

A Food (R)evolution

A look at how mobile food is changing Los Angeles

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Executive Summary

The following report portrays an extensive case study comparing the Loncheras, or taco trucks, that cruise the streets of the Los Angeles and the newer “hip” gourmet food trucks—Twitter trucks. The goal of the report is to establish how patrons access food trucks and mobile food, and how policies and the history of street vending has shaped the street food culture that has existed for over 100 years in Los Angeles.

The report provides background research on the history and evolution of street food and street vending in Los Angeles, and briefly examines the current heated sidewalk vending battle that is taking place in the city. The background examines how street vending began in Los Angeles, and looks at health and vending policies in Los Angeles as well as Portland and New York City.

Next, there are narratives of a variety of trucks represented in the study, including Sonia’s Tacos, The Grilled Cheese Truck, Great Balls on Tires, and Coolhaus. The narratives are meant to establish a background on why trucks are started, how they operate, and how the daily lives of Twitter truck owners and Lonchera owners differ.

An analysis of food trucks patrons follows, through surveys conducted with consumers on-site at various food trucks. The surveys ask questions such as the distance traveled to reach the truck, the frequency with which patrons visit the truck, the means of transportation by which the patrons arrived, and the reason the patrons are visiting the truck.

The final component of the report is a series of maps demonstrating where food trucks are located and the demographics of the areas they serve. The maps were created as a visual for displaying if and how Loncheras and Twitter Trucks serve different communities or the same community, and whether they serve homogenous communities.

The results found that the majority of patrons access trucks by car, exhibiting the irony of “mobile” food. Additionally, the results found that opening a food truck is in fact a means of survival for many families, and the long history of Loncheras serves witness. Finally, the report concludes with a series of policy recommendations surrounding food trucks and street vending that would help to establish vending zones and areas for trucks to operate that would build communities and allow street vending to become a part of the fabric of Los Angeles.

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Glossary

Food Truck: *This term will be defined as any truck that is selling food on the street. This includes both taco trucks (Loncheras) and gourmet food trucks (Twitter Trucks).*

Lonchera: *The term Lonchera stems from the Spanglish term “lonche”, or lunch. These trucks historically traveled lunch routes in the 1970’s and 1980’s to serve immigrant workers in factories and at construction sites.*

Twitter Truck: *Twitter trucks are also known as gourmet food trucks, and are the trucks that have been on the rise in the past 5 years. Notable Twitter trucks include The Green Truck, Kogi BBQ, The Grilled Cheese Truck, and Coolhaus.*

Street Vendor: *Street vendors are any vendors who operated in the public realm, on the sidewalk or along the curb. Street vendors may be selling food or other goods, such as clothing or household items. Food trucks fall into this category, as they sell goods along the curb.*

Sidewalk Vendor: *Sidewalk vendors operate on the sidewalks. These vendors sell everything from tacos and danger dogs to cut fruit and clothing. Sidewalk vending is currently illegal in Los Angeles.*

Commissary: *A commissary is a location where trucks and carts are stored when not in use. Trucks must check in at a commissary at least once every 24 hours to be checked, cleaned, and refueled. There are fees paid directly to commissaries by vendors.*

Intro

Evolution of the topic

As an original comps topic, I explored the idea of looking at temporary and mobile retail as a means of revitalization in urban areas. This included an examination of whether and how pop-up shops could represent a way to revitalize under-served areas without requiring long term investment from merchants. However, the topic soon evolved into looking at other forms of temporary retail, such as farmers' markets and street vending. Eventually, my question evolved into an evaluation and comparison of mobile food, both in the form of taco truck and gourmet food truck, as an important source of food and economic activity in different neighborhoods, serving a variety of demographics.

One fascinating aspect of the food truck fad that has become so pervasive in L.A., nationally, and even begun to spread internationally is that though the food is mobile and has wheels, customers may find the truck locations online through social media and may also drive long distances to get the one sandwich, cupcake, or burrito that they claim to be the best. If customers are in fact traveling far distances, why are the trucks not doing the traveling instead, in order to gain more business? This model of mobile food is new and may well be correlated with the expansion of social media; however, food trucks have also existed for almost 50 years in the form of Loncheras in Los Angeles. Research, mapping, and surveys were initially to be conducted throughout Los Angeles in order to compare the various neighborhoods and cities and look at how policies differ in various jurisdictions and how trucks differ in what they offer and how they operate in the communities that they serve. However, to conduct research throughout LA County, and even all of LA City was beyond the scope of this study due to time and resource constraints. Instead, the research focused on two specific and adjacent

neighborhoods -- the Eagle Rock and Highland Park portion of Northeast LA – as a case study that could compare the different types of food trucks and who utilizes them.

The study area contains a mix of both Loncheras and Twitter Trucks and there is also demographic diversity in terms of ethnicity, income, and homeownership. Taco trucks have been present in the area for decades and Twitter Trucks frequent the area. The goal of this project is to look at what the current state of food trucks and street food is in Los Angeles, and how it has evolved over time. Los Angeles has always been known for its prevalence of taco trucks, or Loncheras, but they often have a stigma attached to them and are referred to as “roach coaches”. However, since 2008 years there has been a marked rise in the presence of other forms of street food, particularly in the form of gourmet food trucks.

However, street food is not a new addition to the Los Angeles streetscape. Food carts have existed in Los Angeles for over a century, as is true with various other cities, selling everything from tacos and “danger dogs” to ceviche and cut fruit. However, this kind of vending has been illegal since the early 1900’s in Los Angeles due to the “open air” status of street carts and the push to privatize and regulate public spaces such as sidewalks. The street foods that are on the rise seem to be the novel and ever growing “Twitter trucks”, or gourmet food trucks that market to a continually growing population, often times a different population than have been the traditional customers of the taco trucks. In assessing and comparing the customer base and the location strategies it is important to evaluate if Loncheras and Twitter trucks conduct business primarily in residential or commercial areas, and if and why the trucks choose to serve those particular areas.

In addition, it is crucial to investigate the means by which patrons arrive at the various trucks in order to determine if the “mobile” aspect of food is acting as a social equalizer to access all areas and populations of the city, or if certain trucks are only providing services in certain areas and patrons are traveling to reach the trucks, just as they would a restaurant. If this is the case, the motivation of the owners for having a food truck rather than a restaurant could be evaluated, and whether such a choice involves the assumed financial benefit. The research includes a variety of methods, such as customer surveys, interviews with both Twitter truck and Lonchera owners, interviews with policy makers and community organizers, and GIS mapping to track the truck locations and evaluate which populations are being served and how patrons are accessing the food. Using this combination of methods provides an overall look at whether and how mobile food is changing the landscape and fabric of Los Angeles.

Methodology

In order to investigate my research question, a wide variety of research methods have been used. These include semi-structured interviews with food truck owners to gauge what it takes to run a food truck, why it is more appealing/practical than starting a restaurant, and what policies have been changed for and against street vending or food trucks, as well as what policies food truck owners would like to see implemented. Food truck owners have also been asked about their customers—what demographics are typically using the truck, if they have regular customers, and whether they notice if the customers typically arrive in a car, by foot, by bike, or otherwise.

Why food trucks choose to serve at the locations they do has also been explored. Do customers tend to come from the surrounding areas more frequently in residential or

commercial areas? Is the location chosen because of high pedestrian traffic, high car traffic, or another reason? Discussion with the truck owners also discovered how certain trucks were started, why they began, and how the owners have seen the industry evolve since they have been a part of the industry. Interviews with policy makers and leaders that have been involved in both the fight to legalize street carts and involved with the high increase in food trucks were conducted in order to answer questions regarding how the food truck and Lonchera scene has been changing since the rise of the gourmet food trucks. Through these interviews, information as to why the policies in place exist and how feasible it would be to change them has been gathered. The people interviewed for this research were Rudy Espinoza and Gregg Kettles, co-chairs of the Los Angeles Food Policy Council Street Food Working Group; Michele Grant, formerly of the Grilled Cheese Truck and continuously active in the food truck world; Erin Glenn, formerly CEO of the Loncheras Association; Clint Peralta of Great Balls on Tires; Yolanda (commonly known as Sonia) and Frank Francia of Sonia's Tacos; and Natasha Case, CEO and founder of Coolhaus.

In addition to interviewing and talking with food truck owners, patron surveys were conducted on site at various food truck locations to determine how customers arrived at a truck, how far they traveled, and their motivation for choosing the truck. The surveys were conducted at both Twitter truck and Lonchera sites. The survey helped gather information about the population that is using various kinds of food trucks. For example, —is it the only food in the area, is it a fad, do they know the owner, do they love the food, etc. The results of the survey contributed to the next section of research, which is a GIS mapping of how food trucks are accessing various communities in Los Angeles. The maps created help evaluate the

demographics of the communities the different truck models are accessing; the demographics of the customers that are using the trucks; how customers are accessing the trucks; and how far the average customer travels to access the truck. Census data was used to determine the demographics of various neighborhoods.

Tracking locations of Twitter trucks and taco trucks allows for analysis of whether food trucks are being used as an effective model of bringing food to all areas or if they are simply catering to one demographic or neighborhood. The information on trucks' locations was determined through the use of Twitter and the calendars on trucks' websites over a period of 10 days from March 3-13, 2013 or from April 2-12, 2013. Because the nature of Loncheras is to do business in the same location every day, the regular Loncheras in the Eagle Rock/Highland Park area were mapped; however, due to time and resources available, Loncheras are tracked based on knowledge of the locations. Occasionally, a taco truck will frequent the area and occasionally, a Lonchera will not be at the scheduled location on the scheduled date. Without checking every location multiple times every day, it is difficult to be certain that the Loncheras were in each location on schedule. Therefore, the tracked locations of the Loncheras are based on information from the Lonchera owners and the posted truck schedules. GIS was used to overlay the locations and the demographics of the area that trucks traveled to and to also determine how the trucks were being accessed. The maps show the proximity of trucks to residential areas, as well as the ethnicity, income, and homeownership levels of the areas surrounding the truck locations. Mapping this information provides a visual analysis of the way that food trucks are reaching consumers as well as provides a visual for how food trucks have evolved.

In addition to the above methods, research was conducted on past street vending policies and practices. Most of this information is used as background information on the food truck industry and how it has evolved in Los Angeles into the form it is today. This background provides a foundation for how various cities have seen the rise of food trucks, what forms street vending has taken in Los Angeles since it first started over a century ago, and a look at how policy and social participation has changed. An analysis of health, retail, and municipal policies in Los Angeles demonstrates how food trucks have had a social impact on recent urban culture, and show how policies and social trends are affecting the different models of street vending.

The report thus provides a background on the history of public spaces, street vending, and food trucks. This includes a discussion of the permitting process and how families have been involved in the street vending industry. The history and evolution of Loncheras and gourmet food trucks in Los Angeles which follows provides interesting and important contrasts, and the description of those trucks profiled in the report includes an analysis of the economic benefits, development, and motivation that comes with starting a truck. There is then a discussion of mobile food as a means of food justice and food access, and then the various policies that affect food trucks. Finally, the results of the surveys conducted and the maps created are analyzed and a conclusion and policy recommendations are provided.

Theories regarding public space

Public space references a variety of concepts or theories that have evolved with time. The public realm was once a place to be feared, because of the association with strangers and sickness that was prevalent in densely populated areas. The privatization of neighborhoods and spaces has led to an exclusivity that has created a large class division in the United States. This section

aims to evaluate how the contrast and conflicts between public versus private spaces have had an impact on street vending and mobile food in Los Angeles.

The Public Realm and the Private Realm

Cities used to have downtowns bustling with activity and street vendors of every kind. However, as Lyn Lofland states in *“The Public Realm: Exploring the City’s Quintessential Social Theory”*, a stigma has become attached to how people use public spaces and people who sell things on the street. Now, people see streets as somewhere that is full of strangers¹, where they will have interactions with others that are unwanted. Historically, in order to go to work, school, or elsewhere, most people had to pass through the public realm². Additionally, in older civilizations, people spent time in the public realm because it was more desirable than the private realm; it was a way to socialize with others and a place to gather. This is still the case in many public areas, primarily suburban areas or green spaces. However, the negative connotations that we have with public space and the public realm have become associated with city or urban life³ where there is always a high density of people, high pedestrian traffic, crowding, and many times, higher crime rates.

Yet creating urban public spaces can also prove to be more economic than privatized urban spaces. Streets and sidewalks are viewed as public goods, because it would be economically prohibitive to try to privatize them⁴. There are clear boundaries regarding where we choose to maintain certain public goods rather than privatize them and why. “In theory, we could privatize streets with a tollbooth at every corner, but the costs of doing so would be

¹ Lofland, Lyn H. *The Public Realm: Exploring the City’s Quintessential Social Theory* (Aldine, 1998).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, 113.

⁴ Morales, Alfonso and Kettles, Gregg W., “Healthy Food Outside: Farmers’ Markets, Taco Trucks, and Sidewalk Fruit Vendors,” *Journal of Contemporary Health Law and Policy* 20, no. 20 (January 25, 2010): 23.

exorbitant”⁵. Eventually there must be a line drawn regarding which spaces we privatize and which spaces we leave as public; however this does not guarantee high desirability of public spaces over private spaces. We also must consider when to limit the regulations of public, private, and pseudo-public spaces that are intended to be public spaces but are regulated or are exclusive to certain groups of people. This ties into the food truck debate because, as will be described more in depth later, many policies surrounding food trucks have to do with private property and obtaining permits to operate in public spaces. There is often times a conflict between trucks and merchants or brick and mortar restaurants regarding how close to a business a truck can be. It seems that, as a means of economic revival, bringing more businesses to areas would benefit most parties involved, rather than limiting where businesses can operate. If a food truck is able to draw a large crowd of customers to a street with many merchants, there is the possibility that those merchants would benefit significantly from the increase in pedestrians in the area. However, because of the constant struggle over public and private spaces, street vendors and food trucks are heavily regulated in Los Angeles and it is difficult for trucks to do business near other restaurants, making it extremely difficult for trucks and vendors to operate at their full potential.

Sidewalks as a public right of way

In her book *Sidewalks*, Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris discusses the history of sidewalk vending, beginning with the early 20th century. In the early 1900’s, “peddlers” and vendors were looked down upon for reasons of public health and because often they obstructed traffic,

⁵ Ibid.

didn't have a license, and were in areas where they weren't supposed to be⁶. This is interesting because this seems to be the sentiment surrounding the street cart industry today, but not necessarily the food truck industry. This may be due to the mindset of Angelenos towards the automobile versus pedestrians. As discussed in Reyner Banham's *The Architecture of Four Ecologies* Los Angeles is a pure Autopia where preference is given to the automobile over all else⁷. The freeway is used as a space where Angelenos and visitors alike can spend time in the private realm of their car and travel from one area of the city to another, without interacting with anyone else, without driving on neighborhood streets in close proximity to other drivers. This plays out in land use-related urban planning, freeway growth, and suburban expansion, and may very well have an impact on the social sentiments towards various forms of street vending and the rejection of the public realm.

Another source of the stigma associated with street vending may be a result of street vendors being associated with a certain demographic—around the turn of the century, they were largely Chinese immigrants; present day street vendors, similar to Lonchera owners, are largely immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Today, there seems to be a conflict between the street vendors and the trucks, and where they are allowed or tolerated. In *Sidewalks*, page 140 includes a table (7.2) which is incredibly helpful for the current history of vending regulations. This source additionally discusses how sidewalks are used as a public space, and how public spaces lead to social interactions and the construction of relationships within communities.

⁶ Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Sidewalk as Space of Economic Survival," in *Sidewalks: Conflict and Negotiation over Public Space* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2009), 131.

⁷ Banham, Reyner. *The Architecture of Four Ecologies*. London, England: University of California Press, 1971.

