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• Stadtplanung - Disparitäten - Karibik - Jamaica

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Exogenous and Endogenous Concepts of Urban Planning: Urban Revitalization in Kingston, Jamaica¹

With 6 figures and 6 photos

Metropolitan areas of low income countries (LICs) face serious economic, social and infrastructural problems. In many instances, these are concentrated more strongly in the outskirts of a city; in some cases they are more prominent in the central city or downtown areas. Inner city decline is a serious problem in Kingston which has experienced both rural in-migration of low income people and the exodus of the middle class and businesses to the suburbs. There have been many attempts to redevelop Inner Kingston. This paper portrays and discusses 'exogenous' and 'endogenous' approaches to urban revitalization using the Kingston Waterfront and Market Area Redevelopments as examples. Exogenous approach as used here refers to Western-oriented planning activities that are commonly generated by outside forces. Locally generated, bottom-up or grassroots development activities for the benefit of specific local target groups of the bottom end of society characterize the endogenous approach. The projects selected serve to illustrate the concepts of exogenous and endogenous development as applied to an urban (re)development context, and to highlight problems associated with each. A new perspective is attempted on potential problems of endogenous approaches which have recently been viewed as a panacea for development. The paper concludes with thoughts on the usefulness of the exogenous/endogenous classification.

Zusammenfassung: Exogene und endogene Stadtplanungsansätze und Stadtansanierung in Kingston/Jamaica

Großstädte in Entwicklungsländern haben schwerwiegende wirtschaftliche, soziale und infrastrukturelle Probleme. Diese können sich räumlich an deren Peripherie, aber auch in den Innenstadt- oder Downtownbereichen konzentrieren. In Kingston ist das Problem der Innenstadterfall, der durch Zuwanderung ärmerer Bevölkerungsschichten aus dem ländlichen Raum und der gleichzeitigen Abwanderung der Mittelklasse und Geschäftswelt in die Vororte hervorgerufen wurde. Es gab

viele Ansätze, die Innenstadt zu revitalisieren. Dieser Beitrag zeichnet exogene und endogene Ansätze anhand zweier Beispiele auf, der Kingston Waterfront Development und der Redevelopment des Marktbezirks in West Kingston. Als exogene Planungsansätze werden hier westlich orientierte und größtenteils von externen Interessen initiierte Entwicklungsmaßnahmen bezeichnet. Ein endogener Entwicklungsansatz ist dagegen charakterisiert durch lokal-konzipierte und kontrollierte Maßnahmen zum Nutzen spezifischer örtlicher Zielgruppen aus den unteren sozio-ökonomischen Schichten. Die vorgestellten Projekte sollen das Konzept von exogener und endogener Entwicklungsplanung auch auf den städtischen Raum übertragen und am Beispiel städtischer Revitalisierungsprojekte darstellen sowie Probleme der jeweiligen Ansätze hervorheben. Eine neue Perspektive zur möglichen Problematik endogener Ansätze soll aufgezeigt werden, welche in jüngerer Zeit als 'Allheilmittel' in der Entwicklungsplanung angesehen werden. Der Beitrag schließt mit einer Betrachtung zur sinnvollen Anwendung exogener und endogener Ansätze.

Résumé: Concepts exogènes et endogènes de planification urbaine: revitalisation urbaine à Kingston, Jamaïque

Les grandes villes des pays en voie de développement ont de graves problèmes économiques, sociaux et d'infrastructure. Ceux-ci peuvent se concentrer dans la péri-

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phérie urbaine, mais également dans le centre ou les quartiers 'downtown'. A Kingston, le problème est celui du délabrement du centre urbain, engendré par l'immigration d'une population rurale disposant de revenus bas, et en même temps par le départ de la classe moyenne et du monde des affaires pour revitaliser le centre de la ville. Dans cet exposé, deux exemples illustrent des tentatives exogènes et endogènes: le Kingston Waterfront Development et le Market Area Redevelopments. On appellera ici tentatives de planification exogène les mesures de développement promues par des intérêts d'orientation occidentale et venant pour la plupart de l'extérieur. Une tentative de développement endogène, par contre, est caractérisée par des mesures conçues et contrôlées par la région, et dont profiteront des groupes locaux spécifiques issus de couche socio-économiques défavorisées. Les projets présentés ont pour but d'illustrer les concepts de développement exogènes et endogènes appliqués dans un contexte urbain et de faire comprendre les problèmes qui y sont liés. Un nouveau regard est porté sur les problèmes que peut engendrer le concept endogène, que l'on a récemment déclaré 'médecine miracle' pour le développement. L'exposé conclut avec une réflexion quant à une application raisonnable des concepts exogènes et endogènes.

1. Urban Problems and Development Approaches in Low Income Countries

Cities of low-income countries (LICs) face serious problems caused by the exodus from rural areas, rapidly growing slums and squatter settlements, traffic congestion, unsanitary conditions, open and disguised unemployment, and worsening income distribution (cf. *Meier* 1976, 1984; *Heineberg* and *Schäfers* 1989: 100). In many instances economic, social and infrastructural problems are concentrated more strongly in the outskirts of a city, in some cases they are more prominent in the central city or downtown areas. Indeed, some LIC cities such as Kingston, Jamaica, suffer from inner city decline as is typical, for example, of older US cities: there is a concentration of poor people in the central parts, concomitant movement of the middle class and businesses to the suburbs, and socio-economic and spatial polarization.

The general malaise of LIC cities requires major structural changes in the economy; in addition, explicit spatial policies are required to decentralize development at

1. the national level through a national urban policy that promotes other urban centers (for example, 'growth poles'),
2. the regional level through agricultural development and small-scale rural industrialization, and
3. the local level, for example through revitalization strategies for blighted urban areas and slums.

In implementation, any of these policies may result in planning approaches that either draw on

- a. exogenous or
- b. endogenous factors and concepts, or
- c. a combination thereof.

Development through exogenous and endogenous efforts is discussed more fully by *Stöhr* (1981), *Stöhr* and *Taylor* (1981), *Hartke* (1985), *Browett* (1985) or *Brown* (1988); therefore, only a brief characterization is given. It is important to note that the exogenous/endogenous classification which has mostly been used in the context of national or regional development strategies may be applied to an urban context and redevelopment projects as well, although to date, this has not been done.

Stöhr and *Taylor* (1981: 454) succinctly characterize the essence of exogenous and endogenous development approaches in a national and regional context: 'Inherent in development 'from below' are certain basic values, it is egalitarian and communalist in orientation and has broader societal goals than mere economic criteria. It is at one and the same time a new development strategy and a new development ideology'.

Specifically, exogenous development planning means top-down, centralized planning which is concentrated upon few sectors and geographic areas perceived as dynamic by outside forces such as the international donor community or foreign investors. Thereafter, sectoral 'trickle-down' and geographic 'spread-effects' are expected to lead to development in the remaining backward economic sectors and geographic areas (cf. *Myrdal* 1957 and *Hirschman* 1958 for an analysis and critique of these mechanisms). Such focused 'un-

balanced' growth strategies were seen as a necessary condition for self-sustained economic take-off and development. The role of local planning agencies has been rather limited to the implementation of policies dictated by the international lending institutions or politically motivated aid programs of donor nations. This Westernization has often been compounded by the fact that local planners and decision-makers inadvertently apply Western planning concepts as a result of their foreign training. Exogenous planning has, therefore, resulted generally in urban industrial development through international aid donors, multinational corporations, capital-intensive, large-scale, prestigious projects with a high technology content, a focus on the 'modern sector' in the dual economy of LICs and a neglect of the traditional economy.

