

THE CARIBBEAN CITY

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*edited by
Rivke Jaffe*



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For Wayne

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ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	Anglo-American Caribbean Commission
CDA	Colonial Development Act
CDC	Colonial Development Corporation
CDWA	Colonial Development and Welfare Act
DWO	Development and Welfare Organisation
FHH	Female-Headed Household
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HBEA	Home-Based Economic Activity
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialisation
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
KMA	Kingston Metropolitan Area
KMR	Kingston Metropolitan Region
KSAC	Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation
MHH	Male-Headed Household
OPEC	Oil Producers and Exporters Cartel
PNP	People's National Party
PRRA	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration
SXM	Saint Martin and Sint Maarten
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

THE CARIBBEAN CITY

An Introduction

*Rivke Jaffe, Ad de Bruijne and Aart
Schalkwijk*

Caribbean cities are a unique, yet underexposed phenomenon. This distinctiveness lies in a combinations of a number of interrelated factors: the ‘proto-globalization’ of the region due to the structure of European colonization, the ‘newness’ of these non-indigenous cities, a history of slavery and other unfree labour, development in what the United States considered its backyard, and the spatial limitations imposed by the settings of most Caribbean urban areas.

Recent debates on globalization, including a focus on global cities, highlight urban processes, while ongoing urbanization throughout the world - but particularly in developing countries - has resulted in a similar increased emphasis on the urban in development studies. The Caribbean region has long been marked in a variety of ways by processes of (proto) globalization - global systems of mercantilism, capitalism and colonialism from the late sixteenth century on incorporated the region economically, culturally and politically. In this light, it is remarkable that so little has been published on Caribbean cities.¹ Global flows and colonial powers that shaped the Caribbean in the past are continued in the form of present-day dependencies. Contemporary use of Caribbean space is characterized not so much by exploitation as by uneven incorporation. The political, economic and cultural relations with (former) European mother countries and with the United States are both intensive and unbalanced. The North, and increasingly

the United States, still form the economic and to some extent cultural frame of reference. More than many other developing countries, Caribbean territories appear to be permanently directed at and dependent on developments abroad.

The local Caribbean nodes in these shifting flows of people, goods, money and information have always been the cities. The region as a whole is highly urbanized, especially in comparison with other less developed parts of the world. Many territories have urbanization rates around or above 50 percent, while certain islands such as Guadeloupe, the Cayman Islands and the Bahamas have even reached rates over 90 percent. The small area and population size of most territories preclude the development of megacities encountered in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and many have no more than one city or town of any consequence. Nevertheless these cities must cope with the same problems attendant upon urban areas elsewhere - housing shortages, unemployment, environmental degradation, crime and violence - while simultaneously dealing with the specific socio-economic, spatial and cultural consequences of a Caribbean past coloured by colonialism, unfree labour and institutionalized racism.

What is the Caribbean? While the twentieth century saw the term itself gain dominance over 'West Indies' or 'Antilles', the definition of the region has shifted over the centuries. As Boswell notes, like beauty, regions are in the eye of the beholder.² Girvan argues that 'the very notion of Caribbean was not only invented but has been continuously reinterpreted in response both to external influences and to internal currents'.³ The islands in the Caribbean Sea have always been included in definitions of the region, but political factors have contributed to the inclusion of other geographic localities. The insular Caribbean was the locus of rivalry between the European colonizing powers, while the 'Caribbean basin' concept, which included Central American countries such as Costa Rica and Guatemala, was linked to twentieth-century US expansionism. Post-independence developments led to the Caribbean being visualized as an ethno-historic zone or, as Mintz terms it, a socio-cultural area.⁴ This concept refers to 'Plantation Caribbean' or 'African Central America' and includes the islands, the Guyanas and 'Caribbean' or black communities on the mainland, such as in Panama and Colombia. Recent globalizing processes have led to the inclusion of the Caribbean diaspora, which allows the conceptualization of the Caribbean as a transnational community.⁵ This means that if the population of the Caribbean territories is currently near to 40 million, the actual population of the transnational Caribbean community might well near double that.

While academics are generally attracted by the idea of the Caribbean as a region, this concept is not always a lived one with which the majority of Caribbean 'nationals' identify. Regionalism finds itself at odds with uniqueness, as certain islands or countries may prefer to stress their - usually cultural -

individuality, a position for which ample evidence is always to be found. Other nations may emphasize their allegiance with other regions, for instance South America in the case of the Guyanas or Latin America in the case of the Spanish speaking islands. In the construction of 'the Caribbean', one might speculate that certain biases in academia have prejudiced the concept. The predominance of the English language in academic literature has meant greater prominence for the Anglophone areas. In turn, Jamaica as the largest English speaking island has been the focus of a disproportionate amount of research and has perhaps shaped ideas of Caribbeanness and the academic agenda. While this is a point that remains to be explored, researchers, governments, artists and many others have located similarities, parallels and analogies amidst undeniable diversity. This volume and this introduction share this focus on congruent factors, agreeing with Mintz's basic understanding of the Caribbean region as *oikoumenê*, 'a great historic unit ... a frame within which a particular combination of processes happened to achieve certain unique results'.⁶ The distinguishing features of Caribbean cities lie precisely in the region's specific past, in particular in the absence of an indigenous urban system, centuries of colonial rule in combination with black slavery and - in the Southern Caribbean - Asian contract labour, and an extensive tradition of (involuntary) international and intra-regional migration, cultural exchange and trade, resulting in proto-globalization from the seventeenth century on. As in all Caribbean matters, the cities of the region display both great variety and remarkable parallels. While contemporary Caribbean cities display certain distinct features, there will always be exceptions to any generalizing statement.⁷ This introduction studies parallels in spatial, socio-cultural and economic features of Caribbean cities. Examining the dialectic between culture and space, its focus is on the themes of dependent urban development, urban-rural relations, socio-spatial fragmentation, urban economies, and global aspects of the urban Caribbean.