TABLE 7.2
Contemporary sidewalk vending regulations, Los Angeles and New York

Year	Los Angeles	New York
1982		Local Law 2 passed authorizing creation of business improvement districts in the city
1985		Mayor Koch creates a New York Police Department Street Vendor Task Force
1986	Street Vending Association formed to advocate for vendors	
1988		Vending licenses capped at 853 for general merchandise and 3,000 for food
1989	Street Vending Task Force created by the city	
1993		Community court established to handle quality-of-life infractions
1994	Ordinance 171913 passed to allow creation of vending districts on commercial corridors in eight areas	Mayor Giuliani prohibits vending on 125th Street Ordinance passed allowing creation of vending districts in eight areas 125th Street vendors relocated to open-air market on 116th Street
1995		Street vendor review panel created to establish vending districts
1997		U.S. Supreme Court denies Giuliani's appeal that visual art should not be protected by the First Amendment
1999	First vending district inaugurated in MacArthur Park under 1994 ordinance	
2001		Street Vendor Project created as a grassroots vendor advocate
2005		Executive Order 41 prohibits New York Consumer Affairs from questioning vending applicants about immigration status
2007	MacArthur Park vending district suspended	

The move back into cities

One article by Rolf Pendall discusses how Millennials are pushing back the time until they get married or “settle down”, and how, because of this, they are staying in urban areas more than their parents’ generation did. One thing that would be interesting to look at would be whether Millennials are one of the primary age groups that are using food trucks, and if so, if food trucks are simply a fad supported by the Millennials that are staying in the cities for now. If they leave the cities, will the food truck industry change, or will they begin to cater to a new demographic? Food trucks may also become something that is so engrained into the DNA of a city structure that it will not matter which age group is using them, but it could also be the case that this demographic is helping to keep the street food scene vibrant. Current generations moving back into cities may have a deep impact on the way that mobile food sets roots in Los Angeles.

There has been a shift over the past decade that has been a reversal of the move to the suburbs in the post-war era of the United States. In the current era, young white professionals are moving back into the cities in order to be close to jobs and have a shorter commute time⁸. This trend is not necessarily occurring in every single city across the country, but is prevalent in rapidly growing cities such as Atlanta, Portland, and Austin⁹. As the populations in these cities increases and the demographics shift to a younger generation, the development of the cities is sure to change as well. This is where mobile food comes in—if the younger generations are moving into cities where food trucks are growing, such as Austin and Portland, then the

⁸ Yen, Hope. “Suburbs Losing Young Whites To Cities, Brookings Institution Finds.” *Huffington Post*, May 9, 2010. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/05/09/suburbs-losing-young-whit_n_569226.html?view=print&comm_ref=false.

⁹ Ibid.

younger generation will be the ones who are determining what the future of street vending and mobile food is. If younger generations are the demographic that use food trucks most, then this is good news for the food truck industry. However, before predicting the future of the mobile food industry there must first be a discussion of where mobile food evolved from and what the role of mobile food in urban areas has been historically.

History of Street Vending and Food Trucks

Street vending and street food historically had played a role in bringing communities together by bringing residents out of their homes and workplaces to gather, as opposed to gathering at a walled in or exclusive restaurant, which took people into the private realm. Instead, it created a space on public property where people could congregate. Rather than having streets and sidewalks solely as a space to transport people, the spaces were used for businesses and customers alike. Street food is something that is prevalent in virtually every country. However, in every culture there is a different variety of street food and a different association with those who consume street food. Marketplaces are areas where communities can gather, interact, and meet. Historically and in the present day, farmers' markets have acted as this kind of gathering place, and in neighborhoods around the country where neighbors meet and interact when the spaces are allocated to events that strengthen communities.

Evolution of street vending in USA

Until 1940, street vendors were so prevalent in the United States that they had their own census category¹⁰. However, it is hard to now know how many street vendors there are or what the potentially taxable revenue is that the government could receive, because there is no

¹⁰ Morales, Alfonso and Kettles, Gregg W., "Healthy Food Outside: Farmers' Markets, Taco Trucks, and Sidewalk Fruit Vendors." 28.

longer a census category for street vendors and because many mobile food vendors are operating illegally. Instead, the fight has evolved into a struggle of selling goods on private property and regulating the small businesses almost to a fault, creating what is now a “sterile public space”¹¹. The use of street vending and street food can help to increase public safety, because as patrons travel to and from vendors or markets, they walk the streets, increasing eyes on the street and increasing interactions among each other.

In terms of public health, street vendors used to create a means of access to low-income communities that were located in food deserts where businesses did not want to establish a business¹². However, because of the decrease in amount of food vendors and an increase in the stigma attached to street food, food carts are no longer having as much of an impact on low-income areas as they used to, and as they potentially could. Currently there are many areas that are considered food deserts in Los Angeles. A food desert is defined by the USDA as “low-income census tracts with a substantial number or share of residents with low levels of access to retail outlets selling healthy and affordable foods”¹³. Street vendors have the potential to improve food access and provide economic opportunities for the lower income vendors due to the lower start up and operational costs compared to restaurants and the increased mobility to access various communities.

Cities across the country have tried various models of bringing back street food as a means of providing food access to those that are lacking it. New York City set up a program that

¹¹ Ibid, 30.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ver Ploeg, Michelle, Nulph, David, and Williams, Ryan. “Mapping Food Deserts in the United States.” Accessed April 19, 2013. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/amber-waves/2011-december/data-feature-mapping-food-deserts-in-the-us.aspx#.UXFy7rVJP4t>.

provided 1,000 vending licenses for carts that agreed to sell in low-income areas¹⁴. Additionally, in 2009 San Francisco made access to healthy food a city-wide priority, and looked to mobile food vendors to help with the task. However, bringing back the literal street cart isn't necessarily the only way to recreate the street food scene that was once so prevalent.

One form of street food that is viewed as creating community and bringing people together are farmers' markets. By bringing nutrition to the places where they are located, farmers' markets help to combine public health and urban planning. They contribute to health of communities as well as the social vibrancy of communities¹⁵. According to the USDA, as of August of 2012 there were 7,864 farmers' markets in the United States¹⁶. Markets have evolved throughout history but have always been an integral part of communities, whether outdoor markets, farmers' markets, or large commercial centers. In many countries around the world, the outdoor market is still the place to go to find whatever a family may need, whether it is nutrition or clothing. However, over the years, markets have become replaced with chain grocery stores¹⁷, as has been the worldwide trend of chain corporations shutting down small business.

Currently, food trucks are operating in cities nationwide. Each city has its own version of the food truck phenomena. The cities that have the largest food truck presence are Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Portland, and Austin¹⁸. Natasha Case is the CEO and founder

¹⁴ Morales, Alfonso and Kettles, Gregg W., "Healthy Food Outside: Farmers' Markets, Taco Trucks, and Sidewalk Fruit Vendors." 32.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Sparks, Gwen. "USDA Directory Records More Than 7,800 Farmers Markets." Washington, D.C., August 3, 2012.

¹⁷ Morales, Alfonso and Kettles, Gregg W., "Healthy Food Outside: Farmers' Markets, Taco Trucks, and Sidewalk Fruit Vendors." 27.

¹⁸ Katy McLaughlin, "Food Truck Nation," *Wall Street Journal*, June 5, 2009, sec. Food & Drink, <http://ftfus.com/news/Food%20Truck%20Nation.%20WSJ.6-5-2009.pdf>.

of Coolhaus, an ice cream sandwich truck that operates trucks in Los Angeles, Dallas-Fort Worth, Austin, New York, and Miami. According to Case, operating a truck in New York versus in Los Angeles is quite different, because the way that people access mobile food is different¹⁹. In Los Angeles, most people will drive to a food truck. However, in New York, because everything is more compact and there are more pedestrians on the streets, there is a higher chance that someone will stumble across the Coolhaus truck, or any other food truck, and eat at it. There is definitely still a demographic that seeks out the trucks in New York using social media; however, there is a larger customer base of those who discover the truck than there is in Los Angeles. In Austin, trucks are not allowed to stop along the curb. Instead, they park in designated food truck lots²⁰, similar to the Portland model. This creates a greater sense of community within the lot, but it also creates a more regular customer base because the truck is often in the same spot. However, nationwide, these gourmet food trucks often offer a unique product, and because of the use of social media, are creating a cultural fad in the mobile food industry.

A more recent trend in the food truck industry is the creation of sustainable trucks, organic trucks, and gourmet trucks. For example, The Green Truck in Los Angeles runs on vegetable oil²¹ and uses a commissary that is solar powered. Chefs from well-known and established restaurants, often times highly rated chefs, have begun to start food trucks as a way

¹⁹ Natasha Case, April 2, 2013.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Katy McLaughlin. "Food Truck Nation". *Wall Street Journal*, June 5, 2009, sec. Food & Drink. <http://ftfus.com/news/food%20truck%20nation.%20WSJ.6-5-2009.pdf>

to increase business²². Having a food truck can also help the restaurant to cater to an entirely different demographic than they would reach through a high end restaurant.

In the United States, mobile food used to come in the form of the milk man and the ice cream truck. Because these were forms of mobile food that were incredibly popular and prevalent, policies were put in place. However, the problem today that we are encountering is that, while the mobile and street food industry has greatly changed, often times the policies implemented long ago for vendors like an ice cream truck are what are still left in place as the basis for regulation of the current day food truck. However, these policies, such as parking limits for trucks, are not necessarily applicable to the trucks that are on the streets today; therefore in order to provide a space for the modern day food truck to contribute to the community, some policies need to be changed in order to integrate mobile food back into the fabric of Los Angeles.

Street vending in Los Angeles

The long history that street vending in the United States has is pertinent to Los Angeles as well. There have been street vendors along the streets of Los Angeles for over a century, and the struggle continues today. In the early 20th century, the image of street vending in Los Angeles was the “tamale men” that roamed the streets of Los Angeles, sharing the Californio take on Mexican cuisine with Angelenos and visitors alike. The tamale men used carts to travel from their homes to various parts of Los Angeles, but also as a means of claiming space in the public realm of the city²³. The tamale carts have no determined start, but in “1880, a *Los*

²² Ibid.

²³ Arellano, Gustavo. *Taco USA*. New York: Scribner, 2012. 55.

Angeles Herald article commented, ‘The experience of our Eastern visitors will be incomplete unless they sample’ a Los Angeles street tamale”²⁴.

Even when these tamale men were selling on the streets of Los Angeles 100 years ago, there were complaints from local merchants and restaurant owners that the tamale men were taking the business away from the brick and mortar restaurants. In the early 1900’s, restaurant owners in downtown Los Angeles began organizing to convince the Los Angeles City Council to start regulating this group of street vendors. The vendors responded with a petition with signatures of more than 500 customers²⁵. Due to this long-standing conflict between street vendors and local restaurants, there has constantly been a struggle for the legalization of street food in the form of sidewalk vending in Los Angeles.

Permitting

The permitting process for street vending in Los Angeles is classified into a variety of categories. There are open-air carts and there are closed-air vehicles. Currently, the open-air status of carts is illegal in Los Angeles, therefore the majority of sidewalk vendors in Los Angeles are operating illegally²⁶.

Food trucks must go through an extensive permitting process in order to legally sell food. First, the applicant must apply for a business license to the City of Los Angeles. This also means that if the truck chooses to go to one of the other 87 cities in Los Angeles County that is not the City of Los Angeles; they must also obtain a business license from each city to conduct their business. Next, the applicant must obtain a food handler’s permit from the Los Angeles

²⁴ Arellano, Gustavo. *Taco USA*. New York: Scribner, 2012. 55.

²⁵ Vallianatos, Mark. “A More Delicious City: How to Legalize Street Food.” Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Forthcoming.

²⁶ Rudy Espinoza, December 3, 2012.

County Department of Public Health (LADPH). The list and costs of permits that are necessary for starting a food truck are as follows²⁷:

From the State of California:

- Seller's Permit – approximately \$150.00
- Vehicle registration – \$458.00 (yearly)
- Liability insurance (minimum required) \$98.00 (monthly)

From Los Angeles County:

- Public Health Operating Permit – \$695.00 (yearly)
- Certified Food Handler Manager Certificate – approximately \$160.00
- Business license – \$168.00

The extensive permitting process is lengthy for everyone, but has proven to be especially difficult for recent immigrants who may not be able to apply for a business license due to their immigration status²⁸. However, often times these entrepreneurs will apply for a license under another family member or friend's name in order to start his or her business²⁹.

Family and Community Involvement

As an entrepreneur, a street vendor, food truck, or Lonchera owner can easily involve the entire family in the business. Historically, Loncheras are family businesses that have existed for decades, and are many times passed down to children or grandchildren once the initial founder is too old to work³⁰. Mobile food vending is a way for many people to strive towards reaching the American Dream³¹. It is a way for parents to put their kids through school and secure a good future³². However there has always been a stigma attached to street vending and an association for many people that vendors are low income and immigrants, that there has not

²⁷ Erin Glenn, March 25, 2013.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Michele Grant, February 15, 2013.

³² Erin Glenn, March 25, 2013.

been much space in the public debate for what the role of mobile food is and can be in our society. Until the rise of the gourmet food truck and the increase in fame and fascination with food trucks, not much positive attention or media coverage has been granted to mobile food vendors. However, the long-standing struggle in Los Angeles has begun to move to the forefront of social and political discussions.

The Current Struggle for Legalized Vending, as well as the history of street vending and mobile food in Los Angeles, has been both long and tumultuous. Currently, the Los Angeles City Municipal Code section 42 restricts the use of sidewalks for any use other than the “unobstructed passage of pedestrians”³³, and states that “no person shall peddle fruits of vegetables in or upon any street or sidewalk other than between the hours of 8 o’clock a.m. and 8 o’clock p.m.”³⁴. As stated earlier, the struggle against the street vendors, which resulted in such restrictions, began a century ago when restaurants contested the tamale men using the sidewalks outside of their restaurants as a place to sell food.

Today the fight continues, as street vendors struggle as they enter the informal economy as a means of establishing a means of livelihood. However, businesses and residents are still fighting against street vendors in all its forms—those who sell food, and those who sell merchandise. Merchants claim that the informal street vendors take business from the legitimate businesses because they sell items at a lower price, and because they are not

³³ “Los Angeles Municipal Code.” 42.01.

[http://www.amlegal.com/nxt/gateway.dll/California/lamc/municipalcode?f=templates\\$fn=default.htm\\$3.0\\$vid=amlegal:losangeles_ca_mc](http://www.amlegal.com/nxt/gateway.dll/California/lamc/municipalcode?f=templates$fn=default.htm$3.0$vid=amlegal:losangeles_ca_mc).

³⁴ Ibid, 42.13.

licensed businesses, do not contribute taxes to the city,³⁵ and are therefore more harmful than helpful. However, customers claim that these informal businesses are better because they are able to buy goods at more affordable prices³⁶. The vending of the kinds of goods sold informally, such as clothing, roller skates, and household items, parallels the arguments for the street vending of food as well; the carts sell more affordable food, but also presumably take away business from local restaurants. The argument is continual and has not seemed to come near to a solution that will satisfy both sides. Currently, those found in violation of the street vending restrictions in the Municipal Code are eligible for up to 6 months in jail and a \$1000 fine³⁷.

The street vendors are regulated by the Bureau of Street Services in the City of Los Angeles, and most often vendors are arrested only if the Bureau receives a complaint or if the Bureau has already given a certain vendor a warning³⁸. Between July 1, 2011 and May 23, 2012 284 vendors were arrested³⁹. A survey conducted by Esperanza Community Housing Corporation between 2010 and 2011 found that less than 1/3 of street vendors interviewed were aware of laws regulating street vending⁴⁰, and many of the vendors were in favor of creating a legal process for permitting street vending.

³⁵ Song, Jason. "L.A. County May Crack down on Illegal Street Vendors." *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 2013. <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-county-may-crack-down-on-illegal-street-vendors-20130408,0,2240330.story>.

³⁶ Song, Jason. "L.A. County May Crack down on Illegal Street Vendors." *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 2013. <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-county-may-crack-down-on-illegal-street-vendors-20130408,0,2240330.story>.

³⁷ Vallianatos, Mark. "A More Delicious City: How to Legalize Street Food." Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Forthcoming.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Open air status

The problem that arises with food carts and sidewalk vendors operating in Los Angeles is that open air food carts are illegal. This means that food vendors such as food trucks that are classified as closed air are able to obtain permits, while food carts are not. There has been a struggle against this policy for many years now, however, there are not very high hopes that the policy will change soon because a large problem with the open air carts is that they do not comply with the state regulations for food retailers. For example, it is incredibly hard to have a food cart that is able to fit a large industrial sink on it.