Applied to an LIC urban context, exogenous (re)development efforts would select among the blighted areas the one of greatest potential to foreign investors and donor agencies who then pour massive amounts of capital into projects that give the impression of modernity, appeal to Western tastes and are to change the traditional mentality. A modern redevelopment project under the auspices of foreign donors or investors, for example, is generally expected to upgrade the image of a blighted area in order to induce local and other investors to proceed with 'second-generation' development that would 'spill over' to remaining backward or run-down areas of the city. (Re)development thus generated has been large-scale and capital-intensive and has been criticized for its inappropriateness, contribution to foreign debt, the destruction of physical habitat and social systems, the further socio-economic polarization and regional development differentials in LICs. Although exogenous forces, particularly funding and related decision-making continue to dominate (re)development strategies there has been a growing concern with enhancing endogenous development potentials.

Such strategies, termed hereafter 'endogenous approaches', include bottom-up/grass-roots efforts or (re)development strategies conceived and planned by local planning agencies, community leaders and target groups ('participa-

tory planning') that enhance local potentials and provide the conditions for internally generated autonomous change. Commonly, these development efforts focus on assisting the bottom end of society; the (re)development projects minimize foreign input by building on local, indigenous physical and human resources. The role of exogenous forces is very much reduced to partial funding only, their advisory or consulting functions being severely limited. Decentralized, endogenous development strongly emphasizes appropriate technology, small-scale and labor-intensive projects for the 'traditional sector' of the labor-surplus dual economy.

In an urban context, this means an emphasis on the 'informal sector' which had been ignored for decades. Often governments had tried to forcefully remove these activities because they tend to evade taxation and were perceived as a nuisance in countries that aggressively pursue modernization. At the very least, LIC governments had placed official limitations on informal entrepreneurs relating to credits, infrastructural support, licensing, subsidies or extending some form of social security (cf. International Labor Office 1972: 5-8, 503-508). The hard-core economic benefits of the informal sector have only been assessed in the 1970's. It is now recognized as a major pillar of an LIC economy because of its ease of entry, which allows millions of unskilled people permanent, gainful employment without much formal training; it does not drain scarce foreign exchange because urban informal entrepreneurs tend to operate in simple settings, use home-grown or home-made resources and rely on traditional social and mutual help systems such as revolving credit funds. Enhancing endogenous development in an urban context would begin with some form of assistance to the informal sector, such as providing needed infrastructural support.

2. Objective of the Paper

This paper illustrates and discusses two urban redevelopment projects in downtown Kingston, Jamaica which has experienced slumification and economic decline as a result of rural immigration and suburban flight of the middle class and businesses. There have been many

MAP OF KINGSTON
Showing Downtown and Suburban Districts

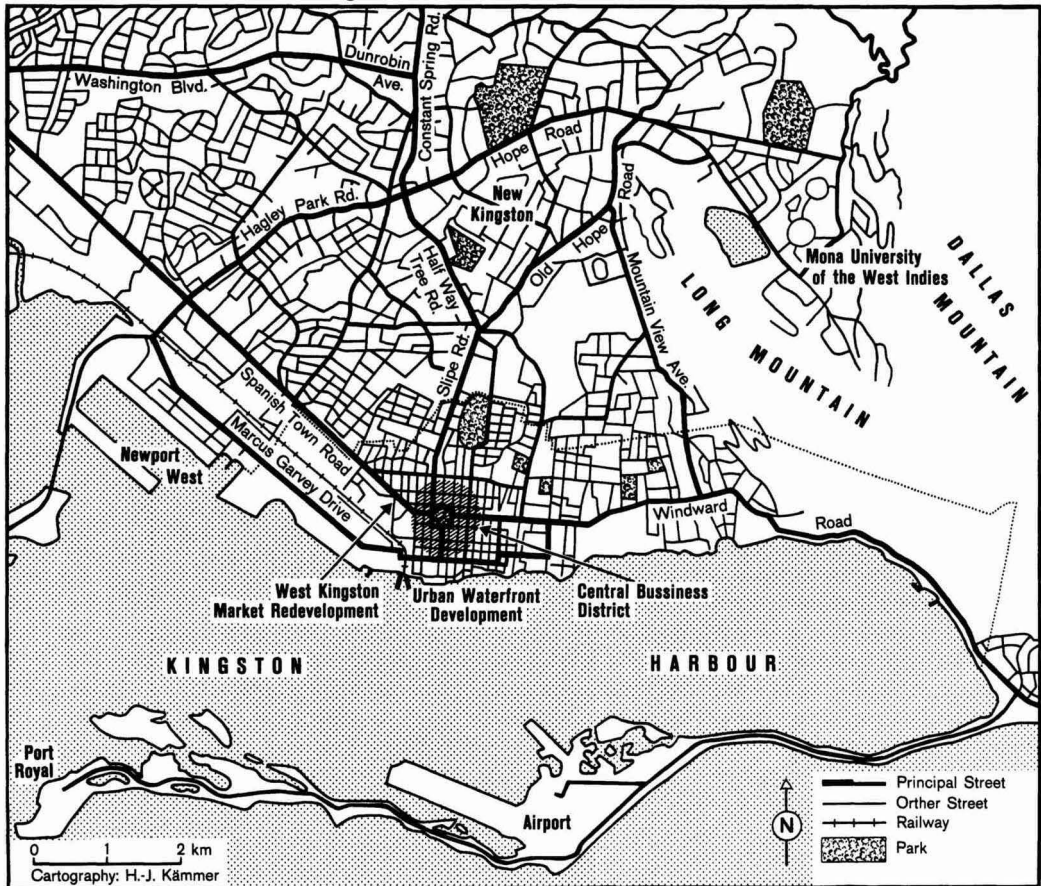


Fig. 1: Map of Kingston Showing Downtown and Suburban Areas
Kingstons Downtown und suburbane Gebiete

attempts to revitalize Inner Kingston as a center for economic activity and employment opportunities. Out of the different redevelopment schemes in the Kingston Metropolitan Region two cases are portrayed, the Waterfront and the West Kingston Market Redevelopments because conceptually they are on two opposing ends of a planning spectrum. The urban waterfront redevelopment can be seen as reflective of the exogenous approach. It is a transfer of the 'waterfront development approach', an American urban planning concept focusing on waterfront sites and their physical appearance. The market redevelopment, on the other hand, is representative of an en-

dogenous approach which addresses the human agent. In this case it is concerned with the needs of informal entrepreneurs, involves them in the planning process and is aimed at improving the conditions street and market vendors are facing in downtown Kingston. The emphasis is on problems associated with each approach. Specifically, it is attempted to provide a new perspective on potential problems of the endogenous approaches which have recently been viewed as a panacea for development. Whereas development strategies enhancing endogenous potentials may be preferred theoretically, it is argued that they may harbor a potentially counter-productive Western



Photo 1: Aerial View of New Kingston/Luftbild von New Kingston
Source/Quelle: Periwinkle Publ., Photographer: R. Chen

bias. This bias may result from Western acculturation processes that may influence decisions even at the local or grass-roots levels. (Re)development projects of that genre then, may suffer from similar problems of inappropriateness as do projects that were initiated and dominated by exogenous forces.

