[A] minimum of 7 active members must be reinspected each year [4].” These visits, especially the initial visit to a new member, may offer a chance for building solidarity among the growers.

There are expensive penalties for selling goods the grower has not produced, usually expulsion from membership which means loss of the right to sell at the market. Typical is the rule of the Matthews [NC] Community Farmers’ Market: “The sale of a product not grown or produced by the member will result in immediate termination of membership [22].” With such a high penalty, it is surprising that any vendor tries to bring in goods not self-produced, but interviews with market managers revealed that violations continue. The other growers are usually the source of complaints; the growers know what can be grown in what season locally, and the appearance of strawberries or sweet corn too early in the season or spinach after the weather has turned hot in mid-summer is quickly noticed by other growers. Insuring that goods are vendor grown may be important for an experience market. At the Piedmont Triad Farmers’ Market near Greensboro, NC, a large, but not an experience, market, Andreattta and Wickliffe found that doubt about the provenance of goods represented as vendor grown was an important source of dissatisfaction among both customers and vendors [1, p. 171 & 173].

The small scale growers who make their living selling at experience farmers’ markets also guard against competition from large scale growers. The rules at most experience markets make them unattractive to large-scale growers. The first of the common rules that discourage large-scale growers is the “member present” rule. Markets discourage participation by large scale growers with a “member present” rule, requiring that the owner of the farm be present at the market. Some markets allow the vendor to send any family member. The Dane County Farmers’ Market’s version of this rule is if “[a] Member/co-Member is not present, the would-be vendors will not be allowed to set up and if already set up, they will have to pack up and leave the Market immediately [12, p. 3].” Requiring the presence of the grower, or at least a partner in the enterprise is a partnership, keeps large-scale growers from sending a truck of produce with a hired employee to the market. Requiring the presence of the grower also promotes the customers’ experience of knowing who grew their food.

Another type of rule is often adopted that discourages large-scale growers, a geographical limitation on membership. Members of the Dane County Farmers’ Market must live and produce in Wisconsin. At Durham, NC, all vendors must be from a 70 mile radius. At the Columbia [MO] Farmers’ Market, “Persons living within a radius less than or equal to the furthest point in Boone or a contiguous county may become members of the market, [8, rule 9],” and at the Cole County Farmers’ Market in nearby Jefferson City, “Vendors must be from Cole county [sic] or and adjoining county [6, rule 5].” These rules limiting sellers to growers from a nearby, and often small, geographic region promotes the experience of some shoppers. Using local foods has become an experience itself. High end restaurants showcase their use of local ingredients and customers can shop with local celebrity chefs at many experience farmers’ markets. As cited above,
many experience markets have slogans that promote buying local as part of the experience. The rules that keep goods local help promote the experience, but they also prevent large scale growers from going from market to market with large trucks full of produce.

Space is very valuable at a successful experience farmers’ market. Though the rental fee is usually low, $10 or less per day, stall allocation is accomplished by non-price mechanisms. 20,000 customers will come to the Square in downtown Madison, WI on a summer Saturday to shop at the Dane County Farmers’ Market, and all of the 300 vendors’ stalls are taken by vendors with long-term memberships. The rulebook for that market includes two pages of detail about the size and allocation of stalls [12, pp.4-5]. On the next page, the rulebook states “Due to limited space and the Market’s desire to provide selling opportunities for as many Members as possible, no Member may be involved in the operation of more than one stall [12, p. 6].” The Carrboro market has an involved system for the assignment of spaces, with preference going to those with long membership and frequent attendance. Second stalls are permitted, but only for the most committed vendors. Large-scale growers will find it difficult or impossible to have a selling area larger than a small scale grower. It is often impossible to park a large truck near the stall, so daily sales are limited by both the size of the stall and the size of truck that can be parked close enough to the stall to replenish supplies during the market day.