DEPENDENT URBAN DEVELOPMENT: FORM AND FUNCTION

In the Caribbean, the enduring impacts of colonialism are discernible in nearly every aspect of society; as Trouillot argues, 'Caribbean societies are inherently colonial ... their social and cultural characteristics ... cannot be accounted for, or even described, without reference to colonialism'.⁸ The form and function of Caribbean cities, expressed in their spatial, social and economic features, are rooted in that history. Despite the variety of European colonizers, cities throughout the region display striking similarities in urban form, which find their origin in a common past of colonialism and economic dependency. These cities, the overwhelming majority capitals and primate cities, developed

within an international system of urban places. The small geographic and population size of most Caribbean territories advanced urban primacy, the dominant role of one city in terms of population, politics, and economy. This city is generally both the territory's capital and its main port, while secondary urban centres are either absent or of minor importance. Past and present government policy, in combination with the centripetal agglomeration effect of market forces, has reinforced this primacy.⁹

The legacy of colonial settlement and subsequent orientation to Western European economies are 'apparent in the form of dependent urbanization, the realities of which are vividly expressed in the highly skewed and spatially uneven urban settlement patterns that are to be found throughout the Caribbean region'.¹⁰ Urban development in the Caribbean is a prime example of dependent urbanization, but it is one that proceeded in an exceptional manner. In contrast to most of the world, where cities develop from a rural background, historical circumstances have meant that in the Caribbean, urban areas developed prior to the rural hinterland. Parts of mainland Latin America had developed extensive indigenous urbanization before the onslaught of the Spanish *conquistadores*, but the rapid death or deportation of most of the native inhabitants of the Caribbean islands generally allowed the European colonizers to treat these territories as, indeed, a completely New World. The main purpose of these settlements was to make money for the European metropolis, though expansion of the sphere of influence and, to a lesser extent, Christianization were important motivations as well. In the case of most colonies, expansion proceeded through the system of plantation agriculture, which quickly developed from the urban centres of military defence and administrative control in a process that could be termed 'ruralization'.

The gateway function of these urban settlements meant that all developed as port cities, facilitating an easy sea-borne flow of goods in and out of the colony. Given the fierce armed competition between the European powers, a primary concern when colonizing the islands was to build defensible settlements. Hence the earliest cities, founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, usually took the shape of fortresses. Their locations were generally selected from a strategic point of view: the settlements had to be easily accessible to friendly ships, but also easy to defend against enemy fleets or vicious marauders. This meant that many of these early cities, located on natural harbours, enjoy physical protection by surrounding hills or mountains. The initial fortresses expanded as populations grew, and the original layout of these outposts can be traced directly to colonial influence. The British and Spanish in particular enforced a grid pattern of streets surrounding a central square; this European influence is visible in the old centres of most urban areas. While urban locations were selected to guard against attack from outside, the internal structure of cities was based on inner defence strategies. Taking

into account the possibility of revolts and riots of slaves and later the subjugated working classes, colonial planners sought to enforce a distinct social and class separation within the city.¹¹

Potter has proposed a three-stage *plantopolis* model for Caribbean urban development.¹² In the first stage, Plantopolis, a single coastal city performs all functions of trade, service and political control, while the plantations form self-contained bases for settlement. Following the emancipation of slaves, a second stage sees the emergence of Mintz's reconstituted peasantry,¹³ who resettle in small 'free village' farming communities around the plantations, where they practice subsistence agriculture and supply occasional labour to the plantations. The single city retains its political, economic and demographic primacy. A third stage, the modern era, sees an extension of this polarized development pattern, varying on the basis of development paths chosen by twentieth-century governments. The industrialization path usually intensified urbanization along the pre-existing core coastal-urban strip. The advent of tourism, by nature a mainly coastal phenomenon in the (insular) Caribbean, either also reinforced the initial coastal urban zone or added a new coastal zone, often focusing on smaller cities. While Potter's model is definitely based on the Anglophone Caribbean, it seems remarkably apt. It even fits non-agricultural islands such as Curaçao, which developed spatially around unprofitable 'status plantations', and the non-insular Guyanas, where the largely impenetrable interior served to make virtual islands out of the coastal-urban zones of Georgetown, Paramaribo and Cayenne.

Potter's 'modern era' does not include recent processes of globalization. Portes et al. sketch the spatial implications of the new global economy on Caribbean cities.¹⁴ Potter's industrialization path is based on the model of industrialization by invitation, but a recent industrial trend is the emergence of export processing zones and free trade zones. Portes et al. speculated that this type of industrial development might weaken the urban primacy encountered in many Caribbean countries, though conversely it can exacerbate primacy or lead to even larger agglomerations following the convergence of capital cities with satellite towns and suburbs. In Jamaica, urban primacy decelerated in the 1980s following the establishment of a free zone and the flourishing of tourism on the North Coast.¹⁵ During the same period, rapid growth in Portmore and Spanish Town, towns adjacent to Kingston, led to the formation of a primate zone or 'spread city' and fortified its dominance, as Clarke and Howard illustrate in this volume. In Haiti, the primacy of Port-au-Prince was reinforced by the advent of an export processing zone located next to the capital.¹⁶ The future of these zones is far from clear, as many of them suffered severe contractions because of heavy competition from low cost producers in Mexico Central America, and Asia.

THE CITY AND THE COUNTRYSIDE

From the beginning, Caribbean cities operated as loci of mediation and control, forming the link between the plantation and the motherland.¹⁷ Conforming to Galtung's model of imperialism, Caribbean cities have long functioned as links in the relation between centre and periphery, in which the centre in the periphery displays strong harmony of interest with the centre in the centre.¹⁸ An important function of Caribbean cities was to siphon off profits from agriculture to the benefit of the motherland. Acting as a go-between with the colonial motherland and the plantations, the urban Caribbean regulated agricultural exports and the imports of political decrees, information, labour and goods. The cities controlled local export-oriented production of tropical crops and the import of unfree labour from Africa and Asia, to the benefit of the European metropole. Rural-urban linkages, even more than elsewhere, were defined by the exploitation of hinterlands. Unsurprisingly, this created some tension between urban bureaucracies and rural landholding elites, notwithstanding considerable overlap between the two groups. For the subjugated rural population, the city represented freedom. In his quintessentially urban novel *Texaco*, Patrick Chamoiseau proclaims that

to escape the night of slavery and colonialism, Martinique's black slaves and mulattoes ... one generation after another, abandon the plantations, the fields, and the hills to throw themselves into the conquest of the cities.¹⁹