3. The Kingston Waterfront Redevelopment - an example of exogenous development planning

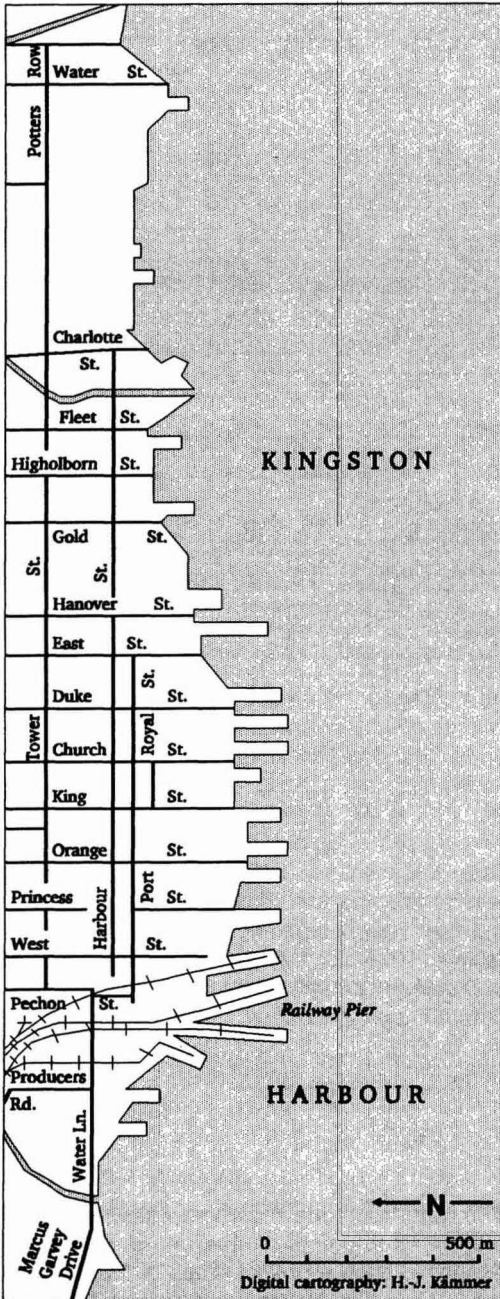
Kingston is the capital and principal city of Jamaica (whose total population was 2,3579,000 in 1988). With the exception of Montego Bay there are only small towns or regional service centers, typically under 3000 people. Since 1962 Kingston's population has almost doubled from 500 000, primarily as a result of rural-urban migration. This brought large numbers of low income people from rural areas to the inner city which hastened its decline in the housing sector and increased migration of the middle class to the suburbs.

Economic decline became severe when a new modern harbor (Newport West, see *fig. 1*) suited to large containerized cargo flows was

built close to industrial estates, making the old harbor obsolete; "the blight of slums and obsolescence" began to dominate the inner city which became 'a place to avoid' (Riley 1967 a: 34, 1967 c: 48). Uptown districts such as New Kingston (see *fig. 1* and *photo 1*), by contrast, were booming with US-type shopping plazas and commercial strip developments catering to the needs of suburban households (George and Warren 1984: 203). Thus, the modernization of suburbs and continued downtown slumification created two Kingstons, one of shantytown slums and one of skyscrapers, US-style low density residential developments, luxury apartments and 'town house' complexes that require burglar bars and security guards (Norton 1978).

The waterfront redevelopment was designed in the sixties to combat further slumification and economic decline of vast areas of Inner Kingston. Urban waterfront redevelopment as a general planning concept dates back to the turn of the century when city beautification with grandiose architecture became fashionable in the US and urban shores became focal points for restoring a city's 'dignity, nobi-

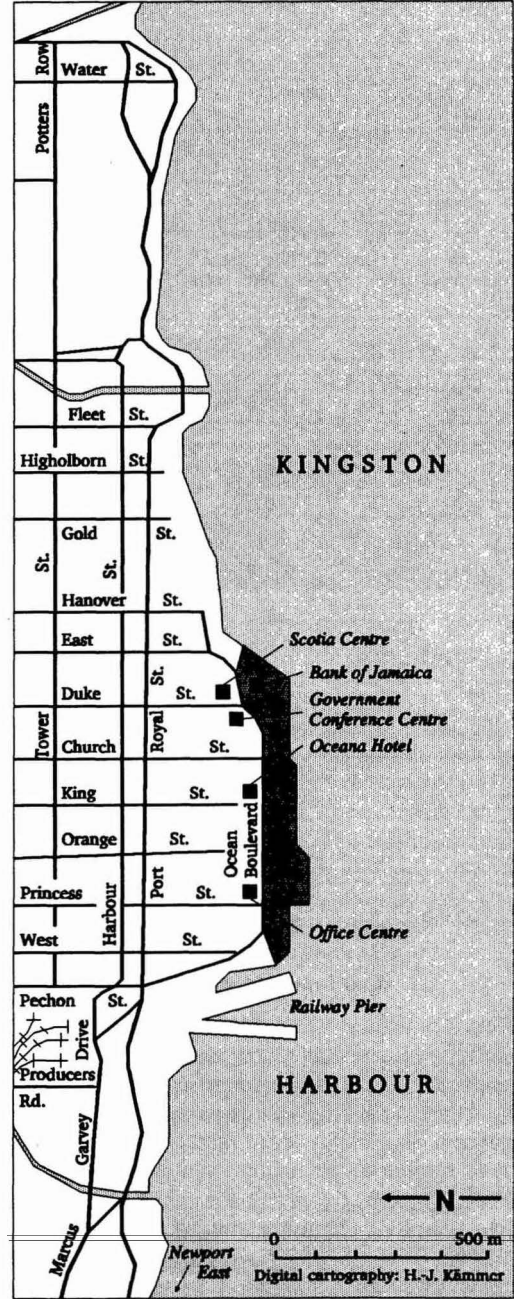
OLD WATERFRONT 1969



Source: GEORGE, V. and C. WARREN, 1984, p. 204

Fig. 2: Map of the Old Waterfront, 1969/Plan des ehemaligen Hafenbereichs, 1969
Source/Quelle: George, V. and C. Warren 1984, p. 204

NEW WATERFRONT 1984



Source: GEORGE, V. and C. WARREN, 1984, p. 204

Fig. 3: Map of the New Waterfront, 1984/Plan des sanierten Hafenbereichs, 1984
Source/Quelle: George, V. and C. Warren 1984, p. 204



Photo 2: Aerial View of Kingston's Waterfront Prior to Redevelopment, 1964/Luftbild des ehemaligen Hafengebiete, 1964
Source/Quelle: Urban Development Corporation, Photographer: J.S. Tyndale-Biscoe



Photo 3: Aerial View of the Redeveloped Waterfront, 1984/Luftbild des sanierten Hafengebietes, 1984
Source/Quelle: Urban Development Corporation, Photographer: J.S. Tyndale-Biscoe

lity, and prominence' (cf. *Robinson* 1909: 43-57). In many industrial nations blighted waterfronts were since redeveloped based on American examples. Even the most recent European dockland developments are spawned by the earlier satisfactory experience of US waterfront developments. Commonly, these sites attract the interest of large-scale investors because the planned office, hotel, retail, convention and leisure facilities offer great financial returns. This was also hoped for in the case of Kingston. The Kingston waterfront redevelopment, however, assumed an even greater importance. It was to raise Jamaica's image abroad and at home. Although it was only one of several 'integral parts of an overall program ... to meet the economic and social needs of Jamaica's largest urban area' (*Seaga* 1967: 28), the redevelopment was to raise morale and 'to restore confidence that Jamaica's capital city was not being left to rot' (*Riley* 1967 c: 50). This reason was so compelling that the waterfront redevelopment scheme became a national development priority in the 1960s and early seventies.