However, for food trucks, it is much easier to comply with state regulations and therefore they are legal in most places. Though it is easy for food trucks to comply with state health codes and policies, it is difficult for them to comply with the extraordinary amount of parking regulations. Because they tend to operate in urban areas, parking tends to be scarce and there is often times a conflict between the local businesses and the food trucks that park near them; business owners do not like to lose customers to the food trucks, and they do not like the trucks taking parking spaces that could be used by customers.

History of the Loncheras in LA

Today's Loncheras that cruise the streets of Los Angeles represent a means of economic survival for many families and individuals. That economic necessity has characterized Loncheras since their emergence in the 1970s, a contemporary version of the tamale men. Following is an overview of the history of these taco trucks in Los Angeles and how they have played into the fabric and development of communities around the city.

Purpose they were intended for

In Los Angeles, Loncheras, also known as Taco Trucks, originally began as a means of bringing food to various construction sites, where the workers were mostly Latino, and predominantly immigrants from Mexico and Central America. As a result, these trucks primarily provided Mexican and Central American foods such as tacos, sopas, and pupusas⁴¹. The construction sites were typically in industrial areas, with no other food establishments in the immediate area, thus filling a food access need. Loncheras are unique from other forms of food trucks because they tend to be more stationary than the Twitter trucks, which move locations frequently. Loncheras/Taco Trucks have become associated with Los Angeles, due to the high density of taco trucks in the city and their long history and connection to the immigrant populations that have been arriving since the 1970s that have had such an impact on the culture and demographics of the city and the region. In the Los Angeles Municipal Code, Loncheras are defined as "catering trucks". The catering trucks of today had origins in East Los Angeles, and then expanded into other areas of the city as they became more popular.

⁴¹ Melodie Mendez, *Loncheras En La Casa: Cultural and Environmental Sustainability for Latino Communities Through Food Trucks* (Davidson College, November 2012), <http://www3.davidson.edu/cms/Documents/Academics/Departments/InterdisciplinaryStudies/Mendez,%20Melodie%20lit%20review.pdf>.

Today's Loncheras and the Asociación de Loncheras

Although a long standing presence in Los Angeles, the Lonchera community did not have, until recently, a formal organization for the trucks and owners. That organization, the Asociación de Loncheras, is an advocacy group that provides a meeting place for Lonchera owners and workers to gather and discuss policy changes and create rules to govern themselves. Erin Glenn is the former CEO of the Asociación and is still heavily involved in the organization. Some of today's Loncheras are located in some of the same historical routes where they had previously served construction sites and factories. In its contemporary version, reminiscent of these routes, the "loncheros de ruta" –literally, route-taco trucks—now also traverse the west side seeking clients among domestic workers such as gardeners and nannies. However, most present day Loncheras are stationary and serve the particular community they are in, acting as semi-permanent establishments.

In the late 2000s, law makers and business owners tried to eliminate food trucks because they were characterized as a "public safety hazard". Essentially, this resulted in policy makers marginalizing the Lonchera owners, who are predominantly immigrants from Mexico and Central America. What was not taken into account when determining that the trucks represented a public safety hazard was the large impact that criminalizing the trucks would have on the families that are tied to each of those businesses. The economic benefits that come with having a truck are a way for owners to act as entrepreneurs, and, as Erin states, it is a way for many recent immigrants to have access to pursuit of the American Dream⁴².

For the past 40 years, Loncheras have acted as a way of access to a lifestyle that many immigrants are not able to achieve due to the faltering economy and lack of jobs. However, as

⁴² Erin Glenn, March 25, 2013.

entrepreneurs many families are provided with upward social mobility and are contributing to the local economies. Many Loncheras in Los Angeles purchase their produce from El Mercado Central in downtown, and source their meat and seafood from local vendors as well. The cycle that mobile food is involved in is one that is helping multiple tiers of the local economy, and because the majority of trucks are legitimate businesses the taxes are contributing to the local economy as well.

How they evolved

The model that the Loncheras started a half century ago has led to the growth of the Twitter trucks that are now ubiquitous. In Los Angeles it is difficult to drive anywhere without seeing either a taco truck or a Twitter truck—whether it is while they are in motion on the freeway, or parked along the side of the road, with lines snaking along the sidewalk. There is a wide range of the kinds of food available; some of the oldest cuisines include gourmet grilled cheese and Korean BBQ tacos, from the Grilled Cheese and Kogi BBQ trucks, respectively. As mentioned, there is also a wide range of sustainable, local, and organic food available from these gourmet trucks. There has also been a noticeable increase in dessert trucks. Coolhaus was started in 2009 and since then, there has been a surge of cupcake trucks, and gourmet dessert trucks. The use of social media sites allows the trucks to travel all over Los Angeles County, and occasionally beyond to places like Orange County. By tweeting where the next location will be, the trucks can ensure that customers will come to whatever location they decide to park at any given time, based on the reputation that they have.

History of Gourmet food trucks in LA

Today's gourmet/Twitter trucks have evolved out of the community-based Loncheras that have traveled the streets of Los Angeles for decades. As Oliver Wang claims:

If you're a catering truck serving cheap food off the street, you're still following the lead of the old fashioned taco trucks that have been a part of this city's food fare for 30+ years. Respect the architects⁴³.

Regardless of the food that is being served, whether it is locally sourced chicken on a bed of organic kale, or a Mexican-sushi fusion, the model that these gourmet trucks are based on is the one that the Loncheras have survived on, experimented with, and perfected over the past almost half century.

How and when the fad started

The Green Truck was the first gourmet food truck that hit the streets using social media in Los Angeles back in 2008. Often times, Kogi BBQ will receive credit for really lifting the industry off the ground and the Grilled Cheese Truck often times is better known than the Green Truck; however the Green Truck was launched by Mitchell Collier and Kam Miceli in 2007⁴⁴, a year before Kogi BBQ hit the streets. The idea behind the Green Truck was to bring organic and healthy food to various areas of west LA. Kogi BBQ was created in 2008 by Roy Choi, formerly a hotel chef, Mark Manguera, and Caroline Shin. For \$3,000 the trio opened a truck that they were initially able to rent for free, and began selling Korean BBQ in tortillas⁴⁵. It was an instant hit.

⁴³ Vallianatos, Mark. "A More Delicious City: How to Legalize Street Food." Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Forthcoming.

⁴⁴ Jennings, Lisa. "Having Words with Mitchell Collier Partner, Green Truck," January 12, 2008. <http://nrn.com/print/corporate/having-words-mitchell-collier-partner-green-truck>.

⁴⁵ Ridgway, Suzanne. "Roy Choi and the Kogi BBQ Trucks." *Working World*. Accessed April 19, 2013. <http://www.workingworld.com/articles/roy-choi-and-the-kogi-bbq-trucks>.

The Long Trek to the Taco

Though taco trucks have a history of serving specific communities and Twitter trucks visit various areas of Los Angeles to serve different communities, the attention the gourmet trucks have been receiving has created a national phenomenon for some of the “brand name” trucks that had surfaced in Los Angeles. There have been a number of TV shows such as “The Amazing Food Truck Race” that have successfully launched gourmet trucks. The fame that these trucks experience has caused patrons to travel great distances to eat one specific taco, sandwich, or dessert. According to Michele Grant, The Grilled Cheese truck would often times have patrons that traveled from San Jose just for lunch. In one instance noted by Michele Grant, a woman traveled from Florida to Los Angeles to try the famous Grilled Cheese Truck⁴⁶.

In many instances, customers would bond in line and make friends. In the case with the woman from Florida, she was traveling to San Diego after leaving The Grilled Cheese Truck, and a couple she met in line drove her to Union Station to catch her train. When she arrived at Union Station, she realized she had left her suitcase in the car, and contacted The Grilled Cheese Truck to see if she could be put in touch with the couple she had met so she could claim her suitcase. At the same time, the couple contacted The Grilled Cheese Truck and asked to be put in touch with the woman they had met, because they wanted to return her suitcase. There is even the possibility that these customers have kept in touch and remained friends, even after just meeting by waiting in line for the best grilled cheese in town; regardless of whether they

⁴⁶ Michele Grant, February 15, 2013.

are still friends, there is a camaraderie that develops with customers waiting in line for hours for a specific item of food⁴⁷.

Introduction of the Loncheras and Food Trucks in my research

Sonia's Tacos⁴⁸

Sonia's Tacos was started almost 20 years ago. The owners are Yolanda Francia, commonly known as Sonia, and Frank Francia. It has always been a stationary taco truck, but each day is parked at a commissary and each night is parked at a location, almost always along Eagle Rock Boulevard. For 20 years she has parked her truck in Eagle Rock, awaiting the arrival of nighttime customers, which vary from college students on a late-night taco truck run, to Eagle Rock residents coming to get one of Sonia's delicious tacos, tortas, quesadillas, or burritos. Most of the customers that come by the truck are regular customers. Sometimes, customers travel from Pasadena, North Hollywood, or Van Nuys for Sonia's Tacos. Before starting her own truck, Sonia worked at Leo's tacos, which still remains parked down the road.

A typical day for Sonia and Frank is to wake up at 10 a.m. and begin preparation for the nighttime business. This requires shopping and buying groceries, picking up the truck from the commissary, and doing most of the food prep-work before the truck actually arrives at the night's location. Business opens at 8:30p.m., though Sonia's is known for arriving late. Most days, Sonia's closes between 1a.m. and 3a.m., which means that the couple returns home to sleep around 4a.m. each day. Sonia's is closed on Mondays and every other Sunday to ensure that they have time to spend with Sonia's two teenage daughters, taking them to school and

⁴⁷ Michele Grant, February 15, 2013.

⁴⁸ *The following narrative is based on an in-person interviews conducted with Sonia and her husband Frank throughout the month of March, 2013. The interviews were originally conducted in Spanish and have been translated for this report.*

eating breakfast with them, and to set time aside to read the paper, to pay the bills, do the laundry, and to do errands for their own family rather than the business.

When Sonia was growing up in El Salvador, her mother and sisters worked in the food industry as well. Her mother worked as a street vendor in El Salvador. Sonia could have received a better education and be working in an office somewhere right now. However, this is the business that she grew up with and knows well. Sonia wants her daughters to receive a college education but she wants them to pursue the career they want, whether that is in the food industry or elsewhere.

Because there are many other taco trucks along York Ave and Eagle Rock Boulevard , Sonia finds it difficult to get the same amount of business as she used to, and has decided to park a little bit farther away from the conglomeration of trucks that typically reside at York Boulevard and Eagle Rock Boulevard. The competition is difficult, and it plays a factor in where the trucks park for the night. Sonia's would like to go to York because of the amount of people that go to York, often college students looking for a late-night snack, but there are many other trucks parked along York, especially at night. Another issue that has arisen from a previous location closer to Occidental College was noise complaints Sonia's was receiving due to the noise level of the customers.

Sonia's does not use social media or the internet to promote the business. However, other local trucks, such as Leo's, do. Now, it seems to be more difficult to work with the government and harder to go through the permitting process than it was when Sonia's was started. Food safety classes are necessary in order to obtain a food handler's permit, taken through the DPH. Often times, regulators or inspectors from the DPH will come by the truck,

even in the middle of the night, to inspect the food and the truck. Additionally, through paying the DPH fee every year, the truck receives a sticker that declares it is safe and ok to operate.

Sonia's is a prime example of the way that the Lonchera industry can help a family pursue the American Dream. When Sonia arrived in the United States, she entered into the food industry and eventually became an entrepreneur and started her business, and now, she is able to send her daughters to college, and though the work is not easy and the nights are long, she is able to provide her family with a stable lifestyle.

Grilled Cheese Truck⁴⁹

The Grilled Cheese Truck was co-founded by Michele Grant and Dave Danhi in the fall of 2009. After working in the movie industry for many years, Michele began working as a health-food private chef for an undisclosed list of clients, often times clients with dietary restrictions. She gathered a following and became known for healthy cooking and eating, and began to toy with the idea of opening a kosher food business. The ideas for the business were beginning to form when Dave called her and presented an idea for a food truck. He wanted to know if Michele had ever been to the Grilled Cheese Invitational, a grilled cheese making contest started by a group of friends competing over who could make the best grilled cheese. The event opened up to the public and every year there would be tons of people participating. Michele had gone a few years prior, but had always held a place in her heart for grilled cheese—it had been her lifelong comfort food. Dave had gone to the Grilled Cheese Invitational and seen The Green Truck outside, and began to reminisce about returning to the kitchen after a long break. He had been inspired by the juxtaposition of the healthy sustainable truck outside of a greasy

⁴⁹ Michele Grant, February 15, 2013.

cheese and bread competition, and proposed the idea to Michele—“The Grilled Cheese Food Truck”. Michele was in.

The two started planning how the business would happen, and Michele was initially planning on investing but not having much to do with the actual operation of the truck. After all, she had a successful business going and was known for her healthy food; her clients were shocked when they heard about her newest endeavor. The food truck scene in Los Angeles at the time was not very hot—trucks were just starting to hit the road. As previously mentioned, the Green Truck had started, and Kogi was on the front lines, getting attention both for its unique Korean-Latin fusion food, and for its food truck model. The Grilled Cheese truck was the 36th gourmet food truck to begin operating in Los Angeles. Three weeks after the initial proposal, Michele and Dave Danhi shook hands and committed to their idea, and six weeks after, the truck was on the road. The week before Labor Day weekend, the duo created a Facebook page and Twitter account, and because there were rumors that another group was planning on starting a grilled cheese food truck, they immediately went viral and began reaching out to everyone they could think of on social media. They contacted bloggers, websites, and press and said “Grilled Cheese Truck is coming”. However, while they were bombarding the internet with information and getting the spotlight shone on them, they still didn’t have a truck and they had no final menu. However, once the announcement hit the internet, the fans came running. That weekend they had 70 followers on Twitter. Six weeks later when they officially opened on October 27, they had 2,700. And the numbers kept growing. Today, they have over 61,000 followers.

Great Balls on Tires⁵⁰

Great Balls on Tires was founded by Clint Peralta, who has always aspired to own his own restaurant. Similar to many other food trucks owners and entrepreneurs, Clint decided to open a food truck first as a way to familiarize himself with the food industry with a lower initial capital. The idea behind the truck is to serve gourmet meatballs from a variety of cultures, which provides for a diverse customer base and flexibility to serve all different neighborhoods across Los Angeles. The flavors of meatballs vary from Indian meatballs to Mediterranean meatballs to Mexican meatballs. After operating the truck for a little over a year, Clint decided to pursue his dream of operating a restaurant and is currently in the process of opening a restaurant in Downtown Los Angeles.

Coolhaus⁵¹

Since before 2009, architect Natasha Case had been bringing homemade ice cream sandwiches into her office and giving them to her co-workers. The sandwiches were unique, and they were a quick-hit with everyone in the workplace. Though an architect by training, Natasha had always had a passion for food, and had a creative streak in her that had led her to combine her architecture skills and ice cream to create the Coolhaus ice cream sandwiches. Initially, the sandwiches were a hobby for her, but one day she was approached by a colleague with a business mindset and realized that she could make a business out of her ice cream sandwiches. As many other food trucks were started, Natasha chose to start a truck because of the mobility and low start-up costs. What was originally one truck in Los Angeles eventually

⁵⁰ *The following narrative is based on a phone interview with Clint Peralta conducted on March 22, 2013.*

⁵¹ *The following narrative is based on a phone interview with Natasha Case conducted on April 2, 2013.*

evolved into 5 trucks in Los Angeles, trucks in Austin, Dallas, Miami, and 2 trucks in New York, a cart in Central Park, one store in Culver City, an upcoming store in Pasadena, and numerous sales to specialty grocery stores such as Whole Foods.

The Coolhaus debut was at the 2009 Coachella Music Festival in Indio, California. Natasha was missing the “human connection” in her work as an architect. The goal was to “bring architecture to the people”. At first, the truck was worn-down and could barely run. However, being one of the very first gourmet dessert trucks, having a marketable product, and having a business plan and a market group helped launch the business into the successful model that it is today. In March of 2011, the business began to sell pre-packaged products to Whole Foods, bringing unique and gourmet ice cream sandwiches to a larger market than the truck could access. In the present day, nearly half of the Coolhaus business is catering events—from block parties, to festivals, to private gatherings.