The postcolonial era involved a change in the rural-urban relationship, with increased urbanization and an altered role for the countryside following the diminished importance of agriculture. Due to the small size of most islands and the sprawling nature of many cities, the boundaries between the city and the countryside tend to be rather vague.²⁰ As Patricia Mohammed asserts, Caribbean societies cannot be 'neatly divided into rural and urban spaces'.²¹ Nevertheless, the symbolic divide between the city and the country remains and is perhaps reinforced by large-scale twentieth-century urbanization. Countries that experienced large-scale contract labour generally witnessed an urbanization of the Afro-Caribbean population prior to that of the Indo-Caribbean segment. The push of rural poverty and the pull of urban opportunities have given rise to waves of rural migrants surging into the cities. In this context, compared to the 'backward' status of rural areas the city is perceived as the locus of modernity, progress and social mobility, and as a springboard to a better life abroad to boot. An old Surinamese song demonstrates the appeal:

<i>ala pikin negre te wi go na foto</i>	all small children must go to town
<i>un mus' luku na Granmandoro</i>	if they want to see the Governor's mansion
<i>na bigi oso nanga planga oso</i>	the big houses and the wooden houses
<i>na bigi wenkri nanga bakba wenkri</i>	the big shops and the small banana shops
<i>na wojo</i>	and the markets

But the glorification of the big city has been balanced following confrontations with its less magnificent realities. Urban poverty, squalor, crime and corruption have in certain cases led to a revaluation of the countryside, idealized as a peaceful and harmonious, pure and authentic place, where old-time values still reign. But the idea of an idyllic rural Caribbean past prevails in the popular imagination of the region.²² Howard²³ points to Jean Binta Breeze's dub poem *Riddym Ravings* which contains the following stanza:

<i>eh eh</i>	eh eh
<i>no feel no way</i>	Don't take offence
<i>town is a place dat ah really kean stay</i>	this city is a place I really can't stay
<i>dem kudda - ribbit mi han</i>	They could pin down my hands
<i>eh ribbit mi toe</i>	and pin down my feet
<i>mi waan go a country go look mango</i>	I want to go to the country and find mangos

Despite the surfacing of this 'anti-myth' of the city,²⁴ Caribbean cities have had a central constructive function in post-independence nationalist projects and the development of postcolonial culture and pride. Wheeler defends the importance of the urban: 'Outsiders to the Caribbean are often unaware that cities play a crucial role in the region's culture. Since the early twentieth century, Caribbean city life has aided the growth of a new, postcolonial identity'.²⁵

SOCIO-SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION

Most Caribbean cities have long been typified by their internal fragmentation. In general, colonial cities have had a dual nature, encompassing an indigenous and a foreign sphere which developed in the context of colonial domination. Morphological elements in these twin spheres can become symbolic in representing the two broads groups of subjugators and subjugated.²⁶ In the Caribbean, where colonization went paired with the annihilation of the indigenous population, the two spheres of subjugators and subjugated are present in a different constellation that is visible in the urban environment in a similar manner. Generally speaking, Caribbean cities have a formal, dominant segment in which the colonial administrations exerted their power both physically and symbolically. The governor's house, government buildings and the houses of

the commercial, administrative and plantation elites were all located here. Colonial governments often had a tendency to enforce strict regulations pertaining to the construction and use of urban space in this area. They decreed the specific dimensions, building materials, styles or colours to be used in the construction of buildings and streets. Some of these measures were implemented from a public health perspective, but the general policy also served to deliberately demonstrate colonial authority through the imposition of 'civilized' norms through architecture and urban layout. Many of the early colonists exhibited incredible ambition in shaping the urban setting to their hand. In the late eighteenth century the Dutch, applying the same technique so successful at home, constructed an entire drainage system of canals in order to utilize the boggy marshland on which Georgetown, Guyana, then known as Stabroek, was founded. In this volume, Asad Mohammed gives another example of such a grand undertaking during the same period in Port of Spain, Trinidad, where the Spanish governor Chacon redirected an entire river in order to allow the construction of a public square.

The formal colonial part of the city is contrasted with more informal sections, in which subjugated groups - slaves and later the working classes of ex-slaves and indentured labourers - developed more informal urban forms. In the initial phases of urban development, the elites kept their slaves or servants close to them, housing them in the backyards of their monumental residences, as is evident in the *kurá* model found in Willemstad, Curaçao or the *erven* in Paramaribo, Suriname. As Clarke notes in the case of Kingston, 'where status is highly ascriptive, space is often unnecessary as a social barrier'.²⁷ As cities grew, the different classes underwent stronger spatial separation. Emancipation was followed by a proliferation of less formal lower-income areas on the urban periphery, though the small yard-houses did not necessarily disappear. Despite sporadic interventions in the name of public health, colonial authorities tended to adopt a more laissez-faire approach to these districts, leaving them largely outside the domain of official urban planners. A consequence of this was that while the formal inner city was constructed in a very European manner, the informal parts of the city display the influence of African and Indian cultures. These shantytowns, communal yards, and building and decorating styles offered opportunities for architectural expression outside the control or interest of the white elites. While the most famous Caribbean architecture focuses on monumental structures that are formal and colonial, there has been a recent emergence of interest in vernacular building forms.²⁸ Public spaces in the city have often been sites of contestation between ruling elites and the subordinate classes, whose use of space has often been restricted in the name of 'order'.²⁹

The twentieth century and postcolonial processes have modified but not necessarily ruptured the segmented pattern of the colonial Caribbean city. In

many countries, the European white elite have all but disappeared from view, leaving the colonial sphere to the new political and economic leaders. In addition, the advent of Asian indentured labourers in a number of Caribbean countries contributed to a more ethnically varied urban population in cities such as Paramaribo, Georgetown and Port-of-Spain, a diversity sometimes apparent in spatial configurations of residential areas.

The influence of North American ideas and practices can be observed in recent movements in urban development. Many town centres, which enclosed the old colonial residential and administrative district, have now either become rundown areas, or have been converted for commercial and tourist purposes in processes of gentrification. The new elites generally choose to live in recently constructed US-style suburbs, commuting to the old centre or newly created core zones only to conduct their commercial or political business. The recreational activities of the middle class are relocated to shopping plazas inspired by North American malls. Urban sprawl and traffic congestion are side effects of this 'standard' suburbanization, the expansion of informal squatter settlements on the outskirts of the city, the so-called 'suburbs of the poor'. The corollary of these developments is a revamped version of spatial polarization.