Waterfront redevelopment plans by the Ministry of Finance and Planning, the British Ministry of Overseas Development, private architects and planners were finalized between 1966 and 1968 when the project area was only partially owned by the government. Because of the concern with land speculation after publicizing these plans, the government first sought to acquire all land through a public-private company, to devise a master plan and provide primary infrastructural developments such as road construction, pier removal and the creation of a new shore line (*Riley* 1967 c: 50). Thereafter, it was intended to sell off the site to local or foreign private investors for secondary development in accordance with the master plan (*Riley* 1967 a: 35). The public-private company was soon superseded by Urban Development Corporation (UDC), a new governmental agency created in 1968 through special legislature. At the time, the Government of Jamaica pursued several other large-scale development projects in which land speculation was also thought to prevent the very developments the government sought to achieve. With UDC, Jamaica's urban and na-

tional development was provided with a new institution that would circumvent the conflict of public interest and private investors and the problems of competency and coordination between ministries, typical of LIC scenarios (cf. *Heineberg* and *Schäfer* 1989 for a discussion). UDC carries out projects which are vital to urban areas, national economic growth and the social well-being but are too large and expensive for private investors. UDC operates in areas designated by the Ministry of Finance and Planning which are then purchased by the agency. UDC became the major planning and implementation body of many Jamaican development projects such as the Kingston waterfront and the tourist resort developments of Ocho Rios, Montego Bay, Negril and Port Antonio (cf. UDC 1983).

Although there were many reasons for the waterfront project (shown on *figs. 2, 3* and *photo 2,3* before and after redevelopment), economic benefits to investors and developmental 'spill-over' effects were a prime consideration. The latter were to be felt (a) within the intra-metropolitan area by providing a 'growth pole' outside of the suburbs through 'central place functions' that would draw the middle and high-income customer away from the suburban shopping centers back downtown (*Riley* 1967 b) and (b) on a more localized level in the project area and its immediate vicinity through revitalization of commerce and employment, increased expenditures from tourists and up-town visitors. This was to initiate local economic multiplier effects and positive spatial or 'neighborhood effects' for run-down commercial and residential areas close to the waterfront (cf. *Needham* 1967: 3). The waterfront, therefore, was designed to include offices, specialty shops, a department store, hotels, restaurants, a cultural center, a concert hall, leisure facilities, public buildings, a crafts market, public entertainment, multi-story car parks, apartment buildings, new roads and a marina.

4. The Impact of the Waterfront Development

As expected, the redevelopment attracted commercial and service activity: the headquarters of the Central Bank of Jamaica and a

leading commercial bank, two large hotels, a convention and conference center, the National Gallery of Jamaica, Kingston Mall with shops and restaurants, a fourteen-story office tower housing several government ministries, a fourteen-story condominium apartment building, a multi-story parking garage as well as parking lots, two cruise ship piers, a supermarket, boutiques, shops, restaurants and a crafts market, several office buildings of private sector firms, such as brokers and insurances (UDC 1983, *George and Warren* 1984). Although the waterfront gives an impressive appearance its tangible benefits are less spectacular. Contrary to expectation the retail facilities do not cater to a high-income clientele; there have been many store vacancies, the existing stores offer goods of lower order, there is a crowding of urban poor and unemployed in some parts of the waterfront. The stores of lower order included 1989, for example, storage facilities, furniture and mattress warehouses, watch repair, children's clothing, household appliances, a compressor leasing and urban maintenance company as well as a supermarket.

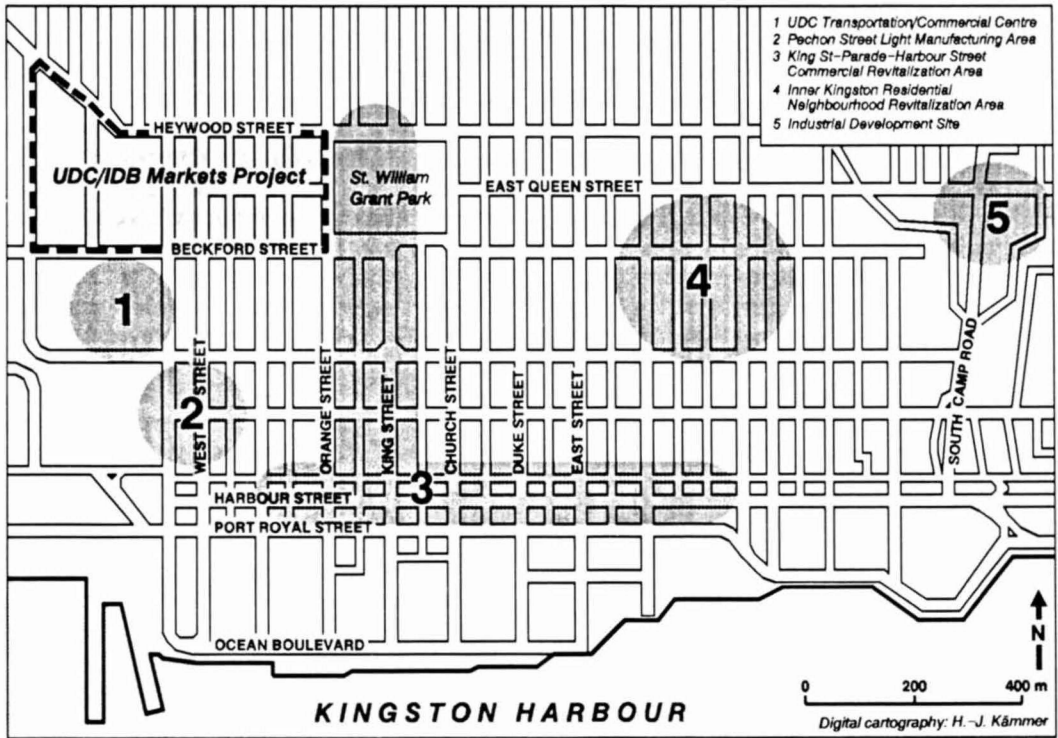
The anticipated benefits never materialized or cannot realistically be assessed. Employment, for example, had increased by 191% to a total of 3788 between 1975 and 1981, resulting in about 2,500 new jobs during that period. Since the number of jobs prior to redevelopment had not been counted, however, the true employment effect remained unknown (*George and Warren* 1984:204). It cannot be ruled out that the overall employment effect was negative and that the remarkable job growth reflected nothing more than the short-term boom in construction jobs. The attraction of middle and high income residents, commuting professionals and downtown employees during lunch time had been miscalculated. High prices and poor choice made shopping on the waterfront less attractive than in the suburbs and the fast food restaurants could not compete with office cafeterias in the downtown area. The general lack of recreational and entertainment facilities, night life, poor public transportation to this area, the proximity to high crime areas and the presence of 'mad people and beggars' continue to affect the image of the area even after redevelopment (cf. *Hill* 1984: 3-14).