Because of the experience in Los Angeles, the Coolhaus New York trucks often drive long distances to cater events—2 hours in Los Angeles does not seem too far; however, driving for 2 hours out of New York City is out of most New Yorkers’ comfort zones. The combination of experiences in different cities has allowed Coolhaus to market to a very large audience, and because of their product, the business comes from people of all ages. In Los Angeles, there is a large demographic of “white hipsters” who visit the Coolhaus truck, the store in Culver City gets many families, and often times, there are groups of senior citizens who visit the store as well. Most of the customers in Los Angeles use Coolhaus as a destination—it is found online or on a social media site, and the customers travel to it. In New York, it is easier for customers to spot the Coolhaus truck while they are shopping or traveling around the city and buy an ice cream

sandwich. Because of the different modes of access, the business model has to be slightly altered for each city the business serves in.

Economic benefits, development, and motivation

What the economic gains are versus a brick and mortar

Why start a food truck? Because it is a business, and as a business in the food service industry, it has low start-up costs, overhead, and low initial capital investment, as compared to a brick and mortar restaurant⁵². Starting a food truck also often times allows entrepreneurs to enter the restaurant business and gain valuable experience with a restaurant business model before spending a large amount of initial capital. As was the experience with Clint Peralta from Great Balls on Tires, many truck owners spend time learning how to operate a business and establish relationships with vendors so that when they enter into the restaurant industry, they already have valuable experience and connections⁵³. Often times, the cost of a truck can range from \$15,000⁵⁴-\$50,000⁵⁵ which is significantly cheaper than the \$750,000 it can take to start a restaurant⁵⁶. Once the business is started, it is much more mobile and can theoretically go to where customers can be found instead of waiting for customers to come to it. However, in reality it may be the case that customers are traveling to trucks the same way they would to a brick and mortar restaurant, although the food source is mobile. Furthermore, as in any community, business can help revitalize areas and bring more people to the community. One way that this can happen is through mobile food. By creating public spaces that are vibrant, it

⁵² Williams, "A Hungry Industry on Rolling Regulations."

⁵³ Clint Peralta, March 22, 2013.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Heather Smith, "As Food Cart Hearing Begins, Rumors Sizzle," *Mission Loc@l*, March 8, 2010, <http://missionlocal.org/2010/03/as-food-cart-hearing-begins-rumors-fly/>.

⁵⁶ Williams, "A Hungry Industry on Rolling Regulations."

brings communities to certain areas. Using mobile food as a tool, policymakers can arrange a way to bring people to areas that need revitalization or community strengthening.

Additionally, food vending can act as a means of economic development and/or stability for the owners. Acting as entrepreneurs, those who start food carts or trucks often times spend as much, if not more, time working as they would if they held another job. In New York City, “95% of street vendors were supporting an average of 4-5 people”⁵⁷ showing how necessary the business really is for the vendors. It is also evident that, particularly in LA, though many will consider it as child labor, teenagers will often help out parents or families with what can be considered the family business⁵⁸. Involving teenagers in the business allows them to contribute to the economic growth of an area and teaches skills such as money saving and hard work. By teaching children the business of street vending, it not only helps to teach certain skills for the future, but it “affords them new public spaces of sociability”⁵⁹, particularly for the teenage girls who are able to leave the stereotype of being in the home and help provide for their families.

The Journey from a Truck to a Brick and Mortar

As is the case with Clint Peralta from Great Balls on Tires, many food truck owners use the low initial capital and flexibility of food trucks to get a restaurant off the ground. The permitting process for a restaurant is much more complex and lengthy than that of a truck; therefore, aspiring restaurateurs will often times open a truck with the hopes of gaining a gathering or clientele, and then moving into a brick and mortar and “settling down.”

⁵⁷ Williams, “A Hungry Industry on Rolling Regulations.”

⁵⁸ Emir Estrada and Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, “Intersectional Dignities: Latino Immigrant Street Vendor Youth in Los Angeles,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 40, no. 102 (December 2010), doi:10.1177/0891241610387926.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

As many of these food trucks do, Clint intended to start a food truck and then open a restaurant, which was his life-long dream. Last year, he closed his truck and began the process for opening a restaurant. After going through permitting hassles and bureaucracies, Clint has learned that it may in fact be worth the high start-up capital of opening a restaurant before a food truck. Restaurants are able to gain clientele, and this clientele will travel long distances to eat at the restaurant. Therefore, once the restaurant opens a food truck, the clientele travels to the food truck. However, the clientele that visits a food truck is different than clientele that go to restaurants. Many times food truck customers are those that are active on social media sites, are often times young, and may not travel across LA County to get to the restaurant. However, if a restaurant is established first and is known for its food or a specialty item, more customers will access the truck as it travels around Los Angeles.

The City of Mobile Food

Commissaries in Los Angeles

Commissaries are used in the City of Los Angeles as well as the County to store trucks, to inspect vehicles, and to ensure that the businesses run out of the trucks are keeping everything maintained. Trucks must check into a commissary once every 24 hours⁶⁰. The commissary is where the trucks are stored, cleaned, refueled, and stocked up for an upcoming day of business. Trucks are not allowed to be parked at other locations while they are not being used. Because the trucks are constantly being restocked, the trucks are always stocked with fresh food. In fact, the food on a food truck is fresher than food in most restaurants; there is no large storage space, like a freezer, to keep leftovers or old food to reuse a second time. A large

⁶⁰ Yolanda and Frank Francia, April 2013.

number of Loncheras will purchase the meats and produce for the day from merchants in downtown, such as at El Mercado Central⁶¹. This means that the trucks are in fact supporting other local businesses in their small business model. Usually, commissaries are privately owned establishments⁶², therefore they often charge for storing the trucks. This fee is typically between \$800-1000 per month⁶³. Table 1 below shows the commissary costs for Los Angeles County, based on the typical operation expenses of truck owners.

Commissary Costs:
-Monthly rent – \$760.00
-Supplies/Foodstuff –\$2,800 monthly average (this is a rough figure based on one operator’s monthly food costs)
-Gasoline/Petroleum – \$100.00 (weekly)

Table 1. *The above table demonstrates the average costs paid to the commissaries where trucks are stored. The costs account for maintenance fees as well as supply fees.*

The Story of Westchester: Food Truck Gatherings and Public Spaces⁶⁴

“Where the Sidewalk Eats” is an organization that organizes food truck gatherings. One of the most popular of these gatherings is Westchester First Fridays. A gathering that began over three years ago and was taken over in the Spring of 2012 by “Where the Sidewalk Eats”, on the first Friday of every month gourmet food trucks are gathered on a street that is closed down to traffic in order to foster a sense of community and provide a gathering place for the surrounding residents and community. The surrounding community and merchants are so

⁶¹ Erin Glenn, March 25, 2013.

⁶² Hermosillo, Jesus Alberto. “Loncheras: A Look at the Stationary Food Truck of Los Angeles.” University of California, 2012. 35.

⁶³ Ibid, 42.

⁶⁴ Michele Grant, February 15, 2013.

invested in the event that they go through the process of obtaining a street closure permit for the event. The event is primarily merchant-driven, which is a crucial component to a successful event like this because otherwise, there can be serious contention between the merchants and the trucks. Because one of the major conflicts that food trucks find themselves in is the conflict with merchants, Westchester First Fridays is an incredibly valuable model for other food truck gatherings.

Michele Grant is the brain behind the “Where the Sidewalk Eats” concept. Less than a year into the Westchester First Fridays, Michele was approached and asked to organize the event. The gathering is “gangbuster”, according to Michele, due to the amount of community involvement the event creates and the popularity with the entire neighborhood. Initially, she was hesitant because she was unsure if she was brought in so that the Grilled Cheese Truck would participate. However, once it became clear that the group genuinely needed her leadership, she agreed. The reason Michele is so invested in the event is to give back to the community, and, because it feels like a block party, many people come. Often times, parents will drop off tweens and teenagers, give them \$10 to buy food from the trucks and hang out with their friends, and the parents get the chance to go and sit down at one of the restaurants and enjoy a relaxing meal. It’s a win-win situation for the whole family, and for the whole community. In addition, the restaurants along the street do outstanding business during these events because it brings more people to the area.

This is one model of how food trucks and mobile food can be concentrated into specific areas to act as a means of bringing people out of their homes and into the streets, or to a particular neighborhood. This kind of “food truck rally”, as they are known, is not a particular

happening to Westchester. There are food truck gatherings in parking lots around the County, at concerts, festivals, art walks, fairs, and sporting events. The fact that these trucks are mobile helps to bring business to certain areas in a manner that restaurants cannot do unless they are a catering business.

The Grilled Cheese Truck Pseudo-Restaurant

Though there is often times a conflict between restaurants and merchants and the street vendors and food trucks, they can work to have a symbiotic relationship. In one instance, The Grilled Cheese Truck worked with a restaurant at the Americana at Brand in Glendale to create a combination restaurant. One half of the restaurant was designated the usual menu, and a sectioned-off area was designated to a special menu that included grilled cheese provided by the truck, and sides and wine pairings provided by the restaurant. The truck was also parked outside if anyone wanted to order food to-go. The partnership both promoted the truck and helped the restaurant, and ended up being a huge success.

This is another model, and one that should be implemented more frequently in order to appease the conflicts over business and space between trucks and brick and mortar establishments. The relationship that evolves is beneficial to both parties and often times can build a customer base, based on the restaurant model, as well as provide a variety of food, without changing the menu of the establishment, by conducting business with a food truck.

The Bathroom Letter

One of the initial research questions of this report was why trucks, particularly Twitter trucks, choose to go to the locations they go to. Loncheras have to choose where they go, but typically they have been in the same location for such a long time that customers know where

the truck is located and therefore it would be bad for business for the truck to move. However, Twitter trucks move so frequently, often times every three hours, and seem to travel to a wide variety of communities. The initial hypothesis suggested that trucks would go to areas with a certain demographic. Though trucks must know their customer base and go to areas where customers will access the truck, there are many exterior factors influencing where Twitter trucks locate. One of these is the bathroom letter.

According to health regulations, trucks parked in a location for longer than an hour must provide a bathroom letter from a merchant within 200 feet of the location stating permission for the truck employees to use the bathroom. This must be a fully functioning restroom with soap, warm water, and kept in good condition. This is to ensure that truck employees have access to a restroom and a hand washing station. The letter may be requested by any inspection official, and the rule applies to all forms of food trucks.

According to the majority of truck owners interviewed, another factor influencing a trucks' location is the relationships that are established with merchants. For example, many Twitter trucks have a long standing relationship with The Brig on Abbot Kinney, as a result of many food truck festivals and co-sponsored events by the restaurant and trucks. This makes it easier for trucks to locate along Abbot Kinney because of the acceptance of the trucks by the surrounding merchants, ease of access to a bathroom letter, and the customer base that is familiar with the trucks' presence in the area. Finally, because one of the largest conflicts with food trucks on the streets arises from the conflicts with local merchants, locating along blocks where relationships with merchants have been established eases some of the contention between food trucks and brick and mortar restaurants.

Mobile food as a means of food justice and food access

Food Justice, Food Deserts, and Food Access

Food justice and food access are terms that refer to equal accessibility to healthy and various food options for everyone. A food desert is an area or a community that does not have access to healthy food choices, and often times is only given options provided at liquor stores or convenient stores. Since the 1960s, large supermarket chains have abandoned these areas to expand into suburban and other middle class locations and have largely failed to re-enter these communities due to fear of low business and low profit, and due to concerns regarding crime, despite evidence to the contrary.

There has been a recent push towards education surrounding this issue, and there have been instances of communities organizing to produce their own healthy options through community gardening. There has also been a move towards farmers' markets and a call for equal access to food for all communities. Food access is determined by "people's ability to reach local food retail outlets by using convenient modes of transportation"⁶⁵. The term "food affordability" is based on low-income individuals and families having to choose between healthy food options and other costs, such as transportation or housing⁶⁶. This means that families are often left choosing the cheapest option rather than the healthiest one. This has led to an increase in chronic disease outcomes such as diabetes and higher incidences of obesity that highly correlates with low-income areas and areas without food access.

⁶⁵ Vallianatos, Mark, Andrea Misako Azuma, Susan Gilliland, and Robert Gottlieb. "Food Access, Availability, and Affordability in 3 Los Angeles Communities, Project CAFE, 2004-2006." *Preventing Chronic Disease* 7, no. 2 (February 15, 2010).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Because many chain supermarkets and grocery retail outlets have abandoned urban areas nationwide, typically low-income areas with a high minority population, there has been a stark contrast in the public health of the various communities, simply due to the availability of healthy food options for these communities. Because the claim is that it is not economically viable for many businesses to open up in these communities, one way to ensure equal food access in a place like Los Angeles would be to implement healthy food vendors that bring healthy food alternatives to lower-income and food desert communities. This may be in the form of a produce truck, or even the forms of mobile food that are available now, such as taco trucks or mariscos trucks, that provide options that include all food groups and are not pre-packaged highly processed foods. This concept is one that has been studied and debated, but no policies have yet come to fruition.

How mobile food can reach communities that are lacking in other food options

In the United States, we view street food as something that is a form of junk food, often times greasy and as aforementioned, the food trucks have had a stigma attached to them for many years. However, internationally, street food does not always have as strong of a stigma attached to it. Equally, in the USA, many urban and rural areas are lacking grocery stores or locations where produce is readily available. In urban areas with these food deserts, street carts and street food vendors were able to bring produce to these areas that were lacking access to food.

One modern day solution was the idea of Steve Casey and Jeff Pinzino, who recognized this problem in their own communities and wanted to help people in the area have access to a grocery store. However, opening a physical store would require a high amount of start-up

capital. Therefore they decide to bring the groceries to the community. By creating “Fresh Moves”, a retrofitted municipal bus filled with local organic produce, the pair was able to bring large amounts of produce to underserved areas in their city of Chicago by creating a temporary grocery store⁶⁷. This model shows how mobile food can serve as a means of access to healthy and fresh food for many people, rather than just a greasy hot dog for passersby in a downtown. This is a model that can and should be duplicated in a number of cities, and particularly Los Angeles. Because Los Angeles is notorious for its sprawl and lack of public transit, it makes it particularly difficult for those without a car living in isolated communities to access food. However, street vendors may be a means to right this injustice, once street vendors are able to operate legally.

Esperanza Study

In a collaborative study conducted by Esperanza Community Housing Corporation, the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles, and the Urban & Environmental Policy Institute the various forms of food access in South Los Angeles (SLA) were evaluated, including the role that mobile food vendors play.

The report found that 75% of the food retail stores in the area are convenience stores, corner stores, and liquor stores, leaving only 25% as grocery stores⁶⁸. Additionally, only 2 farmers’ markets were found in the entire study area, which is the area east of the 110 freeway⁶⁹. In the stores that were found to be selling food, the quality of the food was extremely low. Many meat and dairy products were expired, and often times food was rotten.

⁶⁷ Katie Walker, “A Tale of Two Food Deserts,” *Organic Gardening* 59, no. 2 (March 2012): 44–51.

⁶⁸ Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles, Urban & Environmental Policy Institute, and Esperanza Community Housing Corporation. *Food Access & Transportation Study*, October 20, 2011.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

One positive element of the study showed that approximately 85% of food retailers in the study are within a 5-minute walk to transit⁷⁰, which in theory, increases access for many people, though the quality of the food they are accessing is extremely low. When mobile food vendors were interviewed and surveyed, it was found that only 25% of them sold fruits and vegetables⁷¹.

In a survey of vendors, this study found that 50% of vendors would be willing to pay up to \$100 for a permit while 16% stated they would pay for a permit regardless of the cost⁷². Only 4% said they would not pay for a permit⁷³. This is evidence that vendors are willing to pay to operate legally, which would prove to be an asset to the city, county, and the vendors. Additionally, only 30% of vendors interviewed were aware of current laws governing street or mobile vending⁷⁴. However, a large number of vendors reported having previous encounters with various law enforcement officials, though nearly half of them had only been let off with a warning.

The street vendor economy is a substantial one and one that impacts the local economy. In the surveys of vendors conducted for the Esperanza Study, 33% of vendors reported buying supplies from “terminal markets in Downtown Los Angeles”, 12% bought from local vendor commissaries, and 5% bought from farmers’ markets. All of these providers are local businesses and therefore the daily purchasing for these vendors stimulates the local economy. In turn, the

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid, 11.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

vendors conduct business and generate an income for themselves and their families, generally an average of \$162.50 per day but often times up to \$500⁷⁵.