Portes et al. note a slight reduction of this segregation as the result of 'perverse integration': economic downturns force middle-class citizens, traditionally a small group, to move into formerly low-income areas.³⁰ Simultaneously, informal settlements composed of poor city dwellers seeking income sprout near the elite areas, witnessed for instance in Kingston's uptown ghettos. The elites react by fortifying their enclaves with gates, security guards, burglar bars and so on. While still largely a North and Latin American phenomenon, gated communities and other forms of residential fortification have become observable in a number of Caribbean cities. Urban crime and violence reworked in a geography of fear lead the wealthier classes to isolate themselves from other urban citizens, creating 'ghettoization by default'.³¹ Intended to diminish fear, gated communities may have the actual effect of increasing it, as the often ethnically defined urban 'other' is demonized and shut out socially and spatially. In many cities, this socio-spatial fragmentation appears to be bipolar, dividing the light-skinned elites from darker-skinned lower-classes.

Yet there also appears to be a tendency for cities to develop in a 'multi-polar' model, where everybody is afraid of everybody, in cities that consist of discrete communities in which transnational linkages are perhaps stronger than intra-urban ones. In this volume, de Bleeker describes a multi-polar image of Fort-de-France in West Indian literature, which 'emphasizes not only the tension between the Creole shantytowns and the Europeanised centre, but focuses also on the often very violent rivalries between different

neighbourhoods'. Modern-day urban blight combined with rumours, gossip and generalized suspicion bring about the manifestation of islands within the city, where residents experience a self-imposed lack of mobility. To wealthier citizens, the reputation of poor communities is as much a deterrent as any physical gate, and residents from lower-income communities, excluded from the upper-class enclaves, are hesitant to venture into unfamiliar areas of the city. However, the intensities of urban violence and polarization vary strongly between the various Caribbean cities.

Intra-urban fragmentation can impede the formation of city-level identifications, but has a more positive side in initiatives at the level of the neighbourhood, the *barrio* or the *quartier*. Rural-like cohesion and collectivism continue to function in smaller aggregations of urban yards and streets. The micro-community of the quintessentially Caribbean yard, whether the Curaçaoan *kurá* or the French Caribbean *cour*, offers a route to understanding the 'atomisation of urban space'.³² Literature from the region also demonstrates the socio-cultural significance of the familiar semi-communal space of the neighbourhood and the yard, in the anarchic, anonymous, unfriendly realm that the city can turn out to be, especially for new rural migrants.³³

URBAN ECONOMIES: FORMAL AND INFORMAL LINKAGES

Caribbean cities are externally oriented, albeit in clearly different ways. San Juan, Kingston and Port-au-Prince differ in a multitude of ways, but they are all cities with strong links to the outside world. Their economic base is generally weak as production and export are limited; the majority of Caribbean cities are highly import-oriented. Economic production is not predominantly based on local resources. Rather, much of what is produced has a high import-component, as illustrated most clearly by the export-processing and free-trade zones in which low-cost local labour is applied to the assembly of manufactured goods. This dependency on inputs from abroad is also the case for the informal sector (unlike in cities elsewhere in the developing world), which explains why the sector is not very significant in generating production on a national scale, although its labour-absorbing capacity is indispensable.

While local production is buttressed by imports, local consumption relies on foreign goods even more. The daily budget of the average urban dweller is largely spent on imported goods, an economic necessity reinforced by consumer preferences. In that respect, Caribbean cities are a striking example of the 'twin path to development' within a context of increasing similarities in consumption patterns around the world, and increasing dissimilarity with respect to global patterns of production and corporate ownership.³⁴ The

economic and political power of elite groups involved in the import-export business means that government efforts to curtail the import of consumption goods are rarely very vigorous.

The limited population size of most Caribbean territories has important consequences for urban development. Economies of scale are becoming less favourable for small countries, especially those outside the usual economic routes as in the case of cities in the Guyanas. External relations are especially crucial for cities in small states as their economic development is determined, much more so than in other countries, by the world market.³⁵ Isolationism is not an option for Caribbean countries, but it is difficult for such small states to locate new and positive strategies within the framework of contemporary globalization processes. Governments need to promote conditions that facilitate a use of external opportunities to reinforce both the urban and national economy. Trade associations like CARICOM attempt, with limited success, to provide a sufficient answer and broaden the production base.

Despite a continued importance of agriculture for most of the region, the twentieth century has seen the Caribbean's economic specialization shift away from plantation agriculture, initially towards mineral extraction or manufacturing industries. In a few countries - Guyana, Trinidad, Suriname and Jamaica - deposits of oil, bauxite and gold have meant major contributions to the gross domestic product. A popular strategy in many countries was the so-called Lewis Model of 'industrialization by invitation', focusing on attracting foreign direct investment in the manufacturing sector by offering incentives to well-established international players.³⁶ This export-oriented approach, exemplified by the Puerto Rican industrialization program 'Operation Bootstraps', culminated in the Caribbean Basin Initiative of the 1980s, in which the US extended preferential tariff treatment to non-traditional Caribbean products, mainly those made from US materials but assembled abroad. While they provided low-skill employment to thousands, by the early twenty-first century, many of these mainly urban-based export-processing free-trade zones had closed. These emphases on export-oriented industrialization fit in with recent neoliberal ideology, as cheap (female) labour and relatively lenient regulations gave the Caribbean a competitive advantage in attracting investors interested in developing manufacturing and assembly plants. On the down side, the arrival of such transnational corporations has generally had unfavourable, gendered effects on worker's rights as well as retarding domestic production; an overwhelmingly female labour force works in substandard conditions for low wages while local manufacturing industries are unable to compete with global capital.³⁷

More successful by far than manufacturing, tourism became the region's dominant economic sector in the second half of the twentieth century, reflecting the global expansion of the industry. In its earliest stages, Caribbean tourism

was something of an elite phenomenon, but regular air service to the United States heralded the beginning of mass tourism. The post-war decades of the 1950s and 1960s represented a worldwide boom in the sector, and a source of optimism for those newly independent countries that had jumped on the tourism bandwagon. Though certain territories such as Curaçao or Havana promote tourism in urban areas, the sector has focused mainly on coastal locations.