The rules of experience erect barriers to outside competitors, but how is price competition among the members blunted? Membership is required at most of these markets and successful application for membership may require convincing the current members that you will be a “good member,” agreeing with the ethos of the market as well as regularly selling at the market and attending meetings. Further, some of the markets implicitly urge vendors to not compete with prices. The Durham Farmers’ Market rules include “Vendors determine their own prices, and it is recommended that prices reflect accurate value.” The Cole County [MO] market’s rules state “Each vendor may set his own prices. Prices should be set in keeping with customer satisfaction and consideration of other vendors [6].” The Matthews [NC] Community Farmers’ Market Rules state “Prices should be fair market value. Cooperation, not competition, is encouraged in pricing [22].” In his book aimed at small-scale growers, Eric Gibson says “One of the appeals of direct marketing is the opportunity to become a ‘price setter’ rather than a ‘price taker’ [16, p.178].” Corum et.al. urge growers “Don’t get caught in the ‘I can do it cheaper’ syndrome….Homegrown and organic is worth more![9, p. 39]” They even warn growers about how elastic demand has to be (with an implied cost of 70% of the price) to have higher net profits on lower prices or reduced net on higher prices: “Here’s a general rule: a five percent increase in price gives you even net sales with a 14% drop in customers while a five percent decrease in prices requires a 20% increase in sales to stay even9, [p. 39]” They also quote a number of growers including Chris Burke of Boulder, CO, who says “Do not undercharge. Farmers have hurt themselves by undercharging. Be proud of your livelihood and charge what you need to make your living [in 9, p. 39].”

The conduct of the sellers at experience farmers’ markets is set by the rules under which the markets operate, and these rules were very consistent across a sample of markets from
across the eastern half of the country. Books aimed at small-scale growers and farmers’ market managers also urge that similar rules be adopted. The rules both promote markets that provide customers with an experience to go along with their food and blunt forces that promote price competition. The rules: members only, grower present, vendor grown, limited vending space, farm inspections, “fair” pricing, all work toward creating an experience and supporting small-scale farmers. Providing an experience brings customers who will remember to shop during the markets’ limited hours and are willing to pay prices that will cover full costs. These rules not only promote a market that provides the experience, they also keep price competition from eroding those higher prices.

Competition at Experience Markets

How do growers at experience markets compete? The are 300 vendors at the Square around the State Capitol in Madison on a summer Saturday and 70 behind Town Hall in Carrboro. These vendors must compete with each other in someway. Vendors offer samples at many markets and also compete by colorfully displaying their wares. The most important way vendors compete, however, is with better produce and newer varieties. Gibson reminds growers that “The more unique your product is, the more you can set your own price…[16, p. 181]” A glance at the catalog of the seed companies that sell to small-scale growers shows a huge variety of goods. Fedco Seeds offers 20 varieties of organic lettuce seeds and 43 of non-organic lettuce; 17 varieties of organic tomato seeds and 42 non-organic; and a variety of oriental greens, tomatillos, purslane, celeriac and other vegetables not found in supermarkets or indigenous farmers’ markets [14]. Seeds of Change, which sells only organic seed, offers 36 varieties of lettuce, 16 kinds of snap beans, and 48 of tomatoes, some of them listed as “Rare,” “Traditional,” or “Heirloom” [26].

A grower who learns to grow items that usually does not grow locally also has an advantage. If fennel is difficult to grow in one area, the grower who learns how to grow it will not have to compete with others at the market. A grower with a cool brook may be able to raise watercress while few others in the area can. Each farmer has a unique blend of soil, water and microclimate, and there is something each can grow better, earlier, later or more dependably than others at the same market.

Growers can also learn how to extend the season for different vegetables. Tomatoes a few weeks earlier than usual, lettuce in mid-summer, peppers after the first hard frost all bring a premium price, especially when buyers know they are locally grown. Lettuce grown under floating row covers is available weeks before lettuce grown without protection and lettuce grown in a shady creek bottom is available later in the season than lettuce grown in a sunny field. Tomatoes mulched with black plastic require less weeding and ripen earlier. Succession plantings of peppers draped with floating row covers on the first few frosty nights are available for weeks after peppers in open fields have been killed.
Performance

How well do these experience markets perform? The rules under which they generally operate blunt price competition by limiting market participation to small-scale, full-time growers, but are prices raised above competitive levels? Do the rules encourage or discourage technical progress? Is entry effectively blocked, or is it possible to enter small-scale produce farming? Are there other socially admirable results from experience farmers’ markets?