The study indicated that many areas of Los Angeles are not provided with access to quality food, and that many times, residents have to choose between the cost of food and other living costs. Because food is severely lacking in these areas, it seems that mobile food can act as a way to provide food access to all communities and because of the mobility, businesses do not have to risk high start-up costs without knowing if the food retail outlet will succeed in the neighborhood. The study also proved that vendors would be willing to sell healthy food options, such as fruits and vegetables, if they were incentivized to do so which would provide a much wider availability of healthy food options in many areas of Los Angeles, such as South Los Angeles.

Policies that affect trucks

Policies from other cities

Policies surrounding food trucks, particularly how and when they are allowed to operate, vary greatly in different cities across the country regarding street vending and food trucks. Cities are categorized into three groups: strict regulations, lenient regulations, and in-transition cities. Chicago and Dallas are cities with strict regulations. Indianapolis and Philadelphia have lax regulations. Portland and Los Angeles have food-truck specific policies in place⁷⁶. In Portland, it is legal to sell on sidewalks, as long as they leave a passing area on the

⁷⁵ Ibid, 10.

⁷⁶ Crystal T. Williams, "A Hungry Industry on Rolling Regulations: A Look at Food Truck Regulations in Cities Across the United States" (2012), http://works.bepress.com/crystal_williams/3.

sidewalk and locate themselves a certain distance from stores⁷⁷. In New York, there are limitations on specific streets but the laws are similar to Portland. However, in Los Angeles, it is altogether illegal to sell on the sidewalk; in fact, it is “punishable by six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine”⁷⁸. Though these laws are in place, there are still a plethora of sidewalk vendors in Los Angeles and not all are criminalized.

In addition to the policies affecting the location of sidewalk vendors, many cities have strict parking regulations. For example, in Chicago there are strict time limits on how long a truck can stay parked, and there is a curfew that has recently been expanded⁷⁹. There are also regulations prohibiting trucks from selling food within a certain distance from a school, which could be reminiscent of policies keeping fast food away from schools as well. For example, the Los Angeles Municipal Code states that trucks may not park within 500 feet of the property line of any school⁸⁰. In this paper, Indianapolis is identified as a top growth spot for food trucks. The regulations that food trucks face are very specific, and respond to public health concerns. There are mandated distances from public restrooms and sink size and accessibility requirements within the truck itself. Portland has had what we consider to be modern day food trucks since the 1980s, and has specific policies regulating the industry because they are so well established. There are 5 classes of food trucks in Portland, depending on what food items are being sold (such as meats, packaged foods, drinks, etc.)⁸¹. Additionally, in LA, there is a specific section of

⁷⁷ Morales, Alfonso and Kettles, Gregg W., “Healthy Food Outside: Farmers’ Markets, Taco Trucks, and Sidewalk Fruit Vendors.” 35.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Williams, “A Hungry Industry on Rolling Regulations.”

⁸⁰ “Los Angeles Municipal Code.”

[http://www.amlegal.com/nxt/gateway.dll/California/lamc/municipalcode?f=templates\\$fn=default.htm\\$3.0\\$vid=amlegal:losangeles_ca_mc](http://www.amlegal.com/nxt/gateway.dll/California/lamc/municipalcode?f=templates$fn=default.htm$3.0$vid=amlegal:losangeles_ca_mc).

⁸¹ Ibid.

the Municipal Code that refers to food trucks in the traffic policy⁸². Appendix D shows the specific sections of the Municipal code that apply to mobile food—both street vending and food trucks.

Health policies and regulations surrounding mobile food

As previously mentioned, there are regulations on food trucks that are often times more stringent and heavily enforced than the regulations placed on brick and mortar restaurants. Recently, trucks became subject to letter grades from the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health, just as restaurants are.

Health Department permitting, regulating, grading

In Los Angeles, street food vendors are permitted by the county health department and are required to meet the state food retail code regulations. The health code sets requirements such as sinks that are big enough to fit kitchen utensils of a certain size and sets requirements for food temperature and refrigeration regulations. These policies are in the California Retail Food Code; therefore, they are applicable to all forms of food retail, not just mobile food. However, it becomes much more difficult for mobile food vendors, both carts and trucks, to follow these regulations because the amount of space the vendors have to work in is much smaller. It is easy for a restaurant to have multiple large sinks or to have large freezers and refrigerators where they can store food for long periods of time. For a small cart that is selling cut fruit, it is not feasible to have a large sink to wash utensils. Therefore, there is a kind of discrimination faced by the mobile food vendors when it comes to the policies that are set forth by state regulations.

In Los Angeles, the Department of Public Health does the regulating for the trucks and vendors that operate within the county. The inspections typically occur while the trucks are

⁸² Ibid.

parked at the commissaries; however, health inspectors may show up on-site, just as they may at any given restaurant. The following is a list of common violations for street vendors, direct from the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health⁸³:

- No potable water for food handlers to wash their hands or utensils
- Food obtained from unapproved sources
- Potentially hazardous food held at unsafe temperatures
- Lack of proper equipment to maintain food at the required temperatures
- Unsanitary conditions including unclean food equipment
- Food not protected from contamination or adulteration
- No restroom available for food handlers
- Unapproved food equipment

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors approved adding letter grades to food trucks in 2010⁸⁴, a process that has been slow moving but helpful in reducing the stigma surrounding “roach coaches”; the letter grades act as evidence of inspections by the health department. The same model has existed for restaurants in Los Angeles for 15 years, and the addition of food truck grading may be due to the recent increase in trucks on the road.

⁸³ “Street Vending Compliance Program.” Government. *County of Los Angeles Public Health*. <http://publichealth.lacounty.gov/eh/SSE/StreetVending/strVending.htm>.

⁸⁴ Abram, Susan. “L.A. County’s Food Truck Inspection Program Moving Slowly.” *Dailynews.com*. Accessed April 19, 2013. http://www.dailynews.com/news/ci_23014443/l-countys-food-truck-inspection-program-moving-slowly.

Survey results

The following results are from surveys conducted at Twitter Trucks during the spring of 2013. All responses were conducted anonymously on site. The participants were consumers of The Grilled Cheese Truck and Kogi BBQ.

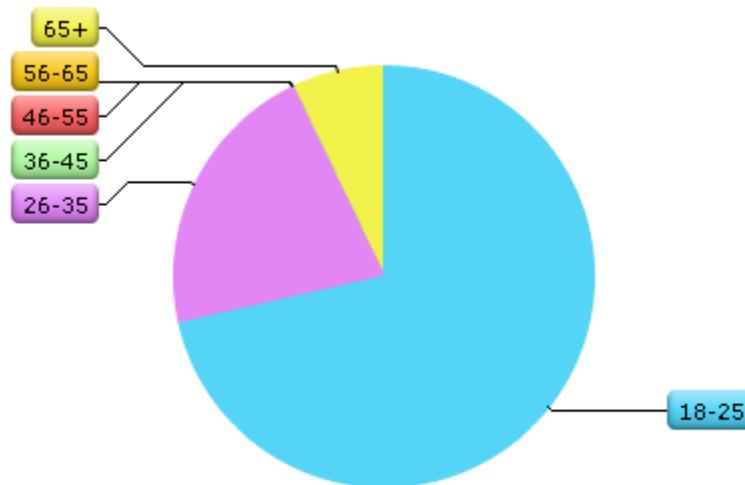


Table 2. The above graph shows the ages of the Twitter Truck consumers. 71% of respondents were between the ages of 18-25; 21% were between the ages of 26-35; and 7% were 65 and older.

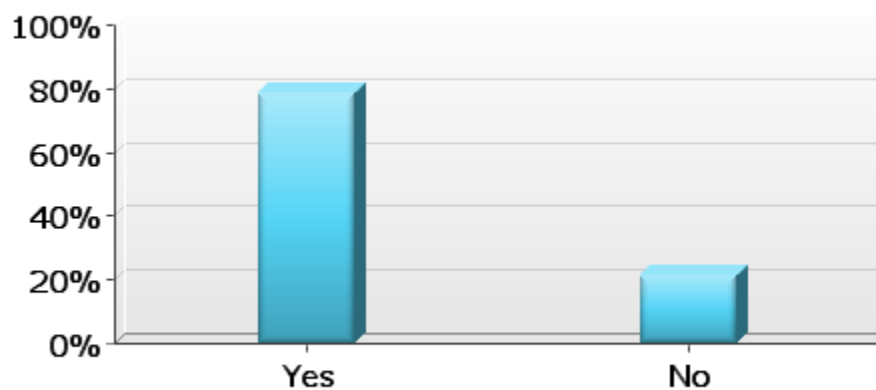


Table 3. The above graph shows the percent of respondents that live in Los Angeles. 79% reported living in Los Angeles while 21% reported not living in Los Angeles.

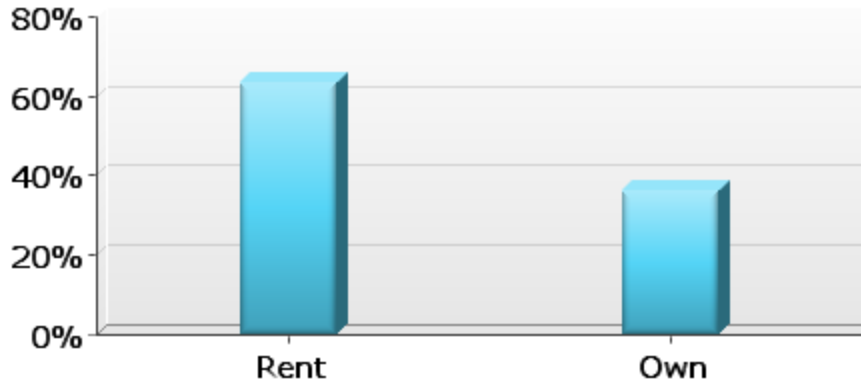


Table 4. The above graph shows the percent of respondents who are homeowners versus renters. 64% of respondents are renters and 36% of respondents are homeowners. 4 participants declined to answer.

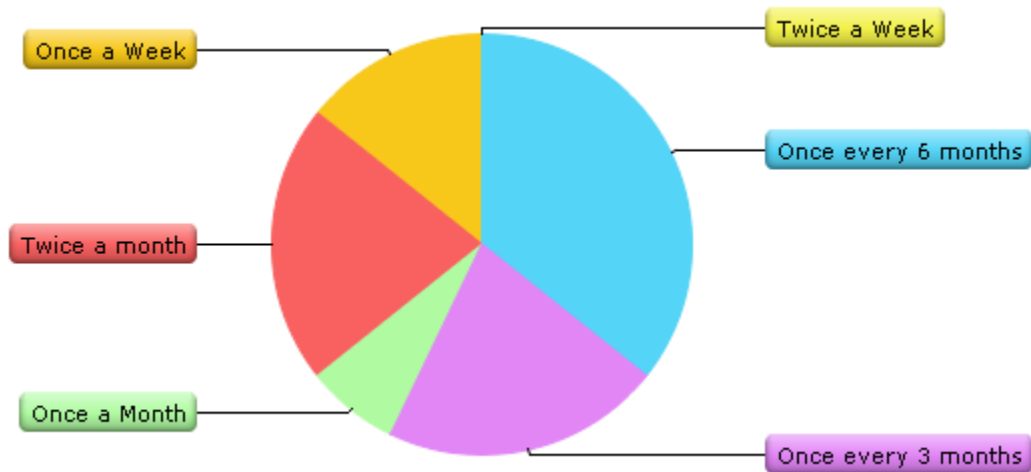


Table 5. The above graph shows the frequency with which the surveyed consumers visit food trucks. 36% reported visiting food trucks once every 6 months; 21% reported visiting food trucks once every 3 months; 7% reported visiting food trucks once a month; 21% reported visiting food trucks twice a month; and 14% reported visiting food trucks once a week. Zero respondents reported visiting food trucks twice a week.

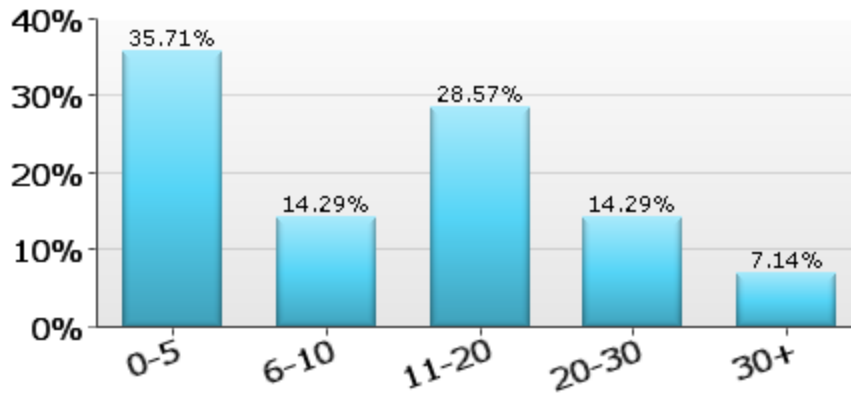


Table 6. The above graph demonstrates the distance traveled in minutes to arrive at the food truck. 36% stated it took between 0-5 minutes to arrive at the truck. 29% reported traveling 11-20 minutes to arrive at the truck. 14% reported traveling 6-10 minutes to arrive at the truck. 14% reported traveling for 20-30 minutes to arrive at the truck. 7% reported traveling more than 30 minutes to access the truck.

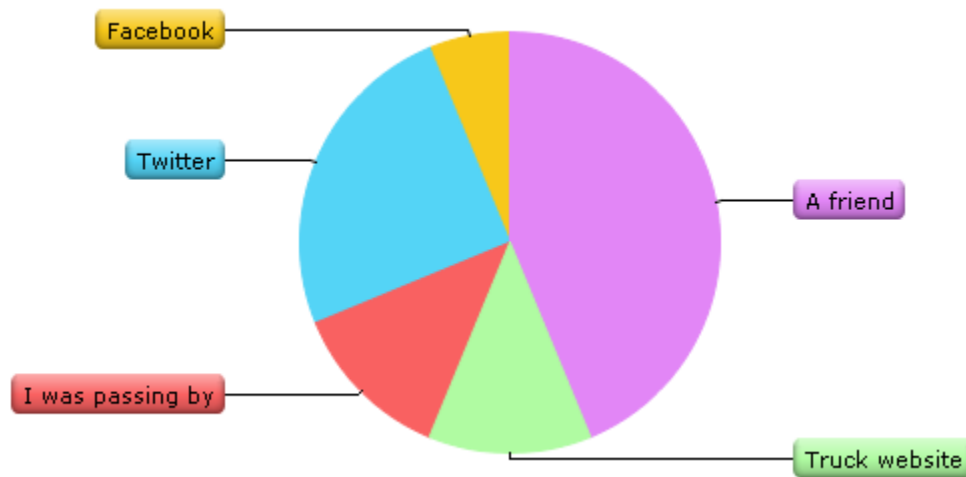


Table 7. The above graph shows the means by which the participants knew the truck would be at the given location. The majority reported knowing because of a friend; however, the second largest percentage of respondents knew of the location due to Twitter.

The following results are from surveys conducted at Loncheras during the spring of 2013. All responses were conducted anonymously on site. The participants were consumers of Leo’s Tacos.

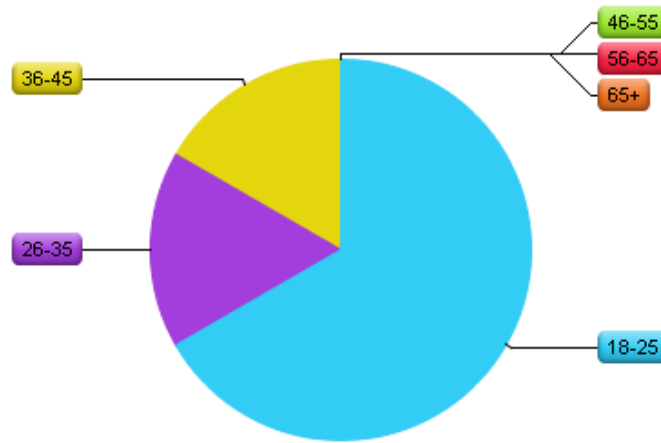


Table 8. The above graph shows the ages of the Lonchera consumers. 67% of respondents were between the ages of 18-25; 17% were between the ages of 26-35; and 17% were between the ages of 36-45.