Apart from the formal economic linkages, an important feature of many Caribbean urban economies is the informal sector activities. The evaporation of many public sector jobs and contractions in the formal economy, following the recessions and structural adjustment programs that took place in much of the Caribbean during the 1980s, gave rise to the burgeoning of informal sector activities as well as an expansion of the illegal economy, mainly related to narco-trafficking.³⁸

The emergence of export-processing and free trade manufacturing zones has also entailed the proliferation of informalized conditions within the formal labour market, while shutdowns in some of these zones have also forced new groups of unemployed to look to the informal sector for survival.³⁹ Unfortunately, in the majority of cases the sector cannot provide a way out of poverty, but only a rudimentary way of making a living.⁴⁰ Even the subsistence opportunities offered by informal sector employment have their limits. Because the formal and the informal sector are so entwined, a recession affecting formal enterprises immediately afflicts informal activities. Consequently, informal sector employment functions as an imperfect 'countercyclical mechanism'; its absorptive capacity following formal sector layoffs is limited and open urban unemployment continues to rise in years of crisis.⁴¹

Informal sector workers generally earn income through commerce and services - as market vendors, car mechanics, hairstylists, taxi drivers or cooks - but also in small-scale manufacturing, for instance as seamstresses, or in urban agriculture, as Hebe Verrest illustrates in this volume. Informal sector activities in the Caribbean are complex and highly differentiated; they are marked by specific gender, ethnic and age variations. Women, children and ethnic minorities are groups for which the informal sector is disproportionately likely to be a poverty trap rather than a 'sphere of latent entrepreneurial economic dynamism'.⁴² Not everyone active in the sector is desperately poor; class differences and intra-class linkages are significant elements of the sectoral dynamic.⁴³ In this volume, David Dodman gives an insightful analysis of informal sector scrap metal smelting in Kingston, highlighting the complexity of the production process and the pride which many of the predominantly workers take in their trade. Smelting activities have certain negative environmental impacts as do many other informal activities in the region⁴⁴ and income is relatively low. Nevertheless the industry proves to offer a degree of economic stability to disadvantaged areas as well as a large measure of self-

esteem derived from being self-employed.

The illegal economy, though largely undocumented, appears to be one of the region's few growth sectors and is a cause of concern to local as well as American and European governments. The Caribbean territories have become important transshipment points on international narcotics smuggling routes, on account of their intermediate location between cocaine-producing countries, in particular Colombia, and cocaine consumers in Europe and North America. Rugged coastlines or interiors combined with limited law enforcement capacity enhance this position. Widespread corruption of law enforcement and criminal justice systems, increased presence and use of firearms, extensive money laundering, and local drug addiction are only a few aspects related to the rise of the narcotics industry.

GLOBAL CITIES

Caribbean communities have become increasingly transnational and urban networks extend far into the diaspora. Migration has been a defining characteristic of the region over the centuries, with cities functioning as points of entry and departure. International flows of migration have been matched by intra-Caribbean, rural-urban and intra-urban movement. A large share of the rural population that migrated to the cities during much of the twentieth century later moved on to the former European motherlands or increasingly to the United States and Canada. This has had a sometimes negative impact on local development, but equally has provided a safety valve, mitigating social problems such as unemployment and housing demand. Additionally, it has added a new dimension to international urban networks. Family networks in particular span the Atlantic, with family members in different parts of the Caribbean, Latin America, Europe, Canada, and the United States.

The city is the obvious node for the increased international flows of people, money, products and ideas and functions at the intersection of the global and the local. Globalization is often depicted as entailing unilateral cultural transfers from the core states to geo-economically weaker entities including the Caribbean. The influx of cultural flows from the United States in particular is undeniable, and is evident in changing consumer habits. 'Western' culture comes ever closer, exhibited by the hordes of tourists nearly every territory welcomes, and reaching nearly everyone through the progressively more accessible mass media, including the internet, North American or European cable television, music and movies. The proliferation of fast food chains throughout the region is one indication of this process; Havana is a rare exception in its lack of KFCs, McDonalds and Burger Kings. In Jamaica there is a tendency to blame the perceived increase in presence and acceptance of

homosexuals and other 'deviant' forms of sexual behaviour on US influence, be it via cable television, porn videos or the acquired habits of criminal deportees.

What doomsday prophets of mass cultural destruction neglect is twofold. First, the process of cultural domination and reproduction of European and North American ideas, values and habits has been the norm rather than the exception during centuries of colonialism. But even when forced to swallow Western culture at gunpoint, so to speak, Caribbean subaltern groups managed to circumvent, adapt and subvert the dominant in a creolizing process of creative resistance and incorporation. Like other groups around the world, Caribbean people are not passive objects of globalization and cultural domination; they are subjects, self-conscious actors.⁴⁵ The North American fast food franchises are complemented not only by local chains such as Jamaica's Tastee Patties and Mother's, they coexist with street-side Jamaican jerk vendors, Curaçaoan ladies selling *ko'i dushi* sweets, and Trinidadian roti shops.

In addition to the modifying and mitigating of foreign influences in Caribbean cities, Caribbean urban communities also effect cultural changes abroad, both through transnational networks and through old and new multimedia in the North as well as the South: the Empire strikes back, culturally. As Appadurai notes, 'the United States is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes'.⁴⁶ The popularity of salsa, reggae, calypso and other Caribbean musical styles is well known, but the influences are broader. Dutch teenagers incorporate elements of Curaçaoan Papiamentu and Surinamese Sranan (along with Arabic and Turkish) into a dynamic street slang, while Britain's youth has given birth to a vernacular that blends West Indian patois and East Indian Panjabi.⁴⁷ Caribbean music, dances, foods, fashion and language have become ineradicable elements of the urban cultures of Europe and the US, as well as beyond. Jamaican reggae has spawned African counterparts in the form of superstars like South Africa's Lucky Dube and the Ivory Coast's Alpha Blondy as well as a multitude of local groups who have not achieved international fame. The musical genre of zouk links the Francophone Caribbean and Africa and is consumed in France by French and immigrants alike.

A present-day discussion of Caribbean cities cannot neglect those other cities-in-cities rooted in soils nowhere near the Caribbean Sea: Toronto, Montreal, Baltimore, Washington DC, London, Birmingham, and Rotterdam all represent linkages of urban Caribbean cultures.⁴⁸ While the people of the Caribbean and their social, cultural and economic networks are the embodiment of transnationalism, or 'globalization from below',⁴⁹ Caribbean cities themselves form networks too. Despite intraregional migration and associations, the Caribbean remains partially typified by a fragmented regionalism: historical factors still determine the focus of some global flows, linking Saint Martin to

Paris and Sint Maarten to Amsterdam. Another principal 'Caribbean' city lies at the fringe of regional boundaries: Miami, a metropolis that is home to an array of diasporic Caribbean communities.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This introduction to various aspects of Caribbean cities underlines the fallacy of searching for *the* Caribbean city. Naturally, it would be senseless to try to fit the region's urban heterogeneity into such a mould. Rather, this volume combines insights based on different types of research in a variety of Caribbean cities, exploring which combinations of historical, social, cultural, political, spatial and economic processes and phenomena best approximate an urban Caribbean *oikoumenê*.