Prices at experience markets are well above price at indigenous markets, but are comparable to those in grocery and gourmet grocery store. During the summer of 2003, slicing tomatoes were consistently $1 per pound more, cherry tomatoes 75c a pint, snap beans 75c a pound, and potatoes $1 a pound more at experience market than at indigenous markets. A survey by North Carolina Cooperative Extension in September 2002 lists 52 different seasonal produce items. 51 of the 52 were available at the Carrboro Farmers’ Market between September 10 and 14. Of the 51, only 38 were available in one of the six area groceries in the survey. Of those 38, 19 of the items were less expensive at this experience farmers’ market than at the groceries, 16 were less expensive on average at the groceries, two could not be compared because the items were sold by volume in one place and weight in the other, and one item, blueberries, had the same price [25]. A Wall Street Journal article found the price of a market basket of goods at each of five big city farmers’ markets and compared it to the price at a “nearby upscale grocery store.” In two of the cities, the farmers’ market basket cost less, in two the grocery cost less, and in San Francisco, it is not clear. The Ferry Plaza Market basket cost $90.11, and the grocery basket $72.82, but there is the comment that “…but the grocery didn’t have peonies [19, p. W7].”

There is greater variety at experience markets, at least for seasonal produce. The NC extension survey showed 12 items available at the Carrboro Farmers’ Market that were not available at any of the six areas grocery stores, while there was only one item specialty melons, at the grocery that were not at Carrboro. Similarly, there were 51 seasonal items at Carrboro, an experience market, and only 16 at either of the two other farmers’ markets in the survey [25].

The variety was one of the most striking features of an experience farmers’ market. The array of produce, both at each stall and in the overall market is vast. Having new items or new varieties is an important way that the growers compete, and the competition seems to give customers a very wide choice of produce. It is not only that more items are available, there are a number of varieties of each item. The NC Cooperative Extension lists tomatoes; tomatoes, organic; tomatoes, cherry; tomatoes, cherry, organic as separate items. At an experience market in mid-September, there would be red, yellow, pink, striped, and a number of different heirloom varieties of tomatoes and organic tomatoes; red, yellow and golden cherry tomatoes; and red and yellow plum tomatoes. New York City Greenmarkets claim that their grower have “47 varieties of peas and beans, 120 varieties of apples, 120 varieties of tomatoes, and 350 varieties of peppers [10].”
Experience markets do truly offer the customer more than food, they also offer an experience. To be successful, a grower must not only be a clever farmer, he or she must be a good merchandiser, because price competition is discouraged. Attractive displays, a friendly demeanor, getting to know regular customers, and a bit of showmanship are all competitive tools which also give the customer an experience when they come to the farmers’ market.

Many other benefits are claimed for shopping at growers only markets. Various sources claim that shopping at grower only markets, whether experience or indigenous, reduce pollution since food is not transported as far and more of the growers at farmers’ markets use sustainable or organic methods; boosts the local economy by keeping more of the money spent on food going to local businesses; promotes understanding between rural and urban people; gives farmers a “fair share” of the food dollar since less goes to middlemen; preserves open land near cities by allowing small farmers to make a living on the land. These claims are probably largely or partially true some or all of the claims, adding to the experience of shopping at grower only markets.

Finally, experience markets do seem to permit small scale farmers to earn a living raising seasonal produce. A long-time customer at these experience markets will see a number of vendors who have been successful farmers for ten or more years. These markets allow niche farmers to find an outlet for their produce and continue to operate family farms [21]. New entry is possible, and there are new applicants and new vendors at most markets most years. The importance of new entry for providing new experiences is explicitly recognized by the Carrboro Farmers’ Market in the rules for assigning larger selling spaces: “It is in the best interests of the Market to assure that there is diversity in both the kinds of products offered for sale as well as the size of vendor selling those products. A market filled with multiple space vendors would limit the opportunity of new and small vendors to be able to sell. Part of the excitement and freshness of the market is brought by these new and small vendors and the products that they offer for sale [5].”

Summary

Farmers’ markets are becoming a more important part of the American food distribution system. Upon close examination, there is a great variety among farmers’ markets. One type of farmers’ markets, called here “experience markets” because they offer the customer an experience along with their produce, is closely examined. These markets are grower only markets, and are often run by the growers themselves. Though these markets vary greatly in size, they have certain characteristics in common: they feature small-scale farmers, they restrict sales by casual, distant, and large-scale growers, and competition among vendors is non-price competition. These markets offer customers a wide variety of locally grown, seasonal produce in a vibrant setting at prices higher than at other farmers’ markets but near what is charged at grocery stores.
Bibliography