Business, therefore, has been out-priced and out-performed by suburban malls and does not have the necessary market area and critical mass of middle-class customers. After careful surveys and assessments UDC admitted that 'the development to date cannot fairly be said to have reconverted the area into a regional commercial shopping center' (*George and Warren* 1984: 205; cf. *Hill* 1983: 6,8), a situation which, if anything, has worsened (*George* 1989). The waterfront's inability to compete against New Kingston's business growth had been known as early as 1974. The pending image loss resulting from vacancies in a massive redevelopment project prompted unplanned uses and diversions from the original plans '...something had to go into the new buildings, so the government decided to use them as offices' (*Daily Gleaner* 1974: 6; cf. *George* 1989). Although increased car traffic was criticized for adding to congestion in downtown Kingston it was hoped that this move of government offices would trigger further developments. This expectation did not materialize. A positive spillover effect on adjacent areas in terms of renovation of buildings and restoration of economic vitality remained marginal (cf. *George* 1984 a). The waterfront itself has recently had difficulties even as a local commercial center and there is 'an urgent need for advertising and promoting the waterfront ... without this, businesses will find it increasingly difficult to compete for an effectively shrinking market' (*George* 1984 b,c). For obvious reasons UDC did not recommend extending the project through additional retail or office space or housing because of the low image of the surrounding areas.

5. The Market Redevelopment Scheme - an example of enhancing endogenous urban development potentials

The blighted downtown areas to the north and northwest of the waterfront that were expected to benefit from indirect or 'spill-over' effects were directly targeted for development in the early 1980s. Several projects were designed by public and/or private sector initiatives, such as Kingston Restoration Company, a downtown business association, in an effort to revitalize Inner Kingston (cf. Urban Institute

MAJOR DEVELOPMENT AREAS IN DOWNTOWN KINGSTON



Source: KINGSTON RESTORATION COMPANY LIMITED, Annual Report 1987-1988, p. 23

Fig. 4: Key Development Areas in Downtown Kingston/Wichtige Planungsgebiete in der Innenstadt von Kingston
Source/Quelle: Kingston Restoration Company Annual Report 1987 - 1988, p. 23

1987; US Agency for International Development 1986). These projects include rehabilitation and development of

1. the West Kingston markets, begun in 1985 and scheduled for completion in 1991
2. the transportation center,
3. light manufacturing and other industries,
4. downtown Kingston commercial and residential districts, and
5. sanitary sewer systems in streets adjacent to the waterfront (UDC 1988:13 and see fig. 4).

The West Kingston Market Redevelopment has island-wide relevance in economic terms (in contrast to the role of the Waterfront as a confidence booster or as a profitable location for foreign investment). Unlike the waterfront redevelopment which targeted a site, the market area redevelopment is people-orient-

ed and aims at improving earnings opportunities for groups of lower socio-economic status. The nationwide importance becomes obvious when one considers that prime infrastructural and commercial facilities are located in West Kingston. The island's main railroad and transportation routes converge in this area, and there is a concentration of bus and railway terminals, warehouses, slaughterhouses and main wholesale and retail markets (see photo 4). The four main markets (Coronation, Queens, Jubilee and Redemption Markets, see photo 4) concentrate up to 80% of Jamaica's total trade in agricultural products and supply other public markets in the Kingston Metropolitan Region and in the countryside with food stuffs and nonagricultural goods. As such, West Kingston's markets and their 8 - 12 000 vendors - depending on the day of the week - are of fundamental importance to the entire



Photo 4: Aerial View of the West Kingston Market Area Prior to Redevelopment, 1983/*Luftbild des Marktbereichs von West Kingston vor den Sanierungsmaßnahmen, 1983*

Source/Quelle: Urban Development Corporation, Photographer: J.S. Tyndale-Biscoe

national marketing system (Fiero et al. 1985: 1-15). This vital area for the national economy abounds with social, housing and infrastructural problems. The earnings opportunities and the low-cost housing of the West Kingston area have traditionally attracted large numbers of rural migrants. However, neither the labor nor the housing markets could absorb this influx of people. Therefore, unemployment and slumification have traditionally been major problems in West Kingston. The market area in particular had deteriorated through traffic congestion, overcrowding, spoilage of produce and unsanitary marketing conditions (see photo 5) when vendors operate in the street and stay over night in the markets until they have sold their merchandise.

The specific objective of the market redevelopment, conceived by local planners and tar-

get groups based on their felt needs, was infrastructural support to the urban informal sector. This essentially meant getting vendors out of the unsanitary conditions and 'off the street' (Binger 1989; George 1989). Infrastructural support pertains to improvements to existing market structures, provision of new market sites, changes in the street pattern and traffic flows (see figs. 5 and 6) as well as a change in the management structure of the market authority (Binger 1989; cf. Fiero et al. 1985). The overall and long-term goal was to increase employment and earnings opportunities for new entrepreneurs, particularly those outside the traditional ownership classes, i.e. women, informal traders and small farmers. This is in line with the general development direction Jamaica wants to take and which is supported by aid donors (Dubinsky 1989; cf. US Agency for International Development 1988).



Photo 5: Conditions in Market Environs/*Straßenverkauf im Umfeld der Märkte*

Source/Quelle: Urban Development Corporation, Photographer: J.S. Tyndale-Biscoe

Most vendors are female, therefore women are the prime beneficiaries of the market redevelopment. Assisting female entrepreneurs is of particular importance in a country like Jamaica, where over 40% of the households are headed by women and female unemployment is high. In 1988, 135 300 or 66.6% of all unemployed were female. The unemployment rate for women over 25 years was 17% and for those under 25 years 50.8% (Planning Institute of Jamaica 1988 Sec.16.7). For over 70% of the vendors (a large portion of whom are single mothers with several children) their business is the main source of income and of subsistence; in rural areas the trading activity in West Kingston markets is a means of upward social mobility and economic independence. For the small farmer, the market vendor's regular farm gate purchases allow the step up from subsistence to some degree of commercialism.

In addition to economic benefits and upgrading the image of the area - also for the large low-income clientele of the market that buys small quantities frequently - the market redevelopment is expected to have a positive social impact. To understand this one must consider that the markets have social, cultural and religious activities, and long-standing social relationships based on principles of obligation and reciprocity. Vendors also have established revolving credit funds and provide informal training to newcomers who want to engage in trading activities. Vendors operate, for example, in a limited well-known supply and trading area in which they have established social networks and business expertise that the newcomer may tap (*Binger* 1989; cf. *Fiero et al.* 1985: 18-23). There are also other self-help schemes in the market area and its vicinity, such as mutual assistance in construction activities. The redevelopment was

thought to strengthen this existing social equilibrium. Therefore, the community's participation was regarded by local planners from the very beginning as a critical element in the planning, implementation and operation of the project (Binger 1989).