The contributions to this volume draw on a range of disciplinary approaches - history, geography, political science, sociology, anthropology and cultural and literary criticism - in their discussions of various cities in the Anglophone, Francophone, Hispanic and Dutch Caribbean. They examine urban issues affecting these cities, including urban planning, housing, ethnicity, segregation and uneven urban development, unemployment and livelihood strategies, crime and violence, popular culture, religion and symbolic aspects of urban space and citizenship.

The first three contributions study specific historical processes in Caribbean urban development. Asad Mohammed discusses different colonial influences on urban form, using Port of Spain as an illustration. He explores whether a common Caribbean legacy of European models of urbanization and colonial economic, political and cultural dictates have resulted in commonalities in urban form. Historically, planning and management have departed from the notion of defence against threats, by constructing fortifications defensible against attacks from the sea, and later building inner defences against rebellions and recalcitrant labouring populations. Yet, colonial tolerance and even encouragement of squatting as a solution to housing problems of the poor are an additional colonial legacy of urban form. It is proposed that a better understanding of this form will help urban managers in the Caribbean to analyze, understand and plan for the management and development of the Caribbean city.

Richard Harris studies the evolution of urban housing policy in the British West Indies from 1929 until decolonization in the 1960s. British commitment to the promotion of development throughout its colonial territories in this period entailed a new interest in housing, particularly in urban areas. This contribution demonstrates the development of a regional housing policy, influenced by poor housing conditions, a wave of mainly urban unrest and a

rising tide of nationalist sentiment, and, critically, growing pressure from the United States. The promotion of public housing and aided self-help in British West Indian colonial policy can be related to US influence, more so than is the case with French or Dutch initiatives in the region.

Marygrace Tyrrell provides a detailed case study of United States housing policy in urban Puerto Rico. The island functioned as a 'model colony' where the US could demonstrate the success of its civilizing and modernizing mission and urban centres were key to such modernization schemes. While the San Juan slums were a challenge to this colonial project, government housing developments were seen as one of the solutions. Housing projects were planned, built and administered by US officials, offering an opportunity for the colonial government to infiltrate Puerto Rican lives in their homes. Using archival material, Tyrrell studies one of these housing projects and the tensions between its residents and US officials, uncovering the impact of urban social policy implemented in a colonial context.

The contribution by Mark Figueroa, Anthony Harriott and Nicola Satchell discusses urban violence in Jamaica, drawing on political science and criminological perspectives. The authors study the political economy of Jamaican inner-city communities, enquiring whether there are specific features that explain the island's increasing rate of urban violence, in particular the high and growing homicide rate. The authors examine the typically Jamaican phenomena of garrison politics and political tribalism that have produced communal voting patterns, finding an explanatory link in the nexus between politics, community development, the distribution of state benefits and patronage as well as violence, crime and the police. However, they argue that policy interventions must take into account the variety in inner-city communities.

The next two contributions study Caribbean cities from a more geographical perspective. Colin Clarke and David Howard provide a thorough examination of spatialized inequality in Kingston Metropolitan Area since Jamaican independence. Using census data, mapped evidence and statistical analyses, they track the politicised development and distribution of housing and household services and link this to unemployment and class formation. Despite improvements in employment rates and housing and services indicators in the last four decades, poverty and poor quality housing remain spatially concentrated in West and East Kingston.

Ad de Bruijne and Aart Schalkwijk use quantitative data to map and analyze ethnic residential patterns in Paramaribo. Suriname is a multi-ethnic society, with a population of extremely varied descent, and is to a significant extent structured along ethnic lines, as is evident in the country's politics, religion, language and economy. This contribution considers the contemporary and historical spatial consequences of this structuring, and how patterns of residential

differentiation are influenced by market forces and state intervention. The changing ethnic composition of Paramaribo is discussed, focusing on transformations since the period of slavery, through the migration of former East Indian and Javanese plantation labourers to the city, until the present day.

The following two contributions draw on ethnographic methods and sociological and anthropological approaches to understand urban perceptions and behaviour. Rivke Jaffe compares patterns of urban fragmentation in Kingston and Willemstad. Based on ethnographic research in four low-income neighbourhoods in Jamaica and Curaçao, her contribution links income inequality, segregation and fear of violence to perceptions and social use of the urban environment. These cities' socio-spatial fragmentation, resulting from historical policies and development and contemporary levels of crime and fear, is reflected and reproduced in community-level place attachment, localized social capital and a search for defensible urban spaces. This in turn has implications for resident social mobility and life chances, and for general urban development policy.

Zaire Dinzey Flores illustrates a related pattern in urban Puerto Rico, focusing on two types of neighbourhoods: public housing sites and privileged residential neighbourhoods. She shows how, despite the proximity of the different neighbourhoods, Puerto Rican residential landscapes are typified by social and spatial boundaries that reflect and enable separation. She uses popular understandings of neighbourhood and community distinctions to understand how the built environment and space become actors in a discourse of violence and race to delineate community boundaries, interests, and frustrations.

Two contributions take a closer look at livelihoods of the urban poor in the Caribbean, using approaches from geography. David Dodman studies the case of informal sector scrap metal smelting in the Kingston neighbourhood of Waterhouse. He delineates the various economic, environmental and social impacts of these activities. In addition, he analyzes the power relations existing within the workplaces and the community and the disproportionate sharing of environmental costs and benefits of the smelting activities. While these activities are integrated in many ways with the formal economy, they exhibit distinctive organisational features. The structure and function of small workshops such as these can contribute to a better understanding of urban poverty, urban livelihoods and survival strategies in the Caribbean city.

Hebe Verrest studies similar activities, examining the role of habitat as a productive asset for low-income urban households in two neighbourhoods in Paramaribo and two in Port of Spain. Based on data collected through a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods, her contribution focuses on household livelihood strategies, the role of gender and tenure security in the starting up habitat-based economic activities, and the incorporation of formal and informal linkages in this productive use of habitat. The data gathered in these two

Caribbean cities question assumptions based on cases in other regions, and suggests a more nuanced approach in future research.