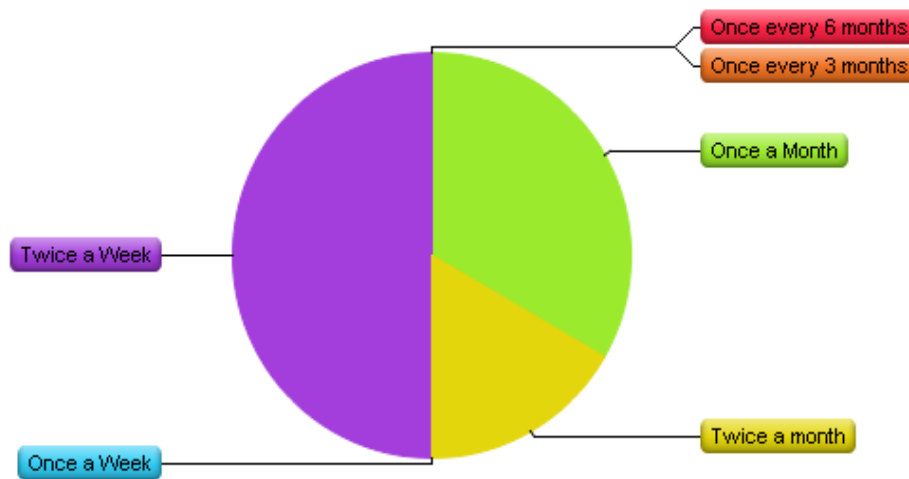


Table 9. The above graph shows the frequency with which Lonchera patrons visit food trucks. Zero customers reported visiting food trucks as infrequently as once every 3 months or once every 6 months. 33% reported visiting food trucks once a month; 17% reported visiting trucks twice a month; and 50% reported visiting food trucks twice a week or more⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ Of consumers interviewed, 33% reported visiting food trucks, specifically Leo’s Tacos, five times a week.

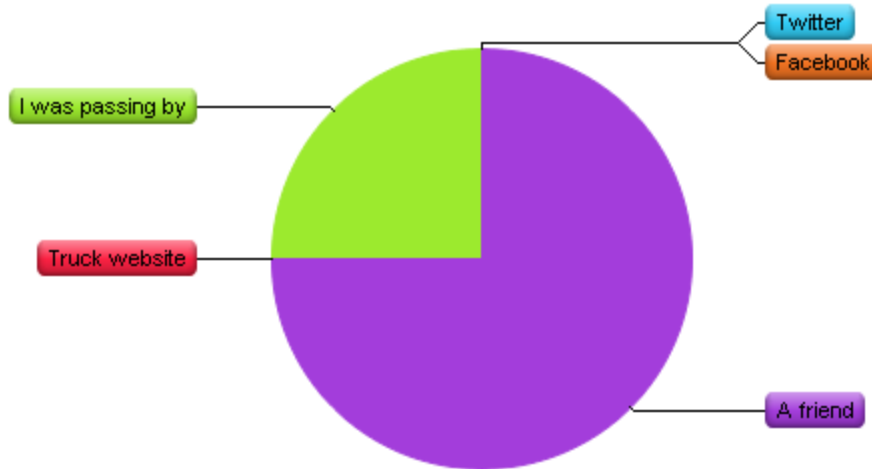


Table 10. The above graph shows the means by which Lonchera patrons knew the truck would be at the given location. 75% reported knowing through a friend, while 25% reported passing by and seeing the truck. None of the customers reported hearing of the trucks’ location through social media.

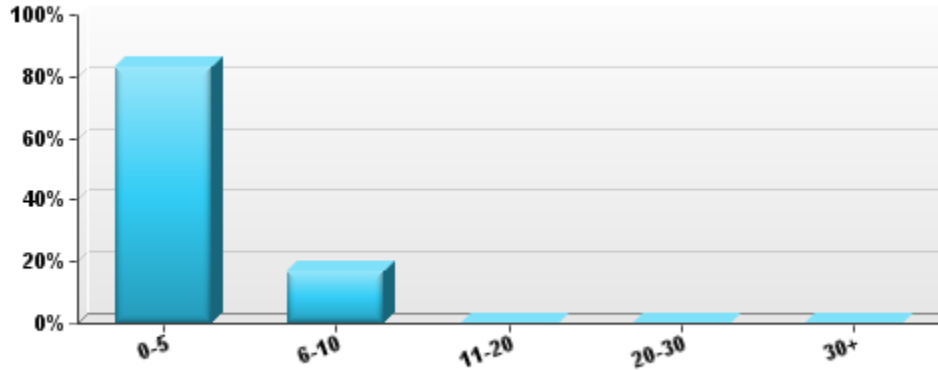


Table 11. The above graph demonstrates the distance traveled in minutes to arrive at the food truck. 83% stated it took between 0-5 minutes to arrive at the truck. 17% reported traveling between 6-10 minutes to arrive at the truck.

Survey Analysis

Through the surveys, it is evident that the initial hypothesis of consumers driving to food trucks was accurate. Nearly all respondents reportedly arrived at the truck via car. However,

the surveys also conclude that there is not a disparity between the modes of access between Loncheras and Twitter Trucks. In addition, 100% of the Lonchera customers reported living in Los Angeles and 100% reported owning their home. This suggests that the Lonchera patrons are permanent residents of Los Angeles, most likely the immediately surrounding area because 83% reportedly traveled fewer than 5 minutes to arrive at the truck.

However, there is a difference in how the consumers reported hearing about the trucks' location. Those who were at the Twitter Trucks reported knowing about the truck through various forms of social media, whereas those who visited taco trucks reported knowing of the truck through previous visits to the same location, or through a friend.

The surveys also proved that Twitter truck consumers visit food trucks overall less frequently than do taco truck consumers. Various participants in the Lonchera consumer survey claimed that they often even visit trucks 4 or 5 times a week, because they love the food and it is always open when other food outlets are not.

Other results from the surveys yielded information such as the average waiting time in line. The results show that the typical waiting time at either a taco truck or Twitter truck is between 5-10 minutes. This is approximately the equivalent of a fast food restaurant, and much faster than a brick and mortar restaurant. Additionally, it was reported that the majority of Lonchera and Twitter truck consumers visited the trucks because "the food tasted great", and the price was reasonable.

Mapping

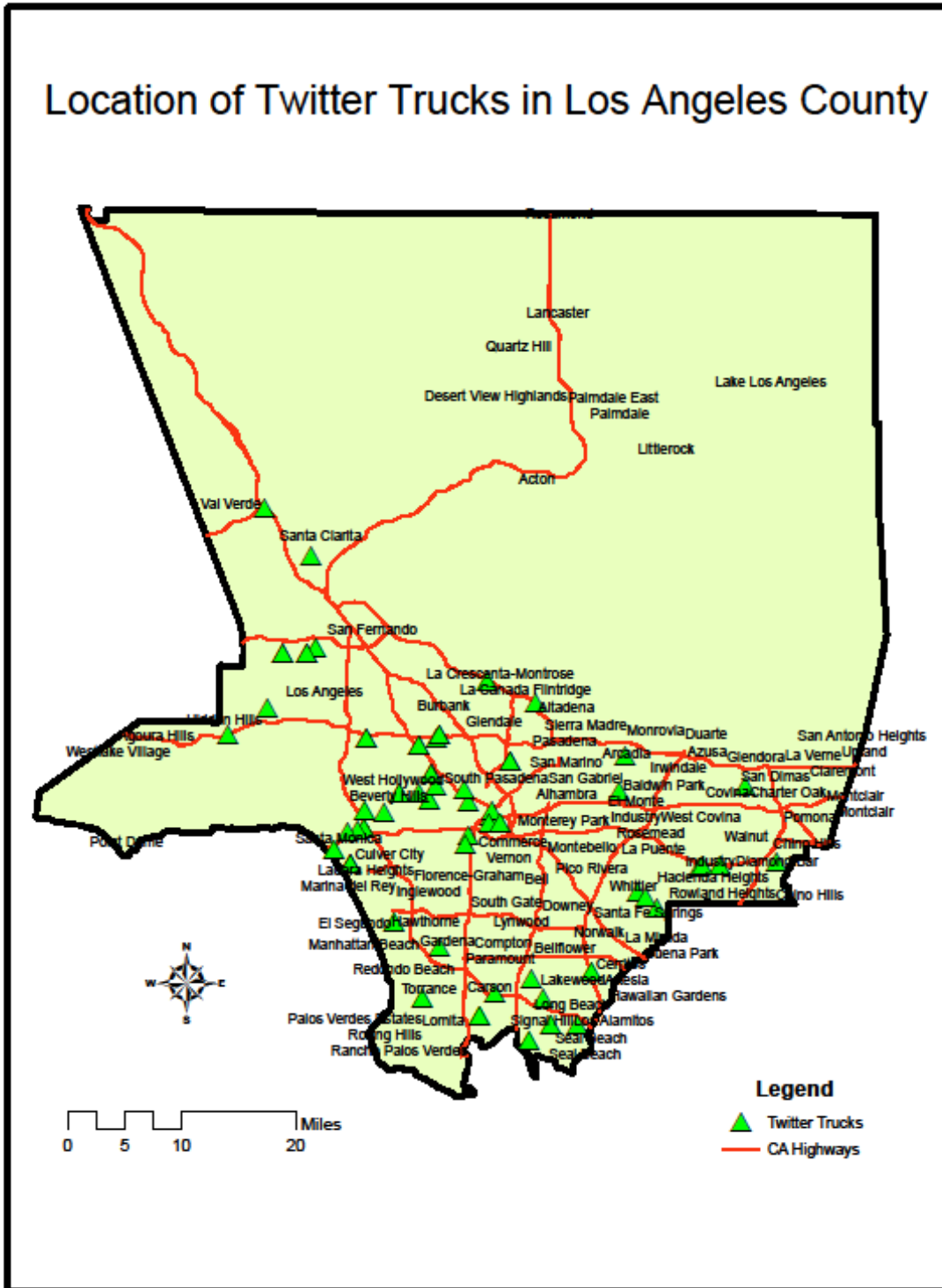
The mapping portion of this report is based on truck locations compiled from various trucks' Twitter pages, websites, and online calendars over a period of 10 days in March or April,

2013. The trucks that were followed for the maps below were The Grilled Cheese Truck, Kogi BBQ Verde, Kogi BBQ Roja, and Coolhaus. Kogi BBQ currently has 5 trucks operating in Southern California, but the two that were tracked are the ones that most frequently travel the Los Angeles area. Coolhaus has 5 trucks in Los Angeles as well, and the points gathered are an accumulation of data from all of the trucks. Using ArcGIS the maps were created using demographic data from the 2010 American Community Survey.

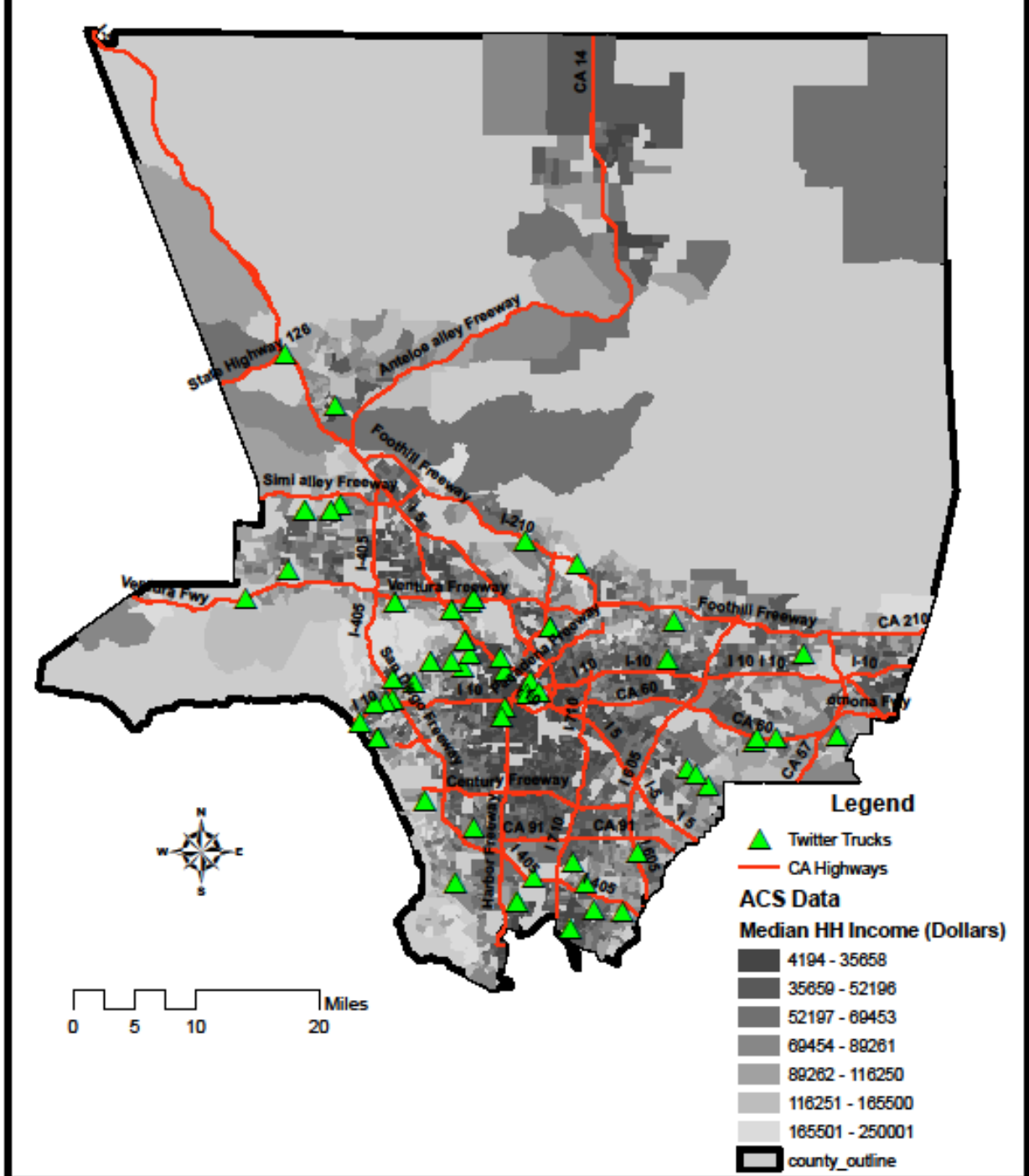
The first map shows the locations of the Twitter trucks over the 10 day period around Los Angeles County. The second map shows these same truck locations compared with the median household income for the Los Angeles County census block groups. The third map shows the truck locations compared with the percent of the population in block groups living below the poverty line. The fourth map demonstrates the truck locations compared with the areas of Los Angeles with a large percent population of color. The final map included is a map from the USDA of low income and low food access locations in Los Angeles County, defining easy food access as within 0.5 miles for urban areas and 10 miles for rural neighborhoods.

As is evidenced from the following maps, the Twitter trucks serve locations in Los Angeles County that are primarily not poverty ridden, do not have high percentages of populations of color, and tend to serve areas with higher median household income. This proves the hypothesis that the gourmet Twitter trucks are serving a different demographic than the initial Loncheras were intended to serve in the 1970's and 1980's. Additionally, by comparing these maps to the final USDA map, it is evident that the Twitter trucks are not serving communities located in food deserts, and thus policies must be changed to ensure equal food access for all communities in Los Angeles through mobile food.