6. Potential Problems of the Market Redevelopment

Figs. 5, 6 and photo 6 show the redevelopment. Although it is still in the implementation phase some potential problems have become evident. There may be

- a. disadvantages to the target groups and the urban poor,
- b. traffic congestion resulting from increased centralization of markets, and
- c. project failure because of its partial irrelevance.

Disadvantages relate to displacement, cost of housing, transportation problems and market user fees. Displacement and relocation, for example, affects about 600 persons or 200 families and the new public housing greatly increases the costs of the project (Binger 1989). These costs may have to be passed on in the form of higher rents in the housing schemes and in this case also the social costs may be high. If the new housing for the displaced is not affordable or too far outside the market area the increased transportation costs to get to the work place may induce displaced to live in the streets; if housed in existing public housing schemes in nearby areas, as proposed, overcrowding there will create new slums. To prevent these problems and create new housing one could have decided to assist people in their traditional mutual self-help housing schemes. This would have been less costly, had an immediate impact on unemployment, resulted in more appropriate housing, and the 'sweat equity' involved would have guaranteed up-keep and maintenance (Khishin 1985: 12-18). This path, however, was not chosen.

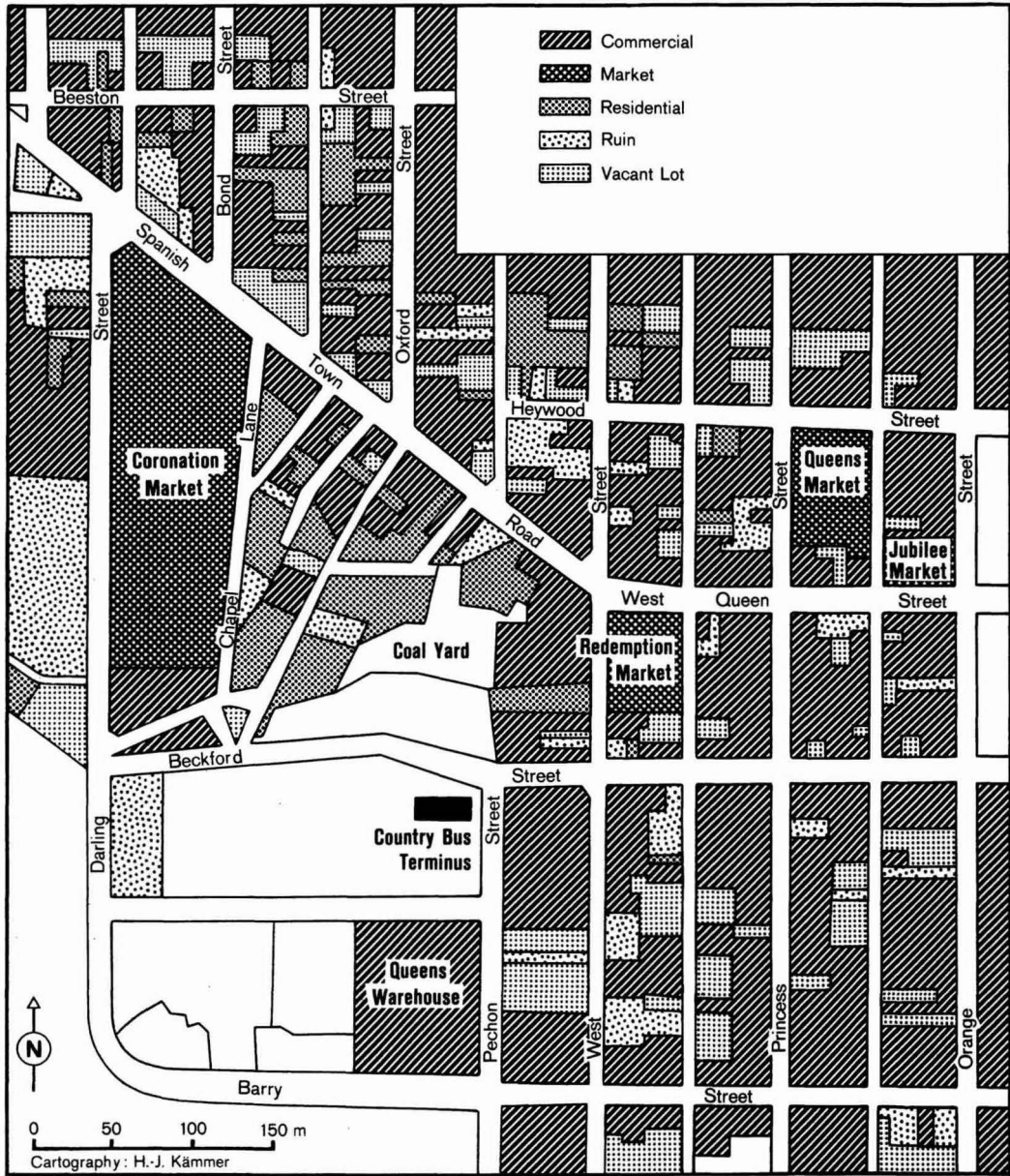
The planned 'substantial increases in market user fees' in order to recoup some of the project's cost may cause vendors to abandon

the markets and operate in the streets again. Whereas abandoning of the markets is not regarded as a major problem (Binger 1989) the fee hike may deter street vendors altogether from taking up stands in market buildings; this would at least partially defeat one objective of the project and would leave newly built expensive market sites underutilized. Even a successful project - in terms of full utilization - may spell problems. Since West Kingston's earnings opportunities have traditionally drawn rural migrants, more improved market sites may attract an unexpected influx. Indeed, the expected urban incomes and actual or perceived urban developments in LICs are well known pull factors for migration (cf. Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1985). More rural migrants would engage in informal trading; faced with market sites that are fully utilized or because of higher user fees the migrants might prefer operating in the streets; this could lead to the reoccurrence of the original problem of overcrowding of streets and markets, higher residential densities and slumification of a newly rehabilitated area (Khishin 1986: 20).

Even though the redevelopment has been conceived locally in cooperation with the target group - the vendors - the project's potential irrelevance may be grave because it ignores basic cultural traditions or even good economic reasons. As Khishin (1986: 20f) points out, 'Street vending is simply a way of life. It is found all over the world and is transferred from one generation to the next. The intricate web of neighborly relations coupled with the psychological value attached to the vending place and the sense of territoriality which it engenders may not be at all served by disrupting the vending pattern that has reigned for so long... It all starts with one vendor setting up a candy stall on the corner of the street; tens of vendors will follow ... Forcing them back may prove to be a politically loaded issue ... the superstructure may remain unfinished and the money end up being wasted.'