The final three papers approach Caribbean cities by drawing on the theory and methods of cultural and literary criticism. Francio Guadeloupe uses popular culture to understand the construction and politics of belonging in urban Saint Martin/Sint Maarten (SXM). A major influx of immigrants from poorer islands in the region followed the explosion of the tourist industry on SXM, but the island manages to live up to the harmonious image on which tourism is based. This absence of significant tension within this multi-ethnic, multi-religious island connects to the 'money tie system', bonds of power and money that link 'locals' and newcomers. In addition, key figures advocate an all-inclusive politics of belonging, employing Caribbean music and creolized Christianity. A thick description of a broadcast by a popular radio disc jockey illustrates this discourse.

Liesbeth de Bleeker discusses how the narrative category of 'space' is exploited by contemporary Francophone Caribbean writers, based on the crime novels *Solibo Magnifique* by Patrick Chamoiseau and *Le meurtre du Samedi-Gloria* by Raphaël Confiant. She analyses how these authors use a distorted version of the classic crime novel to explore the socio-spatial structuring of Fort-de-France. Chamoiseau portrays urban Martinique as the polarized site of a clash between the Creole population in the shantytowns and the representatives of metropolitan France in the city centre. Confiant adds a layer to this conflict by including a focus on rivalries between different Creole neighbourhoods, producing a fragmented image of the city.

Kathleen Gyssels looks at a different French Caribbean novel, Raphaël Confiant's *Mamzelle Libellule*. Departing from the Caribbean literary theme of the search for identity, she discusses how this is interwoven with the search for one's own spaces and places. She pursues this idea more specifically in the context of the urban novel, a recent emergence on the Caribbean literary scene. The Caribbean city depicted by Confiant is one of continuous struggle, a portrayal at odds with the theoretical ideal of a multicultural, hybrid Creole society he and other French Caribbean authors propose elsewhere.

NOTES

1. Despite an extensive body of work on Caribbean territories and the region as a whole, literature on Caribbean cities remains limited to a scattering of largely historical monographs and articles on specific cities, a series of publications by Robert B. Potter and an edited volume by Alejandro Portes et al. that includes Guatemala and Costa Rica in its rather unorthodox definition of the Caribbean. Historical monographs include Diane Austin, *Urban Life in Kingston, Jamaica: The Culture and Class Ideology of Two Neighbourhoods* (London: Gordon and Breach, 1983); Colin G. Clarke, *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Ad de Bruijne, *Paramaribo: Stadsgeografische studies van een ontwikkelingsland* (Bussum: Romen, 1976); Michel S. Laguerre, *Urban Life in the Caribbean: A study of a Haitian Urban Community* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1982) and *Urban Poverty in the Caribbean: French Martinique as a Social Laboratory* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Pedro L.V. Welch, *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados 1680-1834* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003); Juanita De Barros, *Order and Place in a Colonial City: Patterns of Struggle and Resistance in Georgetown, British Guiana, 1889-1924* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002); James Robertson, *Gone Is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town, Jamaica, 1534-2000* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2005); and David Howard, *Kingston: A Cultural and Literary History* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004). Examples of articles on specific cities are Thomas Klak, 'Havana and Kingston: Mass-Media Images and Empirical Observations of 2 Caribbean Cities in Crisis' *Urban Geography* 15 (1994): 318-344; and Jorge Cela, 'Santo Domingo: An Alternative City Plan' in Helen Collinson (ed) *Green Guerillas: Environmental Conflicts and Initiatives in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Montreal, Buffalo and London: Black Rose Books, 1997), 221-229. More general publications include Robert B. Potter, 'Urbanization in the Caribbean and Trends of Global Convergence Divergence' *Geographical Journal* 159 (1993): 1-21, and 'Urbanization and Development in the Caribbean' *Geography* 80 (1995): 334-341; and the edited volumes Robert B. Potter (ed), *Urbanization, Planning and Development in the Caribbean* (London: Mansell, 1989) and *The Urban Caribbean in an Era of Global Change* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); and Alejandro Portes, Carlos Dore-Cabral and Patricia Landolt (eds), *The Urban Caribbean: Transition to the New Global Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
2. Thomas D. Boswell, 'The Caribbean: A Geographic Preface' in Richard S. Hillman and Thomas J. D'Agostino (eds), *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003), 19.
3. Norman Girvan, 'Creating and Recreating the Caribbean' in Kenneth Hall and Denis Benn (eds), *Contending with Destiny: The Caribbean in the 21st Century* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2000), 34.
4. Sidney W. Mintz, 'The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area' in Michael

- Horowitz (ed), *People and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader* (Garden City, New York: Natural History Press, 1971), 18-45.
5. Girvan, 'Creating and Recreating the Caribbean', 31-34.
 6. Sidney W. Mintz, 'Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as "Oikoumenê"', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (1996): 289-311.
 7. Because of its socialist regime and associated singular political and economic path, modern Cuba is in many ways an anomaly amongst Caribbean states. For instance, it has a very different relationship with the United States and to a lesser extent Europe; it has never entered agreements with the IMF or World Bank; and the transnational community of Cubans maintain a very different association with their 'home' country than elsewhere. However Cuba does share a similar history with the rest of the region and socio-cultural, economic and political parallels are evident in, for example, Afro-Caribbean religion, a increased focus on tourism, and a charismatic form of politics.
 8. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, 'The Caribbean Region: An Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 22.
 9. Although decentralization and the development of local government has gained in popularity, most governments are still organized in a centralized, hierarchical manner in which scarce funds, manpower and expertise are not always used effectively. There is still limited scope for active participation of the private sector and local population, as urban management is seen primarily as a government responsibility.
 10. Robert B. Potter, 'Urbanization, Planning and Development in the Caribbean: An Introduction' in Potter (ed), *Urbanization, Planning and Development*, 1.
 11. Asad Mohammed, this volume.
 12. Potter, 'Urbanization and Development', expanding on Eduardo Rojas, 'Human Settlements of the Eastern Caribbean: Development Problems and Policy Options', *Cities* 6 (1989): 243-258.
 13. Sidney W. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago: Aldine, 1974).
 14. Portes et al., *The Urban Caribbean*.
 15. Derek Gordon, Patricia Anderson and Don Robotham, 'Jamaica: Urbanization during the Years of Crisis' in Portes et al. (eds), *The Urban Caribbean*, 190-233.
 16. Sabine Manigat, 'Haiti: The Popular Sectors and the Crisis in Port-au-Prince', in Portes et al. (eds), *The Urban Caribbean*, 87-123.
 17. Malcolm Cross, *Urbanization and Urban Growth in the Caribbean: An Essay on Social Change in Dependent Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
 18. Johan Galtung, 'A Structural Theory of Imperialism', *The Journal of Peace Research* 8 (1971): 81-117.
 19. Patrick Chamoiseau, *Texaco: A Novel* (London: Vintage, 1998), 3.
 20. Though for larger islands and mainland territories the distinction tends to be more marked.
 21. Patricia Mohammed, 'City Limits: Urbanisation and Gender Roles in the