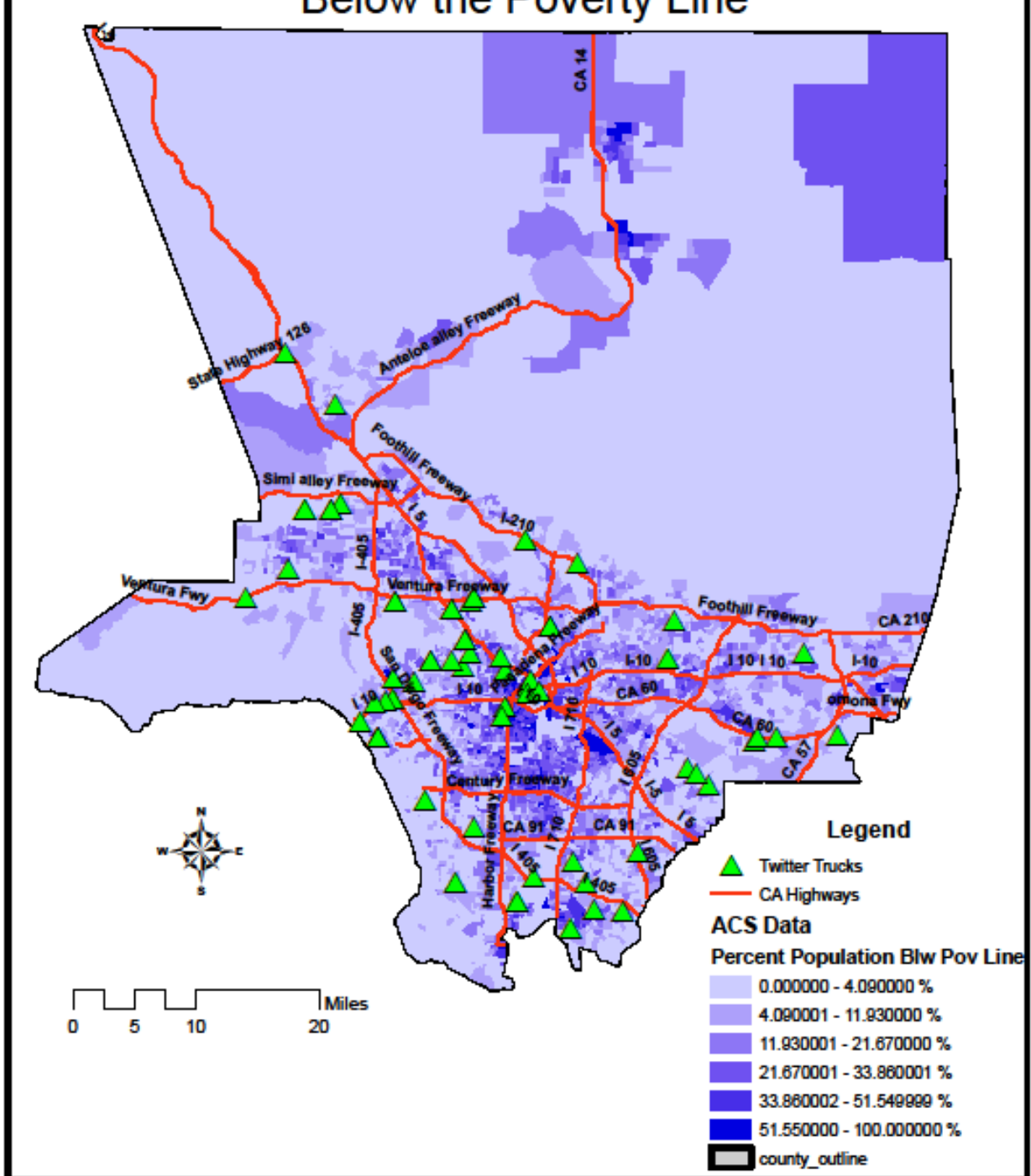
Location of Twitter Trucks in Los Angeles County



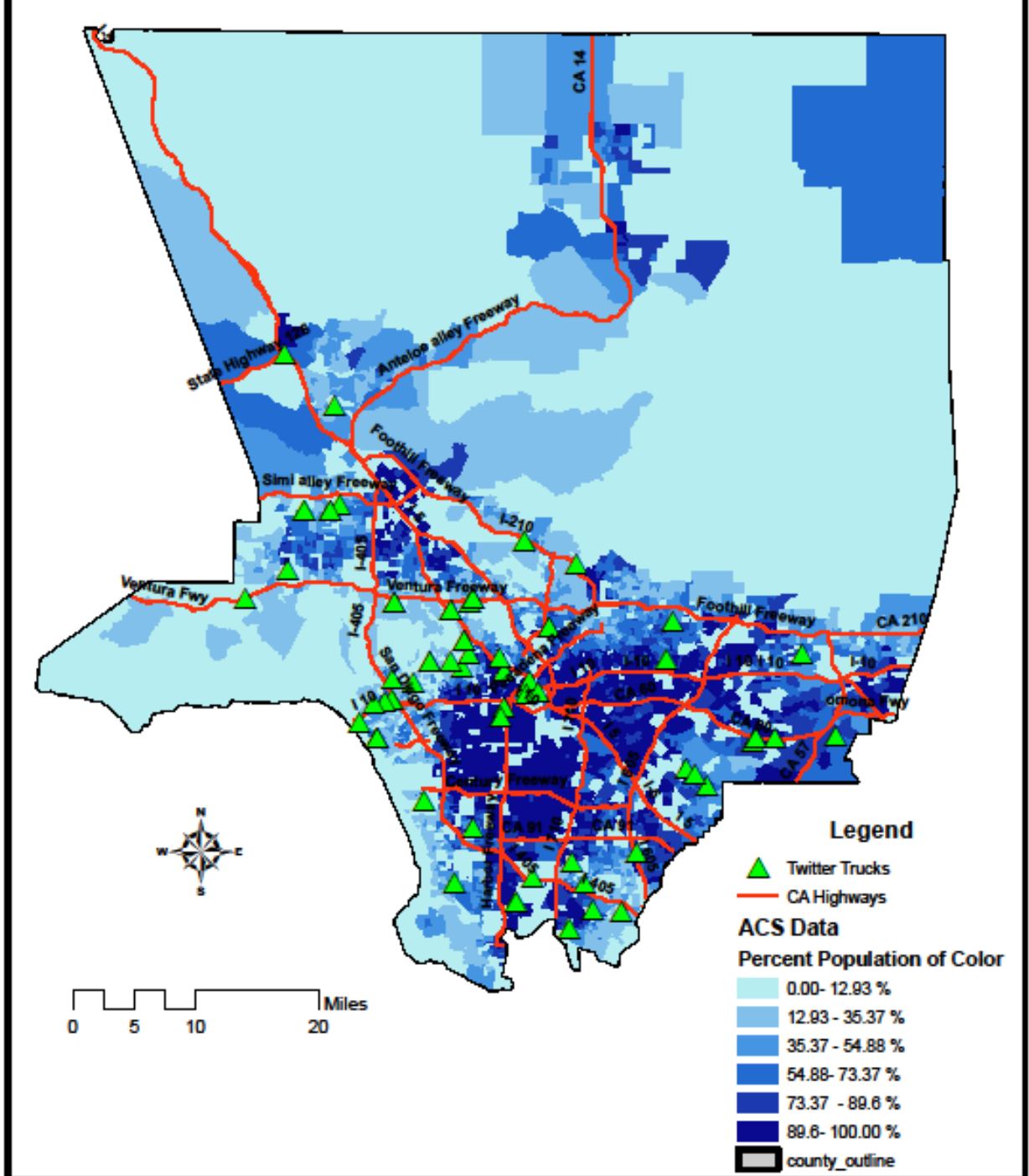
Locations of Twitter Trucks in Los Angeles County Compared with Median Household Income

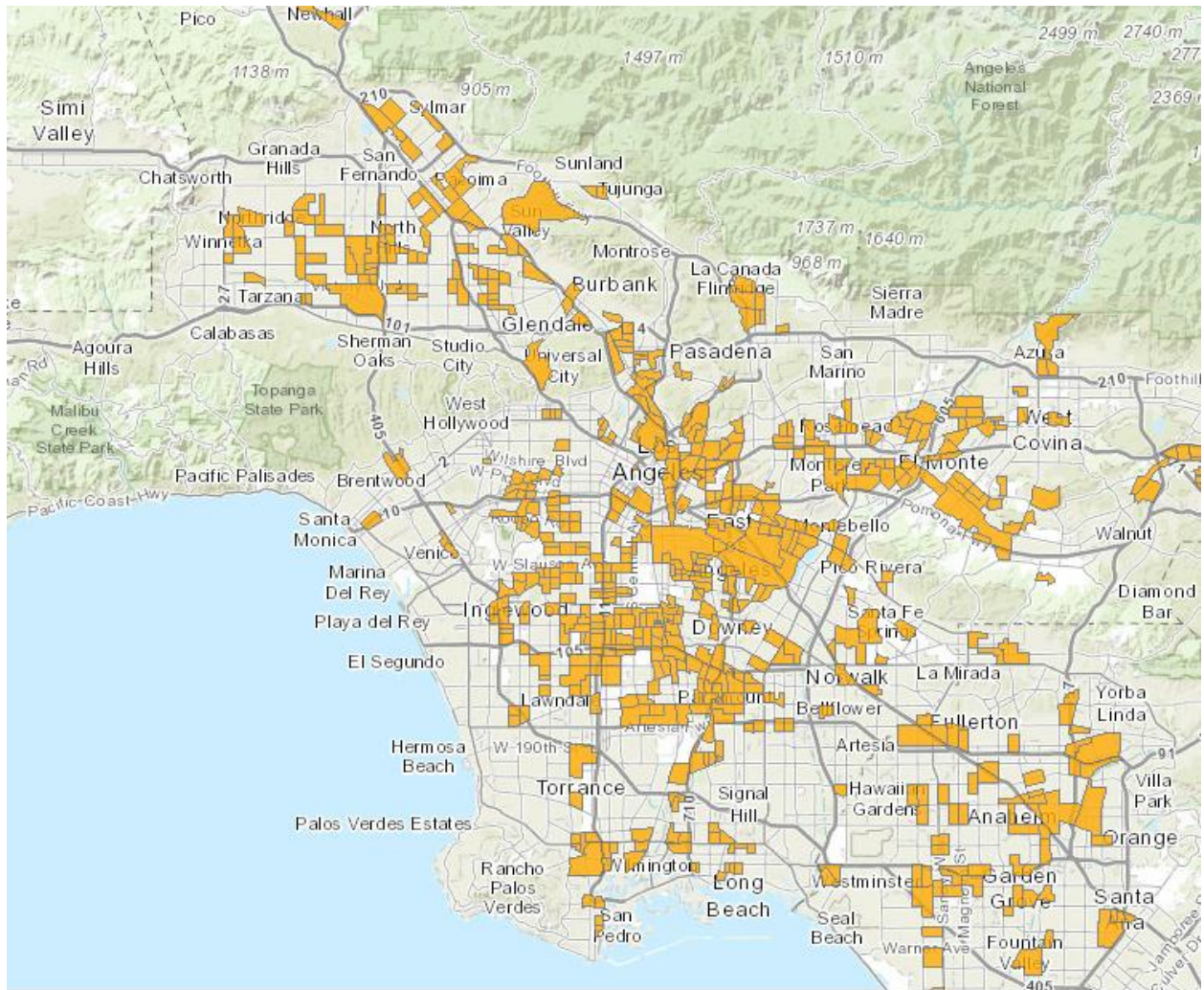


Locations of Twitter Trucks in Los Angeles County Compared with Percent Population Below the Poverty Line



Locations of Twitter Trucks in Los Angeles County Compared with Percent Population of Color





86

Low income with low access at .5 and 10 miles-- .5 miles is defined as low access for urban areas and 10 miles for rural areas.

Conclusion

What seems to be happening in Los Angeles with Loncheras and food trucks is that Loncheras are remaining a relatively constant force, as they have been for decades, while Twitter trucks are ebbing and flowing. New trucks are opening every day, but closing every day as well. The industry is an easy one to enter, however it is difficult to maintain. A good business

⁸⁶ "USDA Economic Research Service - Go to the Atlas."

model, a marketable product, and a brand name are necessary in order to get the access and attention necessary for successful social media use. By “hash-tagging”, tweeting, and liking pages sponsored by a food truck, fame is increased and the name such as “Coolhaus” is cast around the country, and sometimes, around the world.

In the response to the initial research questions, the research shows that Twitter trucks do not necessarily choose the areas that they serve based on demographics of the area. Yet the surveys proved that though trucks travel to a wide variety of locations and communities, the majority of customers drive to the mobile food.

In the current state of the food truck phenomenon in Los Angeles, it seems that there must be some kind of solution or means of keeping trucks around in a way that will entice customers to continue driving across the county to get the best taco, sandwich, or dessert, as they would have in 2009. There must be some kind of integration into the “fabric” of Los Angeles, as Michele Grant would say. Following are policy recommendations for how to ensure that the food truck phenomenon is not fleeting, that Los Angeles can maintain its repertoire of food trucks, and that street vending in all forms can melt into the future streetscape of Los Angeles and provide increased food access to all communities.

Policy recommendations

1. Merchant-driven food truck rallies are a way to bring communities together, provide healthy food options, and increase pedestrian traffic in business districts.

- Creating food truck rallies will allow places for communities to gather, as the example provided by Westchester First Fridays demonstrates. Bringing more people to a neighborhood will stimulate the local economy. If food trucks are on

the decline, providing a reliable space for trucks to gather in a neighborhood will preserve the business and create a space in the community for the truck.

- A lot for Loncheras is not a part of this recommendation because the community-based model that Loncheras use already sets Loncheras in certain areas. Additionally, because most Loncheras serve very similar or the same products, the competition would be extreme. If lots were created for Loncheras, it would be necessary to ensure that Loncheras that serve a variety of products are grouped together.

2. City approved vending zones can act as a means of gathering pedestrians in certain areas, provide alternative food options, and create a viable means of economic development for many entrepreneurs.

- Vending zones allow for carts and sidewalk vendors to contribute to the local economy by operating legally and by bringing more pedestrian traffic to certain areas of the city. Currently, MacArthur Park is the only vending zone in Los Angeles⁸⁷ but more should be implemented in areas of downtown, such as the area around City Hall, or in parts of Hollywood. These locations are highly utilized by pedestrians and are in close proximity to many workplaces where people are doing errands and taking breaks for lunch.

⁸⁷ Vallianatos, Mark. "A More Delicious City: How to Legalize Street Food." Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Forthcoming.

- Creating vending zones will help to address the concerns of merchants and restaurants who are concerned with vendors taking away from business. However, it will still provide a place for customers to purchase cheaper goods.
- Creating vending zones allows for legal regulation of vendors, which would allow taxes to be collected, therefore contributing to the local economy rather than the informal economy.

3. Incentivize healthy mobile vending, both for carts and trucks.

- Incentives can be given in the form of permit discounts, commissary subsidies, or gas reimbursement. By increasing incentives for healthy vending, mobile vendors can act as a means of healthy food access for many communities in Los Angeles.
- Just as chain supermarkets often times need subsidies to serve lower-income areas of Los Angeles, mobile food vendors should also be incentivized to serve lower income areas to increase food access.
- Healthy food does not need to be defined as produce, but can include Loncheras or trucks that serve healthy options and combinations of produce and proteins.

4. Create a mobile business licensing system that will allow mobile vendors to travel across cities in Los Angeles County and sell.

- A large problem while traveling around Los Angeles County is the requirement for different business licenses from each city within the county. This can act as a deterrent, and may prevent trucks from reaching all communities they wish to serve. Creating a mobile business licensing system across the county would allow

for ease of travel for food trucks and Loncheras, and increase access to trucks for many neighborhoods.

- Creating a county-governed licensing system for trucks allows all regulations to be in the hands of the county, which is crucial for somewhere like Los Angeles where the variety of regulations and policies between cities can hinder vendors from operating the business in that city.

5. Create a vetting system for trucks that want to open as businesses.

- Currently, anyone who has the funds and the ability to get the necessary permits can open a food truck. However, in cities such as New York there is a vetting system that is essentially the truck applying to operate⁸⁸. The vetting system would be a compilation of food truck owners, policy makers, and leaders in the mobile food world such as members of the Asociación de Loncheras, Southern California Mobile Food Vendors Association, and members of the Los Angeles Food Policy Council. This would allow for decreased chance of repetition of trucks, and allow for more oversight on upcoming trucks.

⁸⁸ Natasha Case, April 2, 2013.

Appendix A: Food Truck Consumer Survey

The goal of this survey is to look at how consumers are using food trucks and taco trucks. All surveys are anonymous and will not in any way identify who the participants are.

All questions below are optional.