It is not entirely unlikely, then, that street vending with all its problems will prevail. That this concern is real derives from at least one other redevelopment project in downtown

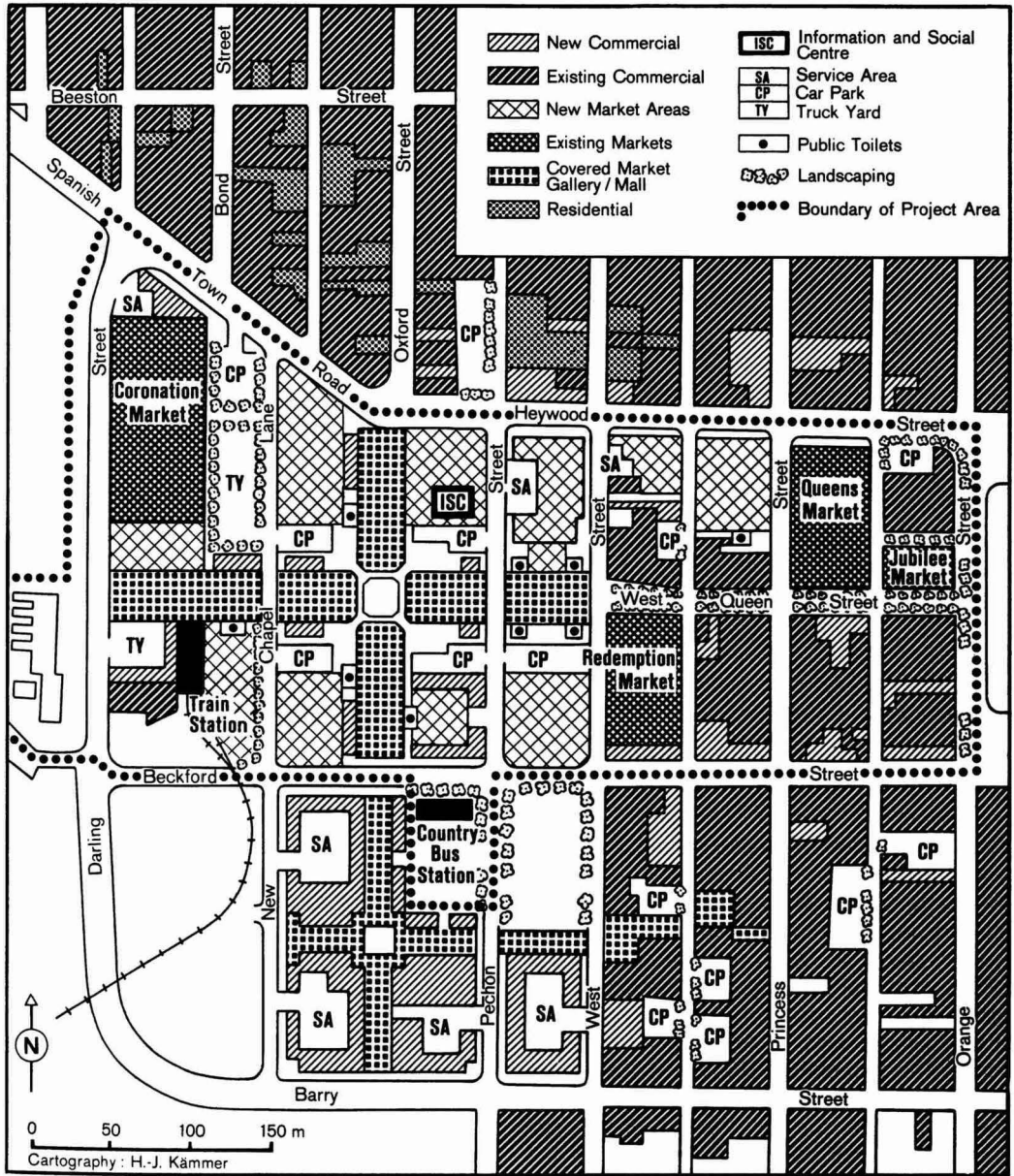
WEST KINGSTON MARKET AREA – Existing Land Use 1983



Source: FIERO, M., et al., 1985, p. 34

Fig. 5: West Kingston Market Area - Existing Land Use, 1983/*Flächennutzung im Bereich der Märkte von West Kingston, 1983*
 Source/*Quelle:* Fiero M. et al. 1985, p. 34.

MARKET AREA REDEVELOPMENT, WEST KINGSTON Proposed Land Use 1985



Source: FIERO, M., et al., 1985, p. 35

Fig. 6: Market Area Redevelopment - Proposed Land Use, 1985/*Geplante Flächennutzung im Marktansierungsprojekt, 1985*
Source/*Quelle* Fiero M. et al. 1985, p. 35



Photo 6: Aerial View of Coronation Market After Rehabilitation 1988/Luftbild des Coronation Markts nach dessen Sanierung, 1988

Source/Quelle: Urban Development Corporation, Photographer: J.S. Tyndale-Biscoe

Kingston. Central streets around the completely remodeled Grant Park in the CBD were also to be cleared of street vendors but remained an important location for them. One reason may be found in socio-cultural traditions of street vending. Another equally or more important reason is that leaving the streets simply does not make good business sense. This part of the CBD (called 'Parade' by locals) is the terminal point of dozens of bus-lines. Street vendors on 'Parade' directly access the crowds boarding or getting off the buses. Indeed, fruit and drink vendors even sell inside the buses; their presence in the vehicles at the bus stop seems to create an instant demand among the bus riders. Accessing the market in this way is much more effective than waiting in fixed stands for customers. Certainly, cultural and economic reasons operate in concert. To the extent that

they explain the current situation on 'Parade' they may also account for the continued street vending around Coronation market, for example (see *photo 6*) whose rehabilitation is completed. The economic aspect in particular should not be underestimated. The 'ice cream vendor' model in classic location theory that explains why on beaches always two or more ice cream vendors cluster together (or several hot dog stands or gas stations are always found in one location — the reason being that one rather shares a market than leave it entirely to the competitor) may account for the continued dominance of street vending even after redevelopment. It indeed all starts when one vendor decides to set up his stand on the street again.

It is interesting to see that a project which aims at the informal entrepreneur and the lower

socio-economic classes should misunderstand such important cultural and economic concerns. Whereas disregard for the cultural and micro-level economic factors would not be surprising in exogenous development approaches, it is somewhat striking in a case that involved 'participatory planning', i.e. the involvement of the target group. When looking for an explanation of this, one finds that only small numbers of the target population ever got involved in the planning process. Out of the estimated 12 000 vendors, for example, only a few hundred were actually surveyed as to their needs; even fewer participated in planning and action committees, the majority had been left out of the decision-making process entirely. Moreover, vendors were not given a choice whether or not to remain in simple settings with only improved market stands and access to water and electricity. It is likely that the thousands of vendors would not have wanted to be crammed under a few roofs (*Khishin* 1986: 30).

Thus, on a micro-scale, in a project aimed at the 'underclass' and designed to enhance local potentials one may find a parallel to exogenous development approaches. The interest of few vendors or other persons who may gain financially or otherwise from the project or who view modern structures as superior to simple settings dominates and may adversely affect the long-term goals of a development project and the interest of a majority. This explains why the project faces some opposition and must *ex post facto* be made palatable to the majority of the vendors. This is done through the communication programs which were part of the project from the beginning and were designed to allow a two-way flow of communication (from target groups to planners and vice versa). This mechanism is now being used to convey to the target group an understanding of the project. With the help of local artists and actors informal entertaining ways are developed to convince the target group of the need for significant changes regarding organizational structure, discipline, enforcement or regulations, and cost sharing through increased user fees (*Binger* 1989). The problem has become more complicated than merely removing the unsanitary conditions vendors have to operate in; it has also become

a problem of how to deal with the vendors.