- Caribbean into the 21st Century', in Hall and Benn (eds), *Contending with Destiny*, 199.
22. Mohammed, 'City Limits', 199; Bernard Headley, *A Spade is Still a Spade: Essays on Crime and the Politics of Jamaica* (Kingston: LMH, 2002), 60-61.
 23. Howard, *Kingston*, 136.
 24. Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, *The Environmental Dilemma in Caribbean Context* (Kingston: The Grace, Kennedy Foundation, 1996), 22-24.
 25. Elizabeth A. Wheeler, *Unthinkable Cities: Kingston and Los Angeles* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1996), 171.
 26. R.J. Ross and G.J. Telkamp (eds) *Colonial Cities: Essays on urbanism in a Colonial Context* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985).
 27. Colin G. Clarke, 'A Caribbean Creole Capital: Kingston, Jamaica (1692-1938)' in Ross and Telkamp (eds) *Colonial Cities*, 162.
 28. The majority of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in the Caribbean are urban sites with a high incidence colonial architecture, such as Old Havana, the Historic Inner Cities of Willemstad and Paramaribo, the Colonial City of Santo Domingo. Most of the other heritage sites are nature reserves and national parks (<http://whc.unesco.org>). On vernacular architecture, see Brian J. Hudson, 'Houses in the Caribbean: Homes and Heritage' in Robert B. Potter and Dennis Conway (eds) *Self-Help Housing, the Poor, and the State in the Caribbean* (Kingston: UWI Press, 1997), pp. 14-29; and Dan Brown, 'Creolization and the Development of Vernacular Architectural Forms in the Caribbean' (paper presented at International Workshop The Caribbean City, Leiden, 1-3 December 2004). For more on housing and architecture, see Robert B. Potter and Dennis Conway (eds), *Self-Help Housing, the Poor, and the State in the Caribbean* (Kingston: UWI Press, 1997); Katharine Coit, 'Politics and Housing Strategies in the Anglophone Caribbean' in B.C. Aldrich and R. S. Sandhu (eds) *Housing the Urban Poor: Policy and Practice in Developing Countries* (London: Zed Books, 1995), 171-184.
 29. De Barros, *Order and Place in a Colonial City*.
 30. Alejandro Portes, José Itzigsohn and Carlos Dore-Cabral, 'Urbanization in the Caribbean Basin: Social Change during the Years of the Crisis' in Portes et al. (eds), *The Urban Caribbean*, 16-54.
 31. David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27 (2003): 939-941.
 32. Laguerre, *Urban Poverty in the Caribbean*, 40-41.
 33. Marie-José N'Zengou-Tayo, 'Imaginary City, Literary Spaces: Port-au-Prince in Some Recent Haitian Fiction', *Matatu - Journal for African Culture and Society* 27 (2003): 375-397. Examples of novels are Patrick Chamoiseau's *Texaco* for Martinique and Roger Mais' *The Hills Were Joyful Together* for Jamaica. The British West Indies in the 1930s through 1950s even generated a specific subgenre known as 'yard fiction', including C.L.R. James *Minty Alley* and Alfred Mendes' *Black Fauns*.
 34. Potter, *The Urban Caribbean*, 30.
 35. Alejandro Portes, José Itzigsohn and Carlos Dore-Cabral, 'Urbanization in

- the Caribbean Basin: Social Change during the Years of the Crisis', *Latin American Research Review* 29 (1994): 3-37.
36. Palmira N. Rios, 'Gender, Industrialization, and Development in Puerto Rico' in Christine E. Bose and Edna Acosta-Belén (eds) *Women in the Latin American Development Process* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 125-148; Alex Dupuy, 'Export-led Development and The Lewis Model in Haiti' in Christine Barrow and Rhoda Reddock (eds) *Caribbean Sociology: Introductory Readings* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2001), 898-908; Roger Hosein, 'Structural Adjustment and Lewis' Industrialisation by Invitation: An Empirical Investigation of the Trinidad and Tobago Experience', *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies* 28 (2003): 44-66.
 37. Katie Willis, 'Open for Business: Strategies for Economic Diversification' in Cathy McIlwaine and Katie Willis (eds) *Challenges and Change in Middle America* (Harlow: Pearson, 2002), 136-158; Irma T. Alonso, 'Industrialization and Trade in the Caribbean' in Irma T. Alonso (ed) *Caribbean Economies in the Twenty-First Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 150-176; Helen I. Safa, *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995); A. Lynn Bolles, *Sister Jamaica: A Study of Women, Work, and Households in Kingston* (New York: University Press of America, 1996); Thomas Klak and Garth Myers, 'How States Sell Their Countries and Their People' in Thomas Klak (ed) *Globalization and Neoliberalism: the Caribbean Context* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 87-109.
 38. Richard L. Bernal, Winsome J. Leslie and Stephen E. Lamar, 'Drugs, Debt and Structural Adjustment in the Caribbean' in Ivelaw L. Griffith (ed) *The Political Economy of Drugs in the Caribbean* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 58-80. The notion of informal sector is not to be confused with that of the illegal sector.
 39. Cathy McIlwaine, Sylvia Chant and Sally Lloyd Evans, 'Making a Living: Employment, Livelihoods and the Informal Sector' in McIlwaine and Willis (eds) *Challenges and Change in Middle America*, 110; Brenda Wyss and Marceline White, *The Effects of Trade Liberalization on Jamaica's Poor: An Analysis of Agriculture and Services* (Washington DC: Women's Edge Coalition, 2004).
 40. Jim J. Thomas, *Surviving in the City: The Urban Informal Sector in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 1995). McIlwaine et al., 'Making a Living'.
 41. Portes et al, *The Urban Caribbean*.
 42. McIlwaine et al., 'Making a Living'.
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