Date:

Name of Food Truck: _____

Food Truck location:

Age group: 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 65+

Do you live in LA? (please circle one) **YES** **NO**

Do you rent or own your home? (please circle one) **RENT** **OWN**

1. With how many people did you come to the food truck?

With no other people With one other person With two or more other people

2. How often do you visit food trucks? Once every 6 months Once every 3 months

Once a month Twice a month Once a week Twice a week

3. How long did you wait in line to order your food?

1-5 Minutes 5-10 minutes 10-15 minutes 15-25 minutes 25+ minutes

4. How many minutes did you travel to get here? 0-5 6-10 11-20 20-30 30+

5. Does this food truck ever come to your neighborhood? YES NO UNSURE

6. By what means of transportation did you arrive at this truck?

Walking Driving Biking Bus Metro Other _____

7. How did you know that this truck would be at this location?

A friend Truck website I was passing by

Twitter Facebook Other _____

8. What is most important to you when choosing to eat at a food truck? (circle all that apply)

Close to work

Close to school

Close to home

Serves local food

Food tastes great

Price

The truck is sustainable

Other_____

Appendix B: List of permits/costs for operating a Lonchera⁸⁹

Permits:

State of California:

- California State Board of Equalization
- Seller's Permit – approximately \$150.00
- Vehicle registration – \$458.00 (yearly)
- Liability insurance (minimum required) \$98.00 (monthly)

County of Los Angeles

- Public Health Operating Permit – \$695.00 (yearly)
- Certified Food Handler Manager Certificate – approximately \$160.00
- Business license – \$168.00

City of Los Angeles

- City of Los Angeles Tax Registration Certificate

*no fee

Commissary Costs:

- Monthly rent – \$760.00
- Supplies/Foodstuff –\$2,800 monthly average (this is a rough figure based on one operator's monthly food costs)
- Gasoline/Petroleum – \$100.00 (weekly)

⁸⁹ Erin Glenn, March 25, 2013.

Appendix C: List of commissaries in Los Angeles County⁹⁰

A-1 Catering, 14311 Lemoli, Hawthorne, (310) 679-9161

Avalon Foods, 5625 S. Avalon, Los Angeles (323) 231-5116

Carson Catering, 21221 S. Wilmington, Carson (310) 830-2495

Catercraft Foods, 924 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, (213) 749-1147

Royal, 5442 E. M.L.King Blvd., Lynwood, (310) 537-0021

East LA Caters, 6233 Whittier Blvd., Los Angeles, (323) 721-0740

Eagle Caterers, 7782 San Fernando Rd., Sun Valley, (818) 768-6493

Hi-Dessert, 53061 N. Sierra Hwy, Lancaster, (661) 945-3548

Industry Wholesale, 235 Turnbull Cyn. Rd., Industry (626) 855-4711

Royal, 2617 Stingle Ave., Rosemead, (626) 280-9780

Las Palmas 1202 E. 1st St., Los Angeles (323) 268-6897

Lucky Catering Park, 12906 Branford, Arleta, (818) 897-5123

Red's II Catering, 7437 Scout Ave., Bell Gardens (562) 928-2530

Royal, 2627 N. Durfee Ave., El Monte, (626) 448-8652

Royal, 1224 E. Franklin, Pomona, (909) 629-0537

Rudy's Wholesale Corp, 8450 Otis St., South Gate, (323)357-6997

S&A Wholesale 730 S. Maple Ave., Montebello, (323) 722-9366

Santa Fe Catering, 13315 Imperial Hwy., Whittier, (562) 944-5710

Slauson Foods, 762 E., Slauson Ave., Los Angeles, (323) 235-6659

⁹⁰ *The list of commissaries was published on the Frysmith website on July 19, 2009.*
<http://www.eatfrysmith.com/2009/07/los-angeles-county-food-truck.html>

Standard Catering, 7549 E. Alondra Bl. Paramount (562) 634-0282

Triangle Catering, 15455 Cabrito Rd., Van Nuys, (818)781-2823

Ezzat's #1, 3930 E. Gage Ave., Bell, (323) 560-1822

Appendix D: The Los Angeles Municipal Code

Section 41.43

No person shall expose, sell or offer for sale, any goods, wares or merchandise of any kind whatsoever in, upon or along any street or sidewalk, within 200 feet of any entrance to any private or amusement park. (Added by Ord. No. 111,348, Eff. 7/4/58)

Section 42.00 (m) Establishment and Regulation of Special Sidewalk Vending Districts. (Added by Ord. No. 169,319, Eff. 2/18/94.)

(1) The Board of Public Works, hereinafter referred to as “**Board**,” is authorized to form special sidewalk vending districts for the purpose of permitting vending of goods, wares and merchandise and announcing the availability thereof within such districts, and to promulgate rules and regulations with respect to the formation of such districts. The term “**district**” whenever used in this subdivision shall mean “**special sidewalk vending district**.” No more than eight districts shall be approved by the Board during the first two years following the effective date of this ordinance. Each district shall have a designated police liaison appointed by the Chief of Police. Before any proposed vending districts are established, the City Council shall adopt a humane and comprehensive enforcement policy regarding sidewalk vending both inside and outside the proposed districts.

(2) **(Amended by Ord. No. 171,913, Eff. 3/15/98.)** A petition may be filed with the Sidewalk Vending Administrator of the Community Development Department, hereinafter referred to as “**Sidewalk Vending Administrator**,” by any person or persons, hereinafter referred to as “**applicant**,” interested in the formation of a special sidewalk vending district. The Sidewalk Vending Administrator shall coordinate with the Board regarding the filing and processing of said application. The petition shall be subject to the following conditions and requirements:

(A) The applicant shall pay to the Sidewalk Vending Administrator a non-refundable application fee to establish a district. However, such fee shall not be paid until after the City Council has approved the formation of the district pursuant to Subdivision (6) of this subsection. No license application in respect to said district shall be approved until the fee has been paid. Said fee shall be determined and adopted in the same manner as provided in Section [12.37](#)-l,1 of the Los Angeles Municipal Code for establishing fees.

(B) The petition shall contain the name or names of the applicant(s) and names and signatures together with residence or business addresses within the district of persons endorsing the formation of the district. The endorsing list must consist of the owners or those in possession, such as tenants or lessees, of

at least 20 percent of the businesses and 20 percent of the residents in each block or portion thereof to be included in the district.

(C) The petition shall set forth:

1. The proposed boundaries of the district, which shall only be in commercially zoned areas of the City;
2. The location and number of vending sites sought to be approved;
3. Any rules or regulations deemed necessary or desirable by the petitioners to organize vending activity within the district; and
4. The purpose for establishing the district.

(D) The petition shall be accompanied by a list provided by the Sidewalk Vending Administrator of the names and addresses of all property owners, businesses and residents within the district and within a 500-foot radius of the boundaries of the district, together with a cash deposit sufficient to cover the costs of preparing such a list and of mailing and publishing notifications as provided below.

(E) The district shall not be limited to any particular size and the proposed density of vending sites may vary from area-to-area within the district.

Section 42.00.1 Sales From Ice Cream Trucks

(Added by Ord. No. 176,830, Eff. 8/27/05.)

(a) **Definitions.**

"Ice cream truck" shall mean a motor vehicle engaged in the curbside vending or sale of frozen refrigerated desserts, confections or novelties commonly known as ice cream, prepackaged candies, prepackaged snack foods, or soft drinks, primarily intended for sale to children under 12 years of age.

"Dispense or dispensing" shall mean peddling, hawking, displaying for sale, soliciting the sale of, offering or exposing for sale, selling or giving away.

"School" shall mean any elementary school, middle school, junior high school, four-year high school, senior high school, continuation high school, or any branch thereof.

"Street" shall mean all that area dedicated to public use for public street purposes and shall include, but not be limited to roadways, parkways, alleys and sidewalks.

(b) **Sales from Ice Cream Truck.** No person shall dispense any item, other than food, from an ice cream truck on a street.

(c) **Hours of Sales.** No person shall dispense any item, including food, from an ice cream truck on a street during the following hours: From 8:30 p.m. to 7:30 a.m. during the months of April through October and from 5:30 p.m. to 7:30 a.m. during the months of November through March.

(d) **Sales near Schools.** No person shall dispense any item, at any time, including food, from an ice cream truck parked or stopped within 500 feet of the property line of a school between 7:30 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. on regular school days.

(e) **Minors in Vehicle.** No person shall permit a person under sixteen (16) years of age to ride in or on an ice cream truck unless the person in control of the ice cream truck is the parent or guardian of the minor.

(f) **Penalties.** A violation of any of the provisions of this section is a misdemeanor. Violations set forth in this section are cumulative to, and in addition to, any other violations of state or local law. For a second or subsequent violation of subsection (b), the court shall, in addition to any other penalties, order that the ice cream truck involved in the second or subsequent violation be impounded for 30 days if at the time of the second or subsequent violation, the vehicle was registered to the violator.

Section 42.13 Peddlers—Vendors—Hours

Notwithstanding the provisions of [Chapter 8](#) of this Code, no person shall peddle fruits or vegetables in or upon any street or sidewalk other than between the hours of 8 o'clock A.M. and 8 o'clock P.M.

Section 80.73 Unlawful Parking—Peddlers—Vendors

(a) It shall be unlawful for any person to stop, stand, or park any vehicle, wagon, or pushcart for the purpose of peddling, hawking, displaying or offering for sale therefrom any goods, wares, merchandise, fruit, vegetables, beverages, or food of any kind, on any street within this City except as provided for in this section. **(Amended by Ord. No. 174,284, Eff. 12/8/01.)**

(b) **Catering Trucks. (Amended by Ord. No. 150,561, Eff. 3/19/78.)**

1. **Definitions: (Amended by Ord. No. 173,264, Eff. 6/26/00.)** For the purposes of this Section, the following definitions shall apply:

A. **“Street”** shall mean all that area dedicated to public use for public street purposes and shall include, but not be limited to, roadways, parkways, alleys, sidewalks and public ways.

B. **“Catering truck”** shall mean any motorized vehicle designed primarily for dispensing victuals. For purposes herein, the term **“catering truck”** shall include any trailer designed primarily for dispensing victuals but only if attached to a motor vehicle at all times during which victuals are being dispensed. **“Catering truck”** shall not include any other trailer or any wagon or pushcart, either propelled or drawn by motorized or other force, or any other vehicle incidentally used for dispensing victuals.

C. **“Dispense or dispensing”** shall mean peddling, hawking, displaying for sale, soliciting the sale of, offering or exposing for sale, selling or giving away.

D. **“Victuals”** shall mean fruit, meat, vegetables, beverages or food of any kind, nutritious or otherwise, dispensed in prepared, packaged or other form suitable for immediate ingestion or consumption by human beings. For purposes herein, victuals shall not include other goods, wares or merchandise.

2. **Restrictions:**

A. **(Amended by Ord. No. 173,264, Eff. 6/26/00.)** The dispensing of victuals shall be permitted on any street except at or from:

(1) Any trailer, wagon or pushcart not included within the definition of **“catering truck”**, except as may be authorized under Section [42.00](#) of this Code.

(2) **(Deleted by Ord. No. 174,284, Eff. 12/8/01.)**

(3) Any location within 100 feet of the nearest part of:

(i) any intersection, or

(ii) **(Deleted by Ord. No. 174,284, Eff. 12/8/01.)**

(4) Any location within 200 feet of:

(i) Balboa Park, Banning Park, Robert Burns Park, MacArthur Park, the following portions of Griffith Park: Riverside Drive between the Glendale Boulevard off-ramp and Los Feliz Boulevard, between the Los Angeles River and the City limits (Betty Davis Picnic Area); and Ferndell Drive between Los Feliz Boulevard and Red Oak Drive.

(ii) The roadway of any freeway on-ramp or off-ramp.

(5) Any location within 500 feet of the nearest property line of any school. In the event of a conflict between any of the above specified distances and a greater distance otherwise required by law, said greater distance shall prevail and be controlling.

B. No person shall stop, stand or park a catering truck upon any street for the purpose of dispensing victuals under any circumstances in violation of stopping, standing or parking prohibitions or restrictions either shown by signs or curb markings or as otherwise provided by the State Vehicle Code or the health, safety, fire, traffic, business or other regulations set forth in the Los Angeles Municipal Code.

C. No person shall dispense victuals from any portion of a catering truck on any street in any manner which causes any person to stand in that portion of the street which is between the catering truck and the center of the street.

D. Persons who dispense victuals under the provisions of this section may not do so unless at that time they provide or have available in a conspicuous place in the immediate vicinity of the catering truck, a litter receptacle which is clearly marked with a sign requesting its use by patrons.

E. After dispensing victuals, at any location, a catering truck operator, prior to leaving the location, shall pick up, remove and dispose of all trash or refuse which consists of materials originally dispensed from the catering truck, including any packages or containers, or parts of either, used with or for dispensing the victuals.

F. **(Amended by Ord. No. 177,620, Eff. 7/23/06.)** No catering truck shall remain parked at any residential location for the purpose of dispensing victuals, or at any residential location within a half mile radius of that location, for a period of time, adding together all time parked at each residential location, which exceeds 30 minutes. Upon the elapse of that period of time, any catering truck that continues to be used for the purpose of dispensing victuals must be parked at a location more than half a mile distant, as measured in a straight line, from the location where the vehicle was parked at the beginning of the 30-minute period, and the vehicle shall not return to that location for at least another 30 minutes from the time of departure or relocation. The requirement that a vehicle must be parked one-half mile distant shall only apply if the new parking location is in a residential area.

No catering truck shall remain parked at any commercial location for the purpose of dispensing victuals, or at any commercial location within a half mile radius of that location, for a period of time, adding together all times parked at each commercial location, which exceeds one hour. Upon the elapse of that

period of time, any catering truck that continues to be used for the purpose of dispensing victuals must be parked at a location more than half a mile distant, as measured in a straight line, from the location where the vehicle was parked at the beginning of the one hour period, and the vehicle shall not return to that location for at least another 60 minutes from the time of departure or relocation.

G. **(Added by Ord. No. 173,264, Eff. 6/26/00.)** Notwithstanding the provisions of Municipal Code Sections [114.04](#) and [114.05](#), no person shall drive or operate a catering truck for the purpose of dispensing victuals unless such catering truck is equipped with an audible alarm which can be heard at a distance of 100 feet from the vehicle, which will be automatically activated in the event the vehicle backs up. Such alarm must be installed within six months of the effective date of this regulation.

H. **(Amended by Ord. No. 173,854, Eff. 5/11/01.)** No person shall lease, sublease or rent a catering truck to any other person knowing that such person does not possess one or more valid licenses or permits required by the City or by the County of Los Angeles in order to dispense victuals from a catering truck. Provided, however, this provision shall not apply to any license or permit which cannot be secured until the vehicle is in the possession of the lessee, sublessee or renter. Notwithstanding the provisions of Sections [11.00\(m\)](#), [80.76](#), [80.76.1](#) and [80.76.2](#) of this Code, a violation of this provision shall be punishable by a civil penalty of \$500.00 for the first offense and \$1,000.00 for the second and each subsequent offense.

(c) **(Deleted by Ord. No. 174,284, Eff. 12/8/01.)**

(d) No person shall park or stand any vehicle, or wagon used or intended to be used in the transportation of property for hire on any street while awaiting patronage for such vehicle, or wagon without first obtaining a written permit to do so from the Department which shall designate the specific location where such vehicle may stand. No permit shall be issued for any such location within the Central Traffic District. **(Amended by Ord. No. 134,523, Eff. 7/17/67.)**

(e) No person shall stand or park a vehicle upon any street for the purpose of displaying such vehicle for sale by sign or otherwise. **(Amended by Ord. No. 134,523, Eff. 7/17/67.)**

(f) Whenever any permit is granted under the provisions of this section and a particular location to park or stand is specified therein, no person shall park or stand any vehicle, wagon, or push cart on any location other than as designated in such permit. In the event that the holder of any such permit is convicted in any court of competent jurisdiction, for violating any of the provisions of this section, such permit shall be forthwith revoked by the Department upon the filing of the record of such conviction with it, and no permit shall thereafter be issued

to such person until six (6) months have elapsed from the date of such revocation. **(Amended by Ord. No. 134,523, Eff. 7/17/67.)**

(g) **(Amended by Ord. No. 173,264, Eff. 6/26/00.)** Notwithstanding the provisions of Section [11.00\(m\)](#) of this Code, every violation of any of the provisions of this Section which is punishable as an infraction, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$100 for the first violation, \$200 for the second violation and \$250 for each subsequent violation within one year.

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