Given a conceptually better approach - infrastructural support for informal entrepreneurs in order to enhance local potentials - the questions arise why one would choose implementing procedures that result only in aesthetically more pleasing but not necessarily appropriate structures, why one would not fully integrate the mutual self-help schemes of the social system and why one would not heed advice of the few (local) planners who understood these problems from the beginning. Although the answers are a matter of conjecture, a reason may be found in the fact that the specific market redevelopment is embedded in larger developments projects that are being implemented in the West Kingston area. World Bank and USAID projects, for example, are currently underway which upgrade the streets and transportation center in the immediate vicinity of the markets. Indeed, one sees a close cooperation of several foreign development agencies in this area, each aimed at one particular aspect of general West Kingston improvement. Even though foreign input in terms of money and decision-making may be limited in the case of the market redevelopment *per se*, this does not mean that this redevelopment is uninfluenced by the larger redevelopments in its immediate vicinity which take place under the auspices of large-scale aid donors. Compelling influences and the need to standardize the redevelopments in this area then may have partially influenced the conceptualization of the market redevelopment by the local planning agency. Participatory planning of and for the majority of the target group, then, may have been purposely limited. Full participation might have delayed the grand development scheme for the whole area or might have had a disturbing effect.

7. Summary and Conclusions

This paper has portrayed two approaches to stop and reverse urban decline in downtown Kingston. The waterfront redevelopment scheme modeled after Western experience emphasized a change in the physical appearance of the waterfront in order to create a focal point for commercial, social and cultural development and bring about economic mul-

tiplier and neighborhood effects for the larger downtown. In doing so, a top-down approach was implemented that bulldozed away some facilities that might have exerted a special charm and did indeed, draw large crowds prior to redevelopment (cf. *Star* 1971: 27). Current urban planning would no longer advocate such a radical approach. Rather, dockland or waterfront developments in Western countries that renovated and made use of old or historical structures find them to be most attractive for commercial and residential users. Conversion of existing structures and historic preservation, not replacement makes dockland developments elsewhere successful, a magnet for tourists and a chic place to live. The Kingston waterfront development, however, radically changed the existing site; this may be a reason why it did not greatly attract the desired target groups: the middle and high income people, the businesses and tourists. On any day it is rather the unemployed people from 'the ghetto' (as they themselves call it) that crowd the waterfront. Businesses are increasingly deserting it.

Despite its top-down approach, the waterfront project did have good preconditions for success. This project involved a structural change in planning in Jamaica through a new institution (UDC). It came at a time when the government severed its ties with colonial institutions and changed the course and institutions of development in Jamaica. The new agency meant local control - from conception to implementation of development measures - and greater effectiveness in combining local public and private sector initiatives. It allowed a departure from the externally induced development efforts of colonial development agencies and greater reliance on local potentials such as the business community or non-elitist groups. This institution-building was a major and exemplary step for LICs which often lack institutions and organizations needed for effective local economic development planning. Still, the lack of success can be explained by the fact that although there was a modification of the power structure the planning concepts used were still the same. The existing charm of the area, its uniqueness, its cultural and social heritage, and its old com-

mercial structures were sacrificed on the altar of modernization. Cities, however, retain and enhance their uniqueness and charm only if they are allowed to retain their cultural or social heritage (cf. *Holzner* 1981). The Kingston waterfront, however, was not allowed to retain its cultural heritage and traditional social function. The imposition of modern Western-type high-rise office and service buildings in this area with its own history was neither culture nor location-specific and ignored the response of people and the local business community.

Turning to the market redevelopment one can see that a planning approach is not necessarily more appropriate because it is more 'bottom-up' and sensitive to a locale and the needs of its people. Focusing on the bottom end of society, 'participatory planning' and enhancing endogenous development potentials do not in themselves guarantee success. Depending, for example, on the greater context of other development activities in the vicinity, on the value system of the planners or the target groups themselves and the extent to which they and their traditional institutions are integrated, a project may entirely bypass the distinctive characteristics, tradition, and potential of a place and the local community.

The market redevelopment somewhat negates the cultural and economic importance of street vending. This is not surprising in a society like Jamaica which is rapidly absorbing 'the culture of the dish' ('dish' referring to parabolic satellite TV antennas of which almost 14 000 are currently in use in Jamaica - US TV programs are regularly watched even in the remote country-side). The country is Americanizing rapidly despite an emphasis on its African heritage. Therefore, the felt needs of those who were involved in local decision-making and participatory planning may have been molded after the Western example. Thus, a planning process may be endogenous, from the bottom-up, targeted to local needs and enhancing local potential, but the value system involved can be exogenous. One should warn then against a mere reversal of planning procedures (top-down, exogenous versus bottom-up, endogenous) without questioning the value system involved. When the emphasis is on

modernization and cultural heritage and traditions are dismissed it may be irrelevant whether top-down or bottom-up development is sought because the results may be similar. When development is equated with modernization the focus on the urban informal sector, the poor, unemployed, female entrepreneurs and the social equilibrium may indeed create only esthetically more pleasing structures. Their envisaged benefits may very well be counterbalanced by (unintended) adverse social and economic effects. Compared to the waterfront scheme, the market redevelopment, then, is only a more subtle variation on the same theme of modernization. Following *Brown* (1988) one can argue that endogenous development may not necessarily entail more, sufficient or better understanding of societal processes and human behavior. Like exogenous planning, endogenous approaches may ignore micro-details (local specifics and contexts) and macro-details (cultural milieu and broader societal issues). Although endogenous development may contain more elements of cultural context and may be to a greater degree location and community-specific, it may still harbor major problems.

By implication, then, it may not matter which planning procedure (top-down or bottom-up) is being pursued when cultural heritage and culture-specific adjustments, cultural and social values and traditions are at the heart of the (re)development effort. It is culture and location-specific (re)development strategies, not indiscriminate modernization, that can achieve development (cf. *Seers* 1972 for a discussion of the most universally acceptable meaning of development). Keeping this in mind, it is understandable why in many cases development may not come about although the aim is to enhance endogenous potentials.

Urban and overall development problems in LIC's are too serious to be handled by either one or the other approach (cf. *Pudup* 1988). The search for a better approach to development may be a mere academic exercise anyway, using Northern concepts to fit Southern realities. Because of the grave problems of underdevelopment, no single aim, paradigm or planning procedure should be followed to the exclusion of others; this would ignore the

conceptual and practical strength inherent in either (cf. *Brown* 1988: 256, 273; *Jarvis* 1989). Departures from unsuccessful practices of the past and moving towards poorly understood new principles or practices may not turn out to be satisfactory. Not paradigm change (for example, the switch from exogenous towards endogenous approaches) but paradigm accumulation, i.e. the utilization of all possible routes to development should be the concern of developmentalists. Unless one values the strength of each and determines its likely positive or negative implications, one is unable to understand the process of underdevelopment (which may receive an impetus from development efforts!) and to properly determine what should be done about it and where it should be done.